

ASPICE HUNC OPUS MIRUM

Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Nikole Jakšića
Festschrift on the occasion of Nikola Jakšić's 70th birthday

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UNIVERSITY OF ZADAR

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Arch of the chancel screen from the Split Cathedral (detail), last quarter of the 8th century, Kaštel Sućurac, parish church

(photo: Zoran Alajbeg)

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Edited by:

Ivan Josipović
Miljenko Jurković

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Gordana Jandrokovića

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Gordan Jandroković*

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HRVATSKI SABOR
PREDSJEDNIK

Zagreb, 11. rujna 2020.

*Sveučilište u Zadru
Odjel za povijest umjetnosti
doc. dr. sc. Ivan Josipović
pročelnik*

Poštovani gospodine Josipoviću,

sa zadovoljstvom sam prihvatio pokroviteljstvo nad knjigom *ASPICE HUNC OPUS MIRUM* – zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana Nikole Jakšića, urednikâ Ivana Josipovića i Miljenka Jurkovića, koju objavljuje Sveučilište u Zadru i Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek Sveučilišta u Zagrebu.

Nadam se da će ovaj slavljenički zbornik, kojim se prigodno obilježava sedamdeseti rođendan profesora emeritusa Nikole Jakšića, dati iscrpan pregled njegove iznimne znanstveno-nastavne karijere te stručnog doprinosa u promicanju hrvatske umjetnosti i baštine.

Osim uspješne akademske karijere, profesor Nikola Jakšić bio je politički aktivno uključen na početku demokratskih promjena u Hrvatskoj. Njegov politički angažman bio je motiviran velikom željom za stvaranjem suverene, neovisne i demokratske Hrvatske te uspostavi i osnaživanju višestranačja u Hrvatskoj.

Na prvim višestranačkim izborima, održanima 1990. godine, izabran je za zastupnika u prvi saziv Hrvatskog sabora, u kojem je obnašao i dužnost potpredsjednika Društveno-političkog vijeća, jednog od tada tri doma Hrvatskog sabora. U razdoblju 1992.-1994. bio je pomoćnik ministrice Vesne Girardi-Jurkić, u tadašnjem Ministarstvu prosvjete, kulture i sporta, zadužen za provedbu nacionalnih programa zaštite i obnove spomenika kulture te arhivske, muzejske i izdavačke djelatnosti.

Vjerujem da će ovaj zbornik vrednovati i taj dio djelovanja profesora Jakšića.

Želim Vam puno uspjeha u daljnjem radu Odjela za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zadru.

S poštovanjem,


Gordan Jandroković



Nancy Jung

...ASPICE HUNC OPUS MIRO QUO DECORE FACTO QUO D(omi)NO IUBANTE PRE[sul Ƿ...]

(Pogledaj ovo djelo kakvim je divnim uresom napravljeno, čime je uz pomoć Gospodnju, biskup (Ƿ)... / Ammira quest'opera divinamente decorata che, con l'aiuto del Signore, il vescovo (Ƿ)...)

Inscription from the arch of chancel screen of the Split Cathedral, last quarter of the 8th century, Kaštel Sućurac, parish church

(...) L'aspetto complessivo dell'archivolto denota le caratteristiche artistiche ed epigrafiche del periodo tardoantico. L'iscrizione è scolpita con molta abilità in un misto di caratteri in scrittura capitale e onciale. Le lettere raggiungono in parte effetti artistici cui si tendeva nel periodo carolingio, simili, per certi aspetti, alle lettere dell'epitaffio dell'arcivescovo Giovanni, detto il Ravennate, a eccezione della lettera 'o', che ha la forma di rombo con aste allungate. Le diversità dal latino classico e le irregolarità nella flessione (*hunc* al posto di *hoc*, come conseguenza del passaggio del sostantivo neutro in sostantivi di genere maschile; *facto* al posto di *factum*, in coerenza con *opus* e non con *decore*), non devono sorprendere, tenendo conto del periodo in cui l'iscrizione è stata scolpita. Suić ha riconosciuto, in questi cambiamenti, dei tentativi di versificazione, a conferma della continuità della tradizione tardoantica. Suppone anche che l'iscrizione, della quale è conservato un frammento nell'arco, sia stata composta quale esametro dattilico. Per questa ragione scrivere *hunc* al posto di *hoc* può essere spiegato non solo come uno scambio di generi, bensì come la necessità di trovare nel secondo piede lo spondeo, cioè che la vocale 'u' davanti a due consonanti sia resa più lunga (*aspice hunc opus mirá*). (...)

Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi. Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi, (eds.) Carlo Bertelli et alii, Skira editore, Milano, 2001, pp. 377-378 (Vedrana Delonga, cat. n. V. 5).

PREDGOVOR

Tijekom proljeća 2018. godine, otprilike godinu dana prije nego što će navršiti punih sedamdeset godina života, Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zadru i Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek Sveučilišta u Zagrebu započeli su pripreme za izdavanje *Festschrifta* jednom od svojih, u slučaju Odjela, dugogodišnjih djelatnika i najuglednijih profesora te, u pogledu Centra, jednom od njegovih utemeljitelja – Nikoli Jakšiću. Poučeni iskustvima iz sličnih prigoda, znali smo unaprijed da zbornik neće biti dogotovljen do slavljenikova sedamdesetog rođendana, 19. svibnja 2019. godine, ali noseći tu godinu izdanja trebao je biti promoviran na godišnjem znanstvenom skupu Centra krajem svibnja 2020. godine u Poreču. Uskladiti želje i realnost, još u zahtjevnim uvjetima u kojima su i domaći autori trebali napisati tekstove na svjetskim jezicima, nikad nije lako, a našem *Fantu*, kako ga samo najbliži prijatelji zovu, bilo je nužno prirediti *Festschrift* međunarodnog karaktera, kakav on svojim znanstvenim statusom i zaslužuje. Ipak, *Homo proponit, sed Deus disponit*! Dogodila se, naime, pandemija koronavirusa te je održavanje navedenog skupa i promocija *Festschrifta* odgođena za par mjeseci (a Poreč je zamijenjen *corona-free* Rabom), što je nama dalo dodatno vrijeme i prijeko potreban mir za njegovo dovršenje i objavu. Kako svako zlo dođe i za neko dobro, to nam je ujedno omogućilo i „dodatno” čekanje još nekih tekstova nama a i Jakšiću važnih europskih znanstvenika, smireno dotjerivanje onih već odavno pristiglih, a u konačnici je rezultiralo i smanjenjem pritiska koji se po logici stvari obično sruči na urednike pri završetku takva velika posla kao što je objava jedne knjige ovakve vrste.

Mali zaostatak u objavi zbornika poklopio se savršeno s aktivacijom značajnog projekta kojemu je naš slavljenik jedan od ključnih suradnika. Naime, u međuvremenu, od početne ideje *Festschrifta* pa do dana njegove objave i prezentacije, počeo se provoditi znanstveni projekt *GLOHUM – Globalni humanizmi: novi pogledi na srednji vijek (300.–1600.)*, koji financiraju Hrvatska zaklada za znanost i Europski socijalni fond, a on se tako dobro uklapa u znanstvene interese Nikole Jakšića. Takva sretna okolnost omogućila je još jaču integraciju priloženih radova na način da se čak devet od petnaest suradnika na projektu u ovome zborniku priključilo svojim radovima s temama koje se početno, ispitivački, odnose prema temi projekta, a istovremeno odaju počast slavljeniku, jednom od njegovih glavnih suradnika. Jednako tako možemo ustvrditi da i dobar dio ovdje objavljenih radova svojim sadržajem nudi mogućnosti interpretacije različitih srednjovjekovnih renesansi.

Naime, znanstveni interesi Nikole Jakšića, u njegovoj impresivnoj karijeri, često su se doticali tema raznih srednjovjekovnih renesansi i, uopće, pitanjima drugačijeg pogleda na „dugi” srednji vijek, razdoblje koje je u historiografiji 19. i 20. stoljeća tako često bilo nazivano *mračnim razdobljem*. Jakšićevi radovi, kao i radovi drugih sudionika ovoga značajnog projekta, stalno su pokazivali upravo suprotne tendencije u interpretaciji. U mnogim su se Jakšićevim radovima tako provlačili bljeskovi različitih obnavljanja antike, različitih „renesansi” koje bacaju potpuno novo svjetlo na srednjovjekovno doba povijesnog razvitka (sjetimo se samo njegovih članaka na temu „liutprandske renesanse” i tematskih osvrti na 11. stoljeće). Kada se u cjelini pogleda više od četrdeset priloga u ovom zborniku te tendencije postaju jasnije, a one se savršeno uklapaju u interesna polja koje je naš slavljenik tijekom svoje karijere doticao.

* * *

Četiri su glavna polja slavljenikovih znanstvenih interesa. Na prvom je mjestu ono s čim se počeo baviti još u svom magisteriju i doktoratu – ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura, definicija klesarskih produkcija ranoga srednjeg vijeka, ali najvažnije od svega, metodologija kojom se dosežu vrsni znanstveni rezultati, i sve to uz pitanja kako kontinuiteta, tako i bljeskova antičkih tradicija. Drugo polje su problemi umjetničkog obrta, poglavito zlatarstva, podjednako sakralne (razni

liturgijski predmeti) i profane namjene (nakit), a uglavnom zrelo- i kasnosrednjovjekovne datacije. Treći predmet Jakšićeva znanstvenog interesa vezan je za slikarstvo, i to ono minijaturno, gdje je kroz analize i komparacije brojnih primjera kasnosrednjovjekovnih iluminiranih rukopisa liturgijske namjene s istočne obale Jadrana obogatio spoznaje struke o tom vrlo važnom aspektu naše kulturne baštine. I konačno, kao četvrtu, a neki bi rekli i ključnu crtu njegova znanstvenog interesa, kojom je pokazao svu širinu svoga interdisciplinarnog pristupa, treba istaknuti njegove obrade složene problematike vezane za srednjovjekovnu povijesnu topografiju, tj. ubikaciju danas izgubljenih povijesnih toponima i identifikaciju za njih vezanih sakralnih građevina. Nju je, kao svojevrsnu popudbinu naslijeđenu od akademika Stjepana Gunjače, svoga prvoga mentora s početka karijere, a zasnovanu ponajprije na terenskom istraživanju i utvrđivanju prežitaka starih toponima sačuvanih do današnjih dana, Jakšić nadopunio sustavnim arhivskim istraživanjima u Državnom arhivu u Zadru. Tako je na svjetlo dana iznio brojne zaboravljene činjenice vezane za srednjovjekovnu toponimiju širega zadarskog zaleđa, a koje je okupio u svojoj maestralnoj knjizi *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*.

U konačnici, kao urednici predstavljamo znanstvenu publikaciju s preko četrdeset radova slavljenikovih kolega i prijatelja, bivših suradnika, učenika i nasljednika na koju smo beskrajno ponosni. Jer, iako ovu knjigu uistinu nije bilo lako urediti, utoliko smo zadovoljniji konačnim rezultatom – brojem priloga uglednih znanstvenika iz Hrvatske i inozemstva, sa znatnom količinom obrađenih povijesnih, arheoloških i povijesnoumjetničkih tema u širokom vremenskom rasponu od kasne antike do 19. stoljeća, kao i koherentnošću samoga zbornika.

Naravno, obojicu pisaca ovog predgovora veže dugogodišnje prijateljstvo sa slavljenikom. Nadamo se kako nam čitatelji neće zamjeriti da na ovom mjestu iznesemo i par individualnih sjećanja na slavljenika i na naše vrijeme provedeno s njim. Zbog razlike u generacijama, na različite smo ga načine upoznali i s vremenom se sprijatelji.

Mlađi (Josipović) najprije je bio njegov student, a svoju znanstvenu karijeru započeo je kao njegov asistent. Za mene je to bila velika čast, ali, u isto vrijeme, i još veći teret povezan sa strahom od mogućeg „neispunjenjâ očekivanja"! Ipak, Jakšić je sav taj strah i osjećaj tereta već u samom početku razbio. Ozbiljan i konstruktivno kritičan kad bi se radilo o struci, a opušten, humorističan i spontan u svakodnevnom kontaktu i komunikaciji, u isto vrijeme i poticajan i nenametljiv, bio je mentor kakva se samo moglo poželjeti. Mogle bi se unedogled prepričavati bezbrojne zgode popraćene šalama i smijehom koje su obilježile većinu naših druženja, prvenstveno kroz zajednička ispijanja kava, grafička prelamanja brojnih knjiga i časopisa kojima smo on ili ja bili urednici, pa sve do našega uživiljenog sakupljanja samoljepljivih sličica nogometaša za Europsko prvenstvo u Francuskoj 2016. i Svjetsko prvenstvo u Rusiji 2018. godine (on je navodno sakupljao za unuka!), kad su nas brojne kolege s fakulteta u nevjerici gledale dok smo „mijenjali duple" po okolnim kafićima.

Onaj stariji (Jurković), nije pripadao izvornoj skupini slavljenikovih prijatelja iz mladosti, s obzirom na ne pretjerano veliku, ali ipak značajnu razliku u godinama, koja se danas više, nažalost, ni ne vidi... Ali, budući da smo radili iste stvari, kao što ih i danas radimo, jedan u Zadru (jer slavljenik je još uvijek znanstveno i didaktički aktivan), a drugi u Zagrebu, nužno sam, kao mlađi kolega, bio orijentiran prema njegovim ranim tekstovima i iz njih učio. Budući da smo obojica bili i ostali strastveni pušači, prije našeg upoznavanja su me upozorili: „Pazi na svoje upaljače jer ćeš se dignuti od stola i tvoga više neće biti". Naravno, mislio sam da se radi o šali, ali tijekom tridesetak godina prijateljstva, nije se jedanput dogodilo da sam bez upaljača i ostao. (A koliku bi danas samo kolekciju slavljenik imao, da ih nije i sam stalno gubio.) No, osnovna su sjećanja na te rane dane ipak produktivnija! Ključni se događaj naših spona zbio u studenome 1993. godine, kada smo, sjedeći u zadimljenu prostor u motovunskog hotela, nakon što sam mu iznio argumente o osnivanju Međunarodnog istraživačkog centra za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek, strastveno raspravljali o potrebi prezentacije hrvatske baštine svijetu (pogotovo u onim ratnim vremenima). Naime, uz svesrdnu pomoć tadašnjeg rektora Sveučilišta u Zagrebu Marijana Šunjića, tražio sam za taj

projekt i potporu Ministarstva prosvjete, kulture i sporta u kojemu je Jakšić tada bio pomoćnik ministrice zadužen za kulturu, a na što je on samo rekao: „Da”. Od tada pa do danas naše se prijateljstvo samo učvršćivalo.

Ovaj zbornik, koji sadržajem reflektira preokupacije i teme kojima se slavljenu za čitave karijere bavio, danas mu stoga predajemo u znak prijateljstva i zahvalnosti zbog njegova izuzetnoga znanstvenog doprinosa hrvatskoj i europskoj znanosti koja se bavi proučavanjem kulturne baštine starijih povijesnih razdoblja.

Zadar - Zagreb, 8. rujna 2020. godine.

Ivan Josipović
Miljenko Jurković

FOREWORD

In the spring of 2018, more than a year before Nikola Jakšić, one of the long-standing members of the Department of Art History of the Zadar University and one of its most distinguished professors, as well as one of the founders of the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages, University of Zagreb, would turn seventy, the Department and the Centre started preparing a publication in his honour. From former experiences we knew that the *Festschrift* would not be published by his birthday on May 19, 2019, but, bearing that same year in its *impressum*, it was supposed to be presented at the Centre's annual scientific gathering in late May 2020 in Poreč. Well, as on the one hand, it was never easy to persuade some of our Croatian colleagues to write in foreign languages, and, as, on the other hand, we wished for *Fant* - as he is known only to his closest friends - to produce an international *Festschrift* worthy of his scientific status, we were, as usual late. However, *Homo proponit, sed Deus disponit*! The coronavirus pandemic made us postpone the gathering in question by several months, as well as the *Festschrift*'s presentation (and Poreč was replaced by the corona-free Rab), which gave us some extra time and much-needed peace to finalize and publish it. Since every cloud has a silver lining, this has also allowed us to wait for contributions by some other European scientists, relevant (and friends) both to us and Jakšić, and to unhurriedly fine-tune those that were handed ages ago. All in all, it relieved the pressure that naturally comes crushing down on editors when a big undertaking such as publication of this type of book reaches its final stages.

The slight delay in the book's publication coincided ideally with the activation of an important project (in which Jakšić participates as one of the key contributors). In fact, the period between the initial idea of the *Festschrift* and the day of its publication and presentation saw the implementation of the scientific project *GLOHUM – Global Humanisms: New Perspectives on the Middle Ages (300–1600)* by the "Research Cooperability" Program of the Croatian Science Foundation funded by the European Union from the European Social Fund under the Operational Programme Efficient Human Resources 2014–2020, which fits seamlessly into Nikola Jakšić's research interests. Owing to these fortuitous circumstances, it was possible to interweave the received articles even more firmly: as many as nine out of fifteen project collaborators contributed papers dealing with topics that address the matter critically, while at the same time celebrating Nikola Jakšić, one of its main participants. The results of the presented investigations by all of the contributors better fit in the main problem of the project – different medieval renaissances.

Throughout the impressive career of Nikola Jakšić, his research interests often involved topics on various medieval renaissances and, in general, produced different views on a "long" Middle Ages, then the traditional ones, - on a period that was so frequently labelled as the *Dark Ages* in the historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries. Jakšić's papers, just like those of other participants in this important project, have constantly shown interpretative tendencies running counter to this attitude. Let us just remind the reader of Jakšić's papers on the "Liutprand renaissance" or his numerous reflections on the 11th century. Finally, if we take a look at over forty contributions in this book as a whole, those tendencies of reshaping the "long" Middle Ages become clearer, fitting perfectly among the fields of interest that Nikola Jakšić has touched upon throughout his career.

* * *

Nikola Jakšić devoted his research interest to four different subjects. The first is the one that he already started in his M.A. and Ph.D. theses - early medieval sculpture, the definition of carving productions in the early Middle Ages, and, most importantly, the methodology enabling his outstanding scientific results, opening other questions of continuity and of flashes of antique tra-

ditions. The second field concerns the issues of artistic crafts, especially goldsmithery, both sacral (various liturgical objects) and profane (jewellery), mostly dating to the central and late Middle Ages. The third field of Jakšić's research interest encompasses painting, more precisely, miniature painting, where he provided analyses and comparisons of numerous examples of late medieval illuminated manuscripts used in liturgy on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, broadening professional knowledge of this very important aspect of our cultural heritage. And finally, as the fourth and some would say the key feature of his research interest, in which he displayed the full range of his interdisciplinary approach, we should point out his numerous "excursions" into complex problematics of medieval historical topography, tracing many of now lost historical toponyms and identifying churches connected with them. Passed onto Jakšić as viaticum of sorts by his predecessor Prof. Stjepan Gunjača, his first mentor early in his career, and founded primarily on field research and establishing the vestiges of old surviving toponyms, it was complemented by his systematic research in the State Archives in Zadar. That is how he unearthed many forgotten facts about medieval toponymy of the wider Zadar hinterland, which he compiled in his brilliant book *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi* (*Croatian Medieval Landscapes*).

Finally, as editors, we can present a scientific publication with over forty papers by the jubilarian's colleagues and friends, former collaborators, students, and successors, of which we are infinitely proud. Although this book was by no means easy to edit, we are all the more pleased with the outcome – a cohesive collection with contributions of renowned scientists from Croatia and abroad, covering a wide scope of historical, archaeological, and art-historical topics over a period ranging from Late Antiquity to the 19th century.

It must be said that both authors of this foreword have been friends with Jakšić for a long time. We hope that the readers will not mind if we bring up several personal memories about our time shared with him. Since we belong to different generations, we came to know and later befriend him in different ways.

The younger one (Josipović) was first his student and then started his academic career as Jakšić's assistant. To me, this was a great honour, but at the same time a great burden caused by the fear of "falling short of his expectations"! However, Jakšić immediately did away with my feeling of being burdened and frightened. Serious and constructive in his criticism when work was concerned and relaxed, witty, and spontaneous in everyday contacts and communication, he was inspiring and discreet at the same time, the kind of mentor one could only wish for. There are endless anecdotes peppered with jokes and laughter that were an integral part of the time we spent together, either over coffee or designing layouts for many books and magazines he or I edited, and even enthusiastically collecting football players' picture cards for the 2016 Euro in France and the World Cup in Russia 2018 (he allegedly collected those for his grandson!), while many of our colleagues from the Faculty looked on incredulously while we were swapping doubles in nearby cafes.

The older one (Jurković) did not belong to the original group of Jakšić's friends from his youth since the age difference is not that great but is still significant, although now, unfortunately, almost completely imperceptible... Doing the same things, however, now as before, one in Zadar (Jakšić is still scientifically and didactically active), the other in Zagreb, as a younger colleague I inevitably gravitated towards his early texts from which I learned. Since we both were and still are passionate smokers, before we were introduced, I was warned: "Keep an eye out for your cigarette lighter because you'll get up to leave and yours will be gone." I thought this was a joke, of course, but over thirty years that we have been friends, I have "lost" cigarette lighters on more than one occasion. (How big a collection could he have had by now had he not kept losing them himself!) But the fundamental memories of those early days are nonetheless more productive! The key event for the bonds that tie us together happened in November 1993 when we were sitting in a smoke-filled hotel in Motovun. After presenting my arguments for founding International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages to him, we launched into a fervent discussion

on the need to present Croatian heritage to the world (especially in those wartime days). With the wholehearted help of Marijan Šunjić, Rector of the University of Zagreb at the time, I requested support for this project from the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport where Jakšić was an assistant to the minister in charge of culture, to which he simply replied: "Yes." From that point on our friendship has only grown stronger.

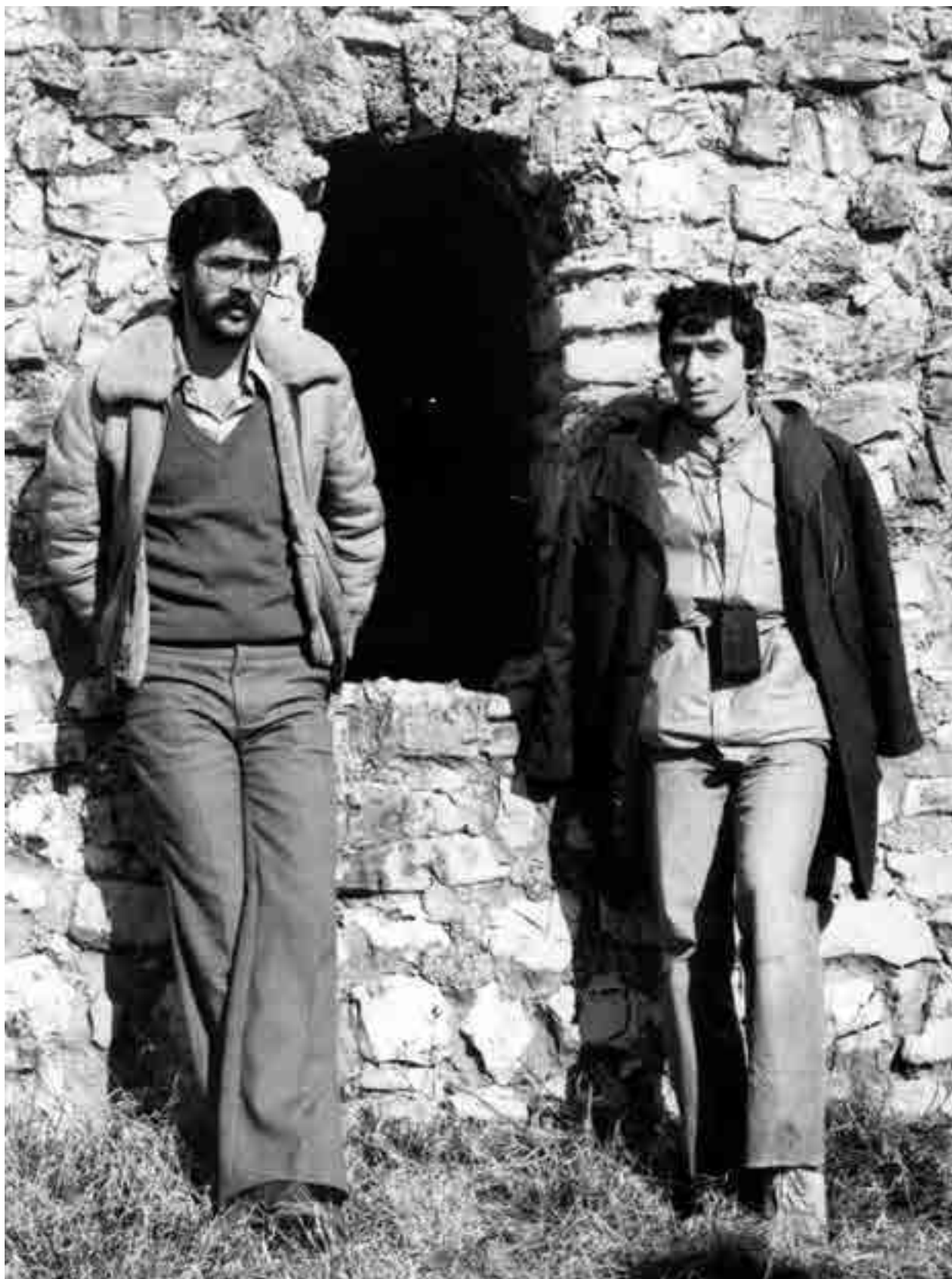
This book, the content of which reflects the pursuits and topics that the jubilarian has explored throughout his career, we give to him today as a token of friendship and gratitude for his exceptional contribution to the Croatian and European science dedicated to studying cultural heritage from earlier periods of history.

Zadar - Zagreb, 8th September 2020

Ivan Josipović
Miljenko Jurković



Nikola Jakšić u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru u listopadu 2007. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)
Nikola Jakšić in the Zadar Archaeological Museum in October 2007



Ante Milošević i Nikola Jakšić pokraj crkve Sv. Spasa na vrelu Cetine početkom 1980. godine
(foto: Ž. Bačić)

Ante Milošević and Nikola Jakšić next to the Church of Holy Salvation at the Cetina spring in early 1980

PROFESORU NIKOLI JAKŠIĆU U ČAST – BIOGRAFSKA BILJEŠKA UZ NJEGOV SEDAMDESETI ROĐENDAN

Ivan Josipović

Nikola Jakšić rođen je 19. svibnja 1949. godine u Beogradu, u kući svoga djeda po majci, velikoga njemačkoga i jugoslavenskog (srpskog) povjesničara ruskoga porijekla, akademika Georgija Aleksandroviča Ostrogorskog (1902.-1976.; ruski: *Георгий Александрович Острогорский*), jednog od najznačajnijih svjetskih bizantologa. Upravo u Jakšićevu rodnom gradu, njegov otac Zlatan Jakšić (1924.-2007.), tadašnji beogradski student, a kasniji dugogodišnji zadarski sveučilišni profesor te jedan od najistaknutijih hrvatskih čakavskih pjesnika druge polovine 20. stoljeća, upoznao je i oženio njegovu majku Olgu „Olju” Ostrogorski-Jakšić (1928.), također kasniju sveučilišnu nastavnicu. Činjenica da je po ocu potomak stare težačke obitelji iz Selaca na otoku Braču, a po majci izdanak ruske građanske obitelji iz Sankt Peterburga, uvelike će utjecati na okruženje u kojem je Nikola Jakšić odrastao, a dobrim dijelom i na njegovo kasnije profesionalno usmjerenje. Naime, Jakšićeva je obitelj vrlo brzo po njegovu rođenju napustila Beograd, kratko je živjela u očevim mu rodnim Selcima, da bi nakon toga u kraćem vremenskom razdoblju tripot selila po Hrvatskoj: najprije u istarsku Rašu, gdje su bili premješteni po kazni i gdje se ujedno rodila njegova sestra Sonja (1953.), zatim u Knin, gdje su Zlatan i Olga radili kao gimnazijski profesori, a mali Nikola krenuo u osnovnu školu, te konačno, 1959. godine, u Zadar, gdje su mu roditelji, nedugo po osnutku zadarskoga Filozofskog fakulteta, počeli raditi kao sveučilišni nastavnici. Otac mu je tako bio predavač kolegijâ *Srpska književnost i Metodika nastave hrvatskog jezika i književnosti* na Odsjeku za hrvatskosrpski jezik i jugoslavenske književnosti (danas Odjel za kroatistiku Sveučilišta u Zadru), a majka profesorica i lektorica ruskog jezika na Odsjeku za ruski jezik i književnost (danas Odjel za rusistiku).

Nikola Jakšić osnovnu je školu završio u Zadru, gdje je nakon toga pohađao opću gimnaziju na kojoj je maturirao 1968. godine. Te je godine na zadarskom Filozofskom fakultetu počeo studirati engleski i ruski jezik s književnostima, ali je nakon godine dana promijenio studijsku grupu te upisao dvopredmetni studij povijesti umjetnosti i arheologije. Još tijekom studija, 1972. godine, vjenčao se s Elvirom (dj. Žodan), a te su godine dobili i sina jedinca Tomislava. Jakšićevo društvo tijekom studija, dobrim dijelom obilježeno i događajima iz čuvenoga „Hrvatskog proljeća”, činili su brojni kasnije poznati znanstveno-kulturni djelatnici, od kojih ističem samo neke: njegova tada nerazdvojnog prijatelja i vjenčanog kuma, pokojnoga Franju Smiljanića „Harija” (1951.-2012.), dugogodišnjeg profesora povijesti na Filozofskom fakultetu, tj. Sveučilištu u Zadru; Nina Novaka, umirovljenog djelatnika današnjega Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci; zatim Novakova šibenskog kolegu Josipa Čuzelu (s kojim je Jakšić onomad pohađao i isti razred u kninskoj osnovnoj školi); Antu Miloševića, kasnijega direktora Muzeja Cetinske krajine u Sinju i jednoga od najuspješnijih ravnatelja Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu; Radomira „Mira” Jurića, kasnijeg ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru; Tončija Burića, arheologa i dugogodišnjeg djelatnika Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu; te dvojicu nedavno mu preminulih prijatelja, šibenskoga konzervatora i hrvatskog branitelja Borisa Lapova (1952.-2020.) te Slobodana Čaču (1946.-2020.), omiljenoga profesora povijesti staroga vijeka na današnjem Odjelu za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru.

Jakšić je diplomirao 1974. godine te je odmah zaposlen kao kustos u Modernoj galeriji Narodnoga muzeja u Zadru. No, po isteku tromjesečnoga probnog roka, a na intervenciju Općinskoga komiteta KPH-a u Zadru, otpušten je s radnoga mjesta uz obrazloženje da je bio član studentskoga rukovodstva u vrijeme „Hrvatskog proljeća”. Kako u Zadru nakon toga za njega nije bilo mogućnosti pronalaska posla u struci, krajem 1974. godine zaposlio se kao asistent na splitskom Institutu za nacionalnu arheologiju tadašnje Jugoslavenske (danas Hrvatske) akademije znanosti i umjetnosti iz Zagreba i

kao kustos u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, gradu u koji je tada preselio te u njemu živio i radio do pred kraj 1980. godine. I njegovo tadašnje splitsko društvo činili su danas vrlo ugledni pojedinci iz arheološke i povijesnoumjetničke struke, poput Josipa Belamarića, Jasne Jeličić Radonić, Branka Kirigina, Vanje Kovačić, Emilija Marina, Ivana Matejčića, Radoslava Tomića, fotografa Živka Bačića i, opet, Ante Miloševića. Na kraju svoje „splitske epizode”, 1980. godine, Jakšić je pod mentorstvom prof. dr. sc. Željka Jirouška (1911.-1997.) magistrirao na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu s temom *Srednjovjekovni zabati oltarskih pregrada u Dalmaciji (od Zrmanje do Cetine). Stilsko-tipološka analiza*, te je nakon toga izabran za asistenta profesoru, kasnijem akademiku, Ivi Petricioliju (1925.-2009.) na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru Sveučilišta u Splitu, što je ujedno značilo da se ponovo, a ovaj put i trajno, vraća u Zadar, grad svoga kasnoga djetinjstva i rane mladosti.

Time je započeo Jakšićev dugogodišnji rad na današnjem Odjelu za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zadru, koji će trajati punih dvadeset i devet godina (1980.-2009.), a kojima valja pridodati i još deset godina rada u vanjskoj suradnji (2009.-2019.). Tijekom djelovanja na matičnom Odsjeku/Odjelu redovito je napredovao u znanstveno-nastavnom pogledu, pa je tako 1987. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru obranio doktorsku disertaciju u polju povijesnih znanosti pod naslovom *Kiparsko klesarske radionice u Dalmaciji od 9. do 12. stoljeća*. U znanstveno-nastavno zvanje docenta izabran je 1988. godine, za izvanrednog profesora 1996., 2001. za redovitog profesora i 2005. za redovitog profesora u trajnom zvanju. Budući da je bio državni dužnosnik (vidi dalje), na vlastiti je zahtjev umirovljen 1. listopada 2009. godine u šezdesetoj i prvoj godini života, ali je kao vanjski suradnik i dalje nastavio aktivno sudjelovati u izvođenju nastave na matičnom Odjelu sve do svoje sedamdesete godine, tj. do kraja akademske godine 2018./2019. Odlukom Senata Sveučilišta u Zadru od 22. siječnja 2010. godine dodijeljeno mu je počasno znanstveno-nastavno zvanje *professor emeritus*.

Tijekom rada na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru (od 2002. Sveučilište u Zadru) održavao je nastavu iz kolegija: *Opća umjetnost srednjeg vijeka*, *Hrvatska umjetnost srednjeg vijeka*, *Muzeologija*, *Metodologija povijesti umjetnosti*, *Kršćanska ikonografija*, *Umjetnost ranog srednjeg vijeka i Bizanta*, *Umjetnost ranog kršćanstva i Bizanta*, *Umjetnost ranog srednjeg vijeka zapadne Europe*, *Hrvatska umjetnost ranog srednjeg vijeka* te iz metodoloških kolegija *Problemi likovne kulture Jadrana u 11. i 12. stoljeću* i *Metodološki pristup proučavanju predromaničke skulpture*, kao i iz više izbornih predmeta. Kao vanjski suradnik održavao je i nastavu iz kolegija *Valorizacija kulturne i prirodne baštine* na Odjelu za informatologiju i komunikologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru. U više je mandata bio izabran za predstojnika Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, a 1990. godine i za pročelnika Zavoda za povijesne znanosti tog Fakulteta. Na početku Domovinskog rata, u jesen 1991. godine, imenovan je šefom Kriznog štaba Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Od 2005. do 2007. godine bio je pročelnik Odjela za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zadru, te u istom razdoblju član Senata Sveučilišta u Zadru.

U razdoblju od 2005. do 2007. bio je član Nacionalnog vijeća za znanost Republike Hrvatske, a od 2005. do 2009. godine i član Područnog vijeća za humanističke znanosti. Zajedno s kolegama Igorom Fiskovićem i Miljenkom Jurkovićem s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu utemeljio je 1993. godine *Međunarodni istraživački centar za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek* Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Do danas je ostao član Znanstvenog vijeća tog Centra, kao i član Uredništva njegova časopisa *Hortus Artium Medievalium* koji ima velik međunarodni ugled. Jedan je od utemeljitelja međunarodnog časopisa *Patrimonio di Oreficeria Adriatica* (Venecija, 2007.), a od 2011. godine do danas član je i Uredničkog vijeća časopisa *Ars Adriatica*. Glavni je urednik edicije *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije*, objavljene u četiri toma u razdoblju od 2004. do 2008. godine. Također je jedan od utemeljitelja hrvatskog Odbora ICOMOS-a, Međunarodnog komiteta za zaštitu i obnovu povijesne i graditeljske baštine. Predsjedao je i Skupštini kulturne sekcije Alpe-Adria na Brijunima 1994. godine.

Krajem osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća Nikola Jakšić aktivno se uključio i u politiku. Naime, tijekom 1989. godine pridružio se pokretu Franje Tuđmana (1922.-1999.), kasnijeg predsjednika Republike Hrvatske, koji je za svoj glavni cilj imao rušenje komunističkog sustava u tadašnjoj socijalističkoj



Članovi prvoga Općinskog odbora HDZ-a Zadar s Franjom Tuđmanom na brodu *Michelle* na posljednjem skupu stranke održanom u Zadru 19. travnja 1990. godine pred prve višestranačke izbore u Hrvatskoj; stoje s lijeva na desno: Zdenko Matešić, Radovan Dunatov, Hrvoje Matanović, Nikola Jakšić, Antun Brkan, Franjo Tuđman, Zlatko Begonja, Eduard Bajlo, Martin Dražina, Bruno Fuzul, Vice Profaca, Mile Gverić; sjedi: Carl Gustaf Ströhm (novinar *Deutsche Wellea*) (foto: B. Vugdelija; © H. Matanović)

Members of the first Municipal Committee of HDZ with Franjo Tuđman aboard the Michelle, in Zadar on 19th April 1990, at the party's last assembly before the first multi-party elections in Croatia; standing from left to right: Zdenko Matešić, Radovan Dunatov, Hrvoje Matanović, Nikola Jakšić, Antun Brkan, Franjo Tuđman, Zlatko Begonja, Eduard Bajlo, Martin Dražina, Bruno Fuzul, Vice Profaca, Mile Gverić; sitting down: Carl Gustaf Ströhm (reporter for Deutsche Welle)

Jugoslaviji, demokratizaciju društva i uvođenje višestranačja te stvaranje samostalne hrvatske države. Tako je Jakšić s nizom svojih bliskih suradnika (Zlatko Begonja, Martin Dražina, Hrvoje Matanović, Antun Brkan, Vice Profaca, Radovan Dunatov...) 23. prosinca 1989. godine utemeljio Općinski odbor Hrvatske demokratske zajednice (HDZ-a) u Zadru, te je tom prilikom izabran za njegova prvoga predsjednika. Nakon zaživljenja višestranačja u tadašnjoj Hrvatskoj, na prvim višestranačkim izborima održanima tijekom travnja i svibnja 1990. godine i pobjede HDZ-a Franje Tuđmana, Nikola Jakšić je izabran za zastupnika u Saboru Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske koji je konstituiran 30. svibnja 1990. godine. U tadašnjem trodomnom parlamentu koji se sastojao od triju vijeća, Jakšić je obnašao dužnost potpredsjednika Društveno-političkog vijeća Sabora. Zanimljivo je spomenuti da upravo njegov potpis, kao potpredsjednika tog Vijeća (zbog privremene odsutnosti predsjednika Ivana Vekića /1938.-2014./), a uz potpise predsjednika ostalih dvaju domova Ivana Matije i Slavka Degoricije te samog predsjednika Sabora Žarka Domljana (1932.-2020.), stoji na Odluci o proglašenju amandmanâ 64. do 75. na Ustav tadašnje Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske od 25. srpnja 1990. godine. Tim je amandmanima, između ostaloga, iz službenog naziva države izbrisan pridjev "Socijalistička" te je ostalo samo "Republika Hrvatska", uvedeni su nazivi "predsjednika Republike" umjesto "predsjednika Predsjedništva", "Vlade Republike Hrvatske" umjesto "Izvršnog vijeća Sabora" te „ministra" umjesto „republičkog sekretara", a definiran je i izgled službene zastave Republike Hrvatske s povijesnim hrvatskim grbom u sredini.



Nikola Jakšić i Ante Uglešić, tadašnji rektor Sveučilišta u Zadru, prilikom dodjele počasnoga znanstveno-nastavnog zvanja *professor emeritus* Nikoli Jakšiću na svečanoj sjednici povodom Dana Sveučilišta u Zadru (*Dies academicus*) 25. ožujka 2010. godine (foto: M. Radolović Mrlja; © Sveučilište u Zadru)

Ante Uglešić, the then Rector of Zadar University, bestowing the rank of professor emeritus to Nikola Jakšić on Dies academicus in Zadar on 25th March 2010

Mandat saborskog zastupnika Jakšiću je trajao do 1992. godine, kada je u jeku Domovinskog rata (1991.-1995.), a nakon osamostaljenja i međunarodnog priznanja Republike Hrvatske, imenovan doministrom za kulturu u tadašnjem Ministarstvu prosvjete, kulture i sporta te je na tom mjestu proveo trideset mjeseci sa zaduženjem za vođenje republičkih programa zaštite i obnove spomenika kulture, a zatim arhivske, muzejske i izdavačke djelatnosti. Tako je kao ratni doministar za kulturu, u nesretnim vremenima oružane agresije na Hrvatsku, skrbio za kulturnu i spomeničku baštinu, a što je u tim okolnostima bila vrlo odgovorna dužnost. Nadalje, Jakšićevim je nastojanjem ustrojena i služba zaštite spomenika kulture u Istri (koja je time odvojena od riječkog Zavoda), bio je predsjednik Odbora za izgradnju Restauratorske radionice u Ludbregu (danas najopremljenija restauratorska radionica u Hrvatskoj), a predsjedavao je i Upravnim odborom Zavoda za obnovu Dubrovnika. Također je obavljao i niz drugih stručno-upravnih funkcija na koje ga je imenovala Vlada Republike Hrvatske. Njegova aktivnost u „visokoj politici” završila je 1995. godine povratkom na matični Fakultet, a u potpunosti je okončana napuštanjem stranke krajem 1997. godine.

Od strane studenata, pa tako i svojih kolega, profesor Jakšić je oduvijek smatran jednim od naj-sugestivnijih predavača na Sveučilištu u Zadru. Kvaliteta zadarskog Odjela za povijest umjetnosti, posebice srednjovjekovnih kolegija, uvelike je ovisila upravo o njegovu angažmanu. Naime, generacije i generacije studenata napajale su se entuzijazmom i zanesenjačkim uranjanjem u materiju kojim su mu odisala sva predavanja iz ranokršćanske, ranosrednjovjekovne i bizantske umjetnosti, a koja su produkt njegovih izvanrednih retoričkih sposobnosti. U tom pogledu Jakšić je imao od koga učiti, jer je velik utjecaj na razvoj njegovih didaktičkih vještina imao omiljeni mu profesor iz student-

skih dana, kako je jednom prigodom i sam napisao, nezaboravni i neponovljivi Branimir Gabričević (1915.-1996.), dugogodišnji profesor klasične, provincijalne i starokršćanske arheologije na tadašnjem Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru. Pronicljivost koju je imao „otac povijesti umjetnosti kod Hrvata” Ljubo Karaman (1886.-1971.), zatim Petriciolijeva akribičnost i snaga argumentacije, te Gabričevićeva vještina izlaganja i prezentacije sretno su spojeni u znanstveno-nastavnom radu Nikole Jakšića. Tomu svakako valja pridružiti i urođenu znanstvenu intuiciju kakvu je posjedovao Stjepan Gunjača (1909.-1981.), njegov prvi mentor iz splitskih dana s početka profesionalne karijere, a to sve zajedno predstavlja osnovna formativna polazišta koja je Jakšić spretno ujedinio te kasnije razvijao i nadograđivao u svom znanstvenom radu i nastavničkoj djelatnosti.

Što se znanstvenog rada tiče, Jakšić je svoj interes u najvećoj mjeri usmjeravao na proučavanje umjetničkih fenomena na Jadranu u razdoblju od sredine 8. do početka 12. stoljeća. Nemjerljiv je njegov doprinos metodologiji proučavanja ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture, koju je razvio na temeljima što ih je postavio Ivo Petricioli. Najprije svojim magistarskim i doktorskim radom, a zatim i objavom velikog broja znanstvenih radova, definirao je čitav niz vrlo precizno datiranih klesarskih produkcija, i to uglavnom 9. stoljeća. Njegove su teze i metodologija rada s vremenom odoljele kritičkom preispitivanju struke te se kontinuirano potvrđuju i nadopunjuju od strane niza drugih istraživača iste problematike. Značajan dio njegova znanstvenog opusa čine i radovi posvećeni fenomenima likovne umjetnosti kasnoga srednjeg vijeka, ali i srednjovjekovne povijesne topografije zadarskog područja. Autor je brojnih znanstvenih priloga o remek-djelima dalmatinskoga i kvarnerskog zlatarstva te minijaturnoga slikarstva, izvlačeći ih iz skrovitosti biblioteka, zbirki i riznica te im pronalazeći analogije među europskim, ponajviše talijanskim primjerima.

Profesor Jakšić oduvijek je bio svjestan važnosti izlaska naše struke u europsku znanstvenu javnost, sudjelujući na brojnim međunarodnim znanstvenim skupovima u zemlji i inozemstvu te ostvarujući vrijednu suradnju i kontakte s mnogim stranim, poglavito talijanskim arheolozima, povjesničarima i povjesničarima umjetnosti, među kojima je poznat i veoma cijenjen, o čemu svjedoči i velik broj njihovih priloga u ovom zborniku. Kao stručnjak za probleme srednjeg vijeka bio je koautor više važnih muzeoloških projekata, od kojih se posebno ističu sljedeći: stalni postav u Muzeju hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu 1974. godine; *Tisuću godina hrvatskog kiparstva* 1991. godine u Zagrebu; *I Croati - Cristianesimo, Cultura, Arte* u Vatikanu 1999.-2000.



Nikola Jakšić u crkvi Santa Maria *foris portas* u Castelsepriju (Italija) u lipnju 2018. godine (foto: A. Milošević)

Nikola Jakšić in the Church of Santa Maria foris portas in Castelseprio (Italy) in June 2018

godine; *Hrvati i Karolinzi* u Splitu 2000.-2001. godine (u sklopu međunarodnog projekta *Karlo Veliki i stvaranje Europe*) te *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi* u Brescii 2001. godine. Autor je izložbe *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti* održane u Zagrebu 2006. godine koja je u anketi kulturnih djelatnika *Vjesnika* proglašena za kulturni događaj godine u Hrvatskoj. Također je bio i autor izložbe *Kroatien – Wiege europäischer Kultur, Kunstschatze 800-1300* koja je održana u Beču 2010. godine. Priredio je i hrvatsku izložbu u Parizu koja je održana povodom ulaska Republike Hrvatske u Europsku uniju u Musée de Cluny 2012.-2013. godine, pod naslovom *”Et ils s’émerveillèrent” – L’art médiéval en Croatie*, a pod pokroviteljstvom tadašnje dvojice predsjednikâ, predsjednika Republike Hrvatske Ive Josipovića i predsjednika Francuske Republike François Hollande.

U razdoblju od 1998. do 2002. godine vodio je znanstveni projekt *Starohrvatska umjetnost*, od 2003. do 2007. *Predromanička umjetnost na istočnoj obali Jadrana*, a od 2007. do 2013. *Umjetnička baština Jadrana od kasne antike do romanike*. Tijekom sveučilišne karijere imao je ukupno tri asistentice i jednog asistenta koje je uzimao kao znanstvene novake na gore navedenim projektima. Njegova prva asistentica bila je mr. sc. Nataša Mučalo (dj. Novak), danas ravnateljica Državnog arhiva u Šibeniku, zatim dr. sc. Magdalena Skoblar, trenutno samostalna istraživačica te bivša znanstvena suradnica Sveučilišta u Yorku i „Britanske škole u Rimu” (*British School at Rome*), a posljednjih dvoje asistenata bili su mu dr. sc. Meri Zornija (dj. Opačić) i dr. sc. Ivan Josipović, danas docenti na Odjelu za povijest umjetnosti zadarskoga Sveučilišta. Svima je njima Jakšić bio mentor prilikom izrade magistarskih ili doktorskih radova, a što je podrazumijevalo i njegovo sudjelovanje u radu više poslijediplomskih studija. Tako je ranije bio angažiran na tri poslijediplomska studija, i to na zajedničkom Poslijediplomskom studiju Arhitektonskog fakulteta u Zagrebu i Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru pod nazivom *Graditeljska baština*, gdje je bio voditelj triju kolegija, zatim na Poslijediplomskom studiju informatologije i komunikologije na Sveučilištu u Zadru s jednim kolegijem, te na Poslijediplomskom (magistarskom) studiju povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu s jednim kolegijem. U novije vrijeme, tj. od 2007. do 2014. godine, bio je angažiran i na Poslijediplomskom doktorskom studiju povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, a trenutno participira u radu Poslijediplomskog studija *Humanističke znanosti* na Sveučilištu u Zadru.

Godine 2001., kao jedan od autora knjige *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, bio je dobitnik kolektivne nagrade *Josip Juraj Strossmayer* za najbolje znanstveno djelo s područja humanističkih znanosti u 2000. godini, a primio je i državno odlikovanje *Reda hrvatskog trolista* koje se dodjeljuje za osobite zasluge za Republiku Hrvatsku stečene u ratu, izravnoj ratnoj opasnosti ili u iznimnim okolnostima u miru.

Kako to obično biva, teško je u par stranica teksta predočiti sve ono što neku osobu čini neponovljivom i posebnom u svoj njezinoj ukupnosti. Tako je i u ovom slučaju! Veličinu profesora Nikole Jakšića zasigurno neće dočarati tek puko nabranje događaja iz njegova života, znanstvene i nastavničke ili pak političke karijere. Svemu tomu on je svojom pojavnošću, karakterom, načinom komuniciranja, smislom za humor, vrlinama i manama, jednom riječju – karizmom, uvijek davao poseban „štih”, onaj koji u ovakvoj vrsti teksta uvijek izmiče „mreži” opisnih rečenica kronološki složenog i suhoparnog životopisa. Jer s njim naprosto nikad nije bilo dosadno: on je poseban i kao entuzijastični predavač za sveučilišnom katedrom kojega se očarano i zadivljeno slušalo, i kao znanstvenik s nepogrešivim darom da u sitnom detalju uoči svu puninu i kompleksnost nekoga povijesnog događaja, i kao umjereni, ali uvjereni hrvatski rodoljub koji se odlučio i politički angažirati, nepogrešivo čitajući znakove vremena presudne za budućnost njegove zemlje i naroda...

Stoga, tek ostaje da poštovanom profesoru Jakšiću, ili kako ga članovi obitelji te bliski prijatelji i poznanici zovu – našem *Fantu*, od srca čestitam njegov sedamdeseti rođendan, uz želje za dugim životom, dobrim zdravljem i nastavkom dosadašnje uspješne karijere!

Za kraj, simbolično zaključujem ovaj tekst subjektivno izabranom pjesmom koja svojim motivima dočarava toponime i prirodne pojave iz zajedničkog nam zavičaja, tj. moga podbiokovskoga priobalja i njegova *sělaščkęga kråja*, a koje dijeli tek more Bračkog kanala... A evo i te pjesme njegova oca Zlatana, posvećene sestri Sonji i njemu.

BURA PO LEVANTU

Sonji i sinu Fantu

*Ko je diga jidro i katârku,
prigori bi iljadârku,
da se ni ukrca u barku.
(To ti je ka sveto Vandêlje po Marku
kojo se čita u Nediju).*

*Slidi – turizam po Matiju,
pa izmolmo pet očenaših
za one koji su se došli
kupati u Opatiju.*

*Slidi Vandêlje po Ivanu,
a odnosi se na krčmu i kavanu.
Slidu dva refula priko Vruje.
Kapetane, dajmo se malo nuje!*

*Gospoda u gvante,
težaci u debje mudante,
vitar u grego levante,
ili ti ga bura po levântu...
a konji i kraji po fântu...*

*briškula po kârgù,
šezdeset i jedan po vrâgù...
i žena mužu u tragù...*

*obula je postole namisto papûče,
pa komu ča u repu pûče.*

Zlatan Jakšić

kompilacija dviju inačica istoimene pjesme objavljenih u:
Snig na Braču i druge pjesme, Selca – Brač, 1977., str. 37;
Vrime od škoja, Zadar, 1988., str. 64

IN HONOUR OF PROF. NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ – A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

Nikola Jakšić was born on 19th May 1949 in Belgrade, in the home of his maternal grandfather, a great German and Yugoslav (Serbian) historian of Russian descent and Academy member Georgiy Aleksandrovich Ostrogorskiy (1902-1976; Russian: *Георгий Александрович Острогорский*), one of the most important Byzantinist worldwide. It was in Jakšić's hometown that his father Zlatan Jakšić (1924-2007), then a Belgrade student who went on to become a long-time Zadar university professor and one of the most prominent poets in the Croatian Chakavian dialect in the second half of the 20th century, met and married his mother Olga (Olja) Ostrogorski-Jakšić (1928), who would also become a university lecturer. On his paternal side he came from an old peasant family from Selca on the Croatian island of Brač and on his mother's side from an urban Russian family from St. Petersburg, a fact that will greatly affect the environment in which Nikola Jakšić grew up and to a great extent his subsequent choice of profession. Very soon after Jakšić was born, his family left Belgrade and for a while stayed in Selca, where his father had been born, after which they were bounced around Croatia to three different locations. First, as punishment, they were sent to Raša in Istria, where his sister Sonja was born in 1953; then relocated to Knin where Zlatan and Olga taught at a secondary school and little Nikola started elementary school. Finally, in 1959 they settled in Zadar where Jakšić's parents started working as university lecturers soon after the University of Zadar was founded. His father used to teach *Serbian Literature* and *Methodology of Teaching Croatian Language and Literature* at the Department for Croato-Serbian language and Yugoslav Literature (now the Department of Croatian Studies at the University of Zadar), and his mother was a teacher and lector for the Russian language at the Department of Russian Language and Literature (now the Department of Russian Studies).

Nikola Jakšić finished elementary school in Zadar, where he also graduated from grammar school in 1968. That same year he started studying English and Russian language and literature at the Zadar Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, but a year later switched to a double-major course in art history and archaeology. While still an undergraduate student, in 1972 he married Elvira (née Žodan) and that same year their only son Tomislav was born. During his studies Jakšić moved in circles that were very much marked by the events of the famed Croatian Spring, surrounded by people who later became eminent professionals in the scientific and cultural arena. Let me list only some of them here: his then closest friend and best man, the late Franjo Smiljanić (1951-2012), a long-standing history professor at the Zadar Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; Nino Novak, who retired from what is now the Conservation Department in Rijeka; Novak's colleague from Šibenik Josip Ćuzela (Jakšić's classmate from the Knin elementary school); Ante Milošević, later on Head of the Museum of Cetinska krajina in Sinj and one of the most successful directors of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split; Radomir Jurić, later on Head of the Zadar Archaeological Museum; Tonči Burić, archaeologist and a long-standing member of staff in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split; as well as his two recently deceased friends, a Šibenik conservator and Croatian war veteran Boris Lapov (1952-2020), and Slobodan Čače (1946-2020), a beloved professor of ancient history in what is now the Department of History at the Zadar University.

Jakšić graduated from university in 1974 and was immediately taken on as curator in the Modern Gallery of the Zadar National Museum. However, after a probationary period of three months, he was let go following the intervention of the Zadar Municipal Committee of the Communist Party of Croatia, with the explanation that he was one of student leaders during the Croatian Spring. After that it was not possible for him to find work in his field in Zadar, so towards

the end of 1974 he started working as assistant in the Split Institute for National Archaeology of the then Yugoslav (now Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, and as curator in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, where he then moved to live and work until the end of 1980. In Split too he became part of the scene that included individuals who are now renowned experts in archaeology and art history, such as Josip Belamarić, Jasna Jeličić Radonić, Branko Kirigin, Vanja Kovačić, Emilio Marin, Ivan Matejčić, Radoslav Tomić, photographer Živko Bačić and, once again, Ante Milošević. At the end of his "Split episode" in 1980, under the mentorship of Professor Željko Jiroušek, PhD (1911-1997), he got his master's degree at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb with the thesis *Medieval Gables of Altar Screens in Dalmatia (from Zrmanja to Cetina). Stylistic and typological analysis*, after which he was appointed assistant to Professor and subsequent Academic Ivo Petricoli (1925-2009) in the Department of Art History at the Zadar Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences within the Split University. This also meant that he returned, this time permanently, to Zadar, the town where he spent the last days of his childhood and early youth.

This marks the beginning of Jakšić's long career in what is now the Department of Art History at the Zadar University that would last as long as 29 years (1980-2009), after which he worked for ten more years as an external associate (2009-2019). Never putting his work in the department on hold, he continued to make strides both as a scientist and a lecturer and in 1987 defended his doctoral thesis in the field of historical sciences entitled *Stone Carving Workshops in Dalmatia from the 9th until 12th Century*. He was appointed assistant professor in 1988, associate professor in 1996, in 2001 he became full professor and in 2005 he was granted full professorship tenure. Since he was a state



Ivan Matejčić, Ante Milošević i Nikola Jakšić prilikom degustacije furlanskih specijaliteta u Cividale del Friuliju (Italija) u studenome 2003. godine (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Ivan Matejčić, Ante Milošević and Nikola Jakšić at a tasting of Friulian specialties in Cividale del Friuli (Italy) in November 2003



Đuro Vidmarović, Janko Vranyczany-Dobrinović i Nikola Jakšić na sjednici Hrvatskog sabora
13. veljače 1992. godine (foto: B. Buzančić; © Đ. Vidmarović)

Đuro Vidmarović, Janko Vranyczany-Dobrinović and Nikola Jakšić during a session of the Croatian parliament on 13th February 1992

official (see below), at his own request he was retired on 1st October 2009 at the age of 61, but continued to actively teach as external associate in his Department until he turned 70, i. e. at the end of the academic year 2018/2019. On 22nd January 2010 the Senate of the Zadar University granted him the honorary title of *professor emeritus*.

While working at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar (since 2002 the University of Zadar), he taught the following courses: *Medieval Art - General Review, Croatian Art in Middle Ages, Museology, Methodology of Art History, Christian Iconography, Early Medieval and Byzantine Art, Early Christian and Byzantine Art, Early Medieval Art in Western Europe, Croatian Early Mediaeval Art, methodology courses Issues in the Visual Art on the Adriatic in the 11th and 12th century and Methodological Approach to Studying Pre-Romanesque Sculpture* as well as a number of elective courses. As external associate he taught the course *Valorisation of Cultural and Natural Heritage* in the Department of Information Sciences of the Zadar University. He served several terms as Head of the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar, and in 1990 he was elected Chair of the Institute for Historical Sciences at the same Faculty. After the Croatian War of Independence broke out in the autumn of 1991, he was appointed chief of the crisis management team of the Zadar Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. From 2005 until 2007 he was Head of the Department of Art History at the Zadar University and a member of the Zadar University Senate.

In the period from 2005 until 2007 he was a member of the National Council for Science of the Republic of Croatia and from 2005 until 2009 a member of the Regional Humanities Council. In 1993, together with colleagues Igor Fisković and Miljenko Jurković from the Department of Art History of the Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, he founded the International

Research Center for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages of University of Zagreb. He remains a member of the Centre's Scientific Council as well as a member of editorial staff of its internationally acclaimed journal *Hortus Artium Medievalium*. He is one of the founders of the international publication *Patrimonio di Oreficeria Adriatica* (Venice, 2007), and since 2011 he has been an editorial board member of the *Ars Adriatica – Journal of the Department of Art History of University of Zadar*. He is also editor-in-chief of the *Artistic Heritage of the Zadar Archdiocese*, which came out in four volumes in the period from 2004 until 2008. In addition to this, he is one of the founders of the Croatian Committee for ICOMOS, International Council on Monuments and Sites, dedicated to protection and conservation of historical and building heritage. Also, he presided over the Assembly of the Cultural Section of Alps-Adriatic held on Brijuni in 1994.

In the late 1980s Nikola Jakšić started to take active part in political life. In 1989 he joined the movement started by Franjo Tuđman (1922-1999), who was to become President of the Republic of Croatia. Its main goal was to overthrow the Communist regime in what was then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, introduce democracy and pluralism and achieve Croatian statehood. Jakšić, along with a number of his close collaborators (Zlatko Begonja, Martin Dražina, Hrvoje Matanović, Antun Brkan, Vice Profaca, Radovan Dunatov...) founded the Municipal Committee of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in Zadar on 23rd December 1989 and was elected its first



Radoslav Katičić i Nikola Jakšić na Vidovoj gori na otoku Braču u rujnu 2009. godine (foto: A. Milošević)
Radoslav Katičić and Nikola Jakšić on the Vidova gora peak on the island of Brač in September 2009

chair. After the multi-party system was introduced in Croatia, Franjo Tuđman's HDZ won the first pluralist elections in the April and May of 1990. Nikola Jakšić was elected to Sabor, the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which was constituted on 30th May 1990. In what was a tricameral parliament at that time, Jakšić held the office of Vice Chairman of one of three Sabor's councils, the Social and Political Council. Interestingly, it is his signature as Vice Chairman of the Council (in the temporary absence of the Council's Chairman Ivan Vekić /1938-2014/), along with the signatures of Chairmen of two other parliament chambers Ivan Matija and Slavko Degoricija, and of Žarko Domljan (1932-2020), Speaker of Sabor, that is signed under the Decision on Proclaiming Amendments 64 to 75 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, passed on 25th July 1990. These amendments proposed that the adjective "socialist" be deleted, leaving only the wording "Republic of Croatia", they introduced the terms "President of the Republic" instead of "President of the Presidium", "the Government of the Republic of Croatia" instead of "the Executive Committee of Sabor" and "minister" instead of "Republic secretary". It also specified the design for the flag of the Republic of Croatia with a historical Croatian coat of arms at its centre.

Jakšić stayed on as a Member of Parliament until 1992, when in the midst of the Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995), after Croatia declared independence and received international recognition, he was appointed Deputy Minister of Culture in what was then Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. During his 30 months in office he was in charge of implementing national programmes for monument protection and reconstruction and handling archival, museum and publishing activities. As a war-time Deputy Minister of Culture in those unfortunate times of aggression against Croatia he was looking after cultural and architectural heritage, a very responsible duty under the circumstances. Also, it was owing to Jakšić's efforts that the office for protection of cultural monuments opened in Istria, autonomous from the Rijeka Institute. In addition to this,



Nikola Jakšić na izložbi *Velká Morava a počátky křesťanství* u Bratislavi (Slovačka) u listopadu 2015. godine (foto: A. Milošević)

Nikola Jakšić at the exhibition Velká Morava a počátky křesťanství in Bratislava (Slovakia) in October 2015

he presided over the Committee for the Construction of Restoration Workshop in Ludbreg (now the best equipped restoration workshop in Croatia), as well as the Management Board of the Institute for Restoration of Dubrovnik. He took on a number of other professional and executive functions to which he was appointed by the government of the Republic of Croatia. His activity in high politics stopped in 1995 when he returned to the Faculty and finally ended in the late 1997 when he left the party.

Students as well as colleagues have always considered Professor Jakšić one of the most suggestive lecturers of the Zadar University. The Zadar Department of Art History, especially its medieval courses, owed its level of quality primarily to his dedication. Generations upon generations of students were inspired by the passion and enthusiastic immersion into the subject matter that was so typical of all his lectures on early Christian, early Medieval and Byzantine art, which sprang from his extraordinary rhetorical ability. In that respect Jakšić had good role models: as he himself once wrote, his didactical skills developed to a great degree under the influence of his favourite university teacher, the one and only, unforgettable Branimir Gabričević (1915-1996), who used to teach classical, provincial and old Christian archaeology at what was then the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zadar. The astuteness of "the father of Croatian art history" Ljubo Karaman (1886-1971), Petricoli's acribia and argumentative powers and Gabričević's presentational skills have been successfully married in the scientific and educational achievements of Nikola Jakšić. To this we must certainly add the kind of natural scientific intuition that characterized Stjepan Gunjača (1909-1981), under whom he worked during his Split days when he was beginning his

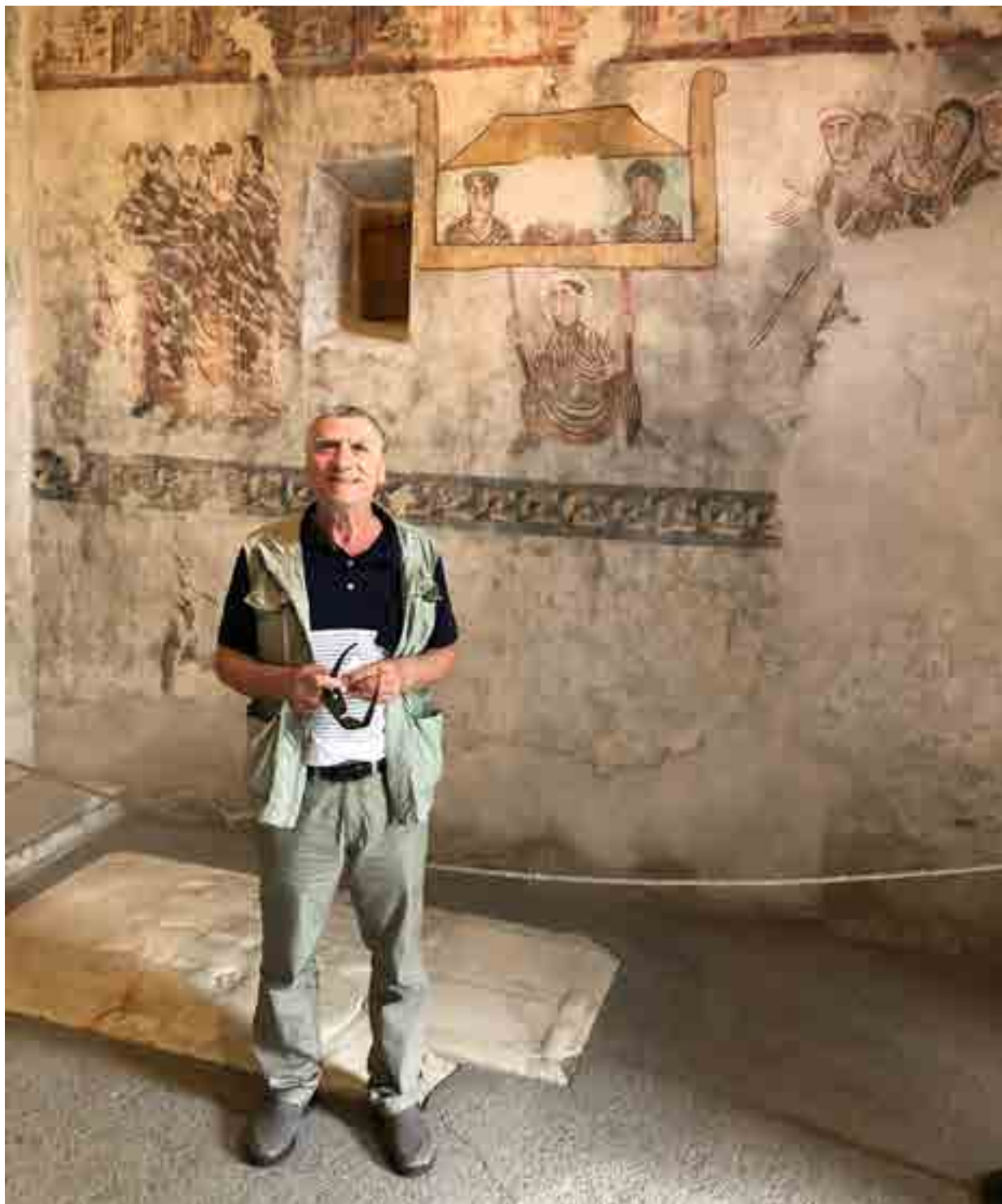


Ivan Matejčić, Nikola Jakšić i Ante Milošević na Brijunima u proljeće 2014. godine (© A. Milošević)

Ivan Matejčić, Nikola Jakšić and Ante Milošević on Brijuni in the spring of 2014

career. Jakšić managed to blend all these formative points, developing and building on them both in his scientific endeavours and his educational work.

His scientific interests Jakšić focused mostly on studying artistic phenomena on the Adriatic in the period from mid-8th century until the early 12th century. Immeasurable is his contribution to the methodology of studying early medieval sculpture, which he developed on the foundations



Nikola Jakšić u crkvi San Procolo u Naturnu (Italija) u lipnju 2018. godine (foto: A. Milošević)
Nikola Jakšić in the Church of San Procolo in Naturno (Italy) in June 2018

laid by Ivo Petricioli. First in his master's and doctoral thesis and then by publishing a number of scientific papers, he defined a host of very precisely dated stone carving productions, predominantly from the 9th century. His theses and methodology have withstood the test of time and critical approach of his peers and are being constantly complemented by many other researchers in the same field. A significant portion of his scientific work was dedicated to the art phenomena from the late Middle Ages as well as the medieval historical topography of the Zadar area. He wrote numerous scientific contributions about masterpieces of goldsmith's art and illuminated manuscripts in Dalmatia and Kvarner, unearthing them from libraries, collections and treasure troves and finding their analogies throughout Europe, primarily in Italy.

Professor Jakšić has always been aware of how important it was for experts in our field to venture out into European scientific circles, participate in various international scientific gatherings at home and abroad and establish valuable collaborations and contacts with many foreign, especially Italian, archaeologists, historians as well as art historians. He himself was a well-known art historian of high repute, to which a great number of his contributions in this book bear witness. As an expert on medieval issues, he co-authored several important museological projects among which the following stand out: permanent collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split in 1974; *Thousand Years of Croatian Sculpture* in 1991 in Zagreb; *I Croati - Cristianesimo, Cultura, Arte* in Vatican 1999-2000; *Croats and Carolingians* in Split 2000-2001 (for the international project *Charlemagne: The Making of Europe*) and *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi* in Brescia 2001. He curated the exhibition *The First Five Centuries of Croatian Art* held in Zagreb in 2006, which was voted the Croatian cultural event of the year in the survey of the cultural professionals in the *Vjesnik* newspaper. He was a curator for the exhibition *Kroatien – Wiege europäischer Kultur, Kunstschatze 800-1300*, held in Vienna in 2010. In 2012-2013, when the Republic of Croatia was admitted to the European Union, in Paris he organized a Croatian exhibition in Musée de Cluny, entitled "*Et ils s'émerveillèrent*" – *L'art médiéval en Croatie*", under the sponsorship of the two presidents at the time, the president of the Republic of Croatia Ivo Josipović and the president of the French Republic François Hollande.

From 1998 until 2002 he headed the scientific project *Old Croatian Art*, from 2003 until 2007 *Pre-Romanesque Art on the Eastern Adriatic Coast* and from 2007 until 2013 *The Artistic Heritage of the Adriatic from Late Antiquity until the Romanesque Period*. Throughout his university career he had a total of three female assistants and one male assistant that he included as junior researchers in the projects listed above. His first assistant was Nataša Mučalo (née Novak), MSc, now Head of the State Archives in Šibenik, then Magdalena Skoblar, PhD, currently an independent researcher and a former Research Associate of the University of York and a Research Fellow of the British School at Rome. His last two assistants were Meri Zornija (née Opačić), PhD, and Ivan Josipović, PhD, now assistant professors in the Department of Art History at the Zadar University. Jakšić mentored all of them while they were writing their master's or doctoral thesis, which meant he actively contributed to several postgraduate study programmes. He was previously involved in three postgraduate study programmes. One was a joint postgraduate study programme of the Zagreb Faculty of Architecture and the Zadar Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences called *Built Heritage*, where he taught three courses. At the Postgraduate Study Programme in Information and Communication Sciences of the Zadar University he taught one course, and another at the Masters Study Programme in Art History of the Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. More recently, from 2007 until 2014, he was teaching at the Postgraduate Doctoral Study Programme in Art History of the Zagreb Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and is currently contributing to the postgraduate study programme *The Humanities* of the Zadar University.

In 2001, as one of the authors of the book *Croats and Carolingians*, he received the collective award *Josip Juraj Strossmayer* for the best scientific work in the field of humanities for 2000. He

was also awarded the Order of the Croatian Trefoil, a state medal given for outstanding achievements in the service of the Republic of Croatia during war, direct war danger or extraordinary circumstances in peacetime.

Several pages of text are hardly ever enough to illustrate everything that makes a person unique and special and this case is no exception! What makes Professor Nikola Jakšić truly great will certainly not be illustrated by merely listing events from his life, scientific, professorial or political career. All of them were enhanced by his personality, character, ways of communication, sense of humour, his strengths and weaknesses, in a word - his charisma that has always provided that special touch, the kind that eludes descriptive sentences in a chronologically ordered and dry resume. With him you will simply never be bored: he is one of a kind as an enthusiastic lecturer on the dais to whom you listen in trance and in awe; as a scientist with an unerring gift to infer the complexity and totality of a historical event from the smallest detail; as well as a moderate but ardent Croatian patriot who decided to take part in political life, astutely reading signs of the times that would prove vital to the future of his country and his people...

So all that is now left for me to do is to wish Professor Jakšić, or as his family, close friends and acquaintances call him, our Fant, a very happy seventieth birthday, a long life, good health and new chapters in his successful career!

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EXHIBITION PROJECTS

Autorship of major exhibition projects (national and international)

1. *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2006.
2. *Kroatien - Wiege europäischer Kultur, Kunstschatze 800-1300*, Beč, 2010.
3. *Et ils s'émerveillèrent - L'art médiéval en Croatie*, Pariz, 2012.

Co-authorship of major exhibition projects (national and international)

1. *Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture*, Zagreb, 1991 (co-author).
2. *I Croati – Cristianesimo, Cultura, Arte*, Vatikan, 1999-2000 (co-author).
3. *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, Split, 2000 (co-author).
4. *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi*, Brescia, 2001 (co-author).

THE MIDDLE AGES NIKOLE JAKŠIĆA

U Split sam došao s muzikološke specijalizacije u Rimu krajem proljeća 1978. godine. Mislio sam: u prolazu i na kratko. Ali karte su se ubrzo složile suprotno mojim planovima te sam tu ostao do danas. Nikola Jakšić, u to doba kustos splitskoga Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, bio je, a da to vjerojatno i ne zna, među mojih par prijatelja koji su bitno utjecali na to da se posvetim povijesti umjetnosti, za što mu se ovdje odužujem s tek nekoliko prigodnih riječi.

Raca mu je garantirala uistinu osobit značaj! Sin je Zlatana Jakšića, uglednog slavista rodom iz bračkih Selaca, ali i značajnoga čakavskog pjesnika. Djed po majci bio mu je sâm Georgij Aleksandrovič Ostrogorski, jedan od najznamenitijih svjetskih bizantologa († 1976.). Nikoli je dakle, u najmanju ruku, bila zajamčena iznimna radna energija! Bio je uvijek iskričav, pronicljiv, pouzdanih intuicija, držao je do stvarnih prijateljstava. Imponirala je njegova beskompromisnost! U Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika uveo ga je akademik Stjepan Gunjača. Sjećam se kolokvija na kojemu se između mentora hrvatske arheološke discipline s jedne strane i tadašnjega mladog asistenta s druge zapodjenula bučna rasprava koja je sličila pravoj edipovskoj pobuni. Bilo je to u danima kada je Gunjača dočekao ostvarenje svoga životnog sna, trenutak kada je mogao konačno raspustiti karavanu kojom je tijekom nekoliko desetljeća od postaje do postaje prenosio čitavu građu MHAS-a, da bi joj konačno osigurao dostojan dom na splitskim Mejama.

Jakšićeva splitska epizoda došla je kraju nakon što je obranio magisterij o zabatima srednjovjekovnih oltarnih ograda u Dalmaciji. Mentor mu je bio Željko Jiroušek, profesor na zagrebačkoj povijesti umjetnosti, čovjek velikog znanja koji je zbog nekih psiholoških blokada postigao malo od onoga što je kanio i mogao učiniti. Dosljedna stilsko-tipološka analiza, kao metodološki ključ kojim se Jakšić koristio u pisanju magistarske teze, bila je zapravo već trasirana brojnim radovima zadarskoga profesora Ive Petriciolija, kod kojega je Jakšić studirao, pa se možemo zapitati što je bio razlog da se odabirom mentorstva prilikom pisanja magisterija od njega za trenutak odmaknuo. Bilo kako bilo, nakon obrane magistarskog rada postao je njegov asistent na Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti tadašnjega Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru.

Značajke Petriciolijeve pozitivističke povijesnoumjetničke metode, često više deskriptivne nego analitičke, Jakšić je učvrstio i u znatnoj mjeri otvorio prema novim horizontima. Profesor Petricioli je, na primjer, Karamanov narativni model povijesti ranosrednjovjekovne arhitekture i skulpture zamijenio rigorozno formalističkim topološkim i tipološkim deskripcijama.¹ Jakšić je svojim senzibilitetom prema složenostima društvenih prilika i, posebno, prema antropogeografiji, dao nužnu elastičnost tom specifičnom – kako bih ga rado nazvao – „formalističkom interpretativnom modelu zadarske škole”. Tako, primjerice, u jednom od svojih ranih, prekretničkih tekstova po prvi puta pod jednim lukom analizira karakteristične oblike nakita u vrijeme anžuvinske vlasti u Dalmaciji, Hrvatskoj i Bosni. U fokus je stavio poznate trojagodne naušnice izrađene u tehnici filigrana i granulacije, a u kojima je ranija literatura u pravilu vidjela produkciju „domaćih” zlatara iz vremena narodne dinastije. Sveobuhvatnom analizom niza zatvorenih grobnih cjelina koje je moguće precizno datirati, a koje su sadržavale i taj nakitni tip, te pozivajući se na arhivske vijesti o djelatnosti zapadnoeuropskih zlatara udomačenih u dalmatinskim gradovima 14. i 15. stoljeća, uvjerljivo je dokazao da su zlatarski proizvodi, uz koje u ispravama često dolazi epitet „bosanski”, mogli nastati u zlatarskim radionicama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih komuna. U tome je vidio *historijski prirodno i nužno jedinstvo*

¹ Sjetimo se samo Karamanovih „starohrvatskih crkava slobodnih oblika” koje su svoj apogej dobile u Pejakovićevoj idealizaciji projekta Sv. Križa u Ninu: građevina je tu interpretirana kao umjetničko djelo u kojemu je šifrirana sudbinska dimenzija vremena u kojemu je crkva nastala. Petriciolijeve tipološke analize ranosrednjovjekovne arhitekture svršile su pak, s druge strane, u Marasovićevim „formularima” u kojima su razvrstani tlocrti tih crkava.

dalmatinskih komuna s prostranim zaleđem koje je za vremena Ludovika Anžuvinskog doseglo stupanj najčvršće kohezije, kao i dokaz neizbježne, bujne nutarnje fluktuacije što se ogleda u veoma aktivnim etničkim i kulturnim strujanjima.

U Jakšićevu opusu ima mnogo primjera izvrsnih formalnih analiza koje vode čvrstim generalnim ocjenama o putevima i razvoju srednjovjekovne umjetnosti, kulture i ambijenta jadranskih komuna. Tako, recimo, na najskromnije sačuvanim fragmentima reljefa klesanih u terakoti s pročelja ranoromaničke crkve Sv. Marije u Zadru, a kakvi su još pronađeni i u Ninu, Biogradu i Splitu, a u mediju kamena i u Osoru, uspijeva dati oris jedinstvenoga umjetničkog jezika benediktinske internacionale koji se tijekom 11. stoljeća širio iz opatija na obje strane Jadrana, a u kojima je djelovao i Sv. Romuald, *famulus* samoga cara Otona III.

Za Jakšićev pogled na umjetničko djelo možda je važnije pitanje „što” nego „kako”. Otud njegova koncentracija na probleme derivacije pojedinih motiva koji se – poput toposa u srednjovjekovnoj literaturi – ponavljaju ili razvijaju uz postupne minimalne promjene; otud njegova usredotočenost na „serijalne obrasce” zlatarskih djela – na matrice i kalupe, standardizirane prikaze na pozlaćenim gotičkim križevima i golemim oltarnim palama od srebra i zlata... Povijest i ideologija, pa i socijalna psihologija, važniji su od pitanja individualne umjetničke kreacije koju poima kao nešto što je nužno podređeno autoritetu vibrantnog sustava šire kulturne tradicije.² S druge strane dokazuje da je politička transformacija bitno povezana s onom kulturnom.

Uzorni primjer ovih pogleda je studija – Jakšićeva „kasna berba” iz 2014. – pod nazivom „Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska *arca d'oro*”. Nakon detaljno provedene komparativne analize svakoga pojedinog reljefa i dubinskoga ikonografskog čitanja svih kompozicija te najreprezentativnije umjetnine gotičkog doba u Hrvatskoj, Nikola je uspio razlučiti šest različitih tematskih i sadržajnih cjelina te ih protumačiti kao cjelovito zaokruženu političku poruku ondašnjih Zadrana kojom su se željeli pokazati ravnopravni Veneciji, gradu koji je tijekom više stoljeća bio arhi-antagonist Zadra na Jadranu.

Lajtmotiv njegovih studija je i stapanje kultura – karolinške, otonske i bizantske – sa „silama ustrajnicama” lokalne tradicije (kako bi Karaman rekao), na kojima su nastala djela koja Jakšić tumači, odbacujući svaku pomisao na neku nacionalnu ili kronološku izolaciju spram kurentnih tokova umjetnosti toga doba.

U tekstu koji je već prešao uobičajeni broj riječi za ovakve prigode nije moguće nešto više reći o izrazitoj prepoznatljivosti njegova znanstvenog diskursa ili navesti još neku u nizu intrigantnih teza iz opusa našeg emeritusa. U proslavu knjizi s izborom iz djela Stjepana Gunjače, koju je sam uredio, Jakšić je našao mnoge razloge da na neki način izbjegne, ili barem odgodi, valorizaciju Gunjačina znanstvenog doprinosa. U pogledu pak njegova djela – premda ono još raste – već sada možemo s uvjerenjem kazati da predstavlja izuzetno koherentnu cjelinu originalnih priloga srednjovjekovnoj povijesti dalmatinskoga povijesnoumjetničkog, sociopolitičkog i intelektualnog miljea, s nizom istinski izvidničkih iskoraka u pogledu znanstvene metodologije. Osobno su mi bili najbliži tekstovi u njegovoj knjizi *Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi*, u seriji *Scintillae Stephano Gunjača dicatae*, koju je utemeljio Ante Milošević, a u kojoj su, uz Jakšićeve, objavljene i knjige Željka Rapanića, Nevena Budaka i Mladena Ančića – Nikolinih *brothers in arms*. Izuzetno cijenim i njegovo minuciozno razvrstavanje pojedinih ruku na srebrenoj oltarnoj pali kotorske katedrale, suptilne rekonstrukcije izgubljenih folija iluminiranoga renesansnog psaltira iz Samostana Sv. Frane u Zadru, itd... No, njegove studije i članke ponekad, iz čistoga nestrpljenja, volim čitati *od otraga* prema naprijed, preskačući prvo detalje, jer me uvijek osvoji sugestivnost i kompleksnost zaključaka njegovih interpretacija.

² Više puta sam mislio koliku bismo korist imali da se baš Nikola stigao osvrnuti na magistralsku studiju Igora Fiskovića o hrvatskom kralju sa splitskoga pluteja, koja je pisana kao „totalna analiza” likovne i idejne zamisli te monumentalne kompozicije.



Josip Belamarić i Nikola Jakšić u Solinu 1980. godine (foto: J. Jeličić Radonić)
Josip Belamarić and Nikola Jakšić in Solin in 1980

Važno je spomenuti i još nešto! Jakšić pripada generaciji medievista svjesnih potrebe komunikacije prema široj kulturnoj javnosti. Otud i niz njegovih divulgativnih knjiga i manjih monografija te važnih izložbi kojima je bio autor ili koautor, a koje su na nacionalnom planu i na prestižnim mjestima u inozemstvu u znatnoj mjeri objasnile specifičnosti hrvatske srednjovjekovne kulture. U tom smislu je od posebne koristi i serija *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije* koju je pokrenuo, okupivši nekoliko vrsnih znalaca za povijest slikarstva, skulpture i zlatarstva na krajnje preglednoj monografskoj inventarizaciji umjetnina koje se čuvaju u crkvama, zbirkama i različitim crkvenim ustanovama na području te dijeceze. Jednako važna je i njegova uloga u pokretanju *Međunarodnoga istraživačkog centra za kasnu antiku i srednji vijek* u Zagrebu, tj. Motovunu, gdje se, zajedno s kolegama Igorom Fiskovićem i Miljenkom Jurkovićem, etablirao kao svojevrsni broker srednjovjekovnih povijesnoumjetničkih studija u Hrvatskoj.

Promatrajući raspon tema kojima se Nikola Jakšić bavio, kao i raspon znanstvenih instrumenata kojima ih je obrađivao, jednom sam bio rekao kako nas Jakšićev opus upućuje da naš srednji vijek zovemo u pluralu, baš kao što to od sredine 19. stoljeća čini anglofona literatura – *the Middle Ages*, podcrtavajući različite odsječke distinktivnoga karaktera jedne prilično dugačke epohe. Naš slavljenik je navršio sedamdesetu, a kovčezi su mu još puni! Znatizeljno očekujemo njegove nove priloge za mozaik kojim je već – tako znalački i lijepo – ukrasio povijest naše srednjovjekovne kulture...

U Splitu, 21. lipnja 2020. godine.

Josip Belamarić



Nikola Jakšić u Trentu (Italija) u lipnju 2018. godine (foto: A. Milošević)

Nikola Jakšić in Trento (Italy) in June 2018

DOPRINOS PROFESORA NIKOLE JAKŠIĆA DEMOKRATIZACIJI GRADA ZADRA

Sveučilišnoga profesora Nikolu Jakšića upoznao sam rane 1990. godine na skupu koji je organizirao Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Hrvatske (SSRNH) nakon odluke Hrvatskog sabora o održavanju prvih višestranačkih izbora u tadašnjoj Socijalističkoj Republici Hrvatskoj. Na skupu se raspravljalo o organiziranju i provedbi višestranačkih izbora nakon što su oni bili raspisani, pa su na taj skup bili pozvani i predstavnici novoosnovanih političkih stranaka u Zadru, a među njima je, u ime Hrvatske demokratske zajednice (HDZ-a), bio pozvan prvi predsjednik njezina zadarskog ogranka – dr. Nikola Jakšić. U novim okolnostima na koje se još nismo bili navikli, za riječ se javila meni dotad nepoznata gospođa koja je u svojoj raspravi predstavnik noveosnovanih političkih stranaka označila kao društvene neprijatelje. Nakon njezina izlaganja javio sam se za riječ i replicirao joj kako smatram da prisutni predstavnici novoosnovanih stranaka nisu naši neprijatelji, već legalno izabrani predstavnici političkih opcija koji samo imaju drugačija politička i svjetonazorska uvjerenja. Još sam joj rekao da držim da ih moramo prihvatiti kao ravnopravne dionike našega društva te kako se svi skupa na tu činjenicu trebamo naviknuti.

Nakon završenog skupa pristupio mi je dr. Jakšić, predstavio se te smo nastavili neformalan razgovor uz obostrano uvažavanje, a najviše smo pričali upravo o predstojećim izborima. Kako se primicao datum izbora i strasti se razbuktavale, mi smo se počeli sve češće sastajati i razmjenjivati mišljenja, a sve u želji da izbori proteknu što je više moguće dostojanstveno i mirno. Također, da bismo pokazali kako je među ljudima različitih političkih i svjetonazorskih uvjerenja moguća normalna ljudska komunikacija, nas smo se dvojica, na čuđenje mnogih, sastajali i na javnim mjestima te za istim stolom ispijali kavu, kao na primjer u „Kopački” ili na terasi „Kompasa”. Mislim kako smo u našoj nakani bili uspješni jer su izbori protekli u podnošljivoj atmosferi i bez većih incidenata, tek uz manje izgrede rijetkih neodgovornih pojedinaca. Nikola se nakon premoćne pobjede njegove stranke držao dostojanstveno, rekao bih skromno, a ja sam prihvatio poraz kao činjenicu, pa je u našem potpunom suglasju došlo do prijenosa općinske vlasti u Zadrę.

U međuvremenu, Nikola Jakšić je postao zastupnik u Hrvatskom saboru te je izabran za potpredsjednika njegova Društveno-političkog vijeća (jedno je vrijeme čak i aktivno zamjenjivao pokojnoga Ivana Vekića kao odsutnoga predsjednika tog Vijeća). U Hrvatskoj je uskoro održan referendum o neovisnosti te je ubrzo bila i vojno napadnuta. Zadar je bio prepun prognanika i izbjeglica, svakodnevno razaran s kopna, mora i zraka te je, gotovo u potpunome neprijateljskom okruženju, ostao i bez struje i vode, a nakratko i bez telefonskih veza. U međuvremenu, zadarski je HDZ održao svoju Drugu izbornu konvenciju na koju sam bio pozvan kao gost. Kako i priliči, u ime zadarskoga ogranka Socijaldemokratske partije Hrvatske (SDP-a), pozdravio sam skup i pri tome istaknuo zasluge profesora Jakšića za sve ono što je učinio za civiliziranu tranziciju vlasti u našem gradu te za miran suživot među ljudima drukčijih političkih i svjetonazorskih uvjerenja.

Na moje nemalo iznenađenje i u potpunoj tišini, na toj je skupštini, iz meni do danas nepoznatih razloga, došlo do promjene u rukovodstvu zadarskoga HDZ-a. Nikola se počeo sve više odmicati od političkog života te se u potpunosti posvetio znanstvenom radu, prezentaciji naše kulturne baštine u tuzemstvu i inozemstvu te obnovi porušenih kulturnih i sakralnih objekata u gradu i okolici, a novo rukovodstvo pak nije htjelo, a ni moglo ići ispod dosegnutih demokratskih standarda koje je u našem gradu postavio upravo Nikola Jakšić. Pa ipak, bio bi grijeh kada bih i u ovoj prigodi prešutio kako smo svi skupa, u demokratizaciji i obrani grada i domovine, imali neprocjenjivu podršku pokojnoga zadarskog nadbiskupa, monsinjora Marijana Oblaka. On se nad svima nama nadvio kao krošnja višestoljetnog hrasta te nas je sve trajno zadužio svojom mudrošću, smirenošću i nenametljivim savjetima.

Danas se mlađem naraštaju možda politička aktivnost dr. Nikole Jakšića, njegovo uvažavanje drukčije političke opcije te miran prijenos općinske vlasti čini kao nešto što je samo po sebi razumljivo i posve normalno. Ali to uistinu nije bilo tako! Naime, u onodobnim iznimno napetim društvenim odnosima kakve su vladale u vrijeme prvih demokratskih izbora u Hrvatskoj, a naročito, ubrzo nakon toga, za vrijeme velikosrpske agresije na našu zemlju, bio je to zaista hrabar i čestit čin gospodina Nikole, meni nepoznat u drugim lokalnim sredinama diljem Hrvatske. Stoga mi se, iz današnje perspektive, zasluga dr. Jakšića u početnim demokratskim procesima, mirnom prijenosu vlasti i otporu agresoru čini neprolaznom vrijednošću, a bila mi je iznimna čast što sam u tim okolnostima imao priliku upoznati čovjeka kakav je dr. Nikola Jakšić.

U Zadru, 27. ožujka 2020. godine.

Romano Meštrović

Od Rima do romanike
Du Romain au Roman
From Roman to Romanesque

“THE ART OF THE COURT” IN *THE LONG MIDDLE AGES* – A STRING OF RENAISSANCES

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From Late Antiquity to the Renaissance, forms and ideas of Antiquity were repeatedly used in monumental arts, in arts and crafts (along with all artistic forms such as literature, music along with philosophy...). It seems that Antiquity, not only Classical Antiquity, but mere Christian Antiquity, was never neglected or forgotten to be reinvented in the period we call the Renaissance. We can really enumerate so many renaissances from the 4th to the 15th century, all of them being part of the arts of the elites – the art of the court. In this paper, I am trying to affirm the term of court art as the carrier of numerous medieval renaissances in European art of the Middle Ages.

Key words: *Renaissance and renaissances, Late Antiquity, Middle Ages, art of the court*

The last book Jacques Le Goff has written, *Must we divide history into periods?* (Faut-il vraiment découper l'histoire en tranches?), can be perceived as a sort of “ego-histoire”, so cherished lately by the French, or as a sort of testament - the legacy of Jacques Le Goff, a great historian who dealt with the Middle Ages all his life. In any case, it is an intriguing book. One of its main goals, stated already in the Preface was to “examine” the alleged novelty of the Renaissance in relation to the Middle Ages”.¹

Using the term *a long Middle Ages*, as Le Goff did, including the period we call Renaissance, we, art historians, face the problem of jumping over the questions of periodizations, the questions of style in arts, the questions of terminology.² Was then Le Goff right trying to avoid dividing history into periods? The answer is of course ambiguous.

To understand his position in the matter, let us start with the final passage of J. Le Goff's book: a “true” historical period usually lasts a long time. It is not free of change, of course, because history never stands still. As it evolves, it experiences renaissances, more or less great, more or less brilliant. These rebirths often depend on the past, for they grow out of a certain nostalgic fascination felt by the people of a particular time. But this past is a peculiar sort of inheritance. It is what makes it possible to leave one period behind and leap forward to the next.³

If we consider this statement true, or nearest to the truth, we should try to show how this subdivision of *a long Middle Ages* functions in art history. From the point of view of a historian, Le Goff has no doubts. He explains it treating the historiography of the period, as follows.

¹ J. LE GOFF, *Must We Divide History into Periods?*, Translated by M. B. DeBevoise, Colombia University Press, New York, 2015, p. x.

² I not trying here a thorough analysis of J. Le Goff's book. For the purpose of this paper I am just extracting a few of his points that suit the topic I am dealing with.

³ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 112.

The first attempts at periodization happen during the 14th and 15th centuries, at the end of the Middle Ages, and, the Middle Ages where the first period to actually be defined – curiously, as Le Goff writes, antiquity has not been marked of as a separate period, rather signified the condition of aging. And, in the 14th and 15th century, a growing number of poets and writers of mostly Italian origins wanted to mark an old world which they have left behind, which they have, in a pejorative way, called “middle age” (*media aetas*) that stands between the ideal age of art and culture and themselves.⁴ This notion of the dull and dark middle ages caught on in other parts of Europe and, it was not until the romanticism movement in the first half of the 19th century when the Middle Ages became a period of a certain radiance and mystery. However, this newly found interest was based on the earlier presumptions and connotations, although now they have gained a certain appeal. Misconceptions stayed misconceptions, regardless of their positivity. The Middle Ages remained the dark period, a period of obscurity, a period between the two brilliant worlds of antiquity and modernity.

The idea that there existed a previous era from which Middle Ages came forth, the age of brilliance and learning that was a model and a source of nostalgia for the medieval intellectuals, did not arise before the 16th century.⁵ Before explaining his own views on the relationship between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, Le Goff gives an overview of the most important publications on this subject, from Burckhardt to contemporary historians. To me, an art historian, the most interesting is his critique of Erwin Panofsky (to whom I will return later), in his claims that before the great period of Renaissance, there were forerunners, “renascences” with a small *r*. Le Goff dismisses completely the idea of the Renaissance as a separate period, defining it instead as the last renaissance of the long Middle Ages, hereby agreeing with Panofsky’s idea of more than one Renaissance, but reversing it completely.⁶

Le Goff continues to argue that the culture of antiquity was carried on and looked up to during the Middle Ages; moreover, the Middle Ages were more Latinized than the Renaissance and the culture of reading and writing was more common than in antiquity. He concludes that: “no fundamental changes occurred in the sixteenth century, nor indeed at any time before the middle of the eighteenth century, that would justify our marking off the Middle Ages from a new and different period, the Renaissance.”⁷ Moreover, Le Goff concludes his “testament” by stating that the periodization of history is necessary, as history evolves and to explain its events, we require a combination of continuity and discontinuity, but we have to bear in mind that periods are usually long and marked by phases of significant change – and the long Middle Ages had many sub-periods, called renaissances.⁸

* * *

Panofsky has also, more than half a century ago, raised his doubts about the traditional periodization of history, stating that we should probably never agree as to precisely when and where one period or “megaperiod” (as he calls classical, medieval, renaissance and modern periods) stops and another starts. The characterization of periods must be “carefully qualified according to time and place and must be constantly refined according to the progress of scholarship”.⁹ Panofsky, interestingly, compares a period to a human individual with a distinct physiognomy who, although we cannot say in

⁴ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 14.

⁵ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 18.

⁶ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 58.

⁷ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 79.

⁸ J. LE GOFF, op. cit. (n. 1), p. 115.

⁹ E. PANOFSKY, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, 2nd edition, Westview Press, 1964, p. 3.

what moment did his life begin or end, when does he transition from a child to an adult, how many of his characteristics are inherited from his mother or his father, we can definitely distinguish him from other individuals and “form an impression of his total and unique personality”.¹⁰

However, Panofsky definitely recognizes the period of the Renaissance with a capital *R* as unique and distinguishable from “renascences”, as he calls them, with a small *r*. A splendid writer, he illustrated his vision of the two periods by stating that: “The Middle Ages had left antiquity unburied and alternately galvanized and exorcised its corpse. The Renaissance stood weeping at its grave and tried to resurrect its soul. And in one fatally auspicious moment it succeeded.”¹¹

Panofsky does emphasize an interesting fact, however, when he says that the art of the Renaissance and its connection to the Middle Ages was *defined* by the elites.¹² In his critique of Vasari, he claims that, although today we have a more clear view of the period, the leading men of the Renaissance, in their infatuation with classical antiquity, could not help but to regard the period between them and the ideal age as dull and dark. Here, Panofsky states the fact that is later repeated by Le Goff, which forms the core of the problem of the periodization of stylistic periods – the fact that *style* is created, disseminated and terminated by the elite circles in relatively narrow geographical spaces and does not really coincide with the chronology set by historians.

* * *

Panofsky’s book has left a lasting impression on me when I have read it for the first time, then only an art history student to whom the works of this great art historian were one of the canons of our profession. However, I could never agree with his view of the relations between the Middle Ages and antiquity, and the illustration of the medieval period galvanizing and exorcizing the corpse of antiquity. It seemed certainly too strong and too pejorative.

As I have continued my professional path in the academia, during my research and many scientific challenges I have faced, the idea of medieval renaissances and their different aspects was forming in my mind, and I was continuously drawn to that subject, speaking of it several times¹³ (although never publishing those thoughts). Finally, in 2009 I dedicated the whole colloquium of the International Research Centre for Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the medieval renaissances.¹⁴ The results headed towards resolving (globally or partially) the problems of renewal, revival, reflexes and, on the other hand, the *Kunstwollen* opposed to the will of the commissioners. The approach common to all of the presented papers, with various topics and various methodologies used to investigate them, was in the insistence on research done in diachrony from the 4th to the 15th century, the research in “*the longue durée*”; the approach that I cherished long before it became the norm, following of course the legacy of Fernand Braudel. Today we know that without this perspective we cannot completely understand and evaluate the Middle Ages.¹⁵

To undertake this colossal task, we need to start with chronology and terminology. Are we happy with the periodization of *the Long Middle Ages*: Late Antiquity, early middle ages, central middle

¹⁰ E. PANOFSKY, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 4.

¹¹ E. PANOFSKY, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 113.

¹² E. PANOFSKY, op. cit. (n. 9), p. 8.

¹³ I have first spoken about medieval Renaissances at the colloquium *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*, Dani Cvita Fiskovića, Orebić, 2003 (*Renaissance and Renaissances in Croatian Art*), widening my approach in the lecture *The Art of the Court from Late Antiquity to the Romanesque – perpetual Renaissances*, held at the Institute for Art History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts, Bratislava, on April the 27th, 2011.

¹⁴ The proceedings are published in the 16th volume of *Hortus Artium Medievalium* (2010).

¹⁵ M. JURKOVIĆ, *Quo vadis Late Antiquity? Quo vadis Middle Ages?*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 25/1, 2019., pp. 137-139.

ages, late middle ages, the Renaissance; or, with the stylistic differentiation and terminology – early Christian or late antiquity; early Middle Ages or preromanesque or Carolingian (with all of the previous: Merovingian, Lombard, Visigoth, early Byzantine....); Ottonian or premier art roman or proto-romanico; Romanesque; Gothic. Are we happy with their chronology or is it in constant changing? Well, my opinion is, to start dealing with those problems we need to come to a consensus of what each of the denominations really means; if we do not, I believe that we are witnessing a parallel life and interpretation of not two or three different Middle Ages, but hundreds of them.

The next problem that jumps out from our “stylistic drawers” is that we are always able to find out the common denominator for the average artistic practice from a certain period – and then we call it a style -, but exceptions always exist. And when we start a thorough analysis, we always become aware of the fact that the only different (or outstanding) works of art (scaling from architecture to arts and crafts of a certain style), are those commissioned by the wealthiest and the mightiest. And here I completely agree with Le Goff and Panofsky: style is created, disseminated and terminated by the elites as they implicated; but let us improve those thoughts. Indeed, it is my belief that we can call these exceptions “the art of the court”, and it is a *terminus technicus* that I would like to introduce here. It is of course nothing new, it has been used many times, but I would like to make of it a paradigm to define processes evident on a regular basis in different times.

To do so, first we need to enumerate the medieval renaissances, see how many are detected until now and what exactly defines them. It is of course a task for a whole book, not a brief paper. Therefore, I will here use just a few examples to illustrate my point.¹⁶ In enumerating the medieval renaissances the list (at least those that are already approved) becomes very long (Renaissance of Constantine, Sixt’s renaissance, Justinian’s renaissance, or the golden age of Byzantium as it was often called, Liutprand’s renaissance, Carolingian renaissance, Ottonian renaissance, the renaissance of the 11th century or the Gregorian renaissance or the premier art roman, the renaissance of the 12th century, the Gothic renaissance or the Gothic revolution, the Style 1200, to enumerate just the most evident and discussed ones) and so on. It seems finally that a renaissance is emerging every seventy – eighty years.

Who are the carriers, the protagonists of those renaissances? It is, I believe, the most important question to develop, because, as Panofsky and Le Goff had already stated, it was the decision makers, the educated elites that were financing and dictating the fashions of a certain period. Or were they not? Is it true for all periods? The actors were never the same if we consider different periods in the *longue durée*. Let us take into consideration only the examples of the 12th century and the Renaissance. For example in the 12th century, it was not the creators or the artists, but the decision makers who themselves found men capable to reproduce in reality the new order: “the responsibility of the decision maker was to choose the artist and, by that, to impose on him his own sensibility, more precisely – style.”¹⁷

Therefore, we should now follow Panofsky in his conclusion that we should constantly refine the characterisation of periods according to the progress of scholarship. He, as an intelligent scholar, clearly stated that scholarship evolves, so why are we still taking his own accounts, or statements of anyone else as a given? So, as he has given us the permission to evolve our thinking, let us just do it. Le Goff did it and countered Panofsky’s thesis with good arguments. Now we are

¹⁶One of the results of the project should be the analysis of these renaissances. This work has been fully supported by the “Research Cooperability” Program of the Croatian Science Foundation funded by the European Union from the European Social Fund under the Operational Programme Efficient Human Resources 2014-2020, within the project GLOHUM.

¹⁷A. E. BRANDENBURG - M. JURKOVIĆ, *L’artiste a la Renaissance, La Renaissance en Croatie*, exhibition catalogue, 2004, p. 17.



*Fig. 1. What is such a beauty doing in a small town if not because of political decision
(Basilica of Bishop Euphrasius, mid-6th century)*

going to take into account the point on which they both agree, and, - I am here repeating myself - they agreed on the fact that style is created, disseminated and terminated by elite circles. Let us use just a few examples:

Is the Golden Age of Justinian, the flourishing of building projects adorned with richly ornamented architectural sculpture, liturgical furnishings, all following the patterns set in Constantinople, visible on the astonishing projects such as SS. Sergius and Bacchus and, of course, Hagia Sophia, communicating to us a new style in arts or a will of the state policy? I will not elaborate here in detail the main stylistic parameters of the arts and architecture of Justinian's age, all the more so as the artistic production of this period has been the subject of a vast number of studies and is standing out from the rest of the production typical of the Late Antique Mediterranean, which is why it has earned in historiography a new term: early Byzantine art.¹⁸ However, does the art commissioned from the centres of the Eastern Roman Empire really define a completely new style? Justinian's commissions on a grand scale encompassed the whole of his vast and renewed Roman Empire with distinctive features, such as the central plan churches with a double-shell system or the typical impost capitals (and other works of sculpture) done in imperial workshops. But I cannot stress enough the clear political agenda of the unification of the Christian Roman world that Justinian was trying to achieve, that connected the far away areas, from Crimea to Iberian Peninsula. The elites of those periods, such as Maximian in Ravenna, Euphrasius in Poreč (Parenzo) (Fig. 1) were stating their political affiliations by adopting certain (not all) features

¹⁸ A. GRABAR, *L'âge d'or de Justinien: de la mort de Théodose à l'Islam*, Gallimard, 1966.



Fig. 2. Examples of Liutprand's renaissance and its afterlife. Are these examples of the art of the 8th century, the court art of the 8th century and to what style do they belong? (Ciborium from Valpolicella, Ciborium of Calixtus, Ciborium of bishop Mauritius in Novigrad)

that were fashionable in the centres of the Empire.¹⁹ The rest of the Mediterranean world just carries on with the traditional ways that we have labelled early Christian or Late Antique (talking about the period, and unfortunately, not having a real denomination for the style). Moreover, every art historian is embarrassed with the need of labelling the outstanding works of art, inventing terms like the Golden Age of Justinian, following Grabar,²⁰ early Byzantine, as many would want, and so on.

Choosing another example – the Liutprand's renaissance of the 8th century, topic dear to Nikola Jakšić, to whom I dedicate these thoughts, the *Kunstwollen* is completely different.²¹ This renaissance develops in circumstances when relatively wealthy and educated Lombard elite wants to affirm its presence on the territory of the former Western Roman Empire and to express their own *romanitas*. One example will suffice to explain my point: the ciborium from Valpolicella and the ciborium of patriarch Calixtus. They have represented a problem for scholars because they did not enter any of the established "stylistic drawers". They are not pre-Romanesque (in the meaning Spanish and Croats define the period lasting from the late 8th until the end of the 10th century), nor Carolingian (as North-western Europe defines it); they are earlier, not belonging to any known style, because we cannot today accept the term Lombard art. Is it Late Antiquity or is it something new? Is it a revival of Christian Antiquity? In my point of view, it is neither (Fig. 2). These (and other) works of art are a delicate remembering of the elite – the commissioners – in their struggle to forge their own name and their own continuity and their own identity.

¹⁹ M. JURKOVIĆ - P. KRLEŽA, „Adrio-Byzantinism” and/or Byzantine Influence on Croatian Cultural Heritage – a reconsideration, in: *Voprosy vseobščej istorii arhitektury / The Questions of the History of World Architecture*, (ed.) Armen Yu. Kazaryan, 10/1, Nestor-Istorija, Moskva - Sankt-Peterburg, 2018, pp. 104-120.

²⁰ M. JURKOVIĆ - P. KRLEŽA, Terminologies at Stake: Is the Time of Justinian I Early Byzantine, the Golden Age of the Byzantine Empire, or Merely Late Antiquity?, Third International Conference on Byzantine and Medieval Studies (CBMS), Nicosia Municipal Multipurpose Centre, 17-19 January 2020.

²¹ We have both written several times about this topic but the most relevant is: N. JAKŠIĆ, *Riflessi della “rinascenza liutprandea” nei centri urbani della costa Adriatica orientale*, *Hortus Artium Medievalum*, 16, 2010, pp. 17-26.

The afterlife of Liutprand's renaissance is embedded in what we call pre-Romanesque style (not in every country, with different meanings in different countries) or Carolingian (meaning only the art of the Empire), but difficulties always emerge when we need to elaborate in detail. The fact is that after the conquest of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne, new ideas from the Carolingian state expanded to the conquered areas, but the fact is also that the conquered centres gave a huge input into what we now call Carolingian art.²²

* * *

Starting to make my points in this brief account of the long Middle Ages, I would like to deal with three main issues of interest. The first is why are the medieval renaissances emerging every seventy-eighty years. The second is can we connect those renaissances to a term that is very suitable to me, "the art of the court", and third, how does this art match the stylistic terminology that we today have. Will the answer be that the styles as we have learned about and worked on really do exist or not?

The answer to the first question is fairly easy to provide. It is the state of the art at the moment. I am pretty sure that in ten years from now more medieval renaissances will be invented and we will end up with a new renaissance practically every thirty-forty years; will we end up with renaissances matching every human generation? This has, of course, nothing to do with art history, but art history needs to take into account the everyday growing list of exceptions to what we call a style. This connects us to the second question, the defining of the existence of "the art of the court", which is never matching our conception of a style, being always an exception.

Why is that so? The answer, to me at least, is obvious – the power, which the members of the elite circles hold is asserted in subtle ways, expressed through the works of art and architecture. Why it is always slightly different from the rest of the production while in the meantime bearing the basic characteristics of a period or style? The answer is that there is always the reflection on Antiquity. Not the classical one but the Christian one.

To summarize all that has been said, I can, probably boldly, state that style in art, as it is perceived in a traditional way set in 19th century, does not exist. What we can speak of when we try to determine the parameters of architectural and artistic production of a certain period in a certain location is the rhythms of ideas, innovations, traditions – or, plainly, fashions that can be seen as global ideas. However, anomalies from these established rhythms do exist and can be traced on the examples of the commissions from highest circles – courts, such as the Palatine Chapel in Aachen, which used to form an integral part of Charlemagne's palace, the oratory of Theodulf in Germigny-des-Prés, the abbey church of Fulda – or earlier, Constantine's octagonal church in Antioch, his Holy Apostles in Constantinople, Justinian's SS. Sergius and Bacchus and Hagia Sophia.

I am very willing to consider art history not as a succession of styles, but as a succession of renaissances generated by the elites, for the long Middle Ages always repeating and recreating Christian Antiquity.

²² M. JURKOVIĆ, *Forms as Signs of Representation of Power: Carolingian Transmission of Longobard Architectural Models. The Case of Istria*, u: *Teodolinda. I Longobardi all'alba dell'Europa*, (ed.) Gabriele Archetti, Centro studi longobardi. Convegno 2, Milano - Spoleto, 2018, pp. 545-572.

“Dvorska umjetnost” u dugom srednjem vijeku – niz renesansi

Kada je, ne tako davno, Jacques Le Goff objavio svoju zadnju knjigu, svojevrsan testament, ona u prvom naletu nije polučila velik interes znanstvenika zbog svoga pomalo kontroverznog sadržaja. Le Goff je naime finom, minucioznom razradom problema pokazao – dakako kao svoje osobno viđenje – kako ono razdoblje u povijesti koje zovemo renesansa ne bi trebalo biti početak novog doba, već kraj jednog starog – srednjeg vijeka. Le Goff je u svoj tekst uključio kritičku misao u odnosu na teze iznesene u knjizi *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*, velikog povjesničara umjetnosti Erwina Panofskog.

Čitajući Panofskoga još kao student – a knjiga je bila jedan od zakona povijesti umjetnosti onog vremena – nekako se s njezinim glavnim tezama nisam slagao. Stoga sam desetljećima posebno odvajao tekstove i misli o srednjovjekovnim renesansama, čekajući da sazriju. Sazrijevale su postupno, iznesene u dva navrata, jednom lokalno, na simpoziju *Dani Cvita Fiskovića*, a drugi put predavanjem pri Slovačkoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti. Ni jedno ni drugo nisam objavio jer još uvijek nisam bio zadovoljan rezultatima. Budući da smo upravo u tijeku provođenja projekta *GLOHUM- Globalni humanizmi: novi pogledi na srednji vijek (300.-1600.)*, čini se da je vrijeme sazrelo da se počne ozbiljnije istraživati problem, ne samo na teorijskoj osnovi. I ništa mi nije draže nego posvetiti ovaj tekst svom dragom prijatelju Nikoli Jakšiću, jednom od ključnih suradnika ovog projekta, znanstvenika koji je u svojoj karijeri višekratno propitivao srednjovjekovne renesanse.

Vratimo se temi. Akumulirajući ne samo znanja dobivena iščitavanjem obimne literature, a u stvarnosti upravo suprotno, gledajući spomenike *in vivo*, stvarajući u glavi imaginaran muzej spomenika u dugom trajanju, učinilo mi se ključnim sljedeće (a što sam već iznio na dva navedena simpozija): stilovi ne postoje onako kako su zamišljeni i definirani u vrijeme definiranja, uglavnom u 19. stoljeću, nego u umjetnosti postoje isključivo ritmovi ideja, inovacija i tradicija koje se isprepliću. Ono što danas prepoznajemo kao stilove i koje tradicionalno imenujemo, zapravo je samo moda jednog vremena i može proći kao globalna ideja. Međutim, unutar svakog od tih tako lijepo definiranih stilova pronalaze se anomalije, a te anomalije su uvijek i baš uvijek rezultat najjačih, najvećih investicija. Dakle, rezultat su volje pripadnika elita (crkvenih, društvenih...), koje god one bile.

Ako se prati samo ono što bih želio nazvati “dvorskom umjetnošću”, dakle, umjetnost koju financiraju, žele i konzumiraju pripadnici najviših elita, onda se svaki put uredno vidi kako ta umjetnička djela (od arhitekture do umjetničkog obrta, a i svih drugih umjetničkih vrsta), makar se dijelom i uklapaju u opće trendove onoga što zovemo stil, imaju svoj vlastiti razvojni put i svoju vlastitu prepoznatljivost.

U tekstu se razglaba, dakle, o nizu renesansi koje počinju s Konstantinovom i završavaju s renesansom u punom značenju te riječi, a pokazuje se nekoliko činjeničnih stanja: u dvorskoj umjetnosti antika nikad nije zanemarena. Ona je uvijek prisutna, a ta antika nije klasična nego ranokršćanska antika.

Ključne riječi: renesansa i renesanse, kasna antika, srednji vijek, “dvorska umjetnost”

POLITICALLY CONTROLLED IMAGES: INTERPRETING LATE ROMAN SILVER "PICTURE PLATES"

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Late Roman silver plates always had a particular place in art history of the later Roman Empire. Their size and luxury, surpassing similar objects from earlier centuries, and the fact that they represent a major means of imperial and aristocratic self-representation make them an outstanding mirror of the late Roman society, i.e., its elites. The article deals with some of the major "picture plates" such as the Seuso plate, and some of the more recent finds from Croatia. The distribution of such lavish pieces and the meaning of their iconography is analyzed in the light of specific relations between the emperor and the army, reflecting complex historical circumstances of the 4th century.

Key words: *Later Roman Empire, silver plate, imperial largesse, pagan and Christian iconography*

I have often wondered why Alois Riegl, whose studies had a long lasting influence on modern discipline of art history, did not include silver plates in his *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*. True, these were much less known in 1904 when his groundbreaking research on late Roman art was published in Vienna. Yet, this must have been only partly responsible for his omission; in fact, silver objects from this period, with their classical look and dominantly mythological subjects represent a manifest of continuity, which was not how Riegl understood the evolution of artistic form in Late Antiquity. Yet, for all their conservative iconography, silverware, especially large silver plate, represent a major mirror into 4th century art and this despite the fact that they still largely remain a topic open to debate. I am glad to be able to contribute some further thoughts on this issue to the *Festschrift* dedicated to my dear and respected colleague and friend Nikola Jakšić, one of our discipline's finest. *Haec tibi, Nikola, per saecula multa.*

Today, we know much more than Riegl did. Indeed, it seems fair to say that silverware represents one of the major subjects in the debate on the historical process we have come to know as Late Antiquity. Instead of trying to find a place for them in the line of stylistic evolution, we approach these objects as representative of late Roman elites, reflecting new forms of social relationships between the emperor and the empire's ruling classes, notably the army. The last decade of the 20th century has been marked by the appearance of the so-called Seuso Treasure over which much ink was spilled. In 2012 an important hoard of silver objects surfaced in the town of Vinkovci, the ancient Roman colony of *Cibalae*. The find was promptly displayed to the public at the Zagreb Arts and Crafts Museum.¹ The hoard approximately equals the Mildenhall treasure in the

¹ A detailed study is still pending due to ongoing restoration work. The exhibition at the Zagreb Museum, which included most, but not all of the pieces, was held from May 15 through June 10, 2012.



Fig. 1. Fresco decoration from the tomb of Trebius Iustus in Rome (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra)

the 4th century.⁵ While there seems to be no reason to doubt the practical purpose of much of these objects, their symbolic value is no less implicit, as is suggested by the testimony of Trebius Iustus, a 4th century Roman upstart, who is shown sitting between his wife and his son, proudly displaying silver vessels spread on a cloth in his lap (Fig. 1). They seem to represent the crowning reward of his professional achievements, noted on the walls of his tomb in Rome.

In comparison to earlier centuries, late Roman silver plates have grown in size, value and importance: major pieces have often been linked to the imperial court and considered the product of court workshops, very much like the ivory consular diptychs, which appear almost simultaneously with some of the best known picture plates from the major 4th century silver hoards, and continue in use much beyond the silver plate, well into the 6th century. Their iconography and their function are no doubt meant to be understood as support for what Rainer Warland calls *Repräsentationsbilder* of the ruling classes in the later Roman Empire.⁶ Alan Cameron, quoting the case of Quintus Aurelius

British Museum as far as weight (36 kilos) and number of pieces (48) is concerned. Both Seuso treasure and the Vinkovci hoard have one thing in common: their origin in the former Roman province of Pannonia.²

Some major issues still haunt every discussion on late Roman silver plate: where were they manufactured, how widely did they circulate and what was their use? In her article published in 1986 Jocelyn Toynbee proposed to look at them as decorative pieces, hung on walls in aristocratic houses, almost like pictures (hence the name of picture plates).³ Kenneth Painter, who co-wrote the article with Toynbee, later spoke of table services, belonging to major aristocratic families across the empire.⁴ Mildenhall, and now Vinkovci, with their plates, dishes, cups, ewers and spoons seem to reflect such a table service from

² While circumstances of recent discovery in Vinkovci are archaeologically documented, the Seuso Treasure remains something of a mystery. While Hungarian archaeologists, notably Mihaly Nagy, believe it originated in the region of Lake Balaton (the name Pelso appears on one of the plates), Croatian archaeologists claim it was found in the Istrian peninsula. The court trial in New York at the beginning of the 1990's refused both claims; cf. M. NAGY, Lifting the Curse on the Sevso Treasure, *Hungarian Review*, V/6, Budapest, 2015, pp. 108-123; D. MILINOVIĆ, *Seuso. Autopsija jednog slučaja*, Zagreb, 2016.

³ Cf. J. M. C. TOYNBEE – K. PAINTER, Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity, *Archaeologia*, 108, London, 1986, p. 15. On various uses to which these objects were put see useful remarks in: M. A. GUGGISBERG (ed.), *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst. Die neuen Funde, Forschungen in Augst*, 34, Augst, 2003, pp. 247 ff., 286.

⁴ Cf. K. S. PAINTER, Silver Hoards from Britain in their Late-Roman Context, *Antiquité tardive*, 5, Turnhout, 1997, pp. 93-110.

⁵ On Mildenhall see: K. S. PAINTER, *The Mildenhall Treasure. Roman Silver from East Anglia*, London, 1977.

⁶ R. WARLAND, Status und Formular in der Repräsentation der spätantiken Führungsschicht, *Bullettino dell'Istituto archeologico Germanico*, 101, Roma, 1994., pp. 175-202.



Fig. 2. Constans' Decennalia plate, Augst, Augusta Raurica (photo: Augusta Raurica / Juerg Zbinden)



Fig. 3a,b. Constans' Decennalia plate, detail (from: M. A. Guggisberg, *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst, Die neuen Funde*, 2003)

Symmachus, considers such silver plate donations a common device, whereby "something was given to as many as possible", in reward (or expectation) of their loyalty and good offices, but we know that the plates he distributed on the occasion of his son's games were undecorated pieces, plain silver vessels, weighing no more than two Roman pounds (appx. 650 grams).⁷

What we would like to know is who received, and on what ground such lavish pieces as the famous Seuso plate? The tone of the inscription on the plate, as well as the wreathed *chi-ro* sign which remains the sole trace of Christianity in the entire collection, both point to its imperial origin.⁸ The technique and the inscription are very close to one of the plates from the well-known Kaiseraugst hoard, which was donated by the emperor Constant to an unknown recipient on the occasion of his *decennalia* jubilee in 342/3 (Fig. 2).⁹ The absence of Christian monogram on the latter plate might be due to its earlier date rather than its pagan beneficiary which, if correct, would place the Seuso plate sometime in the third quarter of the 4th century. Another reason to look for common imperial origin of the two plates concerns their distinguishable decorative pattern, with central medallion and rim decorations consisting of alternating bands of geometric ornament and narrative friezes often including small (portrait?) busts, all in niello (Fig. 3).¹⁰ Even though the comparison might seem far-fetched, we are reminded of similar patterns used in imperial buildings of central planning (*mausolea*) such as ambulatory vault mosaics in what is today the church

⁷ Cf. A. CAMERON, Observations on the distribution and ownership of late Roman silver plate, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 5, Portsmouth (USA), 1992, p. 180.

⁸ *H(a)EC SEVSO TIBI DVRENT PER SAECVLA MVLTa / POSTERIS VT PROSINT VASCVLA DIGNA TVIS.*

⁹ See A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN in: GUGGISBERG (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 117 ff.

¹⁰ Close to these two plates are the one found in Taraneš in Macedonia (M. IVANOVSKI, A late-antique grave from Taraneš, *Živa antika*, 34, Skopje, 1984, no. 3), the niello dish with geometric ornament from Mildenhall (K. S. PAINTER, *op. cit.* /n. 5/, no. 4), and another plate from the Seuso Treasure. See M. MUNDELL-MANGO – A. BENNETT, The Seuso Treasure, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. Series, 12, Portsmouth (USA), 1994, no. 4.

of Sta Constanza in Rome (Fig. 4). Similarities in iconography between late Roman mosaics and the silverware have already been remarked upon, but these particular patterns seem to point to a common source, possibly an imperial workshop, which was active in the second quarter of the 4th century.¹¹ The workshop may have established decorative patterns which were used for both mosaic decoration and a number of lavish plates tentatively ascribed to "the western group" and believed to be produced in the western part of the Empire.¹² Decoration patterns which reveal two distinct groups of niello ornament – attributed tentatively to Danube and Rhine regions – seem to confirm particular attachment to these provinces of the empire.¹³

This brings us to the issue of distribution of silver plate in the later Empire: why is it that most finds come from Britain, Gaul and the Balkan countries? Scholars are no longer ready to explain this phenomenon solely by frequent invasions and turmoil along the Rhine and Danube *limes* in the 3rd and the 4th centuries. Today, we seem to understand better the *Hortpsychologie* as well as the social context of these finds.¹⁴ An interesting hypothesis has been put forward by Duncan-Jones, who attributes the frequency of coin hoards in Gaul during the 3rd century to the increased presence of Roman army and the growing need for corresponding donations from the emperor.¹⁵ Major hoards indeed come from regions of crucial military significance, reflecting the importance of Gallic and Illyrian armies, which is well documented in coin production of the period. Practically none are to be found in the richest provinces of the empire – North Africa, Asia or Egypt – very few in Italy. Spared by the invasions in 3rd and 4th centuries, these provinces were also the least militarized and contributed less manpower to the overall military effort of the Empire.

The history of finds in Croatia confirms this particular pattern: all relevant finds of both silver and gold were made in the continental part of the country, which occupies the southern fringes of the Pannonian plain (former Roman provinces of *Pannonia Savia* and *Pannonia Secunda*),¹⁶ and none along the more peaceful and inhabited Adriatic coastline (province *Dalmatia*), devoid of legions during the later Empire. Unlike Dalmatia, which must have suffered from the economic decline of Italy during the 3rd century and has become something of a backwater province, Pannonian plain has yielded

¹¹ For imperial implications see in particular the mosaics of Piazza Armerina, "a special case of African influence". K. M. D. DUNBABIN, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage*, Oxford, 1978, p. 196 ff. The *Small Hunt* in room 23 of the villa shows remarkable similarities in iconography with the Seuso plate. The probability of the villa being an imperial residence lifts these images onto a higher social level. Indeed, through the association with the emperor, they "move into the world of official art and imperial symbolism". K. M. D. DUNBABIN, *op. cit.*, p. 202. On the issue of "portrait busts" see: A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 142 ff.

¹² The hunting mosaic found on the Esquiline, generally attributed to the Constantinian period, if indeed it is to be connected to the imperial palace of the Sessorium (DUNBABIN, *op. cit.* /n. 11/, p. 213), might provide the link between the two artistic productions. For African influence on mosaics in the vault of the ambulatory in Sta Constanza cf. H. STERN, *Les mosaïques de Sainte-Constance*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12, Washington, D.C., 1958, pp. 159-218. On "western" and "eastern" origin of objects from the Seuso Treasure see: MUNDELL-MANGO – BENNETT, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

¹³ Cf. A. KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 131 ff. These are also the two most important regions of the empire in military terms. Cf. F. LOPEZ-SANCHEZ, *Left and Right in Roman Coins of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries*, in: *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*, (ed.) Louis de Blois et alii, Amsterdam, 2003, p. 40.

¹⁴ See for instance: E. KÜNZL, *Römische Tempelschätze und Sakralinventare: Votive, Horte, Beute*, *Antiquité tardive*, 5, Turnhout, 1997, p. 79.

¹⁵ R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Economic Change and the Transition to Late Antiquity*, in: *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, (ed.) Simon Swain, Mark Edwards, Oxford, 2004, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ Including one of the richest coin finds from the period of the later Empire in Petrijanci near Varaždin. Cf. M. ŠIŠA-VIVEK – T. LELEKOVIĆ – H. KALAFATIĆ, *Ostava rimskog novca i srebrnog posuđa iz Petrijanca*, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 29, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 231-243.

evidence of economic activity and a considerable degree of prosperity – recent finds in Vinkovci (*Cibalae*), including the silver hoard and a major early Christian complex are yet another proof of this development.¹⁷ By 365, provincial aristocracy was strong enough to impose an emperor on the throne (Valentinian I), and secure a new dynasty which came to an end with the death of Valentinian II in 392.¹⁸ For them, silver plates must have meant a visible display of their newly acquired social status.¹⁹ Could this be the (regional) equivalent to North African polychrome mosaic floors, a specific way for the local *potentes* to claim right to their possessions by owning objects decorated with a range of subjects belonging to the realm of what Lambert Schneider calls the *Domänebilder*?²⁰

There is another reason to think of silver donations during the 4th century in terms of control over the army. Most of the imperial donations (Toynbee's "political plates") in hoards are post 313 and we would expect this to somehow show in their decoration. Yet, one of its conspicuous feature is the absence of Christian symbols, and, in general, the absence of Christian plates until the very end of the 4th century, possibly even later. This is hard to explain in view of the rapid Christianization of late Roman art in other media. Apart from the Kertch plate showing the emperor Constantius (337-361) on horseback, there is only one other imperial plate, today in Geneva, which displays Christian signs. This is the most unusual case of an emperor (Valentinian II?) with a nimbus and a *chi-ro* sign. Even



Fig. 4a. Santa Constanza, Rome, ambulatory vault mosaic
(photo: D-DAI-ROM 57.1249)



Fig. 4b. Santa Constanza, Rome, ambulatory vault mosaic
(photo: D-DAI-ROM 57.1257)

¹⁷ On different economic conditions across the Empire during the later Empire see: R. MACMULLEN, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*, New Haven – London, 1988, especially pp. 15-35, and more recently: R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 27 ff.

¹⁸ For history of the (Christian) Empire during the 4th century I recommend A. PIGANIOL, *L'empire chrétien (325-395)*, Paris, 1972.

¹⁹ The phenomenon of social mobility during the reign of Valentinian I is well attested by the number of Pannonians in high positions. Cf. H. LÖHKEN, *Ordines dignitatum*, Köln, 1982, p. 97, n. 156. This is evidently "eine auf den Kaiser zentrierte Hierarchie". H. LÖHKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²⁰ L. SCHNEIDER, *Die Domäne als Weltbild. Wirkungsstrukturen der spätantiken Bildersprache*, Wiesbaden, 1983.



Fig. 5. Coin of Valentinian III, Zagreb, Arheološki muzej
(photo: Arheološki muzej / Fototeka)

the Madrid *missorium*, showing the emperor Theodosius (379-395) and his two co-emperors (Valentinian II and Arcadius) reveals no trace of Christianity. Instead, two small putti hover in the arched pediment above the emperor. The same phenomenon, however, can be found on imperial monuments throughout the 4th century, from the arch erected in Rome in 315 for Constantine, all the way to the basis of Theodosius' obelisk in the hippodrome of Constantinople, bearing practically no traces of Christianity.

This absence is probably due to pragmatic common sense behind imperial *donativa*; if they were largely to be distributed among the army, the real backbone of imperial power, they were meant for a corps which around the middle of the 4th century was still predominantly led by pagan generals, Roman or barbarian.²¹ Imperial gifts for one such commander are described in detail by *Historia Augusta* (SHA), which quotes a letter from

the reigning emperor Gallienus (252-268): the tribune (future emperor) Claudius is to receive silver vessels some of which equal the Madrid *missorium* or Seuso plate in weight.²² Despite the SHA being notoriously unreliable, the description of Gallienus' donation no doubt reflects imperial practice during the 4th century, possibly its second half, when, as many believe, the SHA itself was composed. There was obviously no reason to alienate such powerful men by imposing on them Christian symbols, not at the time when rulers could be commended for their religious tolerance (cf. Ammianus on Valentinian).²³ The case of usurper Magnentius, who appears on coins holding the Constantinian *labarum* shows that the same prudence was expected from pagans in power. Indeed, one is tempted to look at the 4th century as strangely modern in this respect.

Josef Engemann wrote that imperial iconography took longest to Christianize.²⁴ But, there is another explanation: means of visual communication, such as images on silver plates tend to endure unchanged for a long time, remaining conservatively tied to both stylistic and iconographic formulas (*Bildformeln*), which is why they were of little use to Riegl and his *Kunstwollen* theory, so revolutionary at the time. What is more, they tend to suddenly disappear, along with the original purpose of such communication. Following this very pattern, datable imperial silver plate donations do not surpass the rule of Theodosius the Great, with possibly one modest piece attributed to his grandson Theodosius II (408-450). It is tempting to think that the disappearance of this particular "mechanism

²¹ Cf. R. MACMULLEN, *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100-400*, New Haven – London, 1984, especially pp. 44-47.

²² *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, XXV, 14 and 17.

²³ This, admittedly, is somewhat paradoxical, because the appearance of Christ's monogram in public is to be linked to the apotropaic sign on the shields of Constantine's soldiers. Despite references to its celestial origin in Eusebius and Lactantius, I can't think of its manifestation in imperial art (excluding coinage) earlier than the Kertch plate with Constantius on horseback.

²⁴ J. ENGEMANN, Christianization of Late Antique Art, in: *The 17th International Byzantine Congress*, Washington, D.C., 1986, pp. 94-95.

of political control” corresponds with a change in the pattern of imperial communication with the army: indeed, by the beginning of the 5th century, emperors no longer seem to care to be seen as “fellow soldiers”. The contrast with most of the 4th century emperors is striking! Theodosius, who was considered an able general, twice led his armies to reconquer the west, but for his two sons military prowess no longer represented a major imperial quality, something which was noticed and deplored by bishop Synesius.²⁵ It is at this time that the imperial portrait type on coins undergoes a significant change: instead of the Constantinian military standard (*labarum*), the emperor is holding a cross in his right hand. He no longer tramples on the crushed barbarian, but on the human headed snake – a symbol of religious, rather than military foe (Fig. 5).



Fig. 6. Silver plate with shepherd and his flock, Vinkovci (photo: Gradski muzej u Vinkovcima / D. Bota)

So, how do we interpret a find such as the large silver plate from the Vinkovci hoard with a central roundel and a decorated rim, very much like the Seuso plate? In the roundel we see a shepherd with his flock in an open landscape. A basilica-like structure has replaced the usual hut (Fig. 6). We are reminded of the rich tradition of sacral-idyllic landscapes in Roman painting – a familiar token of classical taste, perhaps even a reflection on Homer’s description of Achilles’ shield. Classical reminiscences behind such images are galore. The image of the shepherd with his flock can also be understood as a type of *Domänebild* – allusion to earthly possessions relevant for landowning gentry, even if the customary hunt scenes are left out.²⁶ Yet it is difficult to avoid religious ideas behind such images in the 4th century. Could it be not just any shepherd, but the Good Shepherd – Christ? Is his basilica-like shelter to be understood as a church? We have seen that Christianity is not setting the pace on silver plates and that there are practically no Christian silver objects before the 5th century. Those marked with Christian inscriptions either hold traditional mythological images (the so-called Proiecta casket) or were re-used for liturgical service, like the Risley Park lanx, decorated with hunting scenes. There is only one other silver plate showing the isolated figure of a shepherd with his herd, and this one is different in style, attributed to Constantinople and reasonably dated to the 6th century. Even here, the religious meaning of the figure is far from

²⁵ On bishop Synesius cf. J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ, *Barbarians and Bishops. Army, Church and State in the Age of Arcadius and Chrysostom*, Oxford, 1990, p. 230 ff. On emperors and armies during the 3rd and 4th centuries see: M. WHITBY, *Emperors and Armies, AD 235-395*, in: *Approaching Late Antiquity. The Transformation from Early to Late Empire*, (ed.) Simon Swain, Mark Edwards, Oxford, 2004, pp. 156-186. See also: D. MILINOVIĆ, “So Great an Empire”. Military valor and the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, *Antiquité tardive*, 27, Turnhout, 2019, pp. 260-261.

²⁶ However, hunt is represented on at least one of the smaller silver plates in Vinkovci hoard, showing a mounted hunter overcoming a lion. Instead of *Domänebilder*, we might as well be talking of *latifundia*-related iconography as proposed by André Grabar. A. GRABAR, Programmes iconographiques à l’usage des propriétaires des latifundia romains, in: *Cahiers archéologiques*, XII, Leuven/Louvain, 1961, pp. 394-395.

being certain. Admittedly, we have a weak case for Christian interpretation of the Vinkovci plate, which must be dated sometime around the middle of the 4th century. By this time the symbol of the Good Shepherd seems to have lost its appeal even for Christians, for in art it was soon to be replaced by the image of Christ-philosopher and that of Christ-ruler. Even if we were to ascribe the shepherd image on Vinkovci plate a Christian meaning, this would remain a strangely isolated Christian piece among the surviving examples from the 4th century. Yet it is easy to see how such images could be appreciated by all – pagan and Christian alike – willing to share the traditional taste in art and classical inheritance, happy to be on the receiving end of the imperial munificence.*

Politički kontrolirane slike: uz interpretaciju kasnorimskih srebrnih pladnjeva

Jedna od većih zanimljivosti u istraživanju povijesti umjetnosti kasnoga Rimskog Carstva, ali i društva općenito, fenomen je velikih srebrnih pladnjeva koji su česta pojava u ostavama srebra iz 4. stoljeća. U članku se ponovo promišlja njihova namjena i distribucija, kao i specifičnosti ikonografije. Po veličini i bogatstvu ukrasa srebrni pladnjevi 4. stoljeća znatno nadilaze one iz ranijeg razdoblja. Obično ih se dovodi u vezu s carskim poklonima (*donativa*), dvorskim ritualom darivanja, karakterističnim za promijenjeni ustroj Carstva u vrijeme Konstantina i njegovih nasljednika. Posebno lijepi primjerci, poput decenalijskoga pladnja cara Konstansa (342. godina) ili Teodozijeva misorija (388. godina) vezani su za desetu godišnjicu vladavine i odražavaju svojevrsnu mrežu klijentelizma koja se postupno nametnula kao obrazac odnosa između cara i važnih aktera u društvu – lokalne aristokracije i vojske. Ikonografija i ornamentalni motivi na pojedinim pladnjevima pokazuju znakovite sličnosti sa sjevernoafričkom produkcijom mozaika, primjerice prikaz na Seusovu pladnju s mozaikom Maloga lova u Piazzii Armerini na Siciliji, ili dekorativni obrasci na rubovima pladnjeva s mozaicima u deambulatoriju Sante Constanze u Rimu (izvorno mauzolej Konstantinove kćeri).

Vjerojatno carsko podrijetlo takvih predmeta nameće oprez pri interpretaciji ikonografije srebrnih pladnjeva. Prikazi gozbe na otvorenom, lova i pripremanja divljači ili vile uz more odražavaju način na koji se elita toga vremena voli predstavljati i upućuju na provincijalnu i vojničku aristokraciju kao vlasnike/primatelje takvih predmeta. Zanimljivo je da se carska ideologija 4. stoljeća ne predstavlja kroz prikaze i simbole rata, već inzistira na slikama koje sugeriraju mir i obilje kao vrhovne vrijednosti rimskoga društva. U tom kontekstu postavlja se pitanje tumačenja prikaza pastira na velikom srebrnom pladnju iz ostave koja je 2012. godine pronađena u Vinkovcima. Je li ovdje riječ o kršćanskome simbolu, što bi bio neobično izoliran primjer kršćanskoga sadržaja na srebrnim posudama u 4. stoljeću, ili je simbol pastira i ovdje shvaćen u kontekstu prevladavajuće carske ideologije? U svakom slučaju, čini se opravdano zaključiti da je posrijedi još jedna tradicionalna slika koja je bila prihvatljiva kako kršćanima tako i poganima, posebno brojnim u vojsci.

Ključne riječi: *kasno Rimsko Carstvo, srebro, carski darovi, poganska i kršćanska ikonografija*

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ANCORA SUL PRIMO CRISTIANESIMO IN DALMAZIA TRA FONTI LETTERARIE E RISCONTRI ARCHEOLOGICO-MONUMENTALI

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La leggenda di san Domnio (o Doimo) come discepolo di san Pietro, apparsa per la prima volta tra X e XI secolo, non è in grado di soddisfare le esigenze di una rigorosa critica storica e di confermare le presunte origini apostoliche della Chiesa salonitana. Ma, superate le pie e tarde tradizioni consolidate a maggior lustro della propria Chiesa, in questi ultimi decenni si è sviluppata nella comunità scientifica una tendenza ad affrontare il problema con mentalità critica e con particolare riferimento alle più significative testimonianze archeologiche ed epigrafiche venute in luce dalla fine del sec. XIX.

Parole chiave: *primo cristianesimo, Dalmazia*

Se prendiamo in considerazione i due grandi centri adriatici ed ecclesiastici di Aquileia e Salona, da cui dipende, se non la prima evangelizzazione, almeno l'organizzazione ecclesiastica delle terre adriatiche, dobbiamo constatare che non mancano pie tradizioni e una consolidata ma fragile tradizione agiografica volte ad affermare le radici apostoliche delle due Chiese, destinate a divenire, in prosieguo di tempo, importanti centri missionari e metropoli ecclesiastiche di vaste regioni. Per il territorio dalmato e l'Illirico, già le fonti neotestamentarie fanno intendere una cristianizzazione precoce, quando leggiamo che san Paolo diffuse il Vangelo sino all'Illirico¹ e che Tito giunse in Dalmazia². Ma, superate le pie e tarde tradizioni consolidate a maggior lustro della propria Chiesa, in questi ultimi decenni si è sviluppata nella comunità scientifica una tendenza ad affrontare il problema con mentalità critica e con particolare riferimento alle più significative testimonianze archeologiche ed epigrafiche venute in luce ad Aquileia e a Salona dalla fine del sec. XIX.

In effetti né la tradizione marciiana aquileiese, attestata da una scarsa notizia di Paolo Diacono e dalla *Passio Hermachorae et Fortunati*,³ né la leggenda di san Domnio (o Doimo) come discepolo di san Pietro, apparsa per la prima volta tra X e XI secolo⁴, sono in grado di soddisfare le esigenze di una ri-

¹ Rom., 15, 19: *ita ut ab Hierusalem per circuitum usque ad Illyricum repleverim evangelium Christi.*

² II Tim. 4, 10: *Demas enim me reliquit...et abiit Thessalonicam, Crescens in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam.* Per una discussione critica su questa lettera, F. LENZI, San Domnio vescovo e martire di Salona (+ 303), *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 36, Spalato, 1913, II Suppl., pp. 25-27.

³ P. CHIESA, *Passio Hermachorae et Fortunati*, I, (ed.) E. Colombi, Roma, 2008, pp. 135-199; G. CUSCITO, *Martiri cristiani ad Aquileia e in Istria. Documenti archeologici e questioni agiografiche*, Udine, 1992, pp. 17-49; R. BRATOŽ, *Il cristianesimo aquileiese prima di Costantino fra Aquileia e Poetovio*, Udine-Gorizia, 1999, pp. 41-83.

⁴ Le pretese origini apostoliche della Chiesa di Salona si registrarono per la prima volta nel sec. X e furono consegnate negli Atti apocrifi di un sinodo tenuto a Spalato nel 925, per cui si veda D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum*, III, Venezia, 1765, p. 96. Quasi contemporaneamente fu redatta una *Passio* di san Domnio, la cui stesura più antica esistente risale al sec. XI; cfr. J. ZEILLER, *Les origines chrétiennes dans la province romaine de Dalmatie*, Paris, 1906, pp. 6-15.



Fig. 1. Roma, battistero lateranense: decorazione musiva nell'oratorio di S. Venanzio con teofania tra figure di santi e di martiri dalmati e istriani (se. VII) (da Garrucci 1877)

gorosa critica storica e di confermare le presunte origini apostoliche delle due Chiese. Secondo questa tarda tradizione di Spalato, la città erede di Salona, la Chiesa dalmata collegherebbe la sua origine col principe degli Apostoli, rivaleggiando così con due grandi metropoli della regione adriatica, Aquileia e Ravenna, che rivendicavano entrambe origini petrine rispettivamente attraverso Marco e Apollinare, ritenuti discepoli di Pietro.

Tuttavia, anche se non mancano indizi e testimonianze indirette per supporre una presenza cristiana nelle due grandi città adriatiche di Aquileia e Salona tra II e III secolo⁵, i monumenti cristiani lì finora venuti in luce non sono anteriori al III-IV secolo. Il precoce complesso di culto col fastoso pavimento musivo impiantato dal vescovo Teodoro ad Aquileia subito dopo la pace della Chiesa⁶ come le cinque basiliche urbane e le quattro extraurbane scoperte a Salona⁷ attestano quanto fosse ormai radicato il cristianesimo in questi centri delle due sponde adriatiche.

A Salona è possibile seguire i progressi del cristianesimo press'a poco dalla metà del sec. III: gli esiti della più recente storiografia inducono a ritenere Domnio o Doimo il primo vescovo storicamente noto che resse la Chiesa salonitana sullo scorcio del sec. III, anche se non mancano fragili indizi che hanno convinto alcuni autori a dargli un predecessore nella persona di san Venanzio, vescovo missionario, che avrebbe subito il martirio sotto Aureliano (270-275)⁸. Ma la sola fonte letteraria che parla esplicitamente di lui, oltre ai cataloghi episcopali, è un passo del *Liber pontificalis* che riferisce la

⁵ G. CUSCITO, Il cristianesimo nella Dalmazia e nell'Alpe - Adria tardoantiche, in: *Storia religiosa di Croazia e Slovenia*, (ed.) L. Vaccaro, Milano, 2008, pp. 23-76.

⁶ Nella cospicua bibliografia al riguardo, mi limito a segnalare L. BERTACCHI, *Il complesso basilicale: impianti romani ed edifici teodoriani*, in *Da Aquileia a Venezia*, Milano 1980, pp. 185-238.

⁷ E. DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo, 1951; E. CECI, *I monumenti cristiani di Salona*, II, Milano, 1963, p. 74.

⁸ J. ZEILLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 55-56, 80-82.

traslazione a Roma dei martiri dalmati e istriani e che mette Venanzio al primo posto⁹. Egli inoltre, raffigurato in abiti episcopali, occupa un posto d'onore a destra della Vergine (dopo san Paolo e san Giovanni Evangelista), pari a quello di Domnio a sinistra (dopo san Pietro e san Giovanni Battista), sul mosaico absidale della cappella del Laterano a lui intitolata (Fig. 1), che il papa dalmata Giovanni IV (640-642) consacrò a quei martiri dopo averne fatto trasferire le reliquie a Roma¹⁰.

Tali circostanze sono sembrate indicare che Venanzio fosse uno dei più illustri martiri del suo paese, sebbene la sua memoria vi si fosse assai presto smarrita¹¹. Un ulteriore appoggio a queste ipotesi pareva venire dal frammento iscritto di una mensa funeraria di marmo atta a segnalare una tomba privilegiata, scoperta a Salona sotto la *confessio* della basilica martiriale di Manastirine, dove sono superstiti le tre lettere finali [---]/IVS appartenenti a un nome che lo Jelić, almeno in un primo tempo¹², il Bulić¹³, e in seguito anche il Delehaye e lo Zeiller¹⁴ avevano creduto di poter risarcire con quello di [Venant]ius¹⁵, non senza peraltro qualche comprensibile riserva.

Questi sono i dati, invero assai tenui, già utilizzati da una storiografia ormai superata per attestare l'esistenza di san Venanzio e la sua qualifica di vescovo e di martire salonitano. Ma un recente studio di N. Duval e di E. Marin ha definitivamente escluso il risarcimento [Venant]ius sull'iscrizione della mensa, che sarebbe invece da collegare con un altro frammento marmoreo della stessa, proveniente anch'esso dalla basilica martiriale di Manastirine e ultimamente datata ai secoli IV-V¹⁶.

⁹ *Liber pontificalis*, p. 330: *Eodem tempore fecit ecclesiam beatis martyribus Venantio, Anastasio, Mauro et aliorum multorum martyrum, quorum reliquias de Dalmatias et Histrias adduci praeceperat, et recondidit in ecclesia suprascripta, iuxta fontem Lateranensem, iuxta oratorium beati Iohannis evangelistae, quam ornavit et diversa dona optulit.*

¹⁰ R. GARRUCCI, *Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, IV, Prato 1877, T. 272-273; H. GRISAR, Il mosaico dell'oratorio lateranense di S. Venanzio, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 21, Spalato, 1898, pp. 72-76.

¹¹ J. ZEILLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 55-56: secondo l'A. questo oscuramento fornirebbe già di per sé un indizio per considerare Venanzio anteriore alla persecuzione di Diocleziano, che cancellò il ricordo di molti eventi più antichi e, al contrario, mise più in luce le vittime cadute in quella circostanza.

¹² L. JELIĆ, I monumenti scritti e figurati dei martiri salonitani del cimitero della Lex sancta christiana, *Ephemeris Salonitana*, Jaderae, 1894, p. 29: (alle pp. 21-24 l'A. pubblica anche un'edizione critica della *Passio sancti Anastasii*); L. JELIĆ, Sant'Anastasio fullone e sant'Anastasio cornicario, martiri salonitani, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 21, Spalato, 1898, p. 94, n. 2: qui però l'A. corregge la precedente ipotesi e, convinto che i due frammenti appartengano alla stessa mensa, propone di leggere *Aste[r]ius*.

¹³ F. BULIĆ, Osservazioni su alcune iscrizioni di vescovi e martiri di Salona già pubblicate, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 21, Spalato, 1898, pp. 106-107.

¹⁴ H. DELEHAYE, Saints d'Istrie et de Dalmatie, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 18, Bruxelles, 1899, p. 397; H. DELEHAYE, Santi dell'Istria e della Dalmazia, *Atti e Memorie della Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria*, 16, Trieste, 1900, p. 309; qui però l'A. esprime al riguardo qualche perplessità: "E' perciò probabile assai che si tratti nel nostro frammento d'una lastra col nome d'un martire: ma mi pare troppo problematico se il professor Jelić per diverse acute congetture e specialmente per via di esclusione vuol pervenire al nome di *Venantius*"; J. ZEILLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 55-56: "la lecture [Venant]ius a paru vraisemblable".

¹⁵ Sulla fragilità di tale interpretazione, cfr. V. SAXER, Les saints de Salone: examen critique de leur dossier, *U službi čovjeka. Zbornik nadbiskupa-metropolita dr. F. Franića (Miscellanea Frane Franić)*, Split, 1987, pp. 315, 317: "L'exemple le plus typique est fourni par le fragment IVS. L'imagination n'a pas manqué a ceux qui l'ont complété en [Aster]ius ou [Venant]ius"; Ma cfr. N. DUVAL - E. MARIN, *Encore le "cinq martyrs" de Salone. Un témoignage épigraphique désormais bien établi*, in *Memoriam sanctorum venerantes. Miscellanea in onore di Mons. V. Saxer*, Città del Vaticano, 1992, pp. 285-305.; *Salona III. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone. Manastirine. Etablissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne à Salone*, (eds.) N. Duval, E. Marin, C. Metzger, Rome-Split, 2000, pp. 428-430 e fig. 190.

¹⁶ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 8874, 12839; L. JELIĆ, Descrizione sommaria del cimitero di Manastirine, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 15, Spalato, 1892, p. 190; L. JELIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 12, 1894), p. 29; F. BULIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 13, 1898), p. 106; N. DUVAL - E. MARIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15) pp. 291-294: "La mensa qu'il faut appeler maintenant des *cinq martyrs*, est contemporaine de celle de saint Domnio...est aussi ancienne et le culte - nous ne dirons pas l'historicité - de ceux-ci est bien attesté avant le VII^e siècle". Tale risultato raggiunto dai due Autori corregge lo scarto cronologico supposto dall'Egger per i due frammenti e le conclusioni critiche che ultimamente ha creduto di poterne trarre il Saxer per l'agiografia salonitana.

(Fig. 2). Qui infatti sono incisi con caratteri simili i nomi mutili dei cinque martiri salonitani che i due studiosi, anche con laboriosi riferimenti al contesto archeologico, hanno creduto di poter risarcire nel modo seguente: [Ant]iochian[us / Gaia]nus, Teliu/[s / Paulinia]nus, Aste[r]ius; ciò è stato possibile sulla scorta delle rispettive scritte che individuano le loro figure sul ricordato mosaico del Laterano: Antiochianus e Gaianus a destra dell'arco santo (Fig. 3), Telius, Paulinianus e Asterius a sinistra¹⁷. Perciò le ultime tre lettere [---]IVS del nome inciso sulla mensa sarebbero da riferire ad Asterius e non al supposto Venantius, la cui enigmatica personalità viene a perdere così un appoggio archeologico di alta epoca, qual è appunto la mensa in questione (sec. IV-V)¹⁸ (Fig. 3a).

Le conclusioni del Duval e del Marin, per quanto convincenti sul piano archeologico-monumentale, non affrontano

filologicamente la critica mossa dal Saxer nel 1987 al passo tramandato dal codice *Epternacensis* del *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, che, sotto la data dell'11 aprile ricorderebbe tre soldati come compagni di martirio di Domnio senza farne il nome: egli sosteneva infatti, anche per suggestion del Delehay, che solo un'erronea lettura (*librarium imperitia*) del Geronimiano avrebbe creato i tre militi martiri come compagni di san Domnio.¹⁹ Sebbene sul mosaico del Laterano i santi raffigurati in abito militare siano quattro, si sarebbe voluto leggere *mil(itum) III* invece dell'indicazione topografica *mil(iario) III* della via Aurelia in riferimento alla sepoltura di papa Giulio I qui erroneamente trasposta dal giorno successivo (*Romae, in cimiterio Calepodii, via Aurelia tertio miliario, depositio Iulii episcopi*). Una tradizione multisecolare avrebbe dato a questi supposti soldati i nomi del mosaico del Laterano ora confermati dall'iscrizione frammentaria sulla mensa in questione, che il Saxer inclinava a ritenere invece di lettura incerta e di epoca tar-



Fig. 2. Spalato, Museo Archeologico: la mensa “dei cinque martiri”, particolare con l'accostamento dei due frammenti (da Duval, Marin 1992, p. 3a)

¹⁷ N. DUVAL - E. MARIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 285-305; *Salona IV/1. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone Inscriptions de Salone Chrétienne IV^e-VII^e siècle*, (eds.) N. Gauthier, E. Marin, E. Prévot, Rome-Split, 2010, pp. 256-259. Per Gaianus esistono anche tre frammenti di una mensa con la formula obituaria, dove pare di dover risarcire Gaia[ni ep(i)s(copi)]; cfr. *Salona III. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 443 e *Salona IV/2. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone Inscriptions de Salone. Chrétienne IV^e-VII^e siècle*, (eds.) N. Gauthier, E. Marin, E. Prévot, Rome-Split, 2010, pp. 263-265, nr. 73: secondo tale risarcimento, dovrebbe trattarsi di un altro personaggio, diverso dal martire raffigurato sul mosaico del Laterano, come è già stato supposto.

¹⁸ N. DUVAL - E. MARIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 291-292: gli autori ritengono la mensa “dei cinque martiri” contemporanea a quella di Domnio e uscita dalla stessa bottega, anche se il lapicida non pare lo stesso. Per Asterius, erano stati visti anche dei resti di pittura murale nell'anfiteatro per cui mancano sicure indicazioni cronologiche; cfr. E. DYGGVE, *Salona christiana. Aperçu historique du développement de la ville et de ses constructions sous l'époque paléochrétienne*, *Atti del III Congresso internazionale d'Archeologia Cristiana*, Roma, 1934, pp. 245-246 e fig. 12; *Salona IV/1. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 17) pp. 248-249, nr. 68

¹⁹ H. DELEHAYE, *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum ad recensionem H. Quentin*, *Acta Sanct. Nov.*, tomi II pars posterior, Bruxelles 1931, p. 182: *Salona Dalmatiae Dominionis episcopi et mil. trium*; *Salona III, Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 428-430.



Fig. 3. Roma, battistero lateranense:
particolare del mosaico a destra
dell'arco santo



Fig. 3a. Risarcimento dell'iscrizione sulla
mensa "dei cinque martiri" (da Duval, Marin 1992,
p. 294, fig. 7)

da come il mosaico del Laterano. Egli pertanto respingeva la linea interpretativa del Delehay e di quanti consideravano il mosaico del Laterano, sia sotto il profilo epigrafico che iconografico, una fonte autentica e *non troublée* dell'agiografia salonitana, come quella che ci consegna i santi della Dalmazia e dell'Istria distinti dai rispettivi nomi e raffigurati con abiti indicativi del ruolo e della dignità di ciascuno indipendentemente dal discusso latercolo del Geronimiano: in effetti *Paulinianus*, *Telius*, *Antiochianus* e *Gaius* vestono tunica e clamide come principi o soldati, mentre *Asterius* indossa la casula in quanto prete.²⁰ Pertanto, dopo un'analisi critica delle fonti martirologiche ed epigrafiche, il Saxer riteneva di dover considerare martiri autentici di Salona il vescovo Domnio²¹, il diacono Septimio²², Anastasio *fullo* (lavandaio o tintore), forse di Aquileia annegato a Salona²³, e Asterio, ignorato dal Geronimiano ma assicurato, oltre che dal mosaico del Laterano, dall'iscrizione votiva scoperta nel 1922 sul mosaico pavimentale della basilica di Kapliuč: [*oct*]avo *k(al---*) /*um vot/um fecit ad ma/rtyrem Asterium*²⁴.

²⁰ V. SAXER, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 293-325. Del resto i santi di cui si ignorava la vita allora erano spesso raffigurati come principi o soldati di corte. Il nome di Gaiano che si legge sui frammenti di una mensa iscritta e su un sarcofago non sarebbe da riferire al martire, ma a un vescovo dello stesso nome, attestato dalle tarde e screditate liste episcopali, per cui cfr. *Salona IV/1. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 17), nr. 73 e *Salona IV/2. Recherches archéologiques franco-croates à Salone Inscriptions de Salone Chrétienne IV e -VII e siècle*, (eds.) N. Gauthier, E. Marin, E. Prévot, Rome-Split, 2010, pp. 799-802, nr. 443.

²¹ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9575; H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), p.182; *Salona IV/1. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 259-262, nr. 71.

²² CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9545 e 9650; H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), p. 196; *Salona IV/1. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 272-274, nr. 79.

²³ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9527; H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), p. 467: *in Salona civitate sancti Anastasi martyris hic fullo fuit*; D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, Anastasio "aquileiese", martire a Salona, e il cimitero che da lui prende nome, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 26, Trieste, 1985, pp. 315-329; R. BRATOŽ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 401-407; J.-P. CAILLET, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, Rome, 1993, p. 388 e figg. 320-321.

²⁴ *Recherches à Salone*, I, Copenhagen 1928, pl. VII, 5; *Salona IV/1. Recherches... op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 243-244, nr. 65.



Fig. 4. Manastirine: sarcofago del vescovo Primus (da Lenzi 1913)

Viceversa la rivalutazione anche cronologica dei due frammenti epigrafici della mensa ormai detta “dei cinque martiri” ultimamente avanzata dal Duval e dal Marin indipendentemente dalle osservazioni martirologiche del Saxer riapre il discorso e sembra portare nuove conferme al culto dei martiri di Salona, quali sono raffigurati sul mosaico del Laterano e iscritti sui due frammenti della mensa. I loro nomi personali sarebbero ignorati dal Geronimiano forse per la scarsa risonanza del loro culto: ma se quei nomi, come pare, sono degni di fede, ad essi vanno aggiunti il diacono Settimio²⁵ e Anastasio *fullo*²⁶ recuperati per altra via dal Saxer.

Per Domnio, primo vescovo di Salona, non mancano fonti di alta antichità, come la notizia corrotta del Geronimiano che il Delehayé ha ritenuto di poter restituire nel modo seguente: *Salone in Dalmatia, natale Domnionis episcopi*²⁷. Prima ancora, nel 411, a lui era dedicata la notizia del Martirologio siriano²⁸. Inoltre la topografia e la cronologia di Manastirine rivelano uno dei più famosi esempi di sepolture *ad sanctos* intorno a una tomba privilegiata, che è appunto quella del martire Domnio²⁹.

²⁵ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9545 e 9650; H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), p. 196. *Salona IV/1. Recherches...* *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 272-274. nr. 79.

²⁶ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9527; H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), p. 467.

²⁷ H. DELEHAYE, *op. cit.* (n. 19, 1931.), pp. 182-183, n. 14; *Salona IV/1. Recherches...* *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 259-262, nr. 71.

²⁸ V. SAXER, *op. cit.* (n. 15, 1987.), pp. 298-299.

²⁹ E. MARIN, *L'inhumation privilégiée à Salone*, in: *L'inhumation privilégiée di IV e au VIII e siècle en Occident*, (ed.) N. Duval, J.- Ch. Picard, Paris, 1986, pp. 221-232 e spec. 222.



Fig. 5. Spalato, Museo Archeologico:
mensa con l'iscrizione di Domnio
(da Lenzi 1913)



Fig. 5a. Spalato, Museo Archeologico:
particolare della mensa di Domnio
(da Lenzi 1913)

Provengono da lì infatti un sarcofago del sec. IV e un frammento di mensa funeraria iscritta riferibile al sec. IV-V, dove figura il nome di Domnio. Il sarcofago appartiene al vescovo Primo, nipote di Domnio, sepolto il 21 gennaio secondo quanto indica la formula obituaria dell'epitafio: *depositus Primus epi/scopus XII kal(endas) febr(uarias), ne/pos Domniones martores*³⁰ (Fig. 4); l'anno potrebbe essere il 325. L'iscrizione sulla mensa è mutila, ma presenta sufficienti elementi per assicurare l'identità di Domnio e la data della morte o deposizione al 10 aprile: *[d(e)p(osi)]t(us) Domn[io/ ep(iscopus)] / [mar]t(yr) IIII id(us) [aprilis]*³¹ (Figg. 5-5a).

Le scoperte archeologiche inoltre sembrano attestare che, prima ancora della grande persecuzione di Diocleziano e cioè verso la fine del sec. III o l'inizio del IV, quando Domnio e forse prima Venanzio predicavano il Vangelo di Gesù in quelle regioni fino al sacrificio della vita, lì i cristiani dovessero già avere un luogo di culto o una *domus orationis*: si tratta del cosiddetto oratorio A (Fig. 6) riconosciuto nell'ambiente termale di una *domus* a nord-ovest del successivo complesso episcopale, impiantato in un quartiere urbano presso la cinta delle mura nel corso del sec. IV e in seguito più volte rimaneggia-

³⁰ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 14897; F. BULIĆ, Sarcofago di Primus, vescovo, nipote di Domnionone martire, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 28, Spalato, 1900, pp. 273-293; F. BULIĆ, Scoperta del sarcofago di Primus vescovo nipote di Domnionone martire, *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 6, Roma, 1900, pp. 275-283; J. ZEILLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 99; F. LENZI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), II *Suppl.*, tav. VI b; *Salona IV/2, Recherches...* *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 830-832, mr. 462.

³¹ CIL III, *Suppl.*, 9575. L. JELIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 12, 1894), p. 28, tav. V, fig. 9: l'A. data l'iscrizione al secolo VI; Ma N. DUVAL, "Mensae" funéraires de Sirmium et de Salone, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 77, Split, 1984, pp. 205-206, n. 1 e 216; N. DUVAL, "Piscinae et mensae" funéraires: da Salone à Aquilée, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 26, Trieste, 1985, pp. 437-462. e spec. 449-459 e fig. 19.; N. DUVAL - E. MARIN, *op. cit.* (n. 15, 1992.), pp. 291-294. *Salona III.*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 423-428 e fig. 188. *Salona IV/1. Recherches...* *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 259-262, nr. 71.

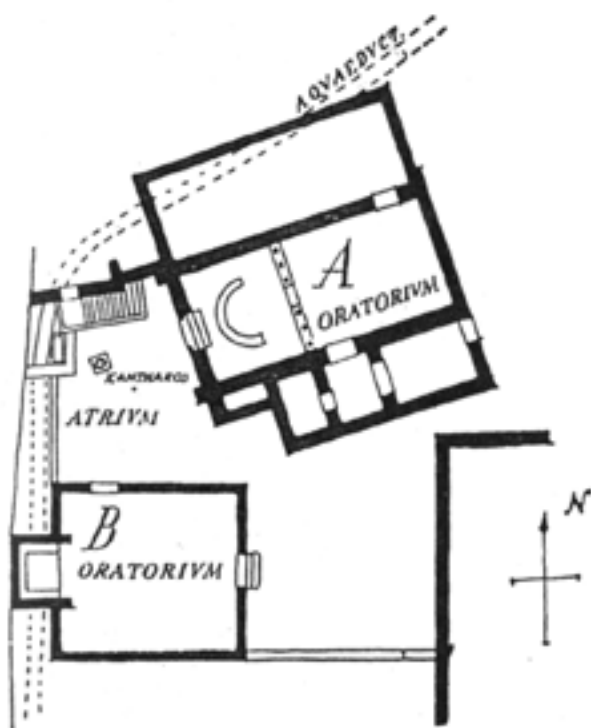


Fig. 6. Gli oratori primitivi di Salona nell'angolo nord-occidentale della città (da Dyggve 1934)

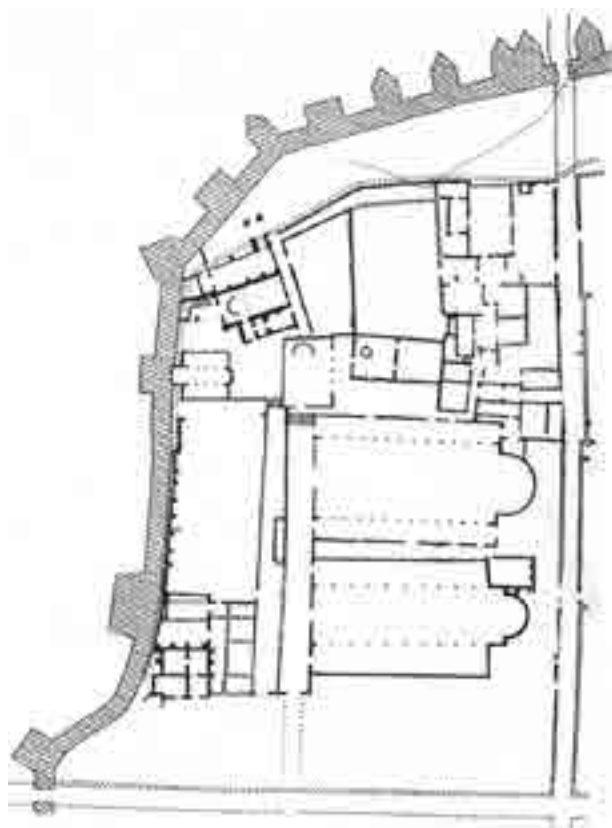


Fig. 7. Le prime basiliche del complesso episcopale di Salona (sec. IV) (da Marasović 1998)

to³² (Fig. 7); ne dà testimonianza infatti l'iscrizione musiva nel presbiterio della basilica che suggerisce la cronologia di questa seconda fase (Fig. 8): *nova post vetera / coepit Synferius; / Esychius eius nepos / c[u]m clero et populo [fe]cit. / haec munera / domus Chr(ist)e grata / tene*³³. Esichio, contemporaneo di papa Zosimo e di sant'Agostino (che ne ricorda la sua missione religiosa)³⁴, resse la chiesa di Salona dal 404 al 426: il compimento dei *munera domus* si pone dunque nel primo decennio del secolo V. La formula *post vetera* pare riferirsi ai resti di una o due precedenti fasi costruttive del sec. IV non meglio definibili, venute in luce sotto l'impianto del V³⁵. Col tempo la Chiesa salonitana ebbe modo di

³² E. DYGGVE, Salona christiana. Aperçu historique du développement de la ville et de ses constructions sous l'époque paléochrétienne, *Atti del III Congresso internazionale d'Archeologia Cristiana*, Roma, 1934, pp. 245-246 e fig. 11; B. GABRIČEVIĆ, Le plus ancien oratoire chrétien de Salone, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 77, Split, 1984, p. 161; T. MARASOVIĆ, Ristrutturazione delle città sulla costa orientale adriatica nell'epoca paleocristiana, *Actes du XI e Congrès Intern. d'Arch. Chrét.*, I, Roma 1989, p. 334; T. MARASOVIĆ, Il complesso episcopale salonitano nel VI-VII secolo, *Acta XIII Congressus Int. Arch. Christ.*, II, Città del Vaticano-Split, 1998, p. 1004.

³³ F. BULIĆ, Scavi nella basilica episcopale urbana a Salona durante l'anno 1902, *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, 26, Spalato, 1903, p. 71, tavv. XIV-XV. ILCV 1843; G. CUSCITO, Vescovo e cattedrale nella documentazione epigrafica in Occidente, *Actes du XI e Congrès Intern. d'Arch. Chrét.*, I, Roma, 1989, pp. 773-775; J.-P. CAILLET, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 384-385 e fig. 317. *Salona IV/1. Recherches...* *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 237-240, nr. 63.

³⁴ AUGUSTIN, *Epistulae*, 198, 5; E. MARIN, Introduzione alla Salona cristiana, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 47, Trieste, 2000, p. 544.

³⁵ R. EGGER, *Forschungen in Salona*, I, Wien 1917, pp. 88-99, fig. 175; E. CECI, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 169-170.

consolidarsi e di radicarsi sul territorio, se da una lettera di papa Zosimo al vescovo salonitano Esichio nel 418 risulta la funzione metropolitana di quella sede per la Dalmazia e per le province vicine.³⁶

Dopo queste testimonianze e quella offerta dal mosaico lateranense del sec. VII, si abbandona il terreno solido dei documenti per avventurarsi nelle sabbie mobili in cui la storia si mescola alla leggenda, anche se non manca qualche testo come il primo canone del concilio di Spalato del 925, che ha o pretende di avere dei collegamenti storici precisi: *Quoniam antiquitus beatus Domnius ab apostolo Petro predicare Salonam missus est constituitque ut ipsa ecclesia et civitas, ubi*

*sancta eius membra requiescunt, inter omnes ecclesias provinciae huius primatis habeat et metropolis nomen, super omnes episcopos legitime sortiatur*³⁷. A parte la discussa redazione del canone e i rimaneggiamenti posteriori da esso subiti per adattare la primitiva decisione a una situazione in continuo movimento, secondo l'ipotesi avanzata dal Saxer³⁸, da qui siamo informati che allora i resti mortali di san Domnio non riposavano più a Salona, nel cimitero suburbano di Manastirine, e che la rivendicazione dei diritti metropolitici da parte dei vescovi di Spalato si fondava sulla convinzione di possederne il corpo.

Il primo dei canoni attribuiti al concilio di Spalato lega dunque strettamente l'una all'altra una triplice rivendicazione: il possesso del corpo santo, la missione petrina e il primato metropolitano, allora contestato dal vescovo dei Croati, Gregorio³⁹; ma, per quanto ci riguarda, esso è anche il testo ritenuto più antico che fa di Domnio un discepolo di Pietro e il primo evangelizzatore di Salona: da allora l'agiografia salonitana resta fissata per secoli prima che la critica contemporanea non sia riuscita a mettervi ordine.

In conclusione, da quanto siamo venuti fin qui dicendo, si può affermare che, dopo la predicazione di Tito in Dalmazia, mancano prove storiche sicure fino alla seconda metà del sec. III per sostenere una presenza cristiana a Salona.



Fig. 8. Salona, basilica episcopale: epigrafe musiva dei vescovi Sinferio ed Esichio nell'ambulacro absidale (da Bulić 1903)

Text editor: Dora Štublin

³⁶ AUGUSTIN, *Epistulae*, IX, 4, in PL, XX, 672A. Per l'epitafio di Esichio su una mensa trovata a Manastirine; cfr. *Salona IV/1. Recherches...* op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 262-263.

³⁷ D. FARLATI, op. cit. (n. 4), p. 96.

³⁸ V. SAXER, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 304-305.

³⁹ V. SAXER, op. cit. (n. 15), p. 303.

Još o počecima kršćanstva u Dalmaciji temeljem sučeljavanja književnih izvora i arheoloških spomenika

Legenda o Sv. Domniju (Dujmu, Duji) kao učeniku Sv. Petra, koja se po prvi put pojavila između 10. i 11. stoljeća, ne može više svojim sadržajem odolijevati zahtjevima moderne povjesničarske kritike, niti može potvrditi pretpostavku o apostolskom podrijetlu salonitanske Crkve. No zato je, nadilazeći pobožne i kasne tradicije iznjedrene ponajprije u svrhu naglašavanja prestiža vlastite Crkve, posljednjih desetljeća u znanstvenim krugovima zamjetno nastojanje po kojem se problem razrješava kritičkim pristupom, oslanjajući se ponajprije na vrlo znakovite arheološke i epigrafičke dokaze koji su od kraja 19. stoljeća izašli na svjetlo dana.

Ključne riječi: *rano kršćanstvo, Dalmacija*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Antonia Ćosić

CONTESTO E SEQUENZE STRATIGRAFICHE DELLA BASILICA PADOVANA DI SANTA GIUSTINA

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Despite a large number of studies on the church of Santa Giustina in Padua, we know little about the context in which it was founded, the date of its foundation, the plan and its development in the Middle Ages. With the aim of providing useful elements for these problems, the contribution discusses the sequence of the architectural remains preserved in elevations and the stratigraphy documented by three old excavations.

Key words: Padua, Saint Giustina, Opilione, Early Christian architecture, Archaeology

La cristianizzazione di Padova ha da sempre come punto di riferimento la cattedrale e il santuario suburbano di Santa Giustina, la santa che secondo la Vita avrebbe subito il martirio nel 304. Nonostante sia stato oggetto di innumerevoli ricerche e pubblicazioni¹, per Santa Giustina rimangono aperti importanti problemi interpretativi sia per il contesto, non lontano dal teatro romano e in prossimità di due importanti strade - la via Annia diretta ad Adria e quella per Este e Bologna - sia per la cronologia iniziale della *basilica vel oratorium in honore sanctae Justinae* che, agli inizi del VI secolo, Opilione, *vir clarissimus et inlustis, praefectus praetorii adque patricius*, dichiara, in una celebre epigrafe, di aver completato con l'aiuto di Dio *a fundamentis*².

Per quanto riguarda il contesto, all'ipotesi che fosse sorto su un tempio romano, si è sostituita l'idea di un'area cimiteriale, abbandonata dopo il IV secolo³, a conferma di una sorprendente cesura temporale che ha diviso, anche in passato, gli studiosi tra chi, come Jean-Charles Picard⁴, attribuisce

¹ M. TONZIG *La Basilica romanico-gotica di Santa Giustina in Padova*, Padova, 1932; G. PAVAN, *Un'interpretazione del complesso paleocristiano di S. Giustina*, «Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova», 57, 1, 1968, pp. 69-92; P. L. ZOVATTO, N. IVANOFF, G. BRESCIANI ALVAREZ, D. RUPERTO PEPI O.S.B., P.A. SARTORI, *La basilica di Santa Giustina. Arte e storia*, Castelfranco Veneto (TV), 1970; G. BRESCIANI ALVAREZ, *La basilica di Santa Giustina in Padova*, in C. BELLINATI, L. PUPPI (ed), *Padova, basiliche e chiese dal IV al XVIII secolo*, Vicenza, 1975, pp. 113-135; G. ZAMPIERI, *La tomba di San Luca Evangelista. La cassa in piombo e l'area funeraria della Basilica di Santa Giustina in Padova*, *Studia Archeologica*, 123, Roma, 2003, ricco di informazioni sull'area funeraria nella quale sorse la basilica di Santa Giustina (pp. 159-182) a partire dallo studio della tomba di San Luca Evangelista. Sono state anche realizzate nuove analisi archeometriche delle tessere musive nell'ambito di uno studio dell'apparato decorativo del sacello di San Prodocimo (V. CANTONE, *Transfert artistici nell'alto Adriatico. Nuove ipotesi sul sacello di San Prodocimo a Padova*, «Hortus Artium Medievalium», 22, 2016, pp. 24-32).

² Iscrizione anteriore al 524, quando Opilione ottiene il consolato (G. P. BROGIOLO, *La cattedrale e Santa Giustina tra il re Teodorico e il vescovo Olderico*, in A. CHAVARRÍA ARNAU (ed), *Ricerche sul centro episcopale di Padova. Scavi 2011-2012*, Mantova, 2017, pp. 373-382).

³ G. ZAMPIERI, *La tomba di San Luca*, op. cit.

⁴ J.-CH. PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle*, Rome, 1988, p. 642. Dello stesso parere Girolamo Zampieri che sostiene una fase di abbandono del cimitero nel corso del V secolo,

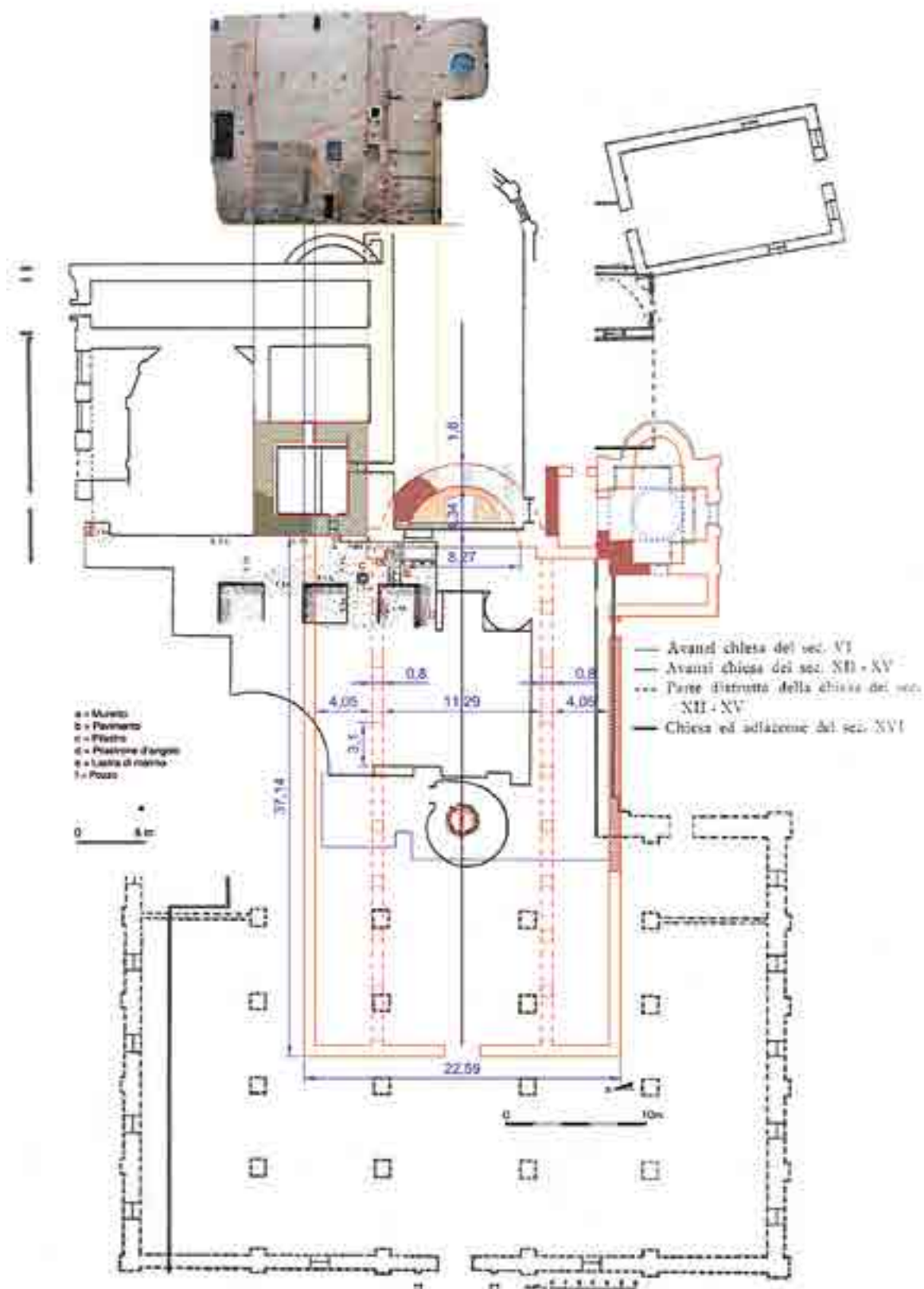


Fig. 1. Padova, chiesa di Santa Giustina (con il sacello e il campanile romanico): pianta ipotizzata (in rosso) sovrapposta ai resti dell'edificio monumentale (in nero) messo in luce nel 1928 (per il quale vedi le figure 4-6); in alto – in proiezione – fotopiano delle murature conservate in elevato (per le quali vedi le figure 3a-c)

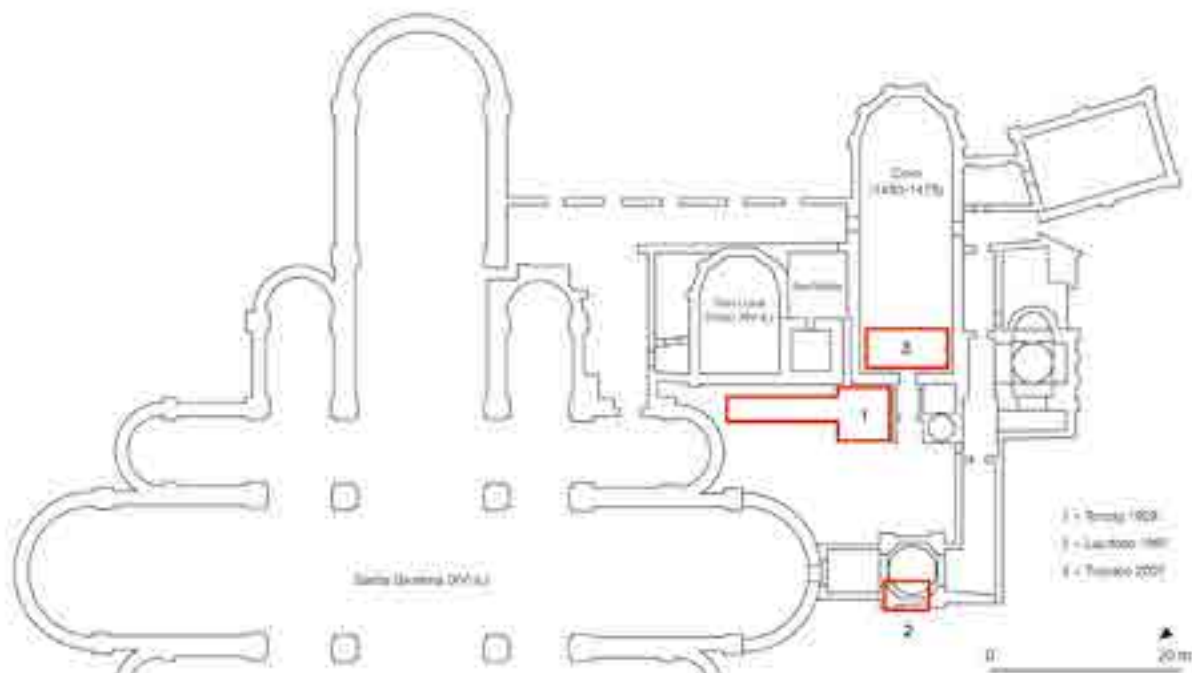


Fig. 2. Santa Giustina, il cortile cieco e gli scavi di Maria Tonzig (1, 1928), Matteo Laudato (2, 1997) e Stefano Tuzzato (3, 2007)

al prefetto la costruzione ex novo della *basilica vel oratorium* e quanti - recentemente anche Alexandra Chavarría Arnau⁵, ipotizzano invece, fin dal IV secolo, una prima basilica sulla quale sarebbe poi intervenuto Opilione. Del complesso di culto si conserva in alzato un sacello, non sappiamo se identificabile nell'oratorio costruito da Opilione dapprima dedicato alla Vergine, poi al vescovo Prosdocimo, oggetto nel XX secolo di scavi e innumerevoli studi, mentre della chiesa dedicata a Giustina, demolita nel XVI secolo, sopravvivono solo un lacerto musivo, attribuito al VI secolo, e alcuni tratti di muratura che non sappiamo a quali fasi riferire: a prima o dopo Opilione, all'istituzione del monastero nel 970 o alla ricostruzione post-terremoto del 1117. In un disegno di Cristoforo Sorte (1510-1595) la chiesa, probabilmente ridotta rispetto a quella paleocristiana, è rappresentata a tre navate di sei campate (su cinque colonne), pianta desumibile anche da tre tratti di muratura (del perimetrale sud, del muro di fondo della navata meridionale e dell'abside)⁶. Ritorrerò in altra sede⁷

⁵ A. CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, *La cristianizzazione di Padova e le origini del complesso episcopale*, in A. CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-372.

⁶ Non è stata pubblicata e non è stata sinora rintracciata la documentazione di uno scavo, eseguito nel 1949 nel chiostro del noviziato, che avrebbe messo in luce un muro associato a "lacerti di mosaico sia pavimentale che parietale", muro riferito "alle fondazioni orientali del quadriportico" antistante la chiesa. Se questa interpretazione fosse corretta ne risulterebbe una chiesa lunga 45 metri, con la facciata, disassata rispetto alle navate, "che doveva sorgere sull'allineamento dei pilastri del portico" del chiostro del noviziato (G. PAVAN, *Un'interpretazione*, *op. cit.*, p. 82). Sui problemi della pianta della basilica paleocristiana si veda G. ZAMPIERI, *La tomba di San Luca Evangelista*, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159.

⁷ Queste ricerche si sono svolte nell'ambito di un progetto da me avviato nel 2008, grazie all'appoggio di Francesco G.B. Trolese O.S.B., e ora diretto da Alexandra Chavarría Arnau (Università di Padova), progetto che ha previsto nuovi rilievi (Riccardo Benedetti), uno studio accurato dell'arredo liturgico (Paolo Vedovetto, nell'ambito del dottorato presso l'Università di Padova), analisi stratigrafiche delle murature (Gian Pietro Brogiolo e Marie-Ange Causarano), ricerche archeometriche sui laterizi (Elena Mercedes Pérez Monserrat, Marie Curie Fellowship), datazioni OSL delle malte (Petra Urbanova, Unipd Stars Fellowship).

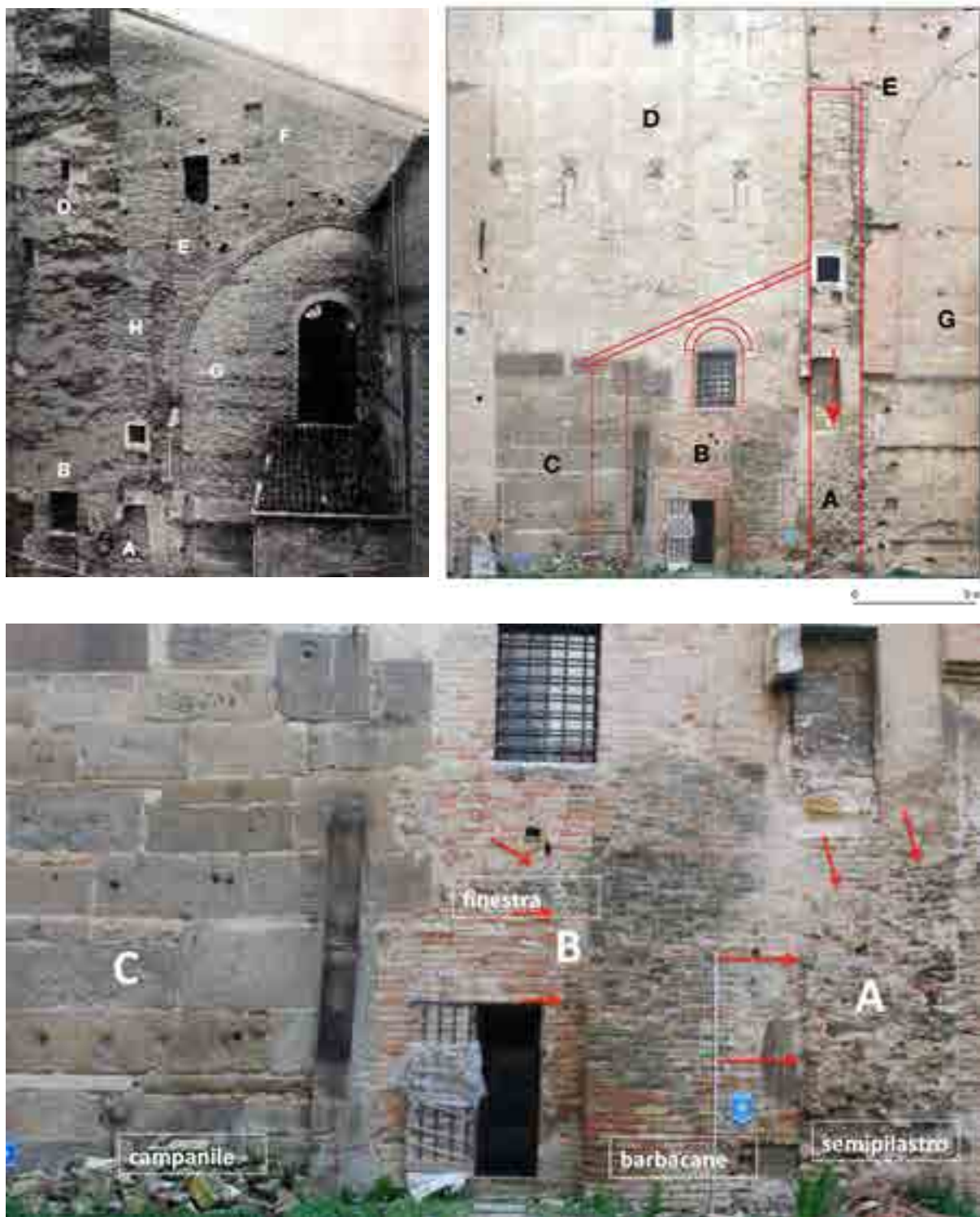


Fig. 3a-b-c. Santa Giustina, cortile cieco, lato orientale, foto ante 1932 (da M. TONZIG, La Basilica romano-gotica, op. cit) e fotopiano del 2016 con ipotesi della sezione della navata nord della chiesa:
A. muratura est ovest, in sezione; **B.** paramento del campanile in laterizi, con traccia degli archi di due finestre;
C. muro del campanile in grossi conci di reimpiego; **D.** parte alta del campanile; **E.** muratura del coro, addossata al campanile, con l'arco trionfale a sesto acuto e un tetto ad una falda; **F.** sopraelevazione del tetto sempre con paramento in laterizi; **G.** tamponamento dell'arco trionfale, dopo la demolizione della chiesa antica;
H. tamponamento dell'intercapedine tra il coro e il campanile che consentiva di salire alla cappella di San Mattia; intercapedine tamponata dopo l'ampliamento tardo-quattrocentesco del presbiterio.

sulla sequenza della chiesa e sulla sua relazione con il cimitero e con il sacello di San Prosdocimo; in questa, mi soffermerò sulle stratigrafie documentate dagli scavi nel settore orientale della chiesa e nella navata centrale presso il cosiddetto “pozzo dei martiri”, stratigrafie che offrono preziose informazioni sulla funzionalità dell’area.

STRATIGRAFIE NEL SETTORE ORIENTALE DELLA CHIESA

A seguito dell’integrale demolizione, nel XVI secolo, delle navate centrale e settentrionale della chiesa antica si è formato un piccolo cortile cieco, a pianta irregolare di m 16 x 14/32 (Fig. 2), delimitato a nord dalle cappelle della basilica rinascimentale, ad ovest e a sud da un corridoio che dal “pozzo dei martiri”, porta al sacello di San Prosdocimo e ad est dai perimetrali di più edifici, risultato di una sequenza stratigrafica assai articolata. Tale sequenza (Figg. 3a-b) comprende: il muro di chiusura frontale della cappella di San Luca⁸, il lato ovest del campanile e la facciata del vecchio presbiterio, nei quali l’elemento più antico è costituito da una muratura (A) con andamento est ovest e di ben m 1,44 di spessore. Interpretata come resto del divisorio tra navata centrale e navata nord o come il pilastro sul quale si innestava l’arco trionfale⁹, va probabilmente collegata alla fondazione di un’abside, messa in luce, negli anni ’50, nel presbiterio quattrocentesco e riscavata nel maggio del 2007¹⁰. Tale fondazione¹¹, alla quota massima di m 9,97, ha spessore di m 1,80, una freccia di m 4,90 e un diametro di m 8,30. Le si addossa, dall’interno, una seconda fondazione semicircolare, riferita, unitamente alla fondazione di due pilastri, alla cripta romanica, mentre due ulteriori interventi sono riferibili alle trasformazioni del coro nel corso del XV secolo.

La sequenza stratigrafica anteriore alla chiesa comprende un deposito naturale di limo-sabbia-argilla che nella parte superiore ha subito un’evoluzione in suolo (alla quota di m 9,90 s.l.m.) e un taglio regolare, sul cui fondo vi erano alcuni laterizi, interpretato come spolio forse di una sepoltura. Questa sequenza va confrontata con quella documentata, nell’agosto del 1928, da Maria Tonzig ad ovest del tamponamento dell’arco trionfale (G), ovvero a meno un metro dall’area indagata da Tuzzato¹², dove un solo strato è comparabile: la “creta vergine” individuata a m 4,25 di profondità dal piano di calpestio del cortile cieco. Al di sopra di questo strato naturale vi era infatti “una specie di betonata disfatta e granulosa mista a molta creta” che plausibilmente corrisponde al piano di cantiere di un’imponente struttura - delimitata da perimetrali dello spessore di 3 m e con divisori di 2,24 e 2,80 m - che si sviluppa in direzione nord sud per una ventina di metri fino alla basilica rinascimentale (Fig. 4)¹³.

⁸ Il fronte ovest di San Luca, secondo M. TONZIG, *La Basilica romanico-gotica*, op. cit., p. 84 sarebbe “contemporaneo al muro riempitivo dell’arcata del presbiterio”, dunque degli inizi del XVI secolo.

⁹ G. PAVAN, *Un’interpretazione*, op. cit. cit, p. 86.; G. BRESCIANI ALVAREZ, *La basilica di Santa Giustina in Padova*, op. cit., p. 119.

¹⁰ Relazione preliminare di Stefano Tuzzato, *Padova, Basilica di Santa Giustina. Sondaggi archeologici* (2007), dattiloscritto di 7 pp. con foto e un rilievo (Archivio della Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l’area metropolitana di Venezia e le province di Belluno, Padova e Treviso).

¹¹ È in frammenti di laterizi legati da malta coesa, ricca di calce, sulla quale si impostano laterizi romani di riutilizzo posti di piatto.

¹² Ha iniziato a scavare nel tratto nord contiguo al tamponamento del presbiterio per proseguire poi in trincea verso nord fino alla chiesa del XVI secolo, mantenendo una distanza di tre metri dal campanile (M. TONZIG 1932, *La Basilica romanico-gotica*, op. cit., pp. 90-92).

¹³ A tre metri di profondità (rispetto al piano di calpestio del cortile), la descrive come “una grande fondazione che continua ininterrotta parallela alla facciata del presbiterio, all’intercapedine e al campanile fin sotto alla chiesa attuale” e “si dirama per ben tre volte in senso normale formando con la prima vani rettangolari”. Inoltre collega il perimetrale nord a un “pilastro”, che funge da angolata nord-ovest della cappella di San Luca (Fig. 4, d); se così fosse, l’edificio, con lato nord sud superiore ad una ventina di metri, avrebbe avuto delle lesene esterne.

Dal momento che, alla quota di m 3,30 rispetto al cortile, “si constatò la presenza dell’acqua freatica”, la Tonzig ipotizzò che queste articolate strutture servissero a consolidare il terreno sul quale venne poi eretta la chiesa. In realtà le tre foto pubblicate (figg. 5a-b, 6) smentiscono che le murature siano in fondazione. Nel vano 3, il paramento del perimetrale nord è a vista almeno per

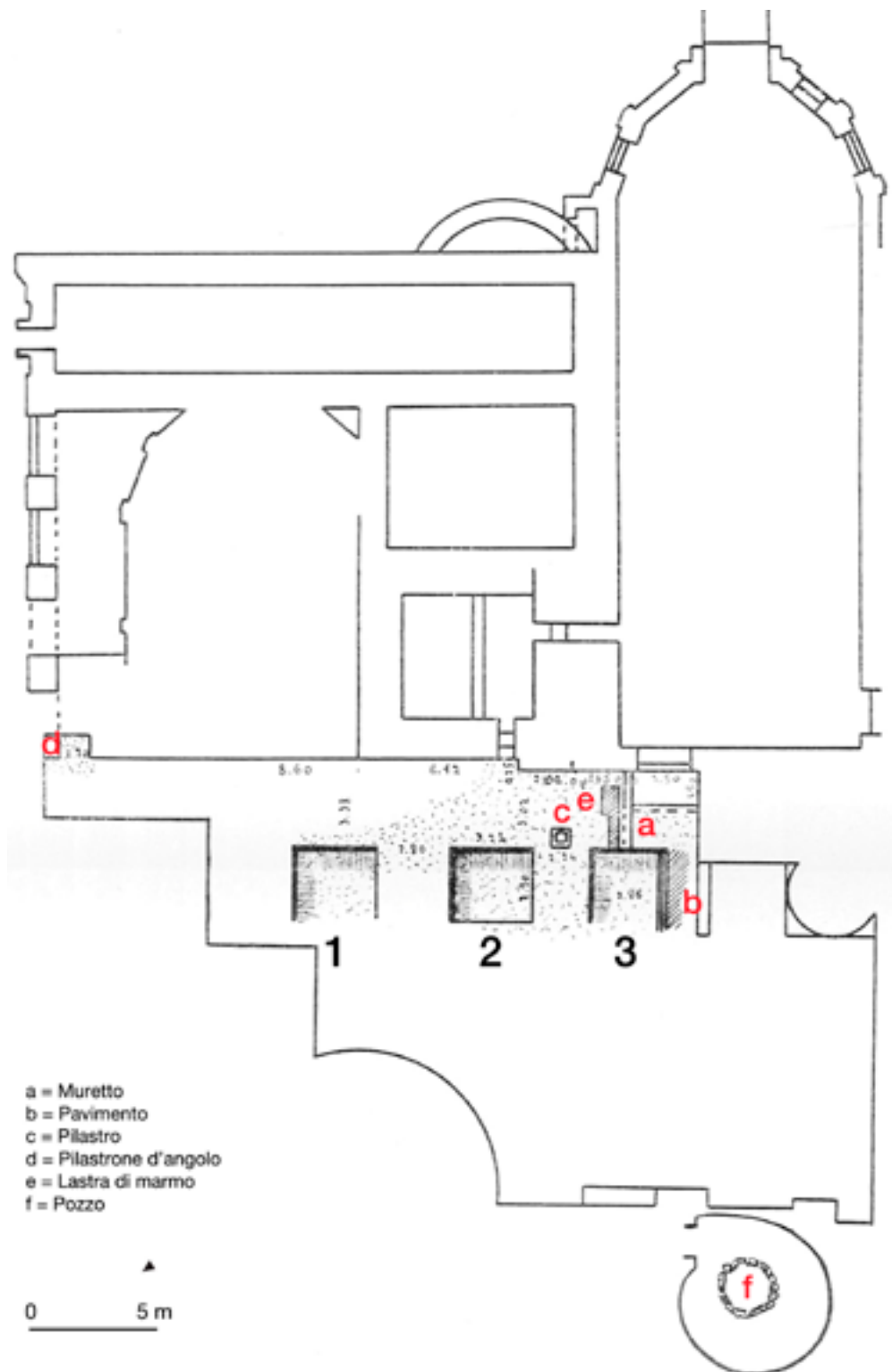


Fig. 4. Santa Giustina, cortile cieco, scavi 1928, rilievo (da M. TONZIG, La Basilica romanico – gotica, op. cit.)



Fig. 5a-b. Santa Giustina, cortile cieco, scavi 1928. 5a. foto dello scavo verso nord. 5b. particolare del pilastro "c" in laterizi tardomedievali e paramento in laterizi del perimetrale nord del vano 2 (da M. TONZIG, *La Basilica romanico – gotica*, op. cit.)

sei corsi di mattoni (Fig. 5b), mentre in quello sud si possono osservare nove corsi di laterizi con due distinte riseghe (Fig. 6) correttamente indicate nella planimetria¹⁴.

In conclusione la monumentalità e l'articolazione di questa struttura¹⁵ che non ha alcuna relazione con i perimetrali e l'abside della chiesa (Fig. 1), i paramenti ben curati che scendono per più di un metro al di sotto della quota del mosaico della basilica paleocristiana, la mancanza di confronti con sistemi simili di consolidamento



Fig. 6. Santa Giustina, cortile cieco, scavi 1928, area antistante il coro: muretto "a" con interfaccia della demolizione; pilastro "c"; stipite su lastra rettangolare, addossato al muretto "e"; platea "b". (da M. TONZIG, *La Basilica romanico – gotica*, op. cit)

¹⁴ M. TONZIG 1932, *La Basilica romanico – gotica*, op. cit., tav. II in appendice. L'area scavata è indicata con un puntinato che non ha limiti definiti e non corrisponde a quanto si può osservare nelle foto, forse perché scattate prima della conclusione delle ricerche.

¹⁵ Del perimetrale sud abbiamo uno spessore solo parziale, in quanto non interamente scavato e non sono stati individuati gli altri perimetrali, non compresi nell'area di scavo: quello nord si trova al di sotto della basilica ricostruita nel XVI secolo, quello ovest era certamente situato ad est del "pozzo dei martiri", dove lo scavo del 1997 ha messo in luce un altro edificio. Solo del vano 2 sono stati identificati i quattro lati di 2,90 m est-ovest x 3,24 nord sud (Fig. 6, n. 2); del vano 3, parzialmente scavato, è segnata la misura (2,86 m) nord sud, mentre del vano 1 non sono riportate le misure, ma il lato nord-sud, nel disegno, è simile a quello del vano 2, pari a 3,24 m.

del terreno, i muri di notevole spessore rispetto ai vani assai stretti e privi di aperture, escludono una fondazione della chiesa e fanno piuttosto pensare ad un edificio monumentale di età romana.

Guglielmo Ongarello nella sua *Cronica di Padova*, riprendendo una leggenda già attiva nella seconda metà del XII secolo, scrive che il vescovo Prosdocimo “ridusse in forma di chiesa un tempio de pagani, lì presso l’oratorio nel quale lui fu sepolto”¹⁶. Ipotesi rigettata da gran parte degli studiosi e con ampia argomentazione da Girolamo Zampieri che pensa piuttosto ad una vasta area cimiteriale che comprendeva anche l’ipogeo al di sotto del settore occidentale della chiesa (Fig. 7), forse collegato ad un grande monumento sepolcrale¹⁷. Quale sia l’interpretazione corretta dell’imponente edificio scavato dalla Tonzig, che solo ulteriori scavi potranno precisare, la sua parziale conservazione al di sotto del settore orientale delle navate centrale e settentrionale spiega le differenti quote di cantiere della chiesa: attorno ai 12 m s.l.m. sulla rasatura dell’edificio romano, sono più basse di circa due metri nell’abside e presso il “pozzo dei martiri”.¹⁸

Altrettanto problematica è la seconda fase della sequenza riferita dalla Tonzig alla cripta. Comprende: la base di un pilastro quadrato in mattoni “non romani, difficilmente romanici” (Fig. 5b)¹⁹

¹⁶ *Cronica di Padova* (Biblioteca Civica, Ms. BP 4799, c. 92), che l’Ongarello dichiara di aver iniziato nel 1441, ma che si ritiene un falso del XVI secolo. Maria Pia Billanovich, considerando interpolata, proprio nel passo “a titulo Concordiae basilica Justine fuit dicata”, l’iscrizione della seconda metà del XII secolo, apposta sul sarcofago di s. Giustina, attribuisce ad Albertino Mussato l’invenzione della leggenda agli inizi del XIV secolo (M.P. BILLANOVICH, *Una miniera di epigrafi e di antichità. Il Chiostro Maggiore di S. Giustina in Padova*, «Italia medioevale e umanistica», 12 (1969), pp. 197-292, a pp. 283-284). La notizia è ripresa da Cavaccio 1606, p. 220 che pensava di aver ritrovato le vestigia del tempio negli scavi per il nuovo chiostro: “Antiqui illius templi, cuius mentio est apud Ungarellum (nos Concordiae opinamus) ante paucos annos vestigia aspeimus cum novi claustrum fundamenta locarentur”, dunque a sud rispetto alla chiesa, in prossimità di edifici che non consentirono di ampliare lo scavo. In realtà i ritrovamenti – “absides, et loculamenta politici operis, obeliscorum fragmenta, tabulae lapideae decempedales, aliaque vetustatis monumenta” – non paiono da riferire ad un tempio, quanto piuttosto, come sostenuto già da Cesira Gasparotto, ad una “ricca domus suburbana”. Sempre la Gasparotto, dopo aver sostenuto che vicino al teatro doveva sorgere un tempio e “la posizione extra pomerium, presso un corso d’acqua e nel sito di probabile incontro di vie extraurbane farebbe piuttosto pensare a Diana” e non a Concordia, alla fine rifiuta l’ipotesi per Santa Giustina in quanto sorta in area “eminentemente funeraria” (*Padova ecclesiastica* 1239. *Note topografico-storiche*, Fonti e ricerche di storia ecclesiastica padovana, 1, Padova, 1967, p. 121). A sua volta G. ZAMPIERI, *La tomba di “San Luca Evangelista”*, op. cit., analizza con grande dettaglio la questione del tempio (pp. 37-40), dell’ipogeo funerario (pp. 141-146) e più in generale del cimitero (pp. 160-180), in uso dal I al IV secolo (p. 189) con cinque diversi tipi di sepolture: ad incinerazione, a nicchie e loculi per olle cinerarie ad inumazione, alla cappuccina, in sarcofago e in casse di piombo (p. 69). Quanto all’ipogeo, articolato in nicchie e loculi, le datazioni ¹⁴C dei resti scheletri di quattro loculi e di due mattoni gli suggeriscono una datazione al II secolo d.C. (p. 179).

¹⁷ G. ZAMPIERI, *La tomba di “San Luca Evangelista”*, op. cit. analizza con grande dettaglio la questione del tempio (pp. 37-40), dell’ipogeo funerario (pp. 141-146) e, più in generale del cimitero (pp. 160-180), ipotizzando un cimitero in uso fino al IV secolo con cinque diversi tipi di sepolture: ad incinerazione, a nicchie e loculi per olle cinerarie ad inumazione, alla cappuccina, in sarcofago e in casse di piombo (p. 69). Quanto all’ipogeo, articolato in nicchie e loculi, le datazioni ¹⁴C dei resti scheletri di quattro loculi e di due mattoni gli suggeriscono una datazione al II secolo d.C. (p. 179). Sull’area funeraria vedi anche E. PETTENÒ, C. ROSSI, *Le necropoli tardo romane di Padova. Dati per una ricostruzione complessa*, in F. RINALDI, A. VIGONI (eds), *Le necropoli della media e tarda età imperiale (III-IV secolo) a Iulia Concordia e nell’arco altoadriatico*, Atti del convegno di studio (Concordia Sagittaria, 5-6 giugno 2014), Rubano (Pd), 2015, pp. 201-224, a pp. 208-215.

¹⁸ Un dislivello tra i piani d’uso dell’interno e dell’esterno della chiesa esisteva ancora nel 1564, quando nel verbale del trasferimento delle reliquie di s. Prosdocimo situate in “antiquissimo in sacello, in parte dextera prope aditum templi aedificato”, si precisa che, per raggiungerlo, si saliva “per octo fere gradus cum summa veneratione (verbale del cancelliere G. G. Terenzio in P. SAVIOLO, *Thesaurus urbis Paduanae alter apostolicum depositum patavinum. Pecuniae a patribus civitatis collectae, et donatae Societati Pauperum, ut egeni perpetuo subleventur, vocatus S. Mons Pietatis. In hac novissima impressione piis quibusdam monumentis antepositis satis digne enitentibus*, in delubro B.P. Antonii cognomento de Padua. Cum translationibus cinerum sanctorum protectorum, et aliorum martyrum, Padova 1682, pp. 132-153 a p. 149).

¹⁹ Secondo la Tonzig, all’altezza di 50 cm, presenterebbe su tre lati una risega. In realtà, dalla foto, sembra piuttosto ci sia una fondazione con quattro corsi di laterizi, sulla quale si imposta, a filo del lato ovest, un pilastro di 9 corsi di mattoni di modulo tardomedievale.

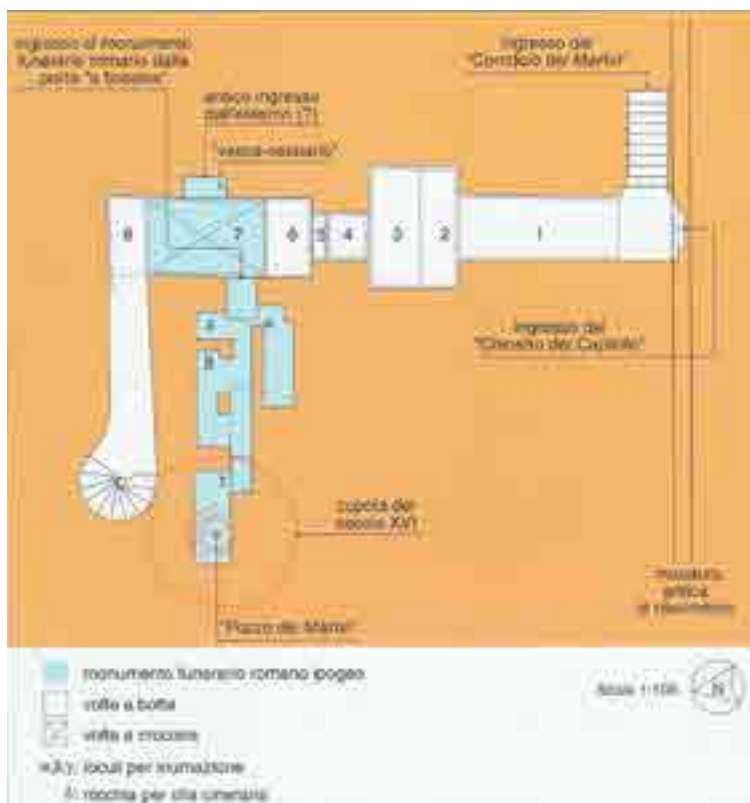


Fig. 7. Santa Giustina, ipogeo funerario (da G. ZAMPIERI, La tomba di San Luca Evangelista, op. cit., fig. 62a)

e un “muricciolo” dello spessore di 30 cm, entrambi impostati sul grande muro nord sud del “podio”²⁰, nonché due lastre di pietra, residuo di una pavimentazione²¹ e una sorta di “platea in mattoni romani” delimitata verso nord da un cordolo di mattoni messi a coltello, interpretata come pavimento della chiesa, in quanto la quota corrisponde, secondo la Tonzig, a quella del mosaico del “pozzo dei martiri”. In realtà l’interpretazione più plausibile è che tutte queste strutture, più che alla cripta romanica, siano riferibili al sottocoro, ultimato nel 1476²², al quale si scendeva tramite alcuni gradini mentre altri tre gradini portavano alla porta del coro, in asse con il “pozzo dei martiri”²³.

Sia le strutture della prima come della seconda fase sono state infine coperte da un interro di terreno bruno associato a lenti di macerie, all’interno delle quali la Tonzig ha individuato numerosi frammenti di mosaici pavimentali e parietali, secondo lei provenienti

dai lavori effettuati nel 1564-1565 nel sacello di San Prosdocimo. Ipotesi plausibile dal momento che la formazione di tali riporti è posteriore all’integrale asportazione, nel settore del cortile cieco, dei perimetrali e di gran parte della pavimentazione della chiesa antica²⁴.

²⁰ Secondo la Tonzig sarebbe servito a sostenere la volta e la scalinata di accesso alla cripta e avrebbe due fasi costruttive: sulla muratura romanica, demolita a quote differenziate, è stato costruito un nuovo muro, simile al tamponamento cinquecentesco della grande arcata del presbiterio.

²¹ Una lastra rettangolare in pietra, dello spessore di una decina di centimetri, addossata al muricciolo e sulla quale si imposta una sorta di stipite con tre corsi di pietra; una seconda più grande lastra in prossimità del “muricciolo”, appoggiata, come la prima, su uno strato di terra e macerie che copre il grande muro.

²² Coro ultimato nel 1476, quando vi viene trasferito il corpo di s. Giustina (TONZIG 1930, p. 304).

²³ I gradini che scendono nella cripta e i tre che salgono al coro chiuso da una parete di riquadri di legno, unitamente ad altri interessanti particolari della chiesa (il colonnato che divideva la navata centrale da quella meridionale, il pavimento tessellato con disegni floreali, il “pozzo dei martiri”, l’altare su colonnette di s. Luca, una statua di s. Giustina) sono illustrati in una miniatura di Benedetto Bordon, eseguita attorno al 1525, che rappresenta la “Revelatio sanctorum martyrum quiescentium in ecclesia Sancte Iustine de Padua ante chorum” (M.P. BILLANOVICH, *Il “Pozzo Dei Martiri” in S. Giustina di Padova*, in G. BILLANOVICH, C. DIONISOTTI, M. FERRARI, G. FRASSO, P. SAMBIN (eds), *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica XXXVIII*, Padova 1995, pp. 1-20, tav. 1; M. BISSON, *Controriforma e spazio liturgico: i cori della basilica di Santa Giustina di Padova*, Atti dell’Istituto Veneto di scienze, Lettere ed Arti, CLXXII (2013-2014) - Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti, pp. 441-518, a pp. 461-463).

²⁴ Lo si deduce dal fatto che le absidi della nuova chiesa sono state costruite a partire dalle quote di rasatura dell’edificio monumentale. L’asportazione radicale delle murature della chiesa potrebbe essere servita a fornire materiali per la grandiosa chiesa rinascimentale.

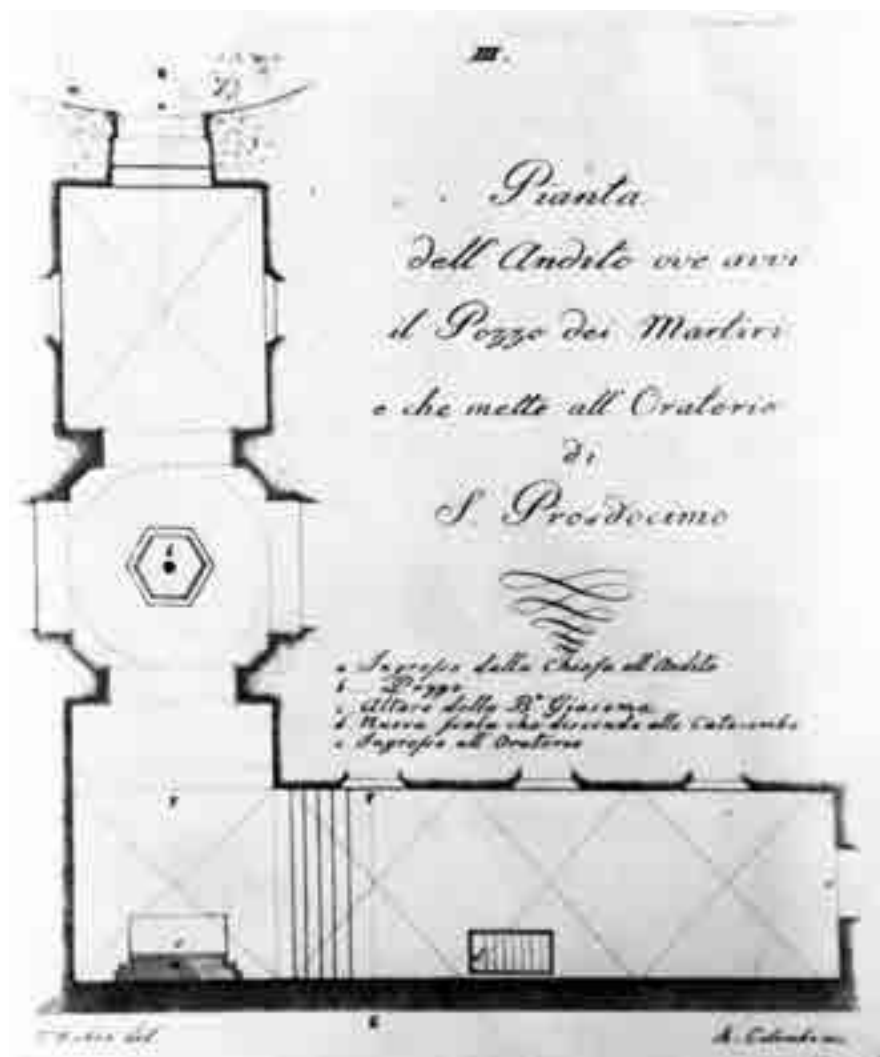


Fig. 8. Santa Giustina, corridoio di collegamento tra la nuova chiesa, il “pozzo dei martiri” e il sacello di San Prosdocimo (incisione di A. Colombo di un disegno di Vincenzo Zabeo, 1826. Biblioteca del Museo Civico di Padova, R.I.P. XXXIX-3603).

LA SEQUENZA PRESSO IL “POZZO DEI MARTIRI”

Un percorso della “memoria sacra” unisce la grandiosa basilica del ‘500 al sacello di San Prosdocimo, ritenuto luogo di sepoltura dei vescovi e dei santi della Chiesa padovana. Al centro di quel percorso viene monumentalizzato il cosiddetto “pozzo dei martiri” (Fig. 8), nel quale erano stati raccolte le ossa recuperate dal sottostante ipogeo romano. A tale percorso si deve la conservazione del perimetrale sud della basilica, tagliato per creare un ingresso monumentale all’ipogeo (Fig. 9), a sua volta collegato al “pozzo dei martiri”.

Un sondaggio stratigrafico, eseguito nel 1997 da Matteo Laudato nel “pozzo dei martiri” (Fig. 10), ha documentato una sequenza affatto diversa rispetto a quella del cortile cieco²⁵. Certamente ante-

²⁵ M. LAUDATO, *Basilica di S. Giustina in Padova. Recenti scavi nel “corridoio dei martiri”*, in F. GUIDOBALDI, A. PARIBENI (eds), *Atti del VI colloquio dell’Associazione italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, (Venezia, 20-23 gennaio 1999), Ravenna, 2000, pp. 501-506.

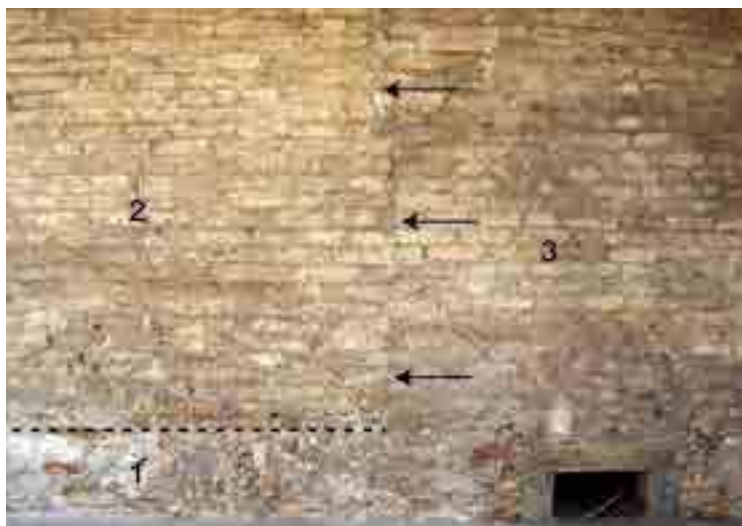


Fig. 9. Santa Giustina, particolare del perimetrale sud con l'alzato in laterizi romani di reimpiego (2), tagliato per realizzare l'accesso all'ipogeo e successivamente tamponato (3)

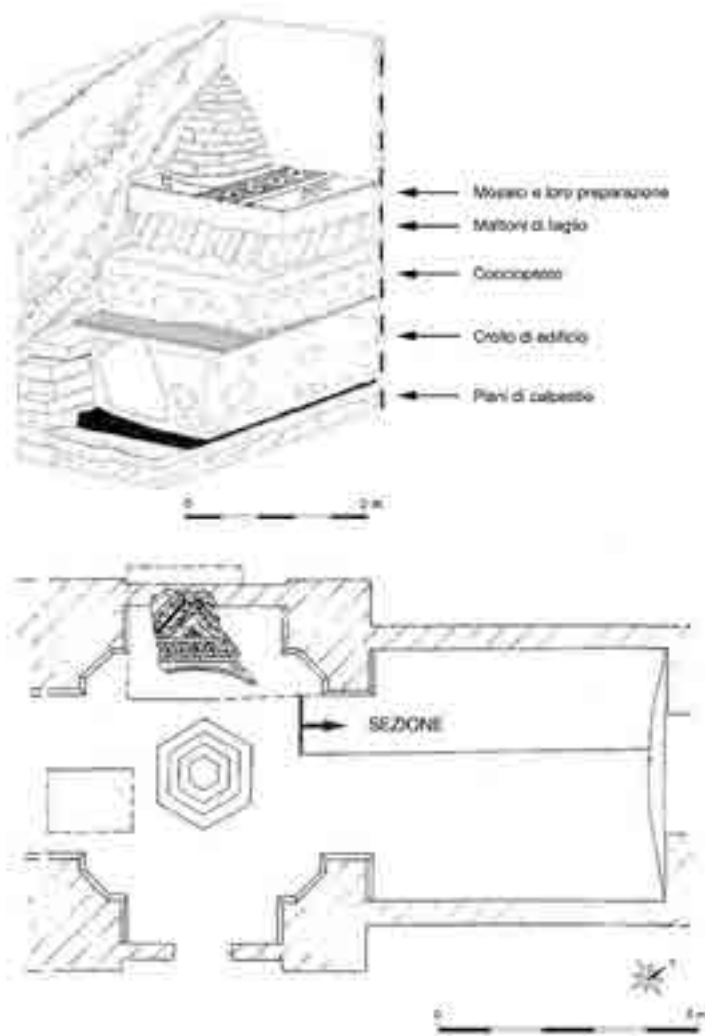


Fig. 10. Santa Giustina, "pozzo dei martiri": sezione e pianta dello scavo (da M. LAUDATO, *Basilica di S. Giustina*, op. cit.).

riore alla chiesa sono una muratura in mattoni sesquipedali legati da malta, conservata per un'altezza di circa 50 cm ed un'altra struttura realizzata con "pani di matrice cruda, secondo una tecnica edificatoria di epoca romana". Tali strutture sono in fase con "una microstratificazione dei livelli, tale da provocare un accrescimento costante delle matrici, poco consoni ad un'area residenziale urbana". Rimane incerta la funzione delle murature, distrutte da un incendio seguito da "un processo di crollo dell'edificio prolungato nel tempo", testimoniato dall'esposizione "agli agenti atmosferici e alla vegetazione spontanea".

Al di sopra del crollo, si susseguono quattro unità stratigrafiche: (a) un riporto di macerie, preparatorio alla costruzione dell'edificio; (b) un strato di cocciopesto di spessore notevole, con all'interno una discontinuità per "un cambiamento della qualità dei componenti, e la presenza nella porzione inferiore di alcune tessere sconnesse", riferita forse ad "una precedente pavimentazione"; (c) uno strato di "mattoni (probabilmente di reimpiego) disposti a coltello, con ampie fessure di ventilazione", tecnica di preparazione per il mosaico, "assolutamente identica a quella utilizzata in un altro frammento musivo identificato negli anni '60 vicino al Sacello di San Prosdocimo"; (d) infine un pavimento a mosaico policromo con decorazioni geometriche. L'insieme di questi livelli, con uno spessore finale di ca. 1,2 m, tutti riferiti alla chiesa paleocristiana, avrebbe avuto lo scopo di attenuare il dislivello esistente tra lo strato di crollo delle strutture romane e la rasatura del "podio". Inoltre il mosaico ben conservato e rimasto in uso fino all'intervento del XVI secolo, ridimensionerebbe "le distruzioni operate, almeno in questa parte della basilica, dal *vehemens terremotus*, descritto dalle cronache medievali".

Kontekst i stratigrafski slojevi padovanske bazilike Svete Justine

Mada je već bilo predmetom brojnih istraživanja, nekih iskapanja i publikacija, svetište u padovanskoj predgrađi posvećeno Justini, svetišci koja je prema sačuvanom životopisu mučena 304. godine, još uvijek nameće brojne interpretativne probleme koji se tiču ukupnoga konteksta, povijesnih slojeva i kronologije. Problemi na koje su dvije istraživačke grupe Sveučilišta u Padovi u posljednjih godina pokrenutim istraživanjima nastojale ponuditi inovativne odgovore, vezani su za *basilicu vel oratorium in honore sanctae Justinae* za koju na početku 6. stoljeća Opilione, *vir clarissimus et inlustris, praefectus praetorii adque patricius*, u dobro znanome natpisu, ističe kako ju je dovršio uz Božju pomoć *a fundamentis*. Za *basilicu vel oratorium* nije jasno treba li je identificirati s još uvijek do krova sačuvanom ranokršćanskom kapelom Sv. Prosdocima koja je do 11. stoljeća bila posvećena Djevici ili, pak, s crkvom Sv. Justine porušenom u 16. stoljeću, a od koje je sačuvan tek ulomak podnog mozaika iz 6. stoljeća te pojedine zidne strukture za koje nije jasno na koju se fazu izgradnje odnose: na onu prije ili pak nakon Opilionove fundacije, na vrijeme uspostave samostana 970. godine ili pak na vrijeme njegove obnove nakon potresa iz 1117. godine.

Ovaj se rad, prvi iz projekta koji pretpostavlja stratigrafsku i materijalnu analizu onih struktura za koje se predmnijeva da su ranokršćanske (ali uvijek bez neke sigurne datacije), uslijed ograničenoga prostora nastoji zadržati isključivo na topografskom i stratigrafskom aspektu u koji se uklapa ovo svetište sagrađeno nedaleko rimskoga teatra i dviju važnih prometnica: *Via Annije* u smjeru Adrije i druge ceste prema Esteu i Bologni.

Potaknut nedavnom hipotezom Girolama Zampierija o jednomo već postojećem grobnom prostoru iz ranoga rimskog razdoblja, a napuštenom nakon 4. stoljeća sa začuđujućom vremenskom pauzom u odnosu na Opilionovu fundaciju, autor iznova raspravlja o stratigrafiji monumentalnih struktura otkrivenih tijekom jednog iskopavanja 1928. godine, a zbog kojih je ostalo dvojbeno njihovo tumačenje između „podloge“ hrama i grandioznoga grobnog spomenika. Na te je strukture, a na nešto povišenoj koti nalegao istočni dio kompleksa bazilike, dok su na nižoj razini utemeljeni apsida i zapadni dio kompleksa, tamo gdje se širilo rimsko groblje, pa je upravo tu podignuta i kapela Sv. Prosdocima. U nekom narednom članku raspravit ću o kronologiji koju nude nove apsolutne datacije, zatim o odnosu starije faze groblja i novih ukopa koji se tu nastavljaše te o odnosu s crkvom i s aneksom, koji je pogrešno tumačen kao hodnik što ga povezuje s kružnom strukturom, a koja je puno kasnijega datuma i koja je uz pomoć fantazije pred pedeset godina protumačena kao „Opilionov mauzolej“.

Ključne riječi: *Padova, Sveta Justina, Opilion, ranokršćanska arhitektura, arheologija*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Antonia Ćosić

LE PEIGNE PALÉOCHRÉTIEN DE MIRINE (OMIŠALJ, ÎLE DE KRK)

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Le « peigne de Mirine » est une pièce en ivoire décorée sur ses deux faces de quatre images sculptées de miracles du Christ. Cet objet exceptionnel a été découvert en 2017 lors de la fouille archéologique d'un complexe résidentiel et économique de l'Antiquité tardive dans le secteur dit de « l'église à trois absides », à proximité de la basilique paléochrétienne de Mirine. Le croisement des données stratigraphiques, stylistiques et archéométriques permet de proposer une datation de l'objet entre la deuxième moitié du IV^e et le début du V^e siècle. Le peigne est porteur d'un enseignement doctrinal renvoyant à la catéchèse, avec des miracles à l'interprétation eucharistique ou baptismale ; son usage est vraisemblablement d'ordre liturgique, pour un clergé dont le complexe en cours de fouille serait la résidence.

Mots clés : Antiquité tardive, complexe ecclésial, peigne, ivoire, art paléochrétien, miracles du Christ, Dalmatie, île de Krk, Mirine, Omišalj

Le « peigne de Mirine » est une pièce en ivoire décorée sur ses deux faces d'images sculptées de miracles du Christ. Cet objet exceptionnel a été découvert au mois d'avril 2017, lors de la seconde campagne de fouille portant sur un complexe résidentiel et économique de l'Antiquité tardive dans le secteur dit de « l'église à trois absides », au nord de la basilique paléochrétienne de Mirine (commune d'Omišalj, île de Krk)¹. Outre l'intérêt intrinsèque du peigne imagé, cette découverte présente une rare caractéristique pour ce type d'objet, celle de provenir d'un contexte archéologique et stratigraphique bien documenté².

¹ Nous tenons tout particulièrement à remercier Jean-Pierre Caillet (université de Paris Ouest-Nanterre) et Dino Milinović (université de Zagreb) pour avoir partagé avec nous leur érudition sur ces objets en ivoire au moment de la découverte et pour la communication de premiers éléments de bibliographie.

² Les recherches archéologiques sont menées à la fois dans le cadre d'une mission archéologique franco-croate portant sur « Les complexes monastiques et ecclésiaux de l'archipel du Kvarner », et du projet de création du parc archéologique de Mirine-Fulfinum. La mission archéologique bénéficie du soutien du Ministère des affaires étrangères de la France, de l'École française de Rome, du ministère de la Culture de la Croatie, de nos institutions (Université de Bourgogne Franche-Comté-UMR Chrono-environnement et CNRS-UMR ARTEHIS) et de Caritas veritatis foundation ; le projet de parc archéologique de Mirine-Fulfinum est porté par la commune d'Omišalj avec le soutien du ministère de la Culture croate.



Fig. 1. Vue générale du site de Mirine (cl. Kaducej d.o.o.)

Le complexe paléochrétien de Mirine, connu et étudié depuis plusieurs décennies³, a été érigé sur les marges septentrionales de la ville antique de *Fulfinum*, le long de la baie de Sepen. Mais on sait depuis quelques années que la baie a accueilli au haut Moyen Âge un second lieu de culte, situé à environ 150 m au nord de la basilique de Mirine (Fig. 1). Il nous est agréable ici de rendre hommage à Nikola Jakšić qui a révélé cette église à l'occasion des fouilles qu'il conduisit avec Nino Novak entre 2005 et 2006⁴ ; nos travaux sur le site sont largement redevables de ces premières recherches.

La fouille de 2005 a mis au jour une petite église à nef unique ouvrant sur trois absides inscrites dans un chevet plat ; dans un second état, une chapelle annexe, toujours à abside inscrite, est greffée sur son flanc sud. Datée du IX^e siècle par Nikola Jakšić, l'église reprend partiellement un sol en *opus spicatum* et des maçonneries d'une construction appartenant à l'établissement antérieur. Grâce aux nouvelles recherches, il est désormais assuré que la petite église haut-médiévale fut érigée dans une construction déjà abandonnée et ruinée.

³ N. NOVAK et A. BROŽIČ, *Starokršćanski kompleks na Mirinama u uvali Sapan kraj Omišlja na otoku Krku*, in *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*, s. III, 21/1995, 1996, p. 29-53 ; N. NOVAK, *Le chœur de l'église paléochrétienne de Mirine près d'Omišalj sur l'île de Krk*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 5, 1999, p. 119-132 ; M. ČAUŠEVIĆ-BULLY, *Le Nord de l'Adriatique entre l'Antiquité et l'Antiquité tardive. Urbanisation, dynamique de peuplement et construction territoriale d'un espace insulaire et côtier entre le I^{er} et le VI^e siècle : le Kvarner et ses marges (la Liburnie septentrionale)*, thèse de doctorat d'histoire et archéologie, universités de Paris XII et de Zagreb, sous la codirection de Françoise Prévot et Branka Migotti, 2013 ; EAD. et S. BULLY, *Najnovija istraživanja ranokršćanskih crkvenih sklopova Kvarnera: na razmeđu arhitekture i teritorija*, in *Zbornik I. skupa hrvatske ranokršćanske arheologije*, Zagreb, 2020, p. 277-279.

⁴ N. JAKŠIĆ, s.v. *Mirine* – Omišalj, in *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 2006, p. 297-298.

La nature et la datation de ce « complexe architectural » demeuraient largement inconnues : on ne pouvait exclure l'hypothèse d'une *villa* romaine périurbaine dont une partie des bâtiments aurait perduré durant l'Antiquité tardive, et peut-être plus longtemps encore. Des prospections géophysiques réalisées en 2012 ont révélé des vestiges enfouis permettant de mieux appréhender son développement spatial ; elles suggèrent que les bâtiments s'organisaient autour d'une cour entre les structures dans lesquelles est construite l'église et un corps de bâtiment comprenant une « salle sur hypocauste » en front de mer, partiellement fouillée dans les années 2000⁵.

La réutilisation d'un bâtiment antérieur pour ériger l'église du haut Moyen Âge pose la question de la permanence ou de l'interruption d'occupation du site, comme celle du choix – intentionnel ou fonctionnel – du lieu d'implantation, et dès lors, de la nature de cette construction, de sa propriété et de sa transmission.

CONTEXTE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE LA DÉCOUVERTE

Construit au bord de la mer, le petit établissement tardo-antique est organisé en terrasses selon la déclivité naturelle du terrain (Fig. 2). D'après le résultat des fouilles récentes, les différentes unités de construction recouvriraient des fonctions résidentielles – salle sur hypocauste à l'ouest – et économiques – huilerie au sud. Le complexe s'articule autour d'un bâtiment central daté du IV^e siècle par les découvertes monétaires⁶ et le mobilier céramique⁷. L'adjonction de nouvelles salles – construites en *opus incertum* – au nord et au sud, de même que la présence d'un abondant mobilier marquent une amplification de l'établissement et une intensification de son occupation entre la fin du IV^e et le V^e siècle. On notera que la basilique paléochrétienne de Mirine est érigée durant cette même période. Toujours d'après l'étude du mobilier céramique, c'est à la fin du VII^e siècle – au plus tard – que le site est abandonné, avant d'être partiellement réinvesti par la petite église haut médiévale.

Le peigne a été découvert dans une salle (esp. 4.1 d) présentant les caractéristiques d'une resserre (Fig. 3). Celle-ci occupe le rez-de-chaussée d'un corps de bâtiment (comprenant les Esp. 4.1 b, c et d) orienté est-ouest de 18,50 x 9,60 m. Ses maçonneries présentent une facture constructive dans la tradition de la construction antique régionale des III^e-IV^e siècles⁸. Un mur irrégulier (4.115), parallèle à la façade maritime occidentale du bâtiment central, partitionne deux espaces internes : l'Espace 4.1d, de 66,5 m² dans la partie ouest, et l'Espace 4.1c, de 114 m² dans la partie est – dont une subdivision en deux pièces est pressentie au niveau de la rupture du sol en *opus spicatum*. Le mur 4.115 a servi de soutènement de terrasse et à l'aménagement d'un étage en palier. En effet, alors que la partie est de l'espace 4.1c a été comblée, autorisant l'aménagement d'une pièce de plain-pied, la salle ouest (4.1d) correspond à un rez-de-chaussée en soutènement d'une salle haute (disparue) dont le niveau de circulation devait prolonger celui de la salle 4.1c. On pénétrait dans la salle 4.1d par une ouverture (4.129) dans le mur de la façade maritime (4.102) (cf. fig. 2) ; le mur sud (4.127) conserve les vestiges d'une seconde ouverture (4.166) que l'on identifie à une sorte de soupirail qui assurait l'éclairage et la ventilation de la pièce depuis la cour située au sud (Espace 4.1h).

La fouille de la pièce de rez-de-chaussée 4.1d a révélé une puissance stratigraphique de près de 3,30 m (Fig. 4). Les couches les plus profondes, contemporaines de la construction (horizon 1) – en particulier

⁵ M. ČAUŠEVIĆ-BULLY et S. BULLY, *Archipel du Kvarner (Croatie)*, in *Chronique des activités archéologiques de l'École française de Rome* [En ligne], Balkans, URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/cefr/1578> ; DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/cefr.1578>.

⁶ Étude préliminaire de L. Popovich (UMR ARTEHIS-université de Bourgogne).

⁷ Étude céramologique par A. Konestra et A. Saggese (en cours de publication).

⁸ Les talons de fondations des murs porteurs sont réguliers, débordant de deux côtés d'une dizaine de centimètres de largeur en moyenne ; les élévations, construites en moellons grossièrement équarris et disposés en assises assez régulières, sont épaisses d'environ 70 cm.

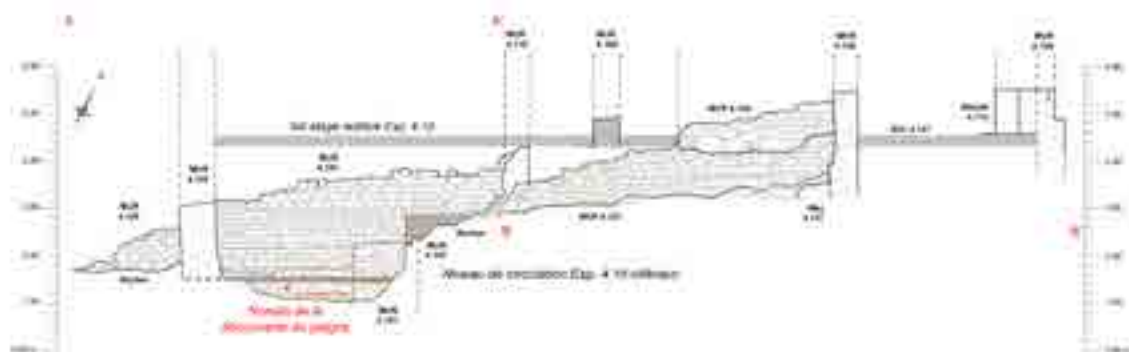
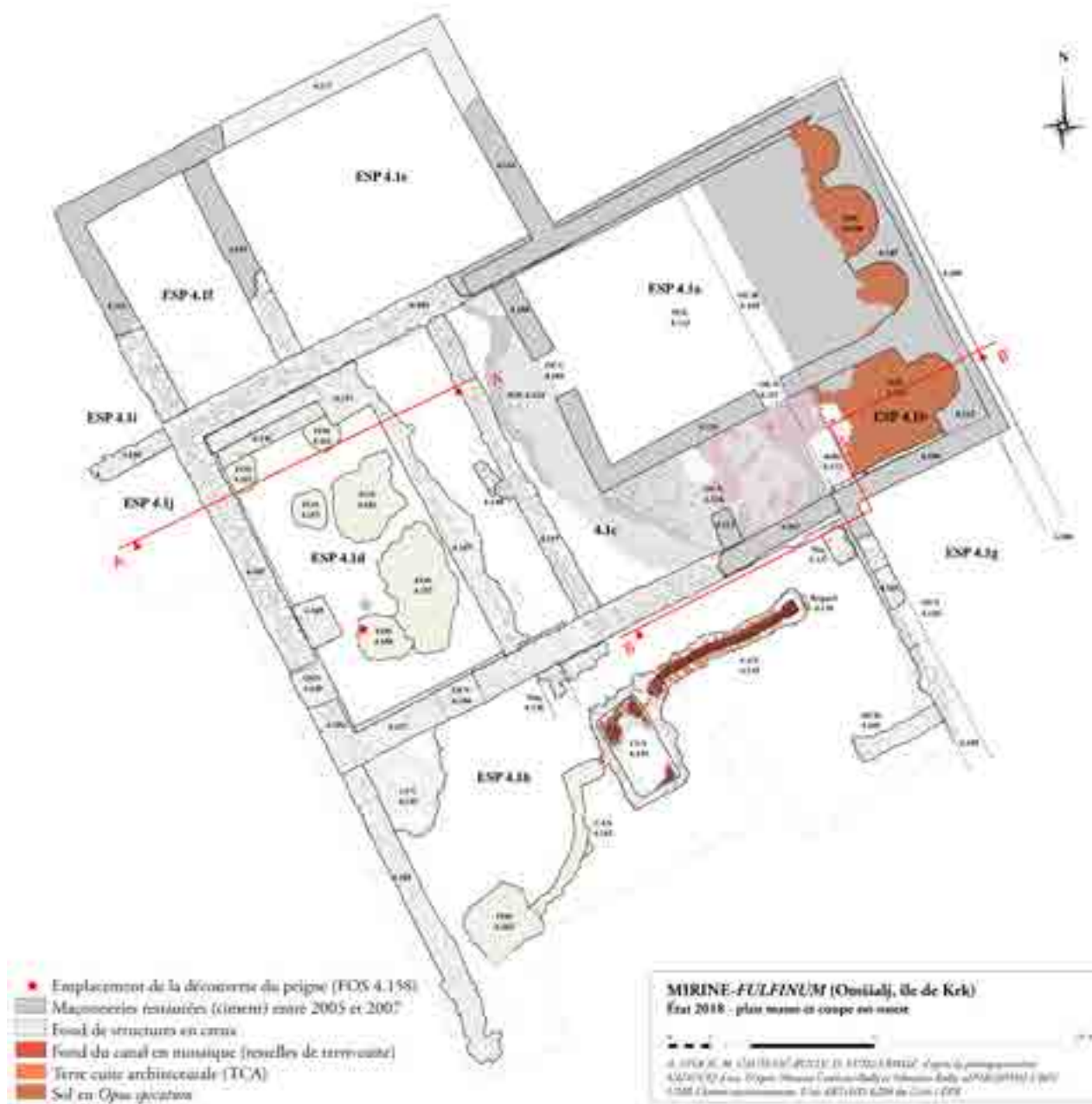


Fig. 2. Plan masse et coupe est-ouest du corps de bâtiment principal 4.1



Fig. 3. Localisation de la fosse contenant le peigne dans la resserre en cours de fouille (espace 4.1d), (cl. S. Bully)

l'us 4.1103, recouvrant le rocher –, contiennent du mobilier des III^e-IV^e siècles, avec notamment une monnaie de Claude II (268-270) et des amphores de type Keay 25, Keay 27 et Tripolitaine III⁹. Mais les différents niveaux de remblais postérieurs (horizon 2) ont surtout livré un très abondant mobilier céramique et amphorique – de provenance majoritairement africaine – datable des IV^e-V^e siècles. Le mobilier témoigne d'une importante activité économique et d'une intense occupation domestique durant cette période. Dans une phase postérieure (horizon 3), que l'on peut dater de la seconde moitié du V^e-VI^e siècle, d'après la chronologie relative et le mobilier céramique, les niveaux de remblai de sol sont creusés par cinq fosses. Les premières (4.152 et 4.153) sont interprétées comme de larges trous pour des poteaux en renfort du plafond ; les secondes (4.156 et 4.157) peuvent être assimilées à des fosses dépotoirs dans une pièce partiellement abandonnée. C'est dans une cinquième fosse (4.158) – en partie recoupée par la fosse 4.157 – qu'a été déposé ou rejeté le peigne en ivoire. Outre le peigne, celle-ci a fourni un riche mobilier archéologique, principalement composé de céramiques de divers types – dont par exemple une lampe à huile de production aquiléenne datée des IV^e-V^e siècles –, d'ossements de faune (y compris du poisson) et d'objets métalliques (fibule discoïde à motif cruciforme, aiguilles à ramender les filets de pêche, hameçons etc.). La nature de cette fosse est difficile à déterminer précisément : il pourrait s'agir d'une fosse dépotoir, mais aussi d'une fosse destinée à accueillir un dépôt volontaire, comme le suggéreraient les éléments de cornières métalliques d'un coffre (?). Dans l'angle sud-est de la pièce 4.1d, au pied de l'ouverture 4.166 donnant sur la cour 4.1h, les couches en place sont recouvertes par un feuilletage de niveaux organiques (horizon 4). Cette séquence stratigraphique très localisée correspond à une zone de rejets depuis la cour à travers le « soupirail » 4.166. Ces couches ont livré du mobilier dont certaines formes sont assurément datables du milieu du VI^e-

⁹ Étude réalisée par A. Saggese (en cours de publication).

fin VII^e siècle – comme les amphores Carthage LR1 et Crypta Balbi 2 / LR13. Dans un de ces niveaux (4.1109), on notera la découverte d'une fibule « à têtes d'oignon » (*Zwiebelknopffibel*), généralement datée entre le dernier tiers du III^e et le milieu du V^e siècle¹⁰. Sur la totalité de la surface de la resserre 4.1d, les différents remblais et cône de déjections sont scellés par une couche (4.1035) d'effondrement du sol de l'étage (horizon 5). Cette couche, hétérogène, est composée de gros fragments de sol en *terrazzo* et de leur préparation en mortier ; des lentilles de matières organiques proviennent du plancher-plafond en bois. La couche d'effondrement 4.1035, mélangée avec les niveaux d'occupations de l'étage – contenant du mobilier datable de la fin IV^e-V^e siècle – est ensuite recouverte par la démolition des murs du bâtiment 4.1.

DESCRIPTION DU PEIGNE

Découvert en cinq fragments jointifs (Fig. 5), le peigne a été restauré au Musée archéologique de Zagreb à l'automne 2017¹¹ (Fig. 6). L'absence de l'extrémité d'un des petits côtés révèle l'état déjà incomplet de l'objet au moment de son abandon-dépôt, ou résulte de perturbations postérieures (comme la fosse 4.157). Dans son état actuel, le peigne, rectangulaire, mesure 13,3 cm de longueur pour une hauteur maximum de 4,9 cm et une épaisseur moyenne de 0,8 cm. On peut restituer une longueur initiale de près de 15 cm ; l'exercice est plus délicat pour sa hauteur compte tenu qu'aucune dent n'est complète. Réalisé dans une seule plaque d'ivoire¹², il présente sur ces deux faces une bande en légère réservation, d'environ 3 cm de hauteur, bordée d'un rang de dents – cassées – en partie supérieure et d'un bandeau de courtes incisions verticales en partie inférieure. Les dents, régulières, sont épaisses et espacées, de l'ordre d'environ 4 dents par centimètre, pour un total – restitué – d'environ 42. Les courtes incisions du bandeau inférieur, très peu espacées, participent au décor du peigne, tout en évoquant un second rang de fines dents, tel que l'on trouve sur une grande majorité des peignes de toilette antique et haut-médiévaux¹³. Les extrémités du peigne sont constituées de deux barrettes verticales – une seule est conservée – de section quadrangulaire aux angles arrondis (ou émoussés).



Fig. 5. Le peigne de Mirine au moment de sa découverte (cl. S. Bully)

¹⁰ S. IVČEVIĆ, *Lukovičaste fibule iz Salone u Arheološkome muzeju Split*, in *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku*, 92-1, 2000, p. 1-63 (particulièrement p. 15 et 18).

¹¹ On saluera le travail de qualité réalisé par Damir Doračić.

¹² Une analyse serait nécessaire pour déterminer s'il s'agit d'un ivoire provenant d'une défense d'éléphant ou d'une canine d'hippopotame (sur cette question, P. DE VINGO, *Le travail de l'os, de la corne et de l'ivoire animaux au cours des premiers siècles du haut Moyen Âge. Quelques exemples de nouvelles productions du royaume franc*, in *Archéologie médiévale*, 39, 2009, p. 17-30).

¹³ On ne peut pas totalement exclure que ces incisions correspondent à la « racine » d'une denture inférieure totalement usée et polie par l'usage.



Fig. 6. Le peigne de Mirine restauré (cl. Damir Doračić, Musée archéologique de Zagreb)

Mais l'intérêt principal du peigne ivoirin réside dans son décor historié, sculpté en bas-relief méplat sur la bande centrale. Chaque face est décorée de deux scènes de miracles du Christ issues du Nouveau Testament. La composition des scènes historiées s'articule pour les deux faces autour de deux groupes de personnages repartis de part et d'autre d'un décor d'architecture central (Fig. 7).

FACE A

A1- La première scène est la plus incertaine quant à sa représentation. Deux femmes avancent en direction du Christ ; elles sont de profil alors que celui-ci, qui leur fait face, est représenté de trois-quarts, la jambe gauche légèrement fléchie. Les femmes, voilées, portent une longue tunique laissant à peine entrevoir leurs pieds ; leurs mains tendues portent un objet, dressé, difficilement identifiable. Le Christ apparaît imberbe et vêtu du *pallium* ; les doigts de sa main droite forment le geste de la parole et/ou de la bénédiction. L'importance du geste est soulignée par une main surdimensionnée.

La grammaire narrative de cette scène, en définitive assez pauvre, ouvre la porte à deux hypothèses de lecture : celle de la parabole des dix Vierges à la rencontre de l'Époux (Mt 25, 1-13) ou celle de la visite des Saintes femmes au tombeau (Mt 28, 1 ; Mc 16, 1 ; Lc 24, 10 ; Jn 20, 1). Dans le premier cas, les objets tenus par les femmes pourraient être des lampes et le décor d'architecture en arrière-plan, la maison de l'Époux ; en raison du support, le nombre de femmes serait réduit à deux selon le principe de la *pars pro toto*. Dans le second cas, les Saintes femmes, au nombre

de deux – « Marie Madeleine et l'autre Marie » (Mt 28,1-10) – rencontrent le Christ ressuscité en quittant le tombeau vide, qui les salue et leur répète l'ordre de mission. Elles porteraient alors avec elles les pots d'onguents. Cette scène des Myrophores serait alors très originale en ne représentant ni le sépulcre, ni l'ange annonciateur de la Résurrection, ni les gardiens de la tombe terrassés par le miracle. Mais plus que la visite des Myrophores, c'est bien la Résurrection du Christ, dans toute la simplicité de sa mise en scène, qui serait ici imagée. En dépit de son ambiguïté, nous privilégions donc cette seconde lecture qui s'accorde avec la thématique des Miracles que l'on rencontre pour les 3 autres scènes.

A2 – La seconde image est une représentation de la guérison de l'hémorroïsse (Mt 9, 20-22 ; Mc 5, 25-34 ; Lc 8, 43-48). Le Christ, en position centrale et de face, présente les mêmes caracté-

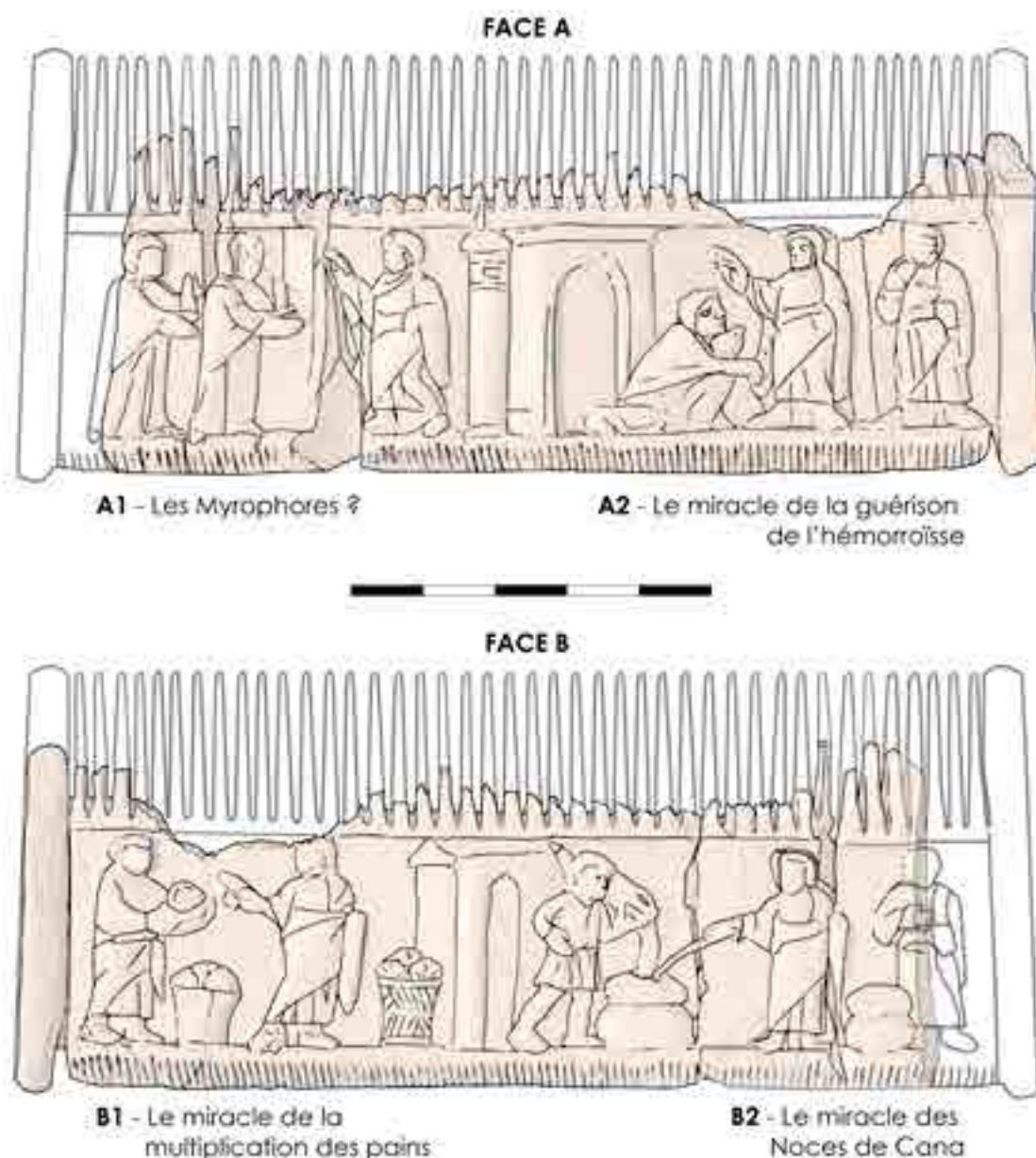


Fig. 7. Dessin du peigne et proposition de restitution des parties manquantes (dessin Claire Touzel-UMR ARTEHIS et auteurs)

ristiques que dans la scène précédente : imberbe, vêtu du *pallium* et la main droite dressée, disproportionnée, formant le geste de la parole et/ou de la bénédiction. On s'interrogera de savoir si son manteau recouvre également sa tête ou s'il s'agit de sa chevelure. Selon une iconographie classique, l'hémorroïsse, un genou au sol devant le Christ, étreint le bord de son manteau. Elle est vêtue d'une *palla* sur une *stola*, la tête couverte d'un *velum*. On notera que contrairement aux autres personnages, l'image de la femme est la seule à conserver des traits du visage (nez, bouche et œil) dénotant d'une bien moindre usure au toucher. Un troisième personnage, de face sur la droite, figure un des disciples accompagnant le Christ lors de cet épisode ; son vêtement est identique à celui du Christ et il porte la main droite sur son cœur en signe de témoignage.

Une interrogation subsiste sur la raison d'être du décor d'architecture en position centrale. Celui-ci est formé d'une tour circulaire associée à une haute et étroite porte. La tour est coiffée d'une petite toiture et percée d'une fenêtre. Cet élément architectural ne trouve pas d'écho dans l'épisode de l'hémorroïsse qui se déroule à Capharnaüm, et, en l'absence d'une véritable mise en scène, il est assez douteux qu'il s'agisse du saint Sépulcre (en lien avec la scène A1) ; tout au plus cette architecture pourrait évoquer Jérusalem, mais il nous paraît plus probable de voir là un simple décor d'arrière-plan participant à la partition des deux scènes. À charge de cette lecture, on retrouve un décor d'architecture quasiment similaire sur l'autre face, sans que les scènes représentées ne le justifient.

FACE B

B1- La scène représente le miracle de la multiplication des pains (première ou deuxième) (Mt 14, 13-21 et 15, 32-39, Mc 6, 30-44 et 8, 1-10, Lc 9, 10-17, Jn 6, 1-15). Ce miracle est l'un des plus couramment représenté dans l'art paléochrétien, mais l'iconographie du peigne de Mirine se révèle assez peu canonique. Ici, seul le Christ et un second personnage – probablement un apôtre – sont représentés. Le corps de face et le visage tourné de trois-quarts vers ce dernier, le Christ tient un pan de son *pallium* de la main gauche tout en formant le geste de la parole et/ou de la bénédiction de sa main droite – à nouveau disproportionnée – devant un pain tenu des deux mains par le disciple. Ce dernier, en *pallium* et sandales, s'avance en direction du Christ dans une dynamique contrastant avec la position statique du Christ. La présentation du pain se déroule au-dessus d'une corbeille, aux parois lisses (ou très usées), qui déborde de pains, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse de poissons... Les traits incertains conjugués à l'usure ne permettent pas de trancher avec assurance. En revanche, la question ne se pose pas pour une seconde corbeille disposée à droite du Christ. L'imagier a restitué le détail d'une corbeille de vannerie, contenant 3 pains ronds au levain grignés en étoile. La corbeille tressée masque partiellement le pied de la tour circulaire en arrière-plan.

B2- La quatrième scène représentée sur le peigne est le miracle des noces de Cana (Jn 2, 1-12). À l'instar des précédentes, la scène, minimaliste, se compose de trois personnages au nombre desquels on reconnaît le Christ au centre, encadré par un serviteur à droite et un apôtre à gauche. Le Christ est identique à ses autres figurations sur le peigne, mais avec une différence importante : ici, une *virga* remplace le geste de la parole et/ou de la bénédiction. Avec sa *virga*, il touche un *dolium* qu'un serviteur remplit d'eau avec une amphore portée sur son épaule gauche¹⁴.

Le serviteur est vêtu d'une courte tunique révélatrice de son statut. Un second *dolium* occupe l'espace entre le Christ et le disciple à droite. Bien que partiellement conservé, ce témoin du miracle de la transformation de l'eau en vin semble adopter la même posture que celui du miracle de l'hémorroïsse avec la main droite posée sur le cœur.

¹⁴ D'après Adrien Saggese (UMR ARTEHIS), on peut y voir une amphore à la panse oblongue et au pied pointu avec un amincissement au niveau du col et des anses qui y prennent leur départ et viennent coller la lèvre. Ce type exclut les amphores à vin de Gaza de type LR4 et un certain nombre de modèles orientaux, mais serait à rapprocher des productions africaines des IV^e-V^e siècles.

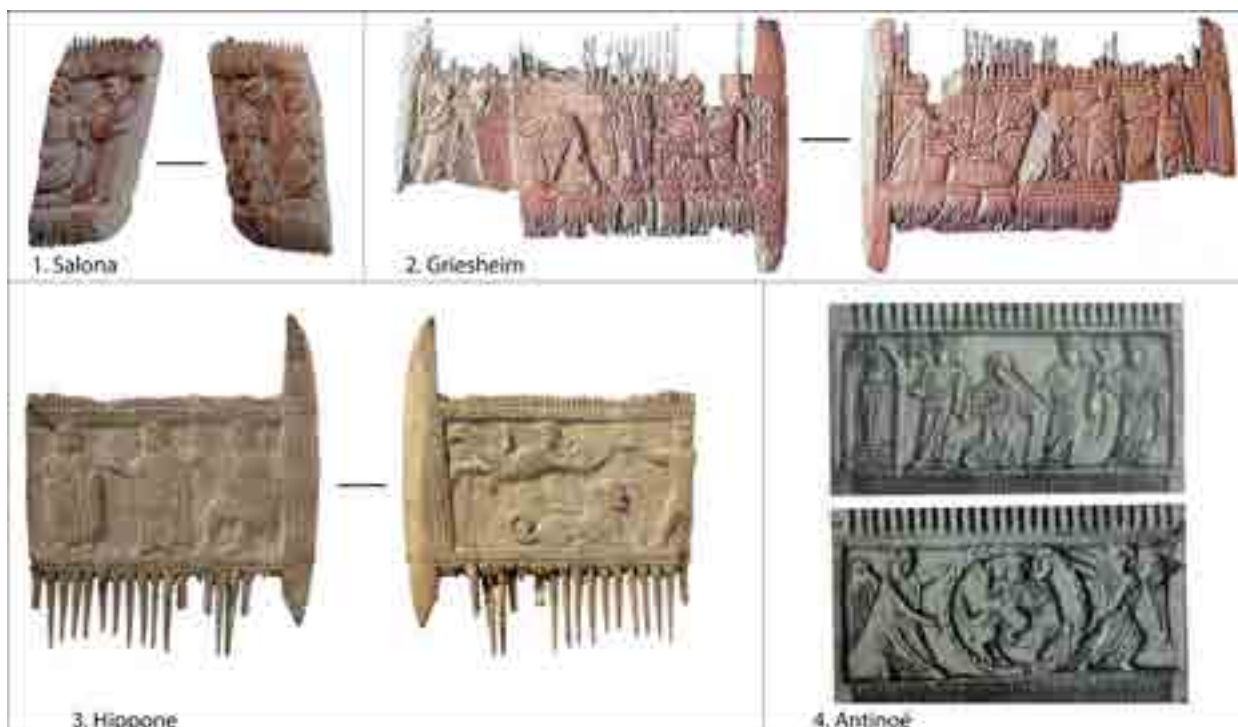


Fig. 8. Planche comparative des peignes « liturgiques » paléochrétiens

COMPARAISONS

Avec quatre épisodes de la vie du Christ, le peigne de Mirine est le support d'une riche iconographie dont on trouve de très nombreux parallèles dans l'art paléochrétien, que ce soit sur des ivoires ou d'autres supports¹⁵. Dans le cas présent, l'imagier a réduit les scènes à leur plus simple expression, dans une composition linéaire et hiératique. « Objet signifiant » et porteur d'un message, le peigne est néanmoins d'une facture d'exécution assez médiocre si l'on considère la grossièreté des traits et le simplisme de la représentation des silhouettes des personnages comme du traitement de leurs vêtements. En cela, il se démarque cependant assez peu de certaines pièces en ivoire de l'Antiquité tardive et protobyzantine – comme la pyxide de Bar-sur-Aube¹⁶, la plaque-boucle de saint Césaire¹⁷, les plats de reliure de Saint-Lupicin¹⁸, l'élément de diptyque de Lyon¹⁹ ou encore le couvercle de boîte de Caričin Grad²⁰ – ainsi que des rares peignes historiés paléochrétiens.

¹⁵ Pour un catalogue exhaustif et documenté des représentations des miracles du Christ : B. BILLOT, *Le Christ thaumaturge et magicien : les miracles dans l'art paléochrétien (III^e-VI^e siècle)*, thèse de doctorat d'histoire de l'art, université Paris 1-Panthéon Sorbonne, sous la direction de Catherine Jolivet-Lévy, 2 volumes, 2016 (nous remercions tout particulièrement J.-P. Caillet pour nous avoir communiqué ce travail de thèse essentiel sur la question).

¹⁶ J.-P. CAILLET, *L'ivoire et l'os*, in *Naissance des arts chrétiens*, Paris, 1991, p. 324-333.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ C. METZGER, *Un couvercle de boîte en ivoire : la guérison de l'hémorroïsse*, in N. DUVAL et V. POPOVIĆ (éd.), *Caričin Grad I. Les basiliques B et J de Caričin Grad. Quatre objets remarquables de Caričin Grad. Le trésor de Hajdučka Vodenica*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 75-1, Rome, 1984, p. 155-158.

Dans l'état de nos connaissances, ceux-ci sont seulement au nombre de cinq – en comptant celui de Mirine : le peigne de Salone²¹ (Croatie, conservé au musée archéologique de Split), le peigne de Griesheim²² (Allemagne, conservé à Griesheim), le peigne d'Hippone²³ (Algérie, conservé au musée du Louvre) et le peigne d'Antinoë²⁴ (Égypte, conservé au musée copte du Caire) (Fig. 8). Sur les cinq peignes historiés paléochrétiens, deux proviennent donc de la Croatie actuelle. Le peigne de Salone – découvert à proximité de l'*episcopium* de Salone au début du XX^e siècle –, daté des IV^e-V^e siècles, offre une représentation du Christ encadré de Pierre et Paul (*traditio legis* ?) ; le peigne de Griesheim – découvert dans une tombe de la fin du V^e siècle – est décoré des noces de Cana sur une face et de la guérison du serviteur du centurion de Capharnaüm sur l'autre face ; le peigne d'Hippone – découvert à proximité du baptistère –, daté du VI^e siècle, représenterait également la guérison du serviteur du centurion sur un côté et Daniel dans la fosse aux lions sur l'autre ; sur le peigne d'Antinoë, daté du VI^e siècle, figurent la résurrection de Lazare sur une face et un saint cavalier en médaillon porté par deux anges sur l'autre face.

Pour l'époque paléochrétienne, le peigne de Mirine apparaît donc comme l'un des plus complets et le plus riche iconographiquement. D'un point de vue stylistique, il peut être rapproché du peigne de Griesheim par la statique des personnages ou le traitement simpliste des formes, mais il n'est pas également sans présenter des similitudes avec le peigne de Salone, notamment dans le dessin des yeux globuleux. Les deux peignes croates pourraient-ils provenir d'un même atelier, d'Italie du Nord ou de Dalmatie ?

DATATION

La lecture de la stratigraphie et l'étude du mobilier associé indiquent que le contexte archéologique du peigne, au moment de son abandon, ou plus probablement de son dépôt, appartient à l'horizon 3 daté de la seconde moitié du V^e-VI^e siècle. La découverte d'éléments métalliques pouvant être interprétés comme les cornières d'un coffre en bois plaiderait en faveur d'un enfouissement volontaire – au moment des troubles liées aux guerres gothiques de la première moitié du VI^e siècle ? –, mais les perturbations postérieures ne permettent pas de s'en assurer totalement. Quant à la datation de sa fabrication, on notera en premier lieu que les traces d'usure sur l'objet indiquent un usage sur une longue durée

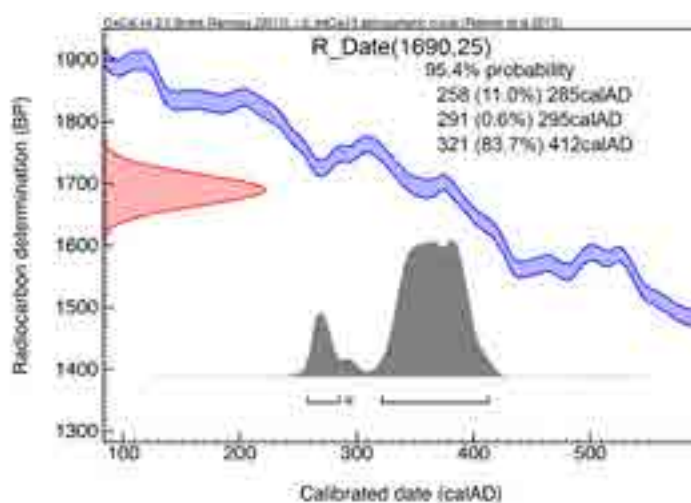


Fig. 9. Courbe de calibration de l'analyse radiocarbone réalisée sur le peigne de Mirine (Centre de Datation par le Radiocarbone, UMR ARAR-université Lyon 1)

²¹ E. MARIN (éd.), catalogue de l'exposition *Salona Christiana, Split, Arheološki muzej - 25.9.-31.10.1994.*, Split, 1994, p. 285 ; H. LECLERCQ, s.v. *Peigne*, in ID. et F. CABROL, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, t. 13-2, Paris, 1937, col. 2952.

²² H. ROTH et E. WAMERS (éd.), *Hessen im Frühmittelalter. Archäologie und Kunst*, Sigmaringen, 1984 ; J. MEINER, *Die Hochzeit zu Kana und der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum. Ein frühchristlicher Elfenbeinkamm aus Griesheim (Hessen)*, in *Antike Welt*, 5, 1996, p. 387-396.

²³ B. BILLOT, *Le Christ thaumaturge et magicien... op. cit.* (n. 15), vol. 1, p. 447, vol. 2, p. 210.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 447, vol. 2, p. 211.

avant d'être enseveli – ou/et une utilisation intensive. Une analyse radiocarbone par AMS²⁵ donne une fourchette de datation de l'ivoire entre 321 et 412²⁶ (Fig. 9). On rappellera que cette datation archéométrique porte sur la « matière ivoire » à partir de laquelle a été façonné le peigne, mais l'ivoire étant couramment thésaurisé durant l'Antiquité tardive, se fonder exclusivement sur le résultat de l'analyse radiocarbone pour dater l'exécution de l'objet pourrait donner un résultat biaisé. Toutefois, une première analyse stylistique du traitement des personnages, du rendu de leurs vêtements et de la composition des scènes, conforte une datation assez haute entre la deuxième moitié du IV^e et le début du V^e siècle. En outre, la présence de la *virga virtutis* ou *virga taumaturgica*²⁷ dans la main du Christ pour la scène des noces de Cana renvoie à l'iconographie de l'art des catacombes romaines et plus largement à l'art paléochrétien des III^e-IV^e siècles, même si on retrouve épisodiquement cet attribut plus tardivement, comme sur les portes de l'église Sainte-Sabine de Rome, datées du premier tiers du V^e siècle, ou sur le Andrews Diptych (conservé au Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres) daté du début du IX^e siècle (ç)²⁸.

INTERPRÉTATION

En l'absence de sources écrites contemporaines, il est délicat de statuer sur l'usage de ce type de peigne ivoirine durant l'Antiquité tardive²⁹ : objets à fonction liturgique ou luxueux objets de parure³⁰ ? Dans le premier cas, la purification rituelle des cheveux (et de la barbe) des célébrants par les diacres interviendrait dans la liturgie avant de monter à l'autel et d'approcher la sainte eucharistie ; cette pratique du peignage, destinée à éloigner les démons, serait déjà attestée au VII^e siècle³¹. D'autres attestations d'un usage symbolique de peignes – en ivoire, en métal précieux ou décorés de pierres semi-précieuses –, en lien avec des dons d'ecclésiastiques ou pour des ecclésiastiques – souvent des évêques –, apparaissent dans les documents littéraires du IX^e siècle³². Pour Julia Saviello : « Dans la liturgie, le peigne avait une signification symbolique en plus de son utilisation hygiénique réelle : tant dans le Sacramentaire de l'abbé français Ratoldus (X^e s.) que dans la *Gemma animae* d'Honorius d'Autun (XII^e s.), l'utilisation des peignes est décrite comme une purification rituelle qui englobe à la fois le corps et l'esprit. Dans son *Rationale divinarum officiorum* de la fin du XIII^e s., Durand de Mende justifie cette fonction purificatrice du peigne en soulignant que la tête, en tant que siège de l'esprit et de la volonté, est le membre le plus important parmi les parties du

²⁵ L'échantillon a été prélevé sur un des nombreux fragments de dents cassées, découverts au moment de la fouille.

²⁶ Lyon-14319(GrM), 321 (81,4%) 410calAD.

²⁷ M. DULAËY, 'Virga virtutis tuae, virga oris tui'. Le bâton du Christ dans le christianisme ancien, in 'Quaeritur inventus colitur': miscellanea in onore di padre Umberto Maria Fasola, Cité du Vatican, 1989, p. 237-245

²⁸ La datation de ce dyptique est cependant largement controversée, entre le second quart du V^e siècle et la renaissance carolingienne.

²⁹ L'argumentation développée par Edouard Fourdrignier sur l'usage du peigne liturgique, d'origine occidentale, au IV^e siècle, n'est plus recevable en raison de ses « raccourcis ethnographiques » (E. FOURDRIGNIER, *Le peigne liturgique*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, V-1, 1900, p. 153-164).

³⁰ Sur cette question de l'usage des peignes historiés : H. LECLERCQ, s.v. *Peigne*, *op. cit.* (n. 21), col. 2934 ; B. BILLOT, *Le Christ thaumaturge et magicien... op. cit.* (n. 15), vol. 1, p. 446-447.

³¹ L. KÖTSCHKE, notice 567. *Comb with scenes of miracles of Christ*, in K. WEITZMANN (éd.), *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century, Catalogue of the exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art – Nov. 1977-Feb. 1978*, New-York, 1978, p. 629 (cité par B. BILLOT, *Le Christ thaumaturge et magicien... op. cit.* (n. 15), vol. 1, p. 448).

³² H. LECLERCQ, s.v. *Peigne*, *op. cit.* (n. 21), col. 2935 ; J. SAVIELLO, « Purgat et ornat ». *Die zwei Seiten des Kamms*, in Th. PÖPPER (éd.), *Dinge im Kontext. Artefakt, Handhabung und Handlungsästhetik zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart*, Berlin-Munich, 2015, p. 133-144, plus particulièrement p. 135 à 137 (nous adressons tous nos remerciements à Stefan Wirth, université de Bourgogne, pour cette référence bibliographique essentielle sur la question).

corps et que l'ordre et le lissage des cheveux obtenus par le peigne peuvent donc être comparés à la suppression des pensées superflues, et que l'un peut même être obtenu par l'autre »³³. Cependant, peut-on réellement transposer à l'Église de l'Antiquité tardive ces usages – somme toute assez peu codifiés – de l'Église médiévale ? L'exercice est hasardeux, mais force est de constater que les quelques peignes paléochrétiens ont été découverts dans, ou à proximité immédiate de contextes ecclésiaux ou funéraires³⁴. En outre, et en ce qui concerne le peigne de Mirine, nous sommes assurément en présence d'un objet porteur d'un enseignement doctrinal : les scènes représentées sont utiles à la catéchèse, avec des miracles à l'interprétation eucharistique ou baptismale. L'idée de catéchèse est renforcée par l'attribut de la *virga* (dans la scène des noces de Cana) et par la disproportion de la main du Christ formant le geste de la parole. Peut-on, dès lors, imaginer que cet objet n'appartenait pas à un ecclésiastique d'un certain rang ?

À ce jour, et en fonction de l'interprétation de l'ensemble des données archéologiques et topographiques, nous serions enclin à identifier dans l'établissement tardo-antique au sein duquel a été découvert le peigne une « résidence ecclésiale » pour le/les desservants du proche complexe paléochrétien de Mirine. Sans être contradictoires, d'autres découvertes renforcent l'identification d'une résidence élitare, comme celle de la fibule cruciforme (de type Keller 3), probablement d'origine pannonienne, généralement attribuée à la panoplie des militaires et des fonctionnaires impériaux³⁵. Le statut de ce complexe durant l'Antiquité tardive, la transmission de la propriété ou/et une forme de résilience mémorielle s'y rattachant, pourraient expliquer son « marquage monumental » par l'érection de la petite église haut-médiévale sur ses ruines.

Ranokršćanski češalj iz Mirina (Omišalj, otok Krk)

„Mirinski češalj” predstavlja jedan od značajnijih kasnoantičkih, odnosno ranokršćanskih arheoloških nalaza s područja Kvarnera. Radi se o predmetu izrađenom od bjelokosti, ukrašenom s obje strane prikazima Kristovih čuda. Pronađen je 2017. g. prilikom arheoloških istraživanja vršenim na području kasnoantičkog rezidencijalnog i gospodarskog sklopa poznatom pod nazivom „troapsidalna crkva”, smještenom u neposrednoj blizini crkve na Mirinama. Usporedbom stratigrafskih, stilskih i arheometrijskih podataka, predmet se može datirati u razdoblje od druge polovice 4. do početka 5. stoljeća. Češalj predstavlja predmet usko vezan uz doktrinarno učenje koje nas upućuje na katehezu, što se da naslutiti iz pomnog izbora prikazanih čuda euharistijske i krstioničke konotacije. Češalj je bio vjerojatno rabljen u liturgijske svrhe, korišten od strane svećenstva koje je možda obitavalo upravo u sklopu gdje je i pronađen.

Ključne riječi: *kasna antika, rano kršćanstvo, crkveni sklop, češalj, bjelokost, ranokršćanska umjetnost, Kristova čuda, Dalmacija, otok Krk, Mirine, Omišalj*

³³ *Ibid*, p. 137 (nous avons traduit de l'allemand).

³⁴ On ignore le contexte de la découverte du peigne d'Antinoë.

³⁵ S. IVČEVIĆ, *Lukovičaste fibule...*, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 9.

THE LATE ANTIQUE IMPERIAL PALACE IN POLAČE ON THE ISLAND OF MLJET

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In his analysis of imposing remains of the late antique palace in Polače on the island of Mljet, the author revises observations of other researchers, as well as their proposed reconstruction of the palace, its plan and elevation. For the first time, traces of the palace structural system are discussed in detail, and functions of rooms on the ground and upper floor are proposed. The palace on Mljet is contextualized in terms of the late antique residential architecture on the eastern Adriatic coast, which resulted in the detection of many points of contact with the residential tract of Diocletian's Palace in Split.

Key words: imperial palace, late antique residential architecture, Mljet, Polače

We would like to dedicate this paper to our dear colleague Nikola Jakšić on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. We gladly accepted the invitation and use this opportunity to publish a paper about a remarkably complex and absolutely unique monument on the eastern Adriatic coast, and beyond, that we have studied for the past twenty-five years, however I have not had the opportunity to publish results of personal observations before now.

The coastline of the island of Mljet is well-indented and provides safe harbour and anchorage to mariners. Thus, situated on the southeastern cape is the shallow sandy cove of Saplunara that is open to the sea. There are several remarkably safe ports for anchorage in the Mljet Canal: Okuklje, Prožura and Sobra. Okuklje and Sobra are visible from the antique observation tower, located southwest from an antique castrum with the early medieval Church of St. Michael in Stonsko Polje. The northwestern part of the island of Mljet is unusually indented with a series of isles that protect the coves and provide reliable and safe anchorage for ships. The bay of Lokva (whose name suggests calm sea) is situated at the farthest northwest end of the island, near the settlement of Pomena, which is protected from northerly winds by the Galicija cliff and the isle of Pomeštak. In its immediate vicinity, in front of the entrance to the Great Lake is the safe bay of Soline, suitable for smaller ships. Polače is definitely the largest and safest bay whose entrance is protected by several isles: Moračnik, Tajnik, Kobrača and Ovrata. Since Mljet's landscape is dominated by the forest in whose interior we only sporadically encounter smaller fertile areas, the reason for populating and developing Polače in Classical Antiquity and Early Middle Ages is found exclusively in its extremely favourable transit and strategic position, in addition to a source of drinking water. Polače was named after the most important building in the bay – the late antique palace. The palace in Polače is, together with Diocletian's Palace in Split and the Arena in Pula, the best preserved late antique monument on the eastern Adriatic coast. Taking into consideration its plan, function and position in the landscape, it should be categorized as an imperial maritime villa.

In this case, the villa was an imperial estate that generated considerable profit, so we should view Odoacer's deed of donation to his *comes* Pierius in that light. According to the extant copy of the document dated 13 March 486 AD, he donated it as repayment of debt in the amount of 690 gold

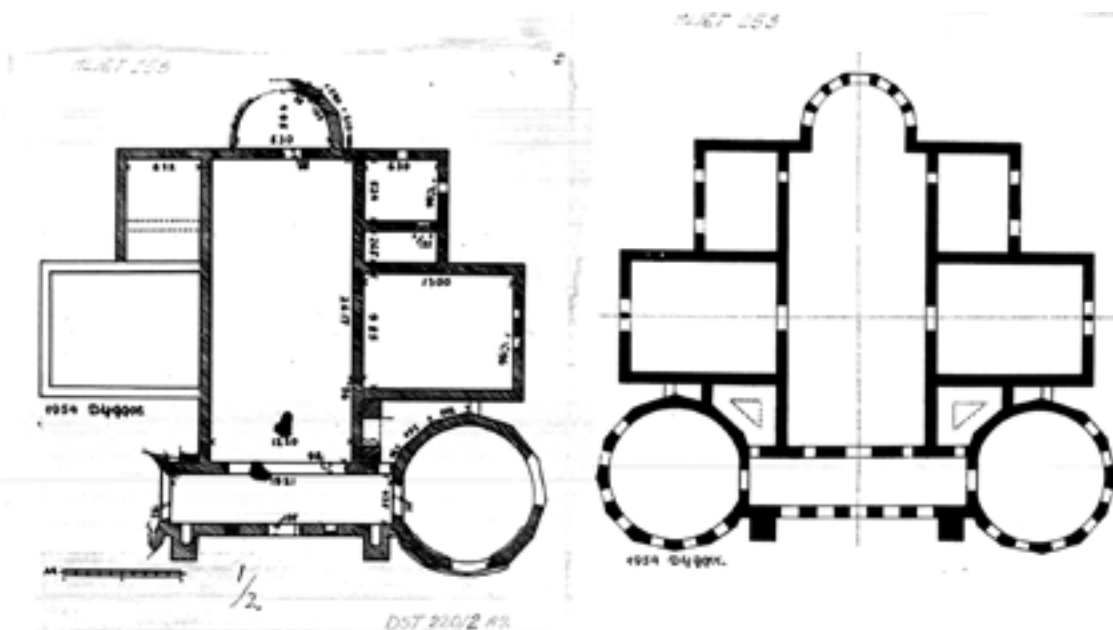


Fig. 1. Palace in Polače according to Dyggve 1959, ground and upper floor plan

solidi. The projected annual revenue from the island of Mljet was 200 gold *solidi*, which indicates a bountiful estate with considerable income accrued from agriculture, livestock, saltworks, hunting and fishing, trade or, more likely, the reception and accommodation of ships.¹

Although the palace is relatively well preserved, few researchers studied it in great detail.² Ejnar Dyggve dealt with the palace architecture. He surveyed it during one short half-day visit to Mljet, sketched its plan in the rain and then subsequently made perspective drawings of its ideal reconstruction. For decades, these drawings represented the sole attempt to show the building's original appearance and they became part of literature in a similar way that Hébrard's reconstruction of Diocletian's Palace had.³

On several occasions I. Fisković also wrote about Polače and the palace, which he dated into the 5th century.⁴ It is interesting that different authors dated the palace to an extended time period, from the 3rd to the 6th century. Accordingly, Karaman dated it into the 3rd century, Prijatelj in the period

¹ M. CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, *Ville rustiche tardoantiche e installazioni agricole altomedievali*, in: C. D. Fonseca, D. Adamesteanu, F. d'Andria (eds.), *Casa, città e campagna nel tardo antico e nell'alto medioevo*, Archeologia storia, Galantina: Università di Lecce, 1986, pp. 314-344; M. CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, *Il Palatium di porto Palazzo a Meleda*, *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: Tardo antico e alto Medioevo, La forma artistica nel passaggio dell'antichità al medioevo*, Roma, 1968.

² F. BULIĆ, *Melita (Mljet, Méleda)*, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata* XL-XLII, Split, 1922, pp. 107-109; K. PRIJATELJ, *Kasnoantikna palača u Polačama na otoku Mljetu*, *Arhitektura* 25-27, Zagreb, 1949, pp. 89-93; LJ. KARAMAN, *O rimskom zaseoku u Polačama na otoku Mljetu*, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* LVI-LIX (*Zbornik radova posvećen M. Abramčiču*), Split, 1954-1957, pp. 102-107.

³ E. DYGGVE, *Palača na otoku Mljetu s novog gledišta*, in: N. Cambi, T. Marasović (eds.), *Ejnar Dyggve – izabrani spisi*, Split, 1989, pp. 167-176.

⁴ I. FISKOVIĆ, *O ranokršćanskim spomenicima naronitanskog područja*, in: I. Marović, Ž. Rapanić (eds.), *Dolina rijeke Neretve od prethistorije do ranog srednjeg vijeka*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 5, Split, 1980, p. 237; I. FISKOVIĆ, *Jesu li Polače na Mljetu bile sjelo vladara Dalmacije?*, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu* 13-14, Zagreb, 1996-1997, pp. 13-14, 67-68; I. FISKOVIĆ, *Late antique buildings in Polače on the island of Mljet*, *Radovi XIII. Međunarodnog kongresa za starokršćansku arheologiju*, vol. III, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, supl. vol. 87-89, Vatikan – Split, 1998, pp. 275-276.

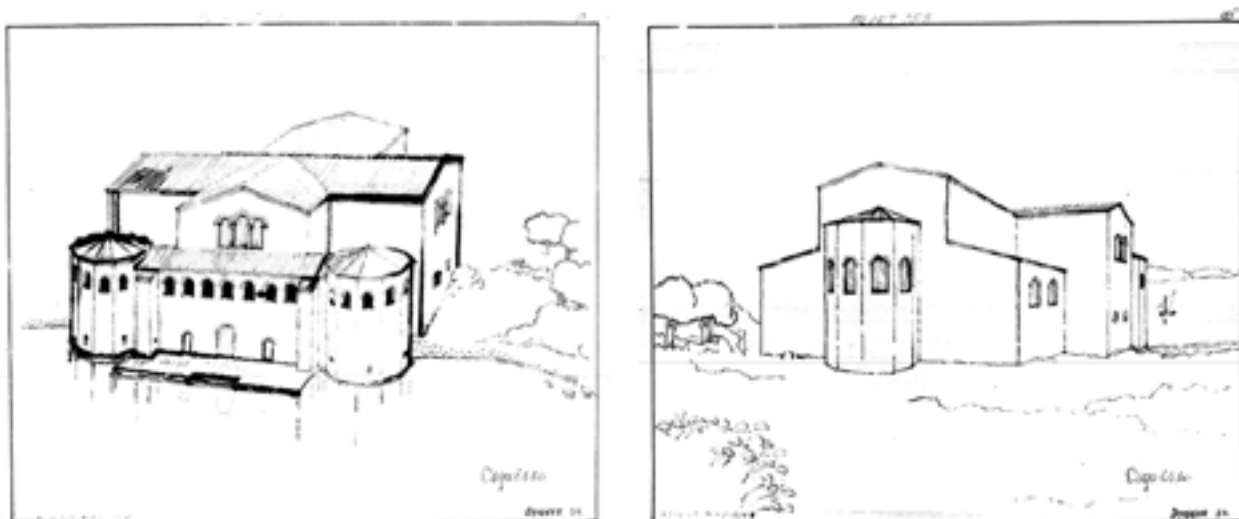


Fig. 2. Palace in Polače according to Dyggve 1959, perspective reconstruction, south and north view

of Tetrarchy, Azevedo to the 5th century (489 AD), Dyggve to the 6th, while Turković recently went back to Prijatelj's dating into the late 3rd or early 4th century.⁵ A series of authors devoted their papers to the importance of the bay as safe anchorage, to buildings along the port and shipwrecks in its vicinity, without addressing more directly the architecture of the palace itself.⁶ As early as the 1980s, Jerko Marasović warned that we should revise Dyggve's plan of the palace. He thought that the palace was not, as Dyggve suggested, symmetrically organized but that it had three smaller rooms on the southeastern side. He proposed to conduct a detailed architectural survey, as a precondition for quality analysis of the building's architecture. Interestingly, the remains of other buildings in Polače, except the palace itself, were investigated by archaeologists in the 1970s, and in 1975 the Institute for Photogrammetry of the Faculty of Geodesy in Zagreb created architectural documentation and conducted photogrammetric surveys of all the walls with plotted structure.⁷

The first architectural survey of the palace was commissioned in 1996 by Dubrovnik Museums and basic architectural plan documents of the original parts of the palace were created. During 2001 – as part of the protection works conducted by the Conservation Department in Dubrovnik – we cleaned the palace walls overgrown with ivy, cleared the stables and livestock and cleaned the flooring in the rooms on the northwestern side of the representative hall. On this occasion, we found a stone pylon in the centre of the larger northwestern room (triclinium), several movable finds and two well-preserved oil lamps. The said cleaning of walls and rooms facilitated the creation of quality documentation of all palace walls and annexes, with mapping of their structures that was conducted during 2003 and 2004.⁸

⁵ Cf. literature quoted in notes 2 and 3.

⁶ A. KISIĆ, Podmorski nalaz kasnoantičkih svjetiljki u uvali Polače na Mljetu, *Anali Historijskog odjela Centra za znanstveni rad JAZU u Dubrovniku* XV-XVI, 1978, pp. 7-11; N. CAMBI, Arhitektura Narone i njezina teritorija u kasnoj antici, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 24 (11), 1985, pp. 24, 57; N. CAMBI, *Antika*, Zagreb, 2002, p. 234; Z. BRUSIĆ, Antička luka u Polačama na otoku Mljetu, in: Ž. Rapanić, (ed.), *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 12, Zagreb, 1988, p. 140; M. ZANINOVIĆ, Liberov hram u Polačama na otoku Mljetu, *Arheološki vestnik* 41 (*Šašlov zbornik*), Ljubljana, 1990, pp. 725-732; Z. BRUSIĆ, Starokršćanski sakralni objekti uz plovidbenu rutu istočnom obalom Jadrana, *Diadora* 15, Zadar, 1993, pp. 223-236.

⁷ Documentation is kept in the Conservation Department in Dubrovnik.

⁸ Photogrammetric survey was conducted by the Geographica Ltd. company from Split, surveyor Miljenko Žabčić.



Fig. 3. Plan of the original parts of the palace, Ž. Peković 1996

Ivica Žile attempted to verify Jerko Marasović's ideas about the asymmetry of the palace by using a probe in the cabbage field on the southeastern side of the palace where, according to Dyggve, the hall symmetrical to the one on the northwestern side of the palace was supposed to be located. The probe was sterile and this investigation resulted in several authors writing papers that "corrected" the plan of the late antique palace in Polače.⁹ Besides "correcting" the plan, they also included their own observations regarding the organization and original appearance of the palace, which requires a more detailed review. They proposed the plan "correction" in parts of southeastern rooms adjacent to the central hall. They asserted that there were only two rooms with an unbuilt space between them, which could have contained an external staircase for climbing upstairs to the main floor, as the final part of communication from the eastern church to the palace. They were led to this conclusion by the door on the upper floor opposite the main hall, which had to have been accessed by the external staircase.¹⁰

⁹ J. STOŠIĆ – I. TENŠEK – I. VALJATO-VRUS – I. ŽILE, Ispravljeni tlocrt kasnoantičke palače u Polačama na otoku Mljetu, *Dubrovnik* 13/1-2, Dubrovnik, 2002, pp. 271-276; I. ŽILE, Polače na Mljetu, in: A. Durman, (ed.), *Sto hrvatskih arheoloških nalazišta*, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 210-211.

¹⁰ Our research established that the space at the southeastern side of the audience hall was built in the form of three identical square rooms. We are not going to spend time discussing the possible existence of an external staircase between two rooms to the southeast of the Audience Hall as a continuation of communication that cuts through the most important palace spaces, and which leads to the eastern church through the audience hall to the narrow space on the northwestern side, where a small service staircase possibly stood.

Tin Turković recently published interesting observations about the palace.¹¹ He provided a comprehensive yet concise overview of previous research and ideas about the palace in Polače, and it would therefore be superfluous to repeat the same information. He dates the palace that he calls "aula" to the time of Licinius (308 – 324 AD). He does not provide a reconstruction of the palace plan, he instead presents a romantic (romanticized) perspective reconstruction of the main façade.¹²

In the text below we are going to propose a reconstruction of the original appearance of the palace on the basis of our research, and discuss its function as well as the function of individual rooms. The palace in Polače is a representative example of an imperial maritime villa (*villa maritima*). It is positioned perpendicular to the bay of Polače in the north-east direction with a divergence of 43 degrees in relation to the east. Its plan is composed of an entrance hall flanked by two polygonal towers, a central hall and a series of rooms attached to it. The ground floor served as utilitarian space, while the upper floor contained representative residential rooms.

The palace was accessed from a ground floor entrance hall, then one ascended the staircase to the upper floor and through the portico entered the audience hall. This hall was the central area of communication with lateral rooms.



Fig. 4. Plan of the palace, Stošić et al. 2002

¹¹ T. TURKOVIĆ, Kasnoantička „palača” u Polačama – nove spoznaje, in: M. Perković (ed.), *Zbornik radova simpozija „Dani Cvita Fiskovića”*, Zagreb, 2012, pp. 72-91; T. TURKOVIĆ, The late Antique "Palace" in Polače bay (Mljet) – Tetrachic "Palace", *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 17, Zagreb – Motovun, 2011, pp. 211-233.

¹² T. TURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11, 2012), p. 77. The proposed reconstruction of the façade is not consistent with extant remains of parts of the palace. Especially the main façade and towers. The main façade does not have a tripartite entrance, but one entrance and two windows. The tripartite entrance was an omission by Dyggve that continued to be repeated in literature to this day. The stated repetition should be rescinded because of very clear material remains. On the façade, in the position of the central entrance, a large wall ruin is preserved, with two smaller lateral windows with semicircular "mushroom" arches, daylight dimensions 100 x 120 cm, which have a clearly preserved lower section with a partially damaged parapet. Therefore, the main axis of the façade had an entrance (of which we found no remains during archaeological research because they were destroyed when a septic tank was built in that location) and one smaller window on each side.

In terms of the segmentation of towers, they do not have two levels of windows and are significantly lower than the perspective drawing shows. The uppermost levels of the towers cornice are significantly lower than the central nave cornice. They are 1.9 metres lower than the central nave cornice, and are of equal height as the lateral rooms along the northwestern part of the audience hall. What is most surprising is the opinion that the palace remained at ground level according to the original project, and that the remains of floor structures were the result of subsequent alterations to the original project. The palace is situated on a sloping terrain facing the sea and the ground floor was used to level the sloping terrain for a representative floor. The flooring of the extant lateral rooms is cascading, following the terrain, as well as the substructures of the audience hall. Upper floor walls are narrower than the ground floor walls, all masonry is intact, without traces of reconstruction from the foundations to the cornices.



Fig. 5. The palace, aerial view (photo: Ž. Bačić)

THE PALACE GROUND FLOOR

The basic concept of spatial organization of the palace consists of a ground floor with utilitarian and service areas and an upper floor with representative rooms for residential use. The palace entrance hall (cryptoporticus) is wider than the central hall, from which one probably passed through the central door and entered the ground-floor area, above which, on the upper floor, was the central audience hall. Internal dimensions of the entrance hall are 19.21 x 4.35 metres. The palace entrance hall was accessed from the seaside, through the central entrance flanked by two windows with semicircular "mushroom" arches and two prominent massive buttresses. The massive buttresses are hollow and in each of their interiors there is a small room in the form of a semicircular niche with one minor lateral window that is looking towards the palace entrance. This points to the fact that the said buttress spaces could have been used as guard posts for visual control of the main entrance to the palace, and simultaneously for ventilation. Very small window size precludes the possibility of the openings being used for defence purposes.

However, semicircular niches had an additional function – as sanitary facilities. The ground floor niche in the



Fig. 6. The façade buttress with a sanitary niche window (photo: Ž. Peković, 2010)



Fig. 7. Remains of a buttress niche on the palace first floor (photo: Ž. Peković, 2010)

northwestern buttress had a wooden floor, hollow underneath throughout the entire length of the niche, which was investigated up to the sea level and subsequently filled with sand. On the upper floor there are *in situ* preserved ceramic sewage pipes in the wall that removed faecal matter vertically from toilet niches on the upper floor. The northwestern niche is well preserved in elevation and upper floor. The height of the entrance hall and other ground floor rooms was approximately 7.2 metres. The wooden upper floor structure is preserved in indentations on the interior side of façade walls.

TOWERS

Two polygonal towers, fourteen-sided on the outside and circular inside, flank the entrance hall. Tower walls are preserved in segments, sometimes reaching roof height. They had a ground and upper floor. The ground level was 7.2 metres high. There are no traces of openings in the extant parts of ground level masonry. The internal diameter of the towers measures 11.6 – 12.2 meters. The floor structure was comprised of densely aligned laths resting against the walls in the direction north-west-southeast, and additionally resting on two more massive and widely spaced girders, positioned perpendicularly.¹³ The upper floor of the tower was perforated with irregularly spaced windows.¹⁴

¹³ Based on the indentations in the walls, the massive girders were 36 x 36 cm in diameter. Beams measuring 22 x 24 cm were spaced 38 – 45 cm apart, rested on the plates in the wall, 7 cm thick, while the layer of wood between the beams was 11 cm high.

¹⁴ Lateral frames of four windows were preserved, but only one side of each window, so we do not have data on their original width. The height of the window parapet above the wooden flooring is 86 – 94 cm, while the height of the window itself, to the beginning of the arch lintel, was 268 cm.



*Fig. 8. Indentations of the wooden floor structure in the tower
(photo: Ž. Peković, 2010)*



*Fig. 9. Remains of lateral frames of the upper floor window in the tower
(photo: Ž. Peković, 2010)*

The flattened apexes of tower walls share the same height as the flattened wall parts of the large northwestern room.

On the ground floor, next to the northwestern tower, there is an entrance leading to the triangular space formed by the walls of the entrance hall, the central hall, the polygonal tower and the large room positioned perpendicularly to the central hall. On all three walls of that space we discovered and documented indentations of the double-return staircase built on massive stone pylons connected with quadrant stone arches. The staircase led from the ground floor to a **portico** on the representative palace floor.¹⁵ We can assume that a similar, symmetrically positioned staircase existed in the identically formed space next to the northeastern tower.

GROUND FLOOR SPACE UNDERNEATH THE AUDIENCE HALL

The ground level space underneath the central audience hall that extends in the northeast-southwest direction, measures 12.46 x 26.20 metres, has rectangular form and 1:2 side ratio. The apse is preserved to a low height, and has a polygonal form like the towers. In terms of geometry, its outside form is somewhat larger than half of the tetradecagon (form of the towers' plan), it has seven full and two half sides/facets, while it is semicircular in the interior. Inside the apse semicircle, at ground floor level, we find remains of pronounced back walls whose function was undoubtedly to carry pillars of a tribelon on the upper floor.¹⁶

¹⁵ Staircase indentations on the walls provide us with the shape and dimensions of the stairs which were 33 cm wide and 24.5 – 26 cm high.

¹⁶ The tribelon in the Episcopal complex in Poreč is fully preserved. Although it is dated to a later period, we cite it as a continuity of form of the audience hall. A somewhat earlier example is the audience hall of Diocletian's Palace in Split whose substructures (here vaulted) are extant. We are of the opinion that stone overhangs in the apse were the foundations of a tribelon hall on the representative floor. M. JURKOVIĆ, *Mljetski tribeloni – tradicija „auličke” arhitekture kasne antike u srednjem vijeku*, in: *Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića*, (eds.) I. Babić, A. Milošević, Ž. Rapanić, Split, 2002, p. 213 .

LATERAL GROUND FLOOR ROOMS

To the northwest of the central room on the ground floor, underneath the audience hall, lay two different-sized rooms positioned perpendicular to it, separated by a roofless passageway, 2.5 metres wide. The smaller room, situated at the back of the palace, has internal measurements of 6.3 x 5.8 metres, while the larger room measures 13 x 9.8 metres in the interior and has walls that are 0.96 metres thick. The larger room contains a massive stone pylon in the centre, connected to indentations of the massive beam - primary load-bearer in the wall that extended in the northwest-southeast direction, which, midway through its span, supports dense tie beams - secondary load-bearers of the floor structure positioned perpendicularly to it. Indentations of the floor structure, especially secondary beams on load-bearing walls attest to the composite floor structure that consisted of a massive beam - girder, wooden crossbeams with plank flooring and a thick layer of Roman concrete on top of them.¹⁷

The structure made of Roman concrete was most probably covered with representative flooring like, for example, marble tiles or mosaics.¹⁸ Besides the collapsed wall at the entrance to the central hall, this ground floor room also contains extant remains of a door (a formed opening and threshold *in situ*) leading to an exterior space on the southwestern wall, as well as two windows with semicircular "mushroom" arches and low parapet on the northwestern façade.¹⁹ In our opinion, the upper level of the said room was used as a dining room – triclinium.



Fig. 10. The audience hall lateral walls with remains of floor structure indentations
(photo: Ž. Peković, 2011)

¹⁷ The cross-section of the wooden girder measures 30 x 30 cm, and midway through its span, it additionally rests on the stone pylon. Crossbeams have indentations in the wall, measuring 22 x 26 cm in cross-section and spaced 46 – 58 cm apart. On the beams there was a layer of planking 3 cm thick, and concrete 26 cm thick. A layer that Vitruvius called the *nucleus*, consisting of pounded tile mixed with lime (not less than 6 digits = 11.1 cm thick), was most probably laid on top of concrete, over which lay the final floor finish.

¹⁸ The manner of execution, dimensions and construction technique of wooden floor structure with a layer of concrete is described in: M. P. VITRUVIJE, *Deset knjiga o arhitekturi*, Zagreb, 1999, pp. 119-120, 142. Vitruvius prescribes the thickness of compacted concrete to be a minimum $\frac{3}{4}$ of a foot = 22 cm, while the layer of concrete here measures 26 cm.

¹⁹ Ground floor windows had a similar size, as the extant first floor windows of Diocletian's Palace in Split, namely 0.92 x 1.39 metres. When we say window size we mean the width and height of the rectangular part, without the height of "mushroom" lintels.



Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the floor structure cross-section based on the triclinium wall indentations, Ž. Peković, 2011

The smaller ground floor room contains extant remains of a door to the narrow passage separating it from the larger room. This narrow passage, almost a hallway, was an exterior, roofless space. A door connected it to the space underneath the audience hall. It could have contained a smaller straight staircase that had a service function (link with the basement and kitchen). The room had windows on both external walls (southwestern and northwestern). The one on the northwestern façade was larger than other ground floor windows.²⁰ All windows had a low parapet. The existence of a "defenceless" entrance and wide windows positioned low supports the fact that the palace did not have a fortification role on that side. The function of this room would be closest to a kitchen or service space because of a direct link with the upper floor via the external auxiliary staircase.²¹

To the southeast of a ground floor room, located underneath the central representative hall, there are three rooms of identical size with a door connecting them to it. The palace ground floor was mostly used for storage, as a service area for the representative upper floor.²² The ground floor tract had the function – similar to the substructures of Diocletian's Palace in Split – of levelling the sloping terrain and forming the residential floor. The flooring of examined lateral rooms off the central hall follows the slope of the terrain towards the sea.

REPRESENTATIVE FLOOR FOR RESIDENTIAL USE

The upper palace floor strictly follows the layout and organizational scheme of the ground floor. It is accessed via two monumental double-return staircases which lead to the area of the upstairs **portico**. The portico was connected to the towers and most probably open to the sea with a series of windows.²³ The portico led to the audience hall, which then led to lateral rooms. At the semicircular apsidal end, the hall had a tribelon similar to the audience hall in the southern tract of Diocletian's

²⁰ Window size is 1.39 x 1.39 metres.

²¹ The construction of the roofless hallway between two rooms with high ceilings connects this project to the design of Diocletian's Palace where ventilation hallways were constructed – skylights between halls in the southern part of the palace. The skylight allowed for easier opening of windows in the lateral walls, better lighting and airing of rooms.

²² Room plans measured 5.7 – 5.9 x 6.3 metres. In Diocletian's Palace, rooms measured 4.42 x 5.23 metres.

²³ Diocletian's Palace in Split was organized in that way, whereas such façade schemes are found in representations of villas in late antique North African and Hispanic mosaics. T. TURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11, 2012), p. 82. We also find such façade forms in twin-towered entrances into cities in the East and the West with a series of windows, sometimes on several levels.

Palace in Split and Bishop's Palace in Poreč. The floor structure was composite, the walls have extant indentations of tie beams, planks, and on top of them, a layer of Roman concrete which enabled the construction of a representative floor made of mosaics or marble paving. The cross-sectional dimensions are identical to those in the detailed description of floor structures in the celebrated treatise by Vitruvius. The beam cross-section is relatively small for a span of 12.8 metres, insufficient to bear load without significant sagging and vibrations. On top of them sat a heavy load of Roman concrete and the finishing paving more than 30 cm thick. It would be fair to assume that the wooden floor structure was supported by girders resting on stone pylons. Therefore, the ground floor underneath the central hall most probably had two rows of stone pylons similar to the ground floor of Diocletian's audience hall or in Bishop's Palace in Poreč. In Split pylons carry vaults, while in Poreč they carry a wooden floor. The central part of the palace was not investigated so their existence is unconfirmed. The stone pylon that supported the wooden floor structure of the triclinium was found in the probe under the larger northwestern room (triclinium), so we can assume with greater probability that a similar principle was also used in the central hall with a significantly larger span.²⁴

Two spaces to the northwest of the hall are conspicuous because of their position, form, the number and size of windows. It seems that the larger of the two was a spacious triclinium while the smaller was a sleeping chamber of the ruler/owner. They are separated by a narrow roofless hallway that tall triclinium windows are facing, oriented toward the southwest. On the northwestern façade of the larger room there is a remnant of one lateral window frame. Its height is identical to that of the tower windows, 268 cm. Its width is unknown. A geometric reconstruction showed that there were three, as opposed to the two significantly smaller windows preserved at ground floor level.

A series of three rooms alongside the southeastern wall of the audience hall were probably sleeping chambers. The central hall and two adjacent rooms at the northwestern side had gable roofs with sloping sides running parallel to the audience hall. An indentation of triclinium roof structure is preserved on the lateral wall of the audience hall.



Fig. 12. Remains of roof structure on the lateral wall of the audience hall (photo: Ž. Peković, 2010)

Rooms situated alongside the southeastern wall of the audience hall probably had a single-pitch roof and windows on the southeastern façade. The towers had pyramidal roof structures.

The audience hall did not have windows on lateral walls, since they are preserved almost entirely and reach up to the roof structure. The windows could have been located on the northeastern gable

²⁴ The size of the discovered stone pylon is 146 x 146 cm.

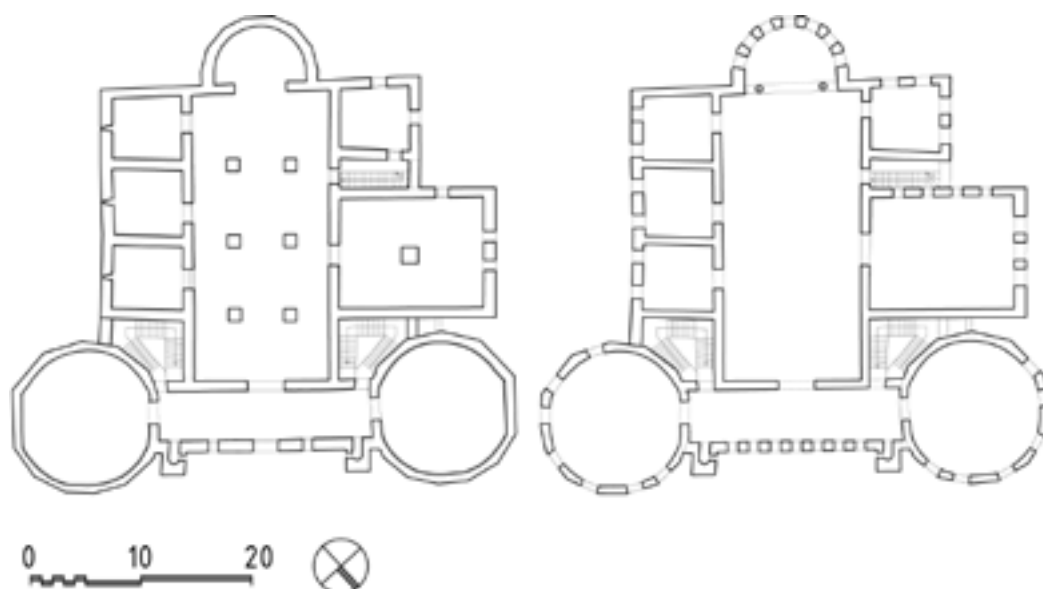


Fig. 13. Ground and upper palace floor, proposed ideal reconstruction, Ž. Peković, 2010

of the façade, above the portico roof structure and on lateral sides of the apse, which must have been richly perforated. Its dimensions between upper floor walls measured 12.82 x 26.20 metres. We could compare its size to a series of tetrarchic audience halls, closest to the one in Diocletian's Palace and those in Piazza Armerina and Mediana. The latter two are somewhat smaller.

Space height also contributes to the monumentality of the palace. Ground floor rooms measure 7.2 metres in height to the floor structure, at their highest point next to the main northeastern façade, while the audience hall measures 7.5 metres in height to the bottom of the roof structure, and the height of lateral rooms, including the triclinium, measures "only" 5.3 metres to the open type roof structure.

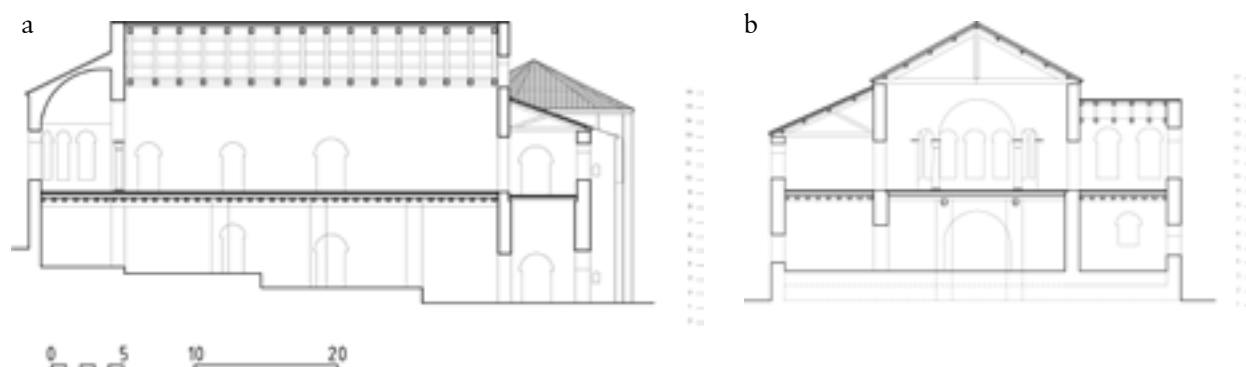


Fig. 14. Longitudinal and transverse palace section, proposed ideal reconstruction, Ž. Peković, 2010

The central hall size, and partly also the layout and disposition of surrounding rooms, facilitates a comparison of the residential floor of the palace in Polače with two related examples, one of which is of earlier and the other of later date. The plan and measurements of the central hall are almost indistinguishable from the audience hall in Diocletian's Palace in Split, they are bound together by the representative quality of the upper floor space and the tribelon in the apse. We are of the opinion that because of the organization of its plan, towers, portico and lateral rooms it can be compared to the Bishop's Palace in the complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč that was built much later.



Fig. 15. Palace façades, proposed ideal reconstruction, Ž. Peković, 2010

From the northeastern, sea-facing side and the southeastern side, the palace could have served a fortification purpose, and possibly had an attached castrum.

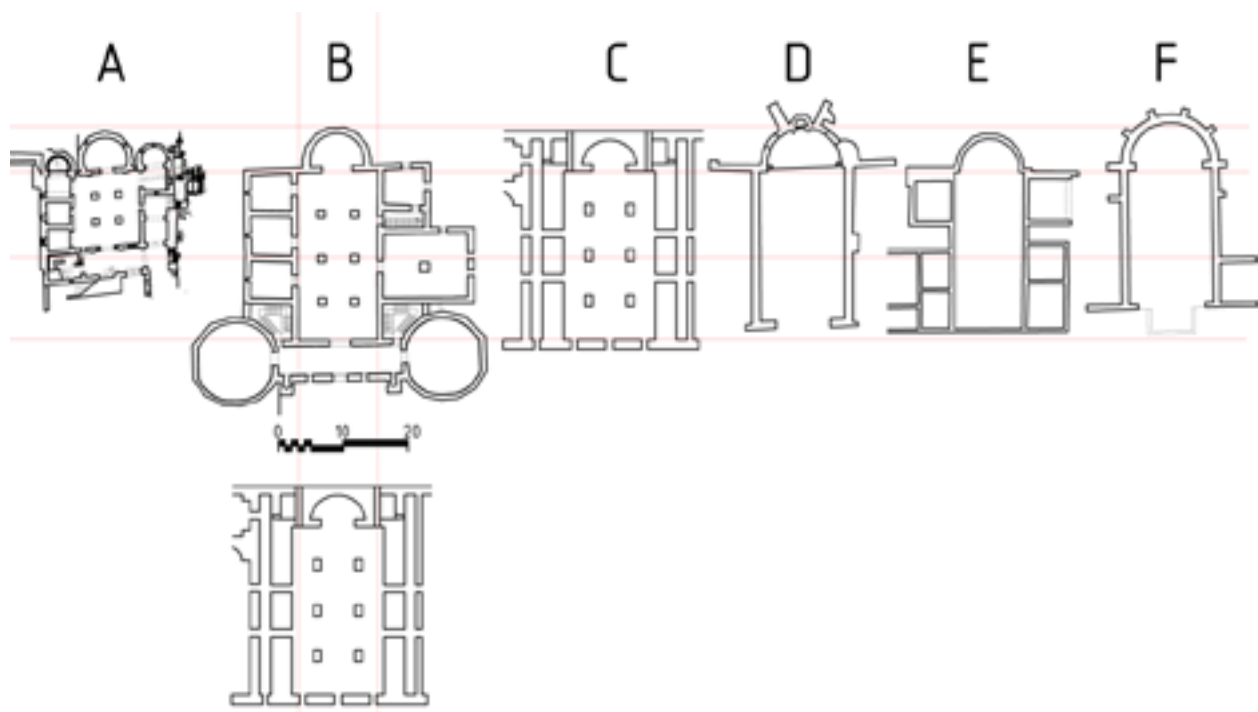


Fig. 16. Comparison of the Polače plan (B) with audience hall plans in A) Bishop's Palace in Poreč, C) Diocletian's Palace in Split, D) Piazza Armerina, E) Theodoric palace, Ravenna, F) Mediana.

THE CASTRUM IN POLAČE

There are several spatial reference points and small remnants of towers and walls which point to the fact that Polače was protected by castrum walls. The walls of all important buildings inside the castrum run parallel to its walls.

The castrum in Polače protected buildings and port facilities on the imperial estate near the port of Polače. It had an almost regular square plan with sides measuring approximately 160 metres. We can only speculate about the date of its construction, however, there are three orthogonally situated spatial reference points which indicate the area it covered. All three spatial reference points are situated in its corners: in the south corner, on top of a hill that "controls" the bay there are ruins of a tower with an unknown plan (it was never investigated), in the western corner an early Christian basilica that was built in the 5th century, and next to it an extant castrum wall 1.6 metres wide, while the eastern corner contains the palace. The early Christian church was built in the corner of the castrum that was already there, which is evidenced by the unusual orientation of the church, the positioning of its entrance in the lateral wall of the church nave, and by the aforementioned remnants of the castrum wall next to the southwestern façade of the church.

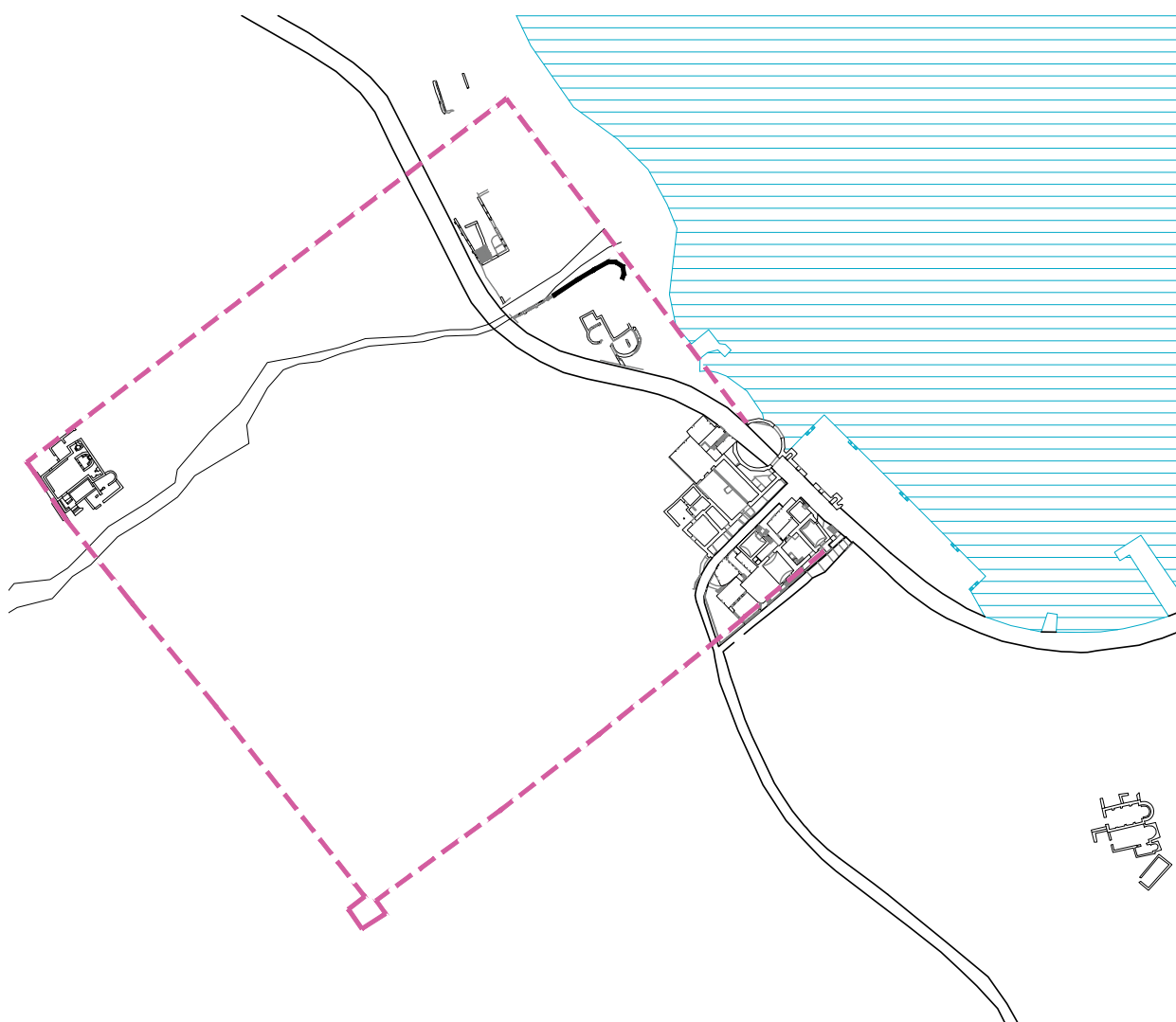


Fig. 17. Polače plan with inscribed buildings and the proposed appearance of the castrum, Ž. Peković

Its dating is disputable, but because of the architectural solution of the pseudo-apse, the sarcophagus for elite burial and the lack of a cemetery, we are inclined to date the church to the period of early Ostrogothic rule, i.e. the 5th century.²⁵ The castrum predated the early Christian church, but it seems that it "rested" on the palace that was already built, which means that the source of living water, located immediately behind the palace apse, was inside its perimeter. We are inclined to think that the palace was built earlier, particularly because of the skylight design similar to the one in Diocletian's Palace, built in the 4th century.

Remains of a building with wall ruins and two apsidal semicircular spaces with an unidentified function were found northwest of the palace. Apsidal spaces have a pronounced horseshoe shape, the smaller one to the southeast of the building measures 4.9 metres in diameter, while the larger has a diameter of 8.2 metres. In earlier literature it was assumed that these were remains of *thermae* or perhaps a church.²⁶ There are no findings that would confirm any of the proposed functions. A small part of the floor mosaic with a crane motif was found in the larger apse. Farther west from the building, near the very edge of a gully, there is a high wall with *lesenes* running in the south-west-northeast direction. It continues underground towards the sea, and smaller remnants of another apsidal space were found where it ends, on the shoreline. It was part of an imposing complex of rooms whose plan measures 26 x 24 metres. Most likely, it was a representative triclinium space separated from the palace corpus, situated immediately by the shore overlooking the surface of the sea. It was often the case that an imperial palace had several triclinia as separate buildings within the palace complex.

Outside the castrum, to the northwest, there is a smaller *villa maritima*, preserved in scant traces of walls built using the technique of *opus quadratum*, to the northwest and the double early Christian church from the 6th century to the southeast.²⁷

²⁵ Ž. PEKOVIĆ – K. BABIĆ, Kasnoantička sakralna arhitektura u doba Istočnih Gota u Dalmaciji, *Prostor* 24, 2 (52), Zagreb, 2016, p. 167.

²⁶ I. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11, 2012), pp. 13-14, 67-68.

²⁷ Outside the castrum, east of the late antique palace ruins, on a small promontory we find remains of double churches mentioned in sparse literature as an eastern basilica. The northern one is preserved as a ruin, almost 3 metres high, while only the foundations of the southern one are extant. We associate the degree of preservation of the northern church with its medieval use. It is a correctly oriented single nave church, 13.3 metres long and 6.5 metres wide, not measuring the entrance hall that is 4 metres long. It has a horseshoe-shaped apse, supported by external buttresses with a built-in subseium. Along the north wall there are remains of two auxiliary rooms, characteristic of religious architecture in the Diocese of Narona. Its walls were constructed using a technique of *opus incertum* while the medieval additions were built more irregularly with an abundant use of mortar. In the original phase of construction, it was covered with a timber roof structure. The church is dated into the 5th century. Another early Christian/Byzantine church was added next to it to the south, with similar dimensions and a small memorial chapel. Both new churches have rectangular apses in the exterior that are horseshoe-shaped in the interior. They are double churches, so regular church liturgy was performed in the northern one, while the southern one was used for memorial functions. The smaller measures 12.95 x 5.6 metres, while the memorial chapel measures 6.9 x 2.7 metres. Based on the apse forms, they are dated into the 6th century. In the Early Middle Ages the northern church was reconstructed, and the rest of the site was destroyed. An entrance hall was added and three pairs of half-pylons were built in, which defined it as a four-bay church, in addition to which a vaulting system was constructed. The southern half-pylon in front of the apse occluded the door in the shared wall of early Christian double basilicas. Next to the church we find remains of the above-ground water cistern, with external measures of 9.15 x 4.3 metres. There are no titularies of Polače churches recorded in inscriptions, toponyms or memory of the local population, so it is unknown whom these religious buildings were dedicated to. I. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 1980), p. 239; P. CHEVALIER, *Ecclesiae Dalmatiae – L'architecture paleochrétienne de la province romane de Dalmatie (VI-VII s.)*, tome 2, Rome – Split, 1995, 95, pl. LXIX; I. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 1996-1997), pp. 70-73; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, 4. Korpus arhitekture: južna Dalmacija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora, Split - Zagreb, 2013, pp. 183-185.

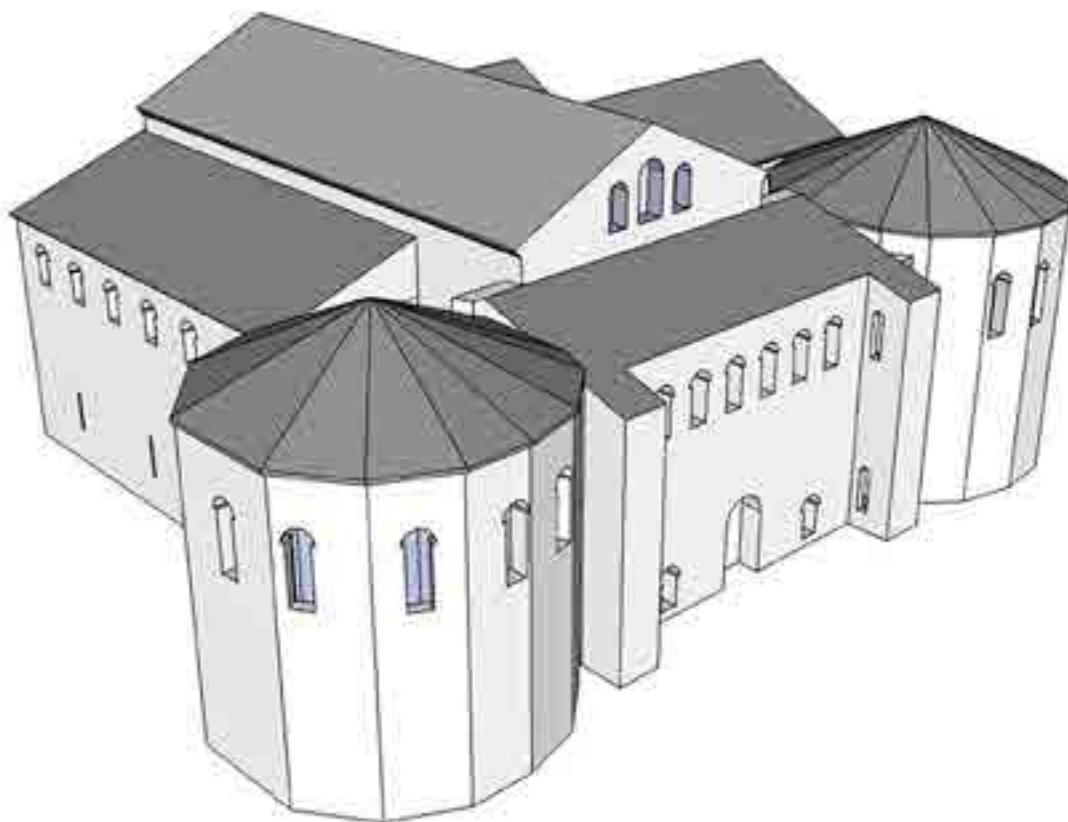


Fig. 18. Perspective view of the palace, ideal reconstruction, Ž. Peković, 2010

There was another, later castrum, on the imperial estate located on the isle of St. Mary in the Great Lake on Mljet, that we discovered and investigated as far back as 2005.²⁸ At the foot of the castrum, on the shore of the brackish lake, in the substructures of the Benedictine monastery there are remains of an earlier building, most probably a villa.

More recent studies show that the palace on Mljet could be compared to similar aulic villas with pseudo-fortifications that were constructed in the Danube and Balkan regions at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century. Towers "decorate" façades of a series of villas depicted in late antique North African and Hispanic mosaics,²⁹ but also early Christian churches from the 5th century.³⁰ The construction of the palace is totally omitted from historical sources, which leaves open an important question of who commissioned such a building.

Several assumptions were drawn. From the one made by Azevedo who compared the palace to Ostrogothic hunting lodges intended for entertainment during hunting, to the proposition that this

²⁸ At the time the lake on the island of Mljet was not connected to the sea, it was filled, like other similar locations on Mljet, with brackish water that had lower levels than the sea. We dated the castrum into the 6th century, and its form can be compared to a series of 6th-century castra built in the age of Justinian on the eastern Adriatic coast. These castra are characterized by relatively thin walls (0.95 metres), frequent shearing which increases their rigidity, the late antique texture of stone and the use of wooden cornices inside the wall to strengthen masonry structures. It has a rather regular form with prominent corner towers, while the small irregularity of castrum geometry is caused by the reality of the terrain. It measures approximately 40 x 30 metres.

²⁹ T. TURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11, 2012), p. 82.

³⁰ Ž. PEKOVIĆ, *Crkva sv. Petra Velikoga- Dubrovačka predromanička katedrala i njezina skulptura / La chiesa di S. Pietro Maggiore La cattedrale preromantica di Ragusa e il suo arredo scultoreo*, Dubrovnik – Split, 2010, p. 64.

was a project at the highest level of the Roman state from the period when capital cities were relocated as emperors were looking for safe havens, i.e. the period immediately preceding the fall of the Western Roman Empire. It was often the case in 4th/5th centuries that rulers left and built safe havens away from towns, in rural areas. The attraction of residential Polače grew during the decline of importance of towns and the general movement of society towards rural regions, consequently, such an economic unit would be the result of an enhanced system of provincial management. Mljet was under the direct rule of Rome since the conquests of Augustus (35 BC), so it seems that Odoacer assumed some former right related to the governance of Mljet which he bestowed upon *comes* Pierius.

What elicits attention is the rent this estate brought to Pierius, who was unable to benefit from it because of his untimely death. It is difficult to imagine a production that would make such a large profit. Under the direct *patrimonium* of the Roman imperial family, Mljet was important from a naval and strategic standpoint, especially because of the subsequent turn eastwards. We have to conclude that during Diocletian's reforms Mljet became a wealthy estate in Dalmatia that produced income for its procurator from trade and taxes. The position of Polače on the main sailing route along the eastern Adriatic coast with an extremely safe anchorage meant that it was surely an important trade stop, as evidenced by numerous underwater finds in the immediate vicinity of Polače.

Undoubtedly, the palace was an imperial project proven by the size of its audience hall, monumental façade and the quality of construction. The surrounding landscape is extremely important for residential architecture – in this case, a relatively spacious and well-protected bay where the sea is almost always as calm as the lake, surrounded by gentle landscape. The necessary inference is that the palace complex originated at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 4th century, when it was built as an imperial residential edifice that would have great economic importance in the ensuing centuries.

Kasnoantička carska palača u Polačama na otoku Mljetu

Najvjerojatnije krajem 3. ili početkom 4. stoljeća u zaklonjenoj uvali Polače na otoku Mljetu, neposredno uz morsku obalu, sagrađena je carska rezidencijalna palača. Razvedenoga je i nesimetričnog tlocrta. Sastoji se od dviju etaža, pa su tako u donjoj raspoređene prostorije gospodarske i servisne namjene. One su u funkcionalnoj korelaciji s rezidencijalnim prostorijama reprezentativne gornje etaže kojima se pristupalo preko dvaju simetričnih trokrakih stubišta postavljenih u prostor iza kula koje flankiraju pročelje. Moguće je da im se pristupalo i još jednim, pomoćnim, nenatkrivenim stubištem koje je moglo biti smješteno između dviju prostorija prislonjenih uz sjeverozapadno pročelje palače. Samo prizemlje služi i niveliranju terena koji pada prema moru. U ovom se radu predlaže prepoznavanje konkretnih namjena prostorija na katu. Površinom najveća, izdužena prostorija s apsidalnim završetkom, bila je dvorana za audijenciju iz koje se pristupalo bočnim prostorijama. Na sjeverozapadu se nalazio triklinij te nešto manja spavaonica vlasnika palače. Nasuprot trikliniju smještene su tri manje prostorije koje su najvjerojatnije također služile kao spavaonice.

Prema sačuvanim, impozantnim ostatcima palače te tragovima na licima njezinih obodnih zidova, autor je po prvi put detaljno prokomentirao njezin konstruktivni sustav te ga doveo u izravnu vezu s Vitruvijevim zapisima – osobito u rekonstrukciji međukatne konstrukcije. Njegova promišljanja i istraživanja rezultirala su revidiranim tlocrtom izvornoga stanja. U odnosu na prethodno ponuđene, i iz literature poznate tlocrtne rekonstrukcije, novim je tlocrtom raspoznato nekoliko do sada neuočenih elemenata: simetrično postavljena trokraka stubišta smještena iza kula koje flankiraju pročelje, zatim još jedna prostorija manjih dimenzija na jugoistoku (između dviju već prethodno ucrtanih prostorija sličnih dimenzija) te zidani pylon u većoj prizemnoj prostoriji na sjeverozapadu objekta, koji je podupirao međukatne konstrukcije triklinija na gornjoj etaži. Temeljem jednog arheološki utvrđenoga pilona prizemlja, predlaže se postojanje njih ukupno šest u središnjoj prostoriji prizemlja s istom namjenom. U rekonstrukciji elevacije palače autor je još prepoznao neke nove elemente, kao na primjer pročelje sa samo jednim vratima koja su bila flankirana dvama prozorima (a ne dvama vratima).

Palača je naknadno obuhvaćena zidinama nešto mlađeg kastruma koji za sada nije istražen, a na čije postojanje upućuju ostatci kule na visinski istaknutoj točki južno od palače, kao i položaji dviju ranokršćanskih crkava koje su, pak, mlađe od kastruma. Dio njegova zida pronađen je uz jugozapadno pročelje zapadne crkve u Polačama. Unutar kastruma nalaze se i ostatci objekta s trima apsidama, za koji se prethodno predmnijevalo da je bio dio termalnog kompleksa ili možda sakralnog objekta. Autor, međutim, predlaže da se u tom objektu raspozna još jedan triklinij smješten neposredno uz morsku obalu.

Ključne riječi: *carska palača, kasnoantička rezidencijalna arhitektura, Mljet, Polače*

RULERS AND PATRONAGE IN LATE ANTIQUE RAVENNA

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During Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, empress Galla Placidia, king Theoderic and later Queen Amalasuntha, imperial officers and rulers, such as Exarchs, bishops and the clergy used patronage of various monumental buildings to endorse their political ambitions, social positions, and prestige, also in Ravenna, when the city became the new Imperial Seat. In this paper I will try to define this phenomenon by showing the role played by private élites since the 4th century, which grew into a general and wide trend by the end of the 8th century, during the Carolingian Age.

Key words: Ravenna, Late Antiquity, Patronage, Archaeology

INTRODUCTION

Ravenna is one of the few European cities where growth rather than decline has been verified during Late Antiquity and in which the imperial and ecclesiastical elites invested in new public buildings¹. The reasons for this new vitality, in a period of great crisis, have justly been sought in the transfer of the imperial residence from Milan at the beginning of the 5th century and by the new demands of the imperial entourage. The first heuristic efforts of the urban elites were associated primarily with the court of Honorius. They turned to the creation of functional buildings as an expression of imperial power, including new roads, public buildings, churches and especially the Bishop's palace, and to the construction of the city walls, which remain quite unchanged to this day². Archaeology also testifies as well to a new impetus towards the construction of sumptuous private residences, such as the one identified in Via D'Azeglio, and public buildings equipped to receive a great quantity of goods, coming from the east and from Tunisia, and designed for their redistribution in central and northern Italy. Towards the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century a new impulse towards the construction of ecclesiastical buildings emerges among the empire's elites, driven by the 'bishop builders' and private aristocrats, who identified in this type of building a vehicle for the transmission of their memory and personal power³. In this paper I will try to show the contribution that these investments made to the crisis of the Mediterranean economic system, which through its contraction determined the end of the commercial predominance of the city in comparison to the rest of central and northern Italy.

¹ C. PIETRI, *Aristocrazia e clero al tempo di Odoacre e di Teoderico*, in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Territorio, economia e società*, vol. II. 1., Venezia, 1991, p. 287-310.

² E. CIRELLI, *Élites civili ed ecclesiastiche nella Ravenna tardoantica*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13\1, p. 301-318.

³ S. GELICHI, *Ravenna, ascesa e declino di una capitale*, in G. Ripoll and J. M. Gurt (eds.) *Sedes regiae (ann. 400-800)*, Barcellona, 2000, p. 109-134; E. CIRELLI, *Ravenna. Archeologia di una città*, Firenze, 2008.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF A CAPITAL CITY

The transfer of the imperial 'seat of power' from Milan to Ravenna must have been intended only as a temporary measure by Honorius and, furthermore, was initiated by concern over Barbarian pressure on the north-eastern *limes*. Once, however, a large succession of dignitaries and officials had gathered inside the new residence, Ravenna became a stable centre of government. The first changes to the city are really owed to imperial authority and saw the construction of grandiose benefactions, similar only to those of the extraordinary capitals of the eastern Mediterranean⁴. The first benefaction that altered the urban aspect of the settlement was the construction of the imperial palace, an act that determined a move eastwards, away from the gravitational centre of the city and well outside the ancient republican city wall, along the axis of the Via Popilia (now Via di Roma)⁵. This new organization of the city and the arrival of the vast imperial entourage during the 5th and 6th centuries were the primary cause of an exceptional building rebirth that saw the construction of imposing public buildings, great *domus* and various forms of infrastructure⁶. Above all, this was due to elite patronage tied initially to the emperor, followed by the Gothic kings, and finally the exarch and the bishops⁷.

Besides this fundamental event, a great change in the organization of the city occurred because of the diffusion of the Christian religion, which was poorly attested in Ravenna before the 5th century. Beginning from this time, the ecclesiastical authorities also have defined their places of worship within the new imperial centre⁸. It is also a well-documented phenomenon in other Adriatic cities during the first twenty years of the 5th century that a new entrepreneurial tendency emerges amongst the bishops, who are referred to by some scholars as 'bishop builders'⁹.

Two poles of topographical aggregation were established, with the same dynamics that had characterized other Italian cities in Late Antiquity. They are based around the new imperial palace and the Bishop's palace, the former built in a new sector to the east and close to the Via Popilia, the latter nearby the Basilica Ursiana and the baptistery, behind the *domus* of the bishop itself, with wide rooms for the reception of the whole ecclesiastical community and for the civilian authorities¹⁰. This phenomenon of the decentralization of the structures of civil power breaks with the preceding administrative unity and urbanism of Roman tradition, introducing a topographical dualism between civil power and ecclesiastical power. This dualism would also mark the evolution of the urban landscape in the following centuries¹¹. These two centres of power are flanked, at the end of the 5th century, by a third building focus, following the settlement of a new Arian cult elite that is probably attested inside an area of sparse construction set in the northeast sector of the city with two other episcopal complexes behind the city walls¹².

⁴ T. W. POTTER, *Towns in Late Antiquity. Iol Caesarea and its context*, Exeter, 1995.

⁵ G.A. MANSUELLI, *Geografia e storia di Ravenna antica*, in *Corsi di Arte Ravennate e Bizantina XIV*, 1967, p. 157-190, part. 170-172; S. GELICHI, *Il paesaggio urbano tra V e X secolo*, in A. Carile (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 153-165, part. 154.

⁶ I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *La domus tardoantica: forme e rappresentazioni dello spazio domestico nelle città del Mediterraneo*, Bologna, 2001.

⁷ N. CHRISTIE *From Constantine to Charlemagne: An Archaeology of Italy AD 300-800*, Aldershot, 2006, p. 97; E. CIRELLI, *Palazzi e luoghi del potere a Ravenna e nel suo territorio tra tarda Antichità e alto Medioevo (V-X sec.)*, in *HAM* 25, 2019, p. 283-299.

⁸ J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUTZ, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*, Oxford, 2001, p. 374.

⁹ G. CANTINO WATAGHIN, *Spazio cristiano e "civitates": status quaestionis*, in G. Spanu (ed.), *Materiali per una topografia urbana: Status quaestionis e nuove acquisizioni*, Atti del V convegno sull'archeologia tardoantica e medievale in Sardegna (Cagliari, 1988), Oristano, 1995, p. 201-237, part. 220; P. CHEVALIER, N. JAKŠIĆ, M. JURKOVIĆ, *Zadar, ses environs et la Dalmatie septentrionale dans l'Antiquité tardive*, in *Bulletin de l'Association pour l'Antiquité Tardive* 25, 2016, p. 7-16.

¹⁰ M. C. CARILE, *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem*, Spoleto, 2012.

¹¹ G. P. BROGIOLO, *Le origini della città medievale*, Mantova, 2011.

¹² M. C. CARILE, E. CIRELLI, *Architetture e decoro del complesso vescovile ariano: ipotesi ricostruttive e modelli di riferimento*, in G. Garzia, A. Iannucci, M. Vandini (eds.), *Il patrimonio culturale tra conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione. Il caso della "Piazzetta degli Ariani" di Ravenna*, Bologna, 2015, p. 97-127.

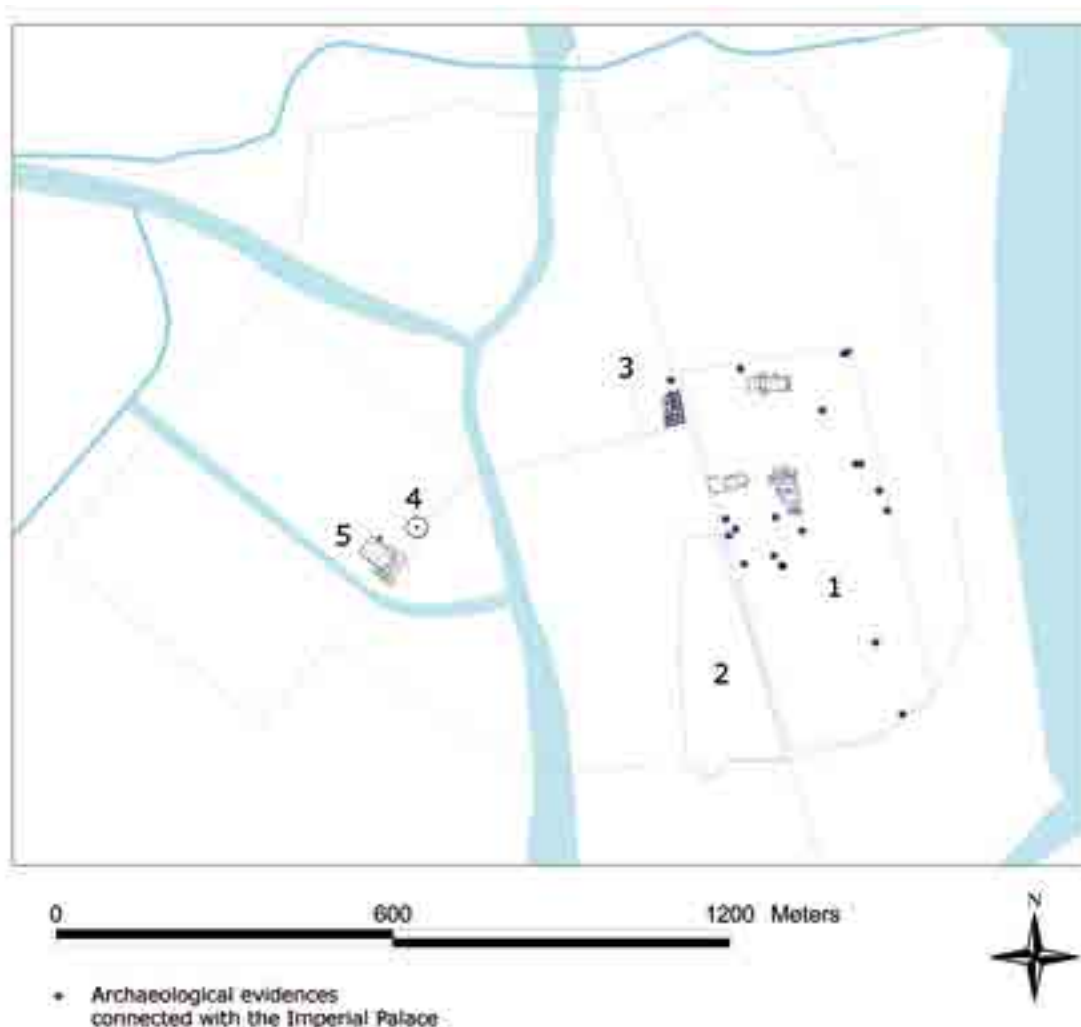


Fig. 1. The Late Antique city walls of Ravenna and the Structures of Power: 1) the Imperial Palace complex; 2) hypothetical localization of the Circus; 3) the Mint; 4) 3rd century B.C. city walls and the Bishop's Baths (Banca Popolare excavations); 5) Bishop's Palace complex and the basilica Ursiana (drawn by the author)

THE IMPERIAL PALACE

The most important element in the transformation of the urban landscape in Ravenna in Late Antiquity is imperial building, which occurred in the areas in which construction investment reached its highest levels. Also in this category was a complex of buildings that constituted a vast district located in the southeast sector of the city, inclusive of the area between the Wandalaria Gate and the church of St John the Evangelist. The area of the imperial palace, according to this reconstruction, covered a region of around 10 hectares, excluding the Hippodrome (5 hectares) and the Mint (2 square kilometres) that still belonged, however, to the palace complex (Fig. 1)¹³. Another impressive building that constituted part of the imperial residence was built by Emperor Valentinian III *in loco qui dicitur ad Laureta*¹⁴, a sector of the city close to the Wandalaria Gate.

¹³ E. CIRELLI, *Ravenna - Rise of a Late Antique Capital*, in D. Sami, G. Speed (eds.), *Debating urbanism: Between and Beyond the Wall. A.D. 300-700*, Leicester, 239-263.

¹⁴ Andrea Agnellus, *Liber Pontificalis Ravennatis Ecclesiae*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX*, ed. by O. Holder Egger, Hannover, 1878, p. 298.

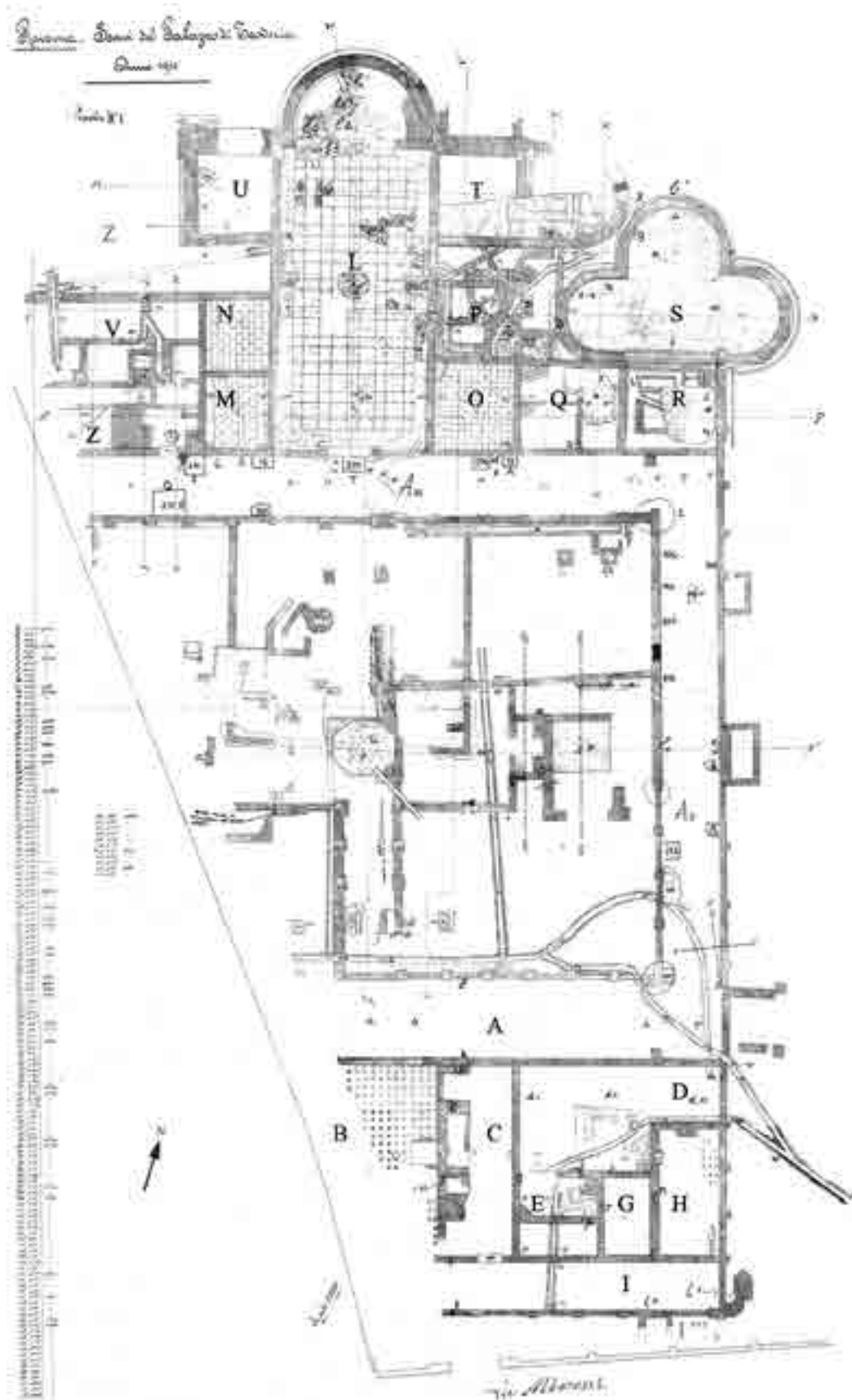


Fig. 2. The excavated area of Orti Monghini where part of the imperial palace of Ravenna has been found

The palace, built by Theoderic, but not dedicated by him¹⁵, was probably situated to the north, close to the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo¹⁶; its structures were partially identified at the beginning of the previous century during a series of archaeological excavations that were intended to locate the imperial building. In recent years, the analysis of data from the deposit in the area of the imperial building, conducted by the Department of Archaeology at the University of Bologna, allows us to hypothesize the development of the complex in at least four different phases¹⁷. The first has just been described and was identified during the excavations of G. Ghirardini; it consisted of vast reception rooms and a bath, articulated around a large rectangular courtyard (Fig. 2). Between the buildings that constituted this phase was also the Triclinium *ad Marem*, described by Agnellus as an ample tri-apsidal room facing the Adriatic Sea (Fig. 2. S) and decorated with late fifth-century mosaics, with a mythological scene. A huge quantity of evidence, situated close to Santa Maria in Porto¹⁸, reveals also the presence of a second group of buildings, probably connected to the Palace *ad Laureta*, in the region of the *Wandalaria* Gate. The complex was bounded to the north by the *Scubitum*, perhaps a building destined to be the lodgings of the soldiers charged with the protection of the palace¹⁹ and by the Basilica of San Apollinare Nuovo²⁰. The *Palatium* was completed by a considerable number of pavilions, service chambers and by two main buildings: firstly, the Moneta Aurea, that was probably the imperial Mint of Ravenna, as testified by written sources and by archaeological finds; secondly, the Hippodrome, only identified by topographic references and by cartographic evidence and located in the south-east zone of the city, facing the imperial palace²¹.

THE PUBLIC/CIVIC PATRONAGE OF KING THEODERIC: THE BASILICA HERCULIS

Besides establishing the centre of imperial power and constructing the city's defences, in this period Theoderic constructed works and public infrastructure of notable economic investment, as well as numerous great monuments. We just have to think of the restoration and creation of the new road network and the improvement to the water supply plants, which operated both during the Ostrogothic age and the Exarch government. An important civil construction (or perhaps a restoration) that has unfortunately left few material traces behind can also be contributed to Theoderic's patronage: the basilica devoted to Hercules. We know very little about it and the only real mention originates from the *Variae*²², in which Theoderic asks the Pretorian Prefect of Rome, Agapitus, for the construction of a *basilica Herculis*²³. Certainly the Ostrogoth king did not miss out on an opportunity to recall the myth as a representation of his power. Indeed, images of Hercules, the great hero of classical mythology, and Bellerophon graced the three-apsidal dining room of his palace²⁴. Theoderic's displays of culture and constant nods to antiquity are a demonstration and a qualification

¹⁵ Anonimus Valesianus, *Chronica Theodericiana*, in *RIS*, t. XXIV, pars. IV. Salv., *De gubernat.*, Salvianus, *De gubernatione Dei*, ed. by F. Pauly, Vindobonae, 1883, p. 24: *Palatium usque ad perfectum fecit, que non dedicavit*.

¹⁶ P. PORTA, *Il centro del potere, il problema del palazzo dell'esarco*, in A. Carile (ed.), *Op. cit.* (n.1), p. 269-283.

¹⁷ A. AUGENTI, *Archeologia e topografia a Ravenna: il Palazzo di Teoderico e la Moneta Aurea*, in *Archeologia Medievale* XXXII, 2005, p. 7-33.

¹⁸ V. MANZELLI 2000, *Ravenna*, Roma, 2000, p. 149.

¹⁹ M. MAZZOTTI, *Note di antica topografia ravennate*, in *CARB* 14, 1967, p. 219-231, part. 228.

²⁰ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spatantiken Abendlandes*, vol. II.1: Kommentar 1. Teil. Wiesbaden, 1974, p. 171-200.

²¹ G. VESPIGNANI, *ΙΠΠΟΔΡΟΜΟΣ. Il circo di Costantinopoli Nuova Roma. Dalla realtà alla storiografia*, Spoleto, 2010, p. 153.

²² Cassiod. *Var.* 1, 6, ed. by A. Giardina, G. Cecconi, I. Tantillo, Roma, 2020.

²³ D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *Ravenna in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, 2010, p. 123-124.

²⁴ I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Articolazione e decorazione del palazzo imperiale di Ravenna*, in *CARB* 43, 1997, p. 1-31.



Fig. 3. *The capture of the golden hind of Cerinea, by Hercules, Courtesy of the Museo Nazionale di Ravenna*

of his power, especially when presented on public monuments. The whole district where the basilica was built was probably dedicated to Hercules. The only artefact associated with this basilica is a bas relief of extraordinary execution, representing a scene from the capture of the Ceryneian Golden Hind. The scene, preserved in the collection of the National Museum at Ravenna, must be the work of a great sculptor of a metropolitan area (Fig. 3). The original placement of the marmoreal fragment, which is almost like a metope that must have enriched the basilica's reception room with a depiction of the labours of Hercules, is uncertain, but it allows us to imagine how sumptuous the decorative apparatus of this building must have been. The internal structure was perhaps sustained by the capitals that are now standing under the portico of the present Town Hall in Ravenna, close to the place where the basilica was probably built. These elements, on which the monogram of Theoderic is engraved, are attributed by tradition to the Church of the Goths (*Ecclesia Gothorum*) in the Arian district, but we do not have any hard evidence for this²⁵. Many doubts remain over the original position of these capitals, which are decorated by acanthus leaves 'moved by the wind' (also referred to as 'butterfly style'), and the proximity to the *regio Ercolana* is certainly not enough to prove this association. We

should also consider that the function of the Basilica of Hercules is not clear and, according to some scholars, it is in fact a reception room of the imperial palace²⁶. There is no doubt, however, that the Theoderician building devoted to Hercules would have been decorated by capitals similar to those that are now ascribed to the *Ecclesia Gothorum*, and for which highly skilled sculptors were enlisted, probably coming from a Constantinopolitan workshop²⁷.

REGION OF RELIGIOUS POWER: THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND THE BASILICA URSIANA

The Bishop's palace in Ravenna was found inside the old Roman city, such as other Adriatic cities (e.g. Zadar)²⁸. It occupied a more central position in comparison to the new sector of the city where we have seen that the new complex of the imperial palace was constructed. This Christian complex

²⁵ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 285.

²⁶ ID., *Ravenna. Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden, 1969, p. 41.

²⁷ C. BERTELLI, *Testimonianze dell'arte a Ravenna dal regno goto all'esarcato*, in A. Augenti, C. Bertelli (eds.), *Santi Banchieri Re. Ravenna e Classe nel VI secolo. San Severo il tempio ritrovato, Catalogo della Mostra (Ravenna, 2006)*, Milano, 2006, p. 23-36, part. 25.

²⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Il nucleo del complesso vescovile paleocristiano di Zara*, in R. Farioli Campanati et al. (eds.) *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Bologna-Ravenna, 2007)*, Bologna, 2009, p. 303-312.

was the first to be created inside the city, soon after the transition of imperial authority to Ravenna (Fig. 4). A little more ancient is the shrine of Pullione, which is a *mausoleum* whose location is not known with certainty. It was mentioned only in the 9th century, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which describes the burial of the Bishop Liberius, who died in AD 377, inside a private building close to the *Porta Nova*. During archaeological excavations, conducted by M. Mazzotti, a small funerary building was identified close to the villa over which the basilica of St Severus was built at the end of the 6th century. It is a small *sacellum* built in the second half of the 4th century, revealing a square plan with

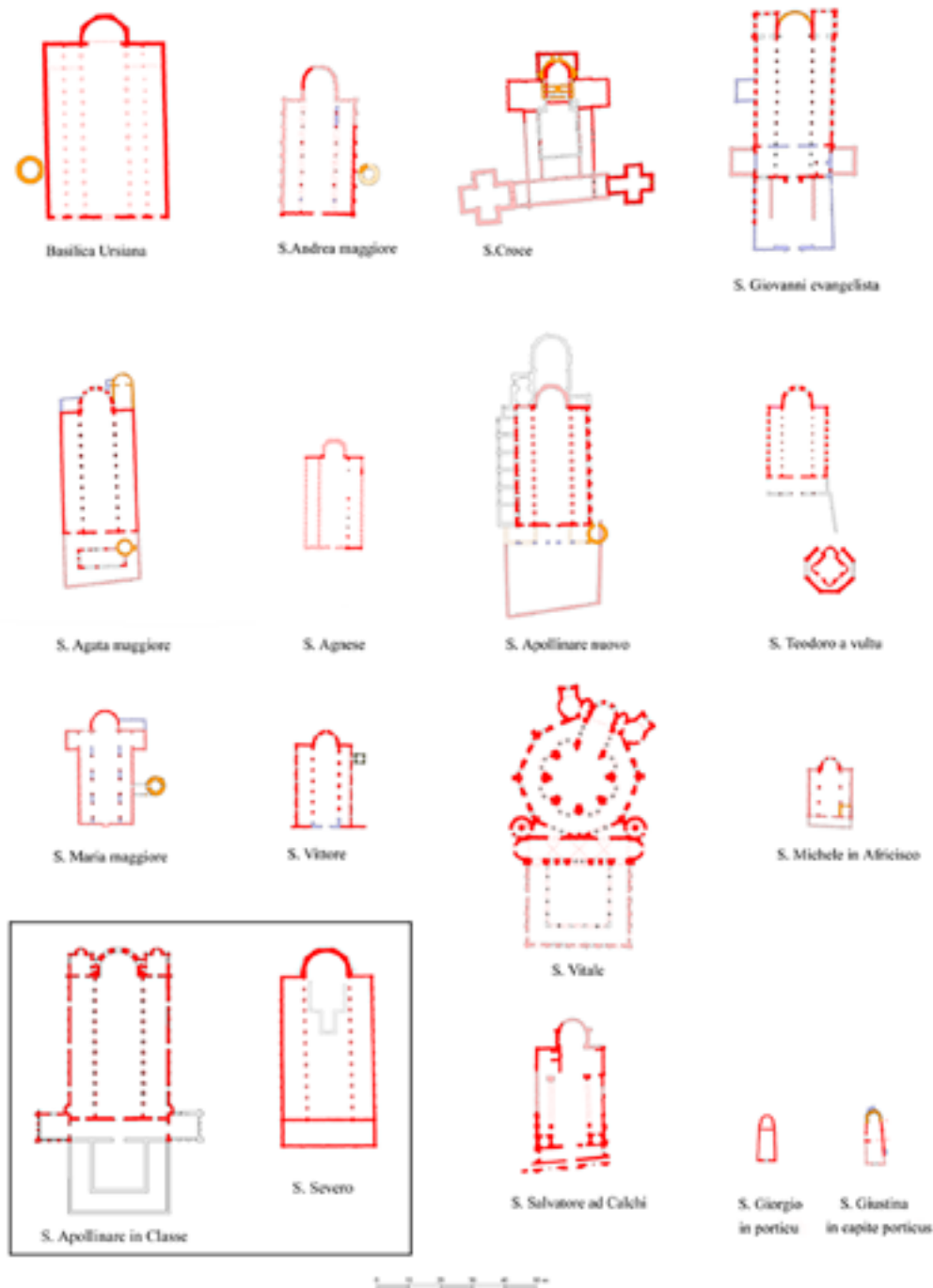


Fig. 4. Scheme of the ecclesiastical building of Ravenna since the end of the 4th c. AD



Fig. 5. Aerial view of the St. Rufillo shrine close the basilica of St. Severus at Classe

an apse to the west and wide openings on the east side and to the north. It is likely that Bishop Severus and his family were buried here (Fig. 5)²⁹. The first Christian basilica and its baptistery were built in Ravenna a few years later, at the beginning of the 5th century, inside the bishop's private house³⁰.

The bishop's palace structure was refined time after time and gained its final form at the end of a progressive delineation of numerous public buildings, with luxurious rooms, gardens and private baths that were still active until the 9th century³¹. The architectural models for the public rooms and the other buildings of the episcopal complex are in every way similar to those of the structures belonging to the imperial and secular elites of the same period. For instance, the first building added to the private residence of Ursus, known by the name of *Quinque Accubita* or *Dagubitas*, is a five-apsed dining room, two apses on each side and one on the side that was in front of the door, decorated by magnificent mosaics described by Agnellus³². Its plan recalls the shape of many aristocratic and

²⁹ E. CIRELLI *et al.*, *Settore 5 (5000) – Mausoleo Nord*, in A. Augenti *et al.* (eds.), *La basilica di San Severo a Classe. Scavi 2006*, Bologna, 2017, p. 99-108.

³⁰ E. RUSSO, *Sulla sopraelevazione neoniana del battistero della cattedrale di Ravenna*, in *L'edificio battesimale in Italia. Aspetti e problemi*, Atti dell'VIII Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Genova, Sarzana, Albenga, Finale Ligure, Ventimiglia 1998), Bordighera, 2001, p. 891-914.

³¹ M. C. MILLER, *The development of the archiepiscopal residence in Ravenna (300-1300)*, in *Felix Ravenna* 141-144, 1992, p. 145-173.

³² G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *Sulla distrutta aula dei quinque accubita a Ravenna*, in *CARB* 20, 1973, p. 263-273.

public buildings, characteristic of Late Antiquity, as in the case of the room called *Dekanneacubita* in Constantinople, built between the 4th and the 5th centuries in the shape of a long apsidal room with nine more apses on each side³³; a later example is the Consistorium Lateranense, built by Leo III (AD 795-816), with eleven apses³⁴. Similar examples are also known from many luxurious villas that often introduce convivial multi-apsidal rooms, as in the case of the reception room preceded by a hallway with two opposite apses, belonging to the villa of Desenzano³⁵. One of the *triclinia* found in the imperial palace complex at Milan had the same plan³⁶. Furthermore, inside the episcopal complex there was a private chapel, a bath, *triclinia* and other public buildings, so that it appeared as its own considerable urban complex.

The first buildings of episcopal patronage included the great Basilica Ursiana, a basilica with five aisles that was of unparalleled grandeur in comparison to the monumental constructions of the following centuries and that was built over the private properties of the bishop himself and not on public grounds.

THE THIRD FOCAL POINT: BASILICA, BAPTISTERY AND THE 'ARIAN' PALACE

The main investments of the Gothic king were made in the construction of the new reception room inside the imperial palace, in the creation of new religious spaces, befitting the Arian heresy, and in the construction of new buildings and infrastructures of public utility. The greater part of this building program was located in the northeast district of the inhabited area, an area up to that time deprived of euergetic constructions, if we exclude the Basilica of St John the Evangelist, that, judging from the documented archaeological evidence so far, seems to constitute the northern limit of the building activity and of imperial patronage during the 5th century. In this period, the Arian clergy built an Episcopal centre quite close to that created behind the Basilica Ursiana. It contained a complex also constituted by an Episcopal *domus*/palace, with a bath and a private chapel, and the *monasterium S. Apolenaris* (Fig. 4). During the 6th century the Gothic administration also granted significant liberty to investments by the 'Orthodox' ecclesiastical authorities. In this period, also after the death of Theoderic, numerous churches were built by Orthodox bishops, in particular by Ecclesius.

THE CITY WALLS AND OTHER INFRASTRUCTURES

Since the beginning of the 5th century Ravenna was a centre of notable investment by the imperial administration in public buildings and in public infrastructure or services. The great number of river courses that crossed the city connected the imperial 'seat of power' by an easy waterway transit to the network of the Po River, and guaranteed the fortune of the settlement and its development in the following centuries. The late antique imperial administration also restored road arteries, bridges and all structures that allowed an easy interaction with the outside. The city was also endowed with a new defensive circuit (Fig. 1). Until this time Ravenna was a small city that covered around 33 hectares. The area of the *oppidum* had been, however, in continuous expansion since the early imperial age and two principal zones of settlement, to the north and the east, were extended

³³ R. GUILLAND, *Études sur la topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1969, p. 82.

³⁴ R. KRAUTHEIMER, *Die Decanneacubita in Konstantinopel. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Frage Rom und Byzanz*, in W. N. Schumacher (ed.), *Tortulae. Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (Römische Quartalschrift, Suppl. 30), Roma, 1966, p. 195-199.

³⁵ D. SCAGLIARINI CORLAITA, *La villa di Desenzano. Vicende architettoniche e decorative*, in *Studi sulla villa romana di Desenzano*, Milano, 1994, p. 43-58, part. 53, fig. 11.

³⁶ A. CERESA MORI, *Palatium duabus turribus sublime...Il palazzo imperiale di Milano nel quadro delle immagini recenti*, in G. Sena Chiesa (ed.), *L'editto di Milano e il tempo della tolleranza. Costantino 313 d. C., Catalogo della Mostra (Milano, 2012-2013)*, Milano, 2012, p. 22-28, part. 24.

up to the borders of the future late antique urban enclosure. These structures, primarily residential in character, were already in crisis between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century and were enclosed inside the vast, surrounding city walls and partly intersected by the same, as in the case of a suburban villa uncovered in close proximity to the Cybo Gate³⁷. The new late antique city walls also included a sector of the inhabited area next to the coast, probably crossed by the Via Popilia, and known as the early medieval *Plateia Maior*. In this area two vast early Roman residences have been identified, the last one during emergency excavations conducted in Largo Farini, which also show once more the extension of the inhabited area in this sector of the city. The vast area of the imperial residence, with public buildings and the whole apparatus of necessary complexes, was created for the installation of the imperial court in this district.

The date of foundation of the city walls is not certain at the present time, although they are generally attributed to Emperor Onorio's activity (395-423), after his arrival in Ravenna in 402, and were finished by Valentinian III³⁸. Their construction defined a vast area that was thereafter available for the construction of new service buildings of the imperial court. The boundaries, in their definitive position, contained a large area of 166 hectares, 5 times greater than that hypothesized for the Republican age. The inhabited area in Ravenna did not succeed in reaching such dimensions again in its history until the 20th century, although admittedly the settlement pattern was never so intense again after the 5th century. The late antique city walls constituted 'a limit and a border' of the city during the early Middle Ages. From the beginning of the 5th century, a new road system was also realized. It was planned around the area of the *Platea Maior* over the ancient Via Popilia, a road network that still dominates the urban topography today.

PRIVATE PATRONAGE AND PUBLIC INVESTMENT BETWEEN THE 5TH AND THE 7TH CENTURIES

Economic development and the growth of investment between the 5th and the 7th centuries also injected a new vitality into the construction of private houses. Some important archaeological excavations, undertaken within the city in recent years, have allowed us to discover new buildings, including one house of an elevated formal quality, which was probably connected with the demands placed by the new managing class that arose inside the city. Such aristocratic residences were designed to enable civic elites to receive a vast succession of *clientes*; they were primary places in which the aristocracy could demonstrate their own authority and exhibit power³⁹. From the beginning of the 5th century, urban elites continued to be able to invest in the construction of imposing buildings, creating works that have left different material evidence which urban archaeology is now able to identify.

Toward the end of the century two *domus*, dating from the Augustan age and joined together inside a grandiose residence, which probably belonged to a high official of the imperial court, were transformed and monumentalized. This is the archaeological complex of Via D'Azeglio⁴⁰. The excavations succeeded in investigating only a small part of the original extension of the rich late antique residence: numerous rooms have been articulated and are paved with prestigious polychrome mosaics and with *opus sectile*; there were three separate courtyards and infrastructures (Fig. 6). The rooms of this aristocratic house have a symmetrical plan, distributed around gardens and pillared porticoes, and connected by corridors. In the centre of the principal courtyard an octagonal foun-

³⁷ G. MONTEVECCHI, *Viaggio nei siti archeologici della provincia di Ravenna*. Ravenna, 2003.

³⁸ S. GELICHI, *Le mura di Ravenna*, in *Ravenna. Da capitale imperiale a capitale esarcale*, Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Studio sull'Alto Medioevo (Ravenna, 2004), Spoleto, 2005, p. 821-840.

³⁹ J. ORTALLI, *L'insediamento residenziale urbano nella Cispadana*, in M. Heinzelmann, J. Ortalli (eds.), *Abitare in città. La Cisalpina tra impero e medioevo*, Roma, 2003, p. 95-119, part. 103.

⁴⁰ G. MONTEVECCHI (ed.), *Archeologia urbana a Ravenna. La 'Domus dei Tappeti di Pietra'. Il complesso archeologico di Via D'Azeglio*, Ravenna, 2004.

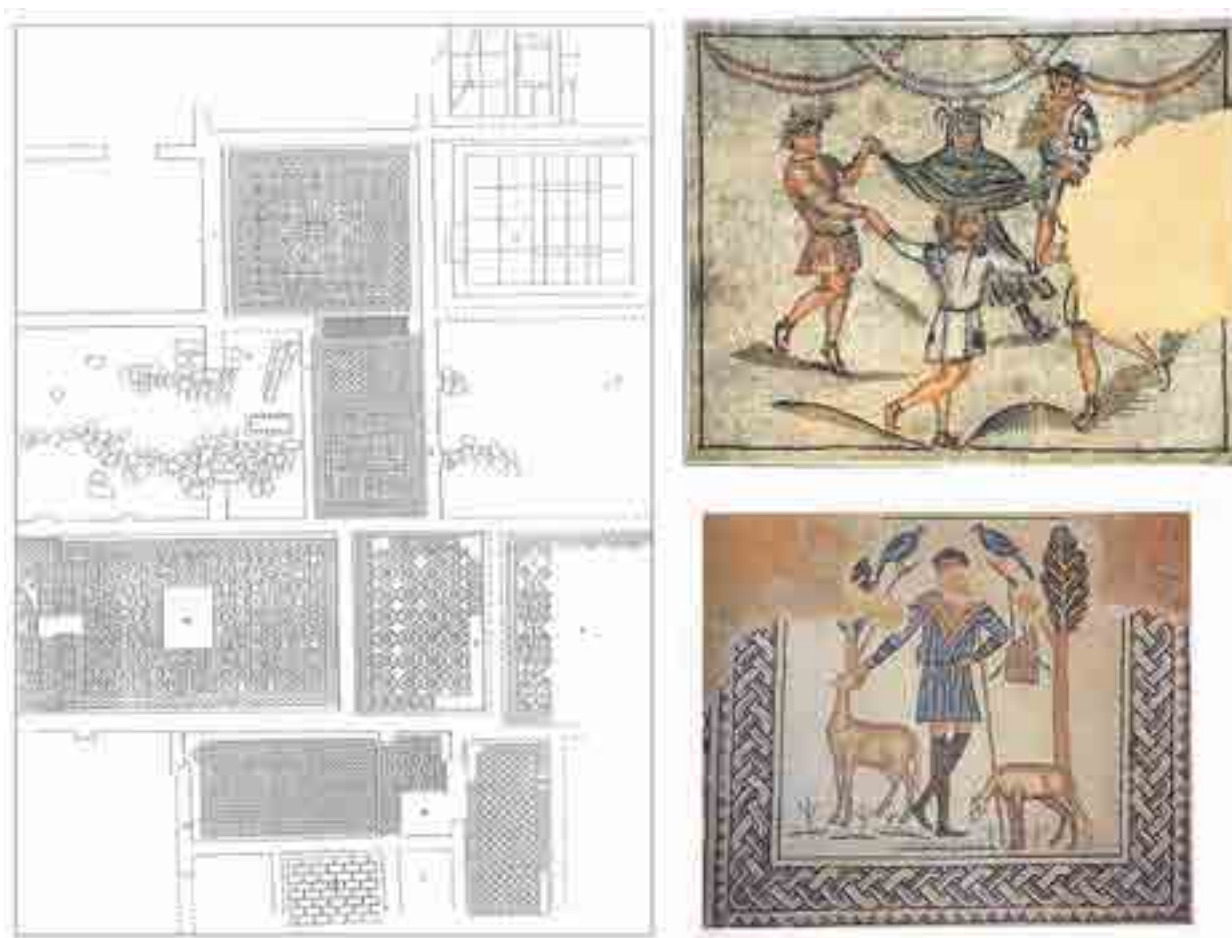


Fig. 6. *Via D'Azeglio Domus and the 'Four Seasons mosaic Panel', a Late Antique residence close to the ancient Forum (drawn by the author)*

tain has been discovered, which is also similar to that found in the courtyard of the imperial palace. The craftsmen were highly skilled, since they were able to produce mosaic panels, such as the one depicting the 'Dance of the Seasons', in which both polychrome-glass and stone tesserae were used, as was also the case in the more important ecclesiastical buildings. A later church was also added to the complex, over a 7th-8th century urban cemetery⁴¹.

The *domus* of Via D'Azeglio fits in a category of buildings that is certainly not representative of the common kind of private house⁴². This house might be compared to the Bishop's palace and to part of the residential zone of Theoderic's palace. These are luxurious buildings that some of the city's elite owned and were able to sustain despite the large economic investment. The mosaic representations, even if only partly preserved, depict ancient philosophical themes and show an aristocracy that still intended to exhibit its own culture; they also show the continued popularity of the *Iliad*, with a scene from this epic depicted inside the Dogana Domus in Faenza, and characterize it as belonging to the private sphere (fig 7). It would seem that the rest of the inhabited area was consigned instead to more ordinary residences, mostly fabricated in timber, with an intense use of wood and clay as in

⁴¹ D. FERRERI, *La città dei vivi e la città dei morti. La ridefinizione degli spazi urbani e le pratiche funerarie a Ravenna e nel territorio circostante tra la tarda antichità e l'alto medioevo*, in HAM 20, 2014, p. 112-122.

⁴² I. BALDINI, *Op. cit.* (n. 6).

other late antique cities, which is documented also in Ravenna during the 7th century by written and archaeological sources⁴³.

WAREHOUSES

Unlike a great number of other Italian cities, therefore, the new imperial residence reaped the benefits of important private efforts by the urban aristocracy and of the ambitious project of building public houses during Late Antiquity. Of notable importance in understanding the goals of this great project of urban development is also the imposing appearance of warehouses along the banks of the city's harbour area, which were discovered inside the inhabited area of Classe (Fig. 8). In fact, it was only in this period that a series of buildings was planned and completed, which were necessary to receive, maintain and redistribute the great quantity of goods and provisions that came into the city following the

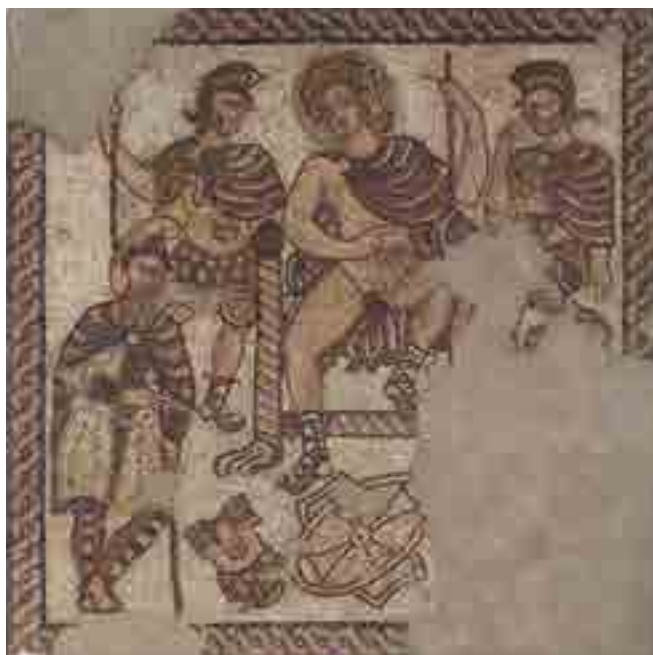


Fig. 7. *Emblema of the Dogana domus at Faenza, with the myth of Achilles*

arrival of the imperial court. At first, the monumental construction program, the uniformity and the scale of the project caused us to attribute it to imperial patronage. In this case, however, the diversity of the finds and the products that were found increases the likelihood of patronage by merchant guilds that exploited the city's new ascent to the rank of imperial centre to attract and redistribute goods coming from the entire Mediterranean Sea. The grand extent of this direct commercial traffic to Ravenna, both from the harbours of the eastern Mediterranean and from the coasts of Tunisia, has been discussed by scholars on various occasions. It reveals a new economic dynamism that allows us to frame more accurately the artistic development of a city that is also experiencing a moment of great commercial (more so than political or cultural) wealth⁴⁴.

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS: IMPERIAL AND EPISCOPAL PATRONAGE

Nevertheless, one result of greater investment by the civil and religious aristocracies in late-Roman Ravenna was the construction of ecclesiastical buildings (tab. 1). If Bishop Urso had in fact been invested in his position in AD 405, then the cathedral in Ravenna was built at the very moment of the imperial court's transfer⁴⁵. From this time a notable development in ecclesiastical building begins, which is determined to a large extent by imperial patronage and which is of such magnitude so as to drive the urban order of the city for over a millennium.

⁴³ J. ORTALLI, *Edilizia residenziale e crisi urbana nella tarda antichità: fonti archeologiche per la Cispadana*, in CARB 39, 1992, p. 557-605; S. GELICHI, *L'edilizia residenziale in Romagna tra V e VIII secolo*, in G. P. Brogiolo (ed.), *L'edilizia residenziale tra V e VIII secolo. Atti del 4° Seminario sul Tardoantico e l'Altomedioevo in Italia Centrosettentrionale* (Monte Barro-Galbate, 1993), Mantova, 1994, p. 157-167.

⁴⁴ E. CIRELLI, *Typology and diffusion of Amphorae in Ravenna and Classe between the 5th and the 8th centuries AD*, in N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Nodarou and V. Kilikoglou (eds.) *LRCW 4 Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean: Archaeology and archaeometry. The Mediterranean: a market without frontiers. Proceedings of the conference (Thessaloniki, 2011)*, Oxford, (BAR International Series 2616), 2014, p. 541-552.

⁴⁵ D. MAUSKOPF DELIYANNIS, *Op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 304.



Fig 8. A (private?) warehouse from the harbour area of Classe (drawn by Giorgio Albertini)

The period of greatest construction, in this respect, is certainly the first half of the 5th century. For instance, the *Basilica Apostolorum* can perhaps be attributed Honorius' patronage⁴⁶; it was originally dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul and this is where Bishop Neo was buried (450-476 AD); it was built on the eastern bank of the Padenna outside the Republican city walls⁴⁷. The building was found in an intermediary area between the *Palatium* and the Bishop's palace.

It does not preserve its original form, mostly because of reconstruction efforts between the 10th and 11th centuries and subsequently in the 13th century, when the church was given to the Franciscan friary. Some excavations in the crypt, however, have allowed insight into the original form of the apse, which was probably rectangular, therefore attesting to a building with a cruciform plan⁴⁸.

The same plan was certainly found in a church of notable monumental impact, which was built by Galla Placidia in the opposite sector of the city, to the north of the ancient city limit: the Holy Cross (Fig. 4). The church was erected, as in the preceding case, inside an area already occupied by buildings dating to the first imperial age, which however had been abandoned during the 4th century. It is a church characterized by a central aisle and by two external porticoes. The apse, originally rectangular in form, was separated by a sizeable orthogonal transepts to create a cruciform plan. At

⁴⁶ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna. Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes, Kommentar II/2*, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 309-310.

⁴⁷ G. GEROLA, *L'architettura deuterobizantina a Ravenna*, in *Ricordi di Ravenna Medioevale nel VI centenario della morte di Dante*, 15-112. Ravenna, 1921, p. 45-67; R. FARIOLI, *Ravenna paleocristiana scomparsa*, in *FR* 82, 1960, p. 5-96, part. 28-34.

⁴⁸ M. MAZZOTTI, *La cripta della chiesa ravennate di S. Francesco dopo le ultime esplorazioni*, in *CARB* 21, 1974, p. 217-230, part. 223-224; I. BALDINI LIPPOLIS, *Sepulture privilegiate nell'Apostoleion di Ravenna*, in *FR*, 153-156, 2004, p. 15-79.

Church	Chronology	Patronage
Basilica Ursiana	5th c.	Bishop Ursus
Basilica Petriana	5th c.	Bishop Peter I
Holy Cross	5th c.	Galla Placidia
St. John the Evangelist	5th c.	Galla Placidia
Basilica Apostolorum (St. Francesco)	5th c.	Imperial patronage
St Lorenzo in Caesarea	5th c.	Imperial officer (Lauricio)
St. Agnes	5th c.	Subdiaconus (Gemello)
St. Agatha	5th c.	Subdiaconus (Gemello)¿ Bishop John Angelopte¿
Arian Cathedral	End of the 5th c.	Theoderic
St. Apollinare Nuovo	End of the 5th c.	Theoderic
Ecclesia Gothorum	End of the 5th c.	Theoderic
Basilica Cà Bianca	Beg. of the 6th c.	Private patronage
St. Eusebio	Beg. of the 6th c.	Arian Bishop (Uvimundus)
St George <i>ad Tabulam</i>	Beg. of the 6th c.	Arian Bishop
St. Andrew	End of the 5th c.	Private patronage
St. Andrew chapel in the Bishop's Palace	End of the 5th c.	Bishop Peter II
St. Peter	Beg. of the 6th c.	Amalasuntha
St. Mary	Beg. of the 6th c.	Bishop Ecclesius (<i>in sua proprietate</i>)
St. Vitale	Mid 6th c.	Bishop Ecclesius\Maximian
St. Apollinare in Classe	Mid 6th c.	Bishop Ursicinus\Maximian
St. Michele <i>in Africisco</i>	Mid 6th c.	Private patronage (Iulianus Argentarius)
SS. John and Paul	Mid 6th c.	Private patronage¿
St. Stefano	Mid 6th c.	Bishop Maximian
St. John <i>in Marmorato</i>	Mid 6th c.	Bishop Maximian
St. Vittore	Second half of the 6th c.	Private patronage¿
SS. John and Barbatianus	Second half of the 6th c.	Private patronage (Baduarius)
St. Severus in Classe	End of the 6th c.	Bishop John II

Tab. 1 – Patronage of the main church of Ravenna (5th-6th c.)

the front of the building there was a portico with two small shrines of cruciform plan, at the extremities, which had funeral functions. Only the southern one is preserved today and known as the mausoleum of Galla Placidia⁴⁹.

In the same period Bishop Peter Chrysologus built a basilica of greater dimensions than those of the cathedral (80x50m) inside the city of Classe. The building has recently been identified thanks to two fortunate seasons of excavations that have brought to light the main structures with mighty walls and alternate flooring of *opus sectile* and mosaic. At the same time the apse was recovered, but had been entirely destroyed and plundered by late medieval interventions; it is filled with a great quantity of material, among which fragments of the numerous tubular tiles that lined the apse's vault were found⁵⁰. The empress' patronage is responsible for the construction of the church of St. John the Evangelist (AD 426-434), a three-aisled building with atrium in front and a polygonal apse (Fig. 4), as in the Basilica Ursiana. The church was built in the eastern zone of the city on the north side of the imperial palace, close to the *Scubitum*, the house of the palace guard.

In the same period a great cemetery church was built, dedicated to St Lawrence, a bishop and martyr from Rome, whose cult was also well followed in Milan as in Constantinople, and whose portrait was reproduced in Galla Placidia's mausoleum. St Lawrence's church was built outside the city walls, along the road that connected Ravenna to Rimini, in the suburban district of Caesarea, an area long designated as a burial site⁵¹. The financier of this important basilica was Lauricius, an imperial officer and *cubicularius*⁵². Just like the two Placidian churches, it is once again a venture initiated by an aristocrat associated with imperial power. The building, with its striking architecture, considerable dimensions, and above all its decorative program (*mirae magnitudinis*), was entirely expoliated in the 16th century for the construction of the church of St Mary, along Via Roma, close to the imperial palace⁵³.

In the same period ecclesiastical elites commissioned two churches of notable importance inside the inhabited area: St Agnes (Fig. 4)⁵⁴ and St Agatha⁵⁵. The first one was built close to the ancient Forum by Gemellus, a *sub-diaconus* during Exuperantius' episcopate, who was later buried there. Gemellus was also the administrator of Ravenna's church in Sicily (*Rector Siciliae*) and was probably involved in the construction of St Agatha at the end of the 5th century. Some scholars think that the church was patronized by Bishop John Angeloptis, well before the conquest of Italy by Theoderic⁵⁶.

Ecclesiastical building in Ravenna underwent a resurgence following the long period of government by the Ostrogoth leader. Besides the construction of the Arian cathedral and related baptistery, itself linked to a new Bishop's palace, a considerable number of new foundations are also attributed to his patronage or to that of his closest officers (Tab. 1, Fig. 4)⁵⁷. The most represent-

⁴⁹ S. GELICHI, P. NOVARA PIOLANTI, *La chiesa di S. Croce a Ravenna: la sequenza architettonica*, in *CARB* 42, 1995, p. 347-363.

⁵⁰ A. AUGENTI, F. BOSCHI, E. CIRELLI, *Il sito della basilica Petriana a Classe: dalla diagnostica archeologica allo scavo*, in *OCNUS. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici* 18, 2008, p. 103-116.

⁵¹ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 336-340.

⁵² *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. by L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, p. 298.

⁵³ P. NOVARA, E. CICOGNANI, *L'atterramento di S. Lorenzo in Cesarea e la costruzione di S. Maria in Porto di Ravenna*, in *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche* 1, 1994, p. 225-241.

⁵⁴ V. MANZELLI, *Lo scavo di Piazza Kennedy a Ravenna racconta la storia della chiesa di Sant'Agnese*, in S. Gelichi, C. Cavallari, M. Medica (eds.), *Medioevo svelato. Storie dell'Emilia-Romagna attraverso l'archeologia*, Bologna, 2018, p. 490-494.

⁵⁵ J.-C. PICARD, *Le quadriportique de Sant'Agata de Ravenne*, in *FR* 116, 1978, p. 31-43.

⁵⁶ E. RUSSO, *Scavi e scoperte nella chiesa di S. Agata di Ravenna. Seconda relazione preliminare*, in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 60, 1987-1988, p. 13-50.

⁵⁷ M. MAZZOTTI, *La Anastasis Gothorum e il suo battistero*, in *FR* 75, 1957, p. 25-62; G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *Spazialità e simbolismo delle basiliche ravennati*, in *CARB* 17, 1970, p. 313-333.

active building is St Apollinare Nuovo, originally dedicated to the Saviour⁵⁸ and later to St Martin like in other early medieval Adriatic cities⁵⁹. This church, according to Agnellus' testimony, also had baptismal functions⁶⁰. Furthermore, Theoderic commissioned the construction of the *Ecclesia Gothorum*, in the area today occupied by the Rocca Brancaleone, a late medieval fortress. This sector of the city was a particular focus of the Goths' building activities. In fact, not far from here the Arian Episcopal Complex and the cathedral were found. Outside the urban boundaries, but still in the northeast area, two other churches were built, of which no material trace remains, so that we know of them only from references on historical cartography and in the written testimonies: the basilica dedicated to St. Eusebius, after Justinian's '*reconciliatio*', was patronized by Bishop Uvimundus in AD 516, and its continued existence was recorded until the 10th century⁶¹. Close by this church was the episcopal house of Uvimundus, which was demolished between 806 and 810 by the Orthodox bishop Valerius, to reuse its materials to build his own residence⁶². The same fate was suffered by a second Arian episcopal house close to the church of St. George *ad Tabulam*, which was built by the ecclesiastical Arian elite outside the city and close to Theoderic's Mausoleum, in the area of the Portus *Coriandro*. We do not know the identity of the financier and we are also uncertain about the name of this ecclesiastical building, which dates to the beginning of the 6th century; once more it was situated in a suburban area, some kilometres south of the city of Classe. This is the complex of Cà Bianca, a basilica of exceptional monumentality that was also equipped with a baptistery. Perhaps it was associated with an inhabited rural area, even if we do not have any historical or archaeological evidence for this notion, or perhaps it should be attributed to a rich rural landowner. It is clearly an imposing demonstration of elite wealth, even if we do not have any idea of the identity of the benefactor.

To the patronage of Amalasuntha, daughter of Theoderic, in the first half of the 6th century, we can attribute the construction of a small church: the *Monasterium* of St Peter, which was coupled with an orphanage⁶³.

The reign of Theoderic and his religious choices did not condition the activities of the 'Orthodox' bishops, who kept on building, albeit with less intensity. The construction of the small but valuable St Andrew's Chapel, situated inside the Bishop's palace, is attributed to the patronage of Bishop Peter II. Other major churches were built inside the ancient city walls between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th centuries. One of them, involving the transformation of a previously private reception room, belonged to an aristocratic residence in the Ercolana region that overlooked the main ancient road. This church, once more dedicated to St Andrew (Fig. 4), was monumentalized after a relic (head with barb) of the apostle was transferred there on the impulse of Bishop Maximian⁶⁴. On that occasion, according to the testimony of Agnellus, the bishop replaced the original wooden pillars with columns of Proconnesian marble⁶⁵. Furthermore, during Ecclesius' episcopate (525-532

⁵⁸ E. PENNI IACCO, *La basilica di S. Apollinare Nuovo di Ravenna attraverso i secoli*, Bologna, 2004.

⁵⁹ N. JAKŠIĆ, *The Installation of the Patron Saints of Zadar as a Result of Carolingian Adriatic Politics*, in D. Dzino, A. Milošević, T. Vedriš (eds.), *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, Leiden, 2018, p. 225-244, part. 240.

⁶⁰ Andrea Agnellus, *Op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 336; Gerola 1916, 10-11.

⁶¹ C. CURRADI, *Fonti per la storia di Ravenna (secoli XI-XV)*, in A. Vasina (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. III. Dal Mille alla fine della Signoria Polentana*, Venezia, 1993, p. 753-839, part. 767.

⁶² Andrea Agnellus, *Op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 334; E. CIRELLI, *Spolia e riuso di materiali tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo a Ravenna*, in *HAM* 17, 2011, p. 209-218, part. 211.

⁶³ Andrea Agnellus, *Op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 333.

⁶⁴ S. MURATORI, *Antiche notizie archeologiche, I. Gli scavi di Sant'Andrea (1825)*, in *FR* 32, 1927, p. 42-60; M. MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di S. Andrea Maggiore in Ravenna*, in *CARB* 7, 1960, p. 253-258.

⁶⁵ Andrea Agnellus, *Op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 329.

AD) a basilica dedicated to St Mary (S. Maria Maggiore) was built inside his own property, close to the basilica of The Holy Cross in a sector of the city that was starting to become crowded with religious buildings, especially if we consider that a few years later the construction of the Basilica of St Vitale, commissioned by the same bishop, would be underway close by⁶⁶. Bishop Ursicinus, the successor of Ecclesius, began the construction of and dedicated the church of St Apollinare in Classe, which was subsequently consecrated by Maximian. This was an imposing building and the perfect affirmation of the role of the bishop, both in relationship to imperial authority and to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

New investments in the building of ecclesiastical houses are recorded in the period following the conquest of Ravenna. The most important enterprises can be traced to the episcopates of Maximian and Agnellus. In this period, perhaps the most prosperous in the history of the city, the construction of St Vitale was completed. This is without doubt one of the most prestigious buildings of the late-Roman Mediterranean (Fig. 4)⁶⁷. The church was probably designed by a Constantinopolitan architect and was built over a long period of time. Construction began under Ecclesius' patronage (Fig. 9), during Amalasuntha's governance, and finished in the first years of Maximian's episcopate (AD 548), as monograms engraved on the *pulvini* testify. The church was probably inspired by St Lawrence in Milan and demonstrates a new elaboration of the same architectural thought, making it unique on the Italian peninsula and in the late antique world.

Julianus Argentarius, a private banker who financed St Vitale, also paid for the construction of the small church of St Michael in Africisco with his own funds (Fig. 4)⁶⁸. The building was commissioned in AD 545. Argentarius also furnished the necessary capital to build St Apollinare in Classe, with the aid of his son-in-law, Bacauda⁶⁹. It is a small building with a square plan, influenced by its Constantinopolitan model, and with a polygonal apse, which by this time was typical of Ravenna's ecclesiastical architecture.

The patron of the small but very important church of Sts John and Paul, close to the city walls, is unknown. The church was probably built in mid- 6th c. and was the recipient of many donations, even during the early Middle Ages, from private aristocrats such as, for example, Adeodatus, the *primus strator praefecturae*, in AD 596. (Fig. 10)



Fig. 9. Bishop Ecclesius shows the model of the church of St. Vitalis in the mosaic's vault of the apse

⁶⁶ G. DE ANGELIS D'OSSAT, *La Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore a Ravenna e le dimore sovrane della Seconda Regio*, in CARB 22, 1975, p. 145-156.

⁶⁷ C. BERTELLI, *Op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 34.

⁶⁸ P. GROSSMANN, *S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna*, Mainz, 1973.

⁶⁹ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Contributi all'iconografia e al significato storico dei mosaici imperiali di S. Vitale*, in FR 54, 1951, p. 5-26.

Another great and important church built during the Justinianic period was the Basilica of St Stephan, which, unfortunately, remains undiscovered by present-day archaeology. The building is mentioned only by Agnellus, who describes the liturgical furnishings that were guarded inside and the building's magnificence⁷⁰. With the construction of this church, it was as though the north-western sector of the city was invaded by religious buildings and this region became the area of maximum concentration of ecclesiastical constructions in the urban settlement. It is perhaps to the same bishop's patronage that we owe the construction of a church devoted to St John in Marmorato, possibly close to big marble warehouses, in the area of the Coriander Port outside the Gate of Anastasia⁷¹.

Attested in a papyrus from AD 564, but certainly older than this, is the basilica of S. Vittore (Fig. 4), which was probably commissioned by a secular aristocrat⁷². This same typology of private patronage is probably responsible for the church devoted to Sts John and Barbatianus: a small, aisled building with external portico built in the north sector of the city⁷³. The last period of great church construction, however, occurred inside the city of Classe, which was threatened and later raided by the Lombards. Near the city walls on the same road leading to St Apollinaris in Classe, which had been consecrated by Bishop Maximian a few years earlier, the Basilica of St Severus was built – the swan song of Ravenna's episcopal patronage⁷⁴. These excavations have brought to light the original shrine in which Bishop Severus was buried and the whole monastic complex that developed around the basilica from the second half of the 9th century⁷⁵.



Fig. 10. End of the 6th c. marble ambo of Sts John and Paul at Ravenna

⁷⁰ M. MAZZOTTI, *Ferrettiana, notizie di storia e archeologia ravennate*, in *FR* III ser. 18, 1955, p. 36-48, part. 39; G. CORTESI, *I principali edifici sacri ravennati in funzione sepolcrale nei secc. V e VI*, in *CARB* 29, 1982, p. 63-107, part. 105.

⁷¹ M. MAZZOTTI, *L'attività edilizia di Massimiano di Pola*, in *FR* 70-72, 1956, p. 5-30; P. NOVARA, *L'ubicazione di un gruppo di chiese ravennati in alcune mappe di età moderna*, in *Studi Romagnoli* 44, 1993, p. 61-81.

⁷² M. G. BORGHI, *La basilica di S. Vittore in Ravenna prototipo delle costruzioni esarcali*, Milano, 1941; M. MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di S. Vittore in Ravenna*, in *CARB* 2, 1959, p. 175-190; T. KIROVA, *La distrutta chiesa di S. Vittore a Ravenna*, in *FR* 105-106, 1973, p. 65-106; N. LOMBARDINI, *I restauri della chiesa di San Vittore a Ravenna*, in *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche* 5, 1998, p. 75-106.

⁷³ L. M. HARTMANN, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Verwaltung in Italien*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 109.

⁷⁴ A. AUGENTI, E. CIRELLI, *San Severo and religious life in Ravenna during the ninth and tenth centuries*, in J. Herrin, J. Nelson (eds.), *Ravenna, its role in early medieval change and exchange*, London, 2016, p. 297-334; A. AUGENTI et al. (eds.), *La Basilica di San Severo a Classe*, Bologna, 2017.

⁷⁵ D. FERRERI, *Spazi cimiteriali, pratiche funerarie e identità nella città di Classe*, in *Archeologia Medievale* 38, 2011, p. 59-74.

In the 7th century, the rush to erect ecclesiastical buildings that began in the previous century is exhausted. In fact, in this period there is a marked downturn in the construction of religious buildings and a general crisis in Ravenna's building of courtly houses, a situation that was probably determined by economic and political factors, such as the increase in pressure on the city by the Lombards and the antagonism with Rome over the administration of ecclesiastical properties. A second factor causing the deceleration in the construction of new cult buildings is the great number of pre-existing churches, which perhaps by now had outstripped the actual needs of Ravenna's citizenry. Among the constructions that are remembered only by Agnellus, we find a *monasterium* devoted to St Bartholomew, in which he had himself been abbot (642-648). Toward the end of the 7th century a small church was built and dedicated to St Theodore by the bishop of the same name, in the proximity of the imperial palace and probably in front of the monumental Gate, the Calchè, as suggested by the name of the building preserved in the medieval documentation (*monasterium S. Theodori ad Calchi, S. Theodori greco in palatio*).

Indeed, we owe a considerable number of buildings to Exarch Theodore's patronage in comparison to those realized in the previous decades of the same century. Of uncertain attribution is the church devoted to St Mary Ippanti, possibly dated to the 7th century. This church was constructed inside the old city in the Ercolana region. More convincing is the chronology of St Maria ad Blachernas, a church that was found in the suburb of Caesarea, not too far from the Wandalaria Gate in the southeast wedge of the city⁷⁶. Inside the church Exarch Theodore and his wife Agatha were buried in AD 687. In the same area another church was found that was also patronized by this exarch: St Paul. This small church was built on the ruins of a Jewish synagogue inside the city walls⁷⁷. The only religious building erected in the second half of the 7th century by a bishop (probably Reparato, in AD 670/671), whose exact location is known, is Sant'Apollinare in Veclo, a small crossed-shaped shrine entirely restored in AD 1763.

Investment in ecclesiastical building was essentially suspended during the 7th century, and only actively begins again towards the end of that same century, even if we do not have any material testimony of this construction phase and it will be necessary to undertake new excavations to identify buildings from this period. From that moment on, throughout 8th and 9th c., smaller churches, mainly private buildings close to aristocratic houses and wider monastic complexes begin to transform Ravenna's urban landscape, as testified in other North-Italian cities in the Carolingian period⁷⁸.

The tendency towards a steady diminution in the construction of churches between the 5th and the 7th century is quite marked by the archaeological evidence, both in the number of buildings produced and in the dimensions of the various buildings themselves. Construction during the 5th and the 6th century was promoted by the imperial court, the king's officers and the bishops, and was supported by a notable economic upswing, which left an indelible mark on the urban landscape. The downturn in construction of public and ecclesiastical buildings that occurred in the following centuries might have been caused by different factors, such as a demographic crisis combined with a lack of space for the foundation of new churches inside the city. It needs to be underlined that buildings attested for the first time in the 7th century have not yielded any material evidence. Consequently, we are not able to establish their dimensions or their design. According to Agnellus, some of them are to be found close to the Wandalaria Gate, such as the church of St Paul.

⁷⁶ P. NOVARA, *Ad religionis claustrum construendum. Monasteri nel medioevo ravennate: storia e archeologia*, Ravenna, 2003, p. 30.

⁷⁷ L. MASCANZONI, *Edilizia e urbanistica dopo il Mille: alcune linee di sviluppo*, in A. Vasina, *Op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 395-445, part. 402.

⁷⁸ A. CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, *Archeologia delle chiese*, Roma, 2018.

The city landscape in this period was a space where great public constructions, built by the preceding imperial administration, coexisted with great religious buildings, the residences of urban aristocrats and the bishop were surrounded by numerous small buildings, constructed in perishable material, and by cultivated fields, houses and structures situated inside the ruins and exposed monuments of the ancient and late antique city. The concentration of houses became sparser and different areas of the city began to be occupied by sporadic cemeteries, which at first only contained aristocratic burial plots and funerary zones that were organized around new religious buildings. The landscape changed and the city became more and more a place in which ecclesiastical structures came to represent in an unmistakable way the means by which the civil and religious aristocracies demonstrated political power, ideology and the maintenance of the memory of local communities.

Vladari i patronat u kasnoantičkoj Raveni

Tijekom kasne antike i ranoga srednjeg vijeka, carica Galla Placidija, carski časnici i vladari, kralj Teodorik i kasnije kraljica Amalasunta, kao i egzarhi, biskupi i svećenstvo, služili su se patronatom nad raznim monumentalnim građevinama te time isticali svoje političke ambicije, društveni položaj i ugled, između ostalog i u Raveni, i to od vremena kada je grad postao novom carskom prijestolnicom. U ovom se radu pokušalo ocrtati taj fenomen te se time nastojalo ukazati na spomenute uloge društvenih elita kao na opći trend, i to počevši od 4., pa sve do kraja 8. stoljeća, dakle do u karolinško doba.

Ključne riječi: *Ravena, kasna antika, patronat, arheologija*

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DA POLA A RAVENNA: L'OPERA DEL VESCOVO MASSIMIANO TRA POLITICA, RELIGIONE E ARTE (VI SECOLO)

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Born in Pola, Deacon of the local Church, consecrated Bishop in Patras of Acaia by Pope Virgil (on 14 October 546) by order of Justinian and sent by him to Ravenna, Maximian was the first to rank as Archiepiscopus. Represented and portrayed close to the Emperor, in the famous mosaic panel of Saint Vitale in Ravenna, he became one of the most powerful levers and influential men in the imperial politics of the Western world. This was made possible thanks to the artistic as well as legislative activities. Another reason is the restoration of orthodoxy, which had been strongly undermined by the highly dominant Arian religion during the reign of the Goths. Perfectly adapting himself to the concept of art as "instrumentum regni" promoted by Justinian, in Ravenna he founded or consecrated and restored many churches; others were built in his native Istria. He was the most influential leader of that artistic and cultural Koinè of the whole Adriatic area, expertly surveyed and investigated by Nikola Jakšić's studies and research.

Key words: Ravenna, Pola, Maximian, Justinian, art, churches, mosaics, 6th century

Il vescovo Massimiano si può considerare una delle figure più affascinanti e rappresentative dell'età giustiniana, in cui ha svolto un ruolo particolarmente significativo, rivelandosi una delle più potenti leve della politica imperiale, riuscendo a conciliare mirabilmente politica, religione e arte (Fig. 1). E ciò grazie alla sua sottile intelligenza e lungimiranza che gli valsero dapprima la fiducia e poi l'alta considerazione dell'Imperatore Giustiniano (527-565). Il suo episcopato (546-556) rappresentò il periodo di maggior fulgore per la chiesa ravennate.¹

Nato a Pola (Istria) e divenuto diacono della chiesa locale, il 14 ottobre del 546 venne ordinato vescovo a Patrasso d'Acaia da papa Vigilio per volontà di Giustiniano e quindi inviato a Ravenna, dove svolse, per così dire, una missione estremamente complessa e delicata nel difficile periodo dello Scisma dei Tre Capitoli, che vide molte chiese dell'Italia settentrionale staccarsi da Bisanzio.²

¹ Circa la figura di tale vescovo e la sua attività politica ed edilizia vd.: M. MAZZOTTI, Massimiano di Pola, *Pagine Istriane*, 4, 1950, pp. 14-21; G. BOVINI, Massimiano di Pola Arcivescovo di Ravenna, *Felix Ravenna*, 23 (74), Ravenna, 1957, pp. 5-27; G. BOVINI, L'opera di Massimiano da Pola a Ravenna, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, II, Udine, 1972, pp. 147-165; G. MONTANARI, Massimiano Arcivescovo di Ravenna (546-556) come committente, in: G. MONTANARI, *Ravenna l'Iconologia. Saggi di interpretazione culturale religiosa dei cicli musivi*, Ravenna, 2002, pp. 11-53.

² Un Editto imperiale del 544 condannava gli scritti di Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Teodoreto di Cirro ed Iba di Emessa approvati più di un secolo prima dal Concilio di Calcedonia dando così origine ad un grave Scisma religioso in Italia settentrionale e in Africa. Su tale complesso problema politico-religioso cfr.: G. CUSCITO, Aquileia e Bisanzio nella controversia dei Tre Capitoli, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, XII, 1977, pp. 231-262; M. SIMONETTI, La politica religiosa di Giustiniano, in: *Il Mondo del diritto nell'epoca giustiniana – caratteri e problematiche*, (Biblioteca di Felix Ravenna, 2), (ed.) Gian Gualberto Archi, Ravenna, 1985, pp. 91-112; J. SPEIGEL, *Dreikapitelstreit*, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. III, 7, Zürich - München, 1985, pp. 1381-1382.



Fig. 1. Ravenna, Basilica di San Vitale, pannello musivo di Giustiniano, particolare del busto di Massimiano

Egli fu il *leader* religioso e politico più significativo dell'età giustinianea e alla sua opera si deve soprattutto quella *koinè* culturale e artistica di tutta l'area adriatica, sapientemente indagata in numerosi studi da Nikola Jakšić.³

Dapprima ostacolato dal popolo e dal clero ravennate che, dopo la morte del vescovo Vittore (545), aveva già nominato un suo successore, Massimiano, grazie alla sua abile diplomazia seppe conquistare ben presto la città intera. Egli fu dapprima impossibilitato ad entrare in città in quanto non era figlio di quella chiesa di Ravenna, fondata da Apollinare, di cui doveva essere pastore. *Hic non fuit ex hoc ovile*, come ci riferisce nella biografia di Massimiano il protostorico Andrea Agnello (IX sec.) nel suo *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, che riporta inoltre, con una certa ricchezza di dettagli, le peripezie subite dopo il suo arrivo a Ravenna.⁴

Egli, trovate chiuse le porte della città, fu costretto a ritirarsi nel quartiere dei Goti, fuori porta San Vittore, presso la basilica di Sant'Eusebio, nell'ex residenza di uno dei vescovi ariani. Scattò a questo punto tutta l'abilità diplomatica e la sottile intelligenza di tale vescovo che, anziché ricorrere alla forza, cominciò ad invitare alla sua mensa i più importanti esponenti del clero e del popolo nonché i

funzionari imperiali, chiarendo loro le sue intenzioni, del tutto favorevoli alla città e alla sua chiesa, in pieno accordo con l'Imperatore, e offrendo contemporaneamente doni di grande valore, fra cui oggetti d'oro e d'argento.⁵

Questi, conquistati dalle sue parole, ben presto abbandonarono ogni atteggiamento ostile e lo invitarono a entrare in città, le cui vie furono per l'occasione ornate a festa e a prender possesso della

³ Cfr. ad esempio: N. JAKŠIĆ, Il culto di san Pietro nella Dalmazia paleocristiana e medievale, in: *San Pietro e San Marco – arte e iconografia in area adriatica*, (ed.) Letizia Caselli, Gangemi Editore, Roma, 2009, pp. 61-93; N. JAKŠIĆ - N. NOVAK, Il battistero paleocristiano a Bescanuova (Baška) sull'isola di Veglia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 15/2, Zagreb - Motovun, 2009, pp. 403-410; N. JAKŠIĆ, The Installation of the Patron Saints of Zadar As a Result of Carolingian Adriatic Politics, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, (ed.) Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš, Brill, Leiden - Boston, 2018, pp. 225-244.

⁴ A. AGNELLO, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Scriptores Rerum Italicarum et Langobardicarum*), Hannover, 1878 (= *LP HE*), 71, Vita Maximiani; *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, (ed.) Alessandro Testi Rasponi, in: *Scriptores, Rerum italicarum. Nuova ed. T. 2: P.3*, Bologna, 1924 (= *CP TR*), Vita Maximiani; F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. II, *Kommentar*, part 3, *Geschichte, Topographie, Kunst und Kultur*, Wiesbaden, 1989, pp. 167-174, 315-320.

⁵ G. BOVINI, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1972), pp. 152-153.



Fig. 2. Ravenna, Basilica di San Vitale, pannello musivo di Giustiniano
(da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 15/, fig. 132)

Cattedrale, antica basilica Ursiana, dove Massimiano poté celebrare la Messa davanti al popolo in giubilo. Dopo di ciò, sempre secondo il racconto del protostorico Agnello, egli fu con le sue pecore come un padre con i figli.⁶

In effetti il suo episcopato rappresentò l'età d'oro della chiesa di Ravenna: una volta insediato sul soglio episcopale egli ottenne infatti una posizione di grande prestigio, divenendo una specie di Vicario pontificio o di Primate d'Italia. E ciò anche per il fatto che sia papa Vigilio che Dazio, metropolita milanese, vennero tratti sempre più spesso a Costantinopoli. La diocesi di Ravenna inoltre non fu più suffraganea di quella di Roma, ma fu considerata autonoma, insieme con il territorio della diocesi metropolitana emiliana.⁷

I suoi frequenti viaggi a Costantinopoli gli permisero di mantenersi in stretto contatto con Giustiniano e di essere sempre in linea con le direttive imperiali. Egli fece sì che la sede di Ravenna divenisse il punto-chiave di quell'operazione politico-religiosa che doveva consolidare il governo bizantino in Italia; e ciò nel difficile periodo seguito alla riconquista bizantina, caratterizzato dalla controversia dei Tre Capitoli.⁸

⁶ "Post haec autem fuit cum ovibus quasi pater cum filiis": LP. HE, 71, Vita Maximiani; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani; G. BOVINI, op. cit. (n. 1, 1972), pp. 152-153.

⁷ G. BOVINI, op. cit. (n. 1, 1972), pp. 153-154.

⁸ Circa la politica religiosa di età giustiniana e i suoi riflessi a Ravenna e in Occidente, cfr.: M. SIMONETTI, op. cit. (n. 2), pp. 91-112.

In tale difficile circostanza Massimiano svolse un'intelligente ed accorta mediazione che risultò preziosa sia per la religione ortodossa che per la politica imperiale. Egli fu poi adeguatamente ricompensato con l'attribuzione del titolo di *archiepiscopus* e l'estensione della sua autorità sulle diocesi di Milano e di Aquileia e inoltre, grazie anche alla sua origine istriana, anche sull'Istria e sulla Dalmazia.⁹

A tale vescovo spettò l'onore di consacrare a Ravenna le più importanti chiese di tale periodo che, iniziate quasi subito dopo la morte di Teoderico (526), forse con contributi dell'Impero bizantino, furono poi adornate di splendide decorazioni musive dopo la riconquista bizantina (540).¹⁰

A lui si deve, dopo il suo arrivo a Ravenna, la consacrazione della basilica di San Michele in Afriisco, che aveva avuto in precedenza solo la *dedicatio* e quindi di San Vitale (547) e successivamente Sant'Apollinare in Classe (549).

La sua immagine, eternata nel pannello musivo di Giustiniano nella basilica di San Vitale, sembra sintetizzare tutta l'importanza dell'attività svolta da quest'uomo e della sua funzione vescovile (Fig. 2). Ben identificato da un'iscrizione scritta al di sopra del suo capo, egli domina accanto all'Imperatore Giustiniano, con in mano una croce gemmata, preceduto da due suoi diaconi. Egli rappresenta la *sacrata auctoritas* accanto alla *regalis potestas*, esprimendo inoltre il perfetto accordo raggiunto fra stato e chiesa in tale periodo.¹¹ Vestito con tunica e pallio, presenta il capo dotato di pochi capelli e il volto emaciato in cui si aprono grandi occhi azzurri, che lasciano trasparire la sua grande personalità oltre che una enorme carica psichica (Fig. 1). Alto e slanciato, egli corrisponde esattamente alla descrizione di lui fatta dal protostorico A. Agnello: *Longeva statura, tenui corpore, macilentus in facie, calvus capite, modicos habuit capillos, oculos glaucos et omni gratia decoratus*.¹²

Massimiano dovette quindi far ricorso anche all'attività artistica, in particolare ai programmi iconografici delle decorazioni musive, che si caricarono così di profondi contenuti religiosi e politici, adeguandosi perfettamente al concetto di *arte-instrumentum regni*, propagandato da Giustiniano.

Se tuttavia nella basilica di San Vitale il suo intervento artistico dovette limitarsi all'inserimento del suo ritratto accanto a quello dell'Imperatore, nell'ambito di un programma iconografico precedentemente commissionato,¹³ in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, consacrata nel 549, la decorazione precedentemente concepita dovette essere completamente modificata dopo il suo arrivo, come è possibile dedurre dalle sinopie rinvenute al di sotto degli attuali mosaici.¹⁴

⁹ Un papiro del 4 aprile del 554 cita per la prima volta Massimiano *archiepiscopus* (G. BOVINI, *op. cit.* / n. 1, 1972/, p. 157). Un'esauriente definizione del titolo *Archiepiscopus* vien data in una Novella di Giustiniano, per cui cfr.: G. ORIOLI, L'autocefalia della chiesa ravennate, *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 33, Grottaferrata, 1976, pp. 3-19.

¹⁰ F. W. DEICHMANN, *Ravenna: Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, vol. II, *Kommentar*, part 2, Wiesbaden, 1976.

¹¹ Circa tale immagine cfr. G. BOVINI, I ritratti degli antichi vescovi ravennati a noi pervenuti e notizia di altri due andati distrutti nel sec. XVI, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, 21, Ravenna, 1974, p. 66; F. W. DEICHMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 180-185; C. RIZZARDI, Le immagini vescovili nei mosaici parietali di Ravenna tra V e XII secolo: tipologie, significati, considerazioni, in: *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine IX: actes du IX^e Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique et médiévale*, (Rome, 2004), (ed.) Hélène Morlier, Rome, 2005, p. 1193; C. RIZZARDI, Il vescovo e l'arte nella tarda antichità: le trame iconografiche fra autorappresentazione e committenza, in: *Atti del XV Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana / Acta XV Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae* (Toleti / Toledo, 8-12. 9. 2008) – *Episcopus, civitas, territorium* (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, 65), Pars I, (ed.) Olof Brandt et al., Città del Vaticano, 2013, p. 934.

¹² *LP. HE*, 80, Vita Maximiani, p. 325; *CP. TR*, Vita Maximiani, p. 186.

¹³ Mediante un accurato esame tecnico, I. Andreescu Treadgold ha rilevato che il capo di Massimiano è stato rifatto ed ha probabilmente sostituito quello del suo predecessore, vescovo Vittore, per cui cfr.: I. ANDREESCU-TREADGOLD, The two original mosaic decorations of San Vitale, *Quaderni della Soprintendenza per i beni ambientali e architettonici di Ravenna*, 3, Ravenna, 1997, p. 21.

¹⁴ Cfr. il recente contributo di C. RIZZARDI, Il programma iconografico absidale di Sant'Apollinare in Classe fra sinopie e mosaici: antiche e nuove interpretazioni, *OCNUS – Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici*, 25, Bologna, 2017, pp. 185-196 (ivi bibliografia precedente).

Nel catino absidale, inondato di luce, si distende tuttora una ricca decorazione musiva, attribuita quasi tutta alla metà del VI secolo, a carattere trionfale (Fig. 3). Essa esalta la chiesa ravennate attraverso il protovescovo Apollinare, vestito di tunica bianca e casula purpurea cosparsa di api d'oro, rappresentato in atteggiamento di orante, sullo sfondo di una valle verde fiorita, fiancheggiato da 12 pecorelle simbolo dei suoi fedeli. Al di sotto si inseriscono fra le finestre, entro nicchie conchigliate, le figure dei suoi più significativi successori (Severo, Orso, Ursicino, Ecclesio).



Fig. 3. Ravenna, Basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe, decorazione musiva del catino absidale (da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 15/, fig. 139)



Fig. 4. Ravenna, Basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe, sinopia (da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 14/, fig. 6)

La solenne progressione dalla terra al cielo viene sapientemente scandita da fasce caratterizzate da vari sfondi: architettonici, paesaggistici o preziosamente aurei. E proprio su uno sfondo aureo si staglia la grandiosa scena di Trasfigurazione, collocata nella parte superiore, resa in parte figurativamente e in parte simbolicamente, con grande potenza espressiva e ricchezza di contenuti. Tre agnelli simboleggianti gli apostoli Pietro, Giacomo e Giovanni sono raffigurati ai piedi di un globo che racchiude una croce d'oro, al cui centro appare, entro un clipeo, il volto di Cristo, definito da un acrostico derivante dalle iniziali delle parole greche: *ΙΗΣΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ* (= Gesù Cristo Figlio di Dio Salvatore) – e dalla scritta latina: *SALVS MVNDI*.

Ai lati del globo emergono dalle nuvole i busti dei profeti Mosè ed Elia, rispettivamente dal volto giovane e imberbe e anziano e barbato, ben identificati da un'iscrizione posta al di sopra del loro capo. Tutti assistono al divino evento, che tuttavia non si palesa, ma viene semplicemente suggerito. Al di sopra domina la mano di Dio, che fuoriesce dalla "cornice" del quadro senza il più piccolo avvolgimento atmosferico. Particolarmente forte è il messaggio che ne deriva: nel sacro evento del Tabor si attua infatti il passaggio dalla natura umana a quella divina, e ciò per ribadire la duplice natura di Cristo, negata dagli Ariani.¹⁵

Durante i lavori di distacco di molte sezioni musive, eseguiti in tre fasi nell'arco di circa trenta anni (1948-1976) a scopo di consolidamento e restauro,¹⁶ si ritrovarono delle sinopie che prevedevano uno schema decorativo ben diverso da quello realizzato in mosaico: dapprima nella calotta absidale si rinvenne, al di sotto del grande clipeo stellato, un clipeo contenente una schematica croce latina, di circonferenza inferiore e successivamente, nella parte inferiore, sinopie con disegni puramente simbolici (Fig. 4).

La decorazione originaria, ideata forse già al tempo del vescovo Ursicino o, più probabilmente, di Vittore e mai realizzata, dovette essere quindi molto più semplice e di significato diverso rispetto a quella tuttora esistente: un semplice clipeo contenente una croce ad estremità espanse doveva

¹⁵ C. RIZZARDI, *Il mosaico a Ravenna. Ideologia e Arte*, Ravenna, 2011, pp. 150-155.

¹⁶ Ciò è avvenuto per opera della Soprintendenza di Ravenna, che ci ha lasciato un dettagliato resoconto. Cfr. a tal proposito: M. MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe*, Città del Vaticano, 1954, p. 173; M. MAZZOTTI, *Sinopie classensi (seconda fase di ricerca)*, *Felix Ravenna*, 103-104, Ravenna, 1972, p. 211; G. PAVAN, *Restauri e ritrovamenti della basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe*, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XXV, Ravenna, 1978, pp. 233-239.

stagliarsi al centro della calotta absidale, in corrispondenza assiale con la grande croce latina rinvenuta nella sinopia della parte inferiore, fiancheggiata da due pavoni, da eleganti candelabri vegetali e quindi da una coppia di colombe, poste araldicamente ai lati di un cesto ricolmo di frutta (Fig. 5).¹⁷

È indubbio che tale progetto decorativo doveva incentrarsi soprattutto su una vera e propria esaltazione della croce: croce apocalittica, posta al centro del catino absidale. Tale proposta iconografica, seppur densa di significato cristologico e soteriologico, dovette ben presto apparire poco aggiornata alle nuove istanze politiche e religiose dell'età giustiniana.

Dovette quindi avvenire, in fase di esecuzione, un cambiamento di progetto, una vera e propria "rivoluzione iconografica" da ascrivere quasi certamente – secondo il parere ormai concordemente espresso dagli studiosi¹⁸ – alla volontà del vescovo Massimiano che, dopo il suo arrivo a Ravenna, intese esaltare al sommo grado due concetti-base della politica e della restaurazione giustiniana:

1) da un lato l'ortodossia e quindi la duplice natura di Cristo, negata sia dal monofisismo che dall'arianesimo: nel sacro evento del Tabor si attua infatti il passaggio dalla natura umana a quella divina, in forme ben distinte, ma consustanziali nella Triade;

2) dall'altro la chiesa ravennate, attraverso la raffigurazione del suo fondatore Apollinare e dei suoi più significativi successori.¹⁹

È indubbio che solo una conoscenza teologica profonda e acuta come quella di Massimiano poteva offrirci un *unicum* musivo come quello di S. Apollinare in Classe, che si può considerare una delle più grandi creazioni artistiche dell'arte bizantina. All'interno della chiesa Massimiano inoltre fece trasportare le reliquie di Apollinare, primo vescovo della città, che fino ad allora si trovavano all'esterno.²⁰

Massimiano non si limitò tuttavia a consacrare basiliche preesistenti o ad "aggiornare" programmi iconografici, ma egli stesso fu un fondatore di chiese.



Fig. 5. Ravenna, Basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe, ipotetica ricostruzione del programma iconografico originario, al realizzato a mosaico (schizzo autore)

¹⁷ C. RIZZARDI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 192-193.

¹⁸ O. G. VON SIMSON, *Sacred Fortress. Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna*, Princeton University Press, Chicago, 1948, p. 41; M. MAZZOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 17; C. RIZZARDI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 153.

¹⁹ A difesa dell'Ortodossia e di tutta la chiesa si ergono solenni le due figure degli arcangeli Michele e Gabriele (metà VI secolo) collocati nell'arco trionfale, che ostentano con fierezza il labaro con il trisagio costituito dalle parole greche ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ, inconfondibile proclamazione del dogma trinitario. C. RIZZARDI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 160, figg. 149-150.

²⁰ M. MAZZOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 16, 1954), p. 223-224; F. W. DEICHMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 234.

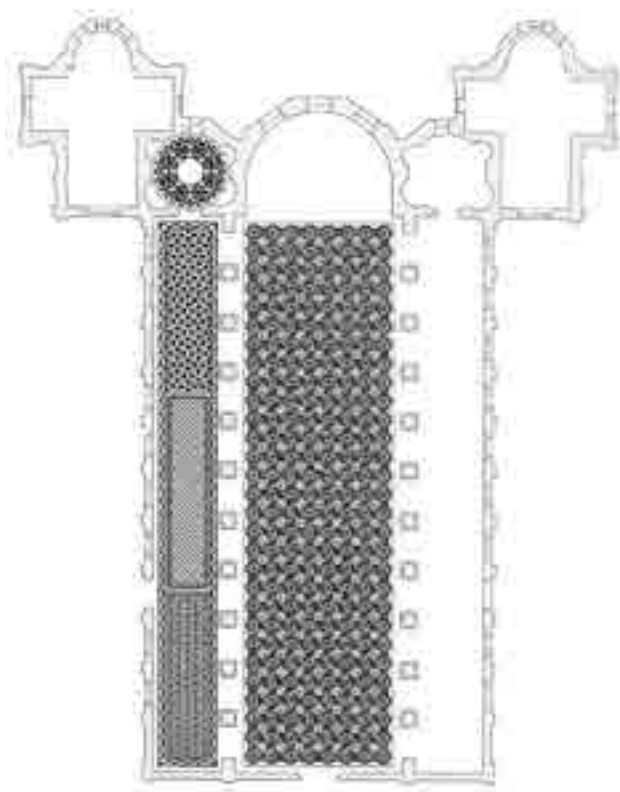


Fig. 6. Pola, Basilica di Santa Maria Formosa, planimetria ricostruttiva (elaborazione di Ž. Ujčić e A. Percan in: Ž. UJČIĆ, op. cit. /n. 21/)



Fig. 7. Pola, Museo Archeologico, mosaico proveniente da un sacello di Santa Maria Formosa (da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 22, 2008/, fig.15)

In Istria, nella sua Pola, egli fece erigere la basilica di Santa Maria, a tre navate, provvista di *pastophoria* e di due sacelli cruciformi absidati, di cui soltanto quello meridionale ci è pervenuto (Fig. 6). Per lo splendore della decorazione musiva parietale e pavimentale, degli stucchi e dei pregiati marmi, la chiesa fu denominata Santa Maria Formosa.²¹ Mentre gli scavi archeologici hanno rivelato resti di pavimenti musivi, nel superstite sacello è rimasto un lacerto di mosaico parietale con scena di *Tradi-tio legis*, conservato nel Museo Archeologico della stessa città (Fig. 7).²² Gli scavi archeologici hanno evidenziato resti di mosaici pavimentali, che trovano tangenze a Ravenna, così come le absidi poligonali che caratterizzano l'edificio. Si sa inoltre che il sacello settentrionale scomparso era dedicato a S. Andrea, particolarmente caro a Massimiano, che fece innalzare, all'ingresso del porto di Pola, una chiesa in onore dello stesso Apostolo.

Frutto di uno stretto connubio artistico fra le due sponde dell'Adriatico si devono inoltre riconoscere i mosaici della Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo e varie testimonianze archeologiche e artistiche della Dalmazia.²³

²¹ Ž. UJČIĆ, Ravenna e Pola paleocristiana, *Felix Ravenna. La croce, la spada, la vela: l'alto Adriatico fra V e VI secolo*, (ed.) Andrea Augenti, Carlo Bertelli, Milano, 2007, pp. 82-83, figg. 84-85.

²² G. BOVINI, *Le antichità cristiane della fascia costiera istriana da Parenzo a Pola*, Bologna, 1974, pp. 198-207; C. RIZZARDI, Relazioni artistiche fra Ravenna e l'Istria: i mosaici parietali, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XLII, Ravenna, 1996, pp. 834-836; C. RIZZARDI, La cristianizzazione dell'Adriatico: il messaggio dei mosaici parietali, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, LXVI (*La cristianizzazione dell'Adriatico*), Trieste, 2008, p. 42, fig.15.

²³ C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 22, 1996), pp. 817-836.

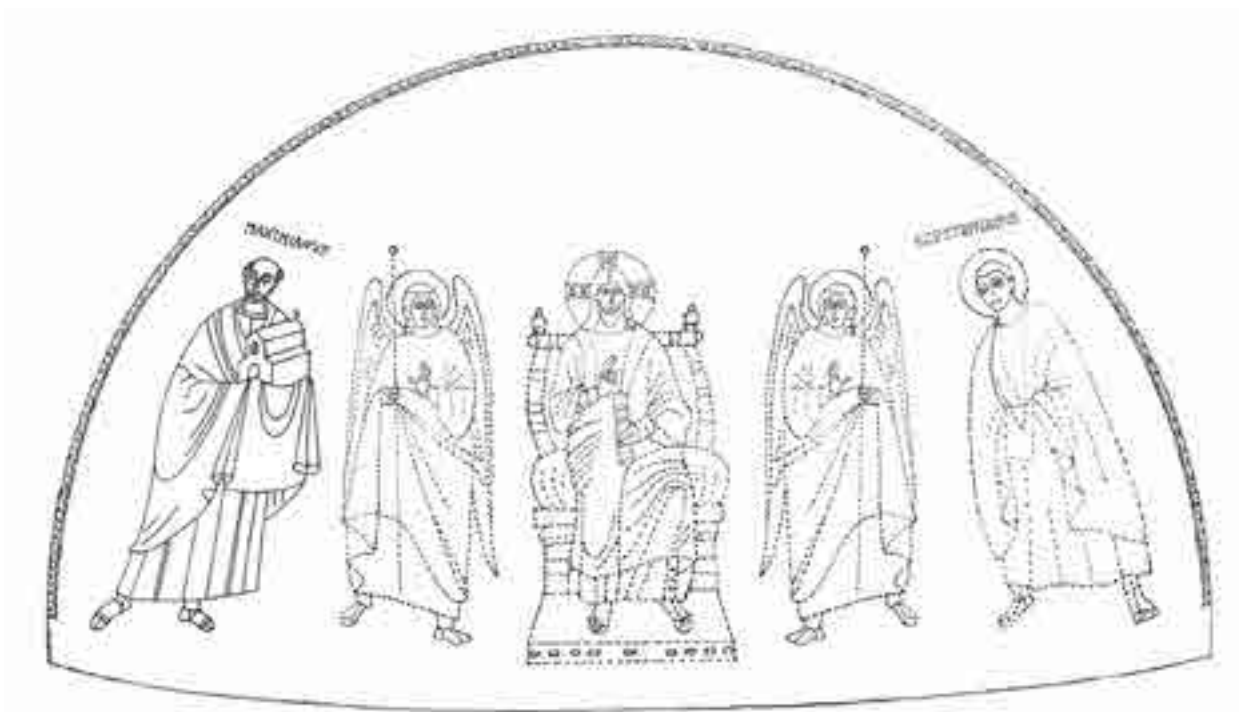


Fig. 8. Ravenna, Basilica di Santo Stefano Maggiore, ipotetica ricostruzione del mosaico absidale scomparso (da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 15/, fig. 153)

Tutto ciò grazie anche abilità politica-religiosa di Massimiano, sempre in linea con la politica imperiale.²⁴

A Ravenna, purtroppo nulla ci resta della basilica di S. Stefano, che egli *a fundamentis construxit*, a nord di S. Vitale, che decorò con marmi del Proconneso, capitelli e colonne, mosaici, come apprendiamo dal *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* e in cui furono portate reliquie di ben venti martiri, secondo una prassi liturgica introdotta a Ravenna dallo stesso Massimiano.²⁵

Intitolata a Santo Stefano, fu dedicata l'11 dicembre del 550, come si deduce da un'iscrizione che correva intorno al catino absidale, preziosamente decorato di mosaici, in cui doveva essere raffigurato anche lo stesso Massimiano.²⁶ È possibile pensare, sulla scia di tante altre decorazioni musive absidali esistenti, che nella stessa abside potessero trovar posto, ai lati di Cristo in trono, due angeli ed anche il titolare della basilica, il protomartire Stefano; ma indubbiamente si tratta soltanto di ipotesi (Fig. 8).²⁷ A lui viene inoltre attribuita la fondazione di San Giovanni in Marmorata.²⁸

Fece inoltre eseguire lavori di restauro nella chiesa di S. Andrea apostolo, ubicata non lontano dalla zona Ercolana: in essa colonne lignee furono sostituite da colonne marmoree del Proconneso. Degna rilievo si deve considerare l'introduzione, in questa basilica, della barba dell'apostolo Andrea da Costantinopoli. Non a caso quindi in essa, *iuxta altarium*, l'Arcivescovo Massimiano trovò sepoltura, dopo

²⁴ G. BOVINI, op. cit. (n. 1, 1972), p. 155.

²⁵ LP. HE, 72, Vita Maximiani, p. 327; CPTR, Vita Maximiani, pp. 190-192.

²⁶ LP. HE, 72, Vita Maximiani, p. 327; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani, p. 190. Circa tale edificio cfr.: F. W. DEICHMANN, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 372-374; C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 165-167.

²⁷ C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 15), fig. 153.

²⁸ F. W. DEICHMANN, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 331.

la sua morte avvenuta il 22 febbraio del 556.²⁹ Altri lavori di ripristino e restauro furono da lui commissionati a Ravenna nella basilica di S. Agnese, di S. Agata e nella basilica classicana di S. Probo dove sulla facciata, fece riprodurre, con tessere musive, le immagini dei vescovi Probo, Eleucadio e Calogero.³⁰

All'interno dell'Episcopio di Ravenna, completò poi l'edificio detto Tricoli, iniziato da Pietro II, decorandolo e rendendolo degno dell'alta dignità dei presuli ravennati. In esso fu inserita la sua immagine e quella dei suoi cinque predecessori (Pietro II, Aureliano, Ecclesio, Ursicino, Vittore), come si apprende da A. Agnello che cita inoltre un epigramma fatto fare dallo stesso Massimiano, da cui si evince che egli era originario di Pola, devoto levita di Cristo, ubbidiente alla legge di Dio e buono per la sua pietà (*Hic polensis erat, Christi levita profundus lege Dei miserans et pietate*).³¹

Lavori di restauro dovettero essere compiuti anche nel Battistero degli Ortodossi, come si può dedurre dalla presenza di un suo monogramma in mosaico al centro dell'iscrizione che sormonta un'abside del Battistero stesso.³²

La Cattedrale, grande basilica Ursiana a 5 navate in cui aveva celebrato la prima messa dopo il suo arrivo a Ravenna, venne arricchita di preziose suppellettili liturgiche e ricche tovaglie d'altare.

Il protostorico A. Agnello ci ha tramandato il ricordo di due crismatari d'argento, cioè di due vasi per gli oli sacri, uno dei quali mirabilmente cesellato e del peso di 14 libbre, scomparso nei primi decenni del IX secolo al tempo del



Fig. 9. Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, Cattedra eburnea di Massimiano, fronte (da C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. /n. 36, 2009/, fig. 2)

²⁹ G. BOVINI, op. cit. (n. 1, 1972), pp. 305-307.

³⁰ F. W. DEICHMANN, op. cit. (n. 10), pp. 283-298, 354. Circa i ritratti dei vescovi sulla facciata cfr.: C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 11, 2013), p. 935.

³¹ LP. HE, 72, Vita Maximiani, p. 328; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani, p. 193; C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 15), p. 64.

³² G. BOVINI, Note sulle iscrizioni e sui monogrammi della zona inferiore del Battistero della Cattedrale di Ravenna, *Felix Ravenna*, 107-108, Ravenna, 1974, pp. 115-118, fig. 9. Tale Battistero, innalzato dal vescovo Ursus accanto alla Cattedrale, antica Basilica Ursiana di Ravenna (inizio V secolo), fu poi innalzato e fatto decorare con marmi, stucchi e mosaici al tempo del vescovo Neone (terzo quarto del V secolo), per cui cfr.: C. RIZZARDI, op. cit. (n. 15), pp. 69-80.

vescovo Petronace; l'altro, ancora conservato al tempo del protostorico Agnello, recava l'iscrizione: "*Servus Christi Maximianus Archiepiscopus hunc crismatarium ad usum fidelium fieri fecit*".³³

Fece fare poi una croce d'oro con preziosissime gemme e perle, fra cui ametiste e smeraldi, contenente frammenti di legno della croce di Cristo.³⁴ Fu ancora l'arcivescovo Massimiano a donare alla basilica Ursiana quattro tovaglie d'altare ricamate in oro e perle: una, intessuta d'oro presentava le immagini di tutti i ventisei vescovi suoi predecessori; un'altra, con le storie del Salvatore e con temi a soggetto animale finemente eseguiti, fu poi portata a termine dal suo successore Agnello, che vi aggiunse il suo ritratto e la raffigurazione dei tre Magi.³⁵ Si può certo ipotizzare che tali lavori venissero eseguiti a Ravenna, dove potevano trovarsi laboratori specializzati nell'arte del ricamo.

Al vescovo Massimiano si deve collegare una delle suppellettili liturgiche di più alto livello artistico e una delle più alte testimonianze della civiltà artistica bizantina: la celeberrima cattedra eburnea conservata nel Museo Arcivescovile di Ravenna (Fig. 9).³⁶ Destinata non tanto a seggio vescovile, come si è quasi sempre affermato, ma probabilmente a supportare il Sacro Vangelo durante le solenni celebrazioni liturgiche, essa viene per così dire "avvolta" da una ricca decorazione di scene dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento alludenti al magistero vescovile e rese con uno stile rispondente alla dimensione polimorfa e complessa dell'età giustiniana che – come ho puntualizzato in alcuni miei recenti studi – utilizza vari linguaggi a seconda del concetto che intende esprimere. Probabile dono dell'Imperatore Giustiniano a Massimiano, potrebbe essere stata eseguita all'interno dei laboratori imperiali della Capitale d'Oriente.

³³ (= *Massimiano servo di Cristo fece fare questo crismatario per l'uso dei fedeli*): LP. HE, 80, Vita Maximiani, p. 331; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani, p. 207; G. BOVINI, Oggetti d'oro e d'argento ricordati da Andrea Agnello negli edifici di culto di Ravenna, *Felix Ravenna*, 107-108, Ravenna, 1974, p. 204; C. RIZZARDI, La suppellettile liturgica a Ravenna e nella sfera bizantina tra arte, liturgia e autorappresentazione (secoli V-IX), *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 15/1, Zagreb - Motovun, 2009, p. 47.

³⁴ LP. HE, 80, Vita Maximiani, p. 332; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani, p. 208; G. BOVINI, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 305.

³⁵ LP. HE, 80, Vita Maximiani, pp. 331-332; CP. TR, Vita Maximiani, pp. 207-208; G. BOVINI, Le tovaglie d'altare ricamate ricordate da A. Agnello nel Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, XI, Ravenna, 1974, pp. 77-90; C. RIZZARDI, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 49.

³⁶ C. RIZZARDI, La Cattedra eburnea di Massimiano a Ravenna: rilettura stilistica, in: *Hadriatica: attorno a Venezia e al Medioevo tra arti, storia e storiografia. Scritti in onore di Wladimiro Dorigo*, (ed.) Ennio Concina, Giordana Trovabene, Michela Agazzi Padova, 2002, pp. 145-150 (ivi bibliografia precedente); R. FARIOLI CAMPANATI, Per la datazione della cattedra di Massimiano e dell'ambone di Agnello, in: *Studi in memoria di Patrizia Angiolini Martinelli*, (ed.) Silvia Pasi, Bologna 2005, pp. 165-168; C. RIZZARDI, Massimiano a Ravenna: la Cattedra eburnea del Museo Arcivescovile alla luce di nuove ricerche, in: *Ideologie e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna - Ravenna, 26-29 novembre 2007)*, (ed.) Raffaella Farioli Campanati et al., Bologna, 2009, pp. 229-243.

Od Pule do Ravene: djelo biskupa Maksimijana (6. st.) između politike, religije i umjetnosti

Rođen u Puli gdje je bio đakon mjesne crkve, a posvećen od pape Vigilija (14. listopada 546.) za biskupa u Patrasu (na Peloponezu u Grčkoj), uskoro je voljom cara Justinijana poslan u Ravenu i prvi uzdignut u rang nadbiskupa (*archiepiscopus*). Bio je najznačajniji vjerski i politički *leader* justinijanskoga doba te njegovu djelovanju duguje cjelokupni kulturni i umjetnički *koine* ukupnoga jadranskog prostora koji je istraživao i Nikola Jakšić u svojim različitim studijama.

Consecrator svih crkava justinijanskog perioda u Raveni (San Michele in Africisco, San Vitale, Sant'Apollinare in Classe), na poznatom mozaičkom tapetu u crkvi San Vitale prikazan uz bok Justinijanu, gdje njegov naočit lik i danas privlači pozornost gledatelja, postaje jednom od najmoćnijih poluga imperijalne politike.

Zahvaljujući njegovoj diplomatskoj spretnosti Ravena postaje ključnim punktom vjersko-političkog djelovanja s ciljem učvršćivanja bizantske vlasti u Italiji.

Postizano je to uzajamnom primjenom raznih postupaka: ponajprije zakonodavnom djelatnošću, a posebice obnovom ortodoksije (do tada) znatno ugrožene arijanskom herezom, dominirajućom u vrijeme vladavine Gota. Kako bi to postigao, morao se prikloniti i umjetničkoj djelatnosti, osnivajući crkve urešene raskošnim mozaicima, karakteriziranim ikonografskim programima koji naglašeno ispoljavahu vjerske i političke sadržaje, usklađujući se time s konceptom po kojem je umjetnost – *instrumentum regni*, propagirana od Justinijana.

Taj je umjetnički zanos proširio i na svoju rodnu Istru, gdje su njegove narudžbe povezane uz bazilike Santa Maria Formosa i Sant'Andrea u Puli. Kao plod jedinstvenoga političkog programa i sukladnih umjetničkih nastojanja prepoznajemo ponajprije mozaike bazilike Eufrazijane u Poreču, a posvjedočen je i kod nekih drugih arheoloških i umjetničkih spomenika Dalmacije.

Konačno, uz samoga Maksimijana povezuje se i slavna bjelokosna katedra (sredina 6. st.) koja se danas čuva u Nadbiskupskom muzeju u Raveni, a koju možemo smatrati jednim od najvećih umjetničkih djela (rane) bizantske umjetnosti.

Ključne riječi: *Ravenna, Pula, Maksimijan, Justinijan, umjetnost, crkve, mozaici, 6. stoljeće*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Antonia Ćosić

**LA MUNIFICENZA EPISCOPALE AL TRAMONTO DELL'ESARCATO.
IL SEGNACOLO DI GIOVANNI V NELLA BASILICA DI
S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE (A. 731)**

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10.1484/M.DEM-EB.5.121624

Starting from the archbishop Giovanni Romano, the Ravenna prelates chose the extra-urban basilica of Sant'Apollinare in Classe as a burial place, and this continued until at least the ninth century. The tombs re-employed ancient sarcophagi and were placed in sight in the church's courtyard, in imitation of the Vatican Paradisum. An illustration of the building before the great works done in the 18th century accurately describes the layout of the sarcophagi in the entrance space. Near each sarcophagus there was an inscription which indicated the name of the inhumed bishop. Currently only one part of those burial places survives, as well as a slab with the name of the archbishop that is placed on the left wall of the building, near the sarcophagus containing the remains of Giovanni V iunior. The slab is dated to 731 and was placed to identify the location of the tomb, but at the same time it contains the reference to the donation of a fund made by the bishop to the monks residing in Sant'Apollinare. The table has not yet been studied in depth. This intervention will try to fill the gap.

Key words: *Ravenna, Classe, epigraphy, burials, archbishops*

A partire dal mandato dell'arcivescovo Giovanni Romano, e così fino almeno a quello di Giorgio, i presuli ravennati scelsero la basilica extraurbana di S. Apollinare in Classe quale luogo di sepoltura. Le tombe erano costituite da sarcofagi di reimpiego collocati a vista nell'ardica della chiesa, a modello del *Paradisum* del Vaticano¹ (Fig. 1).

Una illustrazione dell'edificio anteriore ai grandi lavori realizzati nel XVIII secolo descrive con precisione la disposizione di 16 casse situate in parte nel vano d'ingresso e in parte all'interno della chiesa. Presso ogni sarcofago era collocata una iscrizione, a muro o terragna, che indicava il nome del vescovo inumato.

¹ Le inumazioni a Classe presero il via con Giovanni Romano, che fu collocato in una delle due cosiddette "torrette" ai lati della facciata della chiesa (come indicava l'epigrafe tramandata da Andrea Agnello, CIL, XI, 297), e si protrassero fino a Giorgio (838-846), vd. R. FARIOLI CAMPANATI, *Le tombe dei vescovi di Ravenna dal tardoantico all'alto medioevo*, in *L'inhumation privilegiee du IVe au VIIIe siecle en Occident* (Actes du colloque tenu à Créteil, 16-18 mars 1984), Paris 1986, pp. 165-172; J.C. PICARD, *Le souvenir des évêques. Sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du nord des origines au Xe siècle*, Roma 1988, pp. 180-192; R. BENERICETTI, *Il Pontificale di Ravenna. Studio critico*, Faenza 1994, pp. 155-165.

Attualmente di quelle sepolture ne sopravvive solo una parte² e delle iscrizioni che fungevano da segnacolo, solo una che si trova sulla parete sinistra dell'edificio di culto, in prossimità del sarcofago contenente le spoglie di un arcivescovo di nome Giovanni, sulla cui identità ancora si discute, come si vedrà in seguito.

Il segnacolo fu posto ad individuare la collocazione di una tomba e nel contempo documenta la donazione di un fondo effettuata da uno dei presuli sepolti nella chiesa ai monaci residenti in S. Apollinare. La tavola è nota da tempo agli eruditi e alla critica³ e ad oggi l'analisi più approfondita del pezzo è



Fig. 1. Classe (Ravenna), Basilica di S. Apollinare, interno

quella proposta da Guillou sul finire degli anni '60 del Novecento. Qui viene ripresa con particolare riguardo per l'aspetto epigrafico nel contesto della produzione altomedievale ravennate.

² I sarcofagi noti attualmente sono 10; a quelli dobbiamo aggiungere il frammento del coperchio dell'arca destinata alle spoglie dell'arcivescovo Sergio (744-769), attualmente presso il Museo Nazionale di Ravenna (inv. 401); reimpiegato nel complesso di Classe in Città, fu ritrovato nel 1743, vd. P. NOVARA, *Storia delle scoperte archeologiche di Ravenna e Classe*, Ravenna 1998, scheda 21; M. MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe*, Città del Vaticano 1954, p. 190, fig. 66; G. VALENTI ZUCCHINI, M. BUCCI (edd.), *"Corpus" della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedievale di Ravenna. II. I sarcofagi a figure e a carattere simbolico*, Roma 1968, n. 20, pp. 41-42 (metà VIII secolo); per l'iscrizione: CIL XI, n. 307; P. RUGO, *Le iscrizioni dei sec. VI-VII-VIII esistenti in Italia. Esarcato, Pentapoli e Tuscia*, III, Cittadella 1976, n. 48, p. 44; G. CAVALLO, *La cultura scritta a Ravenna tra antichità tarda e alto medioevo*, in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. II. 2. Dall'età bizantina all'età ottoniana. Ecclesiologia, cultura e arte*, Venezia 1992, pp. 79-125, part. p. 118.

³ Trascrizioni: G. FABRI, *Le sagre memorie di Ravenna antica*, In Venetia, Per Francesco Valvasense, 1664, pp. 115-116; J.B. MITTARELLI, A. COSTADONI, *Annales Camaldulenses ordini S. Benedicti*, I, Venetiis, Aere monasterii Sancti Michaelis de Muriano, 1755, p. 16; G.M. GUASTUZZI, *Notizie storiche della vita e del martirio di S. Apollinare*, In Forlì, Per Achille Marozzi, 1781, pp. 57-59 (senza scioglimento delle abbreviazioni); A. MAI, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio a Vaticanis codicibus edita*, t. V, Roma 1831, n. 1, pp. 228-229; G. CAPPELLETTI, *Le chiese d'Italia dalla loro origine sino ai nostri giorni*, II, Venezia 1844, pp. 69-70; D. FARABULINI, *Storia della vita e del culto di S. Apollinare primo vescovo di Ravenna*, Roma 1874, pp. 542-543 (senza scioglimento delle abbreviazioni); M. MAZZOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 87. Traduzioni: A. BENINI, *La basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe. Il porto*, Ravenna 1950², pp. 55-56; G. ASSORATI, *IBC Emilia Romagna. Patrimonio culturale dell'Emilia Romagna. Fonti* (<http://bit.ly/2BdxVvH>); A. SAIANI (ed.), *Vitalis Aqueductus, Liber de aedificatione et mirabilibus aedis divi Apostolici Apollinaris, in civitate olim Classensi* (in M. MAZZOTTI, *La basilica di Sant'Apollinare in Classe e studi successivi*, Ravenna 2017, pp. 309-342, 355-380). Edizioni del testo: CIL XI, 1, n. 297. 2; A. GUILLOU, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VII siècle. L'exemple de l'exarchat et de la pentapole d'Italie*, Roma 1969, pp. 272-277, n. 4; P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n. 9, p. 23; R. BENERICETTI, *Le carte ravennati dei secoli ottavo e nono*, Faenza 2006, pp. 155-156. Vd. inoltre F. DE RUIBEIS, *Scultura longobarda, bizantina o carolingia? Retaggi, modelli e imitazioni tra Ravenna, Venezia e l'Istria nei secoli VIII-X*, in *The Age of Affirmation. Venice, the Adriatic and the Hinterland between the 9th and 10th Centuries*, Turnhout 2017, pp. 323-348, part. pp. 327-328.

1. L'EPIGRAFE (FIG. 2)

1 + In n(omine) Patris, et Filii, et Sp(iritu)s S(an)c(t)i, Imp(eranti)b(us) piissimis dd(ominis)
nn(ostris)⁴ Leone et Constantino a D(e)o⁵ coronat(is), pacific(is) magnis imp(eratori)b(us), Leone
2 quidem clementiss(imo), imp(eratore), anno XV Constantino vero a D(e)o⁶ coron(ato),
imp(eratore) anno XI, gubernantem⁷ Italia d(om)n(o) Eutvchio excell<entissimo>, patricio
3 et exarc<o>⁸, IIII Kal(endas)⁹ februarias, Ind(ictione) XIII. Hic titulus monstrat opus laudavile¹⁰
factum, quod pio consilio concepit me nte praesul
4 Iohannes, almus pontifex iunior in nomine quintus, qui cura pervigili aeterni premia regni fidus
ut possideat, aegenorum agmina
5 praecant¹¹ liminibus sacris hoc sibi monumentum locavit, Apollenari s(an)c(t)o commendans
pulverea membra¹², quae¹³ surrectura credit
6 carnis resumto¹⁴ vigore, contulit et donum, quod servis D(omi)ni prosit, qui laudes adsiduas
martvri s(an)c(t)o libant, fundum Gammillaria casalibus
7 undique vallatum¹⁵, cum suis terminibus sicut textus donationis designat, aptum servis D(omi)
ni Ravennati terr(itorio) situm fertilem, fecundum, ignis
8 ad usum lignamen et suest¹⁶ quod pabulent, silvarum glandifera poma, dans S(an)c(t)ae¹⁷
Eccl(esia)¹⁸ commutata ad vicem¹⁹ loca, fundum Tregintula
9 Faventin<o> terr(itorium) constituto²⁰, atq<ue> fundum²¹ Pittulis Cornil<iensis>²² terr(itorii)
reiacentem, simulque argenti quater dena pundera mundum, quod sibi legitime
10 genitorum contulit iura ut²³ sit inlivatum, nec revocetur umquam²⁴, quod uhic²⁵ collegio
monachorum stipendiis ad vicem cessit, ex cuius

⁴ A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3) scioglie: *d(omi)n(is)*.

⁵ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2) scioglie: *D(omin)o*.

⁶ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2) scioglie: *D(omin)o*.

⁷ D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *gubernante*.

⁸ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *exarch(o)*.

⁹ Il segno di abbreviazione si fonde con il tratto superiore della A.

¹⁰ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *laudabile*.

¹¹ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *praecantur*.

¹² A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *nembra* (ma probabilmente è un refuso di stampa).

¹³ G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) e D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *que*.

¹⁴ MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *resumpto*.

¹⁵ G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *valatum*.

¹⁶ D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *sues*. A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3) lo colloca fra due +.

¹⁷ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *s(an)c(t)a*.

¹⁸ A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *eccl(esiam)*.

¹⁹ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *invicem*.

²⁰ G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *constitutum*.

²¹ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *fundim*.

²² A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3); P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *Cornil(iensi)*.

²³ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *quod*.

²⁴ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *unquam*.

²⁵ Così per *huic*.

- 11 *reditibus*²⁶ *praeparentur affaviles*²⁷ *dapes*, his qui eius²⁸ *nomini annuae coluerint diem*, quo *iusso*²⁹ *dominantis*³⁰ *migraverit*
- 12 *ad caelestia regna*. Hoc quoram³¹ concilio statuit atque firmavit, ut si quis successor sedis, ecclesieq(ue) actor vel abba<s>³²
- 13 *prepositus*³³ huius venerabilis templi, *praenominat*<um>³⁴, *fundum Gammillaria ex parte*<m>³⁵, vel totum per quovis ingenio ab³⁶ *usum servor(um) D(omi)ni*
- 14 *hic deservientium*, *alienare praesumserit*³⁷, vel *commutare*, aut per *enfuteuseos*³⁸ *chartula*³⁹ *largire*, *aeternam condemnatione*<m>⁴⁰
- 15 *sustineat cum traditore Iuda*, et his, qui *petierit*, et qui *largire temtaverit*, *constrictus anathematis vincul(is)*⁴¹ *s(an)c(t)or(um) trecentor(um)*, *dec(em) et octo patrum*.

Nel nome del Padre, del Figlio e dello Spirito Santo. Regnando i piissimi nostri signori Leone e Costantino incoronati da Dio come grandi imperatori di pace. Nell'anno XV dell'impero del clemente Leone. Costantino pure da Dio incoronato imperatore per l'undicesimo anno, governando l'Italia l'eccelso patrizio ed esarca signor Eutichio, il 29 gennaio della quattordicesima indizione. Questa iscrizione mostra la lodevole opera compiuta con pia intenzione dall'almo presule Giovanni minore, quinto di nome, il quale, confidando con vigile cura di ottenere i premi del regno eterno, (poiché) schiere di poveri pregano sulle sacre soglie, pose per se questa tomba⁴², affidando a sant'Apollinare le membra di polvere che crede destinate a risorgere⁴³ dopo avere ripreso il vigore della carne, e fece un dono che fosse utile ai Servi del Signore che con assidue preghiere offrono lodi al santo martire: il fondo Gamillaria coi casali e le valli, delimitato da tutte le parti con i suoi confini⁴⁴, come indica il testo della donazione legato ai Servi del Signore, sito nel territorio raven-

²⁶ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *reditibus*.

²⁷ Errore del lapicida per *assabiles*, cioè arrostate, secondo A. SAIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), che qui si segue. A. BENINI, *op. cit.*, (n. 3) e G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) mantengono *affabiles* e traducono: amabili conviti.

²⁸ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *hisque ius*.

²⁹ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *iussu*.

³⁰ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *dominatis*.

³¹ D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *coram*.

³² G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3); P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *abba*.

³³ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *praepositus*.

³⁴ R. BENERICETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *praenominat*<us>.

³⁵ D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *parte*. Mai aggiunge sic.

³⁶ A. MAI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) aggiunge sic.

³⁷ G.M. GUASTUZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) e D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *praesumpserit*.

³⁸ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *enfuteuseos*.

³⁹ D. FARABULINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *chartulam*.

⁴⁰ P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2); G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3); R. BENERICETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *condemnatione*.

⁴¹ A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *vincul(o)*; P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2): *vincul(um)*.

⁴² L'espressione conferma che la lapide era collocata a individuare il sarcofago contenente le spoglie dell'arcivescovo donatore. A. BENINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) traduce: *si fece erigere questo monumento nella sacra soglia*. G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3) traduce: *affinché prenda posto nelle schiere celesti, (i monaci) preghino alle sacre soglie, pose questo monumento per lui*. Qui si segue la lettura di A. SAIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 371.

⁴³ G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *che si crede che risorgeranno*.

⁴⁴ A. BENINI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *da ogni parte circondato da case coloniche coi suoi confini*. G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.*, (n. 3): *coi casali e le valli da ogni parte coi suoi confini*. Qui si segue la lettura di A. SAIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 371.



Fig. 2. Classe (Ravenna), Basilica di S. Apollinare, epigrafe

nate, fertile e fecondo; la legna da ardere e i porci che pascolino⁴⁵ le ghiande delle selve, dando alla Santa Chiesa (ravennate) luoghi scambiati in permuta: il fondo Trigintula situato nel territorio di Faenza, il fondo Pittulis nel territorio imolese e insieme 40 libbre di argento puro lasciategli (all'arcivescovo Giovanni) legittimamente dai genitori, a condizione che rimanga intatto e non sia mai revocato, perché non cessi la rendita a questo collegio di monaci con i cui redditi siano preparate le vivande cotte per coloro che annualmente abbiano celebrato la sua memoria⁴⁶ nel giorno in cui per volontà del Signore migrò ai regni celesti⁴⁷. Alla presenza di questo Concilio stabilì e confermò che, se qualche successore della Sede o amministratore della chiesa o abate preposto a questo venerabile tempio avrà osato alienare permutare o concedere con carta di enfiteusi il sunnominato fondo Gamillaria o in parte o tutto, per qualsiasi idea pensi di alienarlo o permutarlo dall'usufrutto dei servi del Signore, o di affittarlo in enfiteusi, dovrà sostenere l'eterna condanna insieme con il traditore Giuda, e che colui che ha chiesto e colui che ha tentato di concedere (sia) stretto dai vincoli di anatema dei 318 Santi Padri.

2. NOTE EPIGRAFICHE (FIG. 3)

La lastra, di marmo proconnesio⁴⁸, è di forma rettangolare⁴⁹. Lo specchio corrisponde al perimetro stesso della lastra. Il testo è distribuito su 15 righe con andamento parallelo ai lati lunghi della lastra.

Capitale epigrafica. Il segno di interpunzione è costituito da un punto o da una breve linea verticale a S. L'interpunzione è di fantasia. Lungo il margine destro lo spazio di risulta è completato con linee ondulate e in un caso con una linea ondulata contenente *edera distinguens*.

Altezza delle lettere cm da 4 a 7; larghezza delle lettere irregolare.

⁴⁵ G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *pascolano*.

⁴⁶ G. ASSORATI, *op. cit.* (n. 3): *i quali dovranno essere allestiti a suo nome ogni anno*.

⁴⁷ Vale a dire il giorno della sua morte.

⁴⁸ Guillou ritiene sia realizzata con pietra locale.

⁴⁹ Dimensioni cm 276×178.

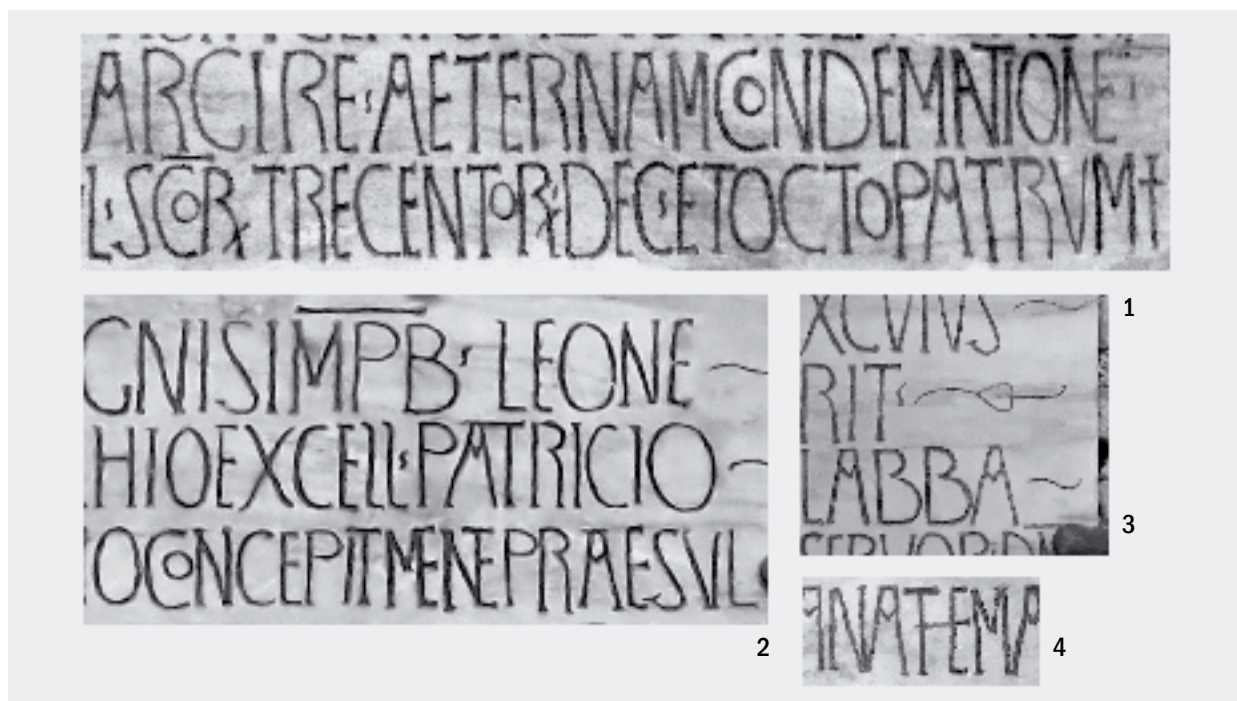


Fig. 3. Particolari della epigrafe

L'altezza delle lettere è costante dentro il binario. La distribuzione dei vocaboli nello specchio è irregolare. Interlinea irregolare. L'incisione è abbastanza accurata, ottenuta a scalpello.

La lettera A ha la traversa angolare e il vertice coronato da un trattino orizzontale; le lettere B e R hanno gli occhielli staccati dalla barra verticale; la lettera E ha i trattini molto brevi; la L ha il tratto inferiore ondulato; M e N hanno le aste verticali; la O talvolta è a uovo, così come la Q che ha la coda orizzontale; la V ha la base segnalata da un trattino orizzontale.

I nessi sono presenti ma non numerosi e talvolta sono composti da tre lettere (Fig. 3): AT [1], AV [1], ME [2], NE [2], NT [3], NTE [1], TE [3], THE [1]. Le stesse lettere a volte non sono unite in nesso e sembra che la scelta sia dettata prevalentemente da motivi di spazio.

Sono presenti anche le letterine inscritte: Ci [3], Co [5], Cv [1], Li [4], Lo [1], Ti [1], To [3], Tv [1].

Le abbreviazioni sono presenti ma non numerose e sono sia per troncamento (in genere caduta della n o m) sia per contrazione, e in entrambi i casi sono segnalate da un trattino orizzontale. Il segno tuttavia non è sempre espresso. Nei casi in cui non è usata la linea, è probabile che il segno di abbreviazione sia assimilato a quello di interpunzione. Quando l'ultima lettera del troncamento è R, l'abbreviazione è costituita da un trattino che taglia obliquamente la gamba.

Le abbreviazioni per contrazione sono riservate, in genere, ai *nomina sacra*: DN, DNI (per le varie flessioni di *Dominus*), DO (*Deo*), SCAE, SCI, SCO SCOR (per le varie flessioni di *sanctus*), SPS (*Spiritus*). Le abbreviazioni per troncamento, riservate ai vocaboli più comuni, seguono le formule introdotte nei secoli IV e V: ECCL (*ecclesia*), IMP (*imperator*), IND (*indictione*), TERR (*territorium*).

Per quanto riguarda le formule impiegate⁵⁰, va rilevato come la formula "anathematis vinculis Sanctorum Trecentorum decem et octo Patrum" presente nella *minatio* in caso di inadempienza

⁵⁰ Va ricordato che le varie ammonizioni riguardo la possibile alienazione dei beni sono mirate a impedire la dispersione del patrimonio della Chiesa che all'epoca non aveva ancora organizzato centri amministrativi efficienti. Poiché l'enfiteusi aveva una durata di tre generazioni, poteva accadere che nel lungo arco di tempo si verificassero abusi o sorpresi difficilmente gestibili. B. ANDREOLLI, *Il potere signorile tra VIII e X secolo*, in A. Carile (ed.), *Storia di Ravenna. 2. 1. Territorio, economia e società*, Venezia 1991, pp. 310-320, part. p. 315.

degli obblighi contratti, si riferisca ai 318 Padri che presero parte al Concilio di Nicea, durante il quale fu condannata la dottrina Ariana. La stessa si trova anche su alcuni documenti ravennati del X secolo⁵¹.

3. CONTENUTI

Secondo il testo dell'epigrafe, che riporta quello di un documento (*sicut textus donationis designat*), di cui tuttavia non abbiamo copia, i monaci di Classe venivano investiti del fondo denominato Gamillaria, posto nel *territorium* di Ravenna⁵², che veniva offerto in cambio della restituzione dei due fondi denominati *Trigintula* e *Pittula*, rispettivamente nei territori di Faenza e Imola. A quello si aggiungeva anche una cospicua donazione in denaro da impiegare per la mensa dei poveri.

Sulla base delle indicazioni cronologiche presenti nel testo (indizione, giorno) e dei riferimenti ai mandati dell'esarco Eutychio (728-751), dell'imperatore Leone III l'Isaurico (717-741) e del figlio Costantino V (associato al trono nel 720), si può ricavare, come rilevato da Guillou⁵³, che la data del documento è il 29 gennaio 731.

Ne consegue che l'arcivescovo di nome Giovanni indicato nell'epigrafe è da individuare nel successore di Felice, 33esimo nella lista di Agnello.

Data la difficoltà ad identificare nella lista episcopale ravennate dei secoli dal VII al IX, i vescovi di nome Giovanni, viste le numerose imprecisioni presenti nel *Liber pontificalis*, gli estremi del Giovanni in questione sono ancora in discussione.

Secondo i più recenti studi si tratterebbe del V arcivescovo di tale nome⁵⁴, che condusse l'episcopio di Ravenna dal 726⁵⁵ (poiché, secondo Giorgio Orioli, la morte di Felice sarebbe da spostare al 25 novembre 725) al 744⁵⁶.

Come si è detto, i sarcofagi conservati nella basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe, accolsero le sepolture degli arcivescovi fra il VII e il IX secolo, periodo durante il quale la chiesa classicana divenne luogo di sepoltura privilegiato sul modello di S. Pietro in Vaticano. Secondo una descrizione della basilica estesa attorno al 1510 dal sacerdote Vitale Acquedotti⁵⁷, nei primissimi anni del XVI secolo le arche erano collocate in parte nel portico che si trovava davanti alla facciata della chiesa, da poco ricostruito, e in parte all'interno dell'edificio. L'ospite di ogni tomba era individuato, in genere, attraverso tabelle a mosaico o in marmo poste in prossimità della sepoltura, sul muro o nel pavimento. Nel corso del XVIII secolo questi segnapoli andarono in gran parte dispersi e lo spostamento delle casse dalle primitive collocazioni avvenuta nello stesso secolo, ha provocato l'attuale mancanza di informazioni riguardo gli ospiti della metà circa dei sarcofagi sopravvissuti, vale a dire di quelli privi di una segnalazione del contenuto presente sulla cassa.

⁵¹ 957 febbraio 22, Archivio di Stato di Ravenna, *Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse*, S. Vitale, I.I.8: "trasgressor trecentorum decem et octo sanctorum patrum Niceni conceli anathematis vinculo vulneretur"; vd. F. BUZZI, *La Curia arcivescovile e la curia cittadina di Ravenna dall'650 al 1118. Studio diplomatico preparatorio dell'edizione delle Carte Ravennati*, in *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 35, 1915, pp. 7-187, part. pp. 125-126.

⁵² Il fondo *Gamillaria* secondo Guillou, potrebbe essere riconosciuto nella odierna località di Gambellara. A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 273.

⁵³ A. GUILLOU, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 272.

⁵⁴ S. COSENTINO, *Prosopografia dell'Italia bizantina. 493-804. II. G-O*, Bologna 2000, pp. 202-203. Non concorda Orioli che lo individua come VI, G. ORIOLI, *Cronotassi dei vescovi di Ravenna*, in *FR* 127-130, 1984-1985, pp. 323-332, part. p. 326.

⁵⁵ E. STEIN, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Ravenna in spätrömischer und byzantinischer Zeit*, in *Klio* 16, 1920, pp. 40-71, part. p. 58; e da Stein G. ORIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 54); concordano con Orioli R. BENERICETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 142; A. BEDINA, *Giovanni*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 55, Roma 2001, pp. 517-518.

⁵⁶ Anno della morte secondo G. ORIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 54) e R. BENERICETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 143.

⁵⁷ A. SAIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 3).



Fig. 4. Classe (Ravenna), Basilica di S. Apollinare, sarcofago di Giovanni

Poiché nella risistemazione settecentesca il pannello in oggetto fu collocato al di sopra di un sarcofago che l'epigrafe individua come di un Giovanni, negli ultimi due secoli gli studiosi hanno discusso spesso riguardo la possibilità di individuare il Giovanni dell'epigrafe nel Giovanni del sarcofago⁵⁸. Le più recenti ricerche hanno chiarito tuttavia che il sarcofago è da riconoscere come la sepoltura dell'arcivescovo di nome Giovanni in carica dal 777 al 784⁵⁹ (Fig. 4).

Il mandato di Giovanni V si svolse in un periodo molto complesso per il Mediterraneo, durante il quale Ravenna, ancora sede dell'Esarcato, si trovò a dovere affrontare due diversi problemi⁶⁰. Da un lato, nel momento in cui l'arcivescovo ottenne l'incarico, nella capitale d'Oriente veniva proclamata, ad opera dell'imperatore Leone III, l'iconoclastia, episodio che provocò un periodo di forti scontri sobillati dai monaci, i più colpiti dalla decisione imperiale. Dall'altro lato, approfittando della momentanea debolezza dell'Impero, da Occidente i Longobardi sferrarono un nuovo attacco dei territori bizantini d'Italia.

Nel 719 a Ravenna scoppiò una rivolta fra iconoclasti e iconoduli, superiori di numero. Leone III, per punire i rivoltosi, inviò una flotta che, giunta sulle coste adriatiche, fu presa d'assalto dai Ravennati, che riuscirono a sconfiggere i Bizantini. Nel 726 i Longobardi occuparono Classe e misero sotto assedio Ravenna, spingendosi fino a Roma.

L'esarco Eutychio, nominato nel 728, non entrò subito a Ravenna, ma preferì procedere da Napoli, porto di sbarco, salendo verso nord attraverso Roma, nella speranza di potere corrompere i Longo-

⁵⁸ La discussione è stata ripercorsa in modo dettagliato in E. RUSSO, *Studi sulla scultura paleocristiana e altomedievale. Il sarcofago dell'arcivescovo Grazioso in S. Apollinare in Classe*, in *Studi Medievali* 15/1, 1974, pp. 25-142, part. pp. 36-38.

⁵⁹ C.M. PATRONO, *Le iscrizioni bizantine di Ravenna*, in *ADR* s. III, 27, 1908-1909, pp. 347-374, part. p. 357. A. MAZZOTTI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 213-214; G. VALENTI ZUCCHINI, M. BUCCI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n. 60, p. 58; E. RUSSO, *op. cit.* (n. 58). Dubitativo invece, R. BENERICETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 164.

⁶⁰ A. SIMONINI, *Autocefalia ed esarcato in Italia*, Ravenna 1968, pp. 141-143.



Fig. 5. Classe (Ravenna), Basilica di S. Apollinare, particolare della iscrizione sul sarcofago di Felice

bardi e convincerli ad abbandonare l'alleanza col pontefice, che decise di assumere una posizione di mediazione e convinse i Longobardi ad abbandonare Classe. Solo nel 729 il nuovo esarco Eutychio⁶¹ riuscì ad entrare in Ravenna.

Terminata questa emergenza, il pontefice decise di organizzare per il mese di novembre del 731, una sinodo cui prese parte anche l'arcivescovo Giovanni. Nonostante la condanna contro l'Iconoclastia pronunciata dal consesso di vescovi, l'imperatore d'Oriente non modificò la sua posizione contro le immagini, minacciando di colpire militarmente il pontefice, una nuova occasione per i Longobardi di impadronirsi di Ravenna e muovere verso il Lazio (734).

Le informazioni riguardanti la vita e l'attività di Giovanni sono molto modeste sia per la scarsità di dati contenuti nel *Liber Pontificalis*, sia per la mancanza di documenti.

L'epigrafe può aggiungere qualche notizia alla ricostruzione della biografia del presule, infatti se ne può ricavare che Giovanni aveva una discreta fortuna personale, costituita da terreni e da 40 libbre d'oro che gli spettavano "per legittima eredità dai suoi familiari".

4. NOTE SULLA LAVORAZIONE

Nei secoli successivi al VI, come riscontrato da Guglielmo Cavallo⁶², nell'epigrafia ravennate si manifestò una cristallizzazione dei moduli del tardo VI secolo. Restò in uso la capitale che lasciò spazio a particolarismi grafici e prese a prestito dalla scrittura libraria alcune lettere come la D e la E onciali⁶³. La lastra di Classe conferma questo processo.

Per quanto concerne la lavorazione, le informazioni riguardo le officine epigrafiche ravennate sono molto modeste.

Si può ipotizzare che in età teodoricianica fossero presenti a Ravenna opifici locali, come si ricava dall'attività di rilavorazione di antichi sarcofagi frequente proprio in quegli anni. Non è da escludere che le stesse officine, o laboratori paralleli, si specializzassero anche nella esecuzione di epigrafi.

Si è ipotizzato, inoltre, che nella seconda metà del VI secolo fosse attivo un centro di produzione legato all'episcopio, in quanto la realizzazione di lastre sepolcrali terragne, ben rappresentata dalle numerose epigrafi conservate nel Museo Arcivescovile, in gran parte pertinenti a sepolture di membri

⁶¹ T.S. BROWN, *Eutichio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 43, Roma 1993, pp. 441-442.

⁶² G. CAVALLO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 115.

⁶³ Si vedano al riguardo, i sarcofagi di Classe, la croce in bronzo fatta apporre dall'arcivescovo Teodoro (679-693) sul tetto del battistero metropolitano (a. 688), P. RUGO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), n. 23a, p. 30, il sigillo da riferire allo stesso arcivescovo ottenuto a sbalzo sulla lastra di piombo recuperata nel XVIII secolo dal tetto della cattedrale, le iscrizioni delle fiancate della cattedra di Damiano (693-709), reimpiegate nell'attuale presbiterio della basilica classicana (P. RUGO, *op. cit.* [n. 2], n. 1, p. 19), e il ciborio proveniente dalla cappella classicana di S. Eleucadio (CIL XI, 1, n. 297. 3; P. RUGO, *op. cit.* [n. 2], n. 2, p. 19), realizzato durante il pontificato dell'arcivescovo Valerio (789-810), sempre in S. Apollinare.

dell'entourage della curia vescovile⁶⁴, associata ad altri prodotti coevi di produzione locale, come ad esempio l'ambone dei Ss. Giovanni e Paolo⁶⁵ e gli altri amboni a *pyrgos*, di cui si conservano frammenti presso il Museo Nazionale, mostrano caratteristiche comuni anche se con qualche disomogeneità.

A partire dal VII secolo è assai probabile che operassero degli artigiani occasionali, forse legati ancora all'episcopio. La richiesta in quel periodo dovette essere molto limitata, come attesta la scarsa quantità di prodotti attribuibile ai secoli VII-IX. Il più consistente complesso di epigrafi prodotte in quei secoli si trova proprio nella basilica di S. Apollinare in Classe, raccolta nei sarcofagi che accolsero le spoglie degli arcivescovi della città. Le epigrafi delle arche classiche, che potrebbero essere state realizzate da scalpellini occasionali, mostrano scarsa qualità nel tratto e nella impaginazione e sono ottenute con la subbia. Anche quella del sarcofago dell'arcivescovo Felice (Fig. 5) mostra caratteristiche di maggiore trascuratezza rispetto alla iscrizione della lastra in oggetto, anche se vicina dal punto di vista cronologico.

Biskupske munificijencije u suton Ravenskog egzarhata. Zapis biskupa Ivana V. u bazilici Sant'Apollinare in Classe (god. 731.)

Počevši od nadbiskupa Ivana V., ravenski su prelati kao mjesto ukopa odabrali izvangradsku bazu liku Sant'Apollinare in Classe, a takva praksa pokapanja trajala je najmanje do 9. stoljeća. Grobnice su ponovno poprimali izgled antičkih sarkofaga, a nalazile su se na istaknutim mjestima u sklopu crkvenog dvorišta, nastojeći imitirati vatikanski *Paradisum* (atrij crkve Sv. Petra u Vatikanu). Točan raspored sarkofaga zabilježen je na ilustraciji te građevine, a sama ilustracija nastala je prije velikih radova izvedenih u 18. stoljeću. Pored svakoga sarkofaga nalazio se i natpis koji je označavao ime ukopanog biskupa.

Samo se jedan dio ukopa zadržao do danas, kao i ploča s imenom nadbiskupa koja je postavljena na lijevom zidu građevine, u neposrednoj blizini sarkofaga s ostatcima samoga naručitelja Ivana V. Mlađeg. Ploča je datirana godinom 731., a bila je postavljena u svrhu identificiranja mjesta grobnice. S druge strane, ona istodobno služi kao zapis o donaciji posjeda koji je biskup darovao monasima što su boravili uz crkvu Sant'Apollinare. Ploča nije detaljnije proučavana, pa će iz tog razloga ovaj tekst pokušati nadopuniti taj nedostatak.

Ključne riječi: *Ravenna, Classe, epigrafija, ukopi, nadbiskupi*

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⁶⁴ Che si ritiene provenissero da un'area sepolcrale esistente in prossimità della cattedrale. Le epigrafi a noi sono note attraverso il reimpiego cinquecentesco nel pavimento della cattedrale, vd. CIL XI, nn. 308 (a. 523), 312 (a. 551), 313 (a. 567), 317 (a. 571), 318 (a. 579), 350 (a. 581); C. CARLETTI, *Epigrafia episcopale di Ravenna nei secoli V e VI. Note preliminari*, in *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo). Il ruolo dell'autorità ecclesiastica alla luce di nuovi scavi e ricerche (Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Bologna-Ravenna, 26-29 novembre 2007)*, Bologna 2009, pp. 333-244; R. BENERICETTI, *L'epigrafe sepolcrale del Notaio Pietro nel Museo Arcivescovile di Ravenna*, in *Ravenna Studi e Ricerche*, 24/1, 2017, pp. 9-17; R. BENERICETTI, *L'epitaffio dell'Arcivescovo di Ravenna Agnello*, in *La bellezza della fede* 2018, pp. 153-166.

⁶⁵ P. NOVARA, *Considerazioni su alcune sculture note e poco note conservate in Ravenna*, in M. Tagliaferri (ed.), *La Chiesa Metropolitana Ravenna e i suoi rapporti con la costa orientale* (Atti del XXVII Convegno Ravennatense Ravenna, 29-31 maggio 2003), Imola 2005, pp. 287-309.

THE SECRET LIFE OF SALONA IN 7TH AND 8TH CENTURY*

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This paper analyses the available evidence for habitation of the ancient Dalmatian capital Salona during the seventh and eighth centuries. The existing scholarship, with few exceptions, accepts that Salona was taken by the Slavs and Avars before mid-seventh century, probably within the decades of 620s or 630s. However, the lack of archaeological evidence proving the destruction of the city creates space for arguments that the city did not meet a violent end, but rather that it slowly died out, as argued in the works of Rapanić, Goldstein, Budak and the present author. The paper argues that Salona did not meet a violent end in seventh century, but that some kind of habitation existed until eighth century. One plausible possibility could be that some traumatic event happened in eighth century, ending continuity of life within the city-walls.

Key words: Salona, Dalmatia, Late Antiquity, Slavs, the early Middle Ages, urban decay

One of the earliest published works of Nikola Jakšić revisited much discussed parts of *De Administrando Imperio*, which described the capture of Salona.¹ Masterful analysis completed by a youthful Jakšić saw the formulation of a hypothesis regarding the existence of Byzantine military lines in the hinterland of Salona around 600. This idea was later elaborated from archaeological perspective by Ante Milošević, providing persuasive arguments about the existence of a double-walled line of fortifications in the valley of the Cetina river, which in some form survived throughout until 9th century.² Jakšić also elaborated on other important insights, arguing that the Byzantine imperial infrastructure was preserved in the hinterland of Nin and Zadar in the same period.³ This paper will use

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Abbreviations:

DAI *De Administrando Imperio*, (ed.) Gyula Moravcsik, Washington DC, 1962.

HAM *Hortus Artium Medievalium*.

HS Archdeacon Thomas of Split, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, (ed.) Olga Perić et al., Budapest, 2006.

Salonitansko-splitska crkva Josip Dukić, Slavko Kovačić, Ema Višić-Ljubić (ed.), *Salonitansko-splitska crkva u prvom tisućljeću kršćanske povijesti*, Split, 2008.

SHP *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. 3.

VAHD/VAPD *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju/povijest dalmatinsku*.

¹ N. JAKŠIĆ, Constantine Porphyrogenitus as the Source for Destruction of Salona, *VAHD*, 77, Split, 1984, pp. 315-326.

² E.g. A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Croci sulle lastre di rivestimento delle tombe altomedievali nell'area di Signa*, Dubrovnik - Split, 2008; A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Arheologija Sinjskoga polja*, Split, 2017, pp. 83-115, cf. Ž. RAPANIĆ, Propast Salone, *SHP*, 43, Split, 2016, pp. 130-133.

³ N. JAKŠIĆ, La survivance des édifices paléochrétiens dans les terres de la principauté Croate, *HAM*, 1, Zagreb - Motovun, 1995, pp. 36-45; N. JAKŠIĆ, Il ruolo delle antiche chiese rurali nella formazione del ducato croato medievale, *HAM*, 14, Zagreb - Motovun, 2008, pp. 103-112.

an occasion of celebrating the immense scholarly contribution of Jakšić, to build upon his interests in the survival of the Byzantine power in the Dalmatian 'Dark Ages', focusing on the city of Salona.

In regard to the question of what happened to Salona (modern Solin in Croatia), the Dalmatian capital and the province's largest city in the 7th and 8th century represents a significant problem. Archaeological research makes clear that the space within the city walls was inhabited at the beginning of the 7th century, but abandoned before 800. Earlier scholarship was clear about what happened to the city. It followed metanarratives of a violent end of antiquity in this part of the world, attested in the written sources such as the *DAI* and *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, which described the capture and destruction of this city. The only disputed question remained an exact date when Salona was destroyed. Taking the assumption, made in conjunction with other (un)related sources, that the sack occurred during the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (610-641), the sack of Salona was dated between 614 and 639.⁴ Most scholars still support the idea of a violent capture during Heraclius' reign, but few have been specific about when precisely this happened.⁵ The major issue with that view is that there are no archaeological layers contextualising the destruction, proving a violent end of the city, or at least a simultaneous and measured end of its major public buildings. In the 1980s, a different approach was raised by some scholars who agree that Salona was shrinking and slowly dying out, as was the case with many other late antique Mediterranean cities. As a consequence, it was abandoned after 600 without experiencing a violent sudden end.⁶ While this interpretation explains the absence of the destruction level, it still cannot explain the origins of the story of the fall of Salona, which is preserved in the written sources.

There are three versions of this story. The earliest two are preserved in the *DAI*, composed in the mid-10th century, and the third one comes from *HS* from ca. mid-13th century. The stories from the *DAI* are similar in content, but placed in different narrative contexts: one within *origo gentis* of early medieval Dalmatian cities (Ch. 29), and the other as a prelude to the Croat *origo gentis* (Ch. 30). With minor differences in detail, they both have the same plot: The Avars/Slavs entered the Salonitan walls through trickery by posing as Romans, taking the city by the sword. They expelled the Romans from Dalmatia, except for the coastal cities, while surviving Salonitans settled in Diocletian's palace after wandering Dalmatian islands for some time. Neither story is dated by any chronological marker, except an impression that the events occurred long after Diocletian.⁷ Thomas admits

⁴ See the overview of historiography in I. BASIĆ, CIL III 9551 i njegovi tumači, *Tusculum*, 1, Solin, 2008, pp. 81-108; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 91-95.

⁵ E.g. I. MAROVIĆ, Reflexions about the Year of the Destruction of Salona, *VAHD*, 77, Split, 1984, pp. 293-314; N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 325-326, most recently M. KATIĆ, *Castella qui sunt super civitatem Salonitanam*, *VAHD*, 111, Split, 2018, pp. 245-279. Cf. I. BASIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 94, 98 (city captured, without excluding some kind of lingering habitation in the seventh century).

⁶ Željko Rapanić pioneered the idea - see the most complete synthesis of his arguments in Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 98-135. Cf. I. GOLDSTEIN, *Bizant na Jadranu*, Zagreb, 1992, pp. 92-95; D. DZINO, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*, Leiden - Boston, 2010, pp. 155-156; N. BUDAK, *Furta sacra et inventio traditionis: Je li doista postojao kontinuitet između Salonitanske i Splitske biskupije*, in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, (ed.) Miljenko Jurković, Ante Milošević, Zagreb - Motovun - Split, 2012, pp. 169-70, 177; N. BUDAK, *Hrvatska povijest od 550. do 1100.*, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 60-66. Cf. M. PETRINEC, Metal objects of Byzantine origin in medieval graves from Croatia, *Series Byzantina. Studies on Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art*, 8, Warszawa, 2010, p. 198 (the city was abandoned in the wake of the Avar-Slavene threat in the mid-7th century).

⁷ *DAI*, 29.1-53; 30.1-58. Recently: F. BORRI, Arrivano i barbari a cavallo! Foundation Myths and *Origines gentium* in the Adriatic Arc, in: *Post-Roman Transitions: Christian and Barbarian Identities in the Early Medieval West*, (ed.) Walter Pohl, Gerda Heydemann, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 235-241; D. DZINO, Local knowledge and wider contexts: stories of the arrival of the Croats in *De Administrando Imperio* in the past and present, in: *Byzantium, its neighbors and its cultures*, (ed.) Daniel Dzino, Ken Parry, Brisbane, 2014, pp. 95-100; H. GRAČANIN, J. ŠKRGULJA, Refashioning of Historical Reality: Three Stories by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and the Early Medieval History of Croatia, in: *Samuel's State and Byzantium: History, Legend, Tradition, Heritage*, (ed.) Mitko B. Panov, Skopje, 2015, pp. 24-34; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 116-18.

that his account of the fall of Salona in *HS* is composed: “*partly from hearsay, partly from writing and partly by relying on conjecture.*” The story is a fruit of Thomas’ imagination, a divine punishment for ‘sins’ of the Salonitans, partly using an existing tradition from his context that explained the end of Salona and the rise of a new settlement in Diocletian’s palace. Again, there are no chronological markers and the narrative anachronistically mixes up different historical and non-historical actors.⁸ Thomas proceeds to describe what happened to the Salonitan refugees, who, after ‘epic wanderings’ on Dalmatian islands, settled in Dalmatian cities, specifically in the complex of Diocletian’s palace – the medieval Spalatum.⁹ He could not read *DAI*, or for that part any other work in Greek,¹⁰ so both sources – *DAI* and *HS* – independently prove the existence of the local tradition on the fall of Salona supplemented as an origin story by the medieval elite of Spalatum.¹¹

As previously stated, archaeological excavations could not find any viable evidence to prove that Salona ended in violence. From the available written, epigraphic and archaeological sources it is clear that the city functioned in the year 600. The letters of Pope Gregory I relayed to the Salonitan (arch) bishops from the 590s attest to vibrant city life. The bishops threw lavish parties, ambitious individuals fought for the title of the Salonitan bishop by manipulating the people and local army units.¹² Salona in the second half of the sixth century was an important urban centre, whose inhabitants produced wealth surplus and were capable of maintaining complex social structures.¹³ In ca. 500, the so-called Oratorium A building was repurposed into a banquet hall used by the Salonitan clergy. The water stream was diverted from the aqueduct into a building, where a small fountain was made out of reused sarcophagus. The evidence of calcification and wear implies use of the structure post-600, which is also confirmed with the finds of two newly drilled wells from the late sixth/early seventh century, with direct access to the still working aqueduct.¹⁴ Another chronologically certain information is the attested limited circulation of low-value Heraclian coins in the city, and possibility that the Salonitan mint, the only known mint in the eastern Adriatic, was still functioning in the late 620s.¹⁵ A seminal work of Vinski on late antique personal adornments found in Salona was based on the

⁸ *HS*, 7 (pp. 32-43); R. KATIČIĆ, *Litterarum studia: Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 254-259; N. IVIĆ, Dosezi sjećanja i zaborava: Pad Salone i naseljavanje Splita u Tome Arhiđakona, in: *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba*, (ed.) Mirjana Matijević-Sokol, Olga Perić, Split, 2004, pp. 129-142; M. MATIJEVIĆ-SOKOL, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo. Rano doba hrvatske povijesti*, Jastrebarsko, 2002, pp. 233-250.

⁹ *HS*, 8-10 (pp. 42-53).

¹⁰ Cf. M. MATIJEVIĆ-SOKOL, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 335-339 on Thomas’ sources.

¹¹ The tradition is also preserved in four of six *Vitae Sancti Domnii*, D. FARLATI, *Illyricum Sacrum*, vol. I, Venice, 1751, pp. 419-426, all of which were composed in high medieval times or the Renaissance, cf. I. BABIĆ, Splitske uspomene na salonitanske kršćanske starine, *VAHD*, 85/1992, Split, 1993, pp. 16-19; B. LUČIN, Povratak Adama Parižanina, in: *Splitska hagiografska baština: povijest, legenda, tekst*, (ed.) Joško Belamarić, Bratislav Lučin, Marko Trogrlić, Josip Vrandečić, Split, 2014, pp. 85-137.

¹² R. A. MARKUS, *Gregory the Great and His World*, Cambridge, 1997, pp. 156-159; A. ŠKEGRO, Kriza grada Salone i salonitanske crkve u doba nad/biskupâ Natala i Maksima, in: *Salonitansko-splitska crkva*, pp. 299-315. The question whether Salonitan bishops had a title of archbishop in this period is not solved, but it is a very likely possibility.

¹³ T. TURKOVIĆ, N. MARAKOVIĆ, “Velike salonitanske terme” – od antičke kuće do biskupskih kupelji, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 38, Zagreb, 2014, pp. 25-40; J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, Salona – Metropolis of the Roman Province of Dalmatia and Its Cultural Environment in the Light of Recent Research, in: *Neue Forschungen zum frühen Christentum in den Balkanländern*, (ed.) Renate J. Pillinger, Vienna, 2015, p. 76, T. 30,8.

¹⁴ P. CHEVALIER, J. MARDEŠIĆ, Le groupe épiscopal de Salone aux VI^e-VII^e siècles: urbanisme et vie quotidienne, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age*, 120(2), Rome, 2008, pp. 234-237.

¹⁵ I. MAROVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5) (the circulation of Heraclian coins); P. SOMOGYI, *Byzantinische Fundmünzen der Awarenzeit in ihrem europäischen Umfeld*, Budapest, 2014, pp. 171-181 (mint located in the eastern Adriatic in the 620s producing counterfeit *solidi* of Heraclius).

assumption that the city was destroyed in 614.¹⁶ Accordingly, he dated the Langobardic fibulae and early Byzantine belt-buckles from Salona before that date, although they were produced and deposited elsewhere for much longer – most stretching to the mid-seventh century, and some even later.¹⁷

An important event dateable in 641/642 is the mission of Abbot Martin, sent by the Pope John IV the Dalmatian to bring holy relics of the Dalmatian and Istrian saints to Rome and buy prisoners from unnamed *gentes*.¹⁸ Previous historiography interpreted it as an attempt of the pope to save holy relics from his homeland overrun by the Slavs and bring them to safety.¹⁹ The mention of relics of local Salonitan saints implies that Martin visited Salona, but it is difficult to imagine that he was collecting the relics on his own in a destroyed city. Two traditions of transfer of relics from Salona to Rome and Split indicate that the papal emissary encountered relevant Salonitan ecclesiastic authorities who provided him with access to *brandea* – contact-relics or small parts of saints' bodies.²⁰

Another indication of Salona's habitation is a recent absolute dating of the timber parts of harbour structures in Vranjic, a small peninsula located some 500m from the city walls. The latest phase of development of this facility was built with spolia and dated to 595-775 with C¹⁴ – most likely to the 7th century.²¹ This is important evidence indicating that Salonitans were able to mobilize a workforce and the resources to build and maintain this kind of structure in 7th or even early 8th century. The so-called extramural cemeterial 'emergency churches' on Manastirine and Kapljuč, next to the Salonitan city walls, should also be dated to this period. The term refers to improvised buildings which utilized small parts of earlier built, late antique basilicas that had been cleared and used after they collapsed at some point after the end of the sixth century, due to the lack of maintenance or an earthquake.²² The recent revision excavations of the Manastirine cemetery very clearly dated the period of use for the oil/wine press found next to the basilica to the last chronological phase of the complex, which is contemporary with the existence of the 'emergency church'.²³ There is only one, albeit very general reference of Zonaras, who mentions the earthquakes in "*many districts of the Roman Empire*" at the times of Emperor Constans II (641-668).²⁴ The dating could indeed fit an initial destruction of the churches on Manastirine and Kapljuč, but unfortunately there is nothing much else to get from this very general and late information.

¹⁶ Z. VINSKI, Kasnoantički starosjedioci u salonitanskoj regiji prema arheološkoj ostavštini predslavenskog supstrata, *VAHD*, 69/1967, Split, 1974, p. 5.

¹⁷ Z. VINSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 16-21, 24-29, 32, 35-36.

¹⁸ *HS*, 8 (pp. 44-47); *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of First Ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715*, 3rd ed., (ed.) Raymond Davis, Liverpool, 2010, 74.1-2 (pp. 64-65).

¹⁹ Justified reservations towards current interpretations were recently expressed in I. BASIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 90; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 118-120.

²⁰ G. MACKIE, *Early Christian Funerary Chapels in the West: Decoration, Function and Patronage*, Toronto, 2003, pp. 216, 225-227; E. MARIN, Mosaik im Oratorium des Hl. Venantius im lateranischen Baptisterium, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 24, Zagreb, 2007, p. 254; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 122. Cf. F. VERAJA, Kapela Sv. Venancija u Rimu i kult solinskih mučenika, in: *Salonitansko-splitska crkva*, pp. 81-106; S. DETONI, *Giovanni IV – Papa Dalmata*, Vatican City, 2006, p. 28. This mission should be explained in a very different light as argued in a forthcoming publication: D. DŽINO, The Mission of Abbot Martin in Dalmatia and Istria 641: A new interpretation, in: *Dissidence and Persecution in Byzantium*, (ed.) Daniel Džino, Ryan W. Strickler, Leiden - Boston (forthcoming).

²¹ K. VODIČKA MIHOLJEC, Vranjic – južna obala, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 4, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 542-543; cf. I. RADIĆ ROSSI, Vranjic – zapadna i južna obala, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 3, Zagreb, 2006, p. 452; I. RADIĆ ROSSI, Zaštitno arheološko istraživanje u vranjičkom podmorju 2005/2006, *Tusculum*, 1, Solin, 2008, pp. 25, 28.

²² E. DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo, 1951, p. 83; cf. I. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, Salona Christiana aux VI^e et VII^e siècles, in: *Disputationes Salonitanae 1970*, (ed.) Željko Rapanić, Split, 1975, pp. 91-95; N. DUVAL, E. MARIN, C. METZGER (ed.), *Salona III. Manastirine. Établissement préromain, nécropole et basilique paléochrétienne*, Split - Rome, 2000, pp. 653-656.

²³ N. DUVAL, E. MARIN, C. METZGER, *op. cit.* (n. 22).

²⁴ N. AMBRASEYS, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 221.

During the excavation of the early Christian basilica (Šuplja Crkva) some 500m east of the Salonitan city walls, several gold coins, including *tremissis* of Heraclius from the early 610s, were discovered in 2000. The earliest information laconically implied that the coins were discovered in the foundations of the northern side-wall (probably an atrium) of the 6th century basilica, which was renovated at some point.²⁵ To be precise, the coins were found built into the bench, which was made of stones connected with mortar, beside the northern wall, approximately one metre from the ground.²⁶ The find implies that the coins were deliberately placed and built into the wall during the renovation works. This custom of enclosing coins and other artefacts during building activities was discovered on several late antique and medieval sites in Dalmatia. These depositions in Dalmatia reflect an active and continuing hybridisation between Christianity and elements of 'folk magic', which were used as a tool to re-inforce the apotropaic power of ritual acts.²⁷ The find of these coins provides excellent evidence that the Salonitans were still able to maintain their churches in the 620s/630s, so the appearance of 'emergency churches' cannot be dated before the 640s/650s.

Archaeological evidence for habitation in the 8th century is modest and less certain than for the 7th century. Early medieval 'Slavic' pottery or graves with grave goods dateable to this century were not found. There is only a pot from an unknown location, few unpublished sherds found near the Roman theatre in the city, and the sherds found in the Roman/late antique/early medieval cemetery just outside the western city walls.²⁸ At the western cemetery a decorated deer antler was discovered, while one more is known from an unknown locality in Solin. These artefacts in Dalmatia are usually dated to ca. 8th century, but recent research suggests that they could be dated to the early eighth century.²⁹ There are no graves securely dateable to the mid/late seventh or eighth century, but the graves from this period might be very difficult to date if there are no grave goods, and it would not be surprising if the graves postdating the year 650 were dated to the 6th or early 7th century.³⁰ The

²⁵ H. GJURAŠIN, Šuplja Crkva u Solinu. Arheološka istraživanja 1998. i 2001. godine, *SHP*, 27, Split, 2000, p. 86; T. ŠEPAROVIĆ, Notes on Byzantine coins from the 7th to 9th century found in Croatia, in: *XV International Numismatic Congress Taormina 2015*, vol. 2, Rome - Messina, 2017, pp. 1008-1009, Figs. 1-5.

²⁶ A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Campanili preromanici della Dalmazia e della Croazia altomedievale*, Split - Dubrovnik, 2011, pp. 116-117 n. 175. M. KATIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 273-274 n. 84 recently argued that the coins were found as a hoard in a fissure between the bench and the wall. Unfortunately, the article did not address the earlier publication of Milošević, which contained more accurate information on the find.

²⁷ Ž. RAPANIĆ, *Od carske palače do srednjovjekovne općine*, Split, 2007, p. 141 n. 224; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 100-101; cf. A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Primjer ritualne žrtve pri gradnji kuće na srednjovjekovnom Bribiru, *SHP*, 42, Split, 2015, pp. 51-52; K. REED, Ritual household deposits and the religious imaginaries of early medieval Dalmatia (Croatia), *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 56, New York, 2019 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaa.2019.101084>

²⁸ A. PITEŠA, *Catalogue of finds from the Migration Period, Middle Ages and Early Modern Period in the Archaeological Museum of Split*, Split, 2009, p. 78 (no. 112); L. KATIĆ, Solin od VII. do XX. stoljeća, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 9, Split, 1956, p. 19; B. KIRIGIN, I. LOKOŠEK, J. MARDEŠIĆ, S. BILIĆ, Salona 86/87: Preliminarni izvještaj sa zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na trasi zaobilaznice u Solinu, *VAHD*, 80, Split, 1987, p. 53. The western cemetery also contained undated early medieval graves, A. ŠARIĆ, Zapadna salonitanska nekropola – ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi, in: *Starohrvatski Solin*, (ed.) E. Marin, Split, 1992, pp. 113-114.

²⁹ B. KIRIGIN *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 15; (Western cemetery); A. ŠARIĆ, Ranosrednjovjekovni i srednjovjekovni nalazi s područja Solina u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, *VAHD*, 85/1992, Split, 1993, pp. 163-64; M. PETRINEC, *Gräberfelder aus dem 8. bis 11. Jahrhundert im Gebiet des frühmittelalterlichen kroatischen Staates*, Split, 2009, pp. 300-301, T. 301,7 (unknown locality). See the criticism of current dating in V. GHICA, A. MILOŠEVIĆ, N. URODA, D. DZINO, Varvaria/Breberium/Bribir Archaeological Project. The 2015 Excavation Season, *HAM*, 23(2), Zagreb - Motovun, 2017, p. 790 n. 25.

³⁰ E.g. a destroyed cemetery in Crikvine, close to Vranjic, where E. DYGGVE, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 66-67 n. 34, 102 found a 7th-century Langobardic fibula in the grave, the graves from the western cemetery (above n. 25), or intramural (mostly sub-adult) graves in amphorae found inside eastern portion of the walls, J. MARDEŠIĆ, Istočni trakt gradskih zidina Salone, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 23-24, Zagreb, 1999-2000, pp. 147-149.

seal of the Ravennate Exarch Paul (723-726), accidentally found in Salona or Diocletian's Palace, is unfortunately lost today.³¹ Despite the lack of information about the circumstances of this find and its exact location, the seal confirms the existence of the officials who corresponded with the Ravennate Exarch. Whether they were based in Salona, or at some point of time moved from Salona to Diocletian's palace, is impossible to establish without more information.³²

Another information comes from a written note of the great-uncle and the namesake of historian Johannes Lucius from 1511, published by Farlati, which Lucius Senior apparently found in "*some old chronicle*". The text briefly mentions the repair of the church Sta Maria di Platea in Trogir (some 20km from Salona) by unknown *comes*, the son of Constantius and the grandson of Severus Magnus. This happened at the times of Peter, the bishop of Trogir, and Emperor Theodosius, identified as Theodosius III (715-717). The repairs were conducted by three builders mentioned by names, coming from "*salina*" – the saltworks.³³ Another version of the note, preserved in the *Codex Lucianus* in Zadar, instead of *salinas* brings *Salona*.³⁴ The document is problematic, especially for mentioning the bishop of Trogir who did not exist at the time, but its authenticity is generally accepted.³⁵ Recent underwater archaeological research in the area of the Kaštela Bay between Salona and Trogir uncovered wooden pylons from the basins used for fish farms or salt collecting, dated by C14 to the seventh/eighth century.³⁶ This adds relevance to the note, but also shows that complex social structures were maintained very close to Salona at that time – hardly evidence of a violent Slav invasion. Also, the continuity of habitation in Trogir under the Byzantine power throughout the Dalmatian 'Dark Ages' was recently strengthened by the pertinent analysis of Basić.³⁷ The fact that a much smaller Trogir survived the alleged Slav sack of its well-defended neighbour Salona represents another problem in providing coherent argument defending the thesis that the Slavs sacked Salona in the mid-7th century.

While archaeology cannot help us to establish *terminus ante quem* for the abandonment of Salona, perhaps some information could be deduced from *HS*. Thomas reports that an unnamed pope sent John of Ravenna after the sack of Salona to re-establish the Salonitan archbishopric in Diocletian's palace. The refugees from the destroyed Salona, led by Severus Magnus, settled earlier in the palace after wandering central Dalmatian islands, and Severus donated his quarters to the new archbishop. John soon transferred holy relics from the destroyed 'bishop's church' in Salona to Split, symbolically moving the ancient seat of Salonitan church to Spalatum.³⁸ After a long debate whether to date John of Ravenna to the mid-seventh or the late eighth century, he was finally identified as the Salonitan

³¹ F. BULIĆ, Iscrizioni e rappresentazioni su oggetti di metallo acquistati dall i.r. Museo di Spalato negli anni 1895-1901, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 24, Split, 1901, pp. 139-141; I. NIKOLAJEVIĆ-STOJKOVIĆ, Солински печат егзарха Павла (723-726), *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta*, 7, Belgrade, 1961, pp. 61-66.

³² A. DUPLANČIĆ, Two Early Christian reliquaries from Split, *VAPD*, 106, Split, 2013, pp. 220-221; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 132-135.

³³ D. FARLATI, *op. cit.* (n. 11), vol. IV, Venice, 1769, pp. 306-307.

³⁴ *Codex Lucianus* MS 617 f. 122v; Ž. RAPANIĆ, Sancta Maria de Platea u Trogiru. *De ecclesiis datandis - dissertatio* (1), *SHP*, 25, Split, 1998, p. 50.

³⁵ R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 259-261; Ž. RAPANIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 43-59; N. BUDAK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 171-172.

³⁶ I. RADIĆ ROSSI, Arheološka baština u podmorju Kaštelanskog zaljeva, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, 2, Zadar, 2008, pp. 492-498.

³⁷ I. BASIĆ, The sarcophagus with sanction formula from Trogir (Aspects of the Byzantine diplomatics tradition in early medieval epigraphy of the Adriatic), *VAHD*, 111, Split, 2018, pp. 281-330.

³⁸ *HS*, 8-12 (pp. 44-57). The whole episode with the transfer might be invented, N. BUDAK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 160-164, while Thomas' depiction of the settlement of the Salonitan refugees was also validated by the recent archaeological excavations, K. MARASOVIĆ, T. MARASOVIĆ, Naseljavanje Dioklecijanove palače, in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, (ed.) Miljenko Jurković, Ante Milošević, Zagreb - Motovun - Split, 2012, pp. 99-106; V. DELONGA, Faza II. Podzemni urbanizam, in: *Prije sjećanja. Arheološka istraživanja u jugoistočnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače u Splitu 1992. godine*, (ed.) Vedrana Delonga, Split, 2014, vol. 1, pp. 157-161.

bishop John who attended the Nicaean council in 787, and the archbishop John whose funerary inscription is preserved on a sarcophagus from Split.³⁹ Thus, it is undeniable that there was a break in the leadership of the Salonitan church, ending with the arrival of John of Ravenna. Recent arguments indicate that there was no continuity between the Salonitan and Spalatan church, strengthening the idea that the Salonitan ecclesiastic authorities did not move from Salona to Diocletian's palace.⁴⁰ Rather, their existence ceased at some moment after very late into the 7th century as the earliest time when the 'emergency churches' in Kapljuč and Manastirine basilicas could be abandoned.

HS directly connects John of Ravenna with Severus Magnus and the oral tradition relating to the sack of Salona. The problem arises from the fact that Severus Magnus is also mentioned in the note of Lucius' great-uncle. One person clearly could not live in the mid/late 7th century and be contemporary of John of Ravenna in the late 8th century. It is not impossible that Lucius Senior or the author of the unknown chronicle he used, found actual information that the unknown *comes* was "the son of Constantius and grandson of Severus", subsequently identifying this Severus with Severus Magnus whom tradition placed in these times. A recent paper convincingly argued the existence of the cult of St Severus in late antique Spalatum,⁴¹ so it is likely that this name could have belonged to a number of prominent individuals living in the mid/late 7th and later 8th centuries. This provides ground to cautiously hypothesize about the existence of a single event, which caused sudden abandonment of Salona and the end of the Salonitan church, occurring no more than 10-20 years before the arrival of John of Ravenna. The settlement of Salonitan refugees in Diocletian's palace was approved by 'emperors in Constantinople'⁴², but this could relate to both 7th and 8th century because most of the emperors from that time co-ruled at some point.

This does not provide an answer as to when the Salonitan (arch)bishopric ceased to exist, as there is nothing to confirm (or deny) its functioning in the late 7th and early 8th centuries.⁴³ The only evidence are the local lists of Salonitan bishops, which were composed in much later times and could be generally considered as unreliable. Amongst these catalogues, there are five lists that may present more coherence than the others. Four of these list more or less the same 35-38 names, from the death of the last historically known bishop Maximus (d. after 602) to John of Ravenna, while the so-called Roman catalogue has only four names between Maximus and John.⁴⁴ The shortest of four longer lists, composed by the archbishop Sforza Ponzoni of Split in the 17th century, contains 35 names providing an average of 4.85 years for a bishop, if we take the year 775 as the latest date for abandonment of Salona and the end of the Salonitan church. This is not so different from the average length of pontificate at that time, as there were 20 popes in the 7th, and 14 in 8th centuries (average 5 and 7.14 years/pope). The positions of church dignitaries were elective, and always reserved for the people of advanced age, so this short

³⁹ I. BASIĆ, New evidence for the re-establishment of the Adriatic dioceses in the late eighth century, in: *Imperial spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, (ed.) Mladen Ančić, Jonathan Shepard, Trpimir Vedriš, London - New York, 2018, pp. 261-287, cf. I. BASIĆ, M. JURKOVIĆ, Prilog opusu *Splitske klesarske radionice kasnog VIII. stoljeća*, SHP, 38, Split, 2011, pp. 149-185; I. BASIĆ, Prilozi proučavanju crkve Svetog Mateja u Splitu, *Ars Adriatica*, 1, Zadar, 2011, pp. 67-96.

⁴⁰ N. BUDAK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), cf. I. BASIĆ, Sjeverna i srednja Dalmacija u ranome srednjem vijeku, in: *Nova zraka u europskom svijetu: Hrvatske zemlje u ranom srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150)*, (ed.) Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, Zagreb, 2015, pp. 432-435.

⁴¹ A. DUPLANČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 213-214.

⁴² *HS* 10 (pp. 52-53).

⁴³ I. BASIĆ, Dalmatinski biskupi na crkvenom saboru u Hijereji 754. godine, in: *Spalatumque dedit ortum*, (ed.) Ivan Basić, Marko Rimac, Split, 2014, pp. 149-196 provides persuasive argument that 'Dalmatian bishops' in the Hieria council from 754 might have been coming from southern Adriatic. This still does not exclude the possibility that the bishops from other parts of Dalmatia attended the council.

⁴⁴ D. FARLATI, *op. cit.* (n. 11), vol. I, pp. 320, 324, 327, 332, 347; cf. R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 250-254, who sees them as containing some facts, and I. BABIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 16, 26-33 who is more suspicious about their historicity.

span of rule is not surprising. While this in no way confirms the authenticity of Ponzoni's list, at least it shows that it was theoretically possible to have this number of (arch)bishops for 170 years after Maximus, including a decade or two of discontinuity between the Salonitan bishops and John of Ravenna.⁴⁵

There are a few conclusions that could be drawn from the discussion above. First, it looks very clear that within the city walls Salona was inhabited throughout the 7th century, if not longer, so traditional dating of the sack of Salona should not be accepted. The existence of port facility in Vranjic, the finds of artefacts that could have been deposited in the mid-7th century or after, and the visit of Abbot Martin in 641 which implies the presence of ecclesiastic authorities all point to these conclusions. The collapse of cemeterial churches on Manastirine and Kapljuč, and the building of 'emergency churches' was a sign of inability of the local community to maintain these structures, which could not happen before the mid-7th century, and 'emergency churches' were undeniably used for a few generations after that. Salona certainly experienced rapid decline after c. 650 and there is less archaeological evidence for habitation in the 8th century. This could be explained by surviving late antique cultural traditions that made the 8th-century finds undistinguishable from those from the 7th century. The evidence about the existence of ecclesiastic authorities in Salona after ca. 650 century is by no means certain, although possible, so this matter should be separated from the question whether Salona was still inhabited at that time. It is, however, certain that Salona was abandoned and its church lost leadership before the mid-780s when John of Ravenna became archbishop. If the stories of the sack of Salona indeed reflect the memory of the real events, such a hypothetical event could not be dated before the 8th century. The sack of a half-abandoned city would have left much less trace in archaeological records and would have been more difficult to detect. The connection between the sack of the city and the historically attested John of Ravenna implies that the date of this hypothetical sack might have occurred later in the 8th century. The question of who could have sacked Salona and penetrated the limes on the Cetina, cannot be answered at this moment without speculation, and only new archaeological research could provide us with more information.

Tajni život Salone u 7. i 8. stoljeću

U radu se analiziraju dostupna materijalna i pisana vrela koja svjedoče o životu Salone, antičke prijestolnice Dalmacije, u 7. i 8. stoljeću. Postojeće mišljenje znanstvenika koji se bave ovom tematikom, s nekoliko izuzetaka, prihvaća da su Salonu zauzeli Slaveni i Avari prije sredine 7. stoljeća, vjerojatno tijekom 620.-ih ili 630.-ih. Nedostatak dokaza o nasilnom kraju grada omogućio je drugačije pristupe u radovima Rapanića, Goldsteina, Budaka i autora ovoga rada koji se slažu da Salona nije završila nasilno, već da je grad vremenom napušten. Ovaj rad potkrepljuje stav da Salona nije zauzeta u 7. stoljeću, i da je postojala neka vrsta nastanjenosti do 8. stoljeća, otvarajući mogućnost da se u 8. stoljeću doista dogodilo nešto što je prekinulo kontinuitet života unutar gradskih zidina.

Ključne riječi: *Salona, Dalmacija, kasna antika, Slaveni, rani srednji vijek, propadanje grada*

⁴⁵ R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 252-254; N. BUDAK, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 172 suggest that archbishop Martinus dated by HS 13 (pp. 60-61) in 970 at the times of emperor Theodosius and Croat king Stephen Držislav, holds information about two persons with the same name. One contemporary with Držislav, and another from 8th century as Theodosius III was the last emperor with that name. In all five catalogues of Salonitan bishops, the names Marinus, Martinus and Marinus came immediately after Peter. The note of Lucius Sr. placed Peter as 'bishop of Trogir' at the times of Theodosius (III). This, at least on speculative grounds, could be an indication that Peter and Marinus/Martinus were bishops in 715-717, and the only place where they could reside at that time was - Salona.

ON THE RAETIAN-ALEMANNIC CONNECTIONS WITH ISTRIA, DALMATIA AND CARANTANIA IN THE CAROLINGIAN AGE – TWO EXAMPLES

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Frankish rule over the Lombard Kingdom rested largely upon people who arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps. The distinguished noble families that established themselves in north-eastern Italy (Friuli, Istria) included also the Frankish(?) Unruochings and the Raetian-Alemannic Hunfridings. The article addresses their members' lesser known contacts with Istria and the Slavic hinterland from Carantania to Dalmatia. Hunfrid I and his son Hunfrid II were counts in Raetia and were active in Italy as missi of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, during whose lifetimes they administered Istria, which became an important centre of the Hunfridings' power. Albgar, on the other hand, who travelled to Dalmatia as a missus of Louis the Pious in 817 to settle the disputes between the Slavs and the Romans, was a member of the Unruochings. He was a cousin of Eberhard, Duke of Friuli, who was married to Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious. He came to Italy as a tutor, baiulus, of King Pippin's daughter, and left it after the king's death for a long time. He was attested as Count of Alemannia around 830, whereupon he was very probably Count of Carantania until his return to northern Italy around 840, where he spent his old age living near Lago Maggiore. The contacts and connections of the Frankish elite with their Slavic peers on the empire's south-eastern border were much more intensive than they appear to be at first glance. They are well-documented, inter alia, by libri vitae from Salzburg and Cividale, where Frankish and Slavic magnates from a large contact area, extending from Moravia and Pannonia to Carantania and Dalmatia, are often entered alongside each other.

Key words: *the Hunfridings, the Unruochings, transalpine connections, the 9th century, Raetia, Alemannia, Istria, Dalmatia, Carantania*

FRAMING

Frankish rule over the Lombard kingdom rested largely upon people who arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps. Research conducted by Gerd Tellenbach and Eduard Hlawitschka more than half a century ago indicated that many Franks and Alemanni, to a lesser extent also Bavarians and Burgundians, who took on important military, administrative and ecclesiastical posts, had arrived in Italy from the last quarter of the 8th century onwards. As counts, *missi*, bishops, abbots or ordinary *vassi*, who formed the backbone of the Frankish military presence in northern Italy as vassals, they served Charlemagne or his successors and contributed significantly to the stabilization and, subsequently, maintenance of the Frankish rule in *regnum Langobardorum*.¹

¹G. TELLENBACH, Der großfränkische Adel und die Regierung Italiens in der Blütezeit des Karolingerreiches, in: *Studien und Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte des großfränkischen und frühdeutschen Adel*, (ed.) Gerd Tellenbach, (Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 4), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1957, pp. 40-70; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *Franken, Alemannen, Bayern und Burgunder in Oberitalien (774-962). Zum Verständnis der fränkischen Königsherrschaft in Italien* (Forschungen zur Oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte, 8), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1960.

Friuli occupied a prominent position among the Lombard duchies to which a flow of newcomers arriving from the north was directed. Having quashed the revolt of the Lombard opposition led by the Friulan Duke Hrodgaud in 776, Charlemagne introduced personnel-related and institutional changes in north-eastern Italy. The statement made in the Royal Frankish Annals, namely that he handed over the administration of all cities to the Franks or Frankish counts is surely an exaggeration; however, numerous leading positions were occupied by new people from the north. Confiscated land lost by the *infideles Langobardi*, who were killed during the revolt, taken into captivity by the Franks as hostages, or who fled into the Avarian exile, formed to a great extent the material basis for the replacement of the elites.²

Having been Italy's border duchy on the front against the Avars and Byzantium, Friuli's strategic significance was great; it was under Charlemagne's direct (military) authority, similarly to the Duchy of Spoleto in the south. Charlemagne appointed trusted people to its helm, even though it was formally ruled by his son Pippin, who was crowned King of Italy as a four-year old child in Rome in 781.³ Friuli's importance for the Frankish politics in Italy is best illustrated by the fact that after 776 all of its dukes originated from the Frankish Kingdom's central areas to the north of the Alps. In the case of Friuli's first duke Marcarius, who was mentioned only in a letter by Pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne relating to the return of the newly blinded Istrian Bishop Mauricius of Novigrad to his bishopric, this is a more or less likely assumption;⁴ however, we do know that in Charlemagne's period both Eric († 799)⁵ and Cadolah († 819)⁶ came from Alemannia. Baldric, who was appointed Duke of Friuli in the period of Louis the Pious, also arrived in Italy from the north and possibly originated from Alemannia as well.⁷

² *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 776, (ed.) Friedrich Kurze (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi, [6]), Hannover, 1895, p. 44; *Annales qui dicuntur Einhardi*, a. 776, (ed.) Friedrich Kurze (Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi, [6]), Hannover, 1895, p. 45; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 23-24, 37. For Hrodgaud's revolt and its consequences see H. KRAHWINKLER, *Friaul im Frühmittelalter. Geschichte einer Region vom Ende des fünften bis zum Ende des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 30), Wien - Köln - Weimar, 1992, pp. 119-143; L. VILLA, Rodgaudo, duca del Friuli, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il Medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 742-744.

³ B. KASTEN, *Königssöhne und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zur Teilhabe am Reich in der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit* (MGH, Schriften, 44), Hannover, 1997, pp. 284, 294-296; A. STIELDORE, *Marken und Markgrafen. Studien zur Grenzsicherung durch die fränkisch-deutschen Herrscher* (MGH, Schriften, 64), Hannover, 2012, pp. 68-72; P. ŠTIH, *Pippin, Istrien und die Welt östlich von Italien* (forthcoming).

⁴ E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 24, 235. However, see also H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 144-145, who believes that Marcarius might have been preceded in Friuli by *dux Massellio*.

⁵ For Eric see J. B. ROSS, Two Neglected Paladins of Charlemagne. Erich of Friuli and Gerold of Bavaria, *Speculum*, 20, Cambridge, Ma., 1945, pp. 212-235; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 176-177; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 151-158; L. VILLA, Erico, duca del Friuli, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 291-295.

⁶ For Cadolah see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 163-165; M. BORGOLTE, *Die Grafen Alemanniens in merowingischer und karolingischer Zeit. Eine Prosopographie* (Archäologie und Geschichte. Freiburger Forschungen zum ersten Jahrtausend in Südwestdeutschland, 2), Sigmaringen, 1986, pp. 88-90; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 223-225; S. TAVANO, Cadalo, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 181-182.

⁷ For Baldric see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 146 sq.; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 192-197. Having his name entered (*Baldrich comes*) in the *liber vitae* of the Reichenau Abbey in 824, where he is listed among the monastery's living friends alongside several Alemannic counts, could speak in favour of Baldric's Alemannic origin; *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, (ed.) Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Guenich, Karl Schmid (MGH, Libri memoriales et necrologia, N. S. 1), Hannover, 1979, p. 99/A2; D. GUENICH, *Das Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch*, in: *Libri vitae. Gebetsgedenken in der Gesellschaft des Frühen Mittelalters*, (ed.) Dieter Guenich, Uwe Ludwig, Köln - Weimar - Wien, 2015, pp. 135, 137-138.

With Baldric's removal from office in 828 and the division of the great area under his authority – which after the Avar wars extended from the river Drava in the east as far as the Dalmatian hinterland – among four counts, the Duchy of Friuli came to an end;⁸ however, this did not diminish Friuli's significance or the power of people installed at its helm. Comes and dux Eberhard († 864/66) from the (Frankish?) Unruoching family, who succeeded Baldric, belonged to the circle of *Reichsaris-tokratie*, the empire's highest noble families, and was married to the daughter of Louis the Pious and sister of (the future) Emperor Charles the Bald.⁹ It was consanguinity with the Carolingian dynasty that legitimized his son Berengar († 924), who succeeded his brother Unroch in Friuli in 874/75, to lay claim to the position of the king of Italy (888–924) and of the emperor (915–924).¹⁰ The codex with transcripts of *leges* of the Salian and Ripuarian Franks, the Alemanni, the Bavarians, and the Lombards, which was owned by Eberhard, holder of judicial authority who was entrusted with administering the province, speaks volumes about the presence of newcomers from the area to the north of the Alps, who lived in Friuli according to their gentile laws.¹¹

Nonetheless, the case of Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia († 802), indicates that Charlemagne appointed locals to key positions as well. Paulinus, who was according to Jennifer R. Davis “Charlemagne's favourite Italian bishop”,¹² was alongside Eric the most prominent figure in the first period of Frankish rule in north-eastern Italy, as well as one of the main players in the Frankish expansion into Pannonia and the western Balkans. Back in 776, when he was still *artis grammaticae magister* (in Cividale del Friuli), Charlemagne bestowed a large estate upon him in Friuli.¹³ He was the first known “Italian” to be endowed by the new Frankish King of the Lombards and, at the same time, the first documented member of the Frankish regime in Friuli, which had to be stabilized after Hrodgaud's revolt. Paulinus was certainly the right man for the new times and integrated splendidly into the Frankish ecclesiastical and intellectual elite; he also had excellent relations with the Frankish court in Aachen.¹⁴

⁸ H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 196–197.

⁹ For Eberhard see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 169–172; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 245–266; M. DISSADERI, Eberardo, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 265–269.

¹⁰ For Unroch and Berengar see E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 276–277; E. HLAWITSCHKA, Unruochinger, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 8, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, col. 1261; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 266–291; M. DISSADERI, Berengario I, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 160–164.

¹¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing et de ses dépendances*, no. 1, (ed.) Ignace de Coussemaker, Lille, 1885, pp. 1–5. For Eberhard's library see R. MCKITTERICK, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge, 1989, pp. 245–246; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 264–265; C. LA ROCCA, L. PROVERO, The Dead and Their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and His Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863–864), in: *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (The Transformation of the Roman World, 8), (ed.) Frans Theuws, Janet L. Nelson, Leiden, 2000, pp. 256–257. For this famous codex, which was penned on behalf of Eberhard by Lupus von Ferrières and is preserved in transcript from the 10th century (Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. O. I. 2), cf. O. MÜNSCH, *Der Liber legum des Lupus von Ferrières* (Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte, 14), Frankfurt am Main, 2001; H. MORDEK, Frühmittelalterliche Gesetzgeber und *iustitia* in Miniaturen weltlicher Rechtshandschriften, in: *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli V–VIII)* 2 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 42), Spoleto, 1995, pp. 1035–1049.

¹² J. R. DAVIS, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 207.

¹³ *D. Kar. 1*, no. 112, (ed.) Engelbert Mühlbacher, *Die Urkunden Pipins, Karlmanns und Karl des Großen* (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 158–159.

¹⁴ For Paulinus see *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio su Paolino d'Aquileia nel XII centenario dell'episcopato*, (ed.) Giuseppe Fornasir, Udine, 1988; *XII centenario del Concilio di Cividale (796–1996)* (Pubblicazioni della Deputazione di storia patria per il Friuli, 26), (ed.) Sandro Piussi, Udine, 1998; *Paolino di Aquileia e il contributo italiano all'Europa carolingia* (Libri e biblioteche, 12), (ed.) Paolo Chiesa, Udine, 2003; P. CHIESA, Paolino, patriarca di Aquileia, in: *Nuovo Liruti. Dizionario biografico dei Friulani 1: Il medioevo*, (ed.) Cesare Scalon, Udine, 2006, pp. 641–650.

The influential Lombard Aio, whose biography is very interesting, was probably also a native of Friuli. Having committed “menacing sins” in his youth, which probably refers to his participation in Hrodgaud’s revolt, he became *infidelis* and a *fugitivus*, who fled to the Avars. He returned from Pannonia (as a captive) with Pippin’s army in 796. He was pardoned by Charlemagne three years later and given back a large confiscated estate in Friuli, Verona, and Vicenza. Aio made a distinguished career of serving the emperor. He was sent to Istria in 804 as a *comes* and *missus*, where he adjudicated at the Diet of Rižana/Riziano alongside the Friulian Duke Cadolah and the clergyman Izzo in the dispute between the Istrians, Duke John of Istria, and the local bishops. Along with Bishop Haito of Basel and Count Hugo of Tours he was a member of the delegation to Constantinople in 811. His participation in this important mission, which paved the way for the Treaty of Aachen from the following year, draws attention to the great trust that Charlemagne placed in Aio; subsequently, he was also a *fidelis* of Louis the Pious.¹⁵

The cases of Paulinus and Aio demonstrate that the Carolingian authority in Italy or Friuli also relied on members of the local elite, who were regarded as loyal and were deemed capable of acting in an integrative manner. Duke John of Istria is also believed to have belonged in this group. A part of historiography considers him a local of Istria or, at least, of Italy (Venetia), while the remaining part sees him as a foreigner who arrived in Istria from an area to the north of the Alps. His name speaks in favour of the first view. Harald Krahwinkler maintains that this biblical anthroponym was spread throughout the Christian world in the early Middle Ages; it could be seen among the clergy and monks to the north of the Alps, and less often among laymen, while in the area to the south of the Alps this name was more common among laymen.¹⁶ However, defending himself against the Istrians’ accusations at the Diet of Rižana, John spoke about *vestra consuetudo* and about *leges parentorum vestrorum*, which implies that he did not consider customs and laws by which the Istrians abided as something that would include him or as something that would be “his” or “ours”. This suggests that John was a foreigner, and Hlawitschka thought that he was a Frank.¹⁷ Such a definite conclusion might be deemed too bold; nonetheless, also John’s other statement, namely that he thought the forests and pastures that he had taken away from the Istrians were part of the imperial fisc, and not of the municipal estate, indicates that he was not familiar with the situation in the peninsula to the degree expected from a local.¹⁸

Whatever the case may be, John’s measures to the detriment of the municipal elites and great landowners caused such general dissatisfaction in Istria that Charlemagne himself had to intervene in the heated conditions and convene the Diet of Rižana, where the changes were almost completely done away with.¹⁹ Having been accused of corruption and nepotism, John compromised himself to too great a degree, making his position insupportable both in Istria and at the Frankish court. His presence was disruptive and he became a disintegrative factor; he probably lost his position as provincial duke soon after the Diet of Rižana. At any rate, he was not mentioned after 804.

¹⁵ D. Kar. 1, nos. 187, 209, (ed.) Engelbert Mühlbacher (n. 13), pp. 251-252, 279-280; D. LdF, no. 101, (ed.) Theo Kölzer, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen* (MGH, Diplomata Karolinorum, 2/1), Wiesbaden, 2016, pp. 244-245; P. CLASSEN, *Karl der Große, das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums*, (ed.) Horst Fuhrmann, Claudia Märkl (Beiträge zu Geschichte und Quellen des Mittelalters, 9), Sigmaringen, 1988, pp. 93-94; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 137-142; H. KRAHWINKLER, ...in loco qui dicitur Riziano... *Zbor v Rižani leta 804 / Die Versammlung in Rižana/Risano bei Koper/Capodistria im Jahre 804* (Knjižnica Annales, 40), Koper, 2004, pp. 27-28.

¹⁶ H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 18.

¹⁷ *Placitum Rizianense*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 79; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 212.

¹⁸ *Placitum Rizianense*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 79.

¹⁹ For more details refer to P. ŠTIH, Imperial politics and its regional consequences: Istria between Byzantium and the Franks 788–812, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic. Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, (ed.) Mladen Ančić, Jonathan Shepard, Trpimir Vedriš, London - New York, 2018, pp. 57-72. For the Diet of Rižana see H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 15).

THE HUNFRIDINGS AND ISTRIA

Duke John's successor is revealed in the hagiographical text *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* (also *Translatio sanguinis Domini*), which was penned in the second quarter of the 10th century in Reichenau in Alemannia. It depicts an approximately 120-year long journey, after which this famous Alemannic monastery came into possession of a relic in the form of a pectoral cross containing the Precious Blood of Jesus and a splinter of the cross upon which he was crucified.²⁰ Authored by an unknown Reichenau monk, the beginning of the story goes back to Charlemagne's period, when Azan, Prefect of Jerusalem, wanted to gift the emperor special treasure, a series of relics associated with Jesus and his death, and meet him in Rome on this occasion. However, having fallen ill, Azan had to halt his journey on Corsica, where he was met by Hunfrid and Waldo, Abbot of Reichenau, who arrived there at the behest of the Western Emperor and brought him the relics.²¹ According to *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, Hunfrid was one of Charlemagne's *primores* and was at the time in charge of Istria: *eo tempore totam Hystriam tenebat*.²² Our source indicates that to reward his courage – as both the emperor and his courtiers dared not embark on the journey for fear of rough seas – the elderly Hunfrid asked Charlemagne for the relic of the Holy Cross and founded in its honour and for the salvation of the Emperor Charles a convent in Schänis (the canton of St. Gallen), in the border area of Raetia Curiensis, which he helmed at the time.²³ Therefore the convent must have been built after Charlemagne's death on 28 January 814; the further course of the relic's history prompted the anonymous author to mention four generations of Hunfrid's descendants and heirs, who were in possession of the valuable gift and to whom we shall return.

The narrative of *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* is based on reports of the Royal Frankish Annals for the years 799 and 801 about Charlemagne's contacts with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Caliph of Bagdad Harun al-Rashid and Hasan (=Azan), the Saracen governor of the Spanish city of Huesca, which the author tailored to his own needs.²⁴ He is believed to have used also *Gesta Karoli Magni* by Notker (the Stammerer) of Saint Gall from the 880s and had a good command of the local Raetian-Alemannic history, as well as of Hunfrid's genealogy, which is attested by entries in different *libri vitae*.²⁵ Pieces of information regarding Hunfrid's administration of Istria and Raetia Curiensis can thus be regarded as credible; his engagement in Italy and Raetia is attested also by other sources.²⁶

²⁰ *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, (ed.) Theodor Klüppel, in: T. KLÜPPEL, *Reichenauer Hagiographie zwischen Walahfrid und Berno*, Sigmaringen, 1980, pp. 152-164, see ebd. pp. 106-118; or: W. BERSCHIN, T. KLÜPPEL, *Die Reichenauer Heiligblut-Reliquie*, Konstanz, 1988, pp. 22-47 (with a parallel German translation). An older and only partial publication: *Translatio sanguinis Domini*, (ed.) Georg Waitz (MGH, Scriptores, 4), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1982, pp. 446-449.

²¹ *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, cc. 3-10, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 153-156.

²² *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, c. 5, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 154.

²³ *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, cc. 15, 16, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 157-158 (*eo tempore reciam curiensem tenebat*); R. KAISER, *Churrätien im frühen Mittelalter. Ende des 5. bis Mitte des 10. Jahrhundert*, Basel, 1998, pp. 149-150; W. VOGLER, Schänis, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 8, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, coll. 1439-1440.

²⁴ *Annales regni Francorum*, aa. 799, 801, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 108, 114.

²⁵ NOTKER BALBULUS, *Gesta Karoli Magni*, c. II. 8, (ed.) Hans F. Häfele (MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, N. S. 12), Berlin, 1959, pp. 59-62; see K. SCHMID, Wege zur Erschließung des Verbrüderungsbuches, in: *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. LXXI-LXXII; T. KLÜPPEL, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 108-112, M. BORGOLTE, *Geschichte der Grafschaften Alemanniens in fränkischer Zeit* (Vorträge und Forschungen, Sonderband 31), Sigmaringen, 1984, pp. 222, 227-228; U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, Hunfrid, Witagowo und Heimo in einem neuentdeckten Eintrag des Evangeliars von Cividale, in: *Geschichte und ihre Quellen. Festschrift für Friedrich Hausmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Reinhard Härtel, Graz, 1987, pp. 85-92; D. WALZ, Karl der Große – ein verhinderteter Seefahrer. Die Reichenauer Heiligenbluterzählung aus dem 10. Jahrhundert, in: *Karl der Große und das Erbe der Kulturen. Akten des 8. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes, Leipzig 15.-18. März 1999*, (ed.) Franz-Reiner Erkens, Berlin, 2001, p. 239.

²⁶ G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 55; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 206-207; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 221-222; R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 58-62; H. WOLFRAM, *Grenzen und Räume. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung. Österreichische Geschichte 378-907*, Wien, 1995, pp. 144-145.

Hunfrid (I) is the first known member of the so-called Hunfridings or Burchardings, a noble family active in Raetia, Alemannia and Italy in the 9th century. The family is believed to have been of Frankish origin, although it was ascribed also Alemannic and Burgundian descent.²⁷ The family reached its zenith in 917, when Burkhard II became Duke of Swabia, and died out with his eponymous son in 973.²⁸ Hunfrid was first mentioned as *Unfredus vir inluster Reciarum comis* on 7 February 807(?), when he presided over the Diet of Rankweil, in present-day Vorarlberg.²⁹ He was the first Frankish count in Raetia, where Charlemagne had introduced comital administration only a short while before, which was probably also associated with the *Divisio regnorum* from 806.³⁰ With this political last will, which was to enter into force after his death, Charlemagne integrated Bavaria, Alemannia to the south of the Danube, and Raetia Curiensis into his son's Kingdom of Italy. Dates on a few deeds issued in Saint Gall following years of Pippin's reign suggest that Raetia and Alemannia were regarded as part of Italy already during Charlemagne's lifetime, remaining a part thereof up to 829.³¹

Soon after having been first mentioned, Hunfrid visited Pope Leo III, King Pippin, and the Archbishop of Ravenna in the spring of 808, alongside Helmgau, who was *praefectus in aula palatina*. Both counts arrived in Italy as Charlemagne's *missi*, tasked with mediating in a conflict – about which little is known – between the heir of St Peter and the King of Italy.³² Hunfrid's installing as the first Raetian count and the delicate task with which he was sent to Rome and to Pippin's court demonstrate that Charlemagne must have put great trust in him, which is, inter alia, indicated by the position that he held in Istria. When he succeeded the compromised Duke John in Istria remains unknown. It is certain only that the highest position of the Istrian provincial administration must have been replaced at some point after the Diet of Rižana in 804 and, most assuredly, during Pippin's lifetime († 8 July 810).³³ Due to scarce information we can only assume that this was associated with Hunfrid's missatic journey to Italy in 808, where he met (and became close to) Pippin, whose kingdom included Istria, even though his father, who convened the Diet of Rižana without regard to his son, surely had the final say in this personnel-related matter as well.³⁴

²⁷ E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207.

²⁸ T. ZOTZ, Hunfridinger, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, 5, Stuttgart - Weimar, 1999, coll. 219-220; M. BORGOLTE, Hunfride (Adalberte), in: *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz – Online* (<https://beta.hls-dhs-dss.ch/Articles/020831/?language=de>; accessed in April 2019).

²⁹ *Bündner Urkundenbuch*, 1, no. 35, (ed.) Elizabeth Meyer-Marthaler, Franz Perret, Chur, 1955, pp. 34-35. For dating cf. *ibid.*, the introductory note; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 221 and n. 18; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 408 and n. 40; J. R. DAVIS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 65. Older edition: *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, 1, no. 187, (ed.) Hermann Wartmann, Zürich, 1863, pp. 177-178.

³⁰ R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 45-58; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 143-147, 158.

³¹ *Divisio regnorum*, c. 2, (ed.) Alfred Boretius (MGH, *Capitularia regum Francorum*, 1), Hannover, 1883, p. 127; P. CLASSEN, Karl der Große und die Thronfolge im Frankenreich, in: *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen*, (ed.) Josef Fleckenstein, Carl Joachim Classen, Johannes Fried (Vorträge und Forschungen, 28), Sigmaringen, 1983, pp. 205-229; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 225; R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 58; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 143-144.

³² *Leonis III. papae epistolae*, nos. 1, 2, (ed.) Karl Hampe (MGH, *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, 3), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1995, pp. 87-91.

³³ For dating the Diet of Rižana to 804 cf. H. KRAHWINKLER, Patriarch Fortunatus of Grado and the "Placitum" of Riziano, in: *Istra med Vzhodom in Zahodom. Ob 1200-letnici Rižanskega zbora* (Acta Histriae, 13/1), Koper, 2005, pp. 66-68; P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 19), pp. 63-65.

³⁴ See P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 65; P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 3). According to the relative chronology in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, which due to its hagiographical nature and chronological distance should be regarded with great caution, and where it is stated that Hunfrid administered Istria during Charlemagne's lifetime and Raetia Curiensis after his death, one can even infer that he was first Count of Istria and then of Raetia. This would imply that Hunfrid succeeded John in Istria sometime between 804 and 7 February 807(?), when he was referred to as *Reciarum comis*. However, this conclusion is relativized by the fact that Hunfrid was count of Raetia already during Charlemagne's lifetime and not only after his death, as stated in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*.

After his appearance in Italy we do not have any information about Hunfrid for a whole 15 years. On his way from Rome to his father Louis the Pious, on 4 June 823, Emperor Lothair I issued a deed for Bishop Leo of Como in the afore-mentioned Rankweil, *in villa Unfredi comitis*, which manifests itself along with Schänis as one of the Hunfridings' centres in Raetia.³⁵ Shortly before or after that *Hunfridus comes Curiensis* was at the Diet of Frankfurt tasked with travelling to Rome as the emperor's *missus* alongside Abbot Adalung of St. Vaast to investigate the circumstances in which two members of Lothair I's entourage were murdered. The emissaries reported about their mission to Louis the Pious in November of that same year at the Diet of Compiègne.³⁶

Gerd Tellenbach, along with Eduard Hlawitschka, Otto P. Clavadetscher, and Karl Schmid after him, believed that Hunfrid from 823 was identical to that from 807/808.³⁷ However, the gap between these two mentions is so wide that they might have been also father and son. Two entries in the confraternity book of the monasteries in Saint Gall and Reichenau pertaining to Hunfrid's family attest that two members of the family bore the name of Hunfrid.³⁸ Michael Borgolte has demonstrated that they were very likely indeed father and son, and more recent historiography accords with his view.³⁹ Hunfrid II, Count of Raetia Curiensis, who was mentioned in 823, was involved just like his father in Italian imperial politics. This name was rare in Italy, so he is believed to have been identical with Humfrid, who was summoned by Emperor Lothair I in October 846 to take part in the war against Saracens in Benevento along with other magnates from Carolingian Italy listed in the capitulary. A *beneficium* that he had in Italy and due to which he was the emperor's vassal was the basis of his obligatory military service.⁴⁰ A mention in a confirmatory charter from 879, which was issued by King Carlman to the Church of Aquileia, is also believed to refer to him, namely that a certain Liutbirga left the late Humfred (*beate memorie Humfredo*) an estate *in Raccenna et in Carone* that he obviously bestowed on Aquileia, which must have obtained it at some point after 30 November 832.⁴¹ An almost identical confirmatory charter issued by Lothair I for the Church of Aquileia is marked with this date; it also served as a basis for Carlman's charter, yet it does not contain any mention of Humfred's estate.⁴² The locations stated in Carlman's document have not been identified; Paul Kehr, who published it in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, believes that they could be situated in Istria,⁴³ with which *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* indirectly associates Hunfrid II as well.

³⁵ *D. Lo I*, no. 2, (ed.) Theodor Schieffer, *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II.* (MGH, Diplomata Karolinerum, 3), Berlin - Zürich, 1966, pp. 52-54.

³⁶ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 823, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 161. See also THEGAN, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 30, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz (MGH, Scriptores, 2), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1976, p. 597 (*Hunfridus dux super Redicam*); ANONYMUS (ASTRONOMUS), *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 37, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz, (MGH, Scriptores, 2), Hannover, 2nd ed. 1976, p. 627 (*Hunfridus comes Curiae*).

³⁷ G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 55; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 206 and n. 1; for Clavadetscher and Schmid see R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 62.

³⁸ *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 103/A1; *Liber confraternitatis Sancti Galli*, (ed.) Paul Piper, *Libri confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis* (MGH, Necrologia Germaniae, Supplement), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1983, p. 15 (23).

³⁹ M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 220-229; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 223; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 295; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 145-146; cf. R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 58-62.

⁴⁰ *Hlotharii capitulare de expeditione contra Sarracenos facienda*, (ed.) Alfred Boretius, Victor Krause (MGH, Capitularia regum Francorum, 2), Hannover, 1897, no. 203, p. 67; see G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 55-56; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 255-256.

⁴¹ *D. Kn*, no. 22, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren* (MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinerum, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 316-318; see G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56; E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 274-275 and n. 160.

⁴² *D. Lo I*, no. 9, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 70-73.

⁴³ The same also P. PASCHINI, *Storia del Friuli*, Udine, 4th ed. 1990, p. 175 and n. 9. However, this cannot be confirmed.

According to this Reichenau text, the relic of the Holy Cross was transferred after Hunfrid I's death to his son Adalbert, who succeeded his father also as Count of Raetia. However, a certain Ruodpert, a *vasallus* of Louis the Pious, tricked the ruler into leaving Raetia Curiensis to him, expelling Adalbert from the province, who only managed to take with him the relic of the Holy Cross. Adalbert fled to his unnamed brother, who ruled Istria at the time, *qui tunc temporis Hystriam tenebat*. With the help of his brother he gathered a military entourage in Istria, defeated Ruodpert in Raetia, and claimed back his father's legacy, which he enjoyed without disturbance until his death. Naturally, the narrator remembered to assure us that Adalbert won thanks to the magical power of the relic, which he carried on him at all times and which after his death was inherited by his son Udalric.⁴⁴

Unlike Otto P. Clavadetscher and Karl Schmid, Michael Borgolte maintains that the report in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* about Adalbert's succession of Hunfrid I in Raetia is authentic and thus historically relevant, and this view is also shared by Herwig Wolfram.⁴⁵ Borgolte placed the conflict between Adalbert and Ruodpert in the context of the revolt of Pippin's son Bernard of Italy against his uncle Louis the Pious in 817. It would appear that the early Hunfridings were supporters of King Pippin and, after 810, of his son Bernard, who was formally elevated to King of Italy by Charlemagne. Bernard was outranked by Louis the Pious, whom Charlemagne made the emperor and heir of the whole empire.⁴⁶ Ruodpert, who was in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* probably referred to as Count Ruadbert (II) of Alemannic Lienzgau and Argengau, located to the north of Lake Constance,⁴⁷ was a vassal of Louis the Pious.⁴⁸ He attacked his southern neighbour and occupied Raetia with the emperor's consent before May 817. Adalbert, who succeeded his father Hunfrid I at some point after 808, fled to his brother in Istria, who succeeded his father in the other centre ruled by the Hunfridings. Adalbert's brother, who was not named in *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, is probably identical with Hunfrid II, who was – as shown above – identified as Hunfrid I's other son.⁴⁹ In July 817, when Louis the Pious addressed anew the question of succession within the empire in his *Ordinatio imperii*, pushing his nephew completely aside in favour of his sons, Bernard incited an open revolt. In doing so, he strove not only to keep his father's legacy in Italy, but also secure Raetia and southern Alemannia, which, according to *Divisio regnorum* from 806, were intended for Pippin.

This was the right moment for Adalbert, too. Having recruited a military entourage in Istria, he arrived in Raetia as Bernhard's follower in the second half of 817, where he defeated Ruadbert.⁵⁰ However, the revolt was crushed already in December of that same year. Bernard subordinated himself to the emperor; he was blinded, which caused his death on 17 April 818. The magnates and bishops who joined the conspiracy were similarly unable to escape their punishment and, consequently, Adalbert could not enjoy his regained position in Raetia for long and might have been executed or sent into exile just like some other rebels.⁵¹ However, the Hunfridings must have again received the emperor's mercy soon, as Hunfrid II is attested as *missus* of the Emperor Louis the Pious in Italy and Count of

⁴⁴ *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri*, c. 17, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 158.

⁴⁵ H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 145.

⁴⁶ See P. CLASSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 228.

⁴⁷ M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 220-224; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 223-224.

⁴⁸ Regardless of *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* this is confirmed also by a Saint-Gall deed from 816-824, where he is referred to as *uassallus regis*; see M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 224 and n. 41.

⁴⁹ As argued already by G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 55-56; and afterwards by E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 207, though they both regarded that mentioned after 832 and in 847, not that in 823, to be Hunfrid II.

⁵⁰ M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 226; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 145.

⁵¹ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 817, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 147-148; see E. BOSHOFF, *Ludwig der Fromme*, Darmstadt, 1996, pp. 141-147.

Raetia as early as in 823. Their rehabilitation must have been associated with Louis' amnesty of the conspirators at the Diet of Diedenhofen in October 821 and with the emperor's public penance for sharing the guilt for Bernard's death at the Diet of Attigny a year later.⁵² However, Hunfrid II was soon ousted from power in Raetia by Count Roderich,⁵³ whose origin is unknown, and both *De pretioso sanguine Domini nostri* and letters penned by Victor III, Bishop of Chur, bear witness to the resistance with which the Hunfridings were faced in Raetia.⁵⁴ Hunfrid II brought the epicentre of his operation (back) to Istria and Italy, where he was attested also in 846 and where he made a donation to the Church of Aquileia at some point after 832.

Hunfrid is a rather rare name, wherefore Gerd Tellenbach made the connection between the Raetian-Istrian Hunfridings and Huntfrid, who was Margrave of Toulouse and of neighbouring Gothia (Septimania). According to the Annals of Saint Bertin, Huntfrid fled to Italy in 864, after the revolt against Charles the Bald, King of West Francia.⁵⁵ With him in mind, Uwe Ludwig and Karl Schmid pointed to a report penned by the monk Aimon from Saint-Germain-des-Prés about the journey to Spain undertaken by his monastic brother Usuard in 858. According to *Translatio sanctorum martyrorum Georgii monachii, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex urbe Corduba Parisios*, a text from the second half of the 9th century, Usuard's journey, which took him as far as Cordoba, was aimed at obtaining martyrs' relics. He was assisted by *marchio Gothiae* Hunfrid, who accompanied him as far as the south of France and gave him a letter of recommendation for the governor of Zaragoza.⁵⁶ Usuard († around 875) is otherwise famous mostly for his martyrology, which was compiled in the 860s or the early 870s and dedicated to Charles the Bald. A group of Italian saints not mentioned in sources used by Usuard command attention in the martyrology. His knowledge of them must have been based on other pieces of information, which are assumed to have been provided by Hunfrid himself, who fled to Italy in 864, or clergymen from his surroundings. It is particularly interesting to note that this group of Italian saints consists of two, regionally speaking, clearly divided parts: one part refers to Tuscan saints and the other to saints from Friuli and its neighbourhood, including Verona, Trient and Istria.⁵⁷ This suggests that Hunfrid from Aquitaine found refuge with his relatives in north-eastern Italy.

This view is strengthened by two entries of Hunfrid's name in the Gospel Book of Cividale; they can be dated to the 860s.⁵⁸ On fol. 5^v *Hunfrid* is featured in the third place in a group of 38 names, behind *Heimo* and *Uuitagauu* and in front of *Mildrud*; on fol. 9^r *Uuitigau* and *Umfrede* are listed on positions 8 and 9 in a group of 26 people.⁵⁹ Hunfrid was mentioned twice in the company of Witagowo, who was a count in the Admont Valley in Carantania, where he received a bestowal from Louis the German in 859 and Charles III bestowed him an estate in present-day Lower Austria at some point before 885/887.⁶⁰ Witagowo is on fol. 5^v of the Gospel Book of Cividale also

⁵² *Annales regni Francorum*, aa. 821, 822, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 156, 158; E. BOSHOFF, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 148.

⁵³ M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 227; H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 146.

⁵⁴ R. KAISER, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 61.

⁵⁵ *Annales Bertiniani*, a. 864, (ed.) Georg Waitz (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi*, [5]), Hannover, 1883, p. 72; G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 56.

⁵⁶ *Translatio sanctorum martyrorum Georgii monachii, Aurelii et Nathaliae ex urbe Corduba Parisios*, cc. 2–5, (ed.) Jacques-Paul Migne (*Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* 115), Paris, 1881, coll. 941–943.

⁵⁷ U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 91.

⁵⁸ U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 87.

⁵⁹ *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.33, 9r.7, (ed.) Uwe Ludwig, *Transalpine Beziehungen der Karolingerzeit im Spiegel der Memorialüberlieferung* (MGH, Studien und Texte, 25), Hannover, 1999, pp. 256, 262; see *ibidem*, pp. 218–226; U. LUDWIG, K. SCHMID, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 87–92.

⁶⁰ *D. LD*, no. 99, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Deutschen, Karlmanns und Ludwigs des Jüngeren* (MGH Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 1), München, 2nd ed. 1991, pp. 143–144; *D. Karl III.*, no. 113, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Karls III.* (MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 2), Berlin, 1937, pp. 179–180.

accompanied by his son Heimo with his wife Miltrud. Heimo was King Arnulf's *ministerialis* and part of his close entourage. He and his wife Miltrud must have supported Arnulf's rise to power so strongly that the new king rewarded them richly – i.e. each of them separately – already in 888, in the first year of his rule.⁶¹ Witagowo also had a daughter named Tunza, who was married to the Carantanian *nobilis vir* Georgius. Both were also listed on fol. 5^v in the Gospel Book of Cividale.⁶² Michael Mitterauer demonstrated convincingly in the beginning of the 1960s that Count Witagow's family, which belonged to eastern Bavaria's leading noble families, was most probably of Burgundian and Romance origin. In the second half of the 8th century it was attested in Lobdengau, Franconia, between Worms and Heidelberg, from where they arrived in Carantania via Bavaria.⁶³ Another group of entries found on fol. 5^v of the Gospel Book of Cividale indicates that Witagowo was associated also with the Pannonian Count Pribina and the Croatian Prince Trpimir (along with his son Peter).⁶⁴ Entries on fol. 5^v, which manifest themselves as a spot reserved for Witagow's family *memoria*, reveal a circle of influential and inter-connected people in the south-east of the Carolingian empire.

Irrespective of the fact that Hunfried, who was entered into the Gospel Book of Cividale, cannot in all certainty be equated with the eponymous Count of Toulouse and that the name could refer to the Istrian-Raetian Hunfrid II or to a relative of his (theirs), the aforementioned threads can be connected in a rather coherent depiction of the Hunfridings' activities in Raetia and Alemannia, as well as in Istria and Friuli, or even in Aquitaine or Septimania. This puts them on par with influential families such as the aforementioned Unruochings, Friuli's leading family after 828. These families managed to secure estates and authority in the service of the ruling Carolingian dynasty in very different parts of the Frankish Empire.

ALBGAR, DALMACIA AND CARANTANIA

The Royal Frankish Annals report for 817 that a delegation of the Byzantine Emperor Leo V, which was led by Nicephorus, arrived at the court of Louis the Pious in Aachen *pro Dalmatinorum causa*. The Frankish court refused to discuss the matter until the arrival of *dux* Cadolah of Friuli, "under whose authority was this border area." However, soon after his arrival they came to the conclusion that the matter could only be resolved on site in the presence of the concerned Romans and Slavs. Accompanied by *missus ad hoc* Albgar, who was according to the Royal Frankish

⁶¹ *DD. Arn.*, nos. 32, 42, (ed.) Paul Kehr, *Die Urkunden Arnolfs* (MGH, Diplomata regum Germaniae ex stirpe Karolinorum, 3), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1955, pp. 47-48, 60-61. For the first deed cf. *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum. Das Weißbuch der Salzburger Kirche über die erfolgreiche Mission in Karantänien und Pannonien*, Herausgegeben, übersetzt, kommentiert und um *Epistola Theotmarii* wie um *Gesammelte Schriften zum Thema ergänzt* von Herwig Wolfram (Dela I. razreda Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, 38 – Zbirka Zgodovinskega časopisa, 44), Ljubljana, 3rd ed. 2013, pp. 340-350.

⁶² *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.31, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 256; *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, 1, no. 1036, (ed.) Theodor Bitterauf (Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, NF 4), München, 1905, pp. 780-781. For Tunza and Georgius cf. M. MITTERAUER, *Slawischer und bayrischer Adel am Ausgang der Karolingerzeit, Carinthia I*, 150, Klagenfurt, 1960, pp. 693-697; P. ŠTIH, *Integration on the Fringes of the Frankish Empire. The Case of the Carantanians and their Neighbours*, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire* (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages 450-1450, 50), (ed.) Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš, Leiden - Boston, 2018, pp. 113-114.

⁶³ M. MITTERAUER, *Karolingische Markgrafen im Südosten. Fränkische Reichsaristokratie und bayerischer Stammesadel im österreichischen Raum* (Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 123), Graz - Wien - Köln, 1963, pp. 144-153, M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 62), pp. 696-700.

⁶⁴ *Codex Forojuliensis*, 5v.26, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 255; see *ibidem*, pp. 222-226.

Annals a nephew of a certain Unroch, Cadolah was thus instructed to set off to Dalmatia along with the Byzantine emissaries.⁶⁵

Cadolah has been well known in historiography for a long time.⁶⁶ He was a native of Alemannia, Count or *dux* of Friuli in charge of a large area to the east of Italy, which is also attested by the previously mentioned report in the Royal Frankish Annals. As Duke of Friuli he succeeded Eric, who was killed near Tarsatica (Trsat near Rijeka) in 799, and participated as one of Charlemagne's and Pippin's three *missi* at the Diet of Rižana near Koper in 804. In 818 emissaries of Duke Liudewit of Lower Pannonia complained to Louis the Pious of his cruelty and wantonness at the general Diet at Herstal. Having failed to quash Liudewit's revolt in the following year, Cadolah died upon the army's return from Pannonia to Italy on 31 July 819.⁶⁷

Not much is widely known about Albgar, although he has not been a *persona incognita* since Gerd Tellenbach's research.⁶⁸ Information provided in the Royal Frankish Annals, namely that he was Unroch's nephew, makes him a member of the powerful Unruoching family that is believed to have originated from the central areas of the Frankish Kingdom, in modern-day northern France and Belgium. The family was attested in Alemannia, Septimania, and, first and foremost, in Italy.⁶⁹ Its first known representative was Count Unroch, a confidant of Charlemagne, who co-signed the emperor's last will.⁷⁰ It was precisely he who was referred to in a mention stating that Albgar was *Unrochi nepos*. The aforementioned *dux* Eberhard of Friuli, through whom the Unruochings formed familial bonds with the Carolingians, and his son Berengar were the family's most prominent members.⁷¹ Eberhard was probably Unroch's son and named his firstborn after his father, which implies that he and Albgar must have been cousins.

The bulk of information for Albgar's biography is provided by a group of four deeds issued in Brescia, Milan and Sumirago. These refer to an estate that he purchased in northern Italy, which, subsequently, brought him into a conflict with a certain deacon and his brother after they had misappropriated it.⁷² We learn from them that Albgar, who in the documents was referred to as *Alp(i)charius* or *Alcharius*, was of

⁶⁵ *Annales regni Francorum*, a. 817, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 145; see also ANONYMUS (ASTRONOMUS), *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, c. 27, (ed.) Georg Heinrich Pertz (n. 36), p. 621. With this mission and Cadolah is most probably connected a deed with which on 17 November 817 *Chadaloh diuina opitulante clementia comis* conditionally gifted the Abbey of Saint Gall an extensive estate in order to secure the future of his son Bertold in the event of his death. (*Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen*, 1, no. 228, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 219-222; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 88-89). It can be assumed on the basis of this deed that the Frankish-Byzantine delegation travelled from Aachen to Dalmatia via Alemannia, the Alps, Venice and the Adriatic Sea, reaching its destination towards the end of 817 or in 818. For circumstances in Dalmatia in 817 see e.g. F. BORRI, *Gli Istrani e i loro parenti. Φράγγοι, Romani e Slavi nella periferia di Bisanzio*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 60, Vienna, 2010, p. 14; N. BUDAK, *Early medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia (8th–11th centuries)*, in: *«Castellum, civitas, urbs». Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa / Centres and Elites in Early Medieval East-Central Europe* (*Castellum Pannonicum Pelsonense*, 6), (ed.) Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska et al., Budapest - Leipzig - Rahden/Westf., 2015, p. 38.

⁶⁶ E.g. E. DÜMMLER, *Über die südöstlichen Marken des fränkischen Reiches unter den Karolingern (795–907)* (*Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-quellen*, 10), Wien, 1853; A. HOFMEISTER, *Markgrafen und Markgrafschaften im Italischen Königreich in der Zeit von Karl dem Grossen bis auf Otto den Grossen (774–962)*, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband*, 7, Innsbruck, 1907, pp. 272-273.

⁶⁷ See n. 6.

⁶⁸ G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 58-59. At a later point Albgar was discussed particularly by E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 120-122; M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), pp. 139-144 (with a genealogical table on p. 143); M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 46-48.

⁶⁹ E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 10), col. 1261; H. KRAHWINKLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 246 and n. 4.

⁷⁰ Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, c. 33, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger (*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex MGH separatim editi*, [25]), Hanover - Leipzig, 1911, p. 41.

⁷¹ See n. 9-11.

⁷² *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, nos. 84, 138, 145, 146 (*Historiae patriae monumenta*, 13), Torino, 1873, coll. 157-159, 242-243, 253-256.

Alemannic origin (*ex Alamannorum genere; de ex genere Alamannorum*)⁷³ and that his father Autcherius, after whom Albgar's brother was named,⁷⁴ originated from Linzgau, an area to the north of Lake Constance (*de finibus Alamannie, loco ubi nominatur Lintzicawa*).⁷⁵ The estate, due to which he was involved in a litigation in Milan at some point between 820 and 842, was purchased in the period when he was a *baiolus* of Adelaide, daughter of King Pippin. He presented a deed of sale in a court of law, which is preserved and dated 11 September 807.⁷⁶ Albgar therefore arrived in Italy, where he was a tutor of the Carolingian princess, before this date. However, he left Italy for a long time soon after 8 June 810, when King Pippin died. He stated in a court of law that after Pippin's death he had taken his underage daughter Adelaide to Charlemagne's court, where he remained in the emperor's service. The emperor bestowed a county on him and employed his services, which kept Albgar from returning to Italy for a long time.⁷⁷

The county that Charlemagne bestowed upon him after his service in Italy had come to an end must have been situated in Alemannia, seeing that he is referred to as *comes de Alemannia* in the aforementioned deed. It is highly likely that Albgar was Count in Hegau, to the west of Lake Constance, where a deed was issued for Saint Gall *sub Alpcario comite* in 830.⁷⁸ He is almost certainly also mentioned in the fundamental part of the Confraternity book of Reichenau Abbey, which was begun around 824, where he is featured under *Nomina amicorum viventium* as *Albker com(es)* as the fifth out of eleven originally listed counts, who were predominately of Alemannic origin.⁷⁹ His journey to Dalmatia confirms his statement that he also performed *cetera palatina servicia* for the Frankish court, which implies that he provided several services.

Albger is mentioned as Count in Hegau only in 830 and he cannot be found in Saint-Gall documents after this date. His becoming Count in Carantania could be the reason behind this. In the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* a certain Albgarius is listed in the second place among Carantanian counts who replaced the domestic princes in 828(?).⁸⁰ Gerd Tellenbach and subsequently Michael Mitterauer equated him with our Albger, which was received with caution or disfavour because the main argument behind their view, namely Albger's journey to Dalmatia in 817 attesting his activity in the border area in the south-eastern corner of the empire, in fact, fails to confirm it.⁸¹ Two mentions in the Gospel Book of Cividale could perhaps prove helpful when answering this question. Albgar's name was entered twice on fol. 4^v, once in the company of a Slav by the name of *Porosit* and a woman named *Rihilt*, and once in a group of 13 people, whose names point to their

⁷³ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 84, 146, coll. 157-159, 254-255.

⁷⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), no. 145, coll. 253-254.

⁷⁵ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 84, 146, coll. 157-159, 254-255.

⁷⁶ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 138, 84, coll. 242-243, 157-159.

⁷⁷ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae, op. cit.* (n. 72), no. 138 (*Tempore domni Pippini regis, dum ego eram bajolus Adelaide filiae ipsius Pippini regis, conquisieram ego per hanc cartulam casas et res ... [mortuo] domno Pippino rege ambolavi cum predicta Aldelaidam infanciam ad domnum Carolum imperatorum, et dum in eius servicio illic demorasse, sua mercede dedit mihi comitatum; et dum per his et ceteris palatinis serviciis praecupatus venire in hac patria licenciam non habuissem...*), coll. 242-243.

⁷⁸ *Urkundenbuch der Abtei Sanct Gallen, op. cit.* (n. 29), no. 331, pp. 304-306.

⁷⁹ *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau, op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 99/A2; see also n. 7.

⁸⁰ *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, c. 10, (ed.) Fritz Lošek (MGH, Studien und Texte, 15), Hannover, 1997, p. 120. For the period of the introduction of comital administration in Carantania cf. H. WOLFRAM, *Salzburg, Bayern, Österreich. Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 31), Wien - München, 1995, pp. 306-310.

⁸¹ G. TELLENBACH, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 58; M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 142; afterwards also F. PRINZ, *Die innere Entwicklung: Staat, Gesellschaft, Kirche, Wirtschaft*, in: *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte*, 1, (ed.) Max Spindler, München, 2nd ed. 1981, p. 368. With caution: E. HLAWITSCHKA, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 121; M. BORGOLTE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 47. With disfavour: H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 80), p. 305 and n. 590.

Bavarian provenance.⁸² This does not tell us anything about Albgar's connections with Carantania per se; however, Uwe Ludwig's note that three names from the second group (*Paldmunt*, *Lontpert*, *Uualtrih*) are repeated in the list of the Carantanian clergy in the Reichenau Book of Life does.⁸³ Also, *Porosit* from the first Cividale entry could be identical with that in the Reichenau *Nomina presbiterorum de Carentana*, which is topped by (the provincial) Bishop Oswald (around 836–around 863).⁸⁴

Albgar could have been Count of Carantania between around 830 and around 840, i.e. in the period when his cousin Eberhard was already Duke of Friuli. The second half of 842 saw him living in Italy, in Sumirago (*abitator vico Samoiraco*), to the east of Lago Maggiore, where he donated a part of his estate, which he recovered in the court of law, to the Church of St Ambrose in Milan.⁸⁵ Mitterauer argues that he is identical with a certain Alpcarius, upon whom Emperor Lothair I bestowed an extensive estate in the surroundings of Thionville on 5 February 842.⁸⁶ Alpcarius is in the document referred to merely as a *fidelis* and not a count; to Mitterauer, this is a sign that as a follower of Lothair I in the conflict with his brother Louis the German he lost his position in Carantania, which was under Louis the German's rule, forcing him to withdraw to Italy, which was ruled by Lothair.⁸⁷ He probably died in Italy; before that, at an unknown point, he had commissioned a construction of the Church of St Marcian in Tortona, to the south of Pavia, as reported by Walafrid Strabo, a monk and poet from Reichenau.⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

Despite some hypothetical conclusions our two cases confirm the significance of the nobility that arrived in Italy from the area to the north of the Alps in the period of Charlemagne and his successors. This holds particularly true for its border provinces in the north-east, where they played a decisive role. Members of families originating in the north, who time and again made Italy their new homeland, belonged to main bearers of Carolingian eastern politics. Friuli and Istria, where they occupied leading positions, became one of the centres of their familial power, as well as an area to which their relatives could withdraw during crises. Adalbert could retreat to Istria, which was helmed by his brother Hunfrid II, and even organize a military entourage there, by means of which he managed to restore his position in Raetia. Hunfrid, Count of Toulouse, also found refuge with his relatives in north-eastern Italy.

On the other hand, Albgar's biography demonstrates the importance of these families for Frankish politics in Italy's and Bavaria's Slavic hinterland, as well as the influence individual family members had as *missi* and counts. Here, a decisive role was played by the Unruochings, who appear to have obtained the leading positions in Friuli and Carantania at a certain point. Eberhard, the most important Unruoching, had contacts with the Croatian Prince Trpimir as well, with whom was associated also Count Witigowo, who was active in Carantania and also collaborated with Pribina from Lower Pannonia and the Hunfridings.⁸⁹ The contacts and connections of the Frankish elite with their Slavic

⁸² *Codex Forojuliensis*, 4v.3, 4v.10, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 253.

⁸³ U. LUDWIG, *op. cit.* (n. 59), p. 203.

⁸⁴ *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 108/C-D1-3. The first one to draw attention to this list was to my knowledge K. SCHMID, *Das Zeugnis der Verbrüderungsbücher zur Slawenmission*, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 126, Salzburg, 1986, pp. 190-191. For Oswald see H. WOLFRAM, *op. cit.* (n. 61), pp. 164, 215-216.

⁸⁵ *Codex diplomaticus Langobardiae*, *op. cit.* (n. 72), nos. 145, 146, coll. 253-256.

⁸⁶ *D. Lo I*, no. 66, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 177-178.

⁸⁷ M. MITTERAUER, *op. cit.* (n. 63), p. 142; see also introductory note in *D. Lo I*, no. 66, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 177.

⁸⁸ Walafridus Strabo, *Carmina*, no. 68, (ed.) Ernst Dümmler (MGH, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, 2), Berlin, 2nd ed. 1978, p. 409.

⁸⁹ For connections with Trpimir see P. ŠTIH, *O novi knjigi, novejši hrvaški historiografiji in novih pogledih na hrvaško zgodnjerednjeveško zgodovino*, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 72, Ljubljana, 2018, pp. 479-480.

peers on the empire's south-eastern border were much more extensive than they appear to be at first glance. They are well-documented, inter alia, by *libri vitae* from Salzburg and Cividale, where Frankish and Slavic magnates are often entered alongside each other in the large contact area extending from Moravia and Pannonia to Carantania and Dalmatia. They knew each other, were active alongside one another, and formed familial bonds.⁹⁰

O poveznicama recijsko-alemanskog područja s Istrom, Dalmacijom i Karantanijom u doba Karolinga - dva primjera

Franačka vlast nad Langobardskim Kraljevstvom ovisila je u velikoj mjeri o ljudima koji su došli u Italiju s područja sjeverno od Alpa. Među važnim plemićkim obiteljima koje su se afirmirale u sjeveroistočnom dijelu Italije (Furlanija, Istra) bili su i franački (ć) Unruochinzi te recijsko-alemanski Hunfridinzi. Članak razmatra slabo poznate kontakte koje su njihovi članovi imali s Istrom i slavenskim zaleđem od Karantanije do Dalmacije.

Hunfrid I. i njegov sin Hunfrid II. bili su grofovi u Reciji i djelovali su u Italiji kao *missi* Karla Velikog i Ljudevita I. Pobožnog, tijekom čijih života su imali pod upravom Istru, koja je postala važno središte moći Hunfridinga. Godine 817., kod svojeg brata Hunfrida I., u Istru se sklonio Adalbert, koji je bio protjeran iz Recije gdje je bio grof. Adalbert je u Istri, uz bratovu pomoć, uspio organizirati vojnu pratnju s kojom je još iste godine u Reciji pobijedio svog protivnika.

Albgar, koji je kao *missus* Ljudevita I. Pobožnog 817. godine putovao zajedno s furlanskim markgrofom Kadolahom u Dalmaciju kako bi riješili sporove između Slavena i Romana, s druge je strane pripadao Unruochinzima. Bio je rođak furlanskog vojvode Eberharda, koji je bio u braku s Giselom, kćerkom Ljudevita I. Pobožnog. Kao odgojitelj, *baiolus*, kćeri kralja Pipina stigao je u Italiju, koju je nakon Pipinove smrti na duže vrijeme napustio. Oko godine 830. spominje se kao grof u Alemaniji, a nakon toga vrlo je vjerojatno bio grof u Karantaniji, sve dok se, oko godine 840., nije vratio u sjevernu Italiju, gdje je pod stare dane živio u blizini Lago Maggiore.

Primjeri potvrđuju kako su kontakti i poveznice franačke elite s njihovim slavenskim pandanima na jugoistočnoj granici Carstva bili intenzivniji nego se to na prvi pogled čini. Između ostalog, dobro ih dokumentiraju *libri vitae* iz Salzburga i Čedad, u kojima su često zajedno upisani franački i slavenski velikaši na velikom dodirnom prostoru od Moravske preko Panonije i Karantanije do Dalmacije, koji su se poznavali, zajedno djelovali i srodstveno se povezivali.

Ključne riječi: Hunfridinzi, Unruochinzi, prekoalpske veze, 9. stoljeće, Recija, Alemanija, Istra, Dalmacija, Karantanija

Korektura hrvatskog sažetka: Graziella Gržinić

⁹⁰ See U. LUDWIG, *op. cit.* (n. 59), pp. 193-237; H. WOLFRAM, Die *Libri vitae* von Salzburg und Cividale und das Bayerische Ostland (799-907), in: *Libri vitae, op. cit.* (n. 7), pp. 343-377. For more recent bibliography on *libri vitae* see along the aforementioned work also *Bücher des Lebens – Lebendige Bücher*, (ed.) Peter Erhart, Jakob Kuratli Hübli, St. Gallen, 2010. On familial bonds between the Frankish-Bavarian and Slavic nobility see P. ŠTIH, *op. cit.* (n. 62), pp. 111-116.

AMALARIUS OF METZ AT THE COURT OF LEO V: A NOTE ON IMPERIAL CEREMONIAL

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In 813/814 a Frankish embassy led by Amalarius of Metz arrived at the court of Leo V in Constantinople. An account (Versus marini) written by Amalarius not long afterwards described the meeting held during the official audience. The words spoken to Amalarius by the emperor are analyzed and found to be the conventional formula prescribed by the Byzantine ambassadorial protocol as evidenced by the Book of Ceremonies and other texts.

Key words: *Amalarius of Metz, Leo V the Armenian, Byzantium, imperial ceremonial, diplomatic protocol, Versus marini, De Cerimoniis*

Frankish liturgist, prelate and courtier Amalarius of Metz (ca. 775-850) is a well-known figure of the Carolingian Renaissance, and arguably one of the favorite personalities for the scholars of early medieval Mediterranean thanks to his extensive travels and a number of surviving sources that mention them. Although acknowledged long ago in international scholarship,¹ the texts regarding Amalarius' journey along the Adriatic entered medieval studies in Croatia only in 2005, when Trpimir Vedriš closely examined the extant sources on Amalarius' stay in Zadar.² This, in turn, promptly spawned a rich historiographic output.³ Finding it unnecessary to dwell on Amalarius' biography and

¹E.g. E. S. DUCKETT, *Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century*, Ann Arbor, 1969, pp. 96-97.

²T. VEDRIŠ, Još jedan franački teolog u Dalmaciji: Amalarije iz Metza i njegovo putovanje u Carigrad 813. godine, *Historijski zbornik*, 58, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 1-27. On the voyage itself, see *Amalarii Episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 1, (ed.) Jean M. Hanssens, Città del Vaticano, 1948, pp. 65-67, M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European economy. Communications and commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 139-143 (map p. 140); T. VEDRIŠ, Amalarius' stay in Zadar reconsidered, in: *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812)*, (ed.) Mladen Ančić, Jonathan Shepard, Trpimir Vedriš, London - New York, 2018, pp. 288-311.

³E.g. M. ANČIĆ, Zadarska biskupija u okviru splitske metropolije do 1154., in: *Sedamnaest stoljeća zadarske crkve*, (ed.) Livio Marijan, Zadar, 2009, pp. 110-111; M. ANČIĆ, Church with incomplete biography: Plans for the consolidation of Byzantine rule on the Adriatic at the beginning of the ninth century, in: *Byzantium, Its Neighbours and Its Cultures*, (ed.) Danijel Dzino, Ken Parry, Brisbane, 2014, pp. 76-77; T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2018); I. BASIĆ, Natpis nadbiskupa Ursa kao izvor za crkvenu povijest ranosrednjovjekovnog Zadra, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 44-45, Split, 2017-2018, pp. 153-179. Amalarius' text also caught the attention of Nikola Jakšić – see N. JAKŠIĆ, Kult sv. Petra u kasnoantičkom i srednjovjekovnom Zadru, in: *Scripta Branimiro Gabričević dicata*, (ed.) Josip Dukić, Ante Milošević, Željko Rapanić, Trilj, 2010, p. 308.

career here,⁴ we shall focus on his mission to Constantinople in 813/814; namely, a few details of his account that have been overlooked in previous historiography. These involve Amalarius' reception at court in particular, and the Byzantine imperial ceremonial in general.⁵

He and abbot Peter of Nonantola were selected to travel as ambassadors of Charlemagne to emperor Michael I Rangabe so as to obtain the Byzantine ratification of the Peace Treaty of Aachen (812).⁶ Amalarius of Metz, Peter of Nonantola and their entourage probably departed from Aachen soon after Easter 813, reached Zadar in late June (they were certainly there on 29 June, Feast of St Peter), and arrived in Constantinople some time before Christmas season.⁷ While en route, they made a stop at Dyrrachium, then continued across the Aegean towards Constantinople, making another stop at Aigina and Attica; once in the imperial metropolis, Amalarius mentions that the envoys' freedom of

⁴For succinct overviews of Amalarius' life and works, see *Amalarii opera*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 58-82, E. S. DUCKETT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 92-120, J. H. EMMINGHAUS, Amalarus v. Metz, in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 1, München, 1980, p. 505, F. W. BAUTZ, Amalarius von Metz, in: *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, Bd. 1, Hamm, 1990, p. 138, M. McCORMICK, Amalarius of Metz, in: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (ed.) A. P. Kazhdan, vol. I, New York - Oxford, 1991 (henceforth: *ODB*), pp. 72-73, M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 138-143, T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2005), pp. 3-4; N. DROCOURT, *Diplomatie sur le Bosphore. Les ambassadeurs étrangers dans l'Empire byzantin des années 640 à 1204*, tom. I-II, Louvain - Paris - Bristol, 2015, pp. 259-262; most recent monograph is W. STECK, *Der Liturgiker Amalarius: eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zu Leben und Werk eines Theologen der Karolingerzeit*, München, 2000. A. CABANISS, *Amalarius of Metz*, Amsterdam, 1954 is still indispensable.

⁵A comprehensive work on Middle Byzantine imperial ceremonies is unfortunately still lacking, and there are significant disparities in the sources that cover ambassadorial protocol, cf. commentary in W. POHL, *Ritualized Encounters: Late Roman Diplomacy and the Barbarians, Fifth-Sixth Century*, in: *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, (ed.) Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, Maria Parani, Leiden - Boston, 2013, pp. 70, 71 and J.-C. CHEYNET, *La diplomatie byzantine*, in: *Byzantine culture. Papers from the conference "Byzantine days of Istanbul" held on the occasion of Istanbul being European Cultural Capital 2010*, (ed.) Dean Sakel, Ankara, 2014, p. 324. For Late Antique ceremonial see A. GILLET, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533*, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 251-259. Cf. also A. CAMERON, *The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies*, in: *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, (ed.) David Cannadine, Simon Price, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 106-136 and A. GILLET, *Advise the Emperor beneficially: Lateral communication in diplomatic embassies between the post-imperial West and Byzantium*, in: *Ambassadeurs et ambassades au cœur des relations diplomatiques: Rome – Occident médiéval – Byzance (VIII^e s. avant J.-C. – XII^e s. après J.-C.)*, (ed.) Audrey Becker, Nicolas Drocourt, Metz, 2012, pp. 257-285. The evidence of diplomatic ceremonies from the Middle Byzantine period is synthesised in several chapters of *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, (ed.) Jonathan Shepard, Simon Franklin, Aldershot, 1992; *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, (ed.) Henry Maguire, Washington D.C., 1997, and N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4). G. OSTROGORSKY, E. STEIN, *Die Krönungsordnungen des Zeremonienbuches: Chronologische und verfassungsgeschichtliche Bemerkungen*, *Byzantion*, 7, Bruxelles, 1932, pp. 185-233 is still fundamental. On the sources for the study of ceremonial see in general R. MACRIDES, J. MUNITIZ, D. ANGELOV, *Pseudo-Kodinos, The Constantinopolitan court, offices and ceremonies*, Birmingham, 2013, pp. 359-365. Short overview of court ceremonial: K. N. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations*, Leiden - New York - Köln, 1996, pp. 53-57. Recently M. Featherstone has made a number of important advances: J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Emperor and Court*, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, (ed.) Elizabeth Jeffreys, John Haldon, Robin Cormack, Oxford, 2008, pp. 505-517; J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *De cerimoniis and the Great Palace*, in: *The Byzantine World*, (ed.) Paul Stephenson, London - New York, 2010, pp. 162-174; J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Space and Ceremony in the Great Palace of Constantinople under the Macedonian Emperors*, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, LXII, Spoleto, 2015, pp. 587-607. Chapter »The Uses of Imperial Prestige« in E. N. LUTTWAK, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, Ma. - London, 2009, pp. 124-136 is otherwise interestingly written, but a poor substitute to a synthesis on Byzantine diplomatic protocol. It is to be used with caution due to its many imprecisions and outdated state of the field.

⁶See *Imperial Spheres* (n. 2).

⁷According to McCormick's calculations, the embassy left Aachen between early February and early May, most probably during March 813: M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 139, 900, 902; T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2005), pp. 5-6, T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2018), pp. 288, 292-293.

movement was restricted by the authorities for a period of time (*continuo statuunt vigiles, qui limina claudant, ne monachus forsan per opaca evaderet urbis*); beforehand, they spent 80 days waiting for the emperor to receive them (*bisque quaterque decim hanc noctes possedimus ambo*)⁸; during their stay in the city, the Frankish liturgist witnessed the Epiphany liturgy performed in St Sophia on 6 January 814.⁹ Having completed their mission with success, the legates departed Constantinople in late January or early February (certainly prior to 13 April), reached Nonantola by late May or June,¹⁰ finally arriving at Aachen before 1 August 814.¹¹ On their return trip Amalarius and Peter were joined by two Byzantine envoys, *spatharios* Christopher and deacon Gregory.

The sixteen-month time-span of their trip thus allowed for a whole series of events to take place which the envoys couldn't have possibly foreseen: on 22 June 813 the Byzantines suffered a major military setback in the course of the war against the Bulgars (Battle of Versinikia), whose leader khan Krum in turn laid siege to Constantinople on 17 July; Krum's land blockade was to last – with one break between late August 813 and early January 814 – up until khan's sudden death in April 814, and overlapped with Amalarius' stay at the Byzantine court (though surprisingly Amalarius did not even mention the siege in his works). In the meantime, Leo the Armenian was moving against the incumbent emperor Michael I: after the defeat at Versinikia, Michael retreated to Constantinople, whereas Leo was proclaimed emperor by the troops; Rangabe agreed to surrender the throne, and duly abdicated in Leo's favor on 11 July 813; Leo was crowned the next day, and six days later he had to deal with the aforementioned Bulgar siege.¹² To sum up, neither were the Frankish envoys

⁸ M. McCORMICK, *Diplomacy and the Carolingian encounter with Byzantium down to the accession of Charles the Bald*, in: *Eriugena: East and West. Papers of the Eighth International Symposium of the Society for the promotion of Eriugenian Studies*, (ed.) Bernard McGinn, Willemien Otten, Notre Dame, 1994, p. 28 correlates the duration of Amalarius' stay with the «annual rhythms of the Byzantine court, which tended to cluster key social, ceremonial, and political activities around the great liturgical feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter». Prolonged sojourns were in fact customary, because it often happened that the emperor would grant the ambassadors their first formal audience up to several months after their arrival – see J.-C. CHEYNET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 325. The protracted stay of the Frankish legates is also pointed out by J.-M. SANSTERRE, *Les informations parvenues en Occident sur l'avènement de l'empereur Léon V et le siège de Constantinople par les Bulgares en 813*, *Byzantion*, 66, Bruxelles, 1996, p. 380. N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 625 noted that the close surveillance of Amalarius' embassy in Constantinople corresponds to Liutprand of Cremona's account a century and a half later.

⁹ Amalarius mentions this in his other work, *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, XXI, 4 = *Amalarii Episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, vol. 3, (ed.) Jean M. Hanssens, Città del Vaticano, 1950, p. 57: *audivi Constantinopoli in ecclesia Sanctae Sophiae*. Cf. N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 591, 714.

¹⁰ Since according to Amalarius' poem they have reached Italy «after spring» (*post vernum*), this must have happened sometime after 8 May – M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 902; N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 445.

¹¹ M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 902; N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 458. On 1 August 814 at Aachen abbot Peter of Nonantola received a charter from Louis the Pious.

¹² *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, (ed.) Friedhelm Winkelmann et alii, Bd. 2-3, Berlin - New York, 2000, nos. 4244 (Leo V), 4989 (Michael I). P. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, A. CUTLER, Leo V the Armenian, in: *ODB*, II, p. 1209; P. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, Michael I Rangabe, in: *ODB*, II, p. 1362; J. HALDON, The blockade of Constantinople in 813, in: *Byzantion'dan Constantinopolis'e İstanbul Kuşatmaları*, (ed.) Murat Arslan, Turhan Kaçar, İstanbul, 2017, pp. 264-268. M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 138ff., T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2005), pp. 4-6; L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680-850: A History*, Cambridge, 2011, pp. 362-367, P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775-831*, Leiden - Boston, 2012, pp. 221-264, P. SOPHOULIS, A resurgent empire? Byzantium in the early 800s, in: *Imperial Spheres* (n. 2), pp. 75-83, A. NIKOLOV, Franks and Bulgars in the first half of the ninth century, in: *Imperial Spheres* (n. 2), pp. 84-92, T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2018) and D. ZIEMANN, Dangerous neighbours. The Treaty of Aachen and the defeat of Nikephoros I by the Bulgars in 811, in: *Imperial Spheres* (n. 2), pp. 93-107 all provide a useful historical context for the embassy, as well as for Leo's takeover in 813 (with an overview of relevant scholarship). For the Western perspective cf. also P. CLASSEN, Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums, in: *Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, (ed.) Wolfgang Braunsfels, Helmut Beumann, Bd. 1, Düsseldorf, 1965, pp. 602-604 and J. M. SANSTERRE, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 373-380.

hosted by the emperor they were supposed to meet (Leo V instead of Michael I Rangabe), nor did they return to the emperor that had sent them (Charlemagne died on 28 January 814, and was succeeded by Louis the Pious).¹³

Amalarius gave an account of his voyage in two texts, both of them of semi-private nature: a letter to abbot Hilduin of St Denis (*Epistula ad Hilduinum abbatem*)¹⁴ and a Latin poem entitled *Sea verses* (*Versus marini*) intended for his companion abbot Peter.¹⁵ These are the main, though not exclusive, sources recording his diplomatic mission. The embassy itself is corroborated by other contemporary sources (e.g. a letter of Charlemagne directed to Michael I, *Annales regni Francorum*), but these do not concern us here. Letter to Hilduin, its title notwithstanding, is actually a lengthy liturgical treatise written at least a decade after the mission (ca. 824), whereas *Sea verses* were certainly composed soon after Amalarius' return to Frankland, in 814.¹⁶ *Sea verses* is a short poem, comprising 80 lines of verses composed in hexameters. These are at times opaque; indeed, in the opinion of Max Manitius this is »one of the most obscure poems of the Carolingian Middle Ages«, written in most unclear and convoluted way.¹⁷ It is an erudite mixture of Carolingian scholarship and personal eyewitness account.

Along with commonplaces and Biblical *topoi*,¹⁸ there are many instances where the influence of Roman and Early Christian poetry is easily discernible: thus Amalarius abundantly borrowed from Virgil's *Aeneid* (four times), Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (two times) as well as *Tristia* (three times), Lucan's *Pharsalia* (one time), and Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* (two times).¹⁹ This notwithstanding, the whole poem is replete with *realia* stemming from Amalarius' personal experience. For example, he narrates how one member of the entourage, a monk named Gregory, experienced seasickness and insomnia during the travel, which prevented him from joining his companions at dinner, whereas sea currents and bad weather tormented the entire embassy; further, their vessels were in danger of the Moors as well as the Slavs, and they equipped themselves with bows, arrows and other arms; he describes a kind of biscuits (hardtack) the passengers and the crew were eating, as well as animal skins they

¹³ Charlemagne's death is reflected in the last few verses of *Versus marini*: *Karoli quia morte fatigor (...) Cum Karolo quondam rege* (Amalarii versus marini, in: *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, tom. I, (ed.) Ernst Dümmler, Berlin, 1881, p. 428, v. 78-80).

¹⁴ Basic editions of *Epistula ad Hilduinum* are *Amalarii opera*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 341-358, and *Amalarii epistolae*, in: *MGH, Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, tom. III, (ed.) Ernst Dümmler, Berlin, 1899, no. 6, pp. 247-257.

¹⁵ So far *Sea verses* have been edited several times. All the editions of the text (by J.-P. Migne, E. Dümmler, and R. DÜCHTING) are listed in: *Repertorium edierter Texte des Mittelalters aus dem Bereich der Philosophie und angrenzender Gebiete*, (ed.) Rolf Schönberger et alii, Bd. I, Berlin, 2012, pp. 336-337. For the purposes of this paper I am using Dümmler's edition.

¹⁶ This is certain, since Abbot Peter asked Amalarius via letter to send him the treatise »he had expounded during the sea voyage«, which was duly dispatched to Peter with the poem attached – see *Amalarii epistolae* (n. 14), pp. 245-246; T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2005), p. 7, T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2018), p. 303 n. 8. On their correspondence, see M. S. ZOBOLI, *Il Monastero di San Silvestro di Nonantola all'epoca dell'abbaziato di Pietro (804-824/825)*, Nonantola, 1997, pp. 179-183.

¹⁷ M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Bd. I, München, 1911, p. 399: »Ein schwerer verständliches Gedicht läßt sich in der karolingischen Poesie kaum finden, dem Dichter scheint es nicht nur an Klarheit über die Bedeutung mancher von ihm gebrauchten Worte zu fehlen, sondern der Ausdruck selbst läßt große Mängel erkennen«; Manitius quoted and paraphrased by S. BOBRYCKI, A Hypothetical Slave in Constantinople: Amalarius's *Liber Officialis* and the Mediterranean Slave Trade, *The Haskins Society Journal*, 26, Woodbridge, 2014, p. 49. R. DÜCHTING, Amalar, *Versus marini*, in: *Lateinische Kultur im VIII. Jahrhundert. Traube-Gedenkschrift*, (ed.) Albert Lehner, Walter Berschin, St. Ottilien, 1989, p. 48 concurs (»Schwerverständlichkeit der Verse«).

¹⁸ R. DÜCHTING, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 53-56 noticed an influence of Gospel According to Matthew, and corrected some of Dümmler's parallels, pointing to Biblical paraphrases rather than Christian poets as the source of respective verses. DÜCHTING also re-edited the Latin text of *Sea verses* on pp. 57-58.

¹⁹ Dümmler subsequently detected twelve verses wherein Amalarius paraphrased or otherwise used the works of ancient Roman or Early Christian poets – see *MGH, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*, vol. II, (ed.) Ernst Dümmler, Berlin, 1884, p. 694 [addenda ad tomum I], p. 694.

used to cover themselves.²⁰ Finally, it looks as if he has had some experience with slave trade while in Constantinople, since he drew on his experience there (supposedly witnessing enslaved captives) in an allegorical story he later used in his treatise *Liber Officialis*.²¹

This is why there is no reason to doubt what Amalarius has to say about his meeting with Leo V. However brief, his report stems from real events. Moreover, the mission was by all accounts a success, so the section of the *Sea verses* quoted below has been generally taken simply as an additional corroboration of otherwise known facts about the embassy.²² Consequently, this passage has never been seriously scrutinized:

*Tunc sero rediens basileus Leo mandat et ipse,
Ut veniant fratres ad summa palatia regis.
Hic loquitur, hic de Karoli orat vita per evum,
Ac natorum eius, sacri simul ordinis omnis,
Et populi memorans Francorum voce benigna.*²³

Then, returning late, emperor Leo himself ordered,
That the brethren should come to the most high royal palace.
He spoke, he asked about Charles' life and age,
And of his sons, as well as the entire holy order,
And remembering the people of the Franks in benign voice.

A striking feature of the conversation reported in *Sea verses* is its structure – Leo V's questions are posed in the following order: 1) Charlemagne's age and disposition (*Karoli vita per evum*), 2) his sons (*nati eius*), 3) the entire clergy (*sacer ordo omnis*), 4) the whole Frankish people (*populus Francorum*). The questions are ordered in strict hierarchy. The first impression, however, is of some sort of casual conversation struck up between the two men, ending amiably. But is this really so? Even a cursory look at Byzantine and external sources on imperial protocol casts a somewhat different light on Leo's and Amalarius' »small talk«.

There are two basic categories of evidence about imperial reception ceremonies: narrative sources (mostly written by observers, often foreign envoys themselves) and internal documents (produced at the Byzantine court) that prescribe or describe the staging of the actual ceremonies, such as the *Book of Ceremonies*. The latter provide all the technical details necessary for the successful performance of court rituals, with chapters typically beginning with the phrase: »What must be observed...«.²⁴ The former, on the other hand, act as a corrective to Byzantine normative documents and thus furnish additional evidence for the scholarly recreation of actual ceremonies.

²⁰ Amalarii opera, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 66; M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 410, 424; N. DROCOURT, Entre facilités institutionnelles et réalités des déplacements diplomatiques: les voyages des ambassadeurs étrangers vers et dans l'Empire byzantin (VII^e-XII^e siècle), in: *Les voyageurs au Moyen Âge*, (ed.) Henri Bresc, Denis Menjot, Paris, 2008, pp. 17, 18; N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 218-219, 433, 443.

²¹ S. BOBRYCKI, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 47-67.

²² Mentioning this in passing T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 2005), p. 6 n. 31 assumed that »the sentence was not meant to simply describe 'small talk' with the envoys on the part of the emperor, but a predefined, protocolary formula in the pseudolitururgical ambience of imperial ceremonial whereby the ruler extends his good wishes for his co-ruler, his heirs, the clergy and the people«. Vedriš did not develop his argument further, but on the whole his assumption is correct, as will be shown below.

²³ E. DÜMMLER, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 428, v. 46-50. The translation is my own.

²⁴ M. McCORMICK, Analyzing imperial ceremonies, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 35, Wien, 1985, pp. 3-4. The latter may also include the detailed *procès verbaux* of the particular, unique ceremonies performed at some point in the past.

The reception of foreign envoys was by far the most grandiose of three main kinds of public audiences listed in *De Cerimoniis*.²⁵ This is what this treatise has to say about audience ceremonies involving direct speech to and from the emperor in chapters 89 and 90 of Book I (*What it is necessary to observe when a senior ambassador of the Persians comes*):

The following day, or the day after, the ambassador gives notice and goes and greets the *magistros*, and the *magistros* receives him with a kiss and the *magistros* asks him before all else about the health of his emperor, and then about the children of his emperor, and about the archons, and about his own health and that of his household, and about his journey, [trusting] that he had not been troubled at all on the way, and that nothing had been overlooked.²⁶

So the questions one was supposed to ask the Persian envoy consisted of the following: 1) health of the Persian ruler (περὶ τῆς ὑγείας τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ); 2) children of the Persian ruler (περὶ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ); 3) Persian archons (περὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων); 4) health of the envoy and his household (περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ὑγείας); 5) envoy's journey (πῶς).

Analogy with the questions posed to Amalarius is instantly apparent. It is, however, the *magistros*, not the emperor who makes these enquiries of the Persian ambassador; a few passages further an audience proper is described:

(...) As the curtain is raised, the ambassador outside throws himself on the ground where the porphyry marble slab is, and he makes obeisance and stands up. After he has gone in the door, he again throws himself down and makes obeisance on the ground and stands up. Again in the middle of the Consistory he makes obeisance likewise, and then he goes and kisses the feet [of the emperor] and stands in the middle and presents the letter and delivers his emperor's greetings. Then the emperor should ask, "How is the health of our brother in God? We rejoice at his good health," and he says to the ambassador such spontaneous words as he wishes.²⁷

The well-being of the Persian ruler is conventional, customary question here. It is to be asked about once more, during the subsequent receptions of the Persian envoys (these are dealt with in chapter 90: *What must be observed regarding the ambassador on the other days*):

The ambassador, if he wishes them to be received [formally], goes in and begs the ruler for his gifts to be received. If the ruler acquiesces, his men go in carrying his gifts, and the same procedure is followed as for the imperial gifts, and conversation takes place. The emperor should again, both frequently and politely, ask after the emperor of the Persians and his disposition, and if there is peace, talk also about such things; and the emperor dismisses him.²⁸

Monotonous repetition of uniform questions is incorporated in book II, chapter 47, as well (*The greetings to the emperor of ambassadors coming from various foreign nations*). It is expressly stated that the logothete is doing all the talking for the emperor:

The logothete's questioning of them [the ambassadors coming from Old Rome]: How is the most holy bishop of Rome, the spiritual father of our holy emperor? How are all the bishops

²⁵ M. McCORMICK, Audience, in: *ODB*, I, p. 231.

²⁶ *De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* I, 89 = *Constantine Porphyrogenetos, The Book of Ceremonies*, (transl.) Ann Moffatt, Maxeme Tall, vol. 1, Canberra, 2012 (henceforth: *BOC*), pp. 402-403.

²⁷ *De Cer.* I, 89 = *BOC*, 1, p. 406.

²⁸ *De Cer.* I, 90 = *BOC*, 1, p. 409.

and priests and deacons and the rest of the clergy of the holy church of the Romans? How is the highly esteemed so-and-so, prince of Old Rome?²⁹

The papal legates are listed first. The logothete is to ask them for the well-being of the following people: 1) pope (ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Ῥώμης); 2) bishops, priests, deacons, rest of the Roman clergy (πάντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς κληρὸς τῆς ἁγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας); 3) prince of Old Rome (ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ὁ δεῖνα πρίγκιψ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης).

The same chapter holds the official style of address to be observed by the Bulgar ambassadors:

The greeting to the emperor of the ambassadors coming from Bulgaria: How is the divinely crowned emperor, the spiritual grandfather of the ruler of Bulgaria by the grace of God? How is the lady, the *augousta*? How are the imperial sons of the great and sublime emperor and the rest of his children? How is the most holy and ecumenical patriarch? How are the two *magistroi*? How is all the senate? How are the four logothetes?

The logothete's questioning of them: How is the spiritual grandson of our holy emperor, the archon of Bulgaria by the grace of God? How is the *archontissa* by the grace of God? How are the *kanarti keinos* and the *boulías tarkanos*, the sons of the archon of Bulgaria by the grace of God, and the rest of his children? How are the six great boyars? How are the rest of the boyars, both within [the court] and outside? How are the common people?³⁰

The formal questions of the Bulgars closely correspond to what we have already determined. One was to enquire about the health of: 1) emperor (ὁ θεοστεφής βασιλεὺς); 2) his wife (ἡ αὐγούστα καὶ δέσποινα); 3) their sons [co-emperors] and other children (οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ τέκνα); 4) patriarch of Constantinople (ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης); 5) two *magistroi* (οἱ δύο μάγιστροι); 6) senate (ἡ σύγκλητος); 7) four logothetes (οἱ δ' ἑτεροὶ).

Accordingly, the logothete's reciprocal questions, asked in emperor's stead, are of the same type, taking account of the hierarchy as established in Bulgaria: 1) archon of Bulgaria (ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας); 2) his wife (ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀρχόντισσα); 3) their sons [including titles conferred on the sons of the Bulgar ruler] and other children (ὁ Κανάρτι κείνος καὶ ὁ Βουλίας τάρκανος οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἄρχοντος Βουλγαρίας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτοῦ τέκνα); 4) six great boyars (οἱ ἑξ Βολιάδες οἱ μεγάλοι); 5) rest of the boyars (οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἔσω καὶ ἔξω Βολιάδες); 6) common people of Bulgaria (τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ λαοῦ).³¹

A pattern emerging is that of rigorous repetition of standard questions, in strict sequence: ruler, ruler's closest family and heir-apparents, clerical order (if there is one), nobles/officials of different ranks, common folk. This is remarkably akin to Amalarius' account. The wording is practically the same.

²⁹ *De Cer.* II, 47 = *BOC*, 2, pp. 680-681.

³⁰ *De Cer.* II, 47 = *BOC*, 2, p. 681. In the subsequent section (p. 682) there are changes mirroring the new status of the Bulgar ruler: the salutation is modified (e.g. the empress and imperial children have switched places, and the list was expanded by inclusion of proconsuls, patricians, *strategoí*, and the imperial troops; there is no mention of logothetes). The logothete's questioning of the Bulgars also changed (e.g. the Bulgar emperor advanced from being the »spiritual grandson« of the Byzantine emperor into his »spiritual son«), see E. N. LUTTWAK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 134. But the structure is basically the same.

³¹ More or less the same structure is evident in the logothete's questioning of ambassadors from the Muslim countries (*De Cer.* II, 47 = *BOC*, 2, pp. 683-686: *The greeting to the emperor when ambassadors from the amermoumnes come from Syria; The greeting to the emperor of the ambassadors coming from a chief emir, whether of Egypt or Persia or Chorosan, that is to say, subject to the imperial power of the Romans and sending tribute; The greeting to the emperor of the ambassadors coming from a chief emir, whether of Egypt or Persia or Chorosan, that is to say, when he is not subject to the imperial power of the Romans, and indeed whether or not he is under the subjection of the amermoumnes*), adapted to local context and hierarchy (*amermoumnes*, emir, council of elders, people), and laying more stress on the travelling conditions of the envoys.

The hosting of embassies during the Middle Byzantine period, namely the most formal first audience of the legation before the emperor, retained many elements of Late Antique imperial receptions (*consistorium*).³² In these most formal of situations, the actual communication between the emperor and the envoys received at court was reduced to ritualized exchange of conventional formulas – and sometimes later dramatized in subsequently written narrative accounts – which Andrew Gillett recently aptly described as follows: »The strict control over visiting envoys, the intrusion into the envoys' business by senior palace officials (particularly the *magister officiorum*), the intimidating ceremonial, the extremely limited access to the emperor, and the highly regimented procedure of an imperial audience (known by the discouraging name of *silentium*) – all were designed to limit direct contact between the emperor and envoys, and to disadvantage the visitor«.³³ As evidenced by sources both normative and narrative, the real practice emphasized a totally different setting for one to really discuss matters with the emperor: actual opportunities for discussion, direct encounter with decision-makers and diplomatic exchange presented themselves during less formal events that followed the first audience, such as palace banquets, dinners, shows, etc. (*convivia*). It seems that these less formal meetings and *tête-à-tête* conversations were a convention (that usually followed an audience, especially if the host was pleased with the envoys), and also originated from the Early Byzantine period.³⁴ Then and only then was it possible to engage into direct conversation with the emperor.

In general, the solemn atmosphere of imperial audiences did not stimulate light conversation of any kind.³⁵ Demonstrably this came as no surprise to the envoys, since questions of ceremonial were arranged beforehand, briefing the legates about the protocol they were about to face, and sometimes preparatory missions concerning these formalities were organized ahead of the actual embassy.³⁶

³² A degree of continuity between these and Late Antique formal audiences is plausibly postulated by A. GILLETT, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2003), pp. 252-253.

³³ IDEM, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2012), p. 258.

³⁴ IDEM, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2003), pp. 254, 256; N. DROCOURT, Ambassadeurs étrangers à Constantinople: moyens de contacts, d'échanges et de connaissances partielles du monde byzantin (VIII^e-XII^e siècles), in: *Espaces d'échanges en Méditerranée: Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, (ed.) François Clément, John V. Tolan, Jérôme Wilgaux, Rennes, 2006 (<http://books.openedition.org/pur/7841>, accessed 19 May 2019), paragraph 15.

³⁵ J. C. CHEYNET, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 323.

³⁶ W. POHL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 76. Liutprand's mission offers good evidence on this: *Antapodosis*, VI, 5 = *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, in: *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, tom. 41, (ed.) Joseph Becker, Hannover - Leipzig, 1915, p. 155 = *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, (ed. & trans.) Paolo Squatriti, Washington, D.C., 2007, p. 198: *And when, upon my entry, the lions emitted their roar and the birds called out, each according to its species, I was not filled with special fear or admiration, since I had been told about all these things by one of those who knew them well.* Foreign courts and chanceries also had at their disposal sets of protocol stylesheets ready to use when meeting and addressing the emperor (written instructions to the legates included), see I. BASIĆ, *Imperium and Regnum* in Gottschalk's description of Dalmatia, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, (ed.) Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš, Leiden - Boston, 2018, pp. 180-181, 185 n. 49; N. DROCOURT, La place de l'écrit dans les contacts diplomatiques du haut Moyen Âge. Le cas des relations entre Byzance et ses voisins (de la fin du VII^e siècle à 1204), in: *L'autorité de l'écrit au Moyen Âge (Orient-Occident)*, Paris, 2009, pp. 29-30, 40. There is some evidence that these formulas may have been used as a standard greeting style during the audiences; see e.g. the instructions given to Charlemagne's envoys to Pope Hadrian I in ca. 785: the first two instructions run as follows: *Primo capitulo. Salutat uos dominus noster filius uester Carolus rex et filia uestra domna Fastrada regina ac filii et filiae domni nostri, simul et omnis domus sua. 2. Salutant uos cuncti sacerdotes, episcopi et abbates atque omnis congregatio illorum in Dei seruicio constituta etiam et uniuersus grex et populus Francorum – Memoratorium missis datum ad papam Adrianum legatis*, in: *MGH, Capitularia regum Francorum*, tom. I, (ed.) Alfred Boretius, Hannover, 1883, p. 225. Cf. R. DREILLARD, Fidélité et protection. Le traitement des ambassadeurs dans le royaume des Francs et sur ses marges à l'époque carolingienne (VIII^e-IX^e siècles), in: *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerranée de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne: procédures de contrôle et documents d'identification*, (dir.) Claude Moatti, Rome, 2004, p. 609, no. 1 and 2. So the sequence is: king, king's wife, their sons and daughters, their entire household (family), the clergy in its entirety (priests, bishops, abbots), finally the entire people of the Franks. This corresponds closely to Amalarius' account of Leo V's words, and merits further research.

Narrative accounts of receptions of foreign envoys, generally written by envoys themselves upon return to their respective countries in languages other than Greek, are in most cases corroborated by prescriptive, normative Byzantine texts written in Greek, such as *De ceremoniis*.³⁷ As Jonathan Shepard pointed out long ago, Liutprand of Cremona's audience with Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in 949, as recorded a decade later in his *Antapodosis*, is well matched with the norms for the reception of foreign ambassadors in chapter II, 15 of the *Book of Ceremonies*; furthermore, Shepard noted that the Logothete of the Drome acted as an intermediary between the emperor and Liutprand, putting questions in emperor's stead i.e. Porphyrogenitus did not speak at all:

Then, however, he did not speak at all for himself, since, even if he wished to, the great space between us would render it unseemly, so he asked about the life of Berengar and his safety through a minister. When I had answered him reasonably, and when his interpreter gave a sign, I left and was soon received in the hostel assigned to me.³⁸

Furthermore, the questions posed are conspicuously similar to the ones asked by Leo V in 813 (doings and health of king Berengar II). Finally, in chapter II, 15 of the *Book of Ceremonies* the questions posed by the logothete are enumerated in full detail, and explicitly designated as »the customary questions«, while the treatise clearly prescribes that the same order and sequence is to be applied to all foreign guests led into emperor's presence, regardless of their number or country of origin.³⁹

As outlined above, only after the first formal audience had ended did the opportunity arise for the envoy to speak with the emperor directly, as was the case with Liutprand in 949:

Once these things had been accomplished in this way, after three days the emperor ordered me to be called to the palace. And having spoken to me with his own mouth, he invited me to a meal, and after the meal he gave my retainers and me a great gift.⁴⁰

³⁷ M. McCORMICK, From one center of power to another: comparing Byzantine and Carolingian ambassadors, in: *Deutsche Königspfalzen: Beiträge zu ihrer historischen und archäologischen Erforschung. Achter Band, Places of power – Orte der Herrschaft – Lieux du pouvoir*, (ed.) Caspar Ehlers, Göttingen, 2007, p. 72 compiled a check list of Carolingian ambassadors to the Byzantine court. From 763 to 899 there were 21 known legates directed to Constantinople. Unfortunately, only Amalarius in 813/814 and Anastasius Bibliothecarius in 869/870 had left personal notes on their trips. On the correlation of this with McCormick's concept of »kinetic integration« see M. McCORMICK, The imperial edge: Italo-Byzantine identity, movement and integration, A.D. 650-950, in: *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, (ed.) Hélène Ahrweiler, Angeliki E. Laiou, Washington D.C., 1998, pp. 31-45.

³⁸ *Antapodosis*, VI, 5 = *The Complete Works of Liudprand*, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 198 = *Die Werke Liutprands*, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 155: *Per se autem tunc nihil locutus, quoniam, etsi vellet, intercapedo maxima indecorum faceret, de vita Berengarii et sospitate per logothetam est percontatus. Cui cum consequenter respondissem, interprete sum innuente egressus, et in datum mihi hospitium mox receptus*. Another translation: *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, (transl.) Frederick A. Wright, London - New York, 1930, p. 208: *he did not address me personally (...) but by the intermediary of a secretary he enquired about Berengar's doings and asked after his health. I made a fitting reply and then, at a nod from the interpreter, left his presence*.

³⁹ J. SHEPARD, Byzantine diplomacy, A.D. 800-1204: means and ends, in: *Byzantine Diplomacy* (n. 5), pp. 48, 49. On this and other logothete's duties see J.-C. CHEYNET, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 323, J. M. FEATHERSTONE, Δι' ἐνδείξι: display in court ceremonial (*De Cerimoniis II, 15*), in: *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, (ed.) Anthony Cutler, Arietta Papaconstantinou, Leiden - Boston, 2007, p. 83, N. DROCOURT, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 15. M. McCORMICK, op. cit. (n. 25), p. 231 and N. DROCOURT, op. cit. (n. 34), paragraph 10 also point out that the emperor remained silent, with logothete doing all the (formal) talking.

⁴⁰ *Antapodosis*, VI, 7 = *The Complete Works of Liudprand*, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 199 = *Die Werke Liutprands*, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 156: *His ita gestis imperator me post triduum ad palatium vocare precepit proprioque mecum ore locutus ad convivium invitavit magnoque post convivium me meosque asseculas munere donavit*. Wright (*The Works of Liudprand*, op. cit. (n. 38)), p. 209 translates: *personally invited me to dinner with him*.

The first audience, most formal of all, was thus a highly ritualized ceremony during which stereotyped phrases were exchanged between the envoys and the Logothete of the Drome. Phrases fixed and invariable, aptly dubbed »symbolic communication«.⁴¹ That this course of events was indeed a fixed feature of the first occasion a foreign embassy was led into the imperial presence, is evidenced by another source, as emphasized by Nicolas Drocourt: when an emissary from Baghdad, Nasr ibn al-Azhar, was presented to emperor Michael III in 860 in the Hall of Magnaura, the same solemn silence was maintained, with three interpreters acting as emperor's mouthpieces: *basileus* confined himself to simply nodding the head once in confirmation; Drocourt further relates al-Azhar's remark that he did not hear the emperor utter a word once during his four-month stay at Constantinople.⁴² Although these accounts of 860 and 949 may be exaggerated in some narrative aspects, they nevertheless point to the conclusion that we must take into consideration substantial continuity in rules of imperial ceremonial, stretching back to (at least) Amalarius' mission of 813/814; accordingly, with these sources in mind, it is fair to say that the *Book of Ceremonies* faithfully renders the usual practice as performed during these audiences. Taking this into account, and adding that Drocourt likewise noted that chapter I, 89 of the *Book of Ceremonies* points to an enduring routine of imperial distance during receptions going back to 6th century, we conform to his conclusion that the verbal »exchange and contact between foreign ambassadors and Byzantine authorities, at least in the person of the emperor, seem very difficult, if not impossible«.⁴³ Amalarius' account now renders this even more plausible.

This opens up the question of continuity of formulas employed in the *Book of Ceremonies* that cannot be dealt with in great detail here. Bearing in mind that »to interpret *De ceremoniis* requires knowledge of each section's origin because it compiles 5th–10th-c. records that document Byzantine government, diplomacy, prosopography, Constantinopolitan topography and historical events«,⁴⁴ we would argue that what lies beneath the expressions used by Leo V is in fact codified, solemn ritual common to Byzantine court culture and recorded in treatises such as the *Book of Ceremonies*. A broad scholarly consensus has been reached concerning chapters I, 89, I, 90 and II, 47: chapters I, 89 and 90 are of antiquarian origin and ultimately derive from the Early Byzantine textual sources compiled by a 6th-century *magister officiorum*, Peter the Patrician (ca. 539–565).⁴⁵ With five preceding and five following chapters, they form a distinct antiquarian dossier (chapters 84–95) of *De Ceremoniis*, prepared beforehand and then appended to the previous 83 chapters that formed the more or less completed treatise on the ceremonies of the Byzantine court. In other words, the last 12 chapters of Book I were put together by Porphyrogenitus' editorial team, but without being incorporated into the definitive arrangement of the Ceremonial Book; instead they were left in a somewhat unrevised form as a raw material added at the end of Book I, with some ambiguity as to whether this was done

⁴¹ N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 41–42.

⁴² N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), paragraph 11.

⁴³ N. DROCOURT, *op. cit.* (n. 34), paragraph 12.

⁴⁴ M. McCORMICK, *De Ceremoniis*, in: *ODB*, I, p. 595.

⁴⁵ Most recently: C. SODE, Historical-antiquarian texts in the Ceremonial Book of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, in: *Center, Province and Periphery in the Age of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. From De Ceremoniis to De Administrando Imperio*, (ed.) Niels Gaul, Volker Menze, Csanád Bálint, Wiesbaden, 2018, pp. 72–73, with a balanced overview of previous scholarship. Most of the conclusions regarding the sources of the aforementioned chapters were first expounded by J. B. BURY, The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogenetos, *English Historical Review*, 22, London, 1907, pp. 212–213, and are still valid today. Although only chapters 84 and 85 are explicitly linked to Peter the Patrician (by means of the chapter headings: *From the works of Peter the magistros; From the same Peter*), conclusive evidence has been adduced by several generations of scholars to convincingly ascribe the whole group to Peter. See, e.g., A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, Introduction, in: *BOC*, vol. 1, pp. xxvi–xxvii; M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 24); A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 5); L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850): The Sources*, Birmingham, 2001, p. 295; Z. A. WOODROW, *Imperial ideology in middle Byzantine court culture: the evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's De Ceremoniis*, PhD, University of Durham, 2001, pp. 1–40.

by Porphyrogenitus himself or by the powerful court official Basil the Nothos during the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas (963-969). Be that as it may, there is no doubt that our chapters I, 89 and I, 90 belong to the section drawn from the works dating from the mid-6th century. As to the chapter II, 47, Bury hypothesized that this formed part of a subsequent addition made after Porphyrogenitus' death, under Nicephorus Phocas; the evidence, however, is inconclusive.⁴⁶ What is more certain is that chapter 47 dates from ca. 922-924, containing styles of address for Bulgar ruler which bear all the hallmarks of a revision in order to adapt them to current political situation.⁴⁷

The issues involving *Book of Ceremonies'* sources have still not been settled. Although the antiquarian chapters in section 84-95 stand apart from the previous ones, because they concern obsolete institutions and realms that have ceased to exist long time ago (Persia, Western Roman Empire etc.), one is still inclined to at the very least accept the possibility that these sections of *De Ceremoniis* (that is, the formulas of diplomatic protocol) can be attributed to a period preceding Amalarius' attestations of ceremonial at Leo's court. To be sure, this is no proof, but it does offer potentially fruitful evidence for future research. Although the sources on this are scarce, they do occasionally crop up in the texts, and it is considered certain that »the general level of royal ritual was indeed high, and that ceremonies of roughly similar kind to those envisaged in the protocols laid down by Constantine had been performed more or less regularly since at least the fifth and sixth centuries«.⁴⁸

Given that Amalarius in all likelihood knew Greek very well,⁴⁹ he was presumably able to speak to the emperor directly, not needing an official interpreter, who was always at hand on these occasions. This notwithstanding, it seems that Leo deliberately chose not to engage in spontaneous conversation with the Frankish theologian, but to carry on with the exchange of formal questions stipulated by the official discourse of imperial ceremonial.

Michael McCormick surmised that Leo's enquiring about the health of Charlemagne's children was »perhaps an allusion to a marriage project with the recently deposed and castrated Byzantine co-emperor Ignatius«, adding that »Amalarius' phrasing seems to recognize that hearing the emperor's voice was a special favor«.⁵⁰ Both assumptions are now superfluous, since we can suggest a different common source: the phrases used were standard ritualized questions of imperial receptions. As to whether Amalarius actually heard Leo's voice, or rather the voice of the logothete in emperor's stead, it is difficult to say (one suspects that he didn't); but since the emperor posed the »customary questions« in the order predefined by protocol, there is no reason to assume that the practice differed from the one recorded by Nasr ibn al-Azhar in 860, Liutprand of Cremona in 949, and by the *Book of Ceremonies*. Rather than describing light talk, this was an instance of rigid court etiquette.

⁴⁶ J. B. BURY, *op. cit.* (n. 45), pp. 222-223, 418-420, 431, 434, 437; A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. xxx. For possible dates for the sources of respective chapters, see McCormick's *Chronological Synopsis of the Sources of De ceremoniis*: M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 596-597, and A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, *op. cit.* (n. 45), pp. xxvi-xxvii.

⁴⁷ M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 596-597. However, J. B. BURY, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 226 thought that both chapters have been composed in the reign of Leo VI (886-912), having noticed several traces of Porphyrogenitus' editing.

⁴⁸ A. CAMERON, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 121-122 (quote), 129. Cameron further points to traces of the continuity of court protocol in the 7th and 8th centuries as recorded in *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, (ed.) Averil Cameron, Judith Herrin, Leiden, 1984, pp. 170-171 (possible reference to early-8th century imperial acclamations derived from contemporary documentary source), 209-210, 212.

⁴⁹ *Amalarii opera*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 86. R. DÜCHTING, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 49 agrees that both envoys (Amalarius and Peter of Nonantola) must have understood and spoken Greek. There is ample evidence that Liutprand spoke and wrote Greek as well – M. McCORMICK, Liutprand of Cremona, in: *ODB*, II, p. 1242.

⁵⁰ M. McCORMICK, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 141. McCormick inadvertently conflated Ignatius (originally named Niketas, who was never co-emperor) with another of Michael's sons, Theophylact, who ruled alongside his father (811-813) and was considered a suitable match for one of Charlemagne's daughters. Both were castrated and tonsured, whereas Ignatius eventually became patriarch of Constantinople (847-858, 867-877) and saint. See A. P. KAZHDAN, Ignatios, in: *ODB*, II, p. 983; *PmbZ*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), no. 2666.

Amalarije iz Metza na dvoru Lava V.: bilješka o carskom ceremonijalu

Franački liturgičar i klerik Amalarije iz Metza (o. 775.-850.) upućen je 813. godine s dvora Karla Velikog na poslanstvo k bizantskom caru Mihajlu I. s ciljem potvrđivanja mirovnog ugovora između dvaju carstava zaključenog u Aachenu 812. godine. Uz Amalarija, na čelu poslanstva se nalazio Petar, opat Samostana Sv. Silvestra u Nonantoli. Diplomatska misija realizirana je od Uskrsa 813. do konca srpnja 814., pri čemu su franački poslanici na dvoru u Konstantinopolu proveli minimalno tri mjeseca na prijelazu iz stare u novu godinu. Za trajanja putovanja došlo je do smjene na bizantskom prijestolju (12. srpnja 813. godine Lav V. je zamijenio Mihajla I.), kao i na franačkom (smrt Karla Velikog 28. siječnja 814. godine).

Poslanstvo je završeno uspješno, a dokumentirano je nizom suvremenih vrela, među kojima su najiscrpniji Amalarijevi *Morski stihovi* (*Versus marini*), spjev od 80 heksametara napisan nedugo po njegovu povratku, što podrobno opisuje tijek putovanja. Ovdje se raščlanjuje dio teksta u kojem autor prenosi susret s carem Lavom V. Armencem (813.-820.) na dvoru tijekom službene audijencije. Sintaksa i struktura teksta uspoređuje se s izvorima iste vrste iz traktata *O ceremonijama* (*De Cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*) nastalog sredinom 10. st. u krugu Konstantina VII. Porfirogeneta, kao i pisanim svjedočanstvima drugih inozemnih izaslanika o prijemu na bizantskom dvoru (Liutprand iz Cremona, Nasr ibn al-Azhar). Ustanovljena je istovjetnost formula izgovorenih u carevo ime (posredstvom logoteta) u svim tim prilikama; posrijedi su konvencionalni izričaji diplomatske uljudnosti, formulaično sročeni te hijerarhijski razrađeni. Zaključuje se da konverzacija franačkog poslanika s bizantskim carem nije bila spontana, već određena rigoroznim dvorskim ceremonijalom: Amalarije vjerno prenosi službeni diskurs carskog protokola propisan za prve svečane audijencije stranih izaslanika. Zaključno se upozorava na moguće posljedice ovakvoga zaključka po datiranje izvora i predložaka poglavlja I.89, I.90 i II.47 iz *De Cerimoniis*.

Ključne riječi: Amalarije iz Metza, Lav V. Armenac, Bizant, carski ceremonijal, diplomatski protokol, *Versus marini*, *De Cerimoniis*

LES PAROLES DE PIERRE – MOTS ET MONOGRAMMES – DE QUELQUES CHANCELS PALÉOCHRÉTIENS

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The Early medieval epigraphic tradition that “makes” the epistyles of pergulae “speak” stems from the rare habit of inscribing altar screens in Early Christian times. This paper deals with written monogrammed messages engraved to order and with inscriptions engraved just before the installation of the prefabricated carved elements of some chosen examples of screens. They partly reflect the extent and variety of the messages entrusted to the altar screens, also justifying the choice of these specific supports located in the ecclesial space at the very threshold of the sanctuary.

Key words: altar screen, pergula, monograms, inscriptions, 6th-7th centuries

INTRODUCTION

Il y a quelques mois, nous feuilletions le dossier de la belle publication sur la Basilique orientale de Xanthos en Lycie que préparent Marie-Patricia Raynaud, Marie-Geneviève Froidevaux et Jean-Pierre Sodini¹. Un de leurs catalogues rassemble une trentaine de fragments inscrits du chancel ajouré qui date du troisième tiers du V^e siècle². Leur identification s’est faite lors de l’étude des éléments liturgiques sculptés, non au sein d’un catalogue d’inscriptions isolé. Certes la lecture de certaines portions inscrites a pu faciliter des collages de fragments jointifs ou le rapprochement d’éléments même disjoints d’un formulaire morcelé. En compulsant, pour cet article d’hommage à Nikola Jakšić, un grand nombre de *corpora* épigraphiques, nous avons été frappée de constater combien les supports – et en particulier les barrières liturgiques – sont souvent peu ou mal renseignés, n’étant pas, à l’instar des lettres qui s’enchaînent en ces mots qui forment des textes analysables, le souci premier de nos collègues épigraphistes. Ce que nous écrivons ici pourra être infirmé (ou confirmé) par des éléments encore non reconnus, autant que par de futures découvertes.

Les réflexions qui suivent ont été inspirées par l’attention extrême que porte constamment Nikola Jakšić, lorsqu’il étudie le mobilier liturgique carolingien, aux inscriptions qui y ont été gravées par divers dédicants laïcs ou religieux. Cet intérêt lui permet de conforter l’attribution de séries de productions à plusieurs ateliers et de les dater, souvent par ces dédicaces bien connues des princes croates et de leurs affidés, parfois même de manière remarquable à l’aide d’un simple mot comme ce *propitiatorium* qui apparaît sur plusieurs *ciboria* et épistyles de chancel en Dalmatie méridionale³. La Croatie actuelle conserve un corpus important d’épigraphes latines d’époque carolingienne dont deux des supports

¹ J.-P. SODINI, M.-G. FROIDEVAUX, M.-P. RAYNAUD (dir.), *La Basilique Est de Xanthos*, Bordeaux (à paraître).

² Brisés en petits morceaux, les éléments de la barrière avaient été réemployés dans une terrasse ottomane.

³ N. JAKŠIĆ, A Ninth-century Stone-cutting Workshop in Southern Dalmatia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 20/2, Zagreb - Motovun, 2014, pp. 590-601, spécialement pp. 596-597 et fig. 6a p. 593.

privilegiés ont été l'épistyle et le tympan des barrières de chœur hautes dites *pergulae*. De nombreux chercheurs ont cru y voir un phénomène nouveau ainsi que le rappelle incidemment Ivan Basić (nous traduisons): « Dans l'historiographie de l'art préroman – plus exactement dans l'étude de la continuité entre les productions paléochrétiennes et alto-médiévales – il a été depuis longtemps remarqué qu'en règle générale les architraves des clôtures de chœur ne sont dotées d'inscriptions qu'à partir du début de la période préromane. Cependant, aux IV^e, V^e et VI^e siècles, les architraves des intérieurs d'églises sont presque toujours anépigraphes⁴. Pour confirmer cette règle bien établie, Ivan Basić cite en note les deux exceptions notables qu'il connaît : la *pergula* du *sacello* de S. Prodoscimo à S. Giustina de Padoue et sa presque jumelle disparue des S. Felice e Fortunato de Vicence. Deux exemples du premier tiers du VI^e siècle auxquels nous reviendrons. Toutefois, notre propos ne se limitera pas aux parties hautes des chancels. Afin de remonter aux origines des *pergulae* inscrites qu'aime côtoyer Nikola Jakšić, nous nous sommes penchée plus largement sur les chancels paléochrétiens⁵, ce meuble fixe que l'on nommait alors au pluriel *cancelli*/κάγκελλ(α)/-οι⁶, sur les plaques pleines ou ajourées et les mains-courantes de ces barrières d'abord « basses », qui prennent fréquemment à compter de la seconde moitié du V^e siècle la physionomie « haute »⁷ de la *pergula*⁸, sommée d'une architrave, ainsi que sur leurs supports, piliers, puis piliers-colonnettes voire minces colonnes. Autant l'annoncer d'emblée, les barrières de chancel inscrites aujourd'hui conservées (et identifiées) représentent un corpus des plus limités en Occident⁹ et à peine plus important en Orient – mais il a fallu choisir... Nous rencontrerons ainsi de rares commandes particulières où le message écrit monogrammé était prévu, des inscriptions soignées gravées après la sculpture des éléments préfabriqués juste avant leur mise en place – et nous nous arrêterons sur les épistyles –, en laissant de côté un assez grand nombre d'épigraphes opportunistes plus ou moins élaborées. La gamme était vaste – aussi étendue que la variété des messages confiés au chancel, que celle des personnes citées dans les inscriptions et que, *in fine*, la justification du choix que ces mêmes personnes ont fait des supports spécifiques qu'étaient les *limina sacra*¹⁰ aux seuils des sanctuaires.

⁴ I. BASIĆ, Natpis nadbiskupa Ursa kao izvor za crkvenu povijest ranosrednjovjekovnog Zadra (I. dio), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III/44-45, Split, 2017-2018, pp. 153-179, ici p. 159: « U historiografiji predromaničke umjetnosti – točnije proučavanjem kontinuiteta između ranokršćanske i ranosrednjovjekovne likovne produkcije – odavno je zapaženo da arhitravi oltarnih ograda u pravilu bivaju opremljeni natpisom tek od vremena rane predromanike. Arhitravi, pak, crkvenih interijera 4., 5. i 6. stoljeća gotovo su uvijek anepigrafski ».

⁵ A. M. SCHNEIDER, Cancelli, in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, (éd.) Theodor Klauser, t. II, Bonn, 1954, col. 837-838 ; C. DELVOYE, Cancelli, in: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, (éd.) Klaus Wessel, Marcell Restlé, t. I, Stuttgart, 1966, col. 900-931 ; J. R. BRANHAM, Chancel screen, in: *Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology*, (éd.) Paul Corby Finney, Grand Rapids, 2017, vol. 1, p. 294 ; P. C. FINNEY, Cancelli, *ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

⁶ Plusieurs des fragments de plaques de chancel de Plataies en Béotie (Grèce), de Bargylia et de Milet de Carie (Turquie), nomment le meuble dans l'inscription : τῶ[ν] /καγκέλλων κόσ/μον ; τοὺς καγκέλλους ; --- τοὺς καν] κέλλους ; --- τ]ὸν κάγκελλον I[...] ; τὸν κά[νκελλον ?].

⁷ Sur les premières apparitions de chancel « haut », voir J.-P. SODINI – K. KOLOKOTSAS, *Alikí*, II, *La Basilique double*, Paris, 1984, p. 49 ; et H. G. THÜMMEL, Templon und Ikonostas, in: *Logos im Dialogos. Auf der Suche nach der Orthodoxie. Gedenkschrift für Hermann Goltz (1946-2010)*, (éd.) Anna Briskina-Müller, Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, Axel Meißner, Berlin, 2011, pp. 309-321. Le phénomène de surélévation semble partir de Constantinople : U. PESCHLOW, Zum Templon in Konstantinopel, in: *Αρμος. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Ν.Κ. Μουτσόπουλο για τα 25 χρόνια πνευματικής του προσφοράς στο πανεπιστήμιο*, (éd.) Georgios Velenis, Thessaloniki, 1991, t. III, pp. 1449-1475.

⁸ Voir, pour l'usage de ce terme de *pergula*, R. FARIOLI, Pergulae paleocristiane del territorio ravennate, in: *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Ravenna, 23-30 settembre 1962*, Città del Vaticano, 1965, p. 115-121.

⁹ Ainsi en *Hispania*, l'unique exemple de chancel inscrit est revendiqué par l'abbé Flainus, autour de 643, à Santa Cristina de Lena (Asturies). Cf. E. HÜBNER, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, Berlin, 1871, n° 146 ; J. VIVES, *Inscripciones cristianas de la España Romana y Visigoda* (ICERV), Barcelona, 2^e éd., 1969, n° 513.

¹⁰ Cf. V. BEDROS – E. SCIROCCO, Liturgical Screens, East and West. Liminality and Spiritual Experience, in: *The Notion of Liminality and the Medieval Sacred Space*, (éd.) Ivan Foletti, Klára Doležalová, Turnhout (à paraître).

LES CHANCELS MONOGRAMMÉS, UNE *IMITATIO* RARE DE PRATIQUES IMPÉRIALES

Si rien n'en est préservé avant cette date, Paul le Silentiaire expose de manière éclatante l'usage d'apposer le monogramme de l'empereur sur un chancel dans son *Ekphrasis* d'Hagia Sophia : « Au centre des panneaux de la clôture sacrée, qui en garnissent les intervalles et entourent les mortels consacrés, le ciseau trace un signe [γράμμα] unique qui vaut mille discours, puisqu'il unit les noms de la souveraine et du roi. Quant à la partie centrale en bouclier bombé, il l'a creusé pour y proclamer la croix »¹¹. Les plaques de bronze argenté de la *Megalè ekklesia* de Constantinople arboraient semble-t-il en 562 un *signum* cruciforme¹² combinant en un monogramme double les deux noms de Justinien et Théodora (Ιουστινιανου καὶ Θεοδώρας) ; la forme graphique pouvait être proche de celle que pratiquèrent après 565 Justin II et son épouse Sophia : Ἰουστινίου καὶ Σοφίας¹³. Puisque sur les plaques standardisées de la production de Proconnèse, les monogrammes que allons voir à Rome, Salone, Milet, Thessalonique, Constantinople ou Nicée, occupent l'emplacement centré habituellement réservé au chrisme ou à la croix, dans une couronne, nous supposons un schéma de ce type sur chaque plaque du chancel d'Hagia Sophia, mais sans certitude aucune.

C'est à Rome qu'il convient de chercher les traces d'un exemple de peu antérieur : le chancel du pape Jean II (532-535) à la basilique S. Clemente¹⁴. Mercure qui fut prêtre de cette église sous Hormisdas (514-523) avant de devenir pape lui-même sous le nom de Jean, s'était rendu à Constantinople dans les années 523-526. Que l'ambassade ait abouti à un présent impérial ou à une commande pontificale, elle peut expliquer la parenté visuelle du monogramme-bloc de Jean II¹⁵ avec celui qu'utilisait à l'époque Justinien, notamment aux Saints-Serge-et-Bacchus. Le *nomen* de Jean, sans mention de dignité religieuse, est sculpté en méplat au centre d'au moins cinq plaques de S. Clemente¹⁶ ; comme c'est l'usage en Orient, il est au génitif¹⁷ et se développe en *Iohannis*. Mais il est rendu en lettres latines, avec un S et non un *sigma*, autour d'une armature en H (Fig. 1). Suivant les plaques, le *signum* se détache sur un large disque peu saillant ceint d'un ruban lisse (Fig. 1b) ou à l'intérieur d'une couronne agonistique¹⁸ (Fig. 1a) ; il est flanqué de croix latines qui confirment l'essence chrétienne de l'autorité pontificale. À Salone, une importante série de monogrammes fut apposée sur le même modèle

¹¹ PAUL LE SILENTIAIRE, *Description de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, présentation et traduction de Pierre Chuvin et Marie-Christine Fayant, Paris, 1998, v. 712-716, pp. 106-107. Voir également S. G. XYDIS, *The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia*, *The Art Bulletin*, 29-1, New York, 1947, pp. 1-24.

¹² Le monogramme cruciforme est apparu entre 518/522 et 532/533 en Orient (J. BARDILL, *Brickstamps of Constantinople*, Oxford, 2004, p. 49), il a été introduit une décennie plus tard en Occident.

¹³ On trouve leur *signum* double sur des monnaies et des sculptures, comme ce chapiteau découvert près de Yalova : J. KRAMER, *Kämpferkapitelle mit den Monogrammen Kaisers Justinus' II.*, in: *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel zum 70. Geburtstag: in memoriam*, (éd.) Marcell Restlé, München, 1988, pp. 175-190.

¹⁴ F. GUIDOBALDI, C. BARSANTI, A. GUIGLIA GUIDOBALDI, *San Clemente. La scultura del VI secolo*, Roma, 1992, pp. 91-94, fig. 78, 109, 111, 122, plaques n° XIV-XV, XXI.

¹⁵ Ce monogramme se retrouve par deux fois sur quatre chapiteaux d'un *ciborium* (d'autel ζ) des S. Cosma e Damiano de Rome, aujourd'hui conservés au trésor de la cathédrale de Lyon. Cf. F. GUIDOBALDI, *Origine costantinopolitana e provenienza romana di quattro capitelli del VI secolo oggi a Lione*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité*, 101, Rome, 1989, pp. 317-364. Federico Guidobaldi suppose qu'il s'agissait dans les deux cas (chancel et *ciborium*) d'un présent de l'empereur Justinien.

¹⁶ Cinq plaques de ce chancel du VI^e siècle ont été remployées dans la barrière du XI^e siècle à Saint-Clément, mais il pouvait en compter davantage.

¹⁷ C'est un des arguments qui plaide pour une commande impériale davantage que pontificale.

¹⁸ C. BARSANTI, R. FLAMINIO, A. GUIGLIA GUIDOBALDI (dir.), *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII-7, *La diocesi di Roma. La III Regione ecclesiastica*, Spoleto, 2015, n° 57 (face A), pp. 192-203, pl. XXV (couronne de laurier), n° 70 (face A), p. 217, pl. XXXVII (couronne de laurier), n° 77 (face A), pp. 225-226, pl. XLII (couronne avec rinceau d'*hederæ*), n° 92 (face A), pp. 244-245, pl. LVI (couronne de laurier), n° 94 (face A), pp. 246-247, pl. XXV (couronne lisse et O presque plein – inachevée ζ).

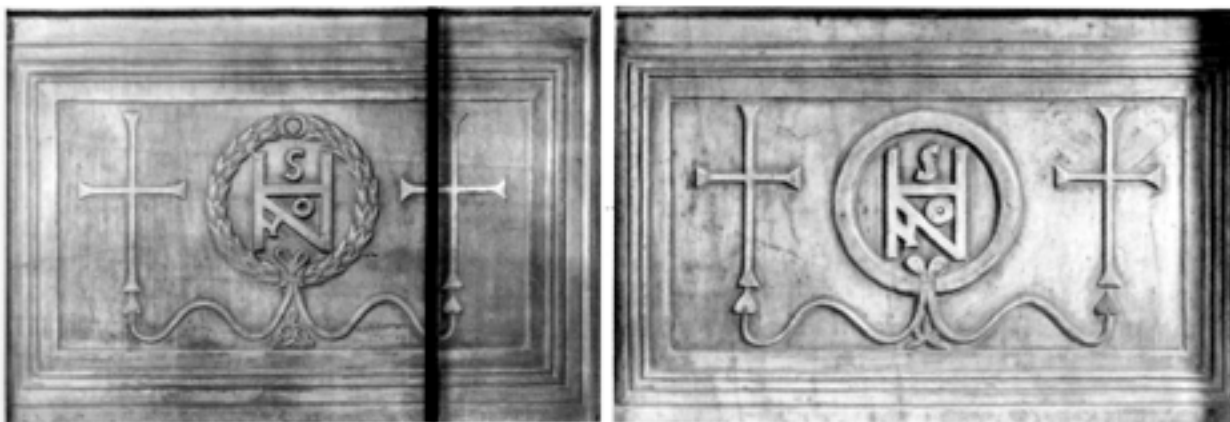


Fig. 1a-b. Plaques de chancel au monogramme du pape Jean II remployées dans la schola cantorum romane de S. Clemente à Rome (Corpus CISAM, t. VII-7, pl. XXV-57 [a], pl. XXV-94 [b])

par l'évêque Honorius II (vers 527-547¹⁹), dans sa cathédrale sud²⁰, sur des plaques de chancel bifaces en marbre de Proconnèse²¹, ornées au revers de disques plats portant des croix, presque identiques à celles que nous venons de voir à Rome ; les fragments assurent un minimum de cinq plaques. Deux lemnisques assez courtes, que le poids des *hederae* entraîne vers le bas, s'échappaient du nœud de la couronne en double listel qui enserrait le monogramme-bloc dans un cercle lisse (Fig. 2). Circonscrit à l'intérieur du H initial, il se déchiffrait *Honorius*, au nominatif, selon la pratique occidentale : nous penchons donc pour une commande de l'évêque salonitain aux ateliers de la mer de Marmara.

Datable du deuxième quart du VI^e siècle²², une plaque de marbre de la rotonde Sainte-Marie dite de l'Asklepion de Milet en Carie arborait une couronne lisse au centre de sa face antérieure. Elle contenait un monogramme-bloc en faible relief se lisant *Ἀρχιεπισκόπου* (De l'archevêque [X]). Le nom, également au génitif, du prélat qui avait fait réaliser ce chancel à la manière de Jean II ou d'Honorius II, devait figurer sur une plaque jumelle²³.

¹⁹ L'évêque Honorius II a réuni les synodes salonitains de 530 et 533, voir B. KUNTIĆ-MAKVIĆ, *Honorius Iunior, Salonitanae Urbis Episcopus*. Essai sur la Dalmatie de son temps, in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split - Poreč, 1994*, (éd.) Nenad Cambi & Emilio Marin, Città del Vaticano - Split, 1998, pp. 997-1002 ; et en dernier lieu A. ŠKEGRO, *Honorius Junior – reformer of the Dalmatian Church*, in: *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa Dani Stjepana Gunjače, 2*, (éd.) Tomislav Šeparović, Split, 2012, pp. 11-20.

²⁰ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ, *The Salonitan Cultural Circle of Justinian's Time*, in: *Acta XIII Congressus Internationalis Archaeologiae Christianae, Split - Poreč, 1994*, (éd.) Nenad Cambi & Emilio Marin, Città del Vaticano - Split, 1998, pp. 1023-1036. Il s'agit de la cathédrale méridionale du complexe double, qui venait d'être rebâtie.

²¹ N. DUVAL – J.-P. CAILLET, *Monogramme de l'évêque Honorius, sur une plaque de marbre (vers 500, ou entre 527 et 547)*, in: *Salona IV – Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IV^e-VII^e siècles*, Nancy Gauthier, Emilio Marin, Françoise Prévot (dir.), Rome - Split, 2010, n° 51 à 54, p. 219 à 223 ; voir déjà C. METZGER (dir.), *Salona I – Catalogue de la sculpture paléochrétienne de Salone*, Rome - Split, 1994, n° X.b.1, pp. 238-239, pl. LXXVII-LXXVIII.

²² Milet a acquis le statut de métropole en 520, Hyakinthos fut le premier à porter le titre d'archevêque en 538, cf. D. FEISSEL, *L'évêque, titres et fonctions d'après les inscriptions grecques jusqu'au VII^e siècle*, in: *Actes du XI^e Congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne, Lyon, Vienne, Grenoble, Genève et Aoste (21-28 septembre 1986)*, (éd.) Noël Duval, Rome - Città del Vaticano, 1989, pp. 810-811.

²³ T. ULBERT, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraums (Schränkenplatten des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts)*, München, 1969, pp. 27-28, 51, pl. 34 ; G. MIETKE, *Das Museum für byzantinische Kunst im Bode-Museum*, München, 2006, p. 27 ; O. DALLY, M. MAISCHBERGER, P. SCHNEIDER, A. SCHOLL (éd.), *Zeiträume: Milet in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike*, catalogue d'exposition à Berlin, Regensburg, 2009, n° 8 pp. 175-176 ; et en ligne : <http://www.epigraph.topoi.org/ica/icamainapp/inscription/show/1719>.



Fig. 2. Fragment complété au ciment d'une des plaques au monogramme d'Honorius II de Salone, Musée archéologique de Split (cl. P. Chevalier)

Deux morceaux de deux plaques de chancel en marbre proconnésien datées de la première moitié du VI^e siècle, découverts à Hagios Démétrios de Thessalonique, arborent au centre du champ de leur avers le reste du monogramme-bloc en méplat, inscrit dans une couronne en double tore et listel, d'un même dédicant laïc. Le revers de ces plaques était orné d'une grande croix pattée. Le premier *signum* est trop abîmé pour être déchiffré²⁴ ; sur la foi du second, Denis Feissel a proposé de lire au génitif, Γρηγορίου μαγίστρου ζ (de maître ζ Georges)²⁵, lecture qu'Eugenio Russo a fini par accepter en 2006²⁶. Johannes Diethart a suggéré de développer Πραγματίου Γρηγορίου²⁷. Mais la proposition la plus originale est celle de Giorgios Velenis²⁸, qui objecte que le *sigma* manque pour lire *magister* et propose de reprendre l'édition primitive – Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου ([don] de Gré-

goire, patriarche) – et de l'interpréter comme une allusion, non plus dans la première mais dans la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle, au pape Grégoire le Grand (590-604), qui avait juridiction sur l'Illyricum et se serait impliqué dans le financement d'une restauration de la basilique thessalonicienne. L'êta forme armature en H ; l'omicron et l'upsilon des désinences sont posés au sommet des deux hastes et flanquent une petite croix latine pattée – celle-ci conforte d'ailleurs l'idée d'un commanditaire ecclésiastique. Cependant il semble bien que le petit monogramme cruciforme, placé dans un disque qui marque l'intersection d'une grande croix, sur trois plaques de chancel fragmentaires de la fin du VI^e siècle mises au jour à la Kalenderhane Camii d'Istanbul soit celui d'une donatrice laïque : Μαρκέλλας ζ ([don] de Marcelle ζ)²⁹. Finissons cette énumération par une dernière plaque que Claudia Barsanti avait signalée dans l'église de la Koimesis de Nicée-İznik et qui portait un grand monogramme (non déchiffré) en méplat, ceint de l'habituelle couronne à lemnisques³⁰ ; mais nous reviendrons plus bas à cette église et à son chancel.

Voyons maintenant trois cas de figure, où les monogrammes sont plus loquaces. À Paroikia sur l'île de Paros, deux plaques de la *pergula* encore en place devant le *bèma* de la Panaghia Etakontapyliani et les fragments de deux autres, portent un message monogrammatique qui fut ciselé avec leur décor en relief méplat³¹, où quatre *signa* cruciformes occupent les écoinçons autour d'un losange timbré

²⁴ G. SOTIRIOU – M. SOTIRIOU, 'Η βασιλική τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Athinai, 1952, p. 172 et fig. 69.

²⁵ D. FEISSEL, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1983, n° 94 p. 93, pl. XXI.2.

²⁶ E. RUSSO, Le maestranze greco-constantinopolitane a Roma nel VI secolo, *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, 75, Wien, 2006, p. 252, fig. 17. En 1991, il optait pour Πατρίκιου Γρηγορίου (patrice Grégoire).

²⁷ J. DIETHART, Compte rendu de D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1983, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 35, Wien, 1985, p. 294.

²⁸ G. VELENIS, Συμβολή στη χρονολόγηση τριών επιγραφών από τη Μακεδονία με αναφορές σε κορυφαίους ιεράρχες, *Byzantina*, 25, Thessaloniki, 2005, pp. 11-13 ; repris par A. CHANIOTIS, T. CORSTEN, N. PAPA-ZARKADAS, R. A. TYBOUT, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 55, Leiden, 2009, n° 718.

²⁹ U. PESCHLOW, Architectural Sculpture, in: *Kalenderhane in Istanbul. The Buildings, their History, Architecture and Decoration, Final Reports of the Archaeological Exploration and Restoration at Kalenderhane Camii 1966-1978*, (dir.) Cecil L. Striker, Doğan Kuban, Mainz, 1998, n° 118 p. 109, pl. 132, pour la plus complète et, pour les deux autres fragments, n° 39 et 165, pp. 134-135. La lecture très hypothétique est de Giusto TRAINA, *Byzantine inscriptions*, *ibid.*, p. 112 n° 3-5.

³⁰ C. BARSANTI, Ancora sulla lastra con i monogrammi del monaco Giacinto, il presunto fondatore della Koimesis di Nicea, *Annuario dell'Istituto di Storia dell'arte*, ns 1, Roma, 1981-1982, p. 8, fig. 5.

³¹ A. MITSANI, Τό παλαιοχριστιανικό τέμπλο της Καταπολιανής Πάρου, *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, 27, Athinai, 2006, pp. 75-90.

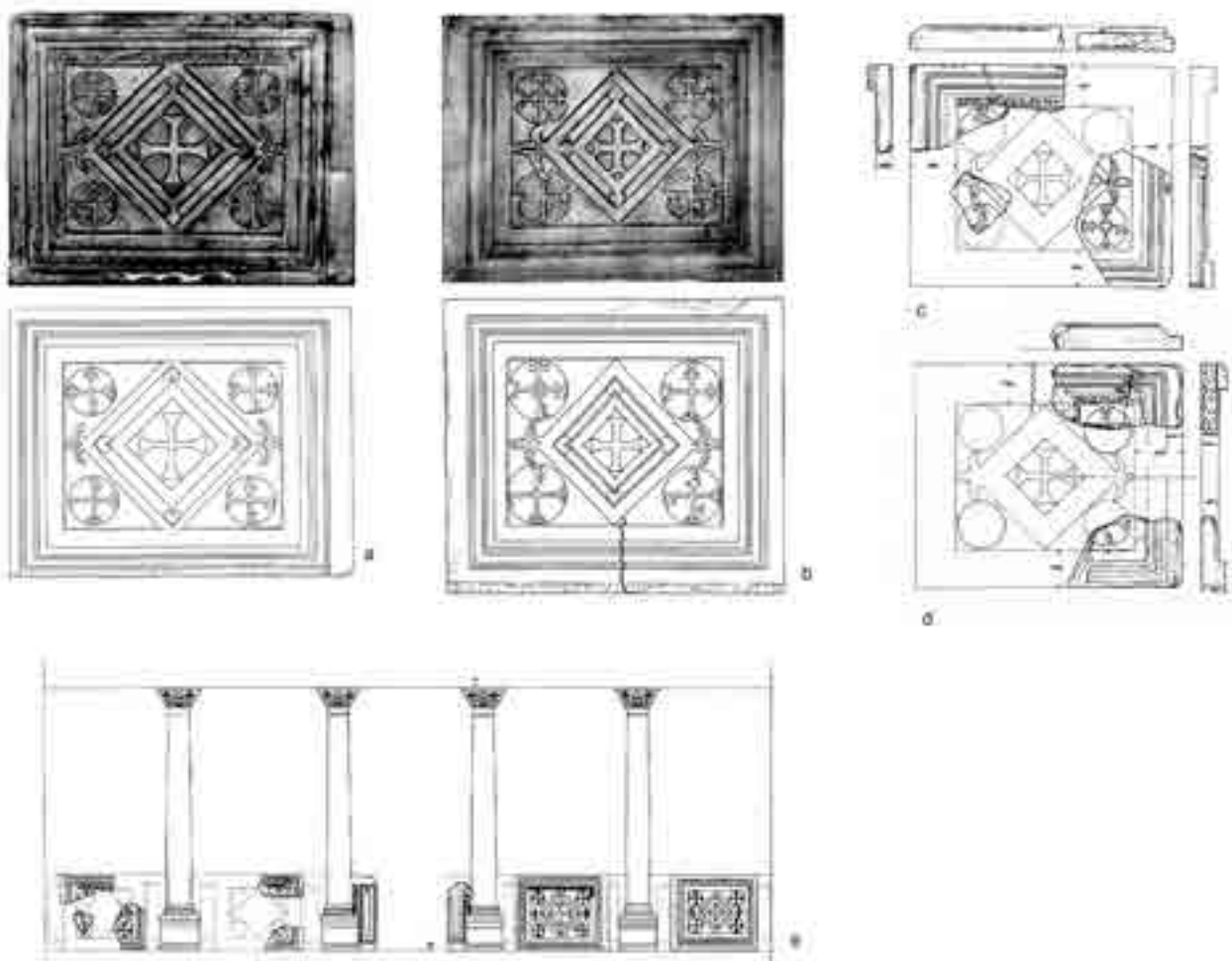


Fig. 3a-e. Plaques 1 à 4 (a-d) et restitution (e) de la pergula de la Panaghia Etakontapyliani de Paros par Angeliki Mitsani (Δελτίον, 27, 2006, fig. 5-6 p. 80 [a], fig. 7-8 p. 81 [b], fig. 14 p. 83 [c], fig. 15 p. 83 [d], fig. 25 p. 85 [e])

d'une croix (Fig. 3a-e). Les textes chiffrés concernent un évêque Georges et, suivant la lecture de Georges Kiourtzian³², les prêtres Constantin et Georges, ainsi qu'au moins un nommé Michel : 1. Θεοτόκε || βοήθη / Γεωργίου || ἐπισκόπου (« Ô Mère de Dieu, viens en aide à Georges, évêque ! ») (Fig. 3a) ; 2. Θεοτόκε βοήθη || Κων(σ)τ(α)ντίνου / Γεωργίου || πρεσβυτέρων (« Ô Mère de Dieu, viens en aide à Constantin [et] Georges, prêtres ! ») (Fig. 3b) ; 3. Θ[ε]οτό[κε] || [βοήθει / ---] || Μιχαήλ (« Ô Mère de Dieu, viens en aide à [---] et] ζ Michel ! ») ((Fig. 3c) ; 4. [Θεοτόκε] || [β]οήθει / --- || ---] (Fig. 3d). Les 1^e, 3^e et 4^e plaques sont en outre pourvues d'une courte invocation sculptée en léger relief dans le cadre supérieur du champ orné ; en fin de phrase quelques lettres descendaient sur le retour latéral du bandeau lisse, à droite. On lisait, de très près (les lettres sont hautes de 3-4 cm) : 1. † Κ(ύρι)ε σῶσον τῶν βασιλέα (καὶ) ἐπάκουσον ἡ/μ/ῶ/ν / † (Seigneur, sauve le roi [et] entends/réponds-nous !) ³³. 3. † Κύριε νίκας δώρησεν (sic) [τω φιλοχρίστῳ βασιλεῖ

³² Nous préférons en effet la lecture proposée en 2000 par G. KIOURTZIAN, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades. De la fin du III^e au VII^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris, 2000, n° 59, plus proche des formulaires rencontrés sur les autres exemples de chancels ou plus généralement d'objets inscrits.

³³ Angeliki MITSANI (Τό παλαιοχριστιανικό τέμπλο..., *op. cit.*, p. 89.) note que l'inscription reprend le verset 10 du psaume 20 dit de *Prière pour le Roi* : « Éternel, sauve le roi ! Réponds-nous... ».



Fig. 4. Plaque de la pergula de Bilice
(cl. MHAS)

ημῶν] (Seigneur, donne la victoire [à notre roi qui aime le Christ] !) et 4. [...]ος μεγάλου βασιλ[εως] (... du grand roi). Dans l'esprit de l'évêque associé avec les deux prêtres et un possible laïc sur ce chancel qu'ils ont tous offert, ce *basileus* anonyme était sans nul doute leur contemporain, Justinien³⁴.

Penchons-nous à présent sur un exemple de chancel timbré de monogrammes qui provient de Bilice, près de Šibenik³⁵. En 1908-1909, les ruines de l'église à chœur triconque datée des VI^e-VII^e siècles ont livré les fragments de deux plaques en calcaire, aujourd'hui dans les collections du Musée des monuments archéologiques croates (MHAS) de Split. Le champ de la première est orné de cercles sécants imbriqués en méplat, celui de la seconde d'écailles. Sur leur large bandeau lisse sommital, deux monogrammes-blocs gravés étaient encadrés par trois petites croix latines pattées³⁶. Ce sont presque les deux mêmes mais ils apparaissent dans l'ordre inverse d'une plaque à l'autre. Aucune restitution n'est assurée comme souvent avec les monogrammes. Le *Iohannes Chroatensis* proposé par Luka Jelić fut vite contesté. Pour le premier *signum* le sens de lecture habituel suggère un nom voire une invocation pieuse, comme à Paros ou sur d'autres chancels

orientaux, débutant par CHR I ou E... C'est là ce qui poussa Viktor Novak à lire en 1929 *Miserere Christe* sur la plaque à cercles sécants (Fig. 4)³⁷, lecture retenue depuis. Dans sa restitution récente de la *pergula* de Bilice, Ana Mišković situe les deux plaques côte à côte, affichant une répétition inversée de l'invocation à la clémence du Christ³⁸. Encadrer par ces plaques l'accès au sanctuaire nous semblerait plus pertinent : la mise en page de leurs bordures sommitales est proche de celle des linteaux de portes contemporains de la région, gravés de trois croix latines alignées³⁹, enrichie ici des deux paires de *signa*⁴⁰ – quoi de plus approprié qu'une double prière au seuil même du chœur ?

³⁴ Hypothèse retenue en 2017 dans l'édition en ligne par P. NOWAKOWSKI, *Cult of Saints*, E01279 – <http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E01279> (sans référence à l'article d'A. Mitsani).

³⁵ Le site, qui se trouve à 5 km sur la Krka, en aval du siège épiscopal attesté en 530 de *Scardona*-Skradin, a fait l'objet d'une campagne de révision des fouilles anciennes en 2016, voir M. JARAK – V. JUKIĆ BUČA, *Revizijska arheološka iskopavanja trikonhalne crkve u Bilicama 2016. godine* / *The 2016 Revision Excavations of the Triconch Church in Bilice*, *Diadora*, 31, Zadar, 2017, pp. 129-153.

³⁶ Les auteurs du début du XX^e siècle avaient reconnu les lettres CEHRT dans le premier, AEHMRS dans l'autre : Č. IVEKOVIĆ, *Die Entwicklung der mittelalterlichen Baukunst in Dalmatien*, Wien, 1910, fig. 4 p. 16 ; L. JELIĆ, *Contributo alla storia dell'arte in Dalmazia et Il complesso monumentale di Bilice presso Sebenico*, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 35, supplemento, Spalato, 1912, pp. 64-65 et 69-80. Voir A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *Liturgijska oprema i arhitektonska plastika iz trikonhosa u Pridragi i Bilicama na izmaku kasne antike*, *Ars adriatica*, 5, Zadar, 2015, pp. 7-20, en particulier pp. 11-12 et 14-16.

³⁷ V. NOVAK, *Monogram MISERERE CHRISTE*, in: Šišićev zbornik. *Zbornik naučnih radova Ferdi Šišiću povodom šezdesetogodišnjice života 1869-1929 posvećuju prijatelji, štovatelji i učenici*, (éd.) Grga Novak, Zagreb, 1929, pp. 517-530.

³⁸ A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *op. cit.*, fig. 18 p. 15.

³⁹ Voir notamment C. METZGER (dir.), *Salona I*, *op. cit.*, n° I.a.1-I.a.3, pp. 4-5, n° I.a.15, pp. 11-12, pl. IV-V.

⁴⁰ Un peu comme sur le linteau de la basilique de la *Porta Caesarea* de Salone, où une croix latine pattée était flanquée de deux paires de monogrammes (*ibid.*, n° I.a.7, pp. 7-8, pl. VII).

Enfin revenons à la *Koimesis* de Nicée dont nous avons déjà mentionné une plaque à grand monogramme cruciforme. Celui d'un certain Hyacinthe occupait le centre d'une seconde plaque ; en léger relief, il était ceint d'un fin cercle et encadré de manière rayonnante par six autres *signa* cruciformes plus petits, qui occupaient les boucles extérieures d'un entrelacs où se croisaient trois « 8 », tracés par des doubles listels⁴¹. Les sept monogrammes développés suppliaient la Théotokos – comme à Paros – de venir secourir son serviteur Hyacinthe, les trois *signa* inférieurs spécifiant ses fonctions de moine, de prêtre, d'higoumène : Θεοτόκε, || βοήθει || τῷ δουλῷ σου || Ὑακίνθου, || μόναχῳ, || πρεσβυτέρῳ, || ἡγουμένῳ. La datation de cette plaque trouvée en 1807 dans l'autel de la basilique qui a été démolie en 1922, n'est pas assurée et varie selon les auteurs entre le VI^e et le VIII^e siècle⁴², mais il semble avéré que l'abbé Hyacinthe est le fondateur de cette église monastique qui accueillit notamment le concile de Nicée II en 787.

QUELQUES ÉPISTYLES QUI EN LAISSENT PRÉSAGER D'AUTRES

À l'instar d'autres évergètes de son époque qui multiplièrent leur monogramme au sein d'un même édifice – ainsi le couple impérial de Justinien et Théodora aux Saints-Serge-et-Bacchus, à Hagia Sophia et Hagia Eirene de Constantinople de même qu'à Saint-Jean d'Ephèse, ou les évêques Eufrasius à l'Eufrasiana de Poreč, Victor à S. Vitale de Ravenne, Élie à S. Eufemia de Grado... –, Hyacinthe de Nicée ne s'arrêta pas à un unique *signum* nominal. En plus d'être sculpté sur un linteau⁴³ (celui de l'accès principal comme à Poreč ?), sur plusieurs chapiteaux de la nef, et dessiné, en tesselles de verre, aux deux extrémités de l'inscription mosaïquée qui courait sur une ligne le long de l'extrados de l'arc triomphal de l'abside⁴⁴, son monogramme répété rythmait encore selon Claudia Barsanti l'épistyle du chancel que nous venons d'évoquer.

Ce principe itératif, accumulant cette fois plusieurs inscriptions, apparaît à Padoue avec l'œuvre du grand évergète laïc que fut le consul Opilion⁴⁵ : la basilique dédiée à la martyre locale Justine, hors-les-murs de la cité. Envisageons dès lors le célèbre chancel inscrit du *sacellum* de saint Prosdocime. Comme l'indique une autre épigraphe, cette chapelle cruciforme à coupole du VI^e siècle, qui est un des seuls vestiges de la basilique fondée par Opilion, contenait le corps de Prosdocime, évêque et confesseur⁴⁶. La *pergula* en marbre de Proconnèse barre la corde de l'abside (Fig. 5a-d), mais c'est un état

⁴¹ Ne subsistent aujourd'hui sur place que deux fragments jointifs de la plaque : ses deux tiers inférieurs, le monogramme central et trois des petits *signa* latéraux qui se détachent sur des disques. Les autres écoinçons sont habités par des palmettes ou des fleurons d'acanthé.

⁴² T. SCHMIT, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia. Das Bauwerk und die Mosaiken*, Berlin - Leipzig, 1927, p. 13, pl. X.3 ; E. WEIGAND, *Zur Monogramminschrift der Theotokos-(Koimesis-)Kirche von Nikaea, Byzantion*, 6, Leuven, 1931, pp. 411-420 (avec d'autres exemples) ; C. BARSANTI, *Ancora sulla lastra con i monogrammi del monaco Giacinto...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-16 ; EAD., *Una nota sulle sculture del tempio di Giacinto nella chiesa della Dormizione (Koimesis) a Iznik-Nicea, Storia dell'arte*, 46, Roma, 1982, pp. 201-208, fig. 2 ; EAD., *The Iznik-Nicaea's Archaeological Museum: in Search of a Catalogue*, in: *Iznik through History*, (dir.) Isöl Akbaygil, Halil İnalçik, Oktay Aslanapa, Istanbul, 2003, pp. 278-279, fig. 41 (qui date la plaque d'un « VII secolo maturo ») ; et U. PESCHLOW, *The Churches of Nicaea-Iznik*, *ibid.*, p. 205.

⁴³ Découvert par Urs Peschlow, ce linteau a été publié par C. MANGO, *Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie : Constantinople, Nicée, Travaux et Mémoires*, 12, Paris, 1994, pp. 351-352, fig. 4-5.

⁴⁴ Το οἶκόν σου πρέπει ἀγίασμα Κ(ύρι)ε εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν (Il faut de l'eau bénite [dans] ta maison Seigneur, pour toute la durée des jours). La seconde partie de la phrase reprenait la fin du dernier verset du psaume 93 : « [La sainteté convient à ta maison], ô Éternel ! pour toute la durée des temps ».

⁴⁵ A. COLECCHIA, Pd.1. Santa Giustina, in: *Italia, I : Province di Belluno, Padova, Vicenza (Corpus architecturae religiosae europeae [saec. IV-X], II)*, (éd.) Gian Pietro Brogiolo, Monica Ibsen, Zagreb, 2009, pp. 94-102, plan fig. 2 p. 96. Voir aussi P. L. ZOVATTO, *L'oratorio paleocristiano di Santa Giustina a Padova*, in: *La basilica di S. Giustina. Arte e Storia*, Castelfranco Veneto, 1970, pp. 19-60.

⁴⁶ M. SANNAZARO, Padova, in: *Il Veneto nel Medioevo. Dalla 'Venetia' alla Marcha veronese*, (éd.) Andrea Castagnetti, Gian Maria Varanini, Verona, 1989, t. II, pp. 242-243 ; et P. VEDOVETTO, *Corpus della scultura altomedievale delle diocesi di Padova e Malamocco/Chioggia (secc. VI-X)*, thèse de doctorat d'archéologie, sous la dir. d'A. Tomezzoli et A. Chavarría Arnau, Université de Padoue, 2019, n° 27 pp. 86-89.



Fig. 5a-d. La pergula de l'oratoire de saint Prosdocime à S. Giustina de Padoue, vues d'ensemble (a) et de détail de l'inscription (b-c-d) (cl. P. Chevalier)

reconstitué dans les années 1970 : la barrière avait été démontée et réutilisée dans le *sacellum* même, au XVI^e siècle. Les deux plaques ont disparu – peut-être arboraient-elles le monogramme d'Opilion ζ –, tout comme les chapiteaux des piliers-colonnettes des deux extrémités, qui ont été remplacés (Fig. 5d). L'inscription aux lettres gravées soulignées de nielle court sur une ligne qui suit l'architrave et l'arc au-dessus de l'accès central (Fig. 5a-c) : † [hedera] *In nomine Dei · in hoc loco colocatae sunt · reliqui/ae s(an)ctorum · apostolorum · et · plurimorum · martyrum · qui pro conditore omni/que · fidelium plebe orare dignentur [hedera]* †⁴⁷ (Au nom de Dieu, en ce lieu ont été placées les reliques des saints apôtres et de maints martyrs qui sont dignes de prier pour le fondateur et tout le peuple des fidèles). L'iden-

⁴⁷ P. L. ZOVATTO, La pergula paleocristiana nel sacello di san Prodocimo in Padova e il ritratto del santo titolare, *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 34, Roma, 1958, pp. 137-167 ; plus récemment D. MAZZOLENI, Testimonianze epigrafiche paleocristiane a Padova, in: *Santa Giustina e il paleocristianesimo a Padova. Studi e ricerche nel XVII centenario della prima martire patavina*, (dir.) Claudio Bellinati, Padova, 1986, pp. 95-112 ; G. CUSCITO, Ancora sulle origini cristiane di Padova, in: *Un uomo chiamato Prosdocimo a Patavium*, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, 75, Trieste, 2013, pp. 67-80 ; et tout dernièrement P. VEDOVETTO, *Corpus della scultura altomedievale...*, op. cit., n° 38 pp. 100-105.



Fig. 6a-b. Tronçons de pergulae de S. Stefano rotondo (a) et de S. Pudenziana à Rome (b) (Corpus CISAM, t. VII-6, pl. V-14 [a], et t. VII-1, pl. XLVI-97 [b])

tité du préfet du prétoire *Rufus Venatius Opilio*, consul en 524 sous le règne de Théodoric (493-526)⁴⁸, est suggérée implicitement et humblement par le terme *conditor* dans ce simple procès-verbal non daté, mais une longue inscription dédicatoire placée en façade de la basilique rendait hommage à son œuvre. L'épigraphie du chancel était ainsi facilement comprise par les lecteurs de l'époque. Un dispositif très similaire existait dans l'oratoire cruciforme à coupole de S. Maria *mater domini* à la basilique funéraire des S. Felice e Fortunato à Vicence⁴⁹. Au-devant de l'autel se dressait avant 1649 une *pergula* également inscrite dans les années trente du VI^e siècle, dont ne subsiste qu'une description (« une corniche soutenue par quatre colonnes ») publiée au XVIII^e siècle. L'épistyle portait la dédicace d'un haut fonctionnaire du royaume ostrogoth, contemporain d'Opilion, le référendaire Grégoire : *Hoc oratorium b(eatae) M(ariae) matris domini Gregorius sublimis uir referendarius a fundamentis aedificauit et in Christi nomine dicauit*⁵⁰ (Cet oratoire de la bienheureuse Marie mère du seigneur, Grégoire, homme sublime, référendaire, l'a édifié depuis les fondations et [en] a fait offrande au nom du Christ).

Deux exemples viennent clore, à Rome, cette courte liste (Fig. 6). Un tronçon d'architrave daté du VI^e siècle proviendrait de S. Stefano rotondo⁵¹. Complète à droite, la mince poutre de marbre blanc⁵² présente en façade une modénature de corniche et un motif d'*anthemion* en méplat timbré d'une petite croix pattée en relief sous laquelle on pouvait sans doute suspendre une lampe (Fig. 6a). La ligne unique de texte est gravée en majuscules régulières : † [--- ma]rt(yribus) [hedera] D(e)i [hedera] Stephano, Laurentio, Iohann(i) et Paul(o) [hedera], Calumn(iosus) [hedera] fam(ulus) [hedera]

⁴⁸ J. R. MARTINDALE, *Opilio*, in: *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire (PLRE)*, (éd.) Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, John Robert Martindale, John Morris, t. II, A.D. 395-527, vol. B, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 808-809.

⁴⁹ E. NAPIONE, Vi.2. Il complesso dei Santi Felice e Fortunato, in: *Italia*, I..., *op. cit.*, pp. 248-262, plan fig. 5 p. 251.

⁵⁰ F. BARBARANO DE MIRONI, *Historia ecclesiastica della città, territorio e diocesi di Vicenza*, V, Vicenza, 1761, p. 162 ; S. LUSUARDI SIENA, Vicenza, in: *Il Veneto nel Medioevo*..., *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 196-197. Voir en ligne : [http://out.accessify.com/visit?domain=oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de/AE 2003, 00412](http://out.accessify.com/visit?domain=oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de/AE%2003,00412).

⁵¹ La pièce exposée au Musée de la Crypta Balbi à Rome a été achetée à un antiquaire comme provenant de la II^e région de la ville, S. Stefano rotondo est donc le meilleur candidat – la dédicace mentionnant saint Étienne. Voir A. MELLUCO VACCARO & L. PAROLI (dir.), *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII-6, *La diocesi di Roma. Il Museo dell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1995, n° 14 pp. 99-103, pl. V.

⁵² Elle est conservée sur 0,70 m de longueur pour une section de 9 x 11,5 cm.

*Chr(ist)i obt(ulit) †*⁵³ (*Calumniosus*, serviteur du Christ, a offert [ce chancel ζ---] aux martyrs de Dieu Étienne, Laurent, Jean et Paul). Des reliques de ces martyrs de Jérusalem et de Rome devaient se trouver sous l'autel. Le dédicant serait dans les premières décennies du VI^e siècle un jeune clerc romain se qualifiant de *famulus Christi*⁵⁴. Une autre dédicace a été gravée sur l'épistyle d'une *pergula* en marbre de Proconnèse découverte en 1960 à S. Pudenziana⁵⁵. La modénature de la pièce⁵⁶ consiste en trois bandeaux plats égaux, en retraits successifs, saillant au-dessus du champ épigraphique tout aussi lisse (Fig. 6b). Mise en page sur une ligne de grandes majuscules pattées, sobres et élégantes, l'invocation plaide pour le salut du pape Sylvère, qui se trouve être le fils d'Hormisdas, qui fut pape avant Jean II (voir *supra* le chancel de S. Clemente). On lit simplement : *† Saluo beat(issimo) · papa Silverio Hilarus p(res)b(yster) · fecit †*⁵⁷ (Pour le salut du très bienheureux pape Sylvère, le prêtre Hilaire a fait [faire ce chancel]). Ces exemples d'architraves, clairement lisibles, alternaient ainsi dédicaces et mentions de don salvifique.

POUR CONCLURE

Sur les quelques dizaines d'autres barrières inscrites mises au jour de la Grèce à la Syrie-Palestine qui forment l'essentiel du corpus des chancels inscrits et que nous n'évoquerons pas en détail faute de place, on trouve des intercessions pour une personne, un groupe, une communauté, voire une ville⁵⁸, des acclamations, des inscriptions votives, des ex-voto, des citations bibliques ou liturgiques... Les épistyles, les cimaises et les bordures sommitales des plaques de ces chancels portant le message de donateurs laïcs et religieux devaient présenter aux regards des fidèles de chaque espace ecclésial comme aux visiteurs-lecteurs occasionnels un ensemble suggestif de l'expression épigraphique et des préoccupations spirituelles de leur communauté, de la seconde moitié du V^e au VII^e siècle. Ces barrières de chœur ne constituent cependant qu'un des dispositifs liturgiques qu'il était loisible d'épigraphier, à égalité avec l'autel, le *ciborium* et l'ambon – et leurs inscriptions se comprenaient comme un tout avec celles du reste de l'église qui les contenait.

Placées à l'interface entre l'espace des laïcs et le sanctuaire réservé au clergé, les chancels porteurs d'inscriptions et de monogrammes les affichaient toujours en direction des fidèles. Ces barrières architecturées offraient plusieurs emplacements pouvant constituer des champs épigraphiques privilégiés. Exception faite des grands *signa* monogrammatiques intégrés au décor du champ orné, les inscriptions

⁵³ G. B. DE ROSSI, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 1, Roma, 1857, n° 1955 ; C. DIEHL, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, Berlin, 1924-1931, n° 1908 ; en ligne depuis 2013 dans l'Epigraphic Database Bari, sous le n° 31881 (<http://www.edb.uniba.it/epigraph/31881>). Voir également F. DE RUBEIS, Epigrafia a Roma dell'età classica all'altomedioevo, in: M. S. STELLA, P. DELOGU, L. PAROLI, M. RICCI, L. SAGUÍ, L. VENDITELLI, *Roma d'all'antichità al medioevo. Archeologia e Storia nel Museo Nazionale Romano Crypta Balbi*, Milano, 2001, pp. 107-108, n° 3 pp. 115-116, fig. 73 p. 107 ; G. G. PANI, Nota epigrafica, in: *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII-6, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-103.

⁵⁴ Peut-être un des deux *Calumniosus* mentionnés dans des lettres du pape Grégoire I^{er} : GRÉGOIRE LE GRAND, *Registrum epistularum*, (éd.) Dag Norberg, Turnhout, 1982, *Ep.*, I, 109 et II, 189.

⁵⁵ Elle est aujourd'hui fixée au revers de la façade du côté nord. Voir L. PANI ERMINI (dir.), *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, VII-1, *La diocesi di Roma. La IV Regione ecclesiastica*, Spoleto, 1974, n° 97 pp. 146-147, pl. XLVI ; C. ANGELELLI, *La basilica titolare di S. Pudenziana. Nuove ricerche*, Città del Vaticano, 2010, p. 32 et 170, n° 4 p. 330, fig. 173.

⁵⁶ La longueur conservée est de 0,90 m pour une section de 18,5 x 15 cm.

⁵⁷ F. DE RUBEIS, *Epigrafia a Roma...*, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n° 4 p. 116, fig. 74 p. 107 ; L. CARDIN, *Epigrafia a Roma nel primo medioevo (secoli IV-X). Modelli grafici e tipologie d'uso*, Roma, 2008, p. 34.

⁵⁸ Ainsi près d'Ascalon en Israël : Εὐτυ/χῶς / τῇ πό/λει ! (Bonne chance à la ville !), une ville non identifiée (sans doute Ascalon). Le texte a été gravé à l'intérieur d'une couronne laurée en méplat, avant 543, cf. Y. USTINOVA – G. SERIY, A Byzantine-Period Funerary Chapel in the Newe Yam Dalet Neighborhood in Ashqelon, *Atiqot*, 90, Jerusalem, 2018, p. 154 et fig. 10-11 p. 155.

occupaient la plupart du temps le haut des plaques, très fréquemment la bordure sommitale, ou la face antérieure de la main-courante qui les surmontait parfois – et on les y a gravées *in situ* avant le montage du meuble. Elles couraient le plus souvent sur une ligne horizontale, éventuellement étendue sur plusieurs plaques voisines et leurs piliers ; cet alignement simple se répétait dans les exemples où les épigraphes étaient incisées sur l'épistyle d'une *pergula*. Quelques occurrences montrent encore des supports inscrits ou dotés d'un monogramme de donateur ; là encore on a logiquement utilisé les surfaces planes : plinthe de base, fut lisse, astragale ou abaque de chapiteau. On observe donc une utilisation pragmatique de tous les éléments du chancel, qui garantissait au message affiché une lisibilité au moins relative, pour qui à l'époque savait lire. Pour les autres, ces signes gravés ou en faible relief constituaient un décor supplémentaire, une frise géométrique par exemple quand il s'agissait d'une épigraphe linéaire. Le déchiffrement de lettres souvent petites et mal éclairées n'était pas aisé et celui des monogrammes moins encore⁵⁹. Mais l'essentiel était de placer ainsi en vue dans l'espace ecclésial un nom, une prière, un ex-voto, une citation... que certains liraient, devineraient ou se remémoreraient, que d'autres se feraient lire réactivant le message, et que de toute façon Dieu saurait. Dans l'évergétisme chrétien qu'attestent aussi ces textes plus modestes que les dédicaces d'architectures, quel que soit le donateur, celui-ci ne cherchait ni la gloire terrestre ni la reconnaissance de ses citoyens comme dans l'Antiquité classique, mais celle de Dieu et le salut éternel⁶⁰. *

Riječi i monogrami uklesani u kamenu nekih ranokršćanskih ograda svetištâ

Ranosrednjovjekovni epigrafski običaj kojim se »izražavaju« arhitravi visokih ograda svetištâ (*pergola*) potječe iz rijetke tradicije urezivanja natpisa na ranokršćanskim ogradama svetištâ. Ovaj članak obrađuje kako pisane spomenike izražene u obliku monograma i urezane u trenutku narudžbe, tako i natpise urezane neposredno prije postavljanja unaprijed pripremljenih i skulpturom ukrašenih elemenata ograda svetištâ. Odabrani elementi dijelom odražavaju doseg i raznolikost poruka koje se njima prenose, no istovremeno njihovim značenjem i sadržajem opravdavaju izbor ograde kao nositelja poruke, smještene unutar crkve, na samom pragu svetišta.

Ključne riječi: ograda svetišta, monogrami, natpisi, 6.-7. stoljeće

⁵⁹ A. EASTMOND, Monograms and the Art of Unhelpful Writing in Late Antiquity, in: *Sign and Design. Script as Image in Cross-Cultural Perspective (330-1600 CE)*, (dir.) Brigitte Myriam Bedos-Rezak, Jeffrey F. Hamburger, Dumbarton Oaks, 2016, pp. 219-236.

⁶⁰ J.-P. CAILLET, L'évolution de la notion d'évergétisme dans l'Antiquité chrétienne, in: *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin, Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg, 13-15 mars 2008*, (éd.) Jean-Michel Spieser, Élisabeth Yota, Paris, 2012, pp. 11-24.

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UN ATELIER DI SCULTORI ALTOMEDIEVALI: LA 'PRIMA BOTTEGA DI VENTIMIGLIA' E LA SUA AREA DI ATTIVITÀ, GLI ARREDI LAPIDEI DELLA CATTEDRALE E LA LORO RICOSTRUZIONE

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A recent study of a sizeable group of Early Medieval sculpted fragments has allowed to recognize the work of the same sculpting-atelier in a number of locations between South-Eastern France and Northern Italy in the late 8th century. Some sites, however, also attest to the work of other groups of sculptors operating before and after: one of them is the cathedral of Ventimiglia (Liguria, Italy), where in all likelihood some decorated stone fragments are related to an early 8th-century-atelier. The reconstruction of the original structures allowed identification of an ambo and a chancel screen, while the systematic study of the finds suggests that the same sculptors worked also in a very near and a in relatively distant location, i.e. Sanremo (Liguria) and Stenico (Trentino Alto Adige), though uncertainty remains about their place of origin (Lombardy, North-Eastern Italy).

Key words: Early Medieval sculpture, circulation of artisans, reconstruction of stone furnishings, cathedral of Ventimiglia (Liguria, Italy)

INTRODUZIONE

Come è ampiamente noto, la scultura dei secoli VII-IX consta quasi esclusivamente di elementi destinati agli edifici ecclesiastici e monastici: arredi liturgici e decorazione architettonica quali altari, amboni, cibori, recinzioni presbiteriali, sarcofagi a vista, cornici per porte e finestre, fregi ornamentali, eccetera¹. Altrettanto ampiamente note sono le peculiarità dell'archeologia delle chiese: siti sui quali, in particolar modo nelle zone di più antica cristianizzazione, in un'area relativamente ristretta possono insistere secoli e secoli di trasformazioni, restauri, riparazioni, aggiunte, modifiche della pianta e dell'organizzazione interna degli spazi, scavi per nuove sepolture o per esumazioni di reliquie e molto altro, il tutto caratterizzato dalla quasi onnipresente pratica, in occasione di ogni lavoro di rinnovamento, del reimpiego dei materiali, recuperati dalle parti distrutte dell'edificio. In questi casi, il risultato è una stratigrafia piuttosto complessa, e la situazione di fronte alla quale si trova l'archeologo corrisponde, per così dire, a un'immagine molto vivida e concreta della profondità storica testimoniata dalla chiesa stessa, con tutti gli avvenimenti ivi succedutisi dalla sua fondazione ai nostri giorni². Tra questi eventi, una delle circostanze più frequenti è la sostituzione o l'obliterazione degli arredi lapidei decorati, i cui frammenti finiscono quasi inevitabilmente nella stratigrafia successiva. Se, tuttavia, risulta relativamente semplice distinguere tra due fasi ben distanziate nel tempo (ad

¹ Il presente contributo sviluppa parte dei risultati di una tesi di dottorato in Archeologia svolta presso la Johannes Gutenberg-Universität di Mainz, ultimata a giugno 2018 e discussa a maggio 2019. La ricerca è stata possibile grazie ad una borsa di studio triennale del Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum – Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie.

² In generale, sull'archeologia delle chiese, si veda A. CHAVARRÍA ARNAU, *Archeologia delle chiese. Dalle origini all'anno Mille*, Roma, 2009.

esempio tra i resti di una *pergula* tardoantica e di un'altra, totalmente diversa a livello morfologico, di epoca carolingia), ci sono casi in cui i raggruppamenti tipologici sono meno evidenti, almeno a un primo sguardo. In una chiesa altomedievale, infatti, elementi quali un ciborio, una recinzione presbiteriale o un sarcofago decorato potevano anche essere aggiunti a breve distanza di tempo l'uno dall'altro, realizzati da diversi ateliers di scultori (ognuno con le sue caratteristiche distintive) ma all'interno dello stesso *milieu* culturale e artistico (nel quale le 'mode globali', come mostra l'esempio della graduale affermazione degli intrecci sui motivi fitomorfi tra VIII e IX secolo, si evolvevano abbastanza lentamente³), e quindi, una volta ridotti in frammenti, più difficoltosi da distinguere l'uno dall'altro per l'archeologo che li studi più di dieci secoli dopo.

SCULTURA ALTOMEDIEVALE E ANALISI DELLE CORRISPONDENZE: L'ATELIER PIEMONTESE-PROVENZALE E LE ALTRE BOTTEGHE

Nell'ambito di un recente studio, è stato riesaminato un significativo gruppo di materiali scultorei altomedievali già in parte analizzati in tre lavori molto noti – il più recente dei quali è apparso nel 1978⁴ – e per lo più distribuiti tra le attuali Italia nordoccidentale e Francia sudorientale. Tale revisione ha comportato non solo un aggiornamento alla luce delle numerose acquisizioni in campo archeologico e storico degli ultimi quaranta-cinquant'anni, ma anche nuovi raggruppamenti tipologici, nuove datazioni di una parte consistente dei frammenti e l'attribuzione a un medesimo atelier di scultori – attivo intorno agli ultimi due decenni dell'VIII secolo e designato semplicemente come 'Piemontese-Provenzale', con riferimento all'area dove si concentra la gran parte dei manufatti – di reperti lapidei provenienti da siti che non erano stati presi in considerazione dalla precedente letteratura⁵. I raggruppamenti tipologici emersi dalla ricerca hanno inoltre consentito l'individuazione di altre tre botteghe, attive sempre nel periodo altomedievale, ma in momenti leggermente anteriori o posteriori rispetto all'atelier Piemontese-Provenzale: il presente contributo si concentrerà su una delle tre botteghe, operante in Liguria e, con ogni probabilità, anche in Trentino.

Sin dall'inizio dello studio si è rivelata fondamentale la necessità di poter confrontare tra loro non singoli oggetti o motivi decorativi decontestualizzati, ma interi insiemi di reperti, secondo le linee metodologiche seguite già da molti decenni, con brillanti risultati, dalla 'scuola croata'⁶ e da altri stu-

³ In generale su questo punto si vedano: R. CORONEO, *Scultura altomedievale in Italia. Materiali e tecniche di esecuzione, tradizioni e metodi di studio*, Cagliari, 2005., (specialmente pp. 89-90); S. LOMARTIRE, *Commacini e marmorarii. Temi e tecniche della scultura tra VII e VIII secolo nella Langobardia Maior*, in: *Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Varese-Como, 23-25 ottobre 2008): I Magistri commacini: mito e realtà del medioevo lombardo*, Spoleto, 2009., pp. 151-209 (specialmente p. 202); G. CUSCITO, *Ancora sul ciborio del vescovo maurizio a Cittanova d'Istria*, in: *L'VIII secolo: un secolo inquieto. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Cividale del Friuli, 4-7 dicembre 2008*, (ed.) V. Pace, Cividale del Friuli, 2010., pp. 109-113 (specialmente p. 112).

⁴ P. VERZONE, *L'arte preromanica in Liguria ed i rilievi decorativi dei "secoli barbari"*, Torino, 1945.; D. FOSSARD, *Le tombeau carolingien de saint Pons í Cimiez (Alpes-Maritimes)*, in: *Cahiers archéologiques. Fin de l'antiquité et moyen-âge 15*, 1965., pp. 1-16; S. CASARTELLI NOVELLI, *Confini e bottega "provinciale" delle Marittime nel divenire della scultura longobarda dai primi del secolo VIII all'anno 774*, in: *Storia dell'arte 32*, 1978., pp. 11-22.

⁵ M. BEGHELLI, *From the quarry to the church. The economics of Early Medieval stone architectural sculpture: materials, makers and patrons (7th-9th centuries)* [tesi di dottorato, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 2018]. Si veda anche M. BEGHELLI, *Scultura altomedievale e analisi delle corrispondenze: l'atelier Piemontese-Provenzale (o la 'Bottega delle Alpi Marittime' quarant'anni dopo)*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 26, 2020., pp. 579-616.

⁶ Un quadro d'insieme su questo approccio metodologico, con bibliografia, è reperibile in: M. JURKOVIĆ, *Méthodes de recherches sur la sculpture du haut Moyen Âge : exemple de la Croatie, avec quelques considérations sur la sculpture de Gellone*, in: *Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge. Actes de la table ronde d'août 1998*, (ed.) C. Amado, X. Barral, Altet Montpellier, 2000., pp. 225-235; M. JURKOVIĆ, *Quando il monumento diventa documento. Una bottega lapicida del Quarnero*, in: *Alla ricerca di un passato complesso. Contributi in onore di Gian Pietro Brogiolo per il suo settantesimo compleanno*, (ed.) A. Chavarría Arnau, M. Jurković, Zagreb – Motovun, 2016., pp. 231-242.

diosi che hanno adottato, con diverse sfumature, un approccio analogo⁷. Tra i più chiari e immediati – anche a livello visivo – casi di impiego di questo metodo va sicuramente annoverato un lavoro del 1997 di Nikola Jakšić. Prendendo in esame una bottega operante in Dalmazia all'epoca di Trpimir (845-864), lo studioso ne aveva inserito le produzioni all'interno di una tabella, tramite la quale si poteva facilmente verificare la reiterazione delle stesse tipologie decorative in diversi siti, con interi gruppi di elementi morfologici – e non corrispondenze sporadiche o isolate – che si ripetevano in forme sostanzialmente identiche nelle varie località⁸.

La possibilità di utilizzare una tabella contenente le fotografie degli interi reperti scultorei – analogamente a quanto proposto da Nikola Jakšić – per lo studio dei materiali dall'Italia settentrionale e dalla Francia meridionale, però, non appariva praticabile, a causa sia della maggiore frammentarietà rispetto ai ritrovamenti dalmati, sia, per quanto riguarda la decorazione, della maggiore variabilità delle combinazioni proposte a partire dai medesimi elementi formali. Infatti, secondo quello che

⁷ Tra i numerosi studi di questo tipo, attenti ai processi produttivi, alla ricostruzione delle strutture originarie e, ove possibile, all'individuazione della bottega di afferenza e della sua area di attività, si vedano ad esempio: K. KARPE, *Frühmittelalterliche Flechtwerksteine in Karantanien. Marmorne Kirchenausstattungen aus tassilonischkarolingischer Zeit*, Innsbruck, 2001.; S. LUSUARDI SIENA – P. PIVA, Da Pemmone a Paolino d'Aquileia: appunti sull'arredo liturgico e la scultura in Friuli tra VIII e IX secolo, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 8, 2002., pp. 295-323; E. NAPIONE, Una maestranza altomedievale di lapidisti: l'officina berico-benacense, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 8, 2002., pp. 325-336; E. DESTEFANIS, *Materiali lapidei e fittili di età altomedievale da Bobbio*, Piacenza, 2004.; S. UGGÈ, I reperti scultorei di epoca altomedievale, in: *Novalesa. Nuove luci dall'abbazia*, (ed.) M.G. Cerri, Milano, 2004., pp. 59-71; E. MICHELETTO, *San Dalmazzo di Pedona. Il museo dell'abbazia*, Borgo San Dalmazzo, 2005.; M. SCHULZE-DÖRRLAMM, Die Karolingische Chorschranke und die 'Porta Aurea' der Klosterkirche St. Alban (787 - 805) bei Mainz, in: *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 54, 2007., pp. 629-661; Y. CODOU, Le monument funéraire carolingien de Saint-Pons de Cimiez : retour sur un dossier d'exception, *Provence historique*, LXI/243-244, 2011., pp. 279-295; P. VEDOVETTO, Spolia carolingie nella chiesa di San Lorenzo a Tenno (Tn): per una ricostruzione dell'arredo liturgico altomedievale, *Hortus artium medievalium*, 17, 2011., pp. 129-137; L. CABALLERO ZOREDA, Observaciones arqueológicas sobre producción arquitectónica y decorativa de las iglesias de San Miguel de Lillo y Santianes de Pravia, in: *Asturias entre Visigodos y Mozárabes (Visigodos y Omeyas, VI – Madrid, 2010). Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología*, LXIII, (ed.) L. Caballero Zoreda, P. Mateos Cruz, C. García de Castro Valdés, Madrid, 2012., pp. 89-123; R. BELCARI, Per un'archeologia dei processi produttivi dei manufatti litici in area balcanica. Stari Bar (Repubblica del Montenegro, Crna Gora), in: *60 Congresso nazionale di archeologia medievale, L'Aquila, 12-15 settembre 2012*, (ed.) F. Redi, A. Forgione, Firenze, 2012., pp. 165-174; G. FACCANI, Sculpture architecturale provenant des fouilles de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre (IV e-XIIe siècles), in: *Les fouilles de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Genève. Les édifices chrétiens et le groupe épiscopal*, (edd.) Ch. Bonnet, A. Peilleux, Genève, 2012., pp. 235-263; M. BEGHELLI, *Scultura altomedievale dagli scavi di Santa Maria Maggiore a Trento. Dal reperto al contesto*, Bologna, 2013; A. DUCCI, Dal Tardoantico alle soglie del Mille. Il cammino delle arti nell'altomedioevo toscano, in: *Visibile parlare: le arti nella Toscana medievale*, (ed.) M. Collareta, Firenze, 2013., pp. 35-68 (specialmente pp. 48-50); P. VEDOVETTO, Elementi di arredo liturgico altomedievale e preromanico dalla chiesa di San Martino a Padova: rilettura complessiva dei materiali, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 20/2, 2014., pp. 602-609; J. CROCHAT, *Le mobilier liturgique dans les diocèses médiévaux de Grenoble, Lyon et Vienne, IVème-XIème siècles* [tesi di master, Université Lumière Lyon 2, UFR Temps et Territoires 2014. - 2015.]; K. ROTH-RUBI, *Die frühe Marmorskulptur aus dem Kloster St. Johann in Müstair*, Ostfildern, 2015.; A. VILLA DEL CASTILLO, Producción escultórica en Asturias y León en torno al 900. Hacia una caracterización de los talleres, in: *Iglesias altomedievales en Asturias. Arqueología y arquitectura. Anejos de Archivo Español de Arqueología*, LXXIV, (ed.) M.Á. Utrero Agudo, Madrid, 2016., pp. 169-189; M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5); M. BEGHELLI – M. DALBA, Reperti scultorei altomedievali (secc. VIII e IX), in: *Alle origini della Pieve di San Lorenzo. Storia e archeologia del costruito e del contesto*, (ed.) E. Cavada, Comano Terme, 2019., pp. 41-74; R. SCHIAVONE, *Die karolingerzeitlichen Schrankenanlagen in der Kirche St. Peter und Paul in Reichenau-Niederzell und ihre kulturhistorische Einbindung*, Heidelberg, in corso di stampa.

⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ, Croatian art in the second half of the ninth century, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 3, 1997., pp. 41-54.



Fig. 1. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Frammenti di pluteo con archetti e resti di decorazione a graticcio. 1. Cat. 1. 2. Cat. 2 (foto M. Beghelli)

è stato definito un “sistema modulare razionale”⁹, ogni bottega si serviva di pochi e riconoscibili schemi compositivi, variandone però l’effetto finale tramite diversi abbinamenti di specifici tipi di spirali, croci, rosette, girandole, ecc., tutti realizzati sempre nella stessa maniera e con ben determinati tratti morfologici.

Per l’analisi dei materiali scultorei si è dunque reso necessario ‘scomporre’ la decorazione nelle sue unità ornamentali di base, cosa che ha consentito di inquadrare anche i frammenti di dimensioni più contenute, che ne conservavano solo piccole parti. Tali unità ornamentali, i *tipi*, sono poi stati esaminati attraverso il metodo statistico dell’analisi delle corrispondenze, procedimento pressoché inedito nell’ambito dello studio della scultura altomedievale ma molto noto, e utilizzato con successo, in altri campi della ricerca archeologica. Esiti molto celebri, per quanto riguarda il periodo in questione, sono i sistemi cronotipologici dei corredi funerari da alcune aree delle attuali Francia e Germania, divenuti ormai dei punti di riferimento in tutta Europa¹⁰. L’obiettivo dell’analisi delle corrispondenze è spesso quello di esaminare *patterns di associazioni di variabili qualitative*: nel nostro caso, le unità ornamentali o tipi (contraddistinti da specifici tratti tecnico-morfologici) ricorrenti in diversi siti.

Il punto di partenza di ogni analisi delle corrispondenze è una tabella: in molti studi archeologici, le righe corrispondono a un contesto chiuso (una tomba, uno strato, un deposito, ecc.; nel nostro caso: un

frammento lapideo) e le colonne corrispondono ai diversi tipi ivi attestati (una forma ceramica, una tipologia di arma, gioiello, accessorio d’abbigliamento, ecc.; nel nostro caso: le singole unità ornamentali). La tabella, dunque, serve a verificare non sporadiche ma molteplici corrispondenze tra frammenti, sia da uno stesso sito sia da diverse località. I dati sono infine stati elaborati mediante il software freeware e open source *Past*, nella sua versione 3.22¹¹. Tra le varie funzioni disponibili, i programmi di questo tipo permettono di realizzare seriazioni, riordinando e rior-

⁹ S. LOMARTIRE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 201. Su questo punto di veda anche E. DESTEFANIS, *Il monastero di Bobbio in età altomedievale*, Firenze, 2002., p. 58.

¹⁰ F. SIEGMUND, Come realizzare un’analisi delle corrispondenze: guida breve per archeologi, in: *Small finds e cronologia (V-IX secc.)*. Esempi, metodi e risultati, Roma, (ed.) J. Pinar Gil, 2017., pp. 31-69.

¹¹ F. SIEGMUND, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 31-69.

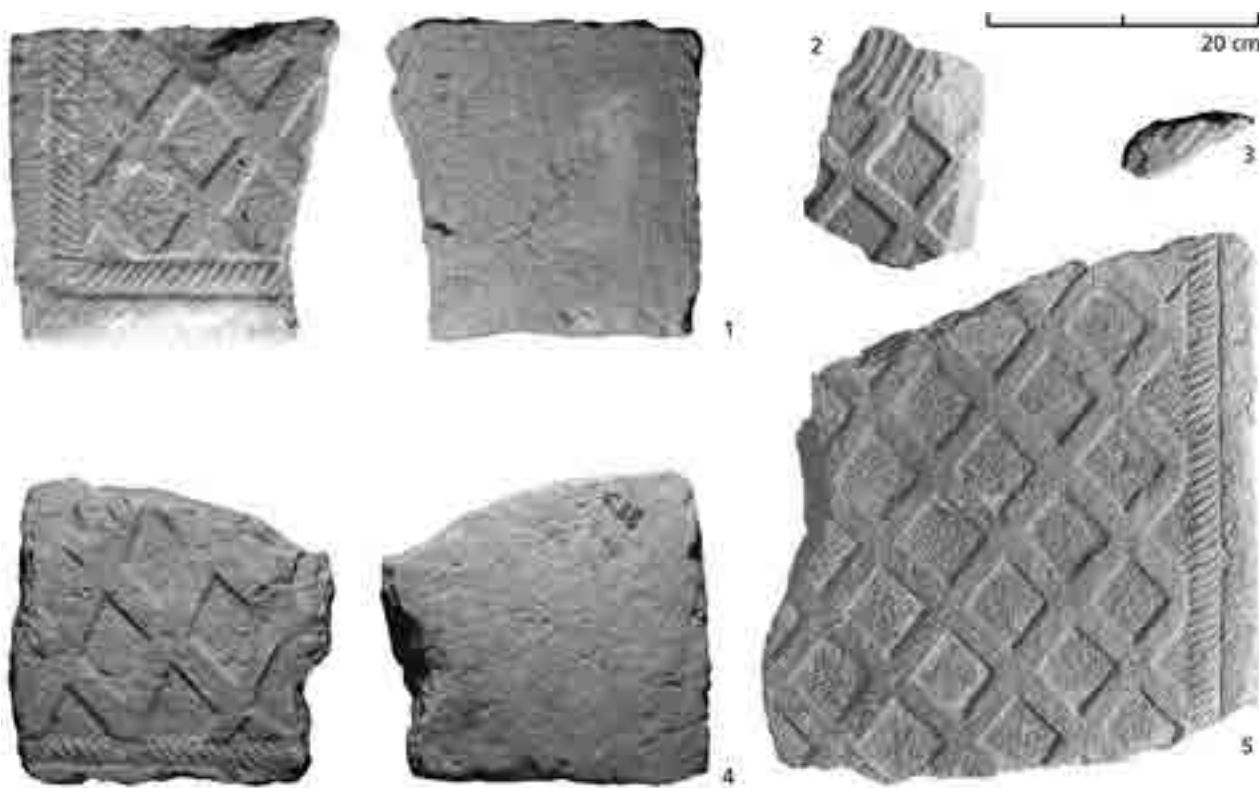


Fig. 2. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Frammenti di pluteo con decorazione a graticcio 1. Cat. 3. 2. Cat. 4. 3. Cat. 5. 4. Cat. 6. 5. Cat. 7 (1.-4.: foto M. Beghelli; 5.: da Gandolfi 1995, p. 85)

ganizzando autonomamente le variabili inserite in tabella: in termini estremamente generici e concisi, si può dire che il sistema ‘avvicina’ i dati più simili tra loro e ‘allontana’ gli altri¹².

Per procedere in maniera sistematica, nella tabella iniziale sono stati inseriti *tutti* i frammenti di epoca altomedievale da ognuno dei sedici siti considerati, e non soltanto quelli ‘indiziati’ di una probabile afferenza all’atelier Piemontese-Provenzale. Proprio questo meccanismo ha consentito, da un lato, l’ampliamento del corpus di frammenti attribuibili all’atelier e, dall’altro, l’individuazione delle ulteriori tre botteghe menzionate sopra. L’elaborazione dei dati con *Past* ha infatti chiaramente evidenziato quattro gruppi di reperti lapidei: all’interno di ogni gruppo, vi sono plurimi punti in

¹² Si veda oltre, paragrafo successivo e fig. 11. Come chiarisce F. SIEGMUND, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 34-35 e 46, “I dati di partenza dell’AC corrispondono a informazioni non strutturate (una tabella “disordinata”), mentre il risultato è costituito da una nuova sequenza delle righe e colonne nella tabella. Prima dell’era dei computer, questo metodo veniva realizzato [a mano] attraverso un riordinamento meccanico ripetuto della sequenza di righe e colonne della tabella. [...] Di conseguenza, il metodo veniva denominato anche “seriazione” o “ordinamento”. Il primo software per realizzare le AC al computer, infatti, non era altro che l’automatizzazione del riordinamento ripetuto di righe e colonne. A data odierna, tuttavia, la soluzione matematica è molto più sofisticata e viene raggiunta attraverso un algoritmo che effettua il calcolo: l’AC così ottenuta, alla fine di questo processo di calcolo, si presenta sotto forma di una nuova sequenza di righe e colonne; questa tabella dovrà quindi, eventualmente, essere riordinata, o ritoccata, una sola volta. [...] L’analisi delle corrispondenze è multidimensionale: in molti casi, i suoi risultati calcolano plurimi assi. La seriazione, invece, fornisce un’unica sequenza, cioè una soluzione unidimensionale. La sequenza proposta da una seriazione – quando è realizzata correttamente – sarebbe l’equivalente del primo asse dell’AC. Di conseguenza [...], i risultati di un’AC applicata allo stesso materiale dovrebbero essere quasi identici”.

comune; vi sono, cioè, *interi set* di motivi o tipi che si ripetono in diversi siti, sebbene essi possano essere variamente combinati in differenti composizioni. Molto coerenti al loro interno, tali gruppi non presentano invece alcuna caratteristica morfologica significativa in comune, dovendo quindi essere ricondotti a diverse botteghe di scultori. Il più ampio dei quattro – comprendente materiali da tredici località – corrisponde ovviamente all'atelier Piemontese-Provenzale, che era il principale oggetto di studio nel lavoro sopracitato. Come già anticipato, il presente contributo intende invece concentrarsi su uno degli altri insiemi di reperti, più difficile da inquadrare a livello cronologico ma estremamente interessante dal punto di vista del contesto produttivo e delle caratteristiche tipologiche, che permettono una ricostruzione piuttosto precisa degli apparati di arredo lapideo (Figg. 1-8).

Le ragioni concrete che spiegano i risultati dell'analisi delle corrispondenze vanno cercate nelle dinamiche alle quali si è accennato nel paragrafo introduttivo. In una stessa chiesa, potevano operare

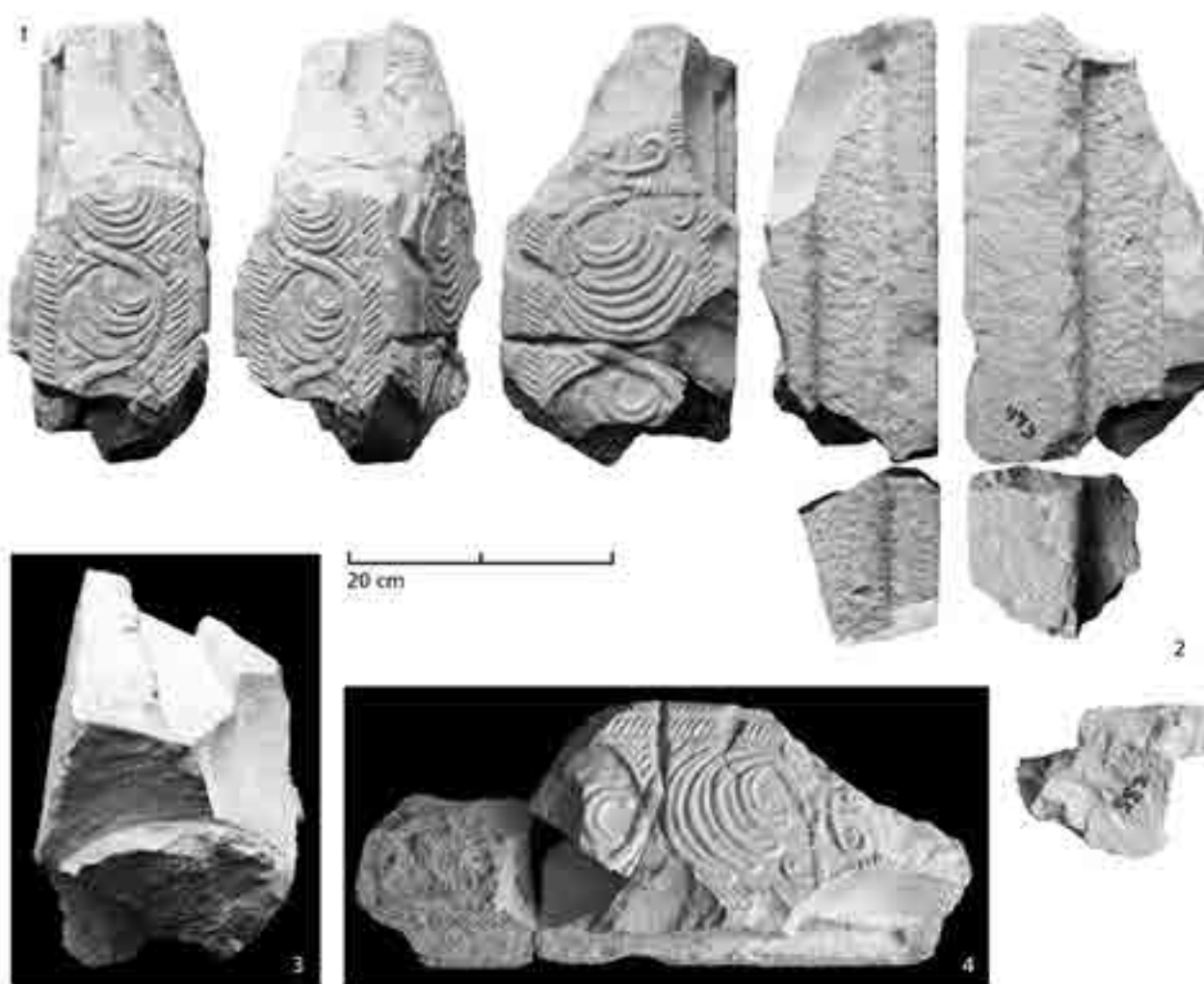


Fig. 3. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. 1. Pilastrino angolare con girale a foglie polilobate. Due facce contigue presentano le scanalature per l'assemblaggio con i plutei (cat. 8). 2. Piccolo frammento non decorato che combacia parzialmente (cat. 9, con sezione). 3. Sulla parte superiore del pilastrino (immagine fuori scala) si notano i resti di una base circolare per colonna, da installare tramite un perno: in frattura è visibile il foro longitudinale ricavato a questo scopo. 4. Immagine d'insieme dei due reperti, fuori scala (foto M. Beghelli)



Fig. 4. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Pilastrino con girale vitineo, cat. 10 (foto M. Beghelli)



Fig. 5. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Dettaglio del pilastrino in figura precedente: il pezzo si trova ancora reimpiegato nel muro di chiusura della cripta altomedievale (foto M. Beghelli)

differenti botteghe di scultori anche in un arco temporale relativamente breve, di pochi decenni. Tra i siti presi in considerazione, quello più chiaramente esemplificativo di questo fenomeno è la cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta a Ventimiglia¹³. Qui, a partire dal tardo Ottocento, sono stati a più riprese rinvenuti numerosi frammenti lapidei decorati altomedievali, accuratamente restaurati negli anni Novanta e per la gran parte musealizzati nei suggestivi contesti della cripta e del battistero¹⁴. Il fatto che i frammenti altomedievali fossero riconducibili ad apparati di arredo lapideo realizzati in diversi momenti era già stato rilevato in precedenza¹⁵, anche se l'analisi delle corrispondenze ha consentito di precisare e definire

¹³ Sono molto grata al dott. Vincenzo Tiné (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Genova e le province di Imperia, La Spezia e Savona) e a Don Luca Salomone (Ufficio Beni Culturali della Diocesi di Ventimiglia e Sanremo) per avermi concesso l'accesso ai frammenti scultorei e il permesso di studio per questi materiali. La mia visita alla cattedrale e ai depositi di Ventimiglia alta e Nervi è stata organizzata in maniera impeccabile e in tempi incredibilmente rapidi dalla dott.ssa Valentina Silvia Zunino e dal dott. Stefano Costa (che ringrazio, insieme al dott. Alessandro Carabia, anche per il piacevole incontro a Ventimiglia alta e per l'interessantissimo scambio di idee). Sono grata anche alla dott.ssa Sara Chierici, che ci ha aiutati a localizzare i tre frammenti da Nervi tra i reperti del deposito. Infine, senza la pazienza, la disponibilità e il generoso aiuto sul fronte logistico di Don Thomas Le Bourhis, sarebbe stato probabilmente impossibile terminare il lavoro di documentazione dei numerosi reperti in pochi giorni.

¹⁴ A. FRONDONI, *L'Altomedioevo: età longobarda e carolingia*, in: *La scultura a Genova e in Liguria, I. Dalle origini al Cinquecento*, (ed.) G. Conti, R. Cavalli, A. Frondoni et al. Genova, 1987., pp. 41-57; D. GANDOLFI, *I rilievi altomedievali provenienti dai restauri della cattedrale di Ventimiglia*, in: *Atti del convegno sul "Millenario della traslazione delle reliquie di S. Secondo"*. Ventimiglia, 15 dicembre 1990, Bordighera, 1995., pp. 75-106 [Rivista ingauna e intemelia XXIV-XXV, 1969-1970]; A. FRONDONI – C. FUSCONI – D. GANDOLFI – F. PALLARÉS, *La cattedrale di Ventimiglia. Arredo scultoreo tra alto e basso medioevo*, Ventimiglia, 1994. Parte dei frammenti è stata analizzata in numerosi altri studi, ma in questo contributo si farà riferimento soprattutto a questi tre lavori (a cui si rimanda anche per la bibliografia precedente) e in particolar modo a quello di Daniela Gandolfi, che è il più completo sul tema che ci riguarda.

¹⁵ D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), con bibliografia precedente.



Fig. 6. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Archivolto di pergula, cat. 11 (foto SABAP Liguria, per gentile concessione della Soprintendenza)



Fig. 7. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Frammento di ambone reimpiegato in una semicolonna bassomedievale della controfacciata della chiesa, cat. 12 (foto M. Beghelli)

meglio i raggruppamenti tipologici, che sono stati ridotti a tre¹⁶. L'insieme più recente include sculture decorate quasi esclusivamente da intrecci di vario tipo e risale probabilmente al primo quarto o alla prima metà del IX secolo. Vi è poi il gruppo delle produzioni dell'atelier Piemontese-Provenzale (databile intorno agli ultimi due decenni dell'VIII secolo), e infine quello dei reperti lapidei qui in esame, che comprende dodici frammenti ed è verosimilmente il più antico dei tre (Figg. 1-8)¹⁷. Anche per questi materiali – da attribuire a un gruppo di scultori che, per semplicità, chiameremo 'prima bottega di Ventimiglia' – si sono cercati contesti comparabili, selezionando però soltanto quelli che presentassero corrispondenze precise a livello morfologico (e non somiglianze generiche o approssimative), nonché molteplici punti in

¹⁶ M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.).

¹⁷ In sede di prima pubblicazione dei frammenti dalla cattedrale (D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.*, n. 14) le numerosissime schede di catalogo in calce al contributo non erano ordinate in sequenza numerica ma raggruppate a seconda del periodo e dell'area di rinvenimento, e risultavano inoltre sprovviste di un riferimento alla (eventuale) figura all'interno dell'articolo; viceversa, nel testo, non sempre era indicato il numero di catalogo del reperto. Pertanto, dopo un lavoro di verifica, revisione e raccolta dei dati effettuato direttamente sulle schede della Soprintendenza, e nel tentativo di fornire informazioni le più complete possibili anche per facilitare eventuali future ricerche, nel catalogo in formato tabellare qui proposto in fig. 8 vengono indicate sia la scheda sia (se presente) la figura già pubblicata, oltre al numero di catalogo generale riportato sulla documentazione della Soprintendenza.

Cat.	Figura	Inv. SABAP	Cat. SABAP	Misure (cm)	Bibliografia
1	1.1	45	13190	25x31x9	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 43 p. 104, fig. 21 p. 85
2	1.2	2	13149	32x18x9	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 2 p. 102, fig. 21 p. 85
3	2.1	1	13148	24x23x9	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 1 p. 102, fig. 20 p. 85
4	2.2	56	13201	16,5x11x9,5	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 54 p. 104, fig. 21 p. 85
5	2.3	114	13259	10x4x6 max.	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 112 p. 104, senza fig.
6	2.4	40	13185	23x25x9/10	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 38 p. 104, fig. 20 p. 85
7	2.5	23	13168	35x40x10	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 21 p. 103, fig. 20 p. 85
8	3.1	48 49	13193 13194	30x17x13 11x13x15 (due pezzi ricongiunti)	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 46 p. 104, fig. 22 p. 87; Gandolfi 1995, sch. 47 p. 104, senza fig.
9	3.2	57	13202	11x13x12	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 55 p. 105, senza fig.
10	4 e 5	41	13186	53x12x14/16	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 39 p. 105, fig. 44 p. 99
11	6	3	13150	60x15x13	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 3 p. 102, fig. 22 p. 87
12	7	63	13208	21x30x6	Gandolfi 1995, sch. 61 p. 105, fig. 22 p. 87

Fig. 8. Ventimiglia, cattedrale. Catalogo dei pezzi qui in esame in formato tabellare

comune con il gruppo ventimigliese (e non corrispondenze sporadiche o isolate che, come noto, possono condurre a conclusioni poco rilevanti, o perfino fuorvianti, dal punto di vista dell'inquadramento tipologico e cronologico dei pezzi¹⁸). Ad esempio, il motivo a cancello o a graticcio, di derivazione classica (Figg. 1-2), ha certamente molti confronti¹⁹. Ciononostante, proprio perché molto semplice e utilizzato ininterrottamente, dal tardoantico al medioevo, in diverse aree d'Europa, risulta poco significativo, se preso singolarmente, ai fini di uno studio mirato alla definizione del contesto produttivo e alla datazione dei frammenti: eloquenti in questo senso sono le diverse cronologie proposte in letteratura, al VI, al VII oppure all'VIII secolo²⁰. Più efficace, come già più volte ricordato, è invece una ricerca di paralleli che tenga in considerazione l'intero gruppo di frammenti scultorei, effettuata in modo da dare priorità ai motivi più complessi e, dunque, più 'riconoscibili' e caratterizzanti di un certo atelier (sebbene ciò comporti inevitabilmente la rinuncia a corposi elenchi di paralleli).

¹⁸ Si vedano le note 6, 7 e 8.

¹⁹ Si veda D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 85 e nota 24. In generale, sulla derivazione della grande maggioranza dei motivi altomedievali dall'architettura e dai mosaici romani e tardoantichi (piuttosto che da altri media, quali ad esempio gli oggetti di oreficeria o i tessuti) si veda N. JAKŠIĆ, *Scultura e liturgia*, in: *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi. Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi. Catalogo della mostra, Brescia, Santa Giulia-Museo della Città, 9 settembre 2001-6 gennaio 2002*, (ed.) C. Bertelli, G. P. Brogiolo, M. Jurković, A. Milošević, C. Stella, Milano, 2001., pp. 175-198.

²⁰ D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 84-86, con bibliografia.



Fig. 9. Sanremo, San Siro, pilastrino angolare. Due facce contigue presentano le scanalature per l'assemblaggio con i plutei (foto M. Beghelli)

LA 'PRIMA BOTTEGA DI VENTIMIGLIA'

Per tecnica esecutiva (rilievo piuttosto basso) e decorazione, i reperti della prima bottega di Ventimiglia si distinguevano nettamente dalla restante parte dei materiali rinvenuti presso la cattedrale. Tuttavia, la coerenza interna del gruppo (suggerita anche dal litotipo: per quasi tutti i pezzi, un calcare chiaro compatto con inclusioni biancastre²¹) emerge soprattutto dalla comparazione con due contesti esterni, come ben illustrato dall'analisi delle corrispondenze (Figg. 9-11; nella seriazione, tratta dallo studio già citato, le sigle che designano i tipi sono state lasciate in lingua originale²²). Per primo va citato, per vicinanza sia tipologica che geografica, un pilastrino angolare da Sanremo²³ (Fig. 9). Rinvenuto in posizione secondaria (reimpiegato nella chiusura di una finestra della canonica di XII secolo, facente parte, insieme al battistero, del complesso della cattedrale di San Siro), il pezzo era stato in un primo tempo datato all'XI secolo e in seguito correttamente ricondotto al periodo altomedievale²⁴. Il pilastrino-

²¹ In occasione dei restauri, sono state effettuate analisi petrografiche su svariate sculture, non solo su quelle qui in esame. Tuttavia, non è stato finora possibile reperire il rapporto finale dello studio. I litotipi individuati, tutti locali a parte il marmo 'orientale' di un pulvino bizantino di fine V - inizio VI secolo, corrispondono a: calcare compatto marmoreo (pietra della Turbie), calcare bioclastico, calcarenite. Si vedano: A. FRONDONI *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 14); D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 90, nota 41.

²² M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.). EwV sta per 'early workshop Ventimiglia'.

²³ Ringrazio sentitamente il dirigente del Museo Civico di Sanremo, avv. Danilo Sfamurri, e il curatore della sezione archeologica, dott. Luigi Di Francescantonio, per avermi concesso l'autorizzazione a fotografare il pilastrino altomedievale. Il pilastrino ha un'altezza massima conservata di 54 cm.

²⁴ F. PALLARÉS I SALVADOR, Un tentativo di restauro a Sanremo nella canonica medioevale di S. Siro, *Rivista Ingauna Intemelia*, XVI, 1961., pp. 121-124; D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 99.

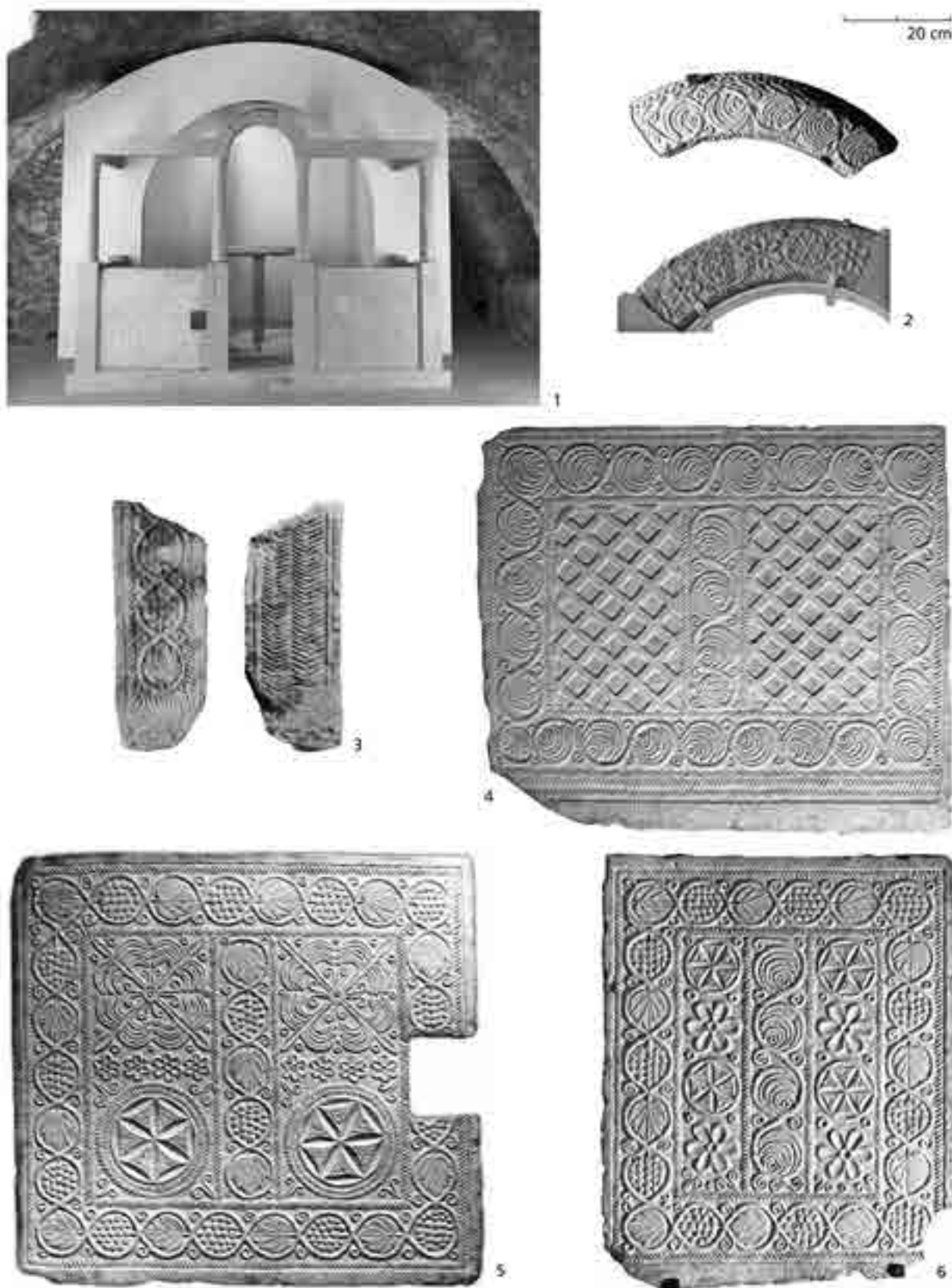


Fig. 10. Stenico, San Martino in castro. 1. Gli arredi scultorei nella loro collocazione attuale (ricostruzione della pergula, fuori scala). 2. Archivolto, fronte e tergo. 3. Architrave di pergula o pilastrino, fronte e tergo. 4., 5., 6. Plutei (1., 2.-tergo, 3.-fronte: foto P. Vedovetto; 3.-tergo: da Cecchelli 1928, p. 204; 1.-fronte, 5., 6.: da Porta 2013, pp. 48-49)

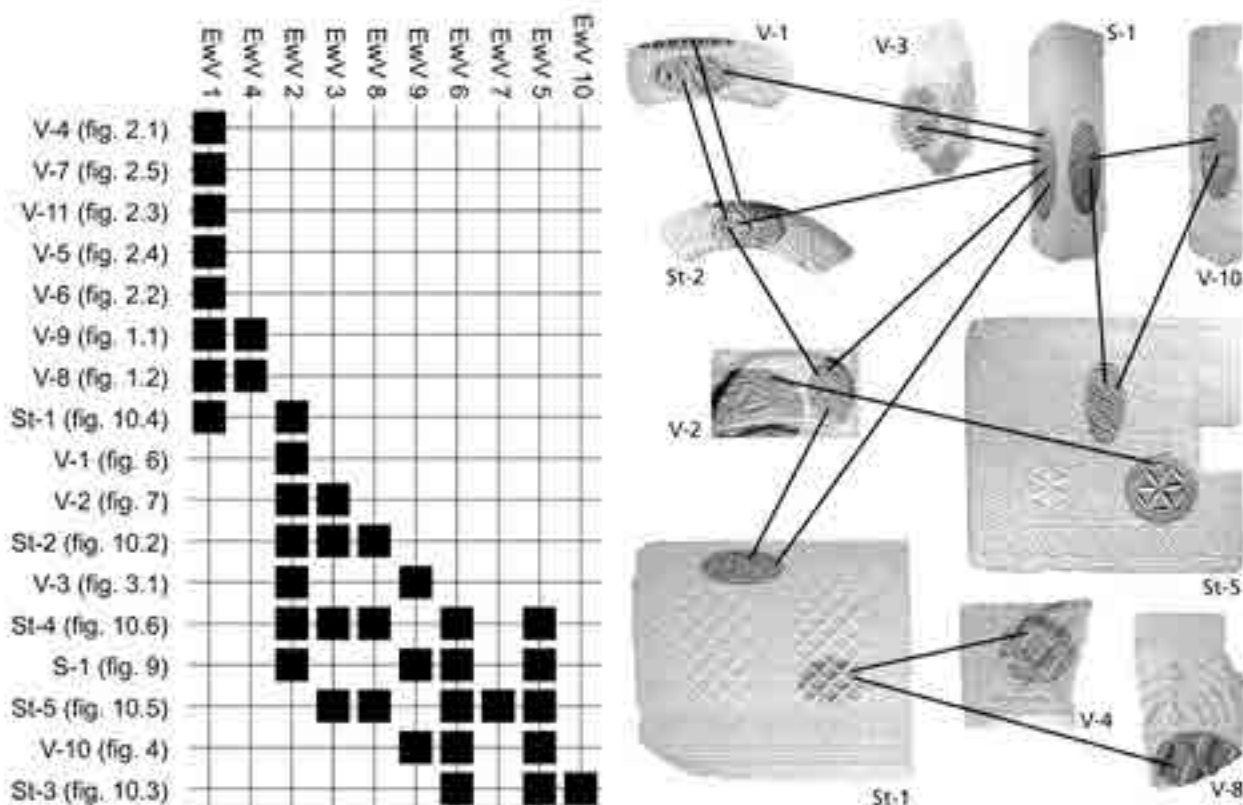


Fig. 11. A sinistra: seriazione. Il software ha riordinato autonomamente righe e colonne, nelle quali i dati, in un primo tempo, erano stati semplicemente inseriti in ordine alfabetico. Righe: frammenti lapidei (S: Sanremo; St: Stenico; V: Ventimiglia, cattedrale). Colonne: tipi (unit ornamentali). I tre contesti sono legati da molteplici corrispondenze (a destra: selezione di alcuni pezzi e rappresentazione grafica, semplificata, del funzionamento dei legami tipologici evidenziati dalla tabella). EwV 1: motivo a graticcio; EwV 2: girale a foglie polilobate; EwV 3: stella a sei punte in doppio clipeo; EwV 4: archetti; EwV 5: girale vitineo (foglia a cuore); EwV 6: girale vitineo (grappolo); EwV 7: croce di Sant'Andrea con estremità lanceolate intersecata a croce greca con estremità a volute; EwV 8: fiore a sei petali arrotondati; EwV 9: motivo triangolare composto da cordoncini; EwV 10: motivo a listelli cordonati affiancati (da Beghelli 2018)

no è stato attribuito alle fasi più antiche della cattedrale, sebbene, in mancanza di indagini archeologiche sistematiche, esso rimanga per ora l'unico testimone dell'arredo lapideo di un edificio di culto preromanico²⁵. Come già notato da Daniela Gandolfi²⁶, il girale vitineo di una delle due facce decorate coincide quasi perfettamente – fatta salva la piccola differenza nel tralcio sinuoso, doppio in un caso e singolo nell'altro – con l'analogo motivo attestato a Ventimiglia, in un pilastro reimpiegato nel muro di chiusura della cripta (Figg. 4-5). La stessa, anche nei dettagli, è la particolare forma delle foglie e, soprattutto, del motivo triangolare all'estremità, un ornamento molto peculiare e non atte-

²⁵ Negli anni Quaranta, in occasione di alcuni scavi sono state individuate, a tre metri di profondità, strutture relative all'abside centrale e una delle adiacenti absidiole di un edificio ecclesiastico datato all'età protoromanica. La ripresa delle indagini archeologiche, auspicate peraltro dalla letteratura più recente, consentirebbero sicuramente di gettare luce sulle vicende costruttive della chiesa e sulla loro cronologia. A. FRONDONI, Chiese del IX e X secolo in Liguria, in: *Alle origini del romanico. Monasteri, edifici religiosi, committenza tra storia e archeologia (Italia settentrionale, secoli IX-X). Atti delle III Giornate di Studi Medievali, Castiglione delle Stivere, 25-27 settembre 2003*, (ed.) R. Salvarani, G. Andenna, G.P. Brogiolo, Brescia, 2005., p. 199, con bibliografia.

²⁶ D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 99.



Fig. 12. Foglietta sui pilastrini da: 1. Sanremo; 2. Ventimiglia (foto M. Beghelli)



Fig. 13. Motivo triangolare a Sanremo (due foto centrali) e Ventimiglia (prima e quarta immagine; foto M. Beghelli)

stato altrove. In entrambi i casi, inoltre, la decorazione è incorniciata da un listello cordonato, e il tralcio è caratterizzato dagli stessi viticci spiraliformi²⁷ (Figg. 12 e 13).

Il pilastrino sanremese, poi, ha un ruolo cruciale come *trait d'union* per collegare il suo omologo ventimigliese riutilizzato nella cripta ad altri tre pezzi dalla stessa chiesa. La sua seconda faccia decorata, infatti, presenta un girale a fogliette polilobate (Fig. 11, EwV 2) perfettamente sovrapponibile – nella forma, nelle proporzioni e nella tecnica esecutiva del rilievo – a quello che si riscontra su un archivolt da *pergula*, su un frammento probabilmente di ambone, e su un secondo pilastrino²⁸ (Figg. 3, 6, 7, 9, 14). Quest'ultimo è più frammentario di quello reimpiegato nelle strutture murarie della cripta, ma è caratterizzato da un migliore stato di conservazione dell'ornamentazione, che negli altri due pezzi appare più consunta²⁹. Anche qui si notano i resti del motivo triangolare composto da cordoncini, del tutto analogo a quello del pilastrino di Sanremo (Fig. 13 e Fig. 11, EwV 9).

Se l'associazione dei due tipi di fregio (EwV 2 ed EwV 5-6, Fig. 11) sul pezzo sanremese permette di collegare tipologicamente tra loro quattro frammenti di Ventimiglia, un secondo contesto esterno, Stenico in Trentino (Fig. 10), indica che il gruppo vada esteso anche ai reperti con decorazione a graticcio (Fig. 15). I materiali di Stenico³⁰, ritrovati in posizione di reimpiego nella cappella di

²⁷ M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.). È opportuno evidenziare che la disparità nella qualità esecutiva dei due pezzi è solo apparente, e dipende interamente dal loro stato di conservazione. Il pilastrino della cripta è infatti molto scheggiato ed eroso, ma l'esame diretto e ravvicinato ha confermato che, così come nel caso dell'esemplare sanremese (e di alcuni altri pezzi dalla stessa cattedrale di Ventimiglia), il bassorilievo doveva originariamente apparire regolare e accuratamente eseguito.

²⁸ Anche per questo fregio la letteratura precedente (S. CASARTELLI NOVELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 4); D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 99, con bibliografia) riporta diversi confronti (uno su tutti: il ciborio di San Giorgio di Valpolicella). Si tratta, tuttavia, di contesti nei quali l'unico punto in comune con i materiali ventimigliesi è appunto il tralcio a foglie polilobate, poiché i restanti motivi sono molto diversi, o non affatto attestati, a Ventimiglia. In mancanza di altri dati, paralleli di questo genere possono almeno offrire qualche suggerimento a livello cronologico ma, come ricordato sopra (si veda specialmente la letteratura in n. 6), sono meno significativi per l'inquadramento tipologico e, soprattutto, per la definizione del contesto produttivo, compresa l'individuazione della bottega responsabile della manifattura delle sculture.

²⁹ Il litotipo impiegato (analogo a quello di quasi tutti gli altri pezzi, ma di grana leggermente più fine e, sembra, di maggiore compattezza) ha forse avuto un ruolo nel determinare il migliore stato di conservazione dell'ornato.

³⁰ Sui pezzi da Stenico si vedano: C. CECHELLI, Reliquie trentine dell'età barbarica, *Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche*, IX/3, 1928., pp. 193-212; M. DE MARCHI, Pluteo (scheda 388), in: *Il futuro dei Longobardi. L'Italia e la costruzione dell'Europa di Carlo Magno*, (ed.) C. Bertelli, G. P. Brogiolo, Milano, 2000., pp. 400-401. Da ultimo si veda P. PORTA, Per il corpus della scultura altomedievale: la diocesi di Trento, in: *APSAT 10. Chiese trentine dalle origini al 1250*, vol. 1, (ed.) G.P. Brogiolo, E. Cavada, M. Ibsen, N. Pisu, M. Rapanà, Mantova, 2013., pp. 27-74 (che però non cita come confronti i materiali ventimigliesi).



Fig. 14. Girale a foglie polilobate a Ventimiglia (sinistra, foto SABAP Liguria, per gentile concessione della Soprintendenza) e a Sanremo (destra, foto M. Beghelli)

San Martino al castello, presentano molteplici corrispondenze con i materiali ventimigliesi³¹. Oltre alla comune decorazione a graticcio incorniciata da listelli cordonati, vi si ritrovano un tralcio vitineo coincidente al 'nostro' (e all'esemplare sanremese) per impostazione generale, proporzioni e dettagli (ad esempio i viticci e la forma dei grappoli; varia invece leggermente la foglia: Fig. 16 e Fig. 11, EwV 5-6) e, soprattutto, una stella a sei punte in doppio clipeo a cordoncino identica a quella attestata a Ventimiglia (Fig. 17 e Fig. 11, EwV 3). Benché questo tipo di stella sia piuttosto frequente tra l'epoca romana e tardoantica e l'alto medioevo, una tale esatta coincidenza a livello morfologico sembra riscontrabile, per ora, solo a Stenico e Ventimiglia: in aggiunta alla comune caratteristica del clipeo a doppio cordoncino, entrambe le stelle sono ricavate 'in negativo' come spazi di risulta tra gli elementi triangolari a rilievo, che presentano le medesime decorazioni. Anche il girale a foglie polilobate è sostanzialmente sovrapponibile a quello ventimigliese e sanremese, sebbene a Stenico esso sia 'arricchito' da piccoli elementi ad anellino che, in Liguria, si ritrovano invece sul motivo triangolare dei pilastrini (Fig. 18 e Fig. 13). Piccole variazioni nella realizzazione dei motivi – estremamente frequenti nei manufatti scultorei altomedievali – si osservano comunque perfino sullo stesso reperto, come ben esemplificato proprio dal pilastrino cat. 8, dove compaiono due versioni del girale fitomorfo (Fig. 3). Quasi identici sono poi i due archivolti di *pergula*, perfino nella particolare versione dei caulicoli sommitali che – a fronte di innumerevoli varianti attestate quasi ovunque in Europa occidentale – vengono replicati con le medesime forme a Ventimiglia e a Stenico (Fig. 19). Come già osservato, un ulteriore punto in comune è la decorazione a graticcio (Fig. 15): l'associazione di quest'ultima, a Stenico, a tutti gli altri tipi ornamentali fin qui menzionati, consente di concludere che, con ogni probabilità, gli analoghi frammenti da Ventimiglia, insieme ai due pilastrini, al frammento di ambone e all'archivolto ivi rinvenuti facessero parte di un unico originario apparato di arredo lapideo (Figg. 1-7). L'analisi tipologica condotta per gruppi e il confronto con contesti esterni conferma insomma l'impressione di uniformità già rilevata e dovuta al litotipo e alla tecnica di lavorazione³², anche se vi sono ulteriori 'legami interni' a dare coerenza all'insieme dei materiali ventimigliesi. Ci si riferisce, ad esempio, ad alcuni elementi secondari della decorazione, come la reiterazione delle medesime soluzioni per le cornici (viene utilizzato esclusivamente il listello cordonato, Figg. 1-7) e per gli spazi di risulta (ad esempio la piccola voluta in posizione angolare sul gruppo dei pezzi a graticcio e sul frammento di ambone, Figg. 1.1 e 7). Anche i probabili resti di una foglia polilobata sul reperto cat. 4 (Fig. 2.2) sembra costituire un indizio per legare l'insieme dei frammenti con decorazione a graticcio a quelli con il girale fitomorfo.

³¹ Ringrazio di cuore Paolo Vedovetto per avermi permesso di pubblicare in questa sede alcune delle sue fotografie.

³² Si veda sopra.

RICOSTRUZIONE E CRONOLOGIA DEGLI ARREDI LAPIDEI

Benché gli scavi e i saggi finora eseguiti non abbiano offerto elementi per una sicura collocazione delle strutture all'interno della chiesa³³, e nonostante l'esiguo numero di reperti, le tipologie funzionali attestate sono molto significative dal punto di vista della restituzione degli elementi di arredo originari. In primo luogo, il pilastrino angolare (Fig. 3) indica che ci troviamo di fronte a una recinzione presbiteriale non rettilinea, ma in forma di π . In secondo luogo, il fatto che tale recinzione fosse di tipo alto è chiaramente rivelato sia dalla presenza dell'archivolto di *pergula* (Fig. 6), sia dai resti, sulla sommità del pilastrino, della base circolare per la colonnina, che doveva essere assemblata tramite un perno metallico come mostrato dall'apposito foro ancora visibile in frattura³⁴ (Fig. 3.1 e 3.3). Proprio questi elementi, che rendono estremamente chiaro l'orientamento del pezzo, escludono un'interpretazione come *cantharos* del motivo triangolare sommitale (Figg. 4, 5, 13). A riprova di un tale verso di lettura, va osservato che i girali vitinei si presentano pressoché sempre con i grappoli rivolti verso il basso, orientamento che va presupposto anche nel caso di Ventimiglia e Sanremo³⁵ (Figg. 4 e 9). Non vi sono per ora elementi decisivi per formulare ipotesi sulla morfologia della parte bassa dei pilastrini, che potevano essere caratterizzati da un analogo motivo oppure no³⁶ (Figg. 20.A e 21.B). Sempre a proposito della ricostruzione della recinzione presbiteriale, un elemento interessante è costituito dal foro rettangolare sulla sommità dell'archivolto: esso è ricavato in corrispondenza del culmine dell'arco, segnalato dal cambiamento di direzione dei caulicoli (Fig. 6). Con ogni probabilità, il foro era quindi destinato all'inserimento di una croce, forse in metallo³⁷ (Fig. 20.A). Questo primo apparato di arredi lapidei altomedievali della cattedrale ventimigliese, infine, do-



Fig. 15. Motivo a graticcio a Ventimiglia (sinistra, foto SABAP Liguria, per gentile concessione della Soprintendenza) e a Stenico (destra, da De Marchi 2000)



Fig. 16. Dettaglio del girale vitineo a Sanremo (sopra, foto M. Beghelli) e a Stenico (sotto, foto P. Vedovetto)

³³ Per una panoramica generale si veda D. GANDOLFI, La cristianizzazione dell'estremo Ponente ligure: la diocesi di Ventimiglia, in: *Roma e la Liguria Marittima: secoli IV-X. La capitale cristiana e una regione di confine* (Genova, 19 febbraio - 31 agosto 2003), (ed.) M. Marcenaro, Genova, 2003., pp. 137-146.

³⁴ Tali elementi non sembrano a oggi attestati: tra i reperti ventimigliesi, infatti, vi sono frammenti di colonna, ma hanno un diametro troppo ampio per poter essere interpretati come colonnine da *pergula*.

³⁵ Sono grata a Eleonora Destefanis per la stimolante discussione su questo pezzo, e per i preziosi spunti e suggerimenti che ha condiviso con me. Ogni eventuale errore, come sempre, è da attribuirsi a chi scrive.

³⁶ Sebbene sia presente la scala grafica, per praticità di lettura si riporta almeno la misura della dimensione ricostruita per i plutei in fig. 20: circa 88 cm in altezza e 87 cm in larghezza.

³⁷ In alcuni casi, tali croci erano invece ricavate direttamente nella pietra; alcuni esempi italiani e croati, con bibliografia, in M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 63. Un'altra opzione era rappresentata dalle croci in legno che, con tecniche analoghe a quelle attestate su alcuni altari o reliquiari, potevano essere colorate o decorate con rivestimenti in foglia aurea e argentea e pietre preziose o gemme vitree.



Fig. 17. Motivo a stella a Ventimiglia (sinistra, foto M. Beghelli) e a Stenico (destra, da Porta 2013, p. 48)



Fig. 18. Dettaglio del girale a foglie polilobate a Ventimiglia (sinistra, foto M. Beghelli) e Stenico (destra, foto P. Vedovetto)

veva essere completato da un ambone. Sebbene le ridotte dimensioni e la sua collocazione all'interno delle strutture murarie ne rendano difficoltosa la valutazione, il frammento con la stella a sei punte sembra mostrare una sezione curvilinea: in questo senso, forse non è casuale il suo reimpiego proprio in una semicolonna, di cui sembra seguire l'andamento (Fig. 7). Anche le dimensioni ricostruibili e il tipo di decorazione (con medaglioni incorniciati da fasce a motivi fitomorfi) sono del tutto coerenti con alcuni esemplari di amboni altomedievali meglio conservati³⁸ (Fig. 21.C). Come già ricordato, in occasione delle indagini archeologiche all'interno della chiesa non sono state riconosciute strutture chiaramente riconducibili alla zoccolatura di base per una recinzione presbiteriale o per un ambone: dei frammenti scolpiti, tutti fuori contesto e rinvenuti in posizione secondaria, si può quindi solo ipotizzare la posizione reciproca: una delle soluzioni possibili è quella proposta nel riquadro in Fig. 20 e 21.

Una breve nota di carattere iconografico deve riguardare il motivo a semicerchi che incornicia superiormente la decorazione a graticcio dei plutei (Figg. 1, 20, 21). In passato, esso era stato interpretato da alcuni studiosi (capovolto rispetto alla ricostruzione qui proposta) come candelabro a sette bracci, mentre altri vi vedevano una palmetta³⁹. Lasciando da parte il fatto che tale ipotetico candelabro avrebbe comunque avuto almeno nove bracci, e non sette⁴⁰, anche la lettura come palmetta suscita qualche dubbio, poiché mancano confronti pienamente convincenti per il motivo interpretato in maniera così esasperatamente geometrizzata e stilizzata⁴¹. Sembra dunque più opportuno identificare l'ornamento con una comune e 'ordinaria' sequenza di archetti, soprattutto in considerazione del fatto che questa decorazione, in moltissime varianti, è estremamente diffusa nella scultura altomedievale, e molto spesso proprio in questa posizione, cioè come fascia di coronamento di plutei e lastre. Questa interpretazione è fortemente suggerita anche dal motivo di riempimento tra un archetto e l'altro: in questo punto i manufatti scultorei altomedievali mostrano spessissimo coppie di fogliette, o giglietti, che sono sempre rivolti all'insù⁴²; resti di tali elementi sono presenti anche sui 'nostri' due reperti, confermandone quindi il verso di lettura (Fig. 20). Vi sono peraltro altri casi nei quali,

³⁸ Si veda S. LUSUARDI SIENA, L'arredo liturgico altomedievale, in: *San Martino a Rive d'Arcano. Archeologia e storia di una pieve friulana*, (ed.) S. Lusuardi Siena, Pasian di Prato, 1997., pp. 145-198.

³⁹ D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 86, con bibliografia.

⁴⁰ In entrambi i frammenti, sebbene fratturati, si vede ancora chiaramente che gli elementi a semicerchio, con forellini alle estremità, sono quattro, il che darebbe luogo a otto 'bracci' a cui andrebbe aggiunto quello verticale.

⁴¹ Tra i paralleli elencati in D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 86, anche quelli con disegno più schematico sono comunque chiaramente riconoscibili come palmette o analoghi elementi fitomorfi.

⁴² Tra le innumerevoli attestazioni, si vedano ad esempio quelle in fig. IV.14, p. 150, in M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

come a Ventimiglia, lo spazio di risulta tra gli archetti e il listello rettilineo sottostante è riempito da ulteriori ornamenti: si può citare ad esempio un frammento da Trento con un elemento a goccia centrale (un'idea non così diversa dal cerchio ventimigliese) affiancato da due anellini⁴³ (Fig. 22).

Per quanto riguarda la datazione degli arredi lapidei, si è già accennato alle diverse cronologie proposte in letteratura, che spaziano lungo tre secoli dal VI all'VIII. L'analisi sistematica delle corrispondenze, e il confronto con altri contesti effettuato per insiemi di reperti e non per singoli frammenti, qualifica però le datazioni più tarde come le più plausibili⁴⁴. A questo proposito, per l'abbondanza dei materiali e per le buone condizioni di conservazione, risultano particolarmente significativi come indicatore cronologico i ritrovamenti da Stenico, per i quali appare ben poco credibile una datazione al VI o al VII secolo. In maniera speculare, alla luce dei molteplici punti in comune tra i due apparati di arredo lapideo – che ne suggerirebbero una realizzazione nell'ambito di un medesimo, e relativamente ristretto, arco temporale – il contesto di Ventimiglia potrebbe portare a escludere cronologie più tarde, che per Stenico sono state estese addirittura alla metà del IX secolo⁴⁵. A Ventimiglia, infatti, c'è almeno un dato stratigrafico che potrebbe indicare la realizzazione degli arredi entro l'VIII secolo, poiché la cripta nelle cui strutture si trova ancora reimpiiegato uno dei pilastri è ritenuta opera di IX secolo, che sarebbe andata a modificare parzialmente un edificio preesistente. A favore dell'antichità di tale edificio ecclesiastico (o di un altro nelle immediate vicinanze) depongono alcuni rilevanti dati archeologici, quali il rinvenimento di tombe alla cappuccina di età tardoromana in prossimità e sotto il pavimento della cattedrale e di un sarcofago paleocristiano ora conservato presso la non lontana Biblioteca Aprosiana⁴⁶. In tutti i casi, anche in mancanza di riferimenti cronologici puntuali, una datazione al IX secolo dei reperti scultorei qui in esame sembra poco plausibile, soprattutto se si considera la totale assenza, nei tre contesti studia-



Fig. 19. Dettaglio dei caulicoli sugli archivolti di Ventimiglia (in alto, rielaborazione grafica da Gandolfi 1995, p. 87) e Stenico (in basso, rielaborazione grafica da Porta 2013, p. 49)

⁴³ R. BOSCHI – G. CIURLETTI, *Corpus provvisorio dei reperti lapidei scolpiti*, in: *Atti del 60 Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Milano, 21-25 ottobre 1978), Spoleto, 1980., pp. 341-354 (p. 345, num. 6 e fig. 6). Sugli abbondanti rinvenimenti effettuati in epoca più recente si veda M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

⁴⁴ Come ritenuto anche da D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14).

⁴⁵ P. PORTA, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 49, secondo la quale gli apparati lapidei sono “ascrivibili in un periodo esteso tra la metà e il tardo VIII e la metà del IX secolo”. L'autrice trae le sue conclusioni da molti pertinenti paralleli, relativi però a singoli motivi estrapolati dal loro contesto.

⁴⁶ D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 99-100. Sebbene in passato la cripta fosse quasi unanimemente ascritta al IX secolo “in base alle sue caratteristiche strutturali” e “ai caratteri tipologici e costruttivi” (D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 82, nota 14; pp. 98-99; con bibliografia precedente), più di recente non se ne è esclusa una datazione al X secolo (D. GANDOLFI, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 141, con bibliografia). Tuttavia sembra di capire che, negli ultimi studi apparsi sul tema, uno degli elementi di rilievo per ritardarne la cronologia sia proprio il reimpiego del pilastro, forse in conseguenza della – peraltro ragionevole – ipotesi che gli arredi liturgici di VIII secolo debbano essere stati in uso abbastanza a lungo (circa due secoli) prima di essere distrutti. In assenza di scavi sistematici, e quindi in via del tutto ipotetica, si potrebbe però osservare che, seppure in presenza di arredi lapidei relativamente recenti (circa un secolo, che per gli elementi in pietra non è certo molto: si pensi all'ottimo stato di conservazione in cui si trovano, oggi, capitelli o altri elementi di arredo architettonico di molte chiese di XVII-XIX secolo) l'eventuale costruzione di una cripta nel IX secolo avrebbe avuto, per così dire, la priorità, anche se questo avesse significato l'obliterazione di apparati lapidei ancora in buono stato (forse originariamente collocati proprio sull'area dove si sarebbe dovuto effettuare lo scavo?).

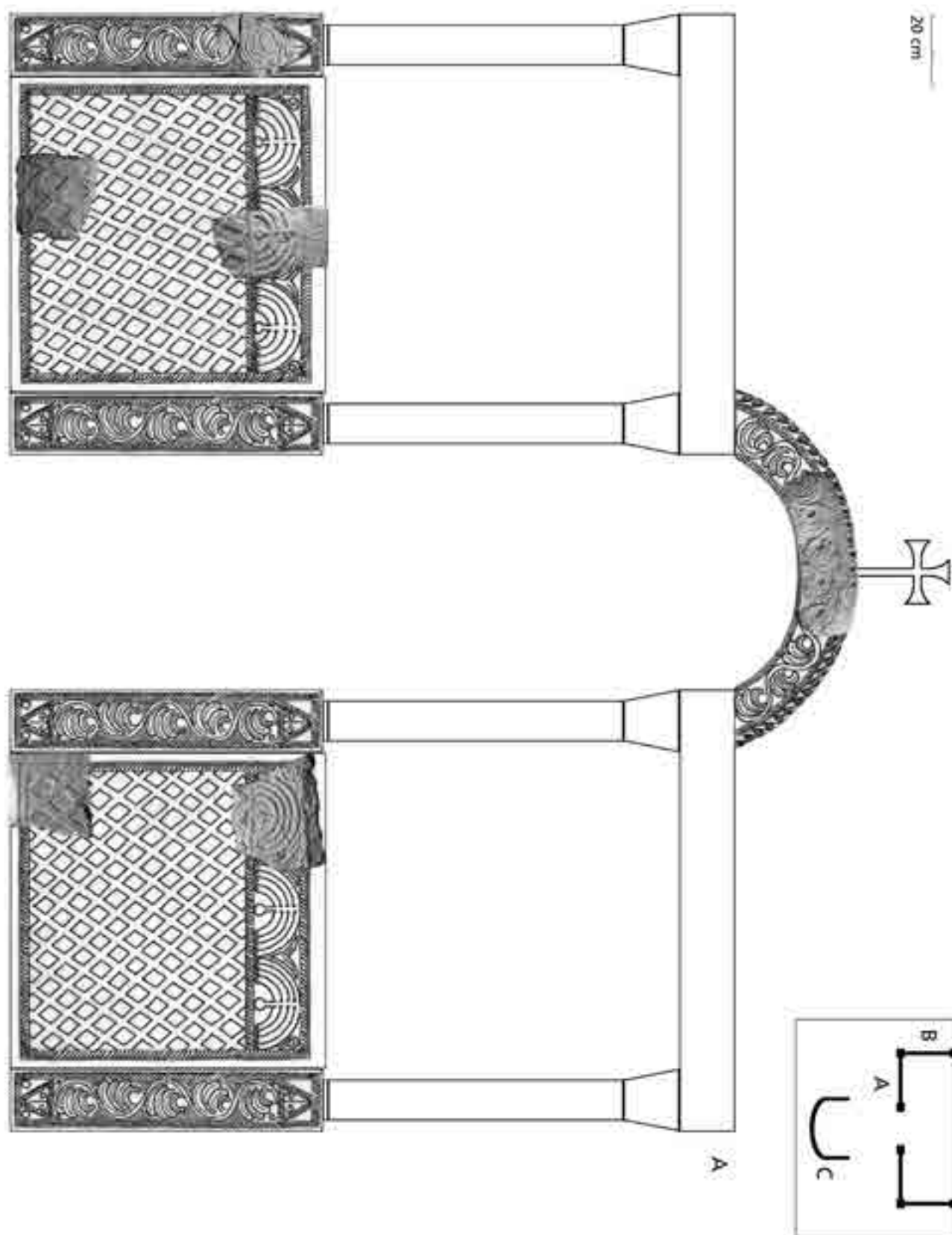


Fig. 20. Ipotesi ricostruttiva: prospetto frontale della pergola, segnata con la lettera A nella pianta all'interno del riquadro (disegno M. Beghelli)

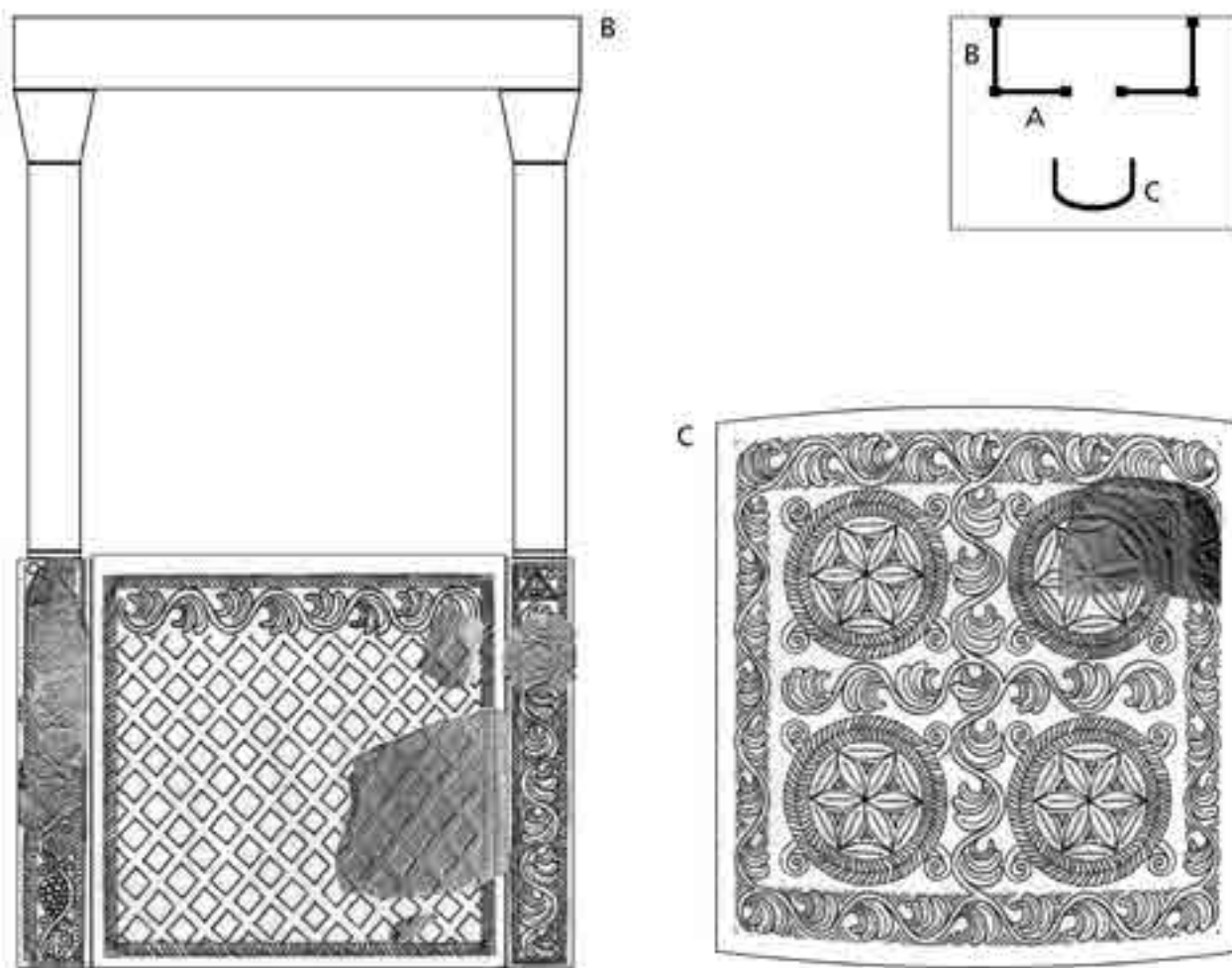


Fig. 21. *Ipotesi ricostruttiva. B: prospetto laterale della pergula; C: ambone (disegni M. Beghelli)*

ti, dei motivi ad intreccio, i più tipici di questo periodo (Fig. 1-10)⁴⁷. La tipologia e le caratteristiche morfologiche delle decorazioni si inquadrano invece molto meglio nel contesto dell'VIII secolo, probabilmente i suoi decenni iniziali.

AREA DI ATTIVITÀ DELLA BOTTEGA E IPOTESI SULLA PROVENIENZA

Il gruppo di reperti attribuiti alla 'prima bottega di Ventimiglia' ha quindi diversi punti in comune con i materiali da Stenico e Sanremo: come accennato sopra, piccole variazioni nella decorazione degli elementi lapidei (come la foglia a cuore del girale vitineo, che nelle lastre di Stenico è caratterizzata da nervature rettilinee) sono del tutto abituali nella scultura altomedievale, e si riscontrano molto frequentemente in uno stesso insieme di reperti o perfino sul medesimo frammento⁴⁸. In più occasioni, la critica ha infatti sottolineato che il fenomeno si spiega con le pratiche di bottega tipiche del periodo (e dell'artigianato in generale, talvolta fino ai nostri giorni), che prevedevano la

⁴⁷ In generale, su questo punto, si veda S. LOMARTIRE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 202.

⁴⁸ Si veda sopra, paragrafo *La 'prima bottega di Ventimiglia'*.



Fig. 22. Trento, Santa Maria Maggiore. Frammento con archetti (foto M. Beghelli)

collaborazione di diversi artefici sotto la guida di un maestro, oppure anche con un leggero scarto cronologico e con le conseguenti novità dovute al ricambio generazionale (novità che, comunque, venivano introdotte in modo molto graduale)⁴⁹. Queste piccole varianti, in ogni caso, sono trascurabili quando si consideri l'intero contesto, caratterizzato da molteplici tipi ornamentali in comune (Figg. 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19) e soprattutto dall'esatta coincidenza nell'interpretazione di motivi che, in questa specifica versione, sono per ora attestati solo a Ventimiglia e Stenico o a Ventimiglia e Sanremo – e che, seguendo la 'scuola croata', si potrebbero chiamare motivi-firma⁵⁰ (Fig. 11, EwV 3 ed EwV 9; Figg. 13 e 17).

Le multiple, ed estremamente precise, corrispondenze morfologiche tra i tre contesti qui considerati suggeriscono insomma che le sculture

possano essere ascritte a un'unica bottega itinerante (visto il carattere locale dei litotipi impiegati nei diversi siti) e operante in un arco temporale non esattamente determinabile ma da considerarsi, vista la puntuale reiterazione degli stessi tipi, relativamente breve (un paio di decenni?)⁵¹. Come dimostra un'abbondante documentazione scritta e archeologica, le distanze percorse dagli scultori tra un cantiere e l'altro rientrano pienamente nella norma per un atelier di alto livello come quello qui in esame⁵². D'altronde eminenti studi, tra cui la monumentale storia economica dell'Europa tardoantica e altomedievale di Michael McCormick, hanno evidenziato che nell'VIII-IX secolo la mobilità geografica di persone di ogni strato sociale era molto più elevata di quanto tradizionalmente ritenuto, e che in presenza di buone condizioni meteorologiche si potevano percorrere tra i 25 e i 50 km al giorno a seconda del mezzo di trasporto⁵³. Ventimiglia-Sanremo e Stenico distano circa 450 km, ma bisogna considerare che non conosciamo la località di 'residenza' degli scultori, che non necessariamente coincideva con uno di questi due poli⁵⁴. È infatti difficoltoso stabilire la

⁴⁹ Su questo punto si vedano M. BEGHELLI – M. DALBA, *op. cit.* (n. 7), e M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), con bibliografia. Sulle pratiche di bottega (le medesime per scultori e molti altri artigiani) si vedano M. JURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 6) e T. MANNONI – E. GIANNICCHEDDA, *Archeologia della produzione*, Torino, 2017. [1996]. È invece meno credibile attribuire la variazione di ogni minimo dettaglio decorativo a una precisa e consapevole decisione della committenza (il cui ruolo nelle scelte figurative nel campo della scultura altomedievale è stato talvolta decisamente sopravvalutato), sebbene le differenti combinazioni degli stessi tipi ornamentali in diversi luoghi si possano certamente spiegare anche attraverso l'intenzione (sia degli artigiani sia dei promotori delle opere) di non realizzare un progetto troppo somigliante a un altro già esistente.

⁵⁰ M. JURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2000.), con bibliografia.

⁵¹ Si rimanda nuovamente a M. JURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2000.), con bibliografia.

⁵² M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.). Risultati molto parziali sono disponibili in M. BEGHELLI, La scultura altomedievale. Ateliers, artigiani itineranti e tecniche di produzione, in: *L'alto medioevo. Artigiani e organizzazione manifatturiera. Atti del Seminario, Arsago Seprio, Civico Museo Archeologico, 15 novembre 2013*, (ed.) M. Beghelli, M. De Marchi, Bologna, 2014., pp. 9-26.

⁵³ M. MCCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*, Cambridge, 2001., specialmente pp. 476-48. Si veda anche M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.), pp. 281-294.

⁵⁴ Come indicano chiaramente le fonti scritte, gli scultori e in generale le maestranze edilizie non si trovavano in costante movimento: potevano recarsi in cantieri anche piuttosto lontani, per periodi talvolta prolungati ma limitati nel tempo: si veda la nota 52.

provenienza degli artigiani. Una tradizione scultorea di lungo corso, ben testimoniata da significativi materiali tardoantichi, era presente anche nei territori corrispondenti alle attuali Italia nord-occidentale e Francia sudorientale⁵⁵. Tuttavia, alcune varianti di singoli motivi utilizzati dalla prima bottega di Ventimiglia (abbastanza somiglianti, ma non identiche, e comunque, è bene ricordarlo, in contesti per il resto molto differenti) sono diffuse soprattutto in area trentina, veneta e lombarda, e da qui potrebbero essere arrivati gli scultori che operarono a Ventimiglia nei decenni iniziali dell'VIII secolo. Più avanti nel tempo, almeno altre due botteghe altomedievali avrebbero arricchito la cattedrale con i loro lavori, sulla cui ricostruzione e contestualizzazione si sta al momento ancora lavorando⁵⁶.

Jedan atelje ranosrednjovjekovnih klesara – prva klesarska radionica iz Ventimiglie i prostor njezina djelovanja te liturgijska oprema katedrale i njezina rekonstrukcija

U jednoj nedavnoj studiji propitivala se uloga važne grupe ranosrednjovjekovnih klesarija, rasprostranjenih uglavnom na prostoru između današnje sjeverozapadne Italije i jugoistočne Francuske. To je propitivanje rezultiralo novim tipološkim grupiranjem i novim datiranjem znatnog broja ulomaka te konačno pripisivanjem građe istoj klesarskoj radionici – djelatnoj u dvama posljednjim desetljećima 8. stoljeća. Ona je nazvana *Pijemontsko-provansalskom radionicom*, referirajući se tako na prostor na kojem je rasprostranjena većina ulomaka, a koji potječu i s nekih lokaliteta koji u starijoj literaturi nisu bili razmatrani. No, kao što je to uobičajeno s protokom vremena, u jednoj te istoj crkvi bili su djelatni različiti klesarski ateljei, primjerice zbog rastavljanja starih i postavljanja novih liturgijskih instalacija, ili su se pak novi elementi dodavali onima već postojećima. U tom se smislu u provedenoj analizi posebno zanimljivim pokazao slučaj katedrale Santa Maria Assunta u Ventimiglii u Liguriji, gdje su uz klesarije *Pijemontsko-provansalske radionice* kasnoga 8. stoljeća raspoznate još druge dvije stilsko-morfološke skupine koje valja pripisati majstorima djelatnima početkom 8., ali i početkom 9. stoljeća.

Na ovome se mjestu pažnja usredotočuje na prvu od dvije navedene produkcije, dakle na „prvu klesarsku radionicu iz Ventimiglie”. Kameni ulomci, i to ne samo oni iz Ventimiglie, nego i s drugih lokaliteta u južnoj Francuskoj i sjevernoj Italiji, analiziraju se kao cjelina s novim pristupom, a djelom i prema iskustvima i kriterijima tzv. „hrvatske škole”, pa se tako znatno oslanjaju i na postojeće studije Nikole Jakšića. U okviru ovih istraživanja primijenjena je po prvi put statistička metoda kod uočavanja srodnosti među ulomcima reljefa, a koja se i inače pokazala uspješnom kod druge vrste arheološke građe. Sve to omogućilo je da se provede temeljita analiza te da se postignu rezultati zasnovani na sigurnim temeljima koji su znatno solidniji od zastarjelih pristupa kod kojih se više računa vodilo o morfološkim pojedinostima ili pak o dekorativnim motivima, a da se nije uzimala u obzir cjelina. Takav je pristup rezultirao prijedlozima rekonstrukcije liturgijske opreme „prve klesarske radionice iz Ventimiglie”, tj. jedne njezine oltarne ograde – pergole (s prolazom nadvišenim lukom), a

⁵⁵ M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.), con bibliografia.

⁵⁶ Per quanto riguarda la bottega Piemontese-Provenzale, si vedano M. BEGHELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 2018.). Sulle strutture di IX secolo è al momento in corso uno studio da parte di chi scrive.

vjerojatno i jednog ambona. Iako su bila ograničena na relativno male površine, arheološka istraživanja u crkvi ponudila su u najmanju ruku jedan kronološki orijentir. Naime, jedan od ulomaka koji pripada klesarijama „prve klesarske radionice iz Ventimiglie” uzidan je sekundarno u zidove jedne kripe sazidane vjerojatno tijekom 9. stoljeća (datacija koja bi vrijedila kao *terminus ante quem* za ukupno djelovanje te produkcije). Usporedba s klesarijama koje potječu s drugih lokaliteta u sjevernoj Italiji dopušta da se kao vrijeme njezina djelovanja predlože prva desetljeća 8. stoljeća. Istovremeno, temeljita analiza reljefa otkrila nam je i druge lokalitete na kojima je najvjerojatnije bio djelatatan isti atelje, i to ne samo u nedalekom Sanremu, nego i na lokalitetu Stenico nedaleko Tridenta (tal. *Trento*) u talijanskoj regiji Trentino-Južni Tirol (tal. *Trentino-Alto Adige*).

Ključne riječi: ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura, kruženje majstora, rekonstrukcija liturgijskih instalacija, katedrala u Ventimiglii (Ligurija, Italija)

Prijevod s talijanskog: Dorotea Dundov

DALLA PENNA ALLO SCALPELLO: ANALISI DI ARCHETIPI PER LA MORFOLOGIA DELLE LETTERE SULL'EPIGRAFE DEI CIBORI DI CATTARO

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The paper deals with the reconstructed inscription found on the well-known "lion's" arcade and the fragments of pre-Romanesque ciboria found inside or near the cathedral of St. Tryphon in Kotor, Montenegro. The inscription, because of its unusual morphology, has so far provoked diverse interpretations regarding the dating of the reliefs. New arguments confirm the assumption that the inscription is inspired by the calligraphy of the Beneventan script. In this sense, first it is compared with epigraphic monuments of the early and mature Romanesque in Dalmatia and Apulia. Analogies are then made in the Beneventan codices, on the basis of which it is concluded that related graphic manner, distinguished by the decoration of letters with dots and circles, was used both in Apulia and Montecassino, but also in the Dalmatian scriptoria. The closest parallels are of local origin and related to the Benedictine sites and the literary production of the supposed scriptorium in Kotor, where the Beneventan codices served as inspiration for inscriptions made in stone.

Key words: Kotor, cathedral of St. Tryphon, Beneventan codices, Romanesque inscriptions, 12th century

Questo contributo affronta una delle questioni più intriganti del preromanico nella Dalmazia meridionale, un argomento sul quale in diverse occasioni affilò la propria penna anche il nostro omaggiato, a cui con particolare rispetto e devozione dedico il presente lavoro. Si tratta di un problema legato ad un gruppo di frammenti di cibori riconducibili al noto archetto con leoni, a lungo murato come *spolia* nella cattedrale di S. Trifone a Cattaro in Montenegro (Fig. 1). Fanno parte di questo insieme anche ulteriori lacerti marmorei che sono stati ricondotti alla medesima bottega lapidea per scelta e disposizione dei modelli decorativi, nonché per le modalità esecutive e morfologiche che ricorrono nelle lettere dell'iscrizione¹. Nella letteratura scientifica riveste un ruolo peculiare la problematica rappresentata dalle epigrafi scolpite sul coronamento degli archetti (Figg. 2 e 3) che hanno aperto numerose questioni su datazione, effettivo numero conservato di questi cibori e relativa ubicazione originaria, nonché sull'individuazione dei personaggi e dei santi menzionati su tali manufatti².

Le iscrizioni su tutti i frammenti sono eseguite con lo stesso tipo di caratteri recanti specifici motivi decorativi. Su ognuno di tali lacerti, che presenta un campo epigrafico alto 6 – 6,5 cm, legger-

¹ N. JAKŠIĆ, Predromanički reljefi 9. stoljeća iz Kotora, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 38, Split, 1999/2000, pp. 129-150; N. JAKŠIĆ, A Ninth-century Stone-cutting Workshop in Southern Dalmatia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 20/2, Zagreb-Motovun, 2014, pp. 590-601; M. ZORNIJA, O načinu funkcioniranja predromaničkih klesarskih ateliera na primjeru *Kotorske klesarske radionice*, *Ars Adriatica*, 7, Zadar, 2017, pp. 47-64.

² Per la più ampia rassegna di letteratura settoriale si veda in N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije*, Split, 2015, pp. 133-178.

mente inclinato verso il basso per garantire all'osservatore una migliore visibilità, corre un'epigrafe realizzata con raffinate capitali oblunghe (Fig. 4):

- sull'archetto dei leoni:

ANDREE S(an)C(t)I AD HONOREM SOCIORVMQ(ue): MAIOREM +

- sul frammento sinistro recante il girale di edera:

+ HOC OPVS EST LABO[...]

- sul frammento destro con l'edera:

[...] TAM PULCHRE DE[...]

- sul frammento con il pavone:

[...]IKIFORIVS N[...]

Le lettere, incise con uno scalpello affilato, denunciano un'esecuzione di elevata precisione. La larghezza dei caratteri, uniformati nelle dimensioni, corrisponde in media alla metà della loro altezza che varia tra i 4 e i 5 cm. Ogni asta presenta un'accentazione con un minuscolo foro realizzato con il trapano che nei caratteri O e Q sono distanziate dal rigo di base mediante traverse brevilinee. I fori appena descritti sono presenti su tutte le lettere, alcune delle quali ne recano addirittura sei, mentre sulle lettere A, H, M e N questi ultimi sono sporadicamente sostituiti da anse semicirculari. La A e la M presentano le aste centrali spezzate ad angolo acuto che si allungano a forma della lettera Y; di regola la A presenta l'apice squadrato con un allungamento verso sinistra. Il risultato complessivo è un'epigrafe di eccezionale decoratività che assume le sembianze quasi calligrafiche.

I dubbi riportati nella letteratura settoriale ad oggi pubblicata si devono principalmente alla morfologia e al *ductus* delle lettere, atipiche per il IX secolo, divergenti rispetto a quelle delle iscrizioni *LEO* incise sui corpi dei leoni nonché a tutte le altre epigrafi realizzate dalla stessa bottega. Per contro, si è constatato che presentano determinate analogie con alcune iscrizioni di XI secolo provenienti dalla Dalmazia e dalle Bocche di Cattaro di cui faremo cenno nel prosieguo del testo. Alcuni autori hanno utilizzato quest'ultima considerazione come argomento per datare all'XI secolo l'intero archetto dei leoni, mentre altri studiosi hanno avanzato l'ipotesi che l'epigrafe fosse scolpita su un ciborio preesistente. Tuttavia, in seguito al rinvenimento dei sopra citati frammenti, che Pavuša Vežić riconduceva a tre cibori diversi³, l'idea di un'esecuzione posteriore dell'iscrizione è stata rigettata. A tal proposito assume rilevanza l'osservazione di Vedrana Delonga, l'unica a proporre una spiegazione coerente in merito alla specificità delle epigrafi in questione. La studiosa ha appurato che "le lettere incise riproducono con ogni probabilità la maiuscola beneventana, ossia lo stile della cerchia epigrafica dell'Italia meridionale di IX e di X secolo"⁴. Tale stile, che trova ispirazione nella grafia dei manoscritti beneventani (con minuscoli tratti trasversali, altrettanto piccoli dettagli puntiformi e linee sinuose delle lettere), in Dalmazia è piuttosto caratteristico per le iscrizioni scolpite all'alba del periodo romanico, mentre l'epigrafe sull'archetto dei leoni rappresenterebbe secondo l'autrice una sua più precoce derivazione. Qualche tempo fa, accogliendo la sua argomentazione, con cui ritengo che la studiosa abbia aperto un nuovo percorso di interpretazione epigrafica, tentai di spiegare tali peculiarità ipotizzando che fossero realizzate da un particolare maestro lapicida vicino all'ambiente culturale benedettino. Lo scalpellino, applicando il proprio modello specifico, si sforzò di trasferire sulla pietra la stilizzazione estetica delle iniziali beneventane incidendo molto abilmente i versi meticolosamente composti⁵.

³ P. VEŽIĆ, *Ciboriji ranoga srednjeg vijeka u Kotoru, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 39, Split, 2001/02, pp. 91-122; P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *HOC TIGMEN - ciboriji ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar, 2009, pp. 124-135.

⁴ V. DELONGA, *Pisana uspomena na jednu "sestru i kraljicu" s Koločepa, Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 34, Split, 2007, pp. 201-202, n. 10.

⁵ M. ZORNIJA, *Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura na tlu Boke kotorske*, tesi di dottorato, Università degli studi di Zagabria, Facoltà di Filosofia, Zagreb, 2014, pp. 270-271.



Fig. 1. Archetto del ciborio, Cattaro, Deposito della cattedrale (foto: S. Kordić)

Di recente, grazie alle ricerche d'archivio dello storico montenegrino Miljan Gogić, sono stati rivelati nuovi dati che, sotto molteplici aspetti, arricchiscono le attuali conoscenze in merito alle epi-
 grafi in questione⁶. Nella raccolta di vecchi manoscritti di Cattaro del XII e del XIII secolo intitolata *Catharensia – Transumpta documentorum et statutorum civitatis, saec XII et XIII*, conservata presso l'Ar-
 chivio dell'Accademia croata delle scienze e delle arti (HAZU) a Zagabria⁷, lo studioso ha rinvenuto
 il seguente testo:

*HOC OPUS EST LABORATUS ET TAM PULCHRE DECORATUS
 ANDREAE SANCTI IN DEI HONOREM SOCIORUMQUE MAIOREM
 PRAESULIS SUB TEMPORE NICHIFORII NOMINE.*

Accanto al testo, sul margine destro, compare la seguente nota:

Inscrizione nell'arco della capella sinistra in S. Trifone sotto il vescovo Nichiforio di Cattaro.

L'annotazione fu evidentemente vergata in base a qualche fonte più antica, oggi perduta, risalente
 ad un'epoca in cui il manufatto (*arco*) si trovava ancora nel duomo. Si trattava, dunque, di un cibo-

⁶ M. GOGIĆ, *Prilog proučavanju ciborijuma iz sakristije katedrale Sv. Tripuna posvećenog Petrilovrijencima, Istorijski zapisi*, 90/1-2, Podgorica, 2017 (pubblicato 2019), pp. 7-36.

⁷ Si tratta di trascrizione di un manoscritto più antico dell'inizio del XIX secolo redatto dal Conte Tripo Smecchia, insigne storico e letterato di Perasto (1755-1812). La trascrizione conservata presso l'Archivio dell'Accademia croata delle scienze e delle arti (HAZU) fu realizzata più tardi nel XIX secolo. I dati dettagliati e segnatura in: M. GOGIĆ, *op.cit.* (n. 6), p. 16.



Fig. 2. Frammenti del ciborio con epigrafe, Cattaro, Deposito della cattedrale (foto: S. Kordić)

rio che in un certo periodo storico sorgeva nella “cappella sinistra in S. Trifone”. Secondo M. Gogić, l'autore della nota si riferiva verosimilmente alla sacrestia della cattedrale⁸.

Il documento, oltre a riportare il dato sull'ubicazione del ciborio, è rilevante anche perché risolve definitivamente il problema dell'identificazione del personaggio di nome Niceforo visto che la maggiore parte delle dispute riguardava proprio questo frammento⁹. Adesso, in ogni caso, appare chiaro che trattasi della formula di datazione, a prescindere dal fatto che il nome sia riportato al nominativo. Proprio il ricorso a tale declinazione rappresentava il principale argomento richiamato da chi sosteneva che il nome facesse riferimento ad un donatore locale. Nikola Jakšić, invece, ebbe pienamente ragione quando avvertì che a causa del carattere del testo, formulato in versi con inversioni accentuate, il nominativo tuttavia poteva essere usato per la datazione¹⁰.

Tra i vescovi di Cattaro ne figurano due con questo nome, entrambi del XII secolo: Niceforo I (1141 – 1154) e Niceforo II (1167 – 1178). Tra l'uno e l'altro alla cattedra era assiso Malo (Maio) che nel 1166 consacrò l'appena costruita cattedrale di S. Trifone. I dati dettagliati su entrambi i presuli, recuperati da tutte le fonti disponibili, sono stati raccolti da M. Gogić, il quale propende per Niceforo II, ipotesi da noi completamente condivisa¹¹. Poiché quest'ultimo nelle fonti viene regolarmente menzionato come secondo e il periodo di vescovado del suo predecessore omonimo è ben documentato, si può rigettare l'eventuale esistenza di un altro Niceforo vissuto in un periodo precedente.

I dati recentemente scoperti hanno risolto alcuni quesiti ma ne hanno posti numerosi altri in merito alla non contemporaneità di decorazioni ed epigrafi, alle modalità della loro collocazione e alle circostanze dell'istallazione del contesto, nonché alla correlazione con altri frammenti affini privi di iscrizioni... Le nostre conclusioni e constatazioni divergono in alcuni segmenti fondamentali da quelle offerte da Gogić. Tuttavia, l'elaborazione in questa sede di tali concetti supererebbe ampiamente i limiti redazionali stabiliti, pertanto nel presente contributo ci concentreremo solo su un aspetto che ha attirato la nostra attenzione.

⁸ M. GOGIĆ, *op.cit.* (n. 6), pp. 21-22.

⁹ M. GOGIĆ, *op.cit.* (n. 6), pp. 12-13, n. 17.

¹⁰ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999/2000), p. 144, n. 31.

¹¹ M. GOGIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 31-33.



Fig. 3. Frammento di ciborio, Cattaro, Lapidario (foto: V. Vujković)

Procediamo dunque ad una più minuziosa analisi morfologica delle lettere dell'iscrizione, poiché ad oggi non sono noti confronti effettivi nell'ambito dell'epigrafia dalmata la cui specificità adesso diventa comunque più chiara.

Già insigni decani della generazione precedente, come Viktor Novak e Ljubo Karaman, hanno giustamente riconosciuto una morfologia del tutto diversa, nonché il differente *ductus* delle lettere scolpite sul coronamento rispetto a quello della scritta *LEO*¹². Esse sono state realizzate mediante uno scalpello largo con incisioni profonde, ottenendo come risultato iscrizioni dai contorni pronunciati e dal marcato contrasto tra luci e ombre. Per l'esecuzione dell'epigrafe di Niceforo, invece, fu utilizzato uno scalpello di maggiore precisione per ottenere lettere poco profonde di esecuzione minuziosa tanto da apparire quasi come se fossero tracciate con la penna sulla carta. Siamo dunque in presenza di una diversa sensibilità lapicida. Fu Viktor Novak che per primo, su incitamento di L. Mirković, formulò un'ipotesi di datazione dell'epigrafe sul coronamento del ciborio all'XI secolo, argomentando tale

proposta con il raffronto di due iscrizioni del primo romanico a Spalato. La prima si trova sull'architrave della chiesa di S. Giuliana e l'altra sul timpano della chiesa di S. Pietro a Lučac. Karaman ha aggiunto anche la forma caratteristica della lettera O, al cui interno, in posizione centrale, vi sono "due puntini o con la strozzatura del corpo che forma triangoli rientranti" quale caratteristica delle epigrafi realizzate alla fine dell'XI secolo. Inoltre, lo studioso ha esteso le analogie anche sull'iscrizione di Ljubimir Tepčija da Kaštel Stari, sul timpano recante la figura della Madonna da Biskupija nonché sulla trabeazione del cancello presbiteriale in S. Martino sopra la porta urbana settentrionale a Spalato, tuttora in situ. Ai frammenti già elencati si può aggiungere anche quello pertinente allo stipite della parrocchiale di S. Stefano d'Ungheria a Tenin con l'iscrizione *STEFATON* e alcuni lacerti della rispettiva architrave del cancello presbiteriale¹³. L'affinità morfologica delle epigrafi di Spalato e di Cattaro si possono individuare nell'utilizzo della C angolata e della A con apice orizzontale e traversa spezzata.

Vedrana Delonga ha approfondito con particolare attenzione lo studio di queste e di numerose altre epigrafi coeve concentrate nei dintorni di Spalato e attorno alla corte reale a Tenin, raccogliendole in un particolare gruppo definito "scuola epigrafica spalatina". Si tratta di una realtà che, dopo la metà dell'XI secolo, costituì il riflesso di un rinnovamento spirituale della chiesa dalmata avvenuto sotto l'influsso della riforma cluniacense e dell'operato di Gregorio VII, la cui cancelleria pontificia tendeva all'epurazione e all'uniformazione della scrittura latina¹⁴. Dal punto di vista del contenuto le epigrafi divennero più ponderate e complesse, mentre sotto l'aspetto letterario si fecero più frequenti le composizioni in versi, rispecchiando l'elevato livello culturale dei committenti. Per quanto concerne la grafia, le iscrizioni sono più regolari, le lettere armoniose e proporzionate senza interferenze di forme onciali e minuscole. L'epigrafe di Niceforo può vantare tutte queste caratteristiche. Delonga mette in relazione la raffinatezza calligrafica, ravvisabile nell'ornamentazione dei caratteri con tratti brevi o perlinature (soprattutto quelli tondeggianti come O, Q, D), con modelli provenienti dai manoscritti beneventani di quel periodo senza fornire però raffronti più concreti. La tendenza a riproporre nella pietra la maiuscola beneventana, seppure di esecuzione leggermente diversa, è rimarcata in particolare sulla trabeazione

¹² N. JAKŠIĆ, *op.cit.* (n. 1, 1999/2000), pp. 140-141.

¹³ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Romanička klesarska radionica iz Knina, Peristil*, 24, Zagreb, 1981, pp. 27-33; V. DELONGA, *The Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Medieval Croatia*, Split, 1996, pp. 112-115, tavv. XXXII-XXXIV.

¹⁴ V. DELONGA, *op.cit.* (n. 13), pp. 353-381; V. DELONGA, *Ranoromanički natpisi grada Splita*, Split, 1997.



Fig. 4. Dettagli dell'epigrafe (foto: S. Kordić, V. Vujković)

della chiesetta di S. Michele sull'isola di Calamotta (Koločep) risalente all'ultimo quarto dell'XI secolo¹⁵.

Tendenze simili nell'epigrafia sono state individuate anche sull'altra costa adriatica, innanzi tutto nell'ambito della produzione della bottega di Acceptus e David, attiva nella Puglia settentrionale cronologicamente precedente, in quanto attiva nella prima metà dell'XI secolo. Tra le installazioni liturgiche di tale bottega, recanti iscrizioni ambiziosamente incise, figurano gli amboni di Monte Sant'Angelo (1041) e di Canosa, alcuni architravi nella chiesa di S. Maria di Siponto con grafia greca in alcuni tratti (1039)¹⁶.

Esempi di epigrafi del XII secolo, seppure non numerosi, appaiono sufficienti per poter giungere alla conclusione che le tendenze epigrafiche della fine dell'XI secolo hanno proseguito nella stessa direzione anche nel secolo successivo. L'epitaffio scolpito sulla tomba di Vechenega del 1111, ubicata nel capitolo delle benedettine di Zara (soprattutto la lastra superiore), si distingue per la ricchezza e la straordinarietà delle lettere ornate la cui realizzazione, a quanto pare, trasse ispirazione dalle iniziali dei Libri d'ore di Cicca e Vechenega. Attraverso un'attenta analisi Milenko Lončar ha rilevato su alcune lettere anche le perlinature esornative seppure caratterizzate con molta delicatezza¹⁷. Dal punto di vista qualitativo si riscontra una certa affinità con le iscrizioni che decoravano il nuovo arredo liturgico della cattedrale di Spalato nella seconda metà del XII secolo¹⁸. Va ricordato lo sfarzoso *ductus* dei caratteri sull'ambone mentre agli esempi di Cattaro si richiamano le traverse spezzate particolarmente arcuate della M, l'apice squadrato della A sulla capitale piuttosto semplice dell'architrave. Di livello esecutivo sensibilmente inferiore è l'epitaffio di Traù datato al 1150, che verosimilmente si riferisce al Beato



Fig. 5. Iscrizione del maestro Regolus, Donji Bogdašići, chiesa di S. Pietro (foto: M. Zornija)

¹⁵ V. DELONGA, *op.cit.* (n. 4), pp. 199-211.

¹⁶ P. BELLI D'ELLIA, *Alle sorgenti del romanico: Puglia XI secolo*, 2a edizione, Bari, 1987, pp. 39-41, 59-62, 80-86; G. BERTELLI (a cura di), *Le diocesi della Puglia centro-settentrionale (Corpus della scultura altomedievale, XV)*, Spoleto, 2002, schede nr. 247, 339-345, 383-387.

¹⁷ M. LONČAR, *Pjesma na grobu – Večenegin epitaf u kapitulu Samostana Sv. Marije*, in: *LAUDE NITENS MULTA – zbornik radova s kolokvija u povodu 900. obljetnice Vekenegina epitafa*, (ed.) Pavuša Vežić, Ivan Josipović, Zadar, 2018, pp. 43-94, particolarmente figg. 10 e 20.

¹⁸ A. PITEŠA, *Ranosrednjovjekovni kameni spomenici u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu / Early medieval stone monuments in the Archaeological Museum in Split*, Split, 2012, pp. 59-64, cat. 25 e 27.

Giovanni di Traù¹⁹. Sul manufatto lo scalpellino ha tracciato in modo distintivo le lettere O e A. La decorazione mediante perlinatura perdurò fino al XIII secolo, infatti fu utilizzata anche dal maestro lapicida Radovan, seppure applicandola alla maiuscola del primo gotico, sulla sua nota epigrafe incisa nella lunetta del portale maggiore della cattedrale di Traù del 1240²⁰.

A Cattaro vi è un gruppo piuttosto consistente di monumenti epigrafici più tardi, tra i quali figura l'iscrizione dedicatoria murata sulla chiesa di S. Luca del 1195²¹ e quattro epitaffi dei vescovi cattarini che si sono susseguiti in sequenza nella prima metà del XIII secolo²². Tali iscrizioni sono interessanti poiché riflettono lo sviluppo epigrafico locale ma, oltre alle analogie generali (regolare capitale solenne, le forme di qualche M e A), non offrono affinità strette con l'epigrafe in questione.

Su tutti gli esempi dalmati menzionati si tratta principalmente di *conspectus generalis*, ovvero di una generica somiglianza, che dipinge bene la maniera epigrafica di quel periodo ma non offre molto aiuto per definire più precisamente la fonte di quella specifica tipologia decorativa presente sull'iscrizione di Niceforo. Non è stato infatti individuato nessun altro esempio di ornamentazione tanto accentuata ed estrema di tutti i caratteri recanti minuscoli fori realizzati con trapano e anse semicirculari. I paralleli più vicini e compiuti vanno cercati nella zona di Bocche e, appare ancora più interessante notare che si tratta di due contesti pertinenti all'ordine benedettino.

La prima è una lastra dalla chiesa di S. Pietro a Donji Bogdašići sopra Teodo (Tivat) (Fig. 5). Stando alle fonti l'epigrafe, proveniente dal convento benedettino di S. Pietro a Gradac (toponimo medievale per l'attuale abitato di Donji Bogdašići), è considerata una testimonianza della costruzione del chiostro da parte di un certo maestro *Regolus*. Nella letteratura settoriale l'epigrafe, in base alle caratteristiche formali, viene collocata nell'XI secolo²³. Il lapicida *Regolus* eseguì questa iscrizione richiamando caratteristiche decorative affini per quasi ogni carattere e, oltre alle già descritte analogie delle lettere M, A e la ristretta O a forma di chicco di riso, applica anche evidenziate anse semicirculari. È significativo anche lo stesso nome del maestro costruttore che presumibilmente ne evidenzia un'origine italica. La sua evidente conoscenza e trasposizione della morfologia della scrittura beneventana sulla pietra fa ipotizzare che fosse un benedettino proveniente molto probabilmente dall'Italia meridionale.

Le recenti indagini archeologiche sulla vicina isoletta di Prevlaka nella baia di Teodo – ove dal IX alla fine dell'XI esisteva una delle maggiori abbazie benedettine nelle Bocche di Cattaro dedicata a S. Michele – oltre alle nuove conoscenze sulla ricca stratigrafia del sito, ha restituito anche un reperto di modeste dimensioni ma di grande rilevanza per noi (Fig. 6)²⁴. Si tratta di due frammenti marmorei



Fig. 6. Frammento dalla chiesa di S. Michele, Prevlaka, Collezione monasteriale (da J. MARTINOVIĆ, op. cit. /n. 22/, p. 50)

¹⁹ V. KOVAČIĆ, Epitaf sa zagovorom Dobrom Pastiru. Prijedlog za sarkofag trogirskog biskupa Ivana, in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković. Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana / Festschrift on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, (ed.) Miljenko Jurković, Predrag Marković, Zagreb - Motovun, 2015, pp. 97-108.

²⁰ C. FISOVIĆ, *Radovan*, Zagreb, 1965, p. 10, particolarmente figg. 3, 6-7, 14-19.

²¹ G. TOMOVIĆ, Natpis na crkvi Svetoga Luke u Kotoru iz 1195. godine, in: *Crkva svetog Luke kroz vjekove: zbornik radova*, (ed.) Vojislav Korać, Kotor, 1997, pp. 23-32.

²² Si tratta di epitaffi dei vescovi Miha di Leone del 1205, Sergio di Leone del 1219, Biaggio del 1240 e Deodato del 1254 (scritto già con la maiuscola gotica): J. MARTINOVIĆ, *Epigrafika Crne Gore. Latinski i italijanski kameni natpisi od IX do XVIII vijeka*, Varsavia, 2016, pp. 102-106, 229-230.

²³ M. MILOŠEVIĆ, Oko sukcesije sakralnih objekata na istoj građevini u Bogdašićima u Boki Kotorskoj, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 32 (*Prijatelj zbornik*, I), Split, 1992, pp. 301-313; M. ZORNIJA, op. cit. (n. 4), pp. 67-68, 489-491.

²⁴ M. ZAGARČANIN, O nekim rezultatima novih arheoloških istraživanja na Prevlaci kod Tivta, *Istorijski zapisi*, 89/3-4, Podgorica, 2016, pp. 45-85. Entrambi i frammenti sono stati pubblicati in: J. MARTINOVIĆ, op. cit. (n. 22), p. 50.



Fig. 7. Bari, Archivio del Capitolo metropolitano: sinistra Exultet I, destra Benedizionale, dettaglio Vere Dignum (da Exultet, op. cit. /n. 26/)

combacianti sui quali si legge il tratto finale della parola [...]/EN nella quale si notano le stesse modalità decorative delle lettere tra cui i piccoli fori praticati con il trapano come negli esempi di Cattaro. Il frammento va collocato non più tardi dell'inizio del XII secolo quando, come attestano le fonti, il convento venne abbandonato²⁵.

In base a quanto sin qui acquisito, appare evidente che l'ispirazione per l'epigrafe di Niceforo sia arrivata dalla cerchia dell'alfabetismo e della cultura benedettina. Pertanto, nella ricerca degli archetipi che stanno alla base della sua realizzazione, abbiamo audacemente indagato il mondo dei manoscritti beneventani della Dalmazia e dell'Italia meridionale seppure senza la pretesa di formulare conclusioni definitive. Tuttavia, in futuro il problema richiederà uno studio di respiro più ampio.

La decorazione con piccoli punti e cerchietti, non visibile ad un primo sguardo, è assente nell'apparato ornamentale delle più sfarzose iniziali zoomorfe, fitomorfe e geometriche così come in quello delle semplici lettere minuscole. Essa è riservata soltanto alle maiuscole del secondo rigo con le quali lo scriba accentua l'incipit del testo che segue la grande iniziale. A tal proposito un buon esempio è rappresentato dai tre noti rotoli provenienti dallo stesso scriptorio a Bari: l'*Exultet I* realizzato attorno al 1030, il *Benedizionale* vergato alla metà dell'XI secolo e l'*Exultet II* del terzo quarto dell'XI secolo²⁶. Lateralmente o sotto le iniziali più evidenziate *E(xultet)* e *V(ere dignum)* seguono lettere (nell'*Exultet I* addirittura alcuni righi del testo che la precedono e che la seguono) decorate con tratti brevi, piccoli cerchi e volute vegetali (Fig. 7).

²⁵ M. ZORNIJA, op. cit. (n. 5), pp. 69-73.

²⁶ *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*, (ed.) Guglielmo Cavallo, Giulia Orofino, Oronzo Pecere, Roma, 1994, pp. 129-150, 201-210.



Fig. 8. Selezione di codici montecassinesi: sinistra sopra Omiliario (ms. 99), sinistra basso Sacramentario (ms. 339), Biblioteca dell'Abbazia di Montecassino (da G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI /ed./, op. cit. /n. 29/, fig. 167, 547); destra Barberini Exultet, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vat. Barb. lat. 592), dettaglio f. 3r (fonte: Exultet, op. cit. /n. 26/)

Il medesimo apparato decorativo per gli *incipit*, parallelamente ai manoscritti stilati con la scrittura arrotondata, ossia la cosiddetta beneventana “tipo di Bari”, veniva utilizzato anche a Montecassino. Negli studi futuri sarebbe interessante indagare l'origine di tale tipo di decorazione. L'esempio più antico da noi rilevato si trova nel *Graduale* (Vat. lat. 10637) della fine del X secolo in cui, all'inizio del testo, si trova una modesta iniziale O con due puntini²⁷. Nell'Archivio dell'abbazia di Montecassino vi è il manoscritto *Moralia di Gregorio Magno* (Cod. Cas. 73), collocabile ai tempi dell'abate Teobaldo (1022-1035), ove la policroma maiuscola dopo l'iniziale S (*Scriptura sacra...*) è decorata con rigonfiamenti a perlina²⁸. Di maggiore interesse è una serie di codici realizzati all'apice della produzione scrittoria raggiunto ai tempi dell'abate Desiderio (1058-1087). Gli *incipit* dei testi che seguono subito dopo la sfarzosa iniziale sono vergati con le capitali all'interno di un nastro aureo regolarmente evidenziate con rigonfiature tonde al centro delle aste o lungo l'asse verticale delle lettere stondate. Gli esempi abbondano, pertanto in questa sede ne riportiamo solo alcuni: il *Lezionario/Omiliario* del 1072 presso la Biblioteca abbaziale di Montecassino (ms. 99) (Fig. 8 in alto a sinistra); il *Sacramentario* del 1071, sempre presso la suddetta abbazia (ms. 339)²⁹, nel quale lo scriba ha decorato la traversa della lettera H con un'ansa semicircolare in modo identico a quello sull'e-

²⁷ Il manoscritto, forse proveniente da Capua, è rilevante per lo studio delle illuminazioni realizzate sotto l'influsso di Montecassino: R. VOJVODA, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in beneventan script and benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2011, vedi fig. 152. Ringrazio il collega M. Lončar per l'acuta osservazione!

²⁸ R. VOJVODA, *op. cit.* (n. 27), fig. 43, bibliografia alla p. 40, n. 119.

²⁹ Entrambi gli esempi sono stati presi da: *Dall'eremo al cenobio. La civiltà monastica in Italia dalle origini all'età di Dante*, (ed.) Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, Milano, 1987, figg. 167, 547. Si veda anche: <http://www.unabibliotecaunlibro.it/video?ID=37&PID=27> e <http://www.unabibliotecaunlibro.it/video?ID=30&PID=27> (21/02/2020).

pigrafe di Cattaro (Fig. 8 in basso a sinistra); il noto *Lezionario per celebrazione dei Santi Benedetto, Mauro e Scolastica* del 1071 nella Biblioteca Vaticana (Vat.lat.1202)³⁰ nel quale le anse semicircolari sono ancora più frequenti, oppure il *Barberini Exultet* (Vat.Barb.lat.592) (Fig. 8 a destra)³¹; Il *Martirologio* nella The Morgan Library a New York (M. 642), datato all'ultimo quarto dell'XI secolo³², soprattutto il foglio 80r vergato interamente con le capitali riccamente ornate con perline. Questa maniera continuò a Montecassino anche nel secolo successivo e come esempio si riporta il piccolo ma riccamente decorato *Breviario* nel The Paul Getty Museum – Ms. Ludwig IX 1 (83.ML.97) del 1153, con la differenza che il testo non è più stilato sul nastro d'oro bensì con le lettere d'oro perliniate³³.

In questo gruppo rientra perfettamente anche il *Messale* beneventano "tascabile" MR 166 della biblioteca Metropolitana di Zagabria. Alla pagina 209, all'inizio del Canone della messa si trova la grande iniziale T vergata sullo sfondo costituito da nastri policromi. Il testo (*T)e Igitur clementissime pater [...]* prosegue con capitali sulle cui aste o accanto ad esse si possono scorgere le perline che, peraltro, si trovano anche in altre parti dello stesso codice (ad es. alla p. 223). Secondo le interpretazioni più recenti questa parte più antica del codice è stata attribuita allo scriptorio nella zona di Montecassino e datato al XII secolo³⁴.

Una concezione affine di decorazione è ravvisabile anche nei codici miniati prodotti negli scrittori della Dalmazia, a partire da quello più antico che era situato presso l'abbazia di S. Grisogono a Zara. Nel *Libro d'ore di Cicca* sono presenti principalmente le iniziali semplici di ordine inferiore, eseguite con inchiostro rosso all'inizio di una partizione o di una frase (Fig. 9)³⁵. Nell'*Evangelistario di Vechenega*,



Fig. 9. Libro d'ore di Cicca, Oxford, Bodleian Library (Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277), dettaglio f. 40v, (da E. HILJE, R. TOMIĆ, Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Slikarstvo /a cura di N. Jakšić/, Zadar, 2006, p. 69)

³⁰ *Dall'eremo...*, op.cit. (n. 29), p. 387. Digitalizzato sul sito: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1202 (si veda ff. 87v, 92r, 94v, 175v, 234v...)

³¹ *Exultet...*, op.cit. (n. 26), pp. 235-248. Digitalizzato sul sito: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.592 (10/01/2020).

³² Ff. 6v, 41v, 43v, 80r, 81v... Si veda: <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/3/126590> (19/01/2020).

³³ Ad es. ff. 141r, 159r, 166r, sul sito: <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1385/sigenulfus-unknown-breviary-italian-1153/> (20/01/2020)

³⁴ E. ELBA, *Between Southern Italy and Dalmatia: Missal MR 166 of the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb*, Zograf 33, Beograd, 2009, pp. 63-73.

³⁵ M. GRGIĆ, *Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae Monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canonici Liturgical 277*, Zagreb, 2002 (trascrizione e facsimile).



Fig. 10. Evangelistario di Traù, Traù, Tesoro della cattedrale, dettagli degli incipit
(da M. DEMOVIĆ, op. cit. /n. 37/)

invece, vi è una concezione diversa, più vicina ai già menzionati *Moralia* di Teobaldo a Montecassino (Cod. Cas. 73), presente solo su pagine miniate più sfarzose. La grande iniziale *E*(*xultet iam angelica turba celorum*) sul foglio 115v e il monogramma *VD* (*Vere dignum et iustum est*) sul 117r sono seguiti da suggestiva maiuscola policroma con perline messe in risalto da un colore differente³⁶.

Nello scriptorio del convento di S. Giovanni Battista a Traù questo assetto decorativo si è mantenuto fino al XIII secolo quando, sulla spinta del nuovo pensiero, è stato realizzato il fastoso *Evangelistario di Traù*, decisamente conservativo sotto il profilo stilistico³⁷. I maestri amanuensi, come ha osservato anche Rozana Vojvoda, hanno utilizzato i sopramenzionati modelli dell'età aurea della miniatura montecassinese ai tempi dell'abate Desiderio³⁸. Gli *incipit* di ogni pericope, dopo la tipica iniziale beneventana *I* proseguono con le lettere recanti le ormai note perline sulla fascia d'oro, regolarmente nella forma abbreviata con la legatura (Fig. 10). Affine a questo Evangelistario è quello di Arbe, nei cui frammenti sono assenti nastri dorati ma abbondano piccole iniziali rosse con perlinatura esornativa³⁹.

Oltre alle menzionate analogie, che attestano la produzione degli scrittori dalmati, la storia fortunatamente ha tramandato alcuni inestimabili esempi d'arte libraria e musicale della Dalmazia meri-

³⁶ Entrambi i manoscritti in: E. ELBA, *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, Bari, 2011, pp. 70-77, 82-90, 145-168, con l'ampia rassegna della letteratura più datata; R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 30-90.

³⁷ R. VOJVODA, *Illuminacija Trogirskoga evanđelistara – raskoš i konzervativnost dalmatinskoga sitnoslikarstva benediktinske tradicije*, in: *Raukarov zbornik*, (ed.) Neven Budak, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 187-208. Facsimile: M. DEMOVIĆ, *Trogirski evanđelistar*, Split, 1997; E. ELBA, op. cit. (36), pp. 183-194, con la datazione alla prima metà del XIII secolo.

³⁸ R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 195-196, 225.

³⁹ A. BADURINA, *Fragmenti iluminiranog evanđelistara iz kraja XI stoljeća u Rabu*, *Peristil*, 8-9, Zagreb, 1965/66, pp. 5-12, con la collocazione cronologica verso al fine dell'XI secolo e il luogo di realizzazione all'abbazia di S. Giovanni Evangelista ad Arbe. La letteratura più recente associa al manufatto in questione anche il frammento custodito presso la NSK (Biblioteca nazionale e universitaria) a Zagabria (R 4106); E. ELBA, op. cit. (36), pp. 230-233, 242-243 con la datazione alla fine del XII secolo; R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 196-201, 291-302, datazione al XIII secolo secondo V. Brown.

dionale di quell'epoca. In primo luogo vi sono i codici vergati con la beneventana in uso nella stessa Cattaro: *Lezionario/pontificale cattarino* oggi custodito presso l'Accademia russa delle scienze a San Pietroburgo (Sankt-Peterburg, BRAN, F. no. 200) e il *Messale di Cattaro* nella Biblioteca di Stato di Berlino (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 920). Non vanno dimenticati gli esempi di Ragusa, possibili prodotti dello scrittore del convento di S. Maria sull'isola di Lacroma: *Messale di Ragusa* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342)⁴⁰ e il *Rituale di S. Nicola* (*Libellus s. Nicolai*) unico ad essere conservato in Croazia⁴¹. Tuttavia, secondo le interpretazioni più recenti di alcuni autori, entrambi i manoscritti vengono datati al XIII secolo. Le loro iniziali, pur essendo ornate con dettagli puntiformi, già denunciano la tendenza verso le forme gotiche ampiamente decorate e, pertanto, non saranno utili per il confronto più concreto con l'epigrafe di Niceforo.

Per quanto concerne i manoscritti catarini le fonti indubitabilmente collocano la loro produzione nel XII secolo. Di recente il *Messale di Cattaro* è stato pubblicato in copia anastatica permettendo così l'analisi dettagliata delle sue pagine sporadicamente decorate in forma ambiziosa con grandi iniziali all'inizio del calendario, delle letture e delle parti della messa di maggiore rilevanza. Inoltre, il *Messale*

ci offre la più antica rappresentazione locale di S. Trifone (f. 5v)⁴². L'analisi del manoscritto, sia quella testuale che quella figurativa, rimanda ad una provenienza riconducibile a qualche officina scrittoria pugliese che diffondeva il modello della miniatura normanna nella seconda metà del XII



Fig. 11. *Messale di Cattaro*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 920), f. 143v (da L. BLECHOVA ČELEBIĆ, op. cit. /n. 42/)

⁴⁰ R. F. GYUG, *Missale Ragusinum: The Missal of Dubrovnik*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 1990, con la collocazione cronologica al tardo XIII secolo; facsimile M. DEMOVIĆ, *Beneventanski notirani misal dubrovačke katedrale iz 12. stoljeća / The 12th Century Beneventan Notated Missal of Dubrovnik Cathedral*, Dubrovnik, 2011; R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 123-130, sostiene la datazione proposta di Gyug.

⁴¹ M. DEMOVIĆ, *Dubrovački beneventanski liturgijski priručnik legende i obreda blagdana sv. Nikole iz XI. stoljeća*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 1998 (con facsimile); R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 130-135, lo colloca nel XIII secolo.

⁴² S. REHLE, *Missale Beneventanum in Berlin*, *Sacris Erudiri*, 28, Turnhout, 1985, pp. 469-510; R. VOJVODA, op. cit. (n. 27), pp. 314-325; R. E. REYNOLDS, *The Missal of Kotor: a liturgical monument of medieval Dalmatia*, *Arti musices*, 45/2, Zagreb, 2014, pp. 191-200. Edizione anastatica: *Kotorski misal Sv. Jakova od Lođe*, (ed.) Lenka Blechová Čelebić, Tivat-Podgorica, 2019.

secolo⁴³. Con ogni probabilità a Cattaro è arrivato successivamente quando è stata aggiunta la figura del santo sotto le arcate e numerose annotazioni ai margini del calendario. Stando ad una più tarda nota vergata nel codice pare che il *Messale* non fosse in uso nella cattedrale, bensì nella chiesa di S. Giacomo della Loggia (il nome del luogo del culto deriva dal fatto che accanto ad esso sorgeva la loggia cittadina). Seppure sia discutibile in quale misura la decorazione del manoscritto avrebbe potuto svolgere il ruolo di una specie di mediatore diretto tra i modelli dell'Italia meridionale e l'epigrafe di Cattaro, sta di fatto che tale principio di ornamentazione è rimasta in uso nella prassi miniaturistica pugliese del XII secolo. In questa sede riportiamo a titolo di esempio il *Praefatio communis* al foglio 143v con la tipica grande iniziale romanica *P*(*er omnia secula seculorum...*) scritto interamente con la maiuscola riccamente decorata con perlinatura (Fig. 11). Inoltre, ogni pagina reca diverse iniziali analoghe con lo stesso tipo di ornamento, alte due o quattro righe.

Rimane ancora il *Pontificale di Cattaro*, in realtà si tratta di una compilazione di lezionario, di pontificale e di una serie di prediche aggiunte posteriormente, destinato alla cattedrale e al vescovo cattarino. Al Pontificale sono stati aggiunti successivamente alcuni documenti ecclesiastici e laici di grande rilevanza per la storia di Cattaro, una specie di precursore della cancelleria notarile. Tale aspetto attesta ulteriormente dell'importanza del manoscritto per l'ambiente locale. Dalla minuziosa analisi di R. F. Gyug si evince che il codice fu realizzato a Cattaro alla metà del XII secolo e molto probabilmente fu utilizzato in occasione della consacrazione della nuova cattedrale di S. Trifone avvenuta nel 1166⁴⁴. Verosimilmente, lo stesso vescovo Niceforo lo teneva tra le mani e lo utilizzava nella quotidiana prassi ecclesiastica. Nella letteratura si conosce solo un limitato numero delle sue pagine, principalmente quelle relative alla notazione neumatica⁴⁵. Con la pubblicazione del facsimile del Pontificale in preparazione, come siamo riusciti a sapere, tutti



Fig. 12. Lezionario/pontificale di Cattaro, *San Pietroburgo*, Biblioteca dell'Accademia russa delle scienze (BRAN, F. no. 200), f. 3r (da R. F. GYUG, op. cit. [n. 44], tav. 1)

⁴³ E. ELBA, op. cit. (36), pp. 91-95, 127-134.

⁴⁴ R. F. GYUG, *Liturgy and law in a Dalmatian city: the Bishop's book of Kotor (Sankt-Peterburg, BRAN, F. no. 200)*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 2016, con la trascrizione completa del testo.

⁴⁵ Si tratta di alcune notazioni più antiche del canto liturgico sulla costa adriatica orientale la cui trascrizione in notazione contemporanea, che si deve a R. F. Gyug, è stata pubblicata da M. RADULOVIĆ-VULIĆ, *Drevne muzičke kulture Crne Gore II*, Cetinje, 2002, pp. 112-163.

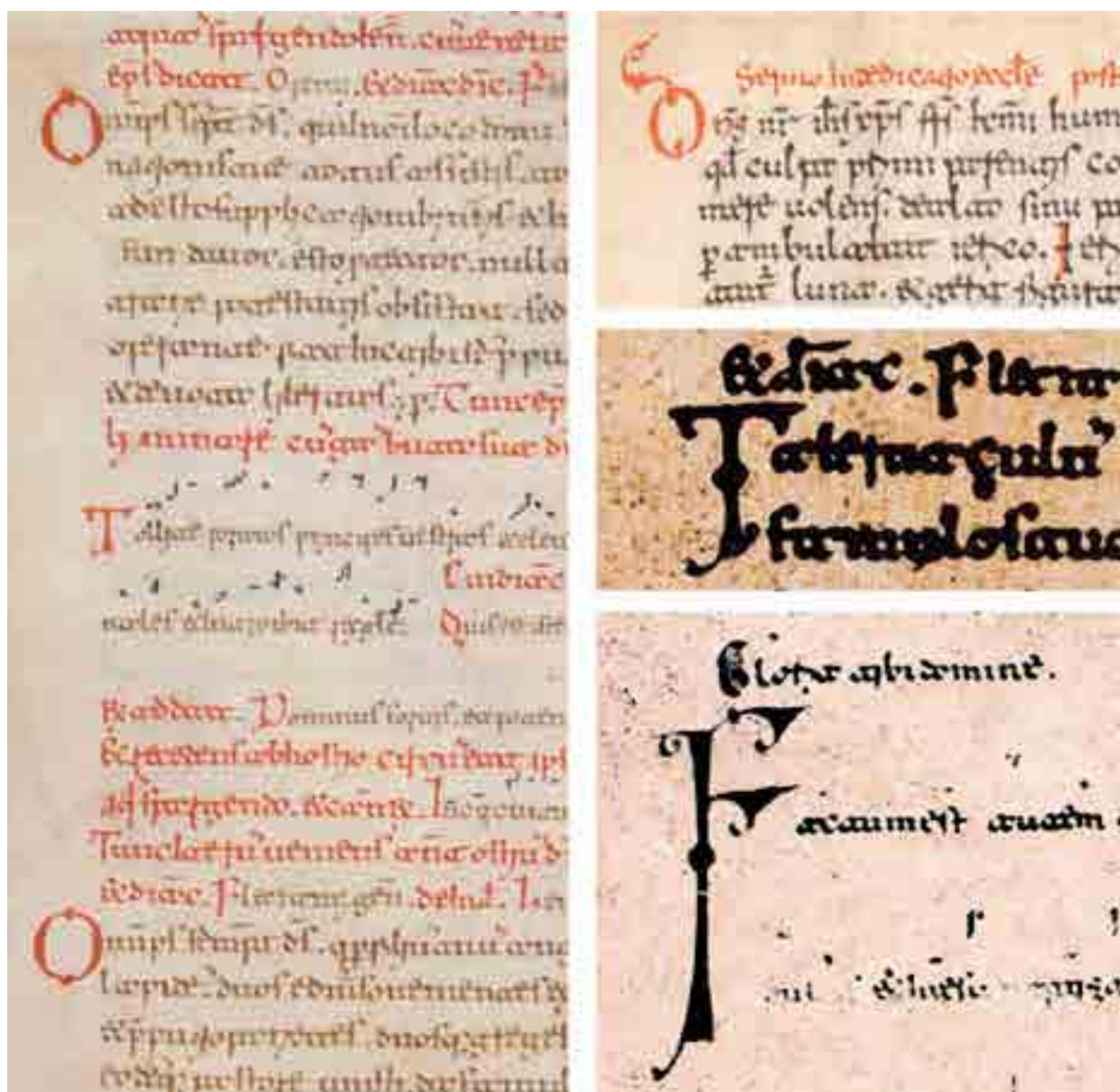


Fig. 13. Lezionario/pontificale di Cattaro, *selezioni di iniziali*: a sinistra f. 70v (da R. F. GYUG, op. cit. /n. 44/, tav. 4), a destra f. 178r, 71v, 62r (da R. F. GYUG, op. cit. /n. 44/, tav. 8; M. RADULOVIC-VULIC, op. cit. /n. 45/)

gli esempi sopra citati della Dalmazia meridionale verrebbero presentati adeguatamente e diverrebbero accessibili alla comunità scientifica. Seppure questo prezioso manoscritto non presenti un ricco assetto decorativo, alcune sue pagine offrono interessanti confronti in merito alla creazione di semplici iniziali rosse e azzurre dalle dimensioni varianti da due a cinque righe del testo (Figg. 12 e 13). Appare evidente che nello scriptorio cattarino, la cui esistenza verosimilmente è attestata da questo Pontificale, gli amanuensi usavano evidenziare le aste delle lettere con rigonfiature a perlina proprio al tempo di Niceforo o poco prima, all'epoca del suo predecessore Maio.

A proposito delle modalità di trasferimento dei modelli e degli archetipi figurativi attraverso l'Adriatico, oltre ai già più volte individuati e attestati rapporti dei conventi benedettini dalmati con i principali centri monastici ubicati sull'altra sponda adriatica, bisogna prendere in considerazione la secolare, seppure formalmente spesso interrotta, subordinazione del vescovo cattarino all'arcivescovo

di Bari, un rapporto sul quale Cattaro ha sempre ostinatamente insistito⁴⁶. Vescovi e sacerdoti, portandosi dietro i libri liturgici e spesso anche i propri amanuensi e miniatori, circolavano liberamente sull'Adriatico considerato la più frequentata via di comunicazione del medioevo⁴⁷.

In conclusione si può affermare che il descritto apparato decorativo delle iniziali o dell'intero *incipit* del testo veniva utilizzato, come ha appurato il presente contributo, in modo parallelo negli scrittori pugliesi e nell'ambiente montecassinese già dall'inizio del X e più intensamente dal secondo quarto dell'XI secolo. Allo stesso orizzonte cronologico risalgono anche gli esempi epigrafici pugliesi che abbiamo individuato nelle opere della bottega di Acceptus e David (1039 e 1041). Sulla costa adriatica orientale, a partire dalla seconda metà dell'XI secolo, tale modalità decorativa è presente nei capolavori dell'officina scrittoria di Zara e in quelli della scuola epigrafica spalatina e, in entrambe di questi mezzi espressivi, ha perdurato fino alla metà o addirittura fino alla fine del XIII secolo. Si rileva che i lapidisti non si attardavano rispetto agli scriba nella trasposizione delle nuove tendenze decorative dalla pergamena alla pietra come, del resto, ha dimostrato l'analisi del materiale spalantino.

Le analogie più affini alla lapide di Niceforo sono anzitutto di origine locale e legate ai siti benedettini nonché, a quanto pare, anche alla produzione libraria dello scriptorio cittadino presso il quale i codici beneventani venivano ornati secondo i dettami delle coeve correnti figurative provenienti dall'Italia meridionale. Al contempo, come si può constatare, fungevano come fonte d'ispirazione per le iscrizioni in pietra.

Il vescovo cattarino Niceforo II, volendo contribuire di persona alla decorazione della nuova cattedrale e desiderando, naturalmente, tramandare un degno ricordo del proprio nome, non ha dovuto cercare lontano il modello per l'epigrafe. Nel suo ambiente doveva esserci qualcuno, evidentemente un sacerdote erudito – se non lui stesso – ampiamente capace di stilare l'iscrizione che per il suo *ductus*, nonché per la modalità compositiva del testo, si distingue autorevolmente dalla media⁴⁸. Ai futuri studiosi proprio quest'ultimo aspetto sarà fonte di numerosi problemi di cui almeno una parte adesso si avvicina alla soluzione.

Traduzione dal croato: Jan Vanek

⁴⁶ Il testo più esaustivo relativo alla problematica è R. F. GYUG, *op. cit.* (n. 44), pp. 12-18, 26-31, 51-52.

⁴⁷ D. PRERADOVIĆ, *Jadransko more, rute i luke u ranom srednjem veku prema hagiografskim izvorima, Istorijski zapisi*, 89/3-4, Podgorica, 2016, pp. 7-34.

⁴⁸ A tal proposito al lettore consigliamo il contributo del collega Milenko Lončar che verrà pubblicato nel numero 10 della rivista *Ars Adriatica*. Desidero ringraziare il collega per aver risvegliato l'interesse per i cibori cattarini nonché per numerosi suggerimenti e consigli. La nostra ricerca dell'epigrafe in questione si svolgeva simultaneamente ma i risultati, vista l'ampiezza dei lavori, vengono presentati separatamente.

Od pera do dlijeta – analiza uzora za morfologiju slôvā na natpisu kotorskih ciborija

U radu se obrađuje natpis na poznatoj mramornoj arkadi s lavovima te na tri srodna fragmenta predromaničkih ciborija pronađenih unutar ili u blizini katedrale Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru, koje veže isto radioničko porijeklo. Natpis je, dijelom i zbog svoje neuobičajene morfologije koja se odlikuje intenzivnim ukrašavanjem slova točkicama i polukružićima, dosada izazivao različita tumačenja, pa i stranputice u dataciji reljefa, koji su pak nesumnjivo produkt 1. polovine 9. stoljeća. Natpis je u crnogorskoj literaturi nedavno rekonstruiran kao jedinstvena cjelina na temelju zapisa pronađenog u zborniku starih kotorskih isprava prepisanom u 19. stoljeću, a koji se danas čuva u Arhivu HAZU-a u Zagrebu.

Donose se novi argumenti koji potvrđuju prethodno iznesenu pretpostavku Vedrane Delonga da je natpis inspiriran kaligrafijom beneventanskog pisma. U tom smislu uspoređen je s epigrafskim spomenicima rane i zrele romanike s područja Dalmacije i Apulije, od kojih najviše sličnosti pokazuje s natpisima na nekim benediktinskim lokalitetima u Boki kotorskoj (Sv. Petar u Donjim Bogdašićima, Sv. Mihovil na Prevlaci kod Tivta). Zatim su iznesene konkretne analogije u nizu beneventanskih rukopisa uglavnom iz 11. stoljeća, od kojih neki spadaju u sam vrh apulijske (*Exultet* svici skriptorija u Bariju) te montekasinske iluminacije u doba opata Deziderija (1058.-1087.). Na temelju navedenih primjera dade se zaključiti da srodna grafička manira ukrašavanja slova točkicama i kružićima potječe iz Apulije i Montecassina, a korištena je i u dalmatinskim skriptorijima od 11. sve do 13. stoljeća, kako to potvrđuju primjeri iz Zadra, Trogira i Raba. Najbliže paralele za kotorski natpis ipak su lokalnoga porijekla te povezane s benediktinskim lokalitetima i knjižnom produkcijom pretpostavljenoga katedralnog skriptorija u Kotoru, posebno s *Kotorskim pontifikalom* iz sredine 12. stoljeća. Ondje su beneventanski kodeksi ukrašavani u skladu sa suvremenim likovnim strujanjima iz južne Italije, a ujedno su služili i kao inspiracija za natpise u kamenu.

Ključne riječi: Kotor, katedrala Sv. Tripuna, beneventanski kodeksi, romanički natpisi, 12. stoljeće

LES BASILIQUES À COUPOLE DE DALMATIE (X^e-XI^e s.) : LEUR JUSTE PLACE DANS LA DIFFUSION D'UN TYPE ARCHITECTURAL DE BYZANCE À L'OCCIDENT*

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The attention has already been drawn to the fact that around the year 1000, some Catalan and North-Italian churches with cupola possibly inherited their configuration from previous Byzantine models; on the other hand, the significance of Byzantine influence on several Dalmatian churches has not been ignored either. The present paper turns again to this topic, first focusing the interest on other antecedents in Southern Italy and Greece, then on Dalmatian key monuments of the 10th-11th centuries (i.e., the ones at the very beginning of an important regional diffusion), with particular distinction of their variants. It should also be added that the limited, but not absent impact of the proto-Romanesque, in some of these examples at least, has been taken into account as well. But historical background, as much in Southern Italy as in Dalmatia, can explain the prevalent connections with Byzantine monuments. And finally, taking into account the anteriority of the earliest Dalmatian attestations, regarding what was to occur in Catalonia especially, the Dalmatian achievements might have played a decisive role in the diffusion of such an architectural type from Eastern towards Western Mediterranean world.

Key words: *basilica with cupola, Dalmatian religious architecture, Byzantine influence in Western countries, proto-Romanesque architecture, architecture around the year 1000*

Le parti de la basilique à coupole se trouve particulièrement bien représenté, en Dalmatie, parmi les monuments généralement considérés comme relevant de l'architecture pré- et protoromane ; et sans retracer toutes les étapes d'une historiographie déjà assez substantielle, je m'en tiendrai à rappeler que Tomislav Marasović et, plus récemment, Miljenko Jurković associé à Iva Marić ont ménagé une bonne place à cette typologie dans leurs présentations de synthèse¹ ; et que Slobodan Ćurčić ne l'a pas non plus négligée, en élargissant alors le discours à l'ensemble du monde balkanique². En fait,

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¹ Cf. notamment T. MARASOVIĆ, « L'architecture préromane », in I. SUPIČIĆ (dir.), *La Croatie et l'Europe, I, Trésors de la Croatie ancienne des origines au XII^e siècle*, Paris-Zagreb, 1999, en particulier p. 459-460. M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, « Le premier art roman en Istrie et en Dalmatie », in É. VERGNOLLE et S. BULLY (dir.), *Le premier art roman cent ans après. La construction entre Saône et Pô autour de l'an mil. Études comparatives*, Besançon, 2012, p. 147-173, p. 156-161 passim.

² S. ĆURČIĆ, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*, New Haven-Londres, 2010, p. 438-463 passim.

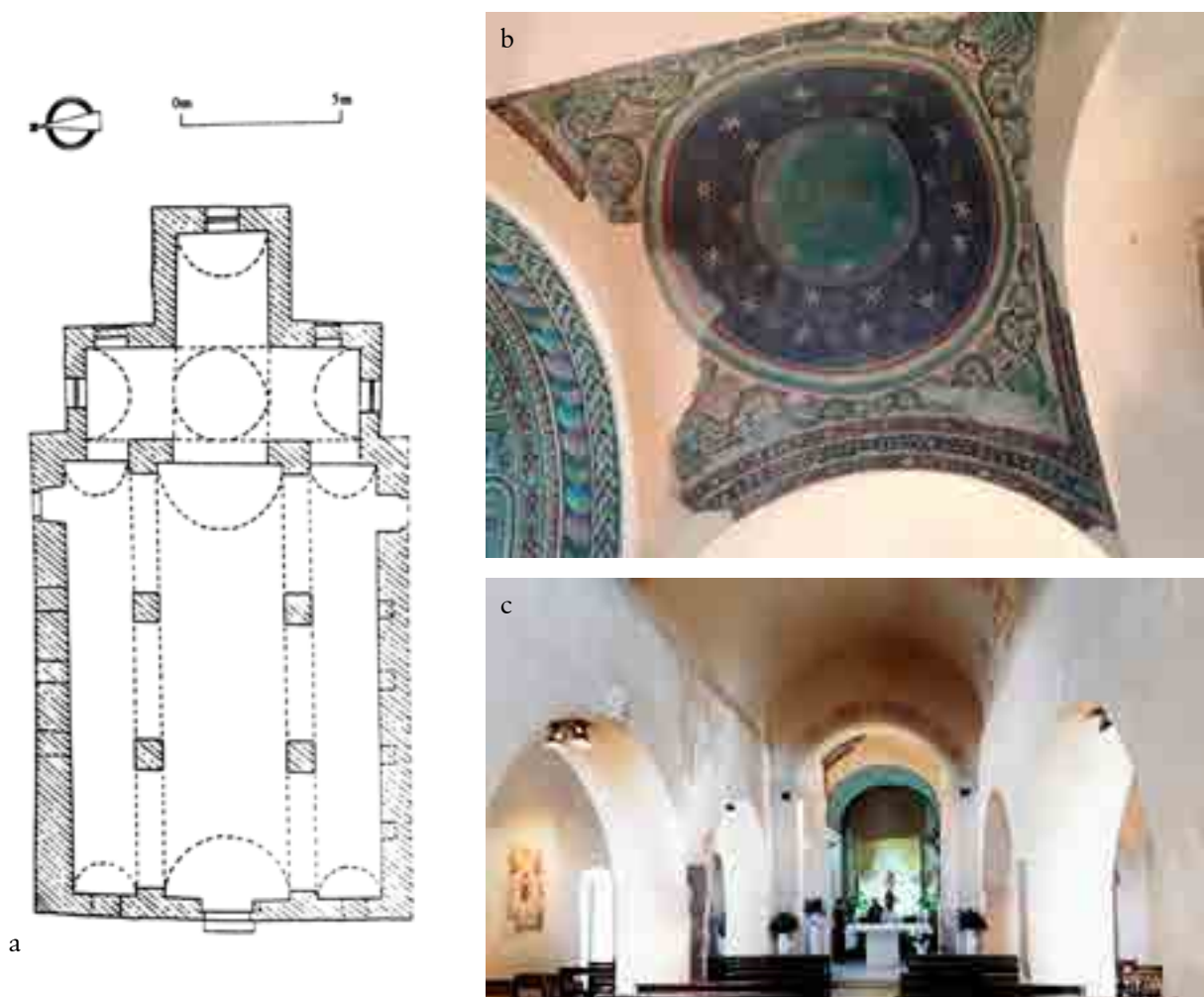


Fig. 1. Casaranello, Santa Maria della Croce, a. plan, d'après M. Falla Castelfranchi, b. coupole de la croisée, c. nef axiale

cela procède d'un phénomène de diffusion touchant une très vaste aire du monde méditerranéen : de pertinentes remarques en ce sens sont déjà dues à Pavuša Vežić, notamment³ ; et Eric Fernie, récemment suivi par Peter Reed, a attiré l'attention sur ce point en soulignant ce qui apparentait un édifice-clé du « premier art roman » catalan des environs de 1040 – Sant Vicenç de Cardona – à San Fruttuoso de Portofino en Ligurie (construction de la fin du Xe siècle) et au Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) de Constantinople (des environs de 920)⁴. Mais en allant encore jusqu'aux marges orientales du

³ P. VEŽIĆ, « Elementi di architettura bizantina nelle costruzioni alto medievali di Zara », in *HAM* 4, 1998, en particulier p. 61-62 pour ce qui a trait à un cadre englobant l'Orient méditerranéen, la Dalmatie et l'Italie.

⁴ E. FERNIE, « Saint-Vincent de Cardona and the Mediterranean Dimension of First Romanesque Architecture », in *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture presented to Peter Lasko*, Stroud, 1994, p. 24-33 ; ID., « Saint-Vincent de Cardona et la dimension méditerranéenne du premier art roman », in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 43-3, juillet-septembre 2000, p. 243-256 ; ID., « Sant Vicenç at Cardona and Byzantine Architecture revisited », dans J. Camps et P. Freixas (éd.), *Els Comacini i l'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya (Simposi internacional, Girona, 25 i 26 novembre de 2005)*, Gérone-Barcelone, 2010, p. 33-40. P. REED, *Church Architecture in Early Medieval Spain c. 700-c. 1100*, Donington, 2016, cf. notamment la deuxième partie de cet ouvrage, focalisée sur l'église de Cardona.

monde byzantin, on en a des équivalents sensiblement contemporains sur le territoire de l'actuelle Abkhazie (sur la rive nord-est de la Mer Noire)⁵ ainsi que dans l'Arménie de l'époque (qui englobait l'Est de la Turquie d'aujourd'hui)⁶. Je me propose ici de revenir sur les origines de ce type, et de m'attacher tout spécialement à préciser la place qu'occupent les édifices dalmates dans son développement ; cela sans viser à l'exhaustivité, mais en m'attachant aux plus significatifs d'entre eux pour les situer dans la perspective chronologique correspondante, et en distinguant leurs diverses variantes ; et en m'efforçant de suggérer comment le contexte historique peut rendre raison de cet essor régional.

Quant aux origines, il faut manifestement remonter à l'époque protobyzantine, et prendre en compte ce qui est attesté dans le Sud-Est de la Péninsule Italique, et plus précisément dans la province du Salento. S'y trouve aujourd'hui encore bien conservée l'église Santa Maria della Croce de Casaranello (près de la petite ville de Casarano), principalement étudiée par Marina Falla Castelfranchi⁷. Il s'agit d'une basilique à nef tripartite de trois travées avec deux files de piliers, transept non débordant et abside quadrangulaire, les dimensions de l'ensemble demeurant assez moyennes (environ 23m x 13m). Ce qui nous retient ici est la présence, à la croisée du transept, d'une coupole relevant du type *pendentive dome* (c'est-à-dire sans véritable césure architecturale entre la coupole proprement dite et chacun de ses quatre

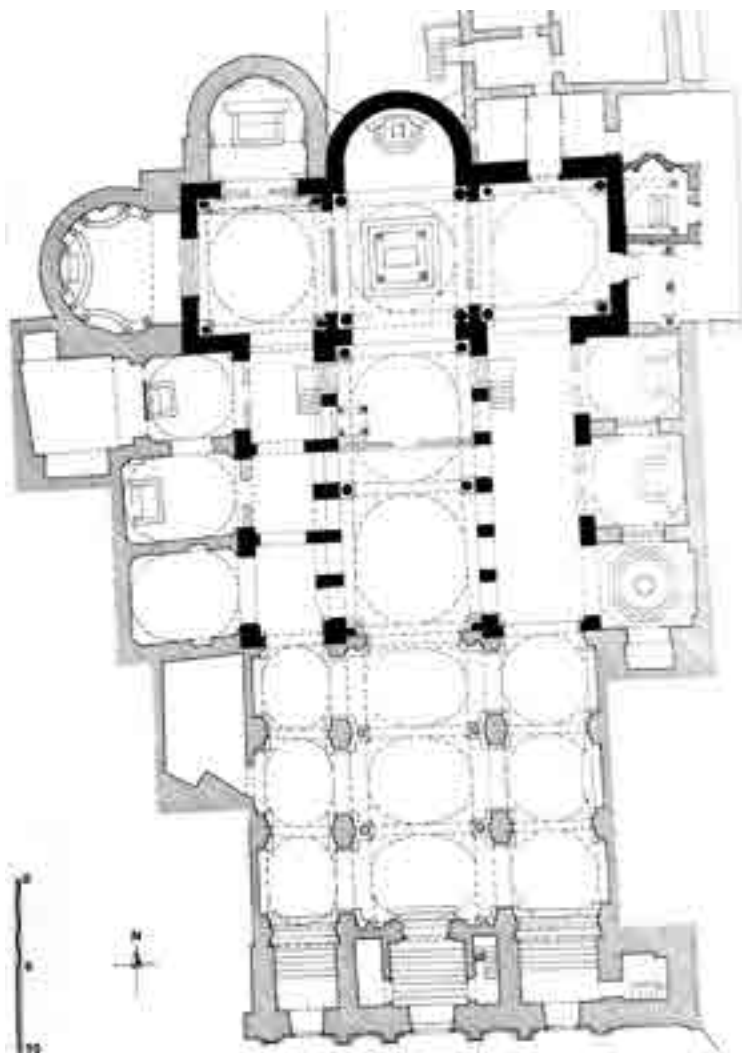


Fig. 2. Canosa di Puglia, cathédrale plan, d'après G. Bertelli et A. Attolico

⁵ L. KHROUSHKOVA, *Les monuments chrétiens de la côte orientale de la Mer Noire. Abkhazie. IVe-XIVe siècles*, Turnhout, 2006, p. 97-107 et 116-117, avec l'analyse de plusieurs exemples.

⁶ Cf. notamment P. DONABÉDIAN, « La renaissance de l'architecture (IXe-XIe siècle) », in J. DURAND, I. RAPTI et D. GIOVANNONI (dir.), *Armenia sacra. Mémoire chrétienne des Arméniens (IVe-XVIIIe siècle)*, catalogue d'exposition, Paris (musée du Louvre) 2007, Paris, 2007, p. 133 pour ce que l'on dénomme la « cathédrale » d'Ani (avec bibliographie).

⁷ M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, notice in G. BERTELLI (éd.), *Puglia preromanica*, Milan, 2004, p. 161-175 ; EAD., « I mosaici della chiesa di Santa Maria della Croce a Casaranello rivisitati », in *Atti del X colloquio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio e conservazione del mosaico*, Tivoli, 2005, p. 13-24. D'où J.-P. CAILLET, « Christian Architecture with Cupola(s) in Southern Italy : for a thorough Inclusion in the Byzantine Sphere (6th-8th centuries) », in *Questions of the History of World Architecture* [Moscou], 11/2, 2018, p. 55-56.

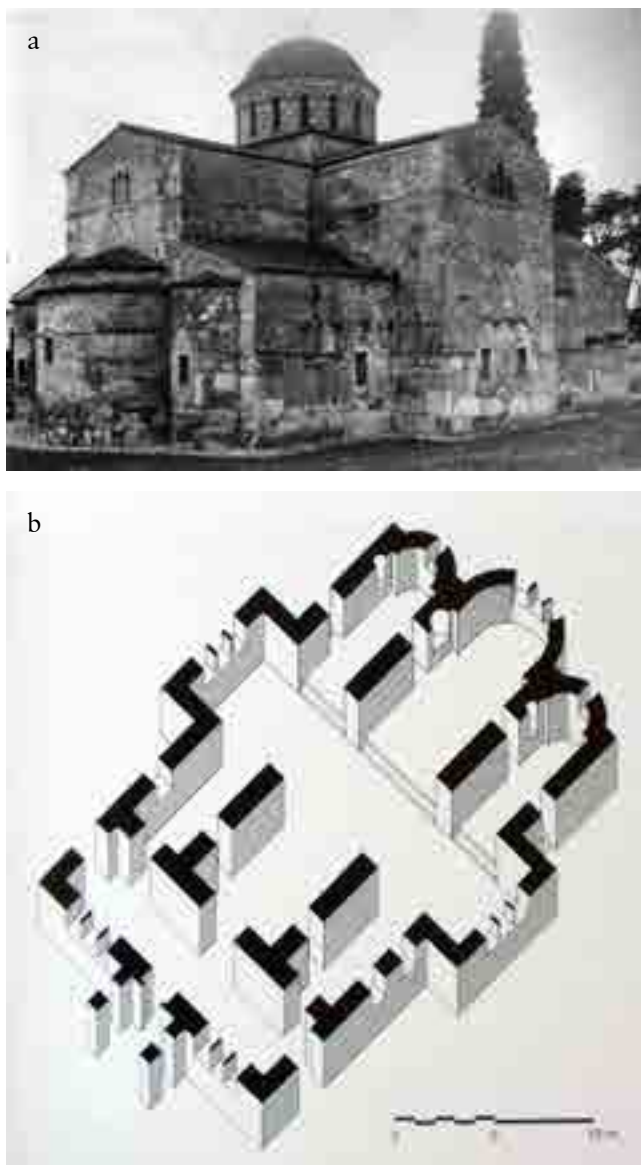


Fig. 3. Skripou, Panaghia, a. vue extérieure, b. axonomie, d'après S. Čurčić

pendentifs) tel que l'a défini Nikolaos Karydis à partir d'exemples d'Asie Mineure⁸. Les bras du transept et l'abside sont pour leur part couverts de voûtes en berceau plein cintre, ainsi que la nef axiale. Quant à cette dernière, l'actuelle dissimulation des maçonneries par un enduit ne permet pas de s'assurer que l'on a là réellement affaire à son couvrement d'origine ; l'éventualité, du moins, n'en est pas exclue. La datation de cette église au VI^e siècle s'avère assez assurée, en fonction du style des mosaïques qui revêtent la coupole et l'abside. Et cela est confirmé par la présence même de cette coupole, c'est-à-dire d'un type de voûtement ayant connu sa première diffusion sous le règne de Justinien : on pense bien sûr à Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, et à quelques autres édifices d'Asie Mineure ; mais l'Italie méridionale a également participé à ce mouvement, comme le démontre le cas de l'actuelle cathédrale de Canosa di Puglia, où une récente révision a révélé que les coupoles – non seulement sur la croisée dans cet édifice, mais aussi sur les bras du transept et la nef – correspondent à un parti de cette même époque (et non de la période normande des XI^e-XII^e siècles, comme on l'avait cru jusqu'alors)⁹.

C'est ensuite vers la Grèce qu'il faut se tourner avec d'abord, en Béotie, la Panaghia de Skripou, sûrement datée par une inscription faisant état de sa construction en 873-74 à l'initiative d'un haut fonctionnaire de l'Empire possessionné dans la région¹⁰. L'édifice apparaît aujourd'hui très substantiellement conservé ; et, si la coupole actuelle est en fait le résultat d'une restauration moderne consécutive à un

séisme survenu au XIX^e siècle, sa restitution ne pose pas de problème majeur. Ici, le transept apparaît débordant, et la séparation interne entre les vaisseaux s'opère par de véritables murs, et non des piliers – comme déjà à Casaranello – ou des colonnes, comme ce devait plus tard être fréquemment

⁸ N. KARYDIS, *Early Vaulted Construction in Churches of the Western Coastal Plains and River Valleys of Asia Minor* (BAR-15 2246), Oxford, 2011 ; ID., "The Early Byzantine Domed Basilicas of West Asia Minor. An Essay of Graphic Reconstruction", in *Late Antique Archaeology*, 9 (1), 2012, p. 357-381.

⁹ G. BERTELLI et A. ATTOLICO, « Analisi delle strutture architettoniche della Cattedrale di San Sabino a Canosa : primi dati », in L. BERTOLDI LENOCI (éd.), *Canosa. Ricerche storiche. Decennio 1999-2009 (Atti del Convegno di studio 12-13 febbraio 2010)*, Bari, 2011, p. 723-758 ; M. FALLA CASTELFRANCHI, « La cattedrale di Canosa non è più normanna », *ibid.*, p. 677-688. D'où J.-P. CAILLET, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 49-53.

¹⁰ C. MANGO, *Architecture byzantine*, édition française, Paris, 1981, p. 208 ; R. KRAUTHEIMER, avec la collaboration de S. ČURČIĆ, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 5^e éd., Yale-New Haven-Londres, 1986, p. 313-315 ; S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 316-317.

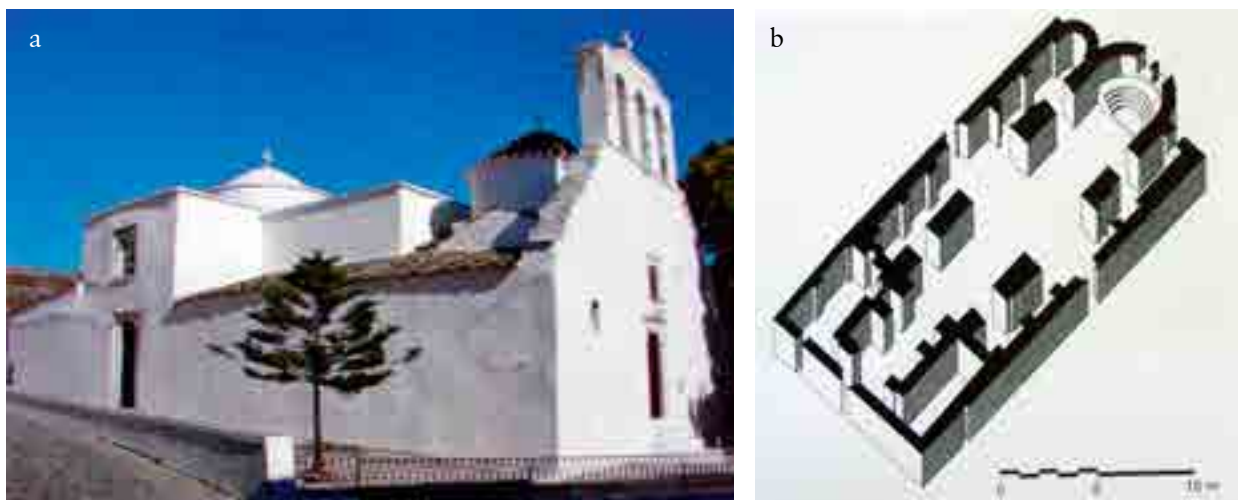


Fig. 4. Chalkè (Naxos), Panaghia Prothronè, a. vue extérieure, b. axonométrie, d'après S. Čurčić

l'usage dans le monde byzantin ; ces divergences peuvent s'expliquer par la relative ancienneté de l'édifice, et donc par quelques hésitations encore dans l'élaboration d'un type architectural appelé à se stabiliser. En tout cas, dans ses grandes lignes, l'église entre bien dans la catégorie ici envisagée.

Le deuxième cas qu'offre la Grèce nous transporte dans l'île de Naxos. Il s'agit de la Panaghia Prothronè, sur le site de Chalkè. On manque de toute donnée pour sa datation précise mais, comme pour Skripou, le caractère relativement archaïque (au regard de l'évolution générale vers le parti médio-byzantin « classique » en croix inscrite) incite à envisager une construction du IX^e siècle pour l'essentiel¹¹. On observe ici, comme à Skripou précisément, une séparation interne des vaisseaux longitudinaux au moyen de murs, dans lesquels sont ménagées d'étroites ouvertures pour assurer les communications transversales. Quant au transept, il n'est cette fois pas débordant, mais toujours bien marqué dans l'élévation.

En progressant chronologiquement, j'en arrive alors aux exemples du littoral dalmate, qui constituent le cœur de mon présent propos. Un premier cas assuré s'y offre avec les restes (aujourd'hui

arasés au niveau du sol) de l'église Sv. Stjepan (Saint-Étienne) sur le site d'Otok dans la ville de Solin tout près de Split¹². L'édifice, dont les dimensions sont d'environ 20m x 9m, semble pouvoir être daté assez sûrement d'avant 976, d'après l'insertion de la tombe de la reine Jelena opérée cette année-là. Indépendamment d'une avant-nef à étage très développée et d'un chevet à une seule abside, cette église présente plusieurs particularités qui retiennent ici toute l'attention. En effet, la présence de ressauts sur les pa-

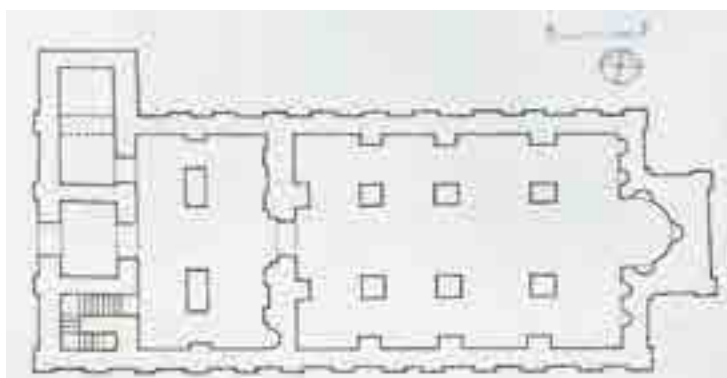


Fig. 5. Otok (Solin), Sv. Stjepan plan, d'après M. Jurković

¹¹ S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 315-316.

¹² T. MARASOVIĆ, « Starohrvatski Solin. Položaj i značaj u ranosrednjovjekovnom graditeljstvu Dalmacije », in *Vjesnik za Arheologiju i Historiju Dalmatinsku* 85, 1994 (Disputationes Salonitanae IV), p. 63-68 ; R. BUŽANČIĆ, « S. Maria e S. Stefano. Le geminae preromaniche a Otok a Solin », in *HAM* 6, 2000, p. 73-80 ; M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 161.



Fig. 6. Trogir, Sv. Barbara (anciennement Sv. Martin), a. vue intérieure, b. plan, d'après S. Čurčić

rois internes, en correspondance avec les supports subdivisant la nef, amène à restituer des arcs et, avec assez de vraisemblance du moins, un voûtement intégral ; d'autre part, l'écart plus considérable entre les supports de la troisième travée dénote sans doute l'implantation d'une coupole au-dessus de celle-ci ; par contre-coup enfin, deux bras d'un transept de part et d'autre de cette coupole sont aisément conjecturables. Quant aux niches semi-circulaires animant la paroi interne de l'abside et l'extrémité orientale des collatéraux, et dont on retrouve l'équivalent dans plusieurs autres édifices de ce même littoral dalmate, il s'agit d'un trait dont a traité notamment Radovan Ivančević, renvoyant à des antécédents d'époque romaine classique (mausolées privés, en particulier dans la nécropole païenne sous Saint-Pierre de Rome ou dans l'Isola Sacra d'Ostie)¹³ ; mais plus en phase avec la chronologie des édifices ici concernés, on peut aussi songer à ce qui est attesté à Constantinople dans les absidioles de l'église du monastère de Lips (Fenari Isa Camii), bâtie vers 900¹⁴ ; ce serait donc là un argument en faveur d'une transmission de schéma depuis le monde méditerranéen oriental – point sur lequel je reviendrai plus loin.

D'autres édifices dalmates susceptibles d'être pris en considération du point de vue de leur typologie pourraient également dater des décennies proches de l'an mil, bien que l'absence de données concrètes laisse cela hypothétique. On doit ainsi particulièrement s'arrêter au cas de Sv. Barbara (Sainte-Barbara, originellement Sv. Martin) de Trogir, encore largement conservée en élévation. Cette petite église (à peine plus de 12m x 7m) présente une nef de quatre travées subdivisée en trois vaisseaux (la largeur des collatéraux n'excédant cependant guère 1m) par des colonnes et chapiteaux antiques de réemploi, et une abside quadrangulaire. Cette fois, les niches semi-circulaires rythment les murs latéraux tant de la nef que de l'abside. Selon les plus récentes in-

vestigations, l'ensemble, originellement couvert en charpente, aurait reçu son voûtement en un second temps¹⁵. Il s'agit de voûtes d'arêtes. Mais surtout – et c'est ce qui justifie ici l'évocation de cet édifice

¹³ R. IVANIŠEVIĆ, « Predromanička arhitektura raščlanjema nišama », in M. JURKOVIĆ et T. LUKŠIĆ (éd.), *Radanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža*, Zagreb, 1996, p. 75-86.

¹⁴ A.H.S. MEGAW, C. MANGO et E.J.W. HAWKINS, « The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul », in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 18, 1964, p. 249-315 ; R. KRAUTHEIMER, avec la collaboration de S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 356-361.

¹⁵ R. BUŽANČIĆ, « Predromanička pregradnja crkve Sv. Martina u Trogiru », in *Petricioli Zbornik 1 (Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 35)*, Split, 1995, p. 241-251 ; aussi, pour comparaisons, P. VEŽIĆ, « Bazilika Sv. Ivana Krstitelja (Sv. Nediljica) u Zadru. Prilog poznavanju ranoromaničke arhitekture u Dalmaciji », *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 23, 1999, p. 11, 14. D'où M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 157.

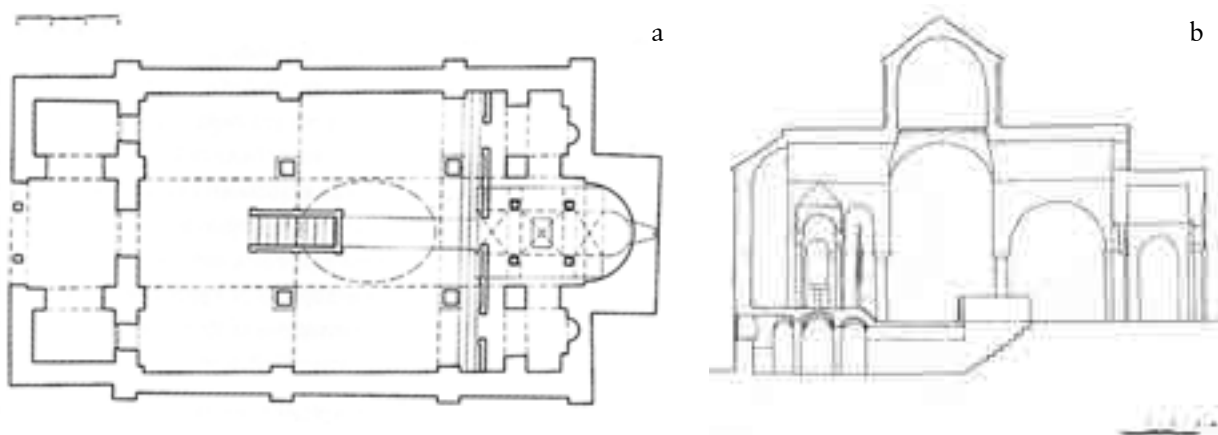


Fig. 7. Dubrovnik, Sv. Petar, a. plan, d'après Ž. Peković, b. coupe longitudinale, d'après Ž. Peković

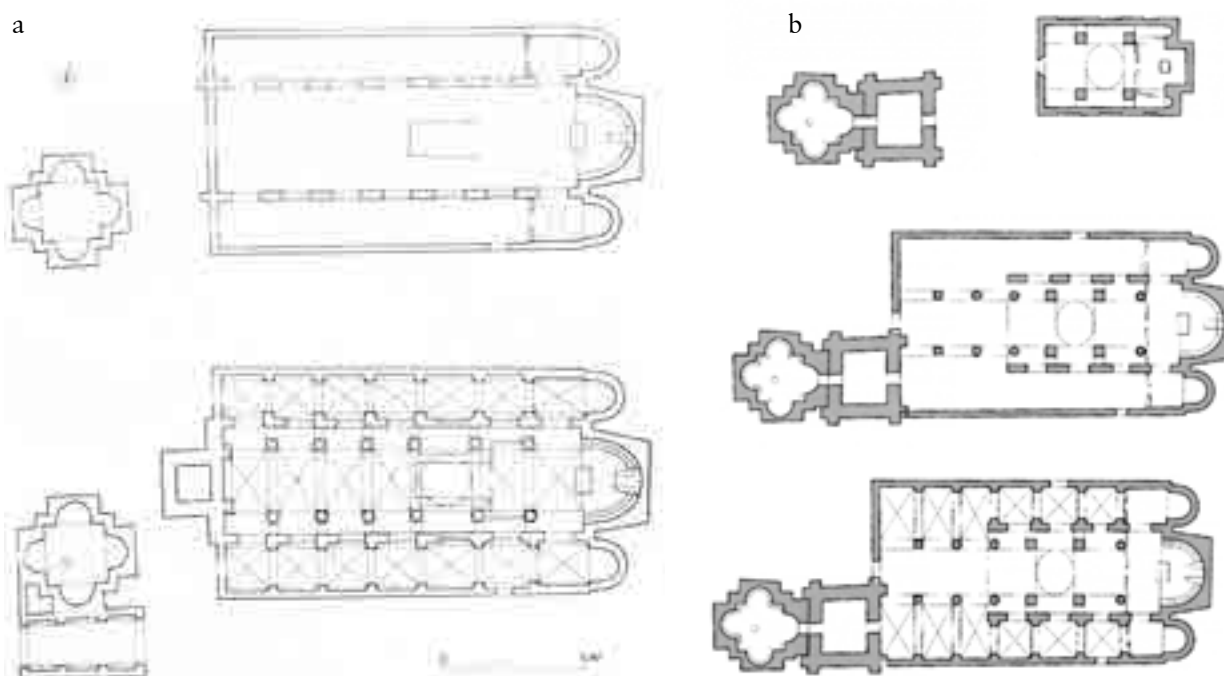


Fig. 8. Dubrovnik, cathédrale, a. phases préromanes, d'après J. Stošić,
b. phases préromanes, d'après Ž. Peković

–, il semble qu'une coupole, aujourd'hui manquante, ait initialement surmonté la troisième travée du vaisseau médian, devant le chœur.

Pour Dubrovnik, il faut en premier lieu s'intéresser à ce que les investigations archéologiques ont révélé de Sv. Petar (Saint-Pierre) (plusieurs fois remaniée et détruite, sur le lieu de la salle de concert de l'actuelle école de musique Luka Sorkočević). L'interprétation en est due à Željko Peković qui, en raison du style des éléments sculptés du chancel, a proposé une datation antérieure à l'an mil¹⁶. L'église, d'environ 20m x 10m, présentait un narthex suivi d'un *quadratum* subdivisé en trois vaisseaux par des

¹⁶ Ž. PEKOVIĆ, « Crkva Sv. Petra u Dubrovniku », in M. JURKOVIĆ et T. LUKŠIĆ (éd.), *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 267-277 ; puis ID., *Crkva Sv. Petar Velikoga. Dubrovačka predromanička katedrala i njezina skulptura*, Dubrovnik-Split, 2010.

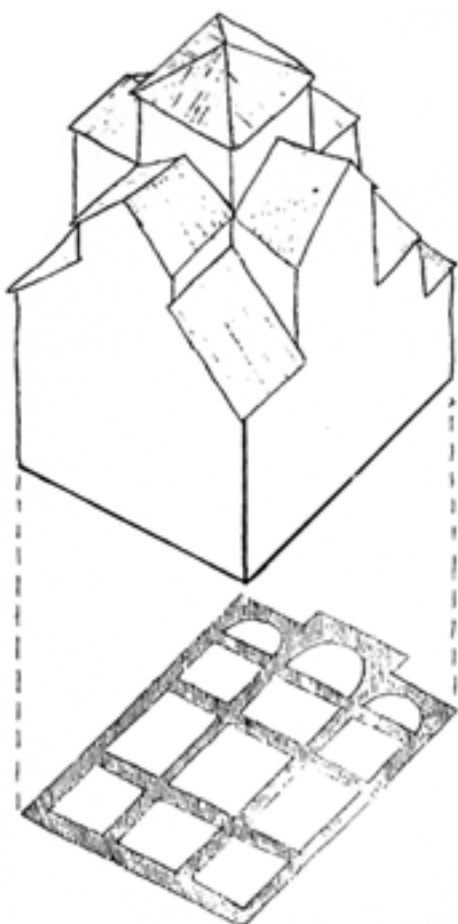


Fig. 9. Kotor, ancienne Sv. Tripun (?) plan et élévation, d'après J. Martinović

piliers, avec deux travées pour la nef proprement puis une travée de chœur, et une abside semi-circulaire prise dans un massif extérieurement quadrangulaire en légère saillie vers l'Est. Quant aux parties hautes – et indépendamment de deux éventuelles tours jumelles aux extrémités du narthex –, Željko Peković a restitué une coupole ellipsoïdale au-dessus de la deuxième travée de la nef médiane, soit devant le chœur ; ce qui s'avère plausible, du moins.

Le cas de la primitive cathédrale de Dubrovnik s'avère assez délicat à aborder, dans la mesure où l'accord n'est pas établi sur la chronologie et les phases de ce qui a précédé la cathédrale du XIIe siècle, ayant elle-même laissé place à un édifice baroque après le séisme de 1667. Selon le fouilleur Josip Stošić, une première basilique à nef de trois vaisseaux (avec collatéraux très étroits, séparés par des piliers) et trois absides semi-circulaires, de quelque 31m x 16m, remonterait au IXe siècle ; à l'occasion d'un transfert de reliques, elle aurait en 1012 été dotée d'une coupole sur la travée de la nef médiane précédant le chœur ; cette coupole reposant alors sur quatre nouveaux piliers, tandis que les autres supports se voyaient substitués par des colonnes, avec réduction notable de la largeur du vaisseau médian au profit des collatéraux¹⁷. Mais pour Željko Peković, on aurait eu primitivement affaire à une petite église à plan en croix inscrite, avec quatre colonnes au soutien d'une coupole, et remontant, d'après les annales de Raguse, à 972 ; puis, dès après 1026, une arrivée de reliques aurait déterminé la construction d'une basilique à trois vaisseaux et trois absides, englobant dans sa nef médiane l'édifice précédent avec sa coupole ; puis serait intervenu un remaniement après 1054, avec couvrement par une

voûte en berceau sur la nef médiane – mais toujours maintien de l'ancienne coupole, désormais sur la cinquième travée, devant le chœur – et voûtes d'arêtes sur les collatéraux¹⁸. Pour mon propos, je retiens du moins que, dans les deux hypothèses, l'éventualité d'une basilique à coupole plus ou moins précoce semblerait là aussi devoir être privilégiée.

Cela paraît confirmé par le rapprochement avec une ancienne église de Kotor, précisément suggéré par Željko Peković. Cet autre édifice, à proximité immédiate de la cathédrale romane, est connu par des fouilles consécutives à un séisme survenu en 1979, dont les résultats ont été publiés par Jovan Martinović¹⁹. Il pourrait s'agir de l'église abritant originellement les reliques du martyr

¹⁷ J. STOŠIĆ, « Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku », in *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području* (Izdanja Hrvatskog Arheološkog Društva 12), 1988, p. 15-36. D'où I. FISKOVIĆ, « Les symbioses des traditions et des innovations dans le tissu urbain et les monuments de Dubrovnik du XIe au XVe siècle », in *HAM* 2, 1996, p. 116-117 (et fig. 5, 10).

¹⁸ Ž. PEKOVIĆ, *Dubrovnik. Nastanak i razvoj srednjovekovnoga grada* [avec vis-à-vis texte intégral en français, *Dubrovnik. La fondation et le développement de la ville médiévale*], Split, 1998, p. 116-142. Cf. également, pour les incertitudes subsistantes quant au phasage de cet édifice, M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 161 (en particulier n. 63).

¹⁹ J. MARTINOVIĆ, « Prolegomena za problem prvobitne crkve Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru », in *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 30, 1990, p. 5-27 ; ID., « Najstariji sakralni objekti u Kotoru », in *Glasnik Crnogorske Akademije nauka i umjetnosti, odjeljenje umjetnosti* 11, 1992, p. 174-185.

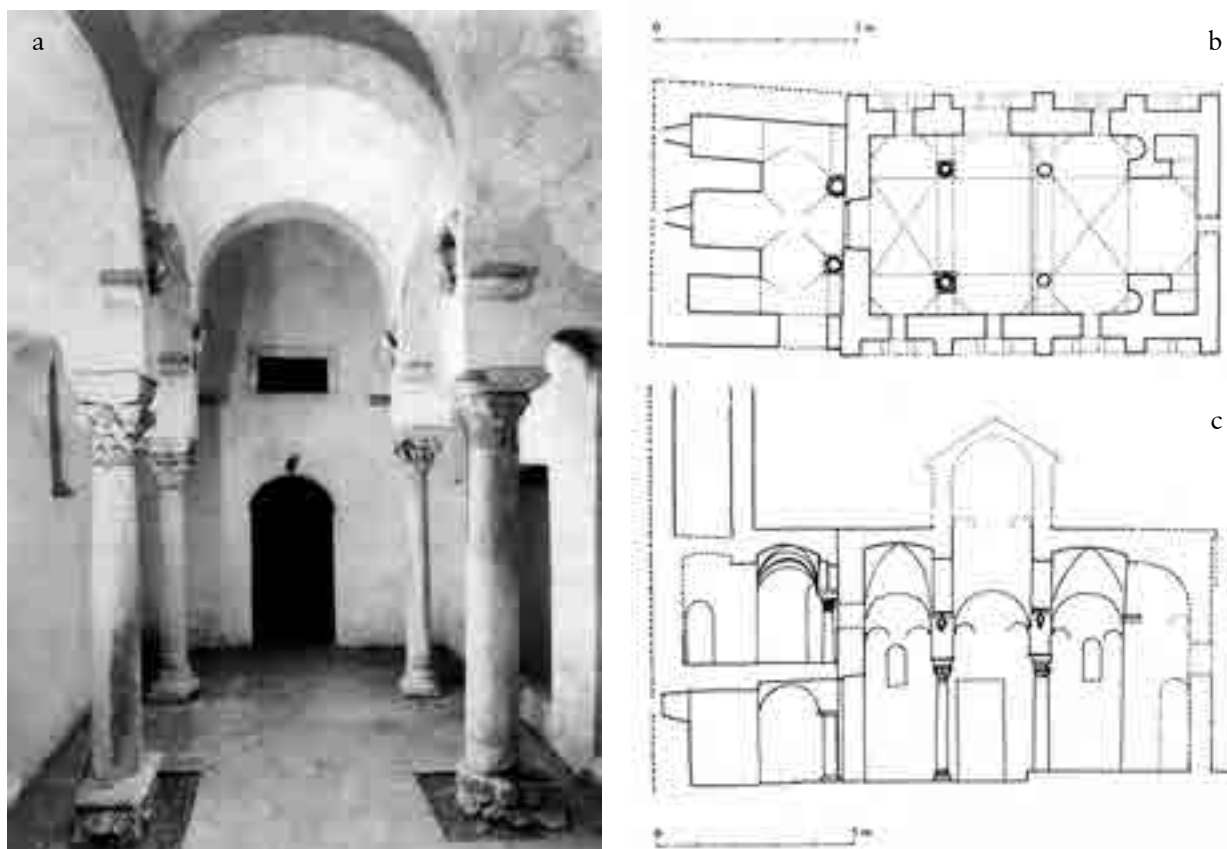


Fig. 10. Zadar, Sv. Louro, a. vue intérieure, b. plan, d'après P. Vežić, c. coupe longitudinale, d'après P. Vežić

Tripun (Tryphon), mentionnée par Constantin VII Porphyrogénète dans l'évocation de la cité incluse dans son *De administrando Imperio* (29, 271)²⁰ : d'où une datation non postérieure au milieu du IXe siècle. Les dimensions de l'édifice étaient de 13,75m x 10,50m, et l'on avait affaire à un plan en croix inscrite. Ce qui, quant à l'articulation de l'ensemble, a amené à restituer un narthex (ou pronaos) triparti ; puis un naos (nef proprement dite) également triparti, d'une seule travée ; puis un bema (chœur) lui aussi d'une travée et triparti, s'achevant en trois hémicycles (dont le médian plus développé et en légère saillie à l'Est) pris dans des massifs extérieurement quadrangulaires. C'est au-dessus du naos que se serait élevée une coupole. L'analogie du plan au sol avec celui de nombreuses églises médio-byzantines crédibilise cette restitution. On n'oubliera pas non plus, en outre, que ce schéma est attesté dès la fin de l'Antiquité en Grèce : plus précisément, à Hosios David (« Couvent du Carrier ») de Thessalonique, où manque aujourd'hui la coupole dont l'existence initiale ne fait cependant aucun doute²¹. En tout état de cause, le cas de l'ancienne Sv. Tripun (Saint-Tryphon) de Kotor s'avère d'autant plus intéressant que, si la restitution et la datation ainsi proposées sont admises, il pourrait s'être agi d'un premier jalon dans la diffusion du parti de l'édifice à coupole en Dalmatie.

Pour en venir présent aux édifices dont la datation communément admise – et crédible, au demeurant – nous fait franchement basculer plus ou moins avant dans le XIe siècle, j'évoquerai

²⁰ P. MIJOVIĆ, « Na šta se odnosi Porfirogenitov *heljematikos* Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru », in *Glasnik Crnogorske Akademije nauka i umjetnosti, odjeljenje umjetnosti* 11, 1992, p. 199-204.

²¹ Cf. notamment R. KRAUTHEIMER, avec la collaboration de S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 239-241 ; puis A. ZÄH, « Sulla cronologia edilizia dell'Hosios David a Thessaloniki », in *Quaderni friulani di archeologia* 12, 2002, p. 167-205.



Fig. 11. Lopud, Sv. Ivan, a. vue extérieure, b. coupe longitudinale, d'après S. Čurčić, c. coupole

d'abord Sv. Lovro (Saint-Laurent) de Zadar, désacralisée depuis le début du XIX^e siècle mais encore substantiellement conservée en élévation. Cette église, de dimensions très réduites (à peine 10m x 7m), s'avère cependant d'articulation assez complexe. Elle présente, au-delà d'une avant-nef surmontée d'un étage et d'un clocher, une nef de trois travées subdivisée en trois vaisseaux (dont des collatéraux réduits à d'étroits couloirs de 0,70m de large) par des colonnes avec chapiteaux sculptés (éléments de remploi, probablement) ; une abside quadrangulaire prolonge le vaisseau médian, et des absidioles semi-circulaires les collatéraux, tout le chevet étant extérieurement pris dans un mur rectiligne. Les collatéraux sont voûtés de demi-coupoles contrebutant la partie haute du vaisseau médian ; ce dernier est quant à lui voûté d'arêtes sauf, devant le chœur, la deuxième travée, qui comportait une coupole aujourd'hui manquante mais dont le mode d'appui, par le biais de quatre trompes d'angle, s'avère très probable du fait de l'emploi de ce même procédé pour soutenir les demi-coupoles des collatéraux. C'est le style des sculptures du portail actuellement au Nord (mais qui aurait été originellement prévu pour la façade occidentale), ainsi que des éléments du chancel (à reliefs figurés de scènes de l'Enfance du Christ), qui a amené Ivo Petricioli à dater l'édifice de la quatrième décennie du XI^e siècle²².

Je m'en tiendrai ensuite à mentionner plus brièvement trois édifices, en raison d'une variante essentielle qu'ils offrent à l'égard des précédents. Il s'agit de Sv. Ivan (Saint-Jean) dans l'île de Lopud²³, de

²² Pour la présentation la plus complète de cet édifice, cf. en effet I. PETRICIOLI, « Crkva Sv. Lovre u Zadru », in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/17, 1988, p. 53-73 ; puis P. VEŽIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 55-56, 61-64. D'où S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 438-439, ainsi que M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 156-157.

²³ S. ČURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 462.



Fig. 12. Ston, Sv. Mihajlo, a. vue extérieure, b. fresque avec le souverain montrant le modèle de l'église

Sv. Mihajlo (Saint-Michel) à Ston²⁴ et de Sv. Petar (Saint-Pierre) à Omiš²⁵, tous trois de petit format, et qui ont la particularité de présenter une nef unique, toujours de trois travées (dont la troisième, avec l'abside qui la prolonge, ayant là encore vraisemblablement correspondu au chœur). Les première et troisième travées y ont reçu des voûtes en berceau ou d'arêtes, et la deuxième une coupole. Celle-ci a disparu à Sv. Mihajlo de Ston, mais son existence initiale (de même que celle d'un clocher) semble bien établie par une peinture à l'intérieur, qui figure probablement le souverain dédicataire Mihaljo tenant en main un modèle d'édifice précisément pourvu de ces éléments. La coupole est en revanche bien conservée à Sv. Ivan de Lopud et à Sv. Petar d'Omiš. Extérieurement, le massif quadrangulaire dans lequel elle se trouve prise apparaît en sensible retrait, par rapport aux murs latéraux de la nef : d'où un aspect analogue à celui des édifices à trois vaisseaux. Il semble donc que l'on ait délibérément cherché cet effet, bien que l'église soit de configuration interne beaucoup plus simple. Ce souci est le plus marqué à Omiš où, comme l'a souligné Slobodan Ćurčić, le traitement en fronton triangulaire des quatre faces du massif a manifestement visé à évoquer un schéma d'église à plan en croix inscrite. Quant à l'articulation avec les parois, elle s'effectue par un simple « rattrapage » approximatif assurant le passage du plan carré au plan circulaire, à Sv. Ivan de Lopud ; à Sv. Petar d'Omiš en revanche, on a affaire à de véritables pendentifs et, en outre, les niches semi-circulaires ménagées à la base de la coupole elle-même tendent à suggérer des ouvertures – comme le relevait à nouveau Slobodan Ćurčić, c'est un autre trait sans doute inspiré par les églises médio-byzantines, dont la coupole est ajourée.

Ces dernières observations me conduisent à envisager de façon synthétique, à présent, ce qui était annoncé au début de l'article. Soit, en premier lieu, le problème de l'introduction de la basilique à coupole en territoire dalmate. Si, comme suggéré ci-dessus, l'impulsion initiale en ce sens remonte aux premières décennies du Xe siècle avec l'érection d'édifices étroitement calqués sur le schéma carré à croix inscrite (cas de Sv. Tripun de Kotor), un premier processus a pu consister en la fusion, après coup, de ce schéma d'origine byzantine avec le parti basilical dont, avec les antécédents paléochrétiens

²⁴ D. BOŠKOVIĆ, « Osvrt na neka pitanja rješenja crkvice Sv. Mihajla u Stonu », in *Gunjačin Zbornik*, Zagreb, 1980 ; S. ĆURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 459-460.

²⁵ S. ĆURČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 460-462 ; P. VEŽIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 66-68 ; M. JURKOVIĆ et I. MARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 155.

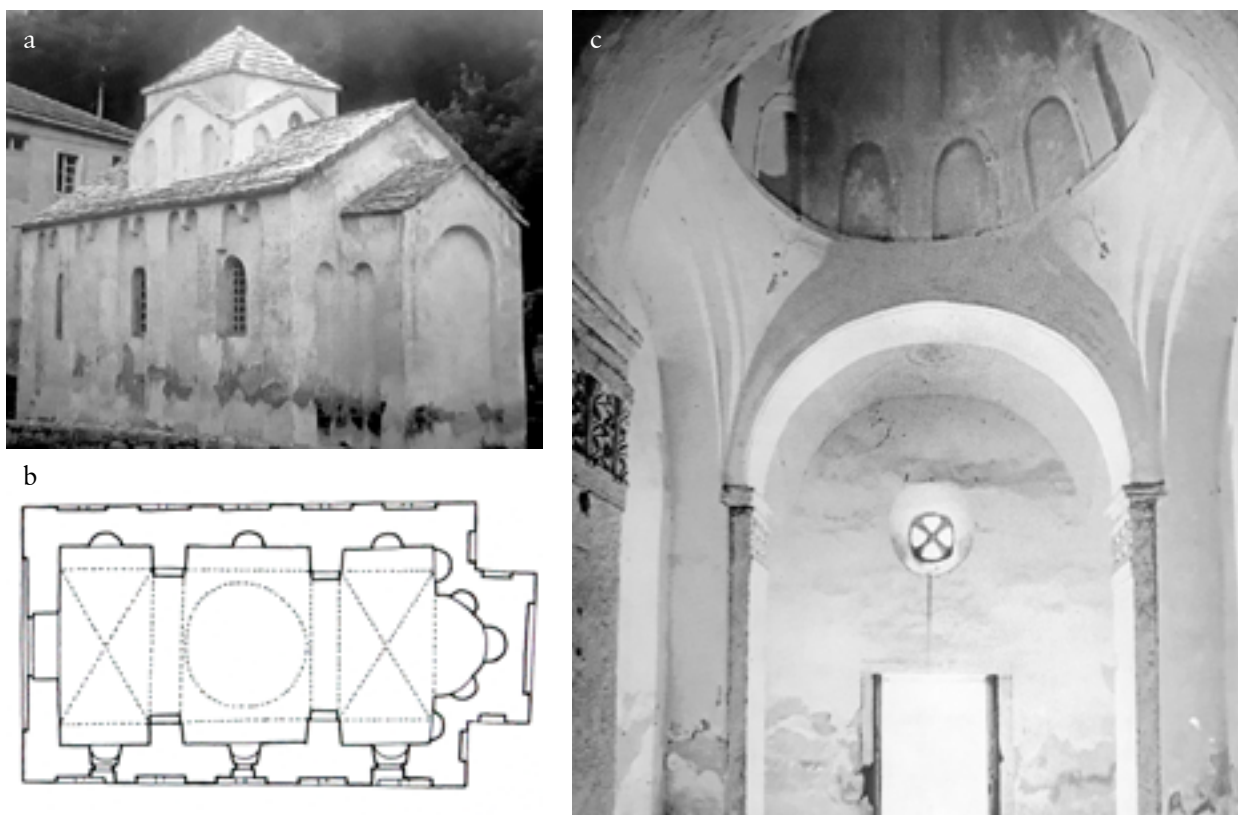


Fig. 13. Omiš, Sv. Petar, a. vue extérieure, b. plan, d'après P. Vežić, c. coupole

encore en partie conservés, la Dalmatie ne manquait pas de modèles ; un tel processus en deux temps est illustré par la cathédrale de Dubrovnik, si l'on admet du moins la restitution de Željko Peković. Mais on peut également imaginer que dans d'autres cas – et aussi tôt que le milieu ou la seconde moitié du Xe siècle, comme cela découle de la datation de Sv. Stjepan de Solin/Otok – a pu intervenir d'emblée la référence directe à des édifices dans lesquels la coupole se trouvait associée à un plan véritablement basilical : c'est-à-dire la référence à des édifices tels ceux dont, comme signalé ci-avant, l'Italie méridionale et la Grèce offraient, dès le VIe et le IXe siècle respectivement, de bons exemples.

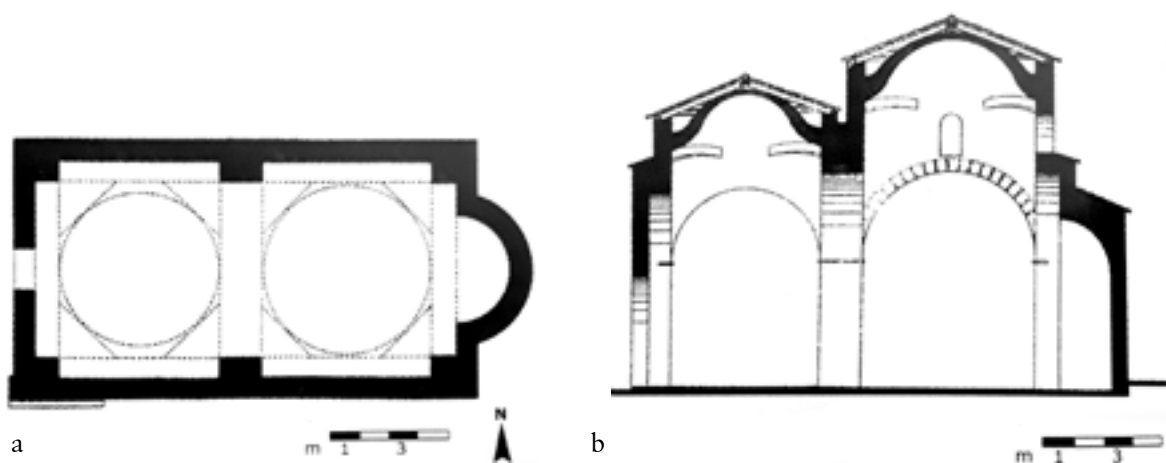


Fig. 14. Bénévent, Sant'Ilario, a. plan, d'après S. Carella, b. coupe longitudinale, d'après S. Carella

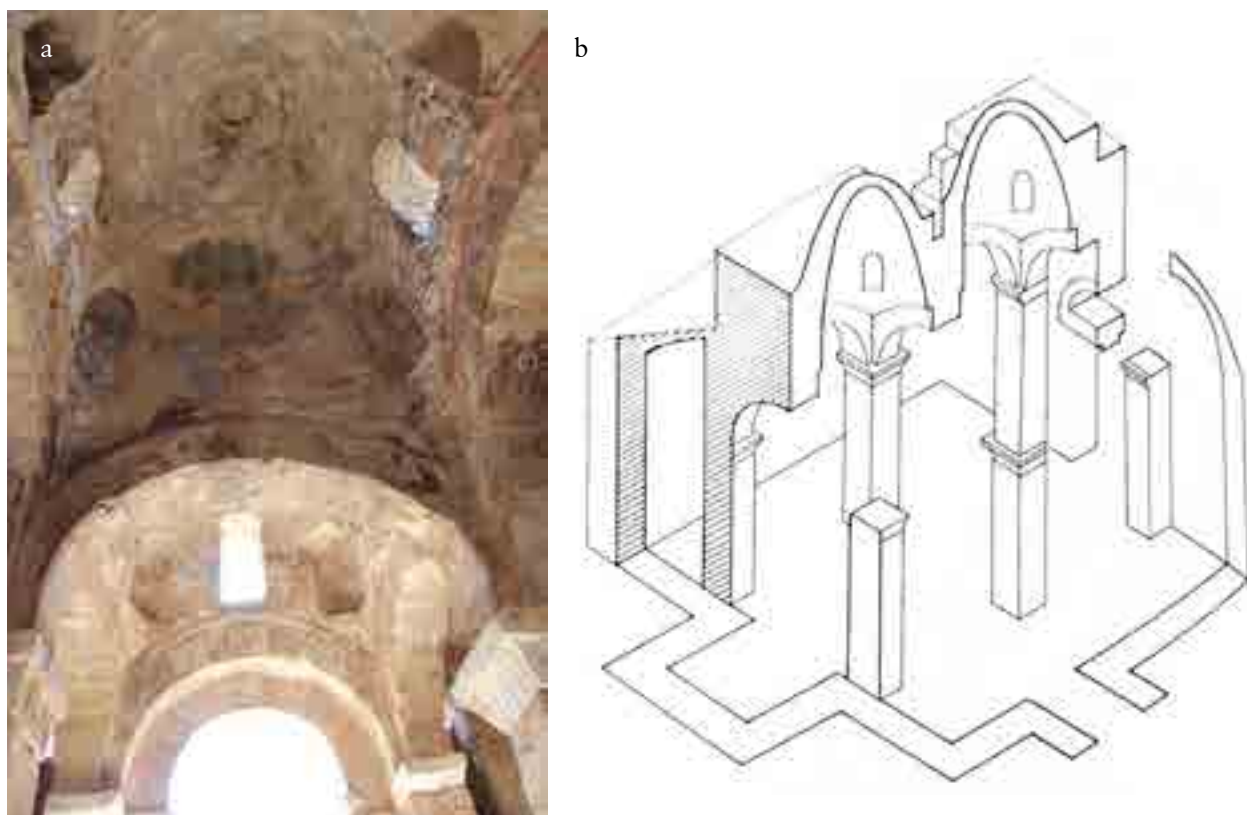


Fig. 15. Seppanibale (Fasano), a. axonométrie, d'après G. Bertelli, b. coupole

Se pose, alors, la question de la connaissance de tels exemples de la part des bâtisseurs des édifices dalmates. Or, indépendamment de certaines mentions de donateurs ou de sculpteurs d'éléments du dispositif liturgique (chancel, ciborium...), on ne dispose d'aucune donnée quant à l'identité des architectes²⁶. De ce fait, on peut penser à la venue de maîtres d'œuvre originaires des territoires où étaient attestés de tels partis ; mais aussi aux contacts qu'auraient pu avoir avec ces derniers – par le biais de déplacements occasionnels ? – des maîtres d'œuvre locaux. Or, la situation politique des Xe-XIe siècles induit à sérieusement conjecturer l'éventualité de tels contacts et déplacements. Il faut ainsi évoquer la création d'un « thème » (c'est-à-dire d'une entité administrative régionale relevant directement de Constantinople) englobant théoriquement toute la Dalmatie dans les années 870 ; et si cette emprise byzantine devrait sensiblement s'atténuer dès les environs de l'an mil, un relais allait en être assuré par Venise qui, elle-même encore dans l'orbite de l'Empire d'Orient malgré ses velléités d'indépendance, contribua au maintien dans la même obédience. Et si, à partir des approches de 900 déjà, l'action de la papauté joua pour l'intégration de plus en plus marquée de la région dans la chrétienté latine²⁷, on ne doit pas en inférer que s'abolirent aussitôt les usages résultant de l'influence byzantine : ce dont, comme le notait Slobodan Ćurčić, témoigneraient précisément des exemples architecturaux comme ceux mentionnés ci-dessus.

Si le lien était ainsi bien établi avec l'Orient méditerranéen, il ne l'était pas moins avec l'Italie méridionale puisque celle-ci se trouvait également sous domination byzantine. Car après avoir chassé les Musulmans, Constantinople avait créé en 891 un « thème de Longobardie » centré sur Bari, qui

²⁶ Cf. notamment les remarques de T. MARASOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 462-465.

²⁷ Pour l'ensemble des données résumées ci-dessus, cf. notamment la synthèse d'I. GOLDSTEIN, « Entre Byzance, l'Adriatique et l'Europe centrale », in I. SUPIČIĆ (dir.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 171-174.

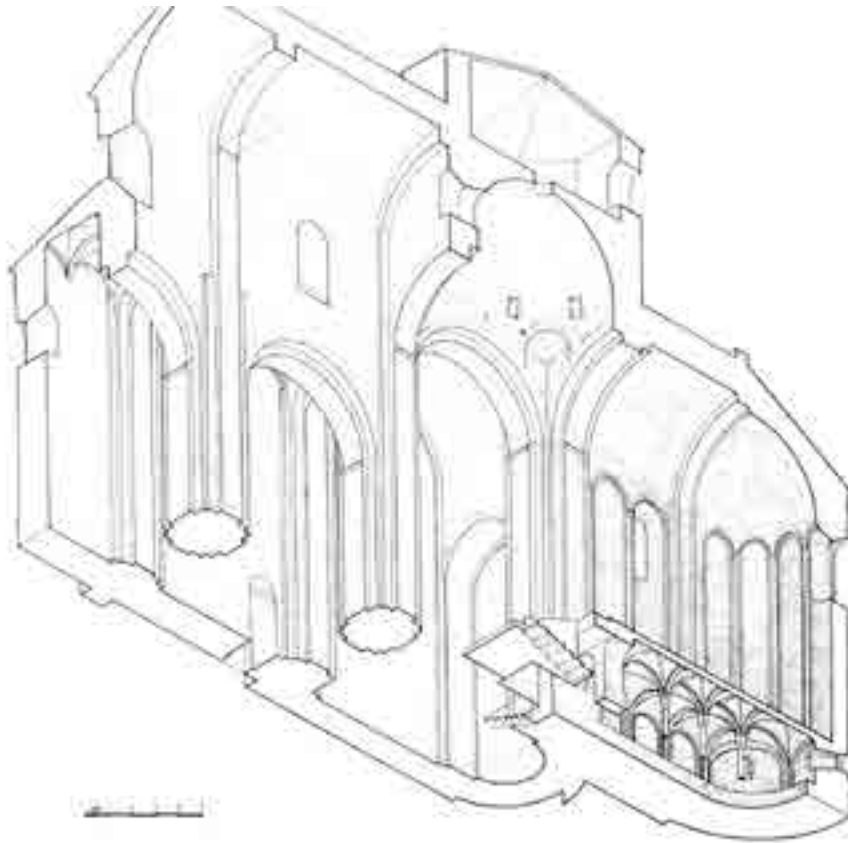


Fig. 16. Cardona, Sant Vicenç, axonométrie, d'après J. Adell (in F. Junyent i Maydeu et alii)

opérait la jonction avec celui de Calabre (où les Byzantins n'avaient jamais perdu pied depuis la fin de l'Antiquité) et bientôt celui de Lucanie ; l'ensemble devait se voir réuni vers 970 dans un catépanat et, en dépit de nouvelles incursions musulmane et de tentatives d'immixtion ottonienne, l'Empire d'Orient allait se maintenir là jusqu'à la conquête normande de 1071²⁸.

Dans ce contexte généralisé d'inclusion dans la sphère byzantine, quelle aurait pu être, indépendamment des efforts de Rome évoqués ci-dessus, la part des influences proprement occidentales dans ce qui ici nous occupe ? Tomislav Marasović et Miljenko Jurković, en particulier, ont fait valoir un possible ascendant carolingien pour l'adoption du parti d'un massif à étage devant la nef²⁹. En raison de l'avancée des Francs vers la fin du VIII^e et au IX^e siècle, cela peut certes se concevoir pour un édifice remontant à cette période, comme Saint-Sauveur de Cetina³⁰, qui aurait ensuite pu faire école. Mais dès le début du Xe siècle, le pouvoir carolingien était bien en retrait ; et il s'avère donc incertain que des édifices sensiblement postérieurs comme Sv. Stjepan de Solin/Otok ou, *a fortiori*, Sv. Lovro de Zadar aient encore pu subir ce genre d'impact³¹ – n'oublions d'ailleurs pas, en outre, qu'une large majorité d'édifices d'époque carolingienne étaient restés dépourvus de massif occidental³². On

²⁸ Cf. notamment la synthèse de V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, *La dominazione bizantina in Italia meridionale*, Bari, 1978.

²⁹ T. MARASOVIĆ, « Westwerk u hrvatskoj predromanici », in M. JURKOVIĆ et T. LUKŠIĆ (éd.), *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 223-229 ; M. JURKOVIĆ, « L'Église et l'État en Croatie au IX^e siècle. Le problème du massif occidental carolingien », in *HAM* 3, 1997, p. 23-40.

³⁰ Cas notamment abordé par M. JURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 29), *passim*.

³¹ Cf. d'ailleurs les doutes émis à ce sujet, à propos de Sv. Lovro de Zadar, par P. VEŽIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 63.

³² J.-P. CAILLET, *L'art carolingien*, Parsi, 2005, en particulier p. 67, 83.

ne doit donc pas négliger non plus, en suivant à nouveau Slobodan Ćurčić, l'existence d'équivalents contemporains de cet ordre dans le monde grec : c'était notamment le cas à Hagios Stephanos de Kastoria dès le Xe siècle sans doute³³, et à l'église de la Vierge dite « des Chaudronniers » (Panaghia tôn Chalkeôn) de Thessalonique dans les années 1020³⁴.

En revanche, il apparaît indéniable que certains autres traits orientent vers l'Ouest. On songe ainsi au parti de la coupole sur trompes, non méconnu en Orient dès les VIe-VIIe siècles, mais auquel le monde byzantin a plus tard préféré le système des pendentifs (qu'a aussi repris, on l'a vu, Sv. Petar d'Omiš). Les trompes, très vraisemblablement restituables à Sv. Lovro de Zadar, de même d'ailleurs que la transition approximative de Sv. Ivan de Lopud, renvoient donc plutôt à ce qui a été mis en œuvre dans certains édifices probablement attribuables au VIIIe siècle en Italie méridionale (Sant'Ilario de Bénévent, ou Seppanibale près de Fasano, par exemple)³⁵. D'autre part, le principe de scansion des murs longitudinaux de la nef par des lésènes articulées à de petites arcatures aveugles (« bandes lombardes »), tel qu'on le voit à Sv. Lovro de Zadar ou à Sv. Petar d'Omiš, a manifestement son origine dans des édifices des environs de l'an mil en Italie septentrionale et Catalogne (San Pietro d'Acqui³⁶ et Santa Cecília de Montserrat³⁷ en constituant sans doute deux des tout premiers témoignages), avant de se diffuser plus largement dans les territoires marqués par ce que l'on a dénommé le « premier art roman méridional ».

En s'inscrivant de façon prépondérante, pour tout ce qui précède, dans l'héritage byzantin, les basiliques à coupole de Dalmatie ont cependant assez vite conjugué cela avec les derniers aspects que je viens d'évoquer. D'où leur véritable originalité ; et même, la précoce définition d'un caractère appelé à marquer plusieurs réalisations de cette lignée jusqu'au plein XIIe siècle. Par ailleurs, et en considérant la datation postérieure de la basilique à coupole Sant Vicenç de Cardona – qui, relevons-le au passage, présente aussi une abside intérieurement articulée par des niches semi-circulaires – à l'égard des plus anciens des édifices dalmates ici considérés, c'est un possible rôle de « relais » qu'ont pu assurer ceux-ci pour la nouvelle diffusion en Occident d'une typologie appelée, moyennant évidemment diverses adaptations, à un très important devenir.

³³ N. SIOMKOS, *L'église Saint-Étienne à Kastoria. Étude des différentes phases du décor peint (Xe-XIVe siècles)*, Thessalonique, 2005, p. 35-43 pour l'architecture de l'édifice (dont p. 40, n. 36, pour bibliographie relative à l'éventuelle fonction de ces espaces).

³⁴ A. TSITOURIDOU, *È Panaghia tôn Chalkeôn*, Thessalonique, 1975.

³⁵ Pour Bénévent, cf. notamment S. CARELLA, *Architecture religieuse haut-médiévale en Italie méridionale : le diocèse de Bénévent*, Turnhout, 2011, p. 56-62, et pour Seppanibale, notice de G. BERTELLI in G. BERTELLI (éd.), *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 121-138. D'où J.-P. CAILLET, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 64-67.

³⁶ G.B. GARBARINO, « San Pietro di Acqui », in A. SEGAGNI MALACART et L.C. SCHIAVI (éd.), *Architettura del XI secolo nell'Italia del Nord. Storiografia e nuove ricerche (Convegno internazionale di Pavia, 8-10 aprile 2010)*, Pise, 2013, p. 223-234.

³⁷ Cf. la notice de F. JUNYENT I MAYDEU, A. MAZCUÑAN I BOIX, X. BARRAL I ALTET et C. LLARAS I USÓN in J. VIGUÉ (dir.), *Catalunya romànica XI, El Bages*, Barcelone, 1984, p. 285-294.

Dalmatinske bazilike s kupolom (10.-11. stoljeće): njihova uloga u širenju bizantskog arhitektonskog tipa na Zapadu

Već je ranije skrenuta pažnja na činjenicu da neke katalonske i sjevernotalijanske crkve s kupolom sagrađene oko 1000. godine duguju svoja oblikovna rješenja ranijim bizantskim uzorima. Istovremeno se ne zanemaruje važnost bizantskog utjecaja i na nekoliko dalmatinskih crkava. Ovim se člankom vraćam toj problematici, usmjeravajući svoj interes na neke druge uzore, one iz Južne Italije i Grčke, a zatim posvećujem pažnju ključnim dalmatinskim spomenicima 10. i 11. stoljeća (tj. samim počecima regionalnoga širenja), posebice naglašavajući njihove varijante; osim toga vodi se računa i o – brojem ograničenom, ali ipak uočljivom – protoromaničkom karakteru nekih od tih građevina.

Ipak, upravo je povijesnim okolnostima u Južnoj Italiji i u Dalmaciji najlakše pojasniti prevladavajuće veze s bizantskim spomenicima. Konačno, vodeći računa o tome da su najstarije dalmatinske potvrde starije od onoga što se kasnije dogodilo ponajprije u Kataloniji, zaključuje se da su možda upravo dalmatinska rješenja odigrala odlučujuću ulogu u širenju toga arhitektonskog tipa od istočnoga u smjeru zapadnog Mediterana.

Ključne riječi: *bazilika s kupolom, dalmatinska sakralna arhitektura, bizantski utjecaj u zapadnim zemljama, protoromanička arhitektura, arhitektura oko 1000. godine*

Prijevod s engleskog: Marina Kujundžić

QUEEN HELEN AND KING MICHAEL: THE BEGINNING OF A NEW DYNASTY?*

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Queen Helen is the single example of a Croatian queen about whom we have two independent sources: her epitaph and a mention by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split. Similarly, her husband, king Michael Krešimir II is also documented by his wife's epitaph, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and a charter issued by his great-grandson Peter Krešimir IV. This cannot be accidental and the aim of this article is to argue that the ascendance of the royal couple to the Croatian throne meant the beginning of a new dynasty. This change was supported by the establishment of the memory of the couple through Helen's foundation of a royal mausoleum and the composition of a book of deeds of the king and his descendants.

Key words: *Queen Helen, St Helen, Michael Krešimir II, Croatia, Dalmatia, memory, politics of memory, epitaph, Benedictines, borders, Salona, Solin*

Until the late 19th century (and occasionally even later), Croatian historiography offered different versions of the genealogy of 10th-century Croatian rulers. Although it would be interesting to make an overview of the proposed – partly legendary – genealogies from Johannes Lucius (1604 – 1679) until the first half of the 19th century, it is sufficient to take a look at some of the opinions that emerged during the so called ‘professionalization’ of Croatian historiography. A good overview of older opinions was provided by Ferdo Šišić in a well-known article on ruler's genealogy,¹ and I will highlight only some of the more important. Franjo Rački considered that there were only three kings called Krešimir (and not four, as most modern historians agree upon), because he did not distinguish between Krešimir I and II, but he properly believed Krešimir (II) was Stephen I Držislav's father.² Tadija Smičiklas followed that view, seeing in Držislav the younger son of Krešimir I and brother of king Miroslav. It is interesting that Smičiklas, perhaps more than other authors, attached importance to *ban* (second highest ranking official in the kingdom) Pribina, whom he even assumed to have usurped the throne, leading to the split of the kingdom into Croatia and Serbia under the great *župan* Časlav. Smičiklas described the split as fatal because it led to the permanent division of

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¹ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji* (Genealogical contributions on the Croatian national dynasty), in: *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 13/1, 1914., pp. 1-93.

² This is obvious from the Index of names in F. RAČKI, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Zagreb, 1877, p. 501. Although he did not explicitly state this, his opinion can be derived also from his article *Kada i kako se preobrazi hrvatska kneževina u kraljevinu* (How and when was the Croatian dukedom transformed into the kingdom), in: *Zbornik kralja Tomislava*, (ed.) G. Manojlović, Zagreb, 1925., pp. 3-4.

Croats and Serbs.³ Apart from trusting the *Kingdom of the Slavs*, Smičiklas misinterpreted John the Deacon, and in Svetoslav saw Držislav's older brother.⁴ Vjekoslav Klaić roughly followed Smičiklas' interpretation of events after Miroslav's death, and considered Držislav as one of the younger sons of Krešimir I. Krešimir I and II merged in his interpretation into one person whose eldest son was Svetoslav Suronja.⁵

Klaić was the first, if I'm not mistaken, who called the Croatian rulers from Krešimir I to Peter Krešimir IV the Krešimirović, thus distinguishing them from the previous dynasty of the Trpimirović.⁶ The reason for this was that the continuity of the dynasty between Mutimir (mentioned in 892 and 895) and Tomislav (mentioned in 914 and 925) cannot be established,⁷ and Klaić, like some of his predecessors, makes no mention of Trpimir II as Tomislav's successor, although he had already been included in the genealogy of the rulers as such by Rački.⁸ Šišić is responsible for the permanent placement of Trpimir II among the Croatian rulers,⁹ although such an interpretation is still controversial today.

Recently, Predrag Komatina has discussed the issue, arguing for the thesis that there were no two Trpimirs, and that Krešimir (or Krasimir, as he, following Constantine Porphyrogenitus, calls him) and Miroslav ruled between 895 and 925.¹⁰ A strong argument in support of his thesis is the fact that chapter 31 does not mention the Croats' victory over the Bulgarians in 927, which could hardly have happened had the text been written around 949. Komatina, on the other hand, does not consider the so called Grant for Diklo at all, which mentions *ban* Pribina as contemporary to Michael Krešimir I – the same one who, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, killed Miroslav, as already pointed out by Šišić.¹¹ Komatina also easily rejects Thomas' dating of *dux* Tomislav in 914, arguing that the arch-deacon was dealing with the timing of Archbishop John, not Tomislav, and that he had information from 914 about John, adding the name of the Croatian ruler for whom he had found record in the minutes of the Split council from 925, from which he knew that Tomislav was John's contemporary. The difficulty, however, is that Thomas did not use the records of the Split council elsewhere in his chronicle¹², and the question is also what would be the document in which John is mentioned without

³ T. SMIČIKLAS, *Povijest hrvatska* (Croatian history), vol. I, Zagreb, 1882, pp. 226-230. This hypothesis is without valid arguments, but rests on an uncritical reading of "The Kingdom of the Slavs" (Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina / The Chronicle of the Priest from Dioclia).

⁴ T. SMIČIKLAS, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 230.

⁵ V. KLAJĆ, *Povijest hrvatska od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX. stoljeća* (Croatian history from the earliest times to the end of the XIX century), vol. I, Zagreb, 1899, pp. 85-89.

⁶ V. KLAJĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 85.

⁷ V. KLAJĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 71.

⁸ F. RAČKI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 399. Trpimir (II) is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in Gy. MORAVCSIK and R. J. H. JENKINS, *De administrando imperio* (DAI), Budapest, 1949, ch. 31, pp. 148-149: „And many years after, in the days of prince Terpimer, father of prince Krasimer...”.

⁹ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Povijest Hrvata u doba narodnih vladara* (History of the Croats in the times of the national rulers), Zagreb, 1925, pp. 430-431. Šišić also presents some earlier opinions on the subject.

¹⁰ P. KOMATINA, O hronologiji hrvatskih vladara u 31. glavi spisa De administrando imperio (On the chronology of Croatian rulers in chapter 31 of De administrando imperio), in: *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42, 2010, pp. 83-105.

¹¹ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 17-18. In this discussion, Šišić makes other arguments in support of the thesis that Krešimir I and Miroslav were the heirs of Tomislav and not his predecessors. As most of the same arguments occur in all discussions on Krešimir and Miroslav, there is no need to recount them here, so I refer to Šišić's discussion, which satisfactorily documents the situation before Komatina's article.

¹² N. BUDAK, *Historia Salonitana and Historia Salonitana Maior: a contribution to the debate about the relation of the two texts*, in: *Summer School in the Study of Historical Manuscripts*, (ed.) M. Tomić, M. Willer, Zadar, 2013, pp. 101-131.

some representative of secular authority: if not the Croatian ruler, then the Byzantine emperor. In his catalogue Thomas otherwise mentions emperors together with the names of the archbishops, so there is no reason why he would not do the same in the case of John¹³ if he had such data. It is, therefore, much more likely that the information on Tomislav and John comes from some document, presumably Tomislav's grant to the Church of Split, drawn up in 914, in which the name of the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII (or his mother, Regent Zoe Karbonopsine) was not mentioned.

If Krešimir I and Miroslav reigned after Mutimir and before Tomislav, for their reign, including the war that occurred after Miroslav's assassination, there would not be even twenty years left, provided that Mutimir only reigned until 895, and that Tomislav began to rule only in 914. This, of course, is not impossible, since one can also rule for only a year (like *dux* Zdeslav, 878-9), but it would still be strange that Constantine should not mention Tomislav as the one who had been ruling in Croatia for several years at the time when Chapter 31 of DAI was composed.

Constantine's work clearly did not reach the final editing. Komatina himself points out that the sentence about the military strength of the Croats after their mutual conflict, with incomplete data, was inserted afterwards, so we can ask ourselves whether it was inserted by some continuator, for example the author of Chapter 30.¹⁴ In this case, the data on Krešimir, Miroslav and Pribina could also have been inserted in DAI after Constantine's death, leaving the possibility of their later dating. This would also explain why the chapter on Croats does not mention the victory over Bulgarians under the leadership of Alogobotur, since the continuator would have noticed that it had already been mentioned in the chapter on Serbs.¹⁵

If we look at the reliable chronological information about Croatian rulers of the 10th century, we can only say that Tomislav still ruled in 925, that Stephen I Držislav reigned at least from 970¹⁶, and that queen Helen died in 976. In addition, we know from DAI that Miroslav reigned for four years. It is no wonder that with such scarce data, various hypotheses can be built. Therefore the most interesting question here - when Michael Krešimir and Helen occupied the Croatian throne - remains without a definite answer, regardless of whether we believe that there were two (Krešimir I and Miroslav) or three kings (including Trpimir II) ruling after Tomislav and before Krešimir II, or perhaps even only one (Miroslav).

In his time, Bulić's discovery of the remains of Queen Helen's sarcophagus in 1898 provided a very different and more reliable interpretation of Croatian history of the 10th century, especially considering the genealogy of Croatian rulers. The epitaph is only partially preserved and broken up in fragments 90 of which were discovered and only 77 could be joined in an acceptable way, with approximately one third of the text completely missing. Scholars suggested a number of rather different readings of the incomplete text, making it difficult to draw reliable conclusions on some of the details of the epitaph.¹⁷

¹³ For example: "Marinus archiepiscopus fuit tempore Caroli regis et Branimiri ducis Sclauonie... Martinus archiepiscopus fuit tempore Theodosii imperatoris et Dirscisclau regis.", in: Thomas Archdeacon, *Historia Salonitana*; foreword, Latin text, critical apparatus and translation into Croatian by O. PERIĆ, historical commentary by M. MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL, study *Thomas the Archdeacon and his work* by R. KATIČIĆ, Split, 2003, pp. 52-55. (hereinafter: *HS*). Thomas mentions in the same way Archbishops Peter (in the time of Trpimir and Mutimir) and Paul (in the time of Emperors Basil and Constantine and King Krešimir). Ibidem, pp. 56-57.

¹⁴ That chapter 30 was inserted sometime in the second half of the 10th century was suggested by M. ANČIĆ, *Zamišljanje tradicije: vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela De administrando imperio* (Imagining tradition: Time and circumstances of the composition of ch. 30 of *De administrando imperio*), in: *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 42, 2010, pp. 133-151.

¹⁵ Gy. MORAVCSIK – R. J. JENKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 158-159.

¹⁶ R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 54-55.

¹⁷ Different readings of the inscription in: V. DELONGA, *The Latin epigraphic monuments of early medieval Croatia*, Split, 1996, pp. 141-144.

The reading which is today accepted by the majority of scholars was suggested by Željko Rapanić:

"[In hoc t]umulo quiescit Helena fa[mosa]
que fui]t ux[o]r Mihaeli regi mater[que] Stephani r[egis]
habenas r]enuit regni VIII idus mensis oct[obris]
in pace] hic or[dinata f]uit anno ab incarna[cione]
Domini] DCCCCLXXVI i[ndictione IV] cicl[o lunare V epacta] XVII [cic]
lo solari] V [con]current VI. Istaque [v]ivens fu
[it] regina¹⁸ mater fit pupillorum tuto[r]que viduarum. Icque
aspicie[n]s vir anime dic miserere Deus."

("In this grave lies the famous Helena, the wife of King Michael and the mother of King Stephen. She ruled the kingdom. The eighth day before the ides of October she was buried here in peace in the 976th year from the incarnation of the Lord, in the fourth indiction, the fifth lunar cycle, the seventeenth epact, the fifth sun cycle which corresponds to the sixth. She who in life was queen, also became the mother of orphans and protector of widows. You who look say: God have mercy on her soul!")¹⁹

Regardless of different readings, the inscription was a major contribution to understanding family relations within two generations of the ruling dynasty. The most important contribution to resolving the family relations of Tomislav's heirs was given by Ferdo Šišić, and his interpretation, despite some criticisms, characterized Croatian historiography to this day. Some of his views are no longer questioned but taken as firmly based on data from rare preserved sources.²⁰ For example, Miroslav and Michael Krešimir II are by the majority of – if not all – contemporary historians, following Šišić, seen as brothers, with Krešimir being the younger one, although sources provide no confirmation of such kinship. The only argument in discussing the family background and kinship ties of the two kings are their names and the usual sequence of their inheritance within their kindred. It seems that the name Krešimir is present in every second generation (although this cannot be stated with complete certainty), so it can be assumed that the oldest son inherited the name of his paternal grandfather. Unfortunately, there are not enough parallel examples in the better documented Dalmatian cities to confirm that this was the usual practice at that time. It seems that only with the 11th century does the vertical system of name inheritance begin to prevail, whereas before that, horizontal, from uncles to nephews, was equally represented.²¹ However, vertical system would be more appropriate for patrilineal kindred in which the transfer of authority, that is, the eldership, should be more clearly defined. With this in mind, Krešimir II was most likely the grandson of Krešimir I. We cannot know what his relation to Miroslav was. He could have been his son or nephew.

¹⁸ Although Rapanić reads „regina”, on the epitaph it is written „regn”. This corresponds to Bulić's reading „regni mater”. However, there is too much free space at the beginning of the line just for „it” and too much space just for „i” after „regn”. Mate Suić proposed „Istaque vivens funere regni icta mater fit pupillorum...”, which would fill in the gap before „regn” in a better way, but contains too many letters for the one before „mater”. For these two readings and the reconstruction of the sarcophagus see: V. DELONGA, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 144.

¹⁹ Rapanić's reading and its English translation in: V. DELONGA, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 141 and 144.

²⁰ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

²¹ Z. NIKOLIĆ JAKUS, *Rođaci i bližnji*, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 34-45. However, the royal kindred could have been structured as patrilineal earlier than noble kindred in Dalmatian towns.

The fragments of Queen Helen's epitaph confirm what Thomas the Archdeacon recorded about her:

„His temporibus celebrata fuit synodus in ciuitate Nonensi sub Ioanne cardinali apostolice sedis legato. Vbi proclamationem faciente Laurentio archiepiscopo illustris uir Demetrius, cognomenato Suinimir, rex Chroatorum, restituit ecclesie sancti Domnii ecclesias sancti Stephani et sancte Marie in Salona cum omnibus earum bonis. Has siquidem ecclesias edificauit et dotauit quedam Helena regina, donans eas Spalatine sedi iure perpetuo possidendas. Que ob reuerentiam regalium sepulchrorum concessu fuerant quibusdam regularibus ad tempus, qui assidue in eis officiorum ministeria exercebant. Ibi namque magnificus uir Cresimirus rex, in atrio uidelicet basilice sancti Stephani, tumultatus est cum pluribus aliis regibus et reginis.”²²

(“At that time a synod was held in the city of Nin under the direction of the papal legate, Cardinal John. Archbishop Lawrence announced there that the illustrious Demetrius, surnamed Zvonimir, King of the Croats, was restoring to the church of Saint Domnius the churches of Saint Stephen and Saint Mary in Solin, together with all their goods. These churches had been founded and endowed by a certain Queen Helen, who gave them to the see of Split to hold in perpetuity. But they had been temporarily granted to the regular clergy, so that they might accord reverence to the royal tombs, and these monks assiduously performed their rites and services in them. There the most noble King Krešimir is buried in the atrium of the basilica of Saint Stephen, along with many other kings and queens.”)²³

As already pointed out, sources about Croatian rulers of the 10th century are very poor, and there are none about the queens, with the exception of Helen.²⁴ So the question is: can it be coincidental that she was mentioned in two independent sources? Some time ago, Martin Homza published an article dealing with queens in Central and Eastern Europe, identified with St. Helen, mother of Emperor Constantine I.²⁵ The cult itself, according to Homza, originated from three constituent elements: the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary, examples of the lives of some Roman Christian female patricians, and the cult of the Holly Cross. Combined into one, these elements contributed to the creation of the legend of Helen's discovery of the Holly Cross in Jerusalem, as best formulated by St. Ambrose in a posthumous speech to Emperor Theodosius in 395 AD.²⁶ The Archbishop of Milan compared Helen to the Virgin Mary, and as a saint she began to be mentioned in the late 8th and early 9th centuries.²⁷

²² R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 80-81.

²³ English translation: *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum pontificum – Archdeacon Thomas of Split: History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text by O. PERIĆ, edited, translated and annotated by D. KARBIĆ, M. MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL and J. ROSS SWEENEY, Budapest – New York, 2006, p. 91.

²⁴ N. BUDAK, O novopronađenom natpisu s imenom kraljice Domaslave iz crkve sv. Vida na Klisu (About a newly found inscription with the name of Queen Domaslava from the church of St. Vitus on Klis), in: *Historijski zbornik* 64/2, 2011, pp. 317-320.

²⁵ M. HOMZA has written on this subject in two articles: *Imitatio Helenae (Helenae et Constantini) u vybraných panovníčok svätej povesti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10. – 13. storočí* (Imitatio Helenae (Helenae et Constantini) by some monarchs of holy reputation in Central and Eastern Europe in 10th-13th Centuries), in idem, *Mulieres suadentes. Presviedčajúce ženy* (Persuasive women), Bratislava, 2002, pp. 46-79; M. HOMZA, The role of Helenae in the hagiography of female rulers until the late thirteenth centuries (sic!), in *България, българите и Европа - мит, история, съвремие* (Bulgaria, Bulgarians and Europe - Myth, History, Contemporaneity), vol. 3, Veliko Trnovo, 2009, pp. 128-158.

²⁶ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 129.

²⁷ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 130.

The characteristics of her cult, which were later attributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to Christian queens, were: the merit of introducing Christianity into her own kingdom, the erection of churches, the establishment of monasteries, the care for widows, orphans, the poor, the sick and the weak, the acquisition of relics (especially the Holy Cross) and the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.²⁸ Complementing Jo Ann McNamara, Homza warned that the cult of Helen could occur on its own, but also paired with Constantine. Byzantine ruler couples were proclaimed new Constantine and Helen (though it was not about mothers and sons but spouses).²⁹

The spread of Helen's cult was accompanied by the transfer of her relics, originally housed in her Roman mausoleum, today Tor Pignataro next to the remains of Constantine's funeral basilica of Sts. Marcellin and Peter on Via Labicana.³⁰ The relics reached a number of churches in the West and the East, but not before 841/842, when they were first transferred to France.³¹

In addition to the other queens, Homza also addressed Helen, the wife of Michael Krešimir II. He emphasized the fact that she had erected a basilica which, according to Homza, would suggest that she was a zealous Christian woman. The fact that she entrusted the care of the complex to the Benedictines is comparable to the same endeavours of the Kievan St. Olga and the Bohemian St. Ludmila. What she also has in common with them is that she held a ruler's position for a while.³² That Helen ruled on her own for some time after her husband's death stems, in Homza's view, from some of the readings of her epitaph. Although it does not necessarily follow from the partially preserved inscription, it is undeniable that as the king's wife, then the mother of his successor, she held the highest position next to the ruler. Homza also accepts the reading according to which Helen renounced her sovereign position, thereby re-fitting into the model of behaviour of the aforementioned saintly rulers and Empress Adelaide of Burgundy, though this part of the inscription is not straightforward either. It is possible to read it in such a way that Helen left the throne because she died and not of her own will. We can certainly agree with Homza's comparison of the Croatian ruler and the queens already mentioned, who also took care of the memory of the members of their dynasty by building an endowment in which the monks preserved the memory of the deceased kings and queens.³³

Trying to find additional arguments in support of his thesis on Queen Helen as imitator of St. Helen, Homza claimed that she, like Olga and Ludmila respectively, had also been buried in the central church of the kingdom, which testifies to the important role she would play after her death. He attaches particular importance to the claim that Helen was the "mother of the kingdom". He

²⁸ J. A. MCNAMARA, *Imitatio Helenae. Sainthood as an Attribute of Queenship*, in: *Saints, Studies in Hagiography*, (ed.) S. Stica, New York, 1996, p. 5180 (according to: M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 131); N. LENSKI, *The Age of Constantine*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 304-305.

²⁹ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 131.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, 130-131; LENSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 267.

³¹ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 131.

³² Homza assumes that the basilical complex on the island has been handed over to the Benedictines, but it is also possible that it has been donated to the Archdiocese of Split. However, it is clear from Thomas text that the monks took care of the rulers' memory. It is not sure that these monks were following Benedict's rules, but it is very probable. The unquestionable activity of Benedictines on Croatian territory was only documented at the end of the 10th century, when the monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar was restored. However, the connections of the eastern Adriatic coast with Benevento indicate the possible spreading of the Benedictine order in Croatia as early as the 9th century. N. BUDAK, *Hrvatska povijest 550 – 1100 (Croatian History 550 – 1100)*, Zagreb, 2nd ed. 2019, pp. 158-159.

³³ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 141. On memory as liturgical practice in Croatia and Dalmatia: N. BUDAK, *Liturgical Memory in Croatia and Dalmatia Around the Year 1000*, *Hortus artium medievalium* 6, 2000, pp. 135-142.; M. KUMIR, *For the Salvation of One's Soul: Piety, Status and Memory in the Dalmatian Duchy (c. 812–850)*, in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, 23, 2017, pp. 48-60.

also emphasizes her concern for widows and orphans, an Old Testament motif used to affirm the female holiness of the sovereigns from the time of St. Helen.³⁴

In the end, he puts forward a hypothesis that is impossible to prove, despite its appeal, that Helen would have been remembered as a "holy mother of the ruling dynasty" had it not come to a personal union of the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia with Hungary. Although this was possible, the change of the dynasty that had occurred with the advent of Zvonimir to the Croatian throne was already a step towards the twilight of the memory of the Queen. Thomas the Archdeacon noted that Zvonimir had returned the churches of St Stephen and St Mary to the Archbishop of Split. Whether this was indeed a matter of restoration, or whether the Church of Split skilfully convinced the king that the archbishopric had owned them since their construction, and that the monks only temporarily took care about the royal tombs, we cannot know. Thomas' statement that churches were only temporarily delivered to the monks seems less probable, given that deceased rulers were in their care for at least a century, from the establishment of Helen's endowment until the Council of Nin (probably in 1079). Moreover, the intention of such endowments was to eternally maintain the memory of the founder. It seems that the monastery was a royal possession and was abolished by Zvonimir, or handed over to the Archbishop in an effort to break the tradition of the previous dynasty. In this connection he probably also handed over to Pope Gregory VII, from whom he had received new royal insignia, two royal crowns belonging to his predecessors.³⁵ The erasure of Helen's memory was also successfully demonstrated by Thomas' text in which the Archdeacon mentions "a certain Queen Helen", demonstrating that he had no knowledge of her apart of the information he provided to his readers. Helen's beatification attempt, if ever there had been one, had obviously failed. If we wonder who could be responsible for the *damnatio memoriae*, Zvonimir must come to our mind first as the only one who had reason to erase the memory of his predecessors on the throne, but of course there is no evidence for this hypothesis.

The inscription on Helen's sarcophagus probably did not exist in Thomas' time, for if he had seen it he would not have referred to Helen as "a certain queen". On the other hand, he also could not have found out from the inscription – had he seen it – that she had erected the churches of St. Stephen and St. Mary and invited monks, because that was not mentioned in the epitaph. He must therefore have had another source, perhaps a note on the foundation of the monastery, in which, among other things, it was mentioned that one of the Krešimirs, no doubt Michael, was buried in the church of St. Stephen. The term *magnificus vir* is most likely derived from that note.³⁶ Had he seen Helen's epitaph, Thomas would probably have linked the two sources. As he did not do so, most likely the epitaph was destroyed before his time.

³⁴ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 141-142. It is not clear why Homza thinks that the church of St. Stephen was the "central church of the Croats", although it was in an obviously important place and had an outstanding function.

³⁵ J. STIPIŠIĆ – M. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (further: CD), vol. I, Zagreb, 1967, p. 140.

³⁶ That it was a note, and not a foundation document, I have concluded because the foundation documents of Benedictine monasteries in Croatia and Dalmatia from the early Middle Ages were not preserved, so they probably did not exist. Notes on the foundation of a monastery were later entered into cartularies and are today, unjustifiably, called foundation charters. Several authors have already written about the possible source used by Thomas: F. BULIĆ, Izvještaj o crkvi sv. Marije od Otoka i nadgrobnom natpisu kraljice Jelene (Report on the church of St. Mary of Otok and the epitaph of Queen Helen), in: *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, n. s., 5, 1901, pp. 201-227.; Lj. KARAMAN, *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* (From the cradle of Croatian history), Zagreb, 1930, p. 218. and L. KATIĆ, Ubikacija crkava sv. Mojsija i sv. Stjepana u Solinu (The location of the churches of St. Moses and St. Stephen in Solin), in: *Zbornik naučnih radova: Ferdi Šišiću povodom šezdestogodišnjice života*, (ed.) G. Novak, 1869-1929, Zagreb, 1929, pp. 69-78. More recently, M. Matijević Sokol wrote about this on several occasions, assuming that Thomas' source was Zvonimir's original charter issued to the Benedictine nuns of Split, granting them the possession of Bosiljina. See: M. MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL – V. SOKOL, "Quedam Helena regina ...", in: *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 3, 43, 2010, p. 422. In the article the authors, among other things, provide an overview of current opinions on the Otok problem and suggest a place where one of the hitherto unallocated fragments of Helen's epitaph could be inserted.

Not taking into account the later literature on research on Otok, Homza, referring to Lovro Katić, thought that Helen was buried in the church of St. Mary, while the rest of the kings found their resting place in the church of St. Stephen.³⁷ On this he builds the thesis that the queen associated with the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary, while the kings placed themselves under the protection of the first martyr Stephen. This repeats the pattern observed in the examples of other dynasties seeking their beginnings in the male-female ruling couple, following the model of Constantine and Helena. Because the West tried to avoid a direct analogy with these names, since the root of the model was eastern, in the Croatian case, Homza claims, the name Helen (Jelena) was retained, while that of Constantine was replaced. An alternative was found in St. Stephen whose name (Wreathed) suggests a ruler's position. Because of this, Držislav did not get the name Stjepan simply because he was the first crowned king of the Croats, but it was a deliberate project to mark the founder of a new dynasty.³⁸

Homza's idea of Helen and Stephen I Držislav as an imitation of Helena and Constantine I model seems attractive, despite some of the shortcomings of his work when it comes to Croatian history. In addition to being unfamiliar with recent interpretations of the complex on Otok, Homza does not take into account Thomas' information that Stephen Držislav received royal insignia from Byzantium and that the Croatian rulers bore the new title of kings of Dalmatia and Croatia, though this would further empower his thesis on the founding couple of the dynasty.³⁹

However, there are other arguments which suggest that King Krešimir II's wife did not bear the name Helen by chance and that she really ruled at a time that was crucial for Croatian dynastic history. Confirmation should be sought in Constantine Porphyrogenitus' laconic report about the war that followed after Ban Pribina killed King Miroslav:

“Ὅτι τὴν πολλὴν ταύτην δύναμιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πλῆθος εἶχεν ἡ Χρῳατία μέχρι τοῦ ἄρχοντος Κρασημέρη. Κάκεινον μὲν τελευτήσαντος, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, Μιροσθλάβου ἄρξαντος ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πριβουνία βοεάνου ἀναιρεθέντος, καὶ διχονοιῶν καὶ πολλῶν διχοστασιῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν γενομένων, ἡλάττωται καὶ τὸ καβαλλαρικὸν καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν καὶ αἱ σαγῆναι καὶ αἱ κονδοῦραι τῆς ἐξουσίας τῶν Χρῳβάτων. Ἀρτίως δὲ ἔχει σαγήνας λ', κονδοῦρας μεγάλας καὶ μικράς *** καὶ καβαλλαρικὸν *** καὶ πεζικὸν ***.

(“This great power and multitude of men Croatia possessed until the time of prince Krasimer. But when he was dead and his son Miroslav, after ruling four years, was made away by the ban Pribounias, and quarrels and numerous dissensions broke out in the country, the horse and foot and galleys and cutters of the Croat dominion were diminished. And now it has 30 galleys and *** cutters, large and small, and *** horse and *** foot.”)⁴⁰

Although the figures quoted in the DAI are not, of course, necessarily a reflection of the real situation, especially when it comes to the numbers of horsemen and pedestrians mentioned in the text just before the passage quoted here, they could still be an indicator of the consequences of the war within the dynasty. Unfortunately, only the number of galleys came to us, but it also illustrates the weakening of the forces at the disposal of the new ruler, whom DAI does not name. Even the author of Chapter 30, who in many ways followed the pattern in which Chapter 29 and Chapter 31 were written, left no information about the military strength of the Croats. We can only speculate on the reasons for this omission. Although the decrease in the naval power of the Croats may also be interpreted by the fact that during the war they lost control of the Dalmatian cities, as will be the case at the end of the century, it is more likely that it was caused by a conflict between supporters and opponents of King Miroslav.

³⁷ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 142.

³⁸ M. HOMZA, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 142-143.

³⁹ R. KATIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 54-55.

⁴⁰ Gy. MORAVCSIK – R. J. JENKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 150-151.

Why the conflict occurred, Constantine does not write, but it can be assumed that the problem was in the inheritance of the throne.⁴¹ Rare information about Croatian rulers available to us from the termination of Mutimir's rule to Michael Krešimir II do not allow us to draw any firm conclusions as to whether the Trpimirović dynasty kept the throne or if they were replaced by some other kindred. The only thing that could suggest continuity of the dynasty at least until the middle of the first half of the 10th century is the name of Trpimir II. We can only assume that he was the grandson of Trpimir I if we accept Constantine's information about the Croatian rulers as reliable. In any case, the fact remains that no names of the rulers who occupied the Croatian throne until the time of Miroslav, with the exception of Krešimir I, appear since the time of Michael Krešimir II in the royal genealogies. I think this is a strong argument in favour of the claim that the Trpimirović dynasty did not rule Croatia after Trpimir II, and perhaps even after Mutimir, should we accept that Constantine's archontology was the result of the Emperor's confusion and invention of a non-existing Trpimir II and Krešimir I.

Therefore, it is justified, as Klaić and Šišić have observed, to speak of the Krešimirović dynasty from the middle of the 10th century. Šišić, however, made the aforementioned unjustified proposal, which was accepted as fact in historiography, claiming that Michael Krešimir II was the younger brother of Miroslav. Accepting the information from ch. 31 of DAI, we can presume that Krešimir I was succeeded by his son Miroslav who was killed, but that after the conflict there was no change of dynasty because Miroslav's nephew acquired the throne. It can be concluded that Krešimir II was Miroslav's nephew and not his son since Miroslav's name never again appeared in the royal lineage (or we have no information on this). It seems, then, that Miroslav had no male offspring to outlive him.

The disappearance of the memory of Miroslav in the later generations of the Krešimirović would also suggest that he and Krešimir II were on opposite sides at the time of the conflict, although no source explicitly claims it. In any case, Krešimir II came out of the war as the victor. This is probably why he added a new name to his original one - Michael, identifying himself with the warrior archangel, the warlord of angels and the victor over the dragon, a symbol of evil.⁴² The warlike character he attributed to himself could symbolize the importance of winning the exhausting war. Such a victory, which ensured the continuity of the ruler's lineage for the next four generations, was a primordial act which marked the establishment of a new dynasty (notwithstanding Krešimir I) and which required the commemoration of its founder.

That the later dynastic memory extended back to Michael Krešimir is confirmed by the so called Grant for Diklo, in which Peter Krešimir IV refers to his ancestors:

"Ego Cresimir, qui alio nomine uocor Petrus, Chroatorum rex Dalmatinorumque, notifico omnibus, quod iustum mihi uidetur, ut statuta parentum meorum antiquorum non cassentur, maxime illa, que ad salutem eorum pertinent animarum. Comperimus namque in gestis proauis nostri Cresimiri maioris, quod pro remedio anime sue tradidisse (!) monasterio sancti Chrisogoni territorium aliquod in loco, qui dicitur Hyculus..."⁴³

⁴¹ Komatina believes that this was due to the different attitudes of the divided Croats towards the Bulgarians, but there is no real argument for this.

⁴² Apocalypse 12: 7-8, "And there is war in heaven: Michael and his angels make war with the Dragon. The dragon enters war and its angels, but does not prevail. And there was no more room for them in heaven." The cult of St. Michael was widespread along the eastern Adriatic coast. Out of about 400 known pre-Romanesque churches, 38 were dedicated to the Archangel, ten of them in Croatia. See: T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia praeromanica, vol. 1: Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* (Early medieval architecture in Dalmatia), Split – Zagreb, 2008, 164, pp. 170-171.

⁴³ J. STIPIŠIĆ – M. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 35), pp. 105-106. The continuation of the text reads: „a quercu, que stat supra uallem Rabiosam, usque ad stafilum, qui hac de causa situs est in treuio, quod est contra Sablatam, perpetuo possidendum, quod tutum possessoribus suis mansit tempore ipsius et filii eius Dirzislai et eorum potentibus banis, uidelicet Pribyne et Godemiri, et temporibus Suataslao et eius fratrum, silicet Cresimiri et Goysloui, et filii eius regi (!) Stephani, patris mei, fauentibus nobilibus banis, eorum qui fuere temporibus; hi sunt: Varda, Bosetrenhc (!) et Stephanus Prasca."

("I, Krešimir, who by another name am called Peter, King of the Croats and Dalmatians, inform everyone that it seems to me just, that the decisions of my ancient ancestors are not violated, and above all those concerning the salvation of their souls. We have found, in the deeds of our great-grandfather Krešimir the Elder, that in order to save his soul, he handed over to the monastery of St. Chrisogonus land in a place called Diklo ... ")

Krešimir IV further enumerates all his predecessors on the throne and their *bans*. This document, so important for the establishment of the ruler's genealogy, testifies to the fact that somebody composed a manuscript describing the deeds of Michael Krešimir II, reaffirming the prominent role attributed to this "founder" of the dynasty. The fact that the text referred to Krešimir IV as Krešimir the Elder and without mentioning Krešimir I, means that the latter has fallen into oblivion and that his memory has been systematically erased by establishing the founding status of his (most likely) grandson.

Not much can be added to what the authors who analyzed Helen's epitaph and Thomas' note mentioning the Queen have already written about her.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, the identification of the churches that Thomas mentions has not been completed to this day.⁴⁵ Unlike earlier scholars, who identified Helen's church of St. Mary with today's St. Mary on Otok, the more recent opinion is that the church on Otok is actually that of St. Stephen, which served as the mausoleum of Croatian rulers. The problem, however, is that no other royal tombs, with or without inscriptions, were found during the survey.⁴⁶ The opinion that this was a church with two dedications, which would eliminate the need to search for another church, is refuted by the data of later charters, especially the one of Ladislav, bishop of Knin, of February 23, 1397, which states: "... et insula in qua existunt ecclesie beate virginis et sancti Stephani ...".⁴⁷

In our argumentation, however, the question of the exact location of these two churches is not crucial. The church and the monastery, undoubtedly located on Otok, had a dual function: on the one hand they served to preserve the memory of Helen and the dynasty, while on the other they supervised the route that led from Trogir to Split and Stobreč.⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that there are no earlier traces of control being established over this important crossing over the river Jadro, which also suggests some changes in the relations of power and ownership in the area of Solin, which we so far cannot detect from the few preserved data.

⁴⁴ Ž. RAPANIĆ, Mater (pater) pupillorum tutorque viduarum, in: *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 3, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 83-90.

⁴⁵ All known documents mentioning the churches of St. Mary and St. Stephen were collected by P. BLAŽEVIĆ in her MA thesis *Muzeološka koncepcija prezentacije Solina u ranom srednjem vijeku* (The Museological Concept of the Presentation of Solin in the Early Middle Ages), Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, 2013. This paper also contains a comprehensive review of the literature on Queen Helen and Otok and is a very good starting point for anyone who wants to get into this issue. See: http://darhiv.ffzg.unizg.hr/id/eprint/2417/1/Diplomski_rad_Petra_Blazevic.pdf (last visited: 7/30/2019).

⁴⁶ Katić was of the opinion that the royal graves were the ones he dug up when exploring another church on the island, in whose narthex he discovered 16 graves with later burials. In his opinion, these were secondary burials in the former royal tombs, but any confirmation is lacking. See: Ž. RAPANIĆ – L. KATIĆ, *Prošlost i spomenici Solina* (The Past and Monuments of Solin), Solin, 1971, p. 74.

⁴⁷ J. STIPIŠIĆ – M. ŠAMŠALOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 179. It is interesting to note that the church in Biskupija near Knin, which was used as a mausoleum of Croatian rulers in the 9th century, was dedicated to St. Mary and St. Stephen, at least since the 10th century, according to a fragmentary preserved inscription. Following another epigraphic fragment, the church was damaged and probably renewed sometime in the 10th century. From the same period another fragment mentions archangels Michael and Gabriel, sub-titularies of the church. See: V. DELONGA, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 65 and p. 70. It is tempting to interpret these inscriptions as results of the events connected to the war and victory of Michael Krešimir II, but the partiality of the preserved texts does not allow us to draw such a conclusion.

⁴⁸ L. KATIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 69; L. KATIĆ, Zadužbine hrvatske kraljice Jelene na Otoku u Solinu, in: *Rasprave i članci iz hrvatske povijesti*, (ed.) L. Katić, Split, 1993, pp. 166-167.

There is no doubt that the area of Salona with its surroundings, including the eastern suburbs to which the Solin toponym corresponds, was a domain of the Trpimirović. The possessions of Putalj, Biaći and Rižinice, with remnants of ducal foundations, are proof enough. The only question is whether the area was owned by Trpimir's lineage, which is less likely, or was it part of the ruler's fisc, inherited from the Roman Empire? In the absence of arguments, I can only assume that the city, even if it was deserted, with the entire Kaštela-Solin surroundings, could hardly become a private property at some point. The Trpimirović patrimonial assets were, nevertheless, probably related to Knin and Kosovo / Petrovo Polje, with Knin, Biskupija and Kapitul as defense, economic and memorial centers.

Another interesting question, for now unanswered, is where were the Croatian rulers buried after they stopped using Biskupija as a burial church? Is that what the church on Kapitul served for? In any case, by her own act, Helen founded a new mausoleum of Croatian rulers, away from the Knin area and located along the ruins of ancient Salona. It is unlikely that this act did not have a strong symbolic meaning, not only in terms of a new beginning, but also in bringing the memorial site closer to both, the existing metropolitan center in Split and the burial place of the most prominent Dalmatian martyrs in Salona. In addition, as has already been pointed out, the monastery that housed the monks, however small (and it is yet to be determined how big it actually was), was located on an island over which an important land route crossed. Therefore, it was not about establishing a monastery in an isolated and peaceful place, just the opposite. The only element of continuity in relation to Biskupija was the dedication of the church to the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁴⁹

Lovre Katić reconstructed the scope of the property of the church of St. Mary on Otok.⁵⁰ This endowment of Helen had a large estate worthy of royal donation. Since we have no information that any other donations to the church / monastery after Helen's death increased this estate, it is safe to assume that in the 14th century it had the same scope as in Helen's time. Katić warned of another important fact related to the property of St. Mary: it was located on the border with the territory of Split, so we can attribute to the monastery the role of border control, regardless of the degree of integration of Byzantine Dalmatia, and especially Split, with Croatia.

If we look at the series of events that took place at the beginning of the second half of the 10th century, as well as their reflections in later sources, we must conclude that the assassination of King Miroslav resulted in great changes. A ruler came to the throne who would be remembered more than any of his predecessors, which cannot be a coincidence, but part of an organized effort in which the king's wife, Helen, played an important role. Michael, the victor over the forces of evil, was perceived as the founder of a new dynasty, regardless of whether he was really related to the previous rulers or not. His wife, whose birth name we do not know, took the ruler's name Jelena / Helen, thus symbolically marking the beginning of a new dynasty.

Her task was to strengthen the legitimacy of the ruler's lineage and to provide him with a lasting memory. To achieve this, she erected a mausoleum that replaced the burial site of rulers from the past few decades. Prayers of monks were necessary to preserve the memory, so Helen established a monastery on the largest island in the delta of the river Jadro. The choice of location could not have been accidental, and it certainly did not happen without the king's approval. In this respect, an interesting note is made in an 18th-century manuscript, already pointed out by Frane Bulić.⁵¹ It states:

⁴⁹ Katić also points to a different interpretation of the continuity associated with St. Mary of Otok. While unfortunately not referring to the sources, he claims that "the later tradition, though wrong," understood Helen's church as a reminiscence of the Salonitan cathedral of St. Mary. See: KATIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 194. It is an interesting hypothesis that by choosing the Blessed Virgin Mary Helen wanted to use the Salonitan tradition to reinforce the symbolic importance of the new ruling centre.

⁵⁰ L. KATIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 48), pp. 197-204.

⁵¹ F. BULIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 223.

"Cresimirus filius Tischimiri regis Serviae a patre Bossina et regio titulo donatus c. 929 defuncto Cidomiro socero Chroatorum novo suo regno adiunxit regiamque Salonae figit 932. Uxor Helena Basilicam apud Salonas fundatrix. Ob. c. 954."⁵²

("Krešimir, son of Tišimir King of Serbia, received from his father Bosnia and the royal title around 929. When his father-in-law Cidomir died, he annexed Croatia to his new kingdom and established the capital in Salona in 932. His wife Helen was the founder of the basilica near Salona. She died around 954.")

It should also be noted that the author of the catalogue divides the Croatian rulers into princes (*duces*) and kings (*reges*) and that according to him, Krešimir is the first Croatian king, since he is referred to in the text as the first under the subtitle "*Reges*". Although the information about Tišimir and Cidomir and their relations with Krešimir, as well as the entire catalogue, as pointed out by Šišić, is mostly a figment of the author's imagination, it is nevertheless interesting that it is precisely stated for Krešimir that he, as the first king, chose Salona as the seat of his kingdom. Even the chronology is reasonably appropriate, given that the compiler of the note had only Thomas, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Mavro Orbini's "Kingdom of Slavs", and perhaps the chroniclers of Dubrovnik at his disposal, assuming, of course, that he did not have some source which is not known today.

That the task of preserving memory was successful is evident from the fact that Michael Krešimir was remembered as the first of a series of rulers to be mentioned in the Donation for Diklo. In Croatia after the year 1000 only the memory of rare rulers (Trpimir, Branimir and Mutimir) was preserved, and this only because they were recorded in the charters of the Split church. Although doubt was expressed about the reliability of the claim in the Donation for Diklo that *Gesta* of Krešimir II actually existed⁵³, I do not see real reason for doubt. Indeed, it seems to me that putting together such a work would be a logical element of a program to preserve the memory of the one who wanted to present himself as the founder of the dynasty.

The events that followed the enthronement of Krešimir II, as interpreted today, could be a confirmation that his success had echoes beyond Croatian borders. It is impossible to accept, but also to completely reject, the claims made by the "Kingdom of the Slavs" (Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclia) that Krešimir conquered the whole of Bosnia.⁵⁴ The creation of ch. 30 of DAI, which happened probably at the same time as the designation of royal authority and titles of eparch and patrician to Krešimir's son Stephen I Držislav, is an indication that changes in Croatia have been reflected in Constantinople as well. The cult of St. Stephen could have gained importance either at the time of Držislav's coronation, when the new king chose the name of the first martyr as his royal name, or as Homza thinks, as a Western replacement for Constantine in the founding couple Constantine - Helen. In fact, one possibility does not suppress the other, but it rather complements it, and it cannot be accidental that Helen dedicated one of her endowments to this particular saint. In addition,

⁵² Hrvatski državni arhiv, Obitelj Fanfogna-Garagnin, F 713, 8.10, Vol. X, 123p. The full text, entitled *Catalogus ducum et regum Dalmatie et Croatie*, which several authors attribute to Philipo Riceputi, was published with comments by F. ŠIŠIĆ in *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 90-93.

⁵³ Nada Klaić questioned the authenticity of the Donation for Diklo and thus the existence of the *Gesta*. However, she accepted as credible the information that Krešimir II donated to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus land in Diklo, as well as the genealogy of kings and *bans* mentioned in the charter. See: N. KLAJČ, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (History of Croats in the Early Middle Ages), Zagreb, 2nd ed., 1975, p. 317, n. 140.

⁵⁴ „Deinde Cresimirus cepit totam Bosnam et dominavit eam.” V. MOŠIN, *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina* (Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclia), Zagreb, 1950, p. 73. On different opinions about this information: N. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 316, ft. 138.

the cult of St. Stephen was not developed in Croatia, and the question is how much he was present in Dalmatia at that time, so it was also a novelty and a symbol of change.⁵⁵

Finally, we can conclude that the reach of the changes that came about with the victory of Michael Krešimir II in the war that shook Croatia has not been sufficiently recognized in historiography, although much has been written about every single segment of this complex phenomenon, especially thanks to Bulić's discovery of Helen's epitaph. I believe that there are sufficient arguments to abandon the idea that the Trpimirović ruled as a dynasty from Trpimir to Stephen III (1089-1090), and to reaffirm what Vjekoslav Klaić introduced into historiography, calling the rulers from the second half of the 10th century Krešimirović. Obviously, it was not only about changing the dynasty, but also about creating different relations between Croats and Byzantium. Something can be concluded from the fact that the Krešimirović were well connected with Zadar as the centre of Byzantine rule, with the cult of St Chrysogonus possibly playing an important symbolic role.⁵⁶ This, judging by Helen's endeavor, was preceded by more than a symbolic reinforcement of the royal presence at the gates of Split and by the communication linking the archbishop's seat with Trogir.

The final point to be made is that one of the few Croatian queens whose name is remembered is the other Helen, the wife of king Demetrius Zvonimir (1074-1089). If we apply the analogy with the case of the first Helen, it is obvious that the latter is mentioned at the moment of dynastic fracture and ascension to the throne of the king who sought to break his ties with his predecessors in order to establish his own dynasty. He was prevented by the death of his only son Radovan, but there is no reason to doubt Zvonimir's intentions. Did his wife take the name Helen for the same reason as her predecessor from the 10th century did? Besides, does her other name / nickname (Beautiful / Lijepa) not point to another source of inspiration for those who called her that: "beautiful Helen" may be a spark of light in the darkness that envelops our knowledge of the culture of the time, suggesting that the legend of Troy was known to the Croatian elite as early as the 11th century?

Kraljica Jelena i kralj Mihajlo – početak nove dinastije?

Hrvatska historiografija nudila je sve do Ferde Šišića različita tumačenja genealogije hrvatskih vladara. Krešimir I. i II. stapali su se u jednu osobu, a različito su se tumačili i rodbinski odnosi Miroslava, Krešimira II. i Držislava. Danas općenito prevladava genealogija kakvu je predložio Šišić, iako se još uvijek javljaju rasprave o pojedinim pitanjima, kao, primjerice, o tome jesu li Trpimir II. i Krešimir I. uopće postojali ili jesu li vladali u 10. ili u 9. stoljeću. S druge strane, neki Šišićevi prijedlozi, iako neutemeljeni u izvorima, prihvaćeni su kao dokazani. To se odnosi na njegovu tvrdnju da su Miroslav i Mihajlo Krešimir II. bili braća, iako nijedan izvor to ne potvrđuje. Važan doprinos rješava-

⁵⁵ Apart from the churches in Solin and Biskupija, there were at most another 5 dedicated to St. Stephen, but it is difficult to decide whether the dedications preceded or followed Helen's lifetime. See: MARASOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 173.

⁵⁶ T. VEDRIŠ, *Hagiografija i rani kult sv. Anastazije i sv. Krizogona u Zadru* (Hagiography and the early cult of St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), Zagreb, 2019., pp. 166-167. N. BUDAK, Early medieval boundaries in Dalmatia/Croatia (8th–11th centuries), in: „*Castellum, civitas, urbs*“. *Zentren und Eliten im frühmittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, (ed.) O. Heinrich – Tamáska, H. Herold, P. Straub and T. Vida, Budapest - Leipzig – Keszthely – Rahden/Westf., 2015., p. 42. Ivo Babić suggested there was a close link between the names Krešimir and Krševan (Chrysogonus): I. BABIĆ, O imenu Krešimir (On the name Krešimir), in: *Brački zbornik* 22, 2007., pp. 299-313.

nju genealoške problematike dalo je Bulićevo otkriće epitafa kraljice Jelene. Činjenica da je sačuvan fragmentarno dovela je do predlaganja različitih čitanja koja mogu promijeniti smisao teksta.

Vjekoslav Klaić bio je, čini se, prvi koji je uveo naziv Krešimirovići za pripadnike dinastije koja je na vlast došla s Krešimirom I. Činjenica je da se ne mogu dokazati rodbinske veze Tomislava i njegovih prethodnika, kojima u prilog govori jedino ime Trpimira II., ako doista u *De administrando imperio* nije došao greškom autora. Vrlo je malo posve pouzdanih podataka o hrvatskim vladarima 10. st., ali se ipak može pretpostaviti da su Krešimirovići bili doista nova dinastija. Naime, imena prethodnih vladara više se ne javljaju u vladarskoj genealogiji, dok se imena Krešimir i Stjepan javljaju redovito u svakoj drugoj generaciji, a i ime Gojislav se ponavlja. Možemo pretpostaviti da se dinastija Krešimirovića učvrstila na prijestolju nakon rata koji je započeo ubojstvom Miroslava. Pobjeda nad protivnicima imala je takvo simboličko značenje da se na Krešimira II. gledalo kao na osnivača dinastije, bez obzira na postojanje njegova istoimenog pretka.

Krešimir II. je možda zbog te pobjede uzeo vladarsko ime arhanđela Mihajla, pobjednika nad silama zla. Njegova je supruga pak uzela ime majke cara Konstantina, Sv. Helene. Prema tumačenju Martina Homze, njezin je sin uzeo ime Stjepan kako bi se stvorio pandan paru Helena – Konstantin, s obzirom na to da se na Zapadu izbjegavalo Konstantinovo ime zbog njegove bizantske konotacije. Dakako, Stjepan I. Držislav mogao je to ime uzeti i zbog oznaka kraljevske vlasti dobivenih iz Konstantinopola. Jelena je, po Homzinu sudu, oponašala Sv. Helenu kao svoj uzor, pri čemu nije bila iznimka među europskim vladaricama. Dinastija je inicirala i program očuvanja svoje memorije tako da je kraljica dala podići vladarski mauzolej, a napisana su i *gesta* kralja Krešimira II. Uspješnost tog pothvata vidi se i po tome što je još i Toma Arhiđakon znao za kraljicu, iako su imena svih drugih vladarskih supruga do njegovoga vremena pala u zaborav.

Samostan koji je Jelena dala podići na otoku kod Solina nije imao samo funkciju mauzoleja. Kako je bio smješten na najpogodnijem prijelazu preko rijeke Jadro, na cesti koja je povezivala Trogir i Stobreč, imao je i nadzornu funkciju. Osim toga, bio je smješten na samoj granici splitskog agera, čime je mogao nadzirati granicu, ali je mogao značiti i simboličko približavanje dinastije metropolitanskom središtu. Samostan je bio obdaren velikim zemljišnim posjedom koji se, kako je to pokazao Lovre Katić, održao i u sljedećim stoljećima. Zanimljivo je da jedan rukopis iz 18. st., koji je objavio Šišić, navodi kako je Krešimir ustanovio svoj glavni grad u Saloni 932., a da je njegova supruga Jelena, graditeljica bazilike pokraj Salone, umrla oko 954. godine. Taj bi rukopis mogao ukazivati na neku danas izgubljenu tradiciju o kraljevskom paru, koja se održavala mimo nama poznatih izvora. Prema tom rukopisu, Krešimir je i prvi hrvatski kralj, jer su prije njega vladali vojvode (*duces*).

Još se jedna promjena može povezati s Krešimirovićima. Osim približavanja Splitu, oni već od Krešimira II. jačaju veze sa Zadrom, napose sa Samostanom Sv. Krševana, a kasnije i sa Sv. Marijom. Jača povezanost s ta dva središta govori i o prisnijim vezama s Bizantom.

Na kraju valja napomenuti da je postojala još jedna hrvatska kraljica Jelena, supruga Dmitra Zvonimira. Njezino se ime može također dovesti u vezu s novim početkom, jer Zvonimir prekida s tradicijom prethodne dinastije, nastojeći stvoriti vlastitu. To se očituje u poklanjanju kraljevskog mauzoleja Splitskoj nadbiskupiji i prepuštanju kruna iz riznice u vranskom samostanu Sv. Grgura papi. Međutim, kako ta Jelena nosi još i nadimak Lijepa, ne bismo li možda u njoj mogli prepoznati lijepu Helenu, uzročnicu Trojanskog rata, što bi moglo značiti da je legenda o Troji bila poznata u Hrvatskoj već u 11. stoljeću?

Ključne riječi: kraljica Jelena, Sv. Jelena, Mihajlo Krešimir II., Hrvatska, Dalmacija, sjećanje, politika sjećanja, epitaf, benediktinci, granice, Salone, Solin

THE CASE OF ZADAR PROCONSUL GREGORIUS' CIBORIUM – SPOLIA AS A TEMPLATE FOR A NEW MONUMENT*

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Relying on the already established observation that the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium from the Zadar Cathedral displays stylistic and morphological features which sharply distinguish it from other three arcades of this immensely important liturgical installation with great historical significance, the authors will try to provide a detailed analysis to support this observed fact. They will present arguments to corroborate the opinion that the rear arcade belonged to an earlier, pre-Romanesque ciborium from the Cathedral, and was used as spolia to construct a new high altar ciborium in the 1030s, determining its size and by and large its overall appearance. While the front and two lateral arcades have already been recognized as the work of the so called Zadar-Solin (Split) Stone Carvers' Workshop, the authors attribute its rear arcade to the stone carving production of the so called Master of Zadar Ambos, which dates it to the first decade of the 9th century. In conclusion, they also reflect on certain technical details involved in the construction of an early Romanesque ciborium as a new form of liturgical installation and propose a hypothesis regarding the potential origin of a Zadar ciborium that bears a strong resemblance to this one.

Key words: Zadar, cathedral, Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium, sculpture, spolia, early pre-Romanesque, early Romanesque, 11th century

Over ten years ago, while writing about Proconsul Gregorius' high altar ciborium from the Zadar Cathedral (Fig. 1),¹ parts of which were found in 1891 on the first floor of its belfry,² our laureate, Nikola Jakšić, pointed out the “more casual” treatment of the motifs on its rear arcade (Fig. 2b). He remarked that its peacocks “vary slightly from other animal figures on the ciborium” and that “their

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¹ It was precisely Nikola Jakšić who first associated the ciborium more strongly with the Zadar cathedral, dismissing previous hypotheses that this liturgical installation had originally been erected in another Zadar church dedicated to St. Peter, more precisely, in the one called St. Peter “in foro” or St. Peter The New, which was located in what is now Narodni trg (People’s Square). N. JAKŠIĆ, *Solidus romanatus* na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 12/1982, Split, 1982, p. 182, n. 48; N. JAKŠIĆ, Tri umjetnička i epigrafska spomenika iz Sukošana, *Diadora*, 10, Zadar, 1988, p. 199.

² I. PETRICIOLI, *Pojava romaničke skulpture u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb, 1960, p. 15; I. PETRICIOLI, *Tragom srednjovjekovnih umjetnika*, Zagreb, 1983, p. 7.



Fig. 1. Proconsul Gregorius' high altar ciborium from the Zadar Cathedral, limestone, Archaeological Museum, Zadar (photo: I. Josipović)

contours are reminiscent of some peacocks from other Dalmatian reliefs, commonly dated to the 9th century". Accordingly, Jakšić stated that "it would not be completely groundless to assume that this arcade might belong to an older ciborium in the Zadar Cathedral, whereas the three new ones were formed to fit in with this 'inherited' one that has subsequently been placed at the back".³ The first to voice this opinion, albeit orally, was Ante Milošević, and it differed substantially from Ivo Petricoli's interpretation that had been universally accepted up to that point. Although he believed that the workmanship on the rear arcade was "more casual and rustic" or "superficial and awkward", he did not question its

³ N. JAKŠIĆ – E. HILJE, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Kiparstvo I*, Zadar, 2008, 127.



Fig. 2. Proconsul Gregorius' high altar ciborium, four arcades, limestone, Archaeological Museum, Zadar (photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg)

dating to the fourth decade of the 11th century (which is the documented and established governance period of Proconsul Gregorius who is named in the cornice inscription on the front arcade of the ciborium),⁴ nor its association with the early Romanesque art.⁵ More recently, Jakšić has gone even further in his reflections and corrected the dating for "the peacocks from other Dalmatian reliefs" from the 9th century to "the late 8th or early 9th century", whereas for the peacocks from the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium he proposed a closer analogy in "the peacocks from an architrave" that was found in the Zadar Cathedral in the late 1980s (Fig. 3).⁶ After analysing style and

⁴ The inscription is in two lines and reads as follows: + O PRINCEPS PETRE PRINCIPVM CAELESTIS AVLAE CLAVIGER DEVOTIONIS SVSCIPE MVNVSCVLV(m) Q(uod) VO(veram) / PROCONSVL EGO INFIMVS GREGORIVS Q(ui) NOMINOR VT PIE MICHI CONFERAS PRO PARVIS M(a)G(na) munera). There are five translations into Croatian and the English translation here is a compilation of three of them: "Oh, Peter, first among the leaders, Prince and the key-holder of the heavenly palace, accept this votive gift that I, lowest proconsul Gregorius (Gregory), vowed to give as a small token to receive in turn magnificent gifts". Cf. J. BOGDANOVIĆ, *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2017., p. 123. Generally, about the times and circumstances surrounding the reign of Proconsul Gregorius in Zadar and Dalmatia for more information see: N. JAKŠIĆ, Il caso dell'arconte Dobronà e del proconsole Gregorio, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 13/1, Zagreb - Motovun, 2007, pp. 78, 137-138 ff.; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije – studije iz predromaničke skulpture na Jadranu*, Split, 2015, pp. 425-426 ff.

⁵ Cf. I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1960), pp. 7-10, 15-18; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1983), pp. 7-10; I. PETRICIOLI, Ciburij iz zadarske crkve sv. Tome, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 11/1981, Split, 1981, pp. 164, 168.

⁶ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2015), p. 498.

morphology, Ivan Josipović attributed the fragment of this architrave, or possibly a lintel, to the stone carving production that he called *Master of Zadar Ambos*,⁷ whose activity he recently dated to the first decade of the 9th century.⁸

* * *

Before we go into the style and morphology of the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium, we should briefly list the most important insights into this outstanding Zadar liturgical installation of great historical significance. Refraining from a detailed account of opinions given in the source literature,⁹ we shall only point out that the first one to address the topic more comprehensively was Ivo Petricioli, who had reconstructed it in the Zadar Archaeological Museum in the autumn of 1954¹⁰ and subsequently presented an in-depth stylistic analysis.¹¹ On morphological level he associated it with similar reliefs from Zadar, Solin and Split and identified all of them as the work of the same stone carving production that he defined and called "the Split-Zadar group" or workshop.¹² In the meantime, on several different occasions, parts of another morphologically very similar Zadar ciborium were uncovered among the remnants of a former early Christian basilica dedicated to St. Thomas.¹³ Over time its parts were also repurposed as building material in subsequent renovations of the church, and after it was torn down in the 19th century, for the buildings that were later constructed on the site or in its immediate surroundings.¹⁴ This ciborium, in comparison to the one from the Cathedral, has slightly larger dimensions (it is 242 cm wide, whereas Gregorius' ciborium measures 227 cm in width), its form is more refined and relief deeper, and it was carved from a different, softer stone. That is also probably why its quality is somewhat better than that of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium which was made of hard grainy limestone.¹⁵

As far as the Cathedral's ciborium is concerned, for a long time nobody expressed any reservations about Petricioli's reconstruction, i. e. his classification of arcades into front, back and lateral. More recently, however, Pavuša Vežić expressed doubt that the arcade with dogs (or possibly lion cubs or lambs) within one triangular corner and the griffin snatching a lamb in the other was actually the

⁷ I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *Predromanički reljefi na teritoriju Sklavinije Hrvatske između Zrmanje i Krke do kraja 9. stoljeća* (doctoral thesis; part 1), Zagreb, 2013, pp. 21-35; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *Il maestro degli amboni zaratini*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 22, Zagreb - Motovun, 2016, pp. 443-450.

⁸ I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *Biogradska predromanička skulptura*, *Ars Adriatica*, 7, Zadar, 2017, pp. 75-77.

⁹ For an in-depth insight into all relevant reference works on Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium see: N. JAKŠIĆ – E. HILJE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 128. The last more detailed reference to the ciborium in: N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2015), pp. 433-440, 481-484, 495-499.

¹⁰ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1960), p. 15.

¹¹ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1960), pp. 7-10, 15-18; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1983), pp. 7-26 (*passim*).

¹² I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1960), p. 7; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1983), p. 7.

¹³ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 1981), pp. 163-168.

¹⁴ The first fragments of this ciborium were found back in the summer of 1956 near the former St. Thomas Church, so Petricioli refers to them already in his book from 1960, attaching a photo of the biggest among them, with a preserved image of a dog (that will later turn out to be a lamb), and noting that it "displays all the characteristics of animal figures on Gregorius' ciborium and, consequently, the entire group". I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1960), p. 18, tab. VI, 4. See also: I. PETRICIOLI, *Jedan nepoznati arhitektonski spomenik u Zadru, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdvo historije, arheologije i historije umjetnosti*, 4(2)/1962-1963, Zadar, 1966, p. 69. Other ciborium fragments were found 14 years later, in 1970, after a school that had been built on top of the church's remnants was demolished. These finds made it possible for the ciborium to be subsequently reconstructed as a whole. See I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 1981), pp. 163-164; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1983), 10; P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *HOC TIGMEN – ciboriji ranog srednjeg vijeka na tlu Istre i Dalmacije*, Zadar, 2009, pp. 89-90.

¹⁵ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 1981), p. 167.



Fig. 3. Architrave or lintel from the Zadar Cathedral, limestone, Cathedral, Zadar (photo: N. Vranić)

front side of the ciborium as suggested by Petricioli.¹⁶ According to Vežić, the peacock arcade should be seen as the front one, and not the rear arcade like Petricioli thought, and its “superficial workmanship” should be attributed precisely to the fact that it was not in direct sightline.¹⁷ In support of his suggestion, Vežić tried to draw iconographic analogies between Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium and many high altar ciboria from Italy and Dalmatia (Cortona, Perugia, St. Martha in Bijaći near Trogir, Galovac near Zadar, St. Thomas in Zadar),¹⁸ but there is one underlying flaw in his comparisons. With the exception of the ciborium from St. Thomas’ in Zadar, with a peacock arcade that again only Vežić interprets as the front arcade, these are all early pre-Romanesque liturgical installations made in the late 8th and early 9th century. His “iconographic scheme” can by no means be applied to early Romanesque ciboria because they clearly indicate a change in taste and a new repertory of decorative motifs, out of which a typical “Romanesque bestiary” had already started to emerge, leaving its imprint on other sculptures and architectural decorations of the 11th century.¹⁹

In other words, the peacock arcade may once have indeed been the front arcade of an older Cathedral ciborium, but that was certainly not Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium! As already stated, it was observed that its treatment was not a result of lax stone carving workmanship; these are actually stylistic and morphological features typical of an earlier style period. Therefore, the arcade in question was obviously subsequently repurposed as spolia, and as such it determined the size and to a great extent the overall appearance of the newly formed liturgical installation from the 11th century, whereas the older arcade was positioned at the back of the ciborium where it was largely out of sight.

This can be further supported by a detailed comparison between the peacock arcade; i. e. the rear arcade on Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium and the remaining three arcades ((Fig. 2a, 2c-2d), which represent reliefs that were undoubtedly carved in the second quarter of the 11th century. Since all the ciborium arcades were conceived in the same way, the easiest way to compare them is to look into how motifs from the same parts of arcades were treated; i. e. to compare borders with borders and arches with arches, or various animal figures in triangular insets with each other. In all four cases the arcade arches are filled with thickly interwoven multi-band (double- or triple-band) ribbons in various types of weaves. It becomes immediately apparent that the weaves on the front and two side

¹⁶ P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 83.

¹⁷ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 5, 1981), p. 164.

¹⁸ P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 83, n. 219.

¹⁹ Referring to the iconographic repertory of the 11th-century sculpture on the Adriatic in general, Nikola Jakšić wrote the following in 2008: “In addition to lions that are on the decline, other animals are increasingly emerging, primarily rabbits and fish (mostly in Pomposa), then puppies and finally griffins as an indication of the new medieval bestiary.” N. JAKŠIĆ – E. HILJE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 31.

arcades are very regular and neat, with thinner multi-band ribbons for which the master carver must have used geometric tools (ruler and compass). On the other hand, the weave on the arch at the back of the ciborium consists of markedly thicker triple-band ribbons. It is also rather irregular, with a significantly more dynamic and undulating carving ductus. The same distinctive treatment is apparent on the double-band multi-ribbon braids that run along the borders of all arcades (the technicalities involved in putting together the ciborium and classification of borders on all arcades into front and back stone groups will be addressed later). On the front and side arcades, however, small holes or round-shaped motifs (the so called eyes) are clearly visible in the centre of knotted braids, whereas two border braids on the rear arcade are decidedly thicker, leaving no space in the centre of knots that would then be decorated with such a hole or “the eyes”.

Still, quite logically, the most apparent difference in execution comes to the fore if we compare various animal figures within two triangular sections on each arcade, either in simpler or more complex compositions, that hold their place in the corners between the cornice, the side border and the arcade’s arch.

Also, the front and lateral arcades of Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium are iconographically more varied from the one at the back because in addition to peacocks, they feature various four-legged creatures from the real (lions, dogs, lambs, pigeons) as well as the phantastical animalistic repertory (griffins),²⁰ in compositions that are much more dynamic and complex. On the rear arcade, however, there is only one peacock in each triangular inset and only after we consider the arcade as a whole, can we see them as a symmetrical animal couple facing each other.

Even if we leave the iconographic component aside, a different approach is visible in the way animal bodies are shaped. On the three arcades they appear significantly more realistic and proportional, with meticulous treatment of certain parts, such as head details (almond or round eyes, carefully fashioned

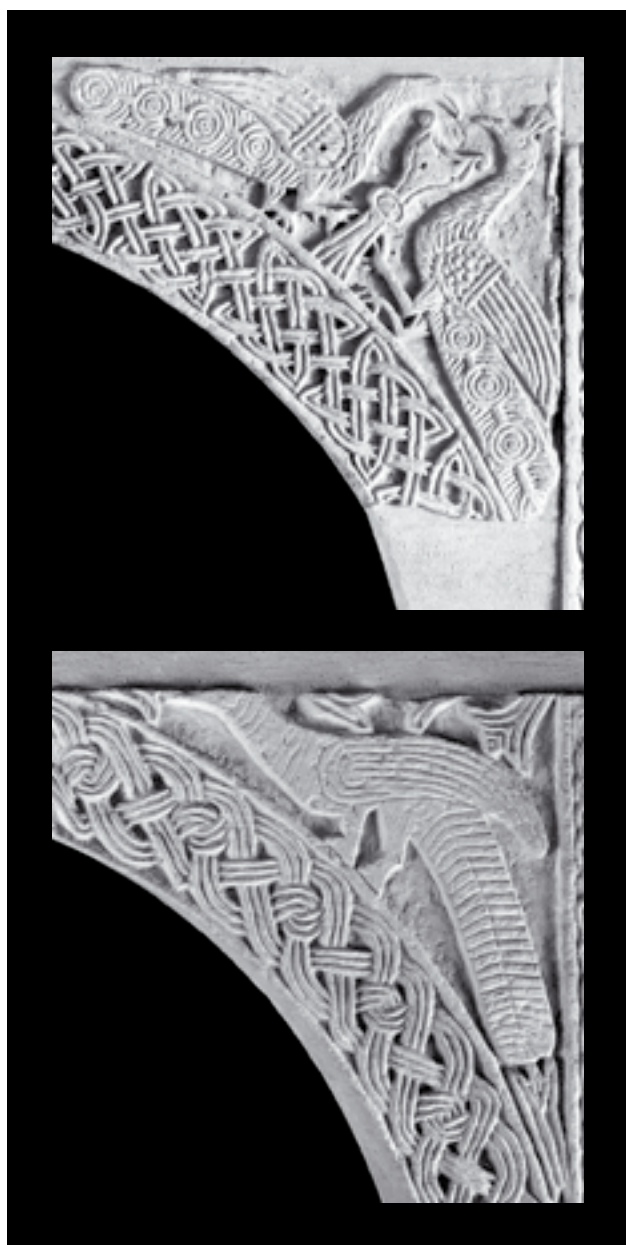


Fig. 4. Comparison – details of the right lateral (above) and rear arcade (below) of the Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium (photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg)

²⁰ Following the previous quote from Nikola Jakšić, who said griffins were “an indication of the new medieval bestiary” (see footnote 19), Magdalena Skoblar examines the issue further and connects their appearance in the Dalmatian sculpture of the 11th century with silk that was imported from the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic world more frequently than in previous centuries. On that see further in the text by the above mentioned author entitled *Beast from the East: The Griffin’s Journey to Dalmatian Eleventh-Century Sculpture* in this book.

ears, raised or lowered whiskers, stuck-out tongues), talons, wing joints or prominent thighs on the four-legged creatures that are traced with an incised line. Fur or feathers on animals are rendered in dense and small nicks made with a sharp bevel chisel. All of this is simply missing from the peacocks on the rear arcade! The shape of these birds is significantly more ungainly and their rendering more careless, completely lacking a detailed treatment of parts of their anatomy (especially evident on the wings, tails and talons). The decorations on the tails, wings and necks are noticeably laxer, rendered only in parallel or concentric lines shallowly cut into the stone surface. This becomes especially obvious if we compare the peacocks from the rear arcade with the pair of peacocks facing each other and drinking from the central kantharos in the right-hand corner of the right lateral arcade of the ciborium (Fig. 4). All this points to clear stylistic differences between a typical early Romanesque treatment of relief on the frontal and lateral arcades of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium and its rear arcade that displays characteristics of early pre-Romanesque sculpture.

What is more, it is possible to morphologically correlate the three arcades on Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium with similar reliefs from Zadar, Split and Solin [for comparative purposes the examples from Zadar are especially pertinent, i. e. the ciborium from the Church of St. Thomas and plutei from the Church of Holy Dominica (Croat. *Sv. Nediljica*; Ital. *Santa Domenica*; Lat. *Santa Maria Mater Domini*)] that have been identified as the work of the so called *Zadar-Solin (Split) Stone Carvers' Workshop*, active around the mid-11th century (Fig. 5; Fig. 8). Similarly, it is also possible to find



Fig. 5. Comparison – details of reliefs of the so called Zadar-Solin (Split) Stone Carvers' Workshop: right pluteus of the chancel screen from the Church of the Holy Dominica in Zadar (a), left lateral arcade of the Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium (b), left lateral arcade of the ciborium found in the Church of St. Thomas in Zadar (c) and panel with enthroned Croatian king from the Cathedral Baptistry in Split (d) (photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg)

closer analogies for the rear arcade of the Cathedral ciborium that would provide a basis for its attribution to some already identified stone carving production and would consequently allow more precise dating. As mentioned before, Jakšić compared the peacocks on the rear arcade with the same kind of birds carved into a relief, or to be more exact, into an architrave or lintel from the Zadar Cathedral.²¹ After conducting a stylistic and morphological analysis, Ivan Josipović related this relief with other similar fragments from Zadar and its surrounding area, the better part of which come precisely from the Zadar Cathedral, and identified them all as the work of the same stone carving production (stone carving workshop) that he called *Master of Zadar Ambos*.²²

This workshop is characterized by compositions placed within a grid of squares and rectangles, frequent depictions of the human form, the contrast between deep background and soft treatment of motif edges, shallowly carved lines employed to render details primarily on human and animal figures and, in contrast, completely smooth surfaces on these same motifs. Josipović identified the master's work in the furnishings of the Zadar Cathedral and reliefs that can with considerable certainty be



Fig. 6. Three pre-Romanesque arcades of the ciborium of the Rab Cathedral, limestone, Cathedral, Rab (photo: Z. Alajbeg)

traced back to the Church of St. Chrysogonus in the same town (although many were found in Neviđane on the Pašman island), as well as in numerous fragments found in and around the early Christian church of St. Martin in Pridraga, a village in the Zadar hinterland. In the absence of more conclusive arguments, Josipović was able to draw stronger analogies with the Langobardic sculpture produced mostly in the latter half of the 8th century and thus date the work of the *Master of Zadar Ambos* loosely to the late 8th and the very beginning of the 9th century.

Recently, however, Miljenko Jurković extended the master's body of work to include pieces from the town of Rab, conclusively attributing to him a fragment of the pluteus from the local lapidarium with a rare depiction of senmurv, a hybrid creature that in its original form has a dog's head,

²¹ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2015), pp. 498-499, fig. 68. See also: I. PETRICIOLI, *Sculpture in Zadar between the Late Roman and pre-Romanesque Periods*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 1, Zagreb - Motovun, 1995, p. 78, fig. 7.

²² See footnote 7.

often with its tongue stuck out, a lion's paws and a peacock's tail. In addition, albeit somewhat cautiously, he suggested that the three pre-Romanesque arcades of the ciborium of the Rab Cathedral (Fig. 6) were also the work of the *Master of Zadar Ambos*. On that occasion Jurković proposed that this production could be more precisely dated to the first decade of the 9th century.²³ He tried to support this dating with stylistic and iconographic similarities between the works of the *Master of Zadar Ambos* and the Friulian sculpture of the age, primarily from Cividale, which used to be an important religious centre at the time, but also with other related social and political reasons. He expressed the opinion that the master carver himself most probably came to Rab, Zadar and Pridraga from Cividale or its region, and that all proposed analogies between the sculpture typical of this town and the most representative works of the *Master of Zadar Ambos* "certainly point to a short period of Carolingian presence in Dalmatian towns in the first decade of the 9th century".²⁴ This thesis, which seemed altogether reasonable and logical, all the more so since similar conclusions had been drawn before,²⁵ has recently been completely corroborated.

In his analysis of a pre-Romanesque fragment, found among other early Christian and pre-Romanesque reliefs in the Zadar Romanesque basilica of St. Chrysogonus,²⁶ Josipović detected that it was originally used as a pilaster of the chancel screen carved by the so called the *Stone Carvers' Workshop of the Plutei from the Zadar Cathedral*.²⁷ However, soon afterwards it was repurposed when a visual repertory typical of chancel screen architraves made by the *Master of Zadar Ambos* was carved into its rear side. Although both of these stone carving productions had previously been dated to the same period (the second half of the 8th and the early 9th century), now it became clear that the *Master of Zadar Ambos* was slightly younger than the *Stone Carvers' Workshop of the Plutei from the Zadar Cathedral* after all. This has made it possible to date the latter workshop with more certainty to the last quarter of the 8th century, or to be exact, around the time when the Council of Nicaea was held in 787. On the other hand, the *Master of Zadar Ambos* could have been active only in the period suggested by Jurković, which is the first decade of the 9th century, certainly before the Treaty of Aachen in 812.²⁸

So if we now go back to the appearance of the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium, keeping in mind the distinctive features of the works by the *Master of Zadar Ambos*, we can safely say that this arcade does indeed reflect all their morphological qualities. For example, this is apparent in the treatment of peacocks, where a contrast between the deep background and soft edges of their bodies is also obvious. Their tails, wings and necks are rendered in shallowly cut lines, merely scoring the surface, whereas some parts of their bodies remain completely smooth. It was probably this latter quality that led Ivo Petricioli to attribute this to the superficial and lax approach of the master carver in the case of the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium. This kind of motif

²³ M. JURKOVIĆ, Un raro motivo iconografico sulla scultura altomedievale – i senmurv di Arbe e Nevidane, in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković. Zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana / Festschrift on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, (eds.) Miljenko Jurković, Predrag Marković, Zagreb - Motovun, 2016, pp. 43-51.

²⁴ M. JURKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 48.

²⁵ For example, Nikola Jakšić expressed the same opinion about the dating of parapet fragments of the Zadar ambos in several places. See N. JAKŠIĆ, Scultura e liturgia, in: *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi. Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi*, (eds.) Carlo Bertelli et alii, Milano, 2001, p. 184; *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi. Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi*, (eds.) Carlo Bertelli et alii, Milano, 2001, p. 381 (Nikola Jakšić, cat. n. V. 14); N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2015), p. 83.

²⁶ See further in: I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, The Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar – between Early Christian Sculpture and the Romanesque Architecture, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 23/1, Zagreb - Motovun, 2017, pp. 299-305.

²⁷ About defining this stone carving production, its dating and morphological characteristics see further in: I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 7, 2013), pp. 37-56; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, Radionica plutejâ zadarske katedrale, *Ars Adriatica*, 4, Zadar, 2014, pp. 43-62.

²⁸ Cf. I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 75-77.



Fig. 7. Comparison – details of the ambos parapet from the Zadar Cathedral (left; photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg) and rear arcade of the Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium (right; photo: I. Josipović)

treatment is also visible on the left peacock from the aforementioned architrave in the Zadar Cathedral, whereas the body of the peacock on the right was left perfectly smooth. Also, while the legs and especially the talons of the peacock on the left side of the architrave were rendered with care and attention to detail, the peacock facing it from the right, as well as both peacocks from the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium, have legs that are significantly more crude in their shape and talons that resemble small triangles. A similar treatment is evident in various animal figures carved by the *Master of Zadar Ambos* into plutei fragments from Pridraga, parts of ambos parapets from the Zadar Cathedral and from the Church of St. Chrysogonus, as well as on the three arcades at the back of what is today a hexagonal high altar ciborium from the Rab Cathedral. In all these examples the phenomenon of “intentional incompleteness” is visible both in zoomorphic and anthropomorphic motifs, as well as in the rather awkward placement on unshapely legs lacking joints, which is why, unlike other body parts, these legs seem to be hanging from the animals instead of supporting them.

Furthermore, the space behind the peacocks' backs is filled with stylized lily flowers, carved identically to those on two of the three pre-Romanesque arcades on the ciborium in the Rab Cathedral. What is especially important for this attribution is the fact that the entire braid filling the left vertical border on the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium, emerging from the elongated rectangle with a twisted profile,²⁹ is braided with two triple-band ribbons. A double-ribbon braid from the right border is quite distinct because it does not start out as a twisted form, and what makes it even more unique are its double-braided ribbons that transition into a

²⁹ Interestingly, in this detail the front arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium imitates the rear arcade as well, because the twisted form from which the double-ribbon triple-band braid in the left border of the front arcade emerges, was preserved on its left-side base.

triple-band profile at its highest point (or what has remained of it).³⁰ It is precisely this feature that belongs among the main “morellian” details, typical of the *Master of Zadar Ambos*, so much so that we might almost call it his “signature”. The same kind of braiding, which he obviously consciously and purposefully reiterates, can be found in a number of his other works, such as the ambos parapets from the Zadar Cathedral (Fig. 7) and the Church of St. Chrysogonus in the same town.³¹ We trust that all these arguments are sufficient to attribute the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium beyond any doubt to the *Master of Zadar Ambos*, dating it to the first decade of the 9th century.

Speaking of the said master, it should be pointed out that all his works exhibit characteristics which in general morphological terms reveal strong similarities with the sculpture of the broader Friulian and Istrian region in the period from the second quarter of the 8th until the early 9th century.³² Its most representative examples are the famous octagonal ciborium of Patriarch Callistus,³³ Patriarch Sigwald’s plate from Cividale del Friuli³⁴ as well as the seminal hexagonal ciborium of Bishop Mauritius from Novigrad Istarski (Ital. *Cittanova d’Istria*).³⁵ Although some of these works, such as Callistus’ ciborium, represent the peak of what source literature calls the “Liutprand Renaissance”, the others, like the Novigrad ciborium, are considered to be an eastern Adriatic echo of this style.³⁶ The third group, like Sigwald’s plate, represents a typical mainstream in the body of work constituting the early European pre-Romanesque sculpture, but what all of them have in common is a visual language immanent in the *Master of Zadar Ambos*. Therefore, this master, along with the stone carver of the Novigrad ciborium, belongs to the same production that was inspired by the Northern Italian sculpture of the era. Its artistic influence spread to the eastern Adriatic coast in the late 8th and the early 9th century owing to the sponsorship and expansion of this Frankish ruler and the growing jurisdiction of the Aquileian patriarch, so it might be argued that the relationship between these master carvers was that of the teacher and the pupil.

³⁰ Ivo Petricioli observed this particularity as early as 1983, but later authors did not attach any significance to this. Curiously enough, while interpreting this phenomenon the author in question still believed that it was “caused by clumsy and careless stone carving”. I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 2, 1983), p. 8.

³¹ I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 7, 2013), p. 28; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 7, 2016), p. 448.

³² More on the Friulian sculpture of the era and its influence on what is now the Croatian coastline see in: S. LUSUARDI SIENA – P. PIVA, Da Pemmone a Paolino d’Aquileia: Appunti sull’arredo liturgico e la scultura in Friuli tra VIII e IX sec., *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 8, Zagreb - Motovun, 2002, pp. 295-323.

³³ *Le diocesi di Aquileia e Grado*, (ed.) Amelio Tagliaferri, in: *Corpus della scultura altomedievale*, X, Spoleto, 1981, pp. 210-216, cat. n. 315-330; T. LXXXV-XCV.

³⁴ *Le diocesi di Aquileia...*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), pp. 216-219, cat. n. 331, T. XCVI.

³⁵ M. JURKOVIĆ, Il ciborio di Novigrad (Cittanova d’Istria), *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 1, Zagreb - Motovun, 1995, pp. 141-149; *Bizantini, Croati...*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 326-327, 346-347 (Miljenko Jurković, cat. n. IV. 18); M. JURKOVIĆ – I. MATEJČIĆ – J. ZIHERL, *Novigradski lapidarij / Lapidario di Cittanova*, Novigrad - Cittanova, 2006, pp. 45-54; P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 39-46, 181-203.

³⁶ On echoes of the “Liutprand Renaissance” as well as other schools of sculpture from the broader area of northern Italy see further in: N. JAKŠIĆ, Dalmatinski primjeri reljefa u stilu liutprandovske »renesanse«, in: *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske (Zbornik radova sa znanstvenih skupova »Dani Cvita Fiskovića« održanih 2003. i 2004. godine)*, (eds.) Predrag Marković, Jasenka Gudelj, Zagreb, 2008, pp. 395-406; N. JAKŠIĆ, Riflessi della »rinascenza liutprandea« nei centri urbani della costa Adriatica orientale, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 16, Zagreb - Motovun, 2010, pp. 17-26; N. JAKŠIĆ, La scultura „longobarda“ in Croazia, in: *Letteratura, arte e cultura italiana tra le due sponde dell’Adriatico / Talijanska književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana (Atti della Giornata di studio, Padova, 9 novembre 2007 / Zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa, Padova, 9. studenoga 2007.)*, (eds.) Luciana Borsetto, Nedjeljka Balić-Nižić, Živko Nižić, Zadar, 2014, pp. 9-26; N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2015), pp. 103-132.

In the 1030s the Zadar proconsul Gregorius commissioned a new high altar ciborium that was installed in the choir of the early Christian Zadar cathedral dedicated to St. Peter. This ciborium must have replaced an earlier pre-Romanesque one, carved by the *Master of Zadar Ambos*, and one of its arcades, most probably the front one, was reused as spolia and placed at the back when the new liturgical installation was planned and constructed. The destiny of the remaining fragments of the pre-Romanesque ciborium remains unknown, but some of its elements may be recognized in the early pre-Romanesque reliefs that were found within the Zadar episcopal complex, part of which have already been attributed precisely to the *Master of Zadar Ambos*.³⁷ In this way the contracting party, the stone carvers as well as the entire religious community paid homage to the old pre-Romanesque ciborium that was considered “a sacred object” and as such could not have been thrown away or destroyed. So one arcade was incorporated into the new, early Romanesque liturgical installation as a “historical artefact”, while its other parts were probably stored somewhere within the episcopal complex and most of them were quite possibly also reused at some later date.

Be that as it may, an arcade of the older ciborium was combined with the three early Romanesque arcades to make a new whole that we now know as Proconsul Gregorius’ ciborium. The front and rear arcades are wider than the lateral ones by the depth of one side, and they were joined together by aligning these lateral arcades with the back edges of the front and rear arcade, thus forming right angles of the ciborium.³⁸ This basically means that the decorations flanking the front and rear arcade constitute vertical borders on the lateral arcades, which are in this particular case filled with very regular and neatly carved double-band double-ribbon braids with “the eyes”, a treatment that indisputably belongs to the early Romanesque style typical of the 11th century. This points to the conclusion that the carver of the so called *Zadar-Solin (Split) Stone Carvers’ Workshop*³⁹ had to partly

³⁷ This primarily refers to one very interesting capital, already attributed to the *Master of Zadar Ambos*, which was found in the northern side of the main apse in the Zadar Cathedral. It displays an intriguing and unorthodox repertory of decorative motifs, such as small pointed squares, voluminous corner volutes and a zig-zag ribbon circling around its base, i. e. the section where it transitions into the column. See P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 79; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 7, 2013), p. 31, T. II. 4; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, (n. 7, 2016), p. 448-449, n. 31, fig. 10. In addition to this capital, there is another piece that can be interpreted as a part of the pre-Romanesque ciborium of the Zadar cathedral and as such the work of the aforementioned master carver; a very similar arcade fragment found in the gallery of the St. Donatus Church, which Pavuša Vežić associates with the capital in question, and speculates that both fragments are “*parts of a ciborium from the cathedral or the rotunda (St. Donatus; authors’ comment) from the second half of the 8th century*”. P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 79.

³⁸ In more general terms, about constructing ciboria and assembling its arcades see further in: P. VEŽIĆ – M. LONČAR, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 28-38.

³⁹ Following the line of thought imposed by the sentence structure, we might have inadvertently singled out the stone carver from an entire group of people who make up a stone carving production. That is why we feel it should be pointed out that Igor Fisković particularly insisted on his individualization and recognition as the most important contributor, i. e. a foreman of sorts in the *Zadar-Solin Stone Carvers’ Workshop*. In an effort to anchor this individualization terminologically, he applied a common practice of art historians in “christening” unknown masters and named him after his best and most representative work. That is how Fisković coined the phrase the *Master of King Petar Krešimir IV*, naming him after the Split, i. e. Solin relief depicting this Croatian king (Fig. 5d). As a later work by this stone carver, it is one of the finest in his oeuvre since it seems “*more mature and technically refined*” than his Zadar body of works, “*approaching the sensibility of the Romanesque style*” in its characteristic features. I. FISKOVIĆ, *Majstor kralja Petra Krešimira IV.*, in: *Munuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić (Zbornik povodom osamdesetog rođendana / Festschrift on the occasion on his 80th birthday)*, (eds.) Miljenko Jurković, Ante Milošević, Zagreb - Motovun - Split, 2012, pp. 239-255, and especially p. 246 and pp. 254-255. A diametrically opposed opinion regarding the identification of the king from the aforementioned Solin (Split) relief, according to which the figure in question represents King Demetrius Zvonimir - which dates the relief to a later period - was proposed by Magdalena Skoblar in her recent book on figural reliefs in Dalmatia and Croatia in the 11th century. M. SKOBLAR, *Figural Sculpture in Eleventh-Century Dalmatia and Croatia – Patronage, Architectural Context, History*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2016, pp. 118-154.

rework the sides of the arcade from the early 9th century when it was attached to the back of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium. This required him to slightly "trim it down" along the edges in order to accommodate for the depth of the relief on the new decoration along its sides, i. e. the aforementioned vertical braids. The traces of this mild narrowing of the rear arcade are visible along the edges of its decoration because the outer mouldings of the borders are slimmer than those on the inside. This narrowing also defined how wide the Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium would finally be, which is how the old arcade of the pre-Romanesque ciborium actually determined slightly smaller dimensions of the new liturgical installation – Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium.

Interestingly, a similar ciborium was found in the Zadar Church of St. Thomas (Fig. 8). From what can now be seen on its reasonably well preserved rear arcade (Fig. 8c) (from the front one only two smaller fragments remain), it most probably did not have a double-band multi-ribbon braid along the sides of the front and rear arcade. If that indeed was the case, it would imply that the lateral arcades did not have braided borders, which is slightly surprising. It is precisely this rear arcade that provides strong support to the attribution of the rear arcade of Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium to the *Master of Zadar Ambos* because it faithfully reproduces its iconography with one peacock in each of the two triangular arcade insets. Their treatment, however, is strikingly different, which provides an ideal opportunity to compare the same motifs carved into those two arcades and establish what distinguishes the early pre-Romanesque style from a typical early Romanesque expression (Fig. 9). Moreover, the St. Thomas' ciborium, although an obvious imitation of the Cathedral ciborium, is somewhat larger in size, but as we have already emphasized, its shape is sleeker and relief deeper.

Also, based on the site where the latter ciborium had been found, there was a consensus in the source literature that this liturgical installation was placed in the choir of the early Christian basilica of St. Thomas in the second quarter of the 11th century. However, we shall put forth some consid-

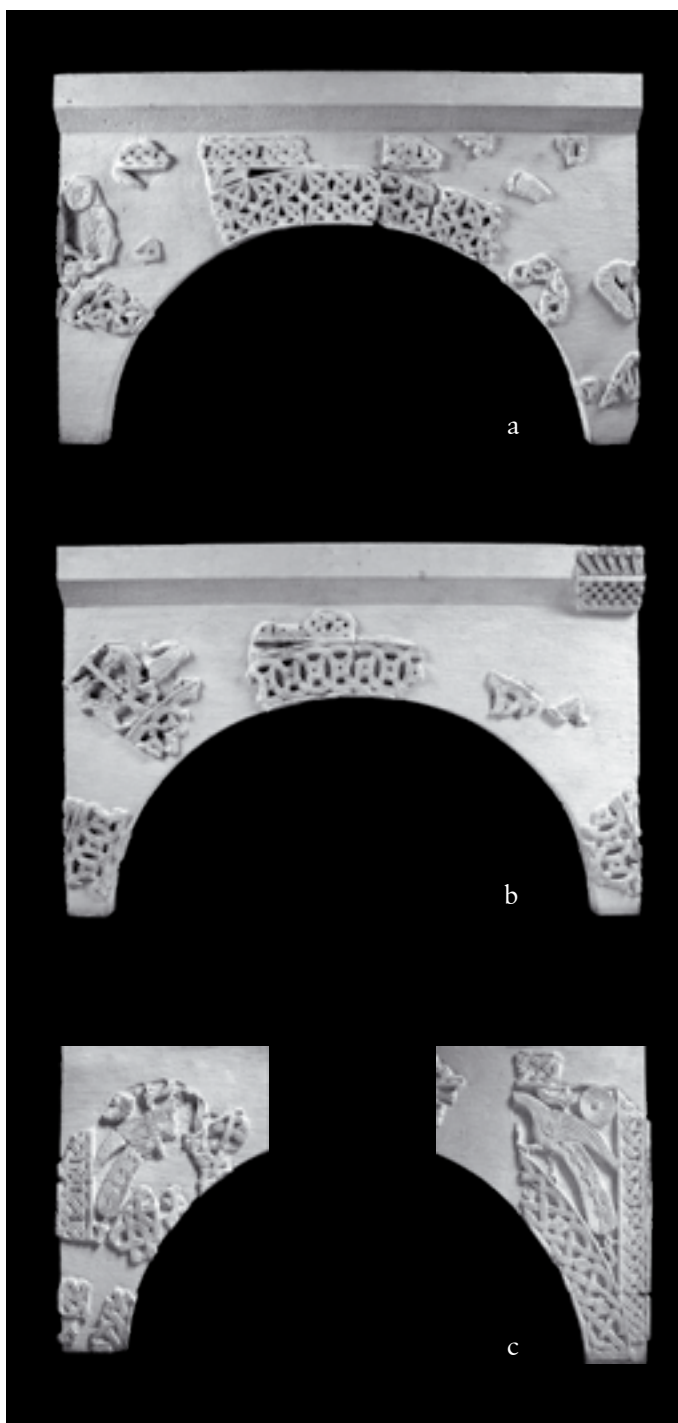


Fig. 8. Three arcades of the high altar ciborium found in the Church of St. Thomas in Zadar: left lateral arcade (a), right lateral arcade (b) and two parts of the rear arcade (c), limestone, Archaeological Museum, Zadar (photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg)



Fig. 9. Comparison – details of the rear arcade of the Proconsul Gregorius' ciborium (left) and rear arcade of the ciborium found in the Church of St. Thomas in Zadar (right) (photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo: Z. Alajbeg)

erations that might lead to a considerably different conclusion. It is a fact that, with the exception of the fragments from the said ciborium, no other pre-Romanesque or early Romanesque fragments of sculpture or architectural decoration come from the Church of St. Thomas - only early Christian fragments from previous periods are linked with this basilica.⁴⁰ The church itself was reconstructed in the Romanesque period when it acquired a row of columns with massive cubical capitals, several of which have been found,⁴¹ and again in 1340 when it was given a Gothic main portal.⁴² On 20th June 1412 a flagellant confraternity of St. Sylvester relocated to St. Thomas' from the Church of St. Sylvester in southeastern part of the town, i. e. the Zadar peninsula, which is why the basilica was subsequently renamed after this new titular.⁴³ So it does not seem completely improbable that

⁴⁰ P. VEŽIĆ, *Zadar na pragu kršćanstva – arhitektura ranoga kršćanstva u Zadru i na zadarskome području*, Zadar, 2005, pp. 158-178 (*passim*); A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *Liturgijski ambijenti i instalacije ranokršćanskog razdoblja na zadarskom području* (doctoral thesis), Zagreb, 2012, part 1, pp. 77-80; part 2 (catalogue), pp. 33-47, cat. n. (23)1.-(28)6.

⁴¹ N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *Prošlost Zadra II – Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409.*, Zadar, 1976, p. 261.

⁴² I. PETRICIOLI, Lik Zadra u srednjem vijeku, in: *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 11-12, (eds.) Grga Novak, Vjekoslav Maštrović, Zadar, 1965, p. 153; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 59, 69-70.

⁴³ According to Vladislav Cvitanović, the confraternity moved to the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle after St. Sylvester Church was torn down in 1541. V. CVITANOVIĆ, Bratovštine grada Zadra, in: *Zadar: geografija – ekonomija – saobraćaj – povijest – kultura (zbornik)*, (ed.) Jakša Ravlić, Zagreb, 1964, p. 462. This information is incorrect since the move took place much earlier, more precisely - as already stated above - in 1412, even before the demolition of the Church of St. Sylvester, which was torn down between 1541 and 1544. The Third Order of Saint Francis acquired it in 1541 and moved to this new location from the demolished Church of St. John in the part of Zadar now known as Relja. In the place where the ruins of St. Sylvester's stood they erected a new and larger church with the adjoining monastery that they dedicated to St. John the Baptist. This church was torn down in 1844 when the Austrian authorities built a sprawling barracks in its place. Cf. A. STRGAČIĆ, Kada je zadarska bratovština flagelanata prešla iz crkve sv. Silvestra u crkvu sv. Tome Apostola, *Vjesnik staleškog društva katoličkih svećenika NRH*, IV, 1-4, Zagreb, 1957, *passim*; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 151, n. 39; I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 59.

the early Romanesque ciborium, the fragments of which were found on the site of the former St. Thomas basilica, originally belonged to the old Church of St. Chrysogonus Monastery where it had probably replaced the old altar ciborium from the late 8th century.⁴⁴ After a new Romanesque basilica was built and consecrated in 1175,⁴⁵ it was then relocated to its choir. There it could have stayed by the early 18th century at the latest, since a new, opulent Baroque altar was constructed in the St. Chrysogonus basilica in 1701.⁴⁶ It was on this occasion that the early Romanesque ciborium could have been disassembled and removed from the St. Chrysogonus basilica and its parts taken to the nearby Church of St. Thomas before it was completely demolished in the 19th century.

Should this hypothesis, which we propose here for the first time and for which it is not possible to provide conclusive evidence, be accepted as probable or at least possible, this would mean that the case of the two early Romanesque Zadar ciboria corroborates the fact the Benedictine church of St. Chrysogonus did indeed imitate the Zadar cathedral. This would then be further confirmation of the already observed phenomenon that the church of the Benedictine monastery for men was what could be described as a smaller and less expensive version of the Zadar cathedral. The correlation of this church with the Cathedral is evident in the similarity of their pre-Romanesque reliefs and the affinity of the architectural and sculptural choices made during the construction of the Romanesque church of the Benedictine monastery, as can be immediately seen on its façade.⁴⁷ However, whereas all the known examples of artistic achievements from and in the Church St. Chrysogonus have always been poorer imitations of their Cathedral counterparts, the Benedictine ciborium would be the first example of work that is actually slightly more refined than Proconsul Gregorius' Cathedral ciborium. This latter liturgical installation consists of arcades carved in the 11th century and an older arcade from a pre-Romanesque ciborium, which was used as spolia, thus establishing a template that defined dimensions and to a certain extent the overall appearance of the newly assembled monument.

Translation from Croatian: Sandra Mladenović

⁴⁴ All that remains from this ciborium are one arcade and a fragment of its pyramidal roof that have been attributed to the *Stone Carvers' Workshop of the Plutei from the Zadar Cathedral*, which dates them to the last quarter of the 8th century. Cf. I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 303-304, fig. 11a-b; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp. 75-77, fig. 8; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, La scultura della cattedrale di Zara e della chiesa di San Crisogono a Zara tra IX e XIV secolo, in: *Conversano nel Medioevo: storia, arte e cultura del territorio tra IX e XIV secolo (Saggi di storia dell'arte)*, (eds.) Gaetano Curzi et alii, Campisano Editore Srl, Roma, 2018, p. 174, with reference to previous relevant literature.

⁴⁵ I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 299; I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 44, 2018), p. 173.

⁴⁶ See R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Kiparstvo II*, Zadar, 2008, pp. 42, 138-143, with all previous relevant literature.

⁴⁷ Cf. I. JOSIPOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 44, 2018), pp. 176-177.

Slučaj zadarskog ciborija prokonzula Grgura – spolij kao predložak za novi spomenik

Pronalazak većeg broja ulomaka zadarskoga ciborija prokonzula Grgura 1891. godine dodatno je obogatio umjetničku baštinu Zadra te je doprinio unaprijeđenju saznanja o njegovim ranoromaničkim reljefima. Nakon rekonstrukcije ciborija koju je 1954. godine u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru napravio Ivo Petricioli te stilsko-morfološke analize koju je nakon toga proveo, ciborij je temeljem karakteristika njegove izvedbe uvršten u opusu tada definirane *Zadarsko-solinske (splitske) klesarske radionice*, čije je djelovanje, upravo po dokumentirano potvrđenom vremenu Grgurove vlasti, pouzdano datirano u drugu četvrtinu 11. stoljeća. Međutim, u nekim recentnim studijama primijećena je bitna razlika u načinu izvedbe začelne od ostalih arkada toga ciborija. Stilsko-morfološka neujednačenost između njegovih arkada upućuje na razliku između ranoromaničkoga pristupa koji se ispoljava na prednjoj i dvjema bočnim arkadama te začelne arkade ciborija koja posjeduje karakteristike rane predromaničke skulpture.

Dakle, oslanjajući se na već uočenu činjenicu, autori začelnu arkadu nastoje pripisati klesarskoj produkciji nazvanoj *Majstor zadarskih ambona*, čije je djelovanje datirano u prvo desetljeće 9. stoljeća. Sukladno tome, smatraju da je ciborij prokonzula Grgura zamijenio stariji predromanički ciborij u zadarskoj katedrali koji je bio djelo *Majstora zadarskih ambona*, a jedna od arkada toga starijeg ciborija kasnije je kao spolij uklopljena u konstrukciju nove, ranoromaničke liturgijske instalacije.

Za rasvjetljivanje problematike porijekla začelne arkade ciborija prokonzula Grgura poslužila je i usporedba s ciborijem iz zadarske crkve Sv. Tome, koji je Petricioli također uvrstio u opus *Zadarsko-solinske klesarske radionice*. Naime, začelna arkada tog ciborija u ikonografskom smislu oponaša začelnu arkadu ciborija prokonzula Grgura, ali je u stilsko-morfološkom pogledu posve identično izvedena kao preostale njegove arkade te je nešto većih dimenzija u odnosu na začelnu arkadu katedralnog ciborija. Razlika u dimenzijama tih dvaju ciborija upućuje i na minimalno prilagođavanje starije, začelne arkade ciborija prokonzula Grgura njegovim trima novoisklesanim ranoromaničkim arkadama.

Na kraju članka, autori razmatraju mogućnost da je ciborij čiji su ulomci pronađeni na mjestu porušene ranokršćanske crkve Sv. Tome izvorno bio dio liturgijske opreme stare predromaničke crkve Sv. Krševana, a što bi onda dodatno potvrdilo već odavno uočenu činjenicu da je crkva muškoga benediktinskog samostana bila svojevrsna umanjena i jeftinija inačica zadarske katedrale. Međutim, dok su umjetnička ostvarenja sa i iz crkve Sv. Krševana iz svih dosada poznatih primjera bila uvijek lošije imitacije katedralnih rješenja, u ovom bi slučaju ranoromanički benediktinski ciborij po prvi put bio nešto dotjeraniji rad od srodnog mu ciborija prokonzula Grgura na koji su se redovnici očito ugledali. Taj je pak katedralni ciborij, osim od novoisklesanih arkada 11. stoljeća, bio sastavljen i od jedne arkade starijega predromaničkog ciborija koja je kao spolij postala predložak za definiranje dimenzija, a jednim dijelom i ukupnoga izgleda novosklopljenog spomenika.

Ključne riječi: *Zadar, katedrala, ciborij prokonzula Grgura, skulptura, spolij, rana predromanika, rana romanika, 11. stoljeće*

BEAST FROM THE EAST: THE GRIFFIN'S JOURNEY TO DALMATIAN ELEVENTH-CENTURY SCULPTURE

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This article argues that the introduction of griffins in Dalmatian eleventh-century sculpture was sparked by the increased exposure of the region's main ports to Byzantine and/or Islamic silks, which frequently featured these mythical creatures. This exchange was driven by Venetian merchants who benefitted from the trading privileges granted to Venice by Byzantine emperors in the tenth and the eleventh centuries. The documented routes of two individuals, travelling from Zadar to Constantinople and from Split to Antioch respectively, point to potential direct purchases from these two centres of silk production and trade. The article concludes with an examination of the griffin's symbolic significance in the carvings under discussion.

Key words: sculpture, griffins, Byzantium, silk, textiles, trade, Zadar, Split, Dalmatia

Nikola Jakšić identified the appearance of griffins in eleventh-century sculpture from the territory of the modern-day Diocese of Zadar as 'an indication of a new medieval bestiary'.¹ My contribution to this volume, which celebrates Professor Jakšić's rich career and insightful research on medieval sculpture, focuses on these fantastic beasts with a winged leonine body and an eagle's head. Although found in early medieval sculpture of France and Italy,² no Dalmatian examples are known from the period before the eleventh century.³ Only in the 1030s, the proposed date for the reconstructed *ciborium* of *proconsul* Gregory at Zadar which features griffins attacking prey (Fig. 1), do we encounter these animals in the carvings decorating churches in the port cities of Zadar and Split. In the tympanum of the portal from the church of St Lawrence at Zadar, dated to the late eleventh century, two griffins flank the central scene of the Ascension of Christ, each with a forepaw raised against a fruit-laden tree (Fig. 2). A strikingly similar piece from Majdan near Split – a fragment of a chancel screen gable with a griffin (Fig. 3) – is part of the same visual language.⁴

¹ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Skulptura u zadarskoj nadbiskupiji od VI. do XII. stoljeća*, in N. Jakšić and E. Hilje (eds.), *Umjetnička baština zadarske nadbiskupije, Kiparstvo I: od IV. do XVI. stoljeća*, Zadar, 2008, p. 31.

² For France, see a seventh-century sarcophagus at Charenton-le-Cher in A. FERDIÈRE and F. PRÉVOT, *Centre: Cher, Eure-et-Loir, Indre, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Loiret*, in G. Barruol (ed.), *Les premiers monuments chrétiens de la France*, vol. 2, *Sud-Ouest et Centre*, Paris, 1996, p. 82. For Italy, see Sigwald's panel at Cividale from the mid-eighth century in M. BUORA (ed.), *La scultura nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, vol. 1, *Dall'epoca romana al gotico*, Pordenone, 1988, p. 222, fig. 13.

³ The lintel on the south portal of Split Cathedral with medallions enclosing mythical animals, one of which is a griffin (Fig. 7), has been dated by some scholars to the second half of the seventh or the early eighth century, see T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia praeromanica: Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji*, vol. 3, *Korpus arhitekture – srednja Dalmacija*, Split, 2011, p. 255, 257–8, fig. 399a–b. A twelfth- or thirteenth-century date was put forward by Ivo Petricoli and Krno Prijatelj, see I. PETRICIOLI, *Pojava romaničke skulpture u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb, 1960, p. 66–7; K. PRIJATELJ and N. GATTIN, *Splitska katedrala*, Zagreb-Split, 1991, p. 17. Ante Milošević dated the jambs to the late eighth century and the lintel to the eleventh, see A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Un intaglio ligneo altomedievale proveniente da Spalato*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 17, Zagreb-Motovun, 2011, p. 80.

⁴ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 60, pl. 20.3; LJ. KARAMAN, *Starohrvatsko groblje na »Majdanu« kod Solina*, Split, 1936, p. 11–16.



Fig. 1. Ciborium of proconsul Gregory, arch with griffin predation, 1030–40, limestone, 153 x 250 cm.
Photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo by Zoran Alajbeg

In this article I examine how the griffin might have entered the decorative repertoire of animal motifs in eleventh-century Dalmatian sculpture. My starting point is the entanglement between the griffin and luxury textiles imported from Byzantium and the Islamic lands. Griffins were a stock motif in silks from these territories and I will argue that Dalmatian ports were exposed to this motif with increasing frequency starting with the tenth century. This was due to the activities of Venetian merchants who played a major role in the import of silk fabrics in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The sudden appearance of griffins in the Dalmatian material remains relatively uninvestigated, despite being regarded as indicating a shift towards the beginning of Romanesque sculpture. In 1960 Ivo Petricioli ascribed the workmanship of animals on a set of sculptures from Split and Zadar – *proconsul Gregory's ciborium* among them – to the 'influence of oriental textiles', singling out the outlines of quadrupeds' thighs and birds' wings divided with a line as salient features of that influence.⁵ When referring to the workmanship of all animal figures in early Romanesque Dalmatian sculpture, Petricioli wrote that they reveal the 'apparent influence of oriental fabrics, adopted either directly from textiles themselves or through Byzantine bas reliefs produced under the influence of textile motifs.'⁶ These general statements were not elaborated further in his subsequent publications. In the light of more recent and more specific discussions on Byzantine and Islamic textiles and their mutual entanglements, the time has come to put Petricioli's assessment into perspective.⁷

⁵ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 9.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁷ A. MUTHESIUS, *Silk, Culture and Being in Byzantium: How far did Precious Cloth Enrich "Memory" and Shape "Culture" Across the Empire (4th–15th centuries)?*, in *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 36, 2015, 345–62; A. MUTHESIUS, *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk Weaving*, London, 2008; A. WALKER, *Islamicizing Motifs in Byzantine Lead Seals: Exoticizing Style and the Expression of Identity*, in *Medieval History Journal* 15/2, Bryn Mawr, 2012, p. 381–408.



Fig. 2. Tympanum from the church of St Lawrence, Ascension of Christ, griffins and trees, second half of eleventh century, limestone, 48 x 153 cm. Archaeological Museum, Zadar. Photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo by Zoran Alajbeg

While it is difficult to establish whether all animals in early Romanesque Dalmatian sculpture drew on eastern textiles – only an in-depth analysis which involves a thorough examination of all types of fabrics would corroborate or contradict a statement as broad as that – griffins certainly did. They were among an exclusive set of animals – lions, elephants and eagles among them – reserved for decorative patterns on Byzantine and Islamic silks produced during the period corresponding to the Western Middle Ages. Griffin silks have been preserved in cathedral treasuries and abbeys across Europe. Pairs of griffins on the silk of St Chaffre at Le Monastier-sur-Gazeille (Fig. 4), a Byzantine tenth- or eleventh-century work, carry small quadrupeds in their beaks, while those on the tenth-century silk at Sion (Sitten) Cathedral treasury are rearing, addorsed and framed in medallions.⁸

The reason behind the survival of Byzantine silks in European church treasuries lies in the fact that they were used for wrapping relics in the medieval West. The silk of St Siviard at Sens Cathedral, dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, features medallions with beaded borders within which single griffins stand against a vegetal background.⁹ The tenth-century Byzantine silk in the Cathedral Treasury at Sion (Sitten) is also decorated with medallions encircling



Fig. 3. Fragment of chancel screen gable from Majdan, griffin with a pinecone and cross, second half of eleventh century, limestone, 34 x 25.5 cm. Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split. Photo by Zoran Alajbeg

⁸ For the St Chaffre silk at Le Monastier-sur-Gazeille, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk* (op. cit., n. 7), p. 349, pl. 6; for the griffin silk from Sion (Sitten) Cathedral, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Silk, Culture and Being in Byzantium* (op. cit., n. 7), p. 353, fig. 5.

⁹ H. C. EVANS and W. D. WIXOM (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261*, New York, 1997, p. 226.



Fig. 4. Shroud of St Chaffre, griffin predation, tenth or eleventh century, silk, 65 x 52 cm.
Abbey of St Chaffre, Le Monastier-sur-Gazeille. Photo by Julianna Lees

adorned griffins.¹⁰ In the Adriatic, a griffin silk can be found at Ancona, directly across the sea from Zadar and Split, where a two-metre-long piece with rampant and addorsed griffins set in medallions, dated to the tenth or eleventh century, was used to wrap the relics of St Cyriacus, the patron saint of the city.¹¹

It was the luxury nature of silk and the fact that the West had no sericulture or silk weaving before the late eleventh and the twelfth century that made it an extremely desirable product, with imperial, royal and high-class-related connotations. In the early middle ages and as late as the eleventh century, silk could only be obtained in Byzantium and the Islamic lands, for example Syria, Persia and Egypt, or purchased from merchants who traded there. During this period and up to the thirteenth century, it is almost impossible to differentiate between Islamic and Byzantine patterns.¹²

¹⁰ A. MUTHESIUS, *Silk, Culture and Being in Byzantium* (op. cit., n. 7), p. 353, fig. 5.

¹¹ S. ROASCIO, *Le sculture ornamentali "veneto-bizantine" di Cividale: Un itinerario artistico e archeologico tra Oriente e Occidente medievale*, Borgo S. Lorenzo, 2011, p. 136; L. ZANNINI, *Telo di San Ciriaco*, cat. no. 62, in G. Morello (ed.), *Splendori di Bisanzio: Testimonianze e riflessi d'arte e cultura bizantina nelle chiese d'Italia*, Milan, 1990, p. 162–3.

¹² The tenth-century *Book of the Prefect* recorded five private silk guilds in Constantinople alongside imperial workshops, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk* (n. 7), p. 299–300. Sericulture was introduced to the Byzantine Empire in Late Antiquity and flourished until 1204. By the end of the eleventh century, Venice and Genoa started to manufacture silk, see D. JACOBY, *Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58, Washington DC, 2004, p. 228. Following the conquest of Thebes and Corinth, King Roger II of Palermo deported local silk workers to his court in 1147 (*Ibidem*, p. 225 and 227).

The openness of Byzantine art to Islamic patterns and designs began in the tenth century and continued in the early eleventh.¹³ It is evident not only in textiles but also in other so-called minor arts. For example, Alicia Walker has examined the appearance of griffins in middle Byzantine seals and interpreted their stylized manner of depiction as being dependent on Islamic or 'Byzantine Islamicising objects' in different media.¹⁴ She identified the following features which point to such prototypes: a linear rendition of animals depicted either in profile or in an 'unnaturally symmetrical, frontal pose' and distinctive details on the animals' bodies, for example beaded bands on their wings or shoulders and 'a tear drop motif' on their haunches, along with beaded borders encircling animals in general.¹⁵ The existence of such features simply points to the origin of a certain motif and not to the exact origin of a certain object.

Overall, the eleventh century saw an increase in the Byzantine production of silk; as a consequence, sericulture was no longer centralised at Constantinople and is encountered as a growing business at Thebes in Boeotia.¹⁶ According to David Jacoby, the demand for silk was driven by the 'urban lay society of south Italy', the origin of its spread to other western ports.¹⁷ Whatever the demand, prior to the twelfth century, the trade in silk between Byzantium and the West was effected through Venice; no other Italian city was the beneficiary of similar concessions in the silk trade.¹⁸ In 992 Emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII reinstated an earlier privilege of reduced passage fees for Venetian ships, while the *chrysobull* issued by Alexios I Komnenos in 1082 exempted Venetian merchants from paying trade tax.¹⁹

SILK IN DALMATIA

Looking at the items mentioned in the testaments of local dignitaries and other sources in Dalmatia, it is clear that local elites had access to silks from the early tenth century onwards. This is in the same century that Venetian merchants are known to have exported silks from Constantinople and enjoyed a trading privilege granted by Byzantine emperors.²⁰ What is more telling, at least judging from the surviving sources, is the fact that it was the lay elites who led the way, acquiring silks for personal use or donating them to churches and monasteries. At Zadar, in his testament of 918, *prior* Andrew left four silk cloths to four local churches and two silk-decorated objects – a leather bed spread and a felt garment – to a deacon called John.²¹ Agape, a daughter of tribune Dabro, owned five silk items which she left to the Abbey of St Chrysogonus upon her death in 999.²² At some point between

¹³ A. GRABAR, *Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens*, in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd series, 2, Munich, 1951, 32–60.

¹⁴ A. WALKER, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 388.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 389.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 349; D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 202 and 224.

¹⁷ D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 228.

¹⁸ A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk* (n. 7), p. 119 and 127.

¹⁹ D. JACOBY, *Venetian Commercial Expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean, 8th–11th centuries*, in M. Mundell Mango (ed.), *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th centuries: The Archaeology of Local, Regional and International Exchange (Papers of the Thirty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, St John's College, University of Oxford, March 2004)*, Aldershot, 2009, p. 375 and 387. For the *chrysobull*'s dating to 1092, see P. FRANKOPAN, *Byzantine Trade Privileges to Venice in the Eleventh Century: The Chrysobull of 1092*, in *Journal of Medieval History* 30, Amsterdam, 2004, p. 135–60.

²⁰ D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 379.

²¹ J. STIPIŠIĆ and M. ŠAMŠALović (eds.), *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, *Diplomata annorum 743.–1100. continens*, Zagreb, 1967, p. 27.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 49. One item cannot be identified due to the damage sustained by the document. The other four are a netted hair cover (*artatikio*), a different cover transcribed as *investitura*, a pillowcase and a length of cloth. For the identification of the *artatikio*, see M. GROŠELJ, *De nonnullis vocibus in lexico Latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae, fasc. I & II obviis*, in *Linguistica* 10/1, Ljubljana, 1970, p. 85.



Fig. 5. Fragment of chancel screen panel from the Abbey of St Chrysogonus, griffin predation, late eleventh or early twelfth century, limestone, 46 x 55 cm. Archaeological Museum, Zadar.
Photo credit: © Archdiocese of Zadar, photo by Zoran Alajbeg

1042 and 1044, the same abbey received a donation of a fully furnished church from *banus* Stephen of Croatia, who also held the Byzantine title of *protospatharios*. It included a staggering amount of silk fabrics compared to those possessed by Andrew and Agape: as many as fifteen cloths of silk, five chasubles and a curtain.²³ In 1018 the citizens of Rab promised to pay the doge of Venice an annual tribute in ten libras of silk.²⁴ Finally, two late-eleventh-century monastic inventories from Split take us back to smaller quantities: the Benedictines at Split had a silk veil and two silk maniples while the monastery of St Peter at Selo, founded by Peter Zerni, possessed three silk cloths and two silk maniples.²⁵ Dalmatian records, therefore, reflect the same demand for silks by the local lay society as that identified by Jacoby in south Italy.²⁶

While *prior* Andrew and Agape could have obtained their silks from Venetian merchants stopping at Zadar on their way home from Byzantium, silk fabrics could also have been brought home by Dalmatian travellers returning from the East. The fact that the aforementioned *ciborium* of *proconsul* Gregory is the earliest example of a griffin motif in Dalmatian sculpture (Fig. 1) might owe something to his brother Dobrona's three trips to Constantinople within the space of four or five years

²³ J. STIPIŠIĆ and M. ŠAMŠALović, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 75.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 211–12.

²⁶ D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 228.

(1029–34). Dobrona visited Emperor Romanos III Argyros twice and received many gifts from him; however, when he made a further visit upon the accession of Michael IV, he was not well received and ended up in prison.²⁷ Considering that silks were given as diplomatic gifts by Byzantine emperors,²⁸ it is not difficult to imagine that Dobrona could have brought some with him after seeing Romanos III. Moreover, as is known from Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos' *De Cerimoniis*, the imperial audience took place in the *Chrysotriklinos* where silk imperial robes, two of which were decorated with griffins, were hung on display.²⁹

To Dobrona's visits to Constantinople which, as Jakšić demonstrated in 1982, are responsible for a large amount of Byzantine gold *solidi* of Romanos III discovered in Dalmatia,³⁰ I would also like to add another journey via which Byzantine and Islamic silks could have reached this region. In the second half of the eleventh century, Lawrence, the Archbishop of Split who assumed office around 1060, sent a personal servant to Antioch in order to 'learn the art of crafting works of gold and silver.'³¹ Upon his return, the servant made silver liturgical vessels 'in the Antiochian style', none of which survive in the cathedral and so the characteristics of this 'style' remain a mystery.³²

As it happens, Antioch was also a documented centre of both silk production and silk trade in the eleventh century, with Islamic fabrics arriving via Aleppo and being purchased in silver and gold.³³ As a Byzantine outpost at the border with Islamic lands, Antioch was a mercantile hub where Venetian as well as Amalfitan merchants are recorded as residing in the eleventh century; the trade links between these groups and the city go back to the early tenth century when it was still in Muslim hands.³⁴ The regular communication between Venice and Antioch meant that transport was available for pilgrims who wanted to go to the Holy Land and, as early as the 1060s, Venetian merchants

²⁷ V. WASSILIEWSKY and V. JERNSTEDT (eds.), *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 77–8.

²⁸ A. MUTHESIUS, *Silk, Power and Diplomacy in Byzantium*, in *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* 580, Lincoln (Nebraska), 1992, p. 101–4.

²⁹ J. M. FEATHERSTONE, *Δι' ἐνδειξιν Display in Court Ceremonial (De Cerimoniis II, 15)*, in J.-M. Spieser, A. Cutler and A. Papaconstantinou (eds.), *The Material and the Ideal: Essays in Mediaeval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, Leiden, 2008, p. 94; C. ANGELIDI, *Designing Receptions in the Palace (De Cerimoniis 2.15)*, in A. Beihammer, S. Constantinou and M. Parani (eds.), *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean: Comparative Perspectives*, Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 479.

³⁰ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Solidus romanatus na istočnoj jadranskoj obali*, in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3rd series, 12, Split, 1982, p. 182; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Il caso dell'arconte Dobrona e del proconsole Gregorio*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 13/1, Zagreb-Motuvun, 2007, p. 138–141.

³¹ Thomas the Archdeacon, *History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, in D. Karbić, M. Matijević Sokol and J. R. Sweeney (eds.), Latin text by O. Perić, Budapest, 2006, p. 74–5.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 75. In contrast to the late antique period, it is a struggle to find objects in precious metals from Antioch's medieval period. The late tenth-century reliquary of St Anastasios the Persian is one, see H. C. EVANS and W. D. WIXOM, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 460–1; W. B. R. SAUNDERS, *The Aachen Reliquary of Eustathius Maleinus, 969–70*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36, Washington DC, 1982, p. 211–19. If a silver casket at the Vatican Museum, dated to the late eleventh century and assumed to be of Antiochian provenance is indicative, then the 'Antiochian style' refers to the damascening technique of metalworking in which one type of metal is inlaid in another. Carlo Cecchelli dated the Vatican casket broadly to the eleventh or the twelfth century, see C. CECHELLI, *Il tesoro del Laterano. II. Oreficerie, argenti, smalti*, in *Dedalo* 7/1, 1926–1927, p. 240–1. Boris Marshak refers to it as being from Antioch (ⲉ) and produced around 1098, see B. I. MARSHAK, *An Early Seljuk Silver Bottle from Siberia*, in D. Behrens-Abouseif and A. Contadina (eds.), *Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers*, Leiden, 2004, p. 265, n. 22.

³³ D. JACOBY, *Commercio e navigazione degli Amalfitani nel Mediterraneo orientale: Sviluppo e declino* in B. Figliuolo and P. F. Simbula (eds.), *Interscambi socio-culturali ed economici fra le città marinare d'Italia e l'Occidente dagli osservatori mediterranei*, Amalfi, 2014, p. 106.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 105 and 107.

provided this service on their vessels.³⁵ Given that Antioch-bound Venetians would have stopped at Split for provisions on the Adriatic leg of their journey, it is not difficult to imagine how Archbishop Lawrence's servant made it to his destination. With regard to his return to Split, considering that in 1084 Antioch passed into Seljuk hands³⁶ and that the Archbishop died around 1099, it is likely that he came back before 1084.

ORNAMENT OR SYMBOL?

Was the transmission of the griffin from one type of object to another, for example, from a precious fabric to a stone carving, prompted only by the prestige and distinction of the motif, or was there an additional, symbolic significance? To approach this issue, it is worth distinguishing between griffins that form scenes with other animals or plants and those enclosed in medallions on their own.³⁷ The first group comprises those on the following carvings at Zadar: *proconsul* Gregory's *ciborium* (Fig. 1), the tympanum from the church of St Lawrence (Fig. 2) and the fragment from the Abbey of St Chrysogonus (Fig. 5). In and around Split, the relevant carvings are the chancel screen gable in the church of St Martin (Fig. 6) above the Golden Gate of Diocletian's Palace³⁸ and the gable from Majdan (Fig. 3).

Isolated griffins fill medallions alongside other animals on the eleventh-century lintel above the south portal of Split Cathedral (Fig. 7) and on a contemporary holy water stoup in the same church, as well as on a base from the Benedictine nunnery of St Mary at Zadar, which also may have supported a stoup.³⁹ These medallioned patterns with griffins and other animals echo the decorations on Middle Byzantine silks imitating those produced in the Islamic lands. In this cases griffins probably retain only the most general association as a motif typical of luxury fabrics. Here, it is worth bearing in mind that the south portal at Split Cathedral had a wooden door in the second half of the eleventh century, which was also decorated with animals akin to those on eastern textiles.⁴⁰ Ante Milošević plausibly attributed the three works from Split Cathedral to the pontificate of Archbishop Lawrence.⁴¹

Griffins in combat with other animals belong to the phenomenon of talismanic and apotropaic images of animal violence which Henry Maguire identified in Middle Byzantine art.⁴² As such,

³⁵ D. JACOBY, *Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, Byzantium and Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the Eleventh Century*, in L. M. Hoffmann with A. Monchizadehed (eds.), *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie: Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 275, 278 and 283–4; D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 109, n. 114.

³⁶ D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 109, n. 113.

³⁷ A. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, *Griffin*, in A. Kazhdan (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, New York-Oxford, 1991, p. 885.

³⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Patron Saints of the Medieval Gates in Diocletian's Palace*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 9, Zagreb-Motovun, 2003, p. 188.

³⁹ T. MARASOVIĆ, *op. cit.* 2011 (n. 3), p. 255 and 257, fig. 399a–b (the portal); p. 259 and 261, fig. 341 (the holy water stoup). Marasović dated the stoup broadly to the early or high Middle Ages and considered it to be later than the portal. Milošević dated both carvings to the second half of the eleventh century, see A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 78, fig. 7a–b. For the base from Zadar, see N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 142. A griffin can be seen on an eleventh-century marble panel from Koločep, set within an interlaced ring together with two boys and a dog chasing a hare with which it does not communicate, see M. SKOBLAR, *Figural Sculpture in Eleventh-Century Dalmatia and Croatia*, New York-London, 2016, p. 159, fig. 5.5; Ž. PEKOVIĆ, *Četiri elafitske crkve / Quattro chiese delle isole Elafite*, Split, 2008, p. 89, fig. 101b.

⁴⁰ A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 75–82, fig. 1. He dated the stone base from Zadar to the late eleventh or early twelfth century (*Ibidem*, p. 78).

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 78.

⁴² H. MAGUIRE, *Profane Icons: The Significance of Animal Violence in Byzantine Art*, in *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38, Chicago, 2000, p. 28; A. GRABAR, *Sculptures byzantines du Moyen Âge*, vol. 2, *XIe–XIVe siècle*, Paris, 1976, p. 59 and 119–20, pl. 26b.

these images were ideal gatekeepers and frequently appeared next to openings and chancel screens in Middle Byzantine churches. The space next to the windows at Hosios Loukas depicted a number of predators, including a griffin, attacking prey.⁴³ Anthony Cutler and Alexander Kazhdan highlighted the evil-averting power of the griffin as a possible reason for its presence in Byzantine textiles.⁴⁴

Two occurrences of the griffin snatching what seems to be a dog are present on Gregory's *ciborium* (Fig. 1) and griffin predation is carved on the fragment from St Chrysogonus (Fig. 5). This carving was ascribed to the early twelfth century by Jakšić on the basis of its workmanship in higher relief when compared to Gregory's *ciborium*.⁴⁵ In both examples from Zadar griffins have beards, which is a Byzantine trait and evident on the St Siviard silk at Sens and the shroud of St Chaffre (Fig. 4).⁴⁶ Their position on the *ciborium* and the chancel screen, the elements of



Fig. 6. Chancel screen gable with a cross flanked by a griffin and a bird in the church of St Martin at Split, late eleventh century, limestone, 268 x 190 cm (dimensions of screen).

Photo by Mark Ahsmann (cropped)

liturgical furnishings which act as doorways to the sanctuary area and the altar respectively, do fit into Maguire's explanation of the motif as apotropaic. However, to what extent the local community would have been acquainted with this quality of the griffin is uncertain without further research.

In a different publication, Maguire pointed out that the griffin was the only chimera inherited from the art of antiquity that escaped being censored as a pagan trait, and that Byzantines considered it 'an authentic work of the creator'.⁴⁷ On the *Earthly Paradise* ivory (c. 870) at the Louvre, it even appears among the animals of Paradise illustrating the orders of creation.⁴⁸ The heavenly connotation is an important one and Slobodan Ćurčić linked griffins with heavenly assumptions.⁴⁹ In the most famous case, Alexander the Great undertook a celestial journey in a chariot pulled by griffins

⁴³ H. MAGUIRE, *op. cit.* (n. 42), fig. 13; A. GRABAR, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pl. 26b.

⁴⁴ A. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 885.

⁴⁵ N. JAKŠIĆ, cat. no. 43, in N. Jakšić and E. Hilje (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 142–3, fig. 43. Ivan Josipović and Ivana Tomas dated it to 'the period after the beginning of twelfth century' also on account of the carving's higher relief and the overall aptitude for anatomical correctness, presumably in relation to animals in eleventh-century sculpture, see I. JOSIPOVIĆ and I. TOMAS, *The Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar – Between Early Christian Sculpture and the Romanesque Architecture*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 23/1, Zagreb-Motovun, 2017, p. 301–2, fig. 14. Petricioli provided no date, see I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 61, pl. XXI, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ L. BOURAS, *The Griffin through the Ages*, Athens, 1983, p. 51.

⁴⁷ E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE and H. MAGUIRE, *Other Icons: Art and Power in Byzantine Secular Culture*, Princeton, 2009, p. 9.

⁴⁸ D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *Les ivoires médiévaux*, Paris, 2003, no. 41; A. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VII.–IX. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1914, p. 77, pl. LXX.

⁴⁹ S. ĆURČIĆ, *Some Uses (and Reuses) of Griffins in Late Byzantine Art*, in C. Moss and K. Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Witzmann*, Princeton, 1995, p. 599 and 601.



Fig. 7. Medallions with animals on the left half of the lintel above the south portal of Split Cathedral, second half of eleventh century, marble, 22 x 138 cm (dimensions of lintel).

Photo by Ante Milošević

and the scene was frequently depicted in Middle Byzantine and western medieval art.⁵⁰ I interpreted the scene in the tympanum from St Lawrence's (Fig. 2) as that of the Ascension of Christ and the presence of griffins and trees as markers of a heavenly setting.⁵¹ The griffins' aforementioned raised front paw, a typically Byzantine trait,⁵² is also present on the partially preserved gable from Majdan, where a griffin is touching a pine cone under a cross with its beak (Fig. 3). What these settings have in common, together with the gable in St Martin's at Split (Fig. 6), where a centrally placed cross is flanked by a griffin and a bird, is the connection between this fantastic beast and trees. The wooden cross on which Christ was crucified was the ultimate tree of life, since through the act of Redemption humanity obtained eternal life. The True Cross was even said to have been carved from the tree of life that the Book of Genesis (2: 9) mentions as standing in the middle of the garden of Eden. After the Fall, God placed cherubim to guard the way to the tree of life so that man could not eat from it and live forever (Genesis 3: 23–4). The word 'cherub' itself is a transcription of the Hebrew 'kerûb' which is the source of γρύψ, the Greek word for griffin.⁵³

⁵⁰ C. SETTIS-FRUGONI, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem: Origine, iconographia, e fortuna di un tema*, Rome, 1973; L. BOURAS, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 51.

⁵¹ M. SKOBLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 55–6.

⁵² L. BOURAS, *op. cit.*, (n. 46), p. 51. For the analysis of the Ascension scene and griffins on this tympanum see M. SKOBLAR, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 53–6.

⁵³ J. P. BROWN, *Ancient Israel and Ancient Greece: Religion, Politics, and Culture*, Minneapolis, 2003, p. 58; N. WYATT, *Grasping the Griffin: Identifying and Characterizing the Griffin in Egyptian and West Semitic Tradition*, in *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 1/1, Tucson, 2009, p. 31.

CONCLUSION

The transmission of griffin motifs followed the trade routes established by Venice linking the Adriatic with Byzantium and the Levant. These motifs were conveyed through textiles – not just any textiles but the silk fabrics which frequently bore griffin patterns. The presence of silks in Dalmatia is recorded in the tenth century, the same century in which Venice traded this coveted commodity and at the end of which it received trade privileges from Byzantine emperors, giving it an advantage over its competitors.⁵⁴ The urban elites at Zadar had the means to acquire silk for personal use and as gifts to local churches. In the eleventh century, a member of that very same elite, Dobrona, received many gifts from Emperor Romanos III including gold *solidi* and, based on the contemporary diplomatic practice of Byzantium, likely also silks. The scenes of griffin predation appear on the *ci-borium* his brother Gregory commissioned around the same time. The same subject matter has been preserved on a fragmentary panel (Fig. 5) from the Abbey of St Chrysogonus which, incidentally, was the recipient of silks left by the members of the Zadar elite in their testaments. In addition, the donation of a church to the same abbey by Stephen, banus of Croatia and an imperial *protospatharios*, included twenty-one silk items.

With regard to Split, apart from Venetian merchants stopping at its port to replenish supplies, local individuals could make their way to the eastern Mediterranean aboard one of their ships. A servant of Archbishop Lawrence travelled to Antioch, one of the main centres of silk trade outside of Constantinople, stayed there while being trained as a silversmith and returned to Split safely. This could not have been done without the financial backing and logistical support provided by the archbishop and the servant must have had the means to purchase whatever the archbishop requested. The lintel above the south portal (Fig. 7) of Split Cathedral displays a reliance on silk patterns composed of animals set in medallions with beaded borders so typical of Byzantine and Islamic workshops.

All in all, the sudden appearance of griffins in eleventh-century sculpture in Dalmatia makes sense when the evidence I have cited is fully considered. To Byzantines, the griffin had strong imperial connotations, frequently gracing the emperor's silk garments, while scenes of griffin predation, according to Maguire, conveyed apotropaic powers. In addition, the griffin's *longue durée* reputation as a guardian and a 'vehicle of heavenly transport' was widespread beyond Byzantium. As such, it had a secure place in the medieval bestiary which was emerging in eleventh-century Dalmatian sculpture.

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⁵⁴ D. JACOBY, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 375.

Zvijer s istoka – grifon u dalmatinskoj skulpturi 11. stoljeća

U članku se povezuje pojava grifona u skulpturi 11. stoljeća u Dalmaciji s većim prisustvom svile uvezene iz Bizanta i islamskoga svijeta u odnosu na ranija stoljeća. Riječ je o grifonima na reljefima iz Zadra (ciborij prokonzula Grgura, nadvratnik iz crkve Sv. Lovre i ulomak pluteja iz Sv. Krševana) te Splita i okolice (nadvratnik južnoga portala splitske katedrale, škropionica iz iste crkve i ulomak zabata iz Majdana). Velik broj luksuznih svilenih tkanina odlikuju motivi grifona poput primjera iz relikvijara Sv. Siviarda u katedrali u Sensu ili pokrova Sv. Chaffrea u opatiji Le Monastier-sur-Gazeille. Na talijanskoj je obali Jadrana svila s grifonima uvezena iz Bizanta pronađena u relikvijaru Sv. Cirijaka u Anconi. Budući da prije 12. stoljeća na zapadu nema proizvodnje svile te da se potražnja zadovoljava uvozom iz bizantskih, sirijskih i perzijskih radionica, svila do dalmatinskih luka dolazi putem venecijanskih trgovaca. Oni su tijekom 10. i 11. stoljeća glavni uvoznici zahvaljujući privilegijama koje im dodjeljuju bizantski carevi.

Drugi smjer kojim je luksuzna svila mogla doći do dalmatinskih luka je direktan dodir s bizantskim centrima svile. Kako je poznato iz Kekaumenovog komentara o Dobronji – bratu prokonzula Grgura – koji posjećuje cara Romana III., on se u Zadar iz Carigrada vratio punih ruku. Nikola Jakšić je nalaze velikog broja bizantskih zlatnika iz doba Romana III. u Dalmaciji pripisao njegovu diplomatskom darivanju Dobronje, a s obzirom da je bizantska diplomatska praksa redovito uključivala darivanje svile, moguće je da je i Dobronja dobio takav dar. Zanimljiv je i slučaj slanja sluge u Antiohiju, trgovačko središte gdje se prodavala svila iz islamskih zemalja, kojeg je splitski nadbiskup Lovro otpremio da tamo izuči vještinu rada s dragocjenim metalima.

Na kraju članka razmatra se mogućnost simboličkog značenja prisutnosti grifona na spomenutim reljefima, poput onog koje se odnosi na grifonovu apotropejsku ulogu te njegovu povezanost s nebeskom sferom koja ime korijene u antici.

Ključne riječi: *skulptura, grifoni, Bizant, svila, tekstil, razmjena, Zadar, Split, Dalmacija*

LA MANTICORA E LA SFINGE. ECHI D'ORIENTE NEI DEPOSITI DELLA CA' D'ORO

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The article examines two marble fragments dated, on stylistic grounds, around the middle of the 12th century, and preserved in the deposits of Giorgio Franchetti Gallery at the Ca' d'Oro (ML 202 and ML 233). The fragments are decorated with branches inhabited by two fantastic animals that can be identified with a Sphinx and a Manticore. In their literary history these creatures are often associated with Good (Sphinx) and Evil (Manticore). The presence of these animals confirms that the Ca' d'Oro friezes belong to the Ravenna-Venetian culture, characterized by references to a late classical imagery enriched by Iranian-Sassanid iconography, widespread throughout the figurative production of the Mediterranean and in particular in Venice. The meaning of these animals is connected with encyclopaedic treatises of the Middle Ages, in particular with Bestiaries, illustrating the eternal conflict between Good and Evil, displayed at first in ecclesiastical buildings and subsequently also in private houses with apotropaic function, as we can see in many Venetian palaces.

Key words: *medieval Venice, medieval sculpture, bestiary, manticore, sphinx*

Nei depositi della Galleria Giorgio Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro sono presenti, tra i cinquantanove fregi custoditi, due frammenti in marmo greco, decorati con girali fogliati abitati da due animali fantastici. Si tratta dei fregi inventariati da Alberto Rizzi con i numeri ML 202 e ML 233, nella campagna di catalogo che si tenne tra il 1979 e il 1981.¹ I marmi dovevano appartenere a due differenti cornici marcapiano (probabilmente di due diversi edifici) che recavano una decorazione a tralcio fitomorfo abitato da figure di animali reali o fantastici, frutto in gran parte delle acquisizioni volute dal barone Franchetti e del recupero da altri palazzi veneziani, ma solo in piccola parte provenienti dall'originario edificio sul quale fu costruita la Ca' d'Oro.²

Il frammento ML 202 (48x24x8 cm.) (Fig. 1) contiene un tralcio con due girali, il primo ospita una creatura con zampe leonine, una folta capigliatura che scende sul dorso e un volto umano (rovinato), con una corta barba che si allunga nel pizzetto sul mento; il corpo dell'animale è solcato da striature oblique; la coda reca al centro una sorta di disco forato con il trapano. Alla giunzione tra la prima e la seconda voluta si trova un grappolo d'uva. Nel secondo racemo, giunto in forma parziale, si trova una foglia terminante con quattro cuspidi.

Nel frammento ML 233 (48x23,5x8,5-9 cm.) (Fig. 2) lo schema è molto simile, anche in questo caso il primo girale (parziale) è abitato da una creatura con corpo leonino; la coda è sollevata e ter-

¹ A. RIZZI, *Scultura esterna a Venezia: Corpus delle Sculture Erratiche all'aperto di Venezia e della sua Laguna*, Venezia, 1987, p. 37, nota n. 17.

² F. SACCARDO, *Marmi scolpiti medievali con raffigurazioni di animali dalla collezione Franchetti e dai depositi della Ca' d'Oro*, in: *Animali figurati. Teoria e rappresentazione del mondo animale dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, (ed.) Stefano Riccioni, Luigi Perissinotto, Roma, 2019, p. 144.



Fig. 1. Frammento di fregio a girale abitato con manticora. Venezia, Galleria G. Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, inv. ML 202. Prima metà del XII secolo (su concessione del MIBACT)

minante con un ciuffo rivolto verso l'alto; si riscontrano, anche qui, delle striature sul corpo, ma a differenza dell'esemplare precedente, il collo di questo animale è decorato con larghe e corte incisioni che ne evocano la criniera. La testa, di profilo, è decisamente umana; si riconoscono bene la bocca e il naso, oltre all'occhio a mandorla; la figura è imberbe. Nel secondo girale, conservato per intero, si trova una foglia tricuspidata.

Nelle schede OA³ le creature sono descritte come: «un centauro quadrupede, con testa umana e corpo di canide», datate al secolo XII e assegnate stilisticamente all'ambito dell'Italia centro-settentrionale. Più recentemente Francesca Saccardo ha proposto di identificarle con un «leone barbuto o una sfinge», precisando la datazione alla prima metà del secolo XII.⁴ La storia critica di questi oggetti non offre altro.

Il tema decorativo della cornice a girale abitato è molto diffuso fin dall'antichità e recuperato durante il Medioevo nella plastica architettonica, ma anche in mosaico e in pittura.⁵ A Venezia lo possiamo trovare nella frammentaria decorazione di S. Marco, nei laterizi di secolo X che dovevano

³ Le schede recano la firma di S. Moschini Marconi, ringrazio Francesca Saccardo per avermi fornito le schede e le riproduzioni fotografiche.

⁴ F. SACCARDO, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 144-145.

⁵ F. BISCONTI, L. DE MARIA BISCONTI, Temi paleocristiani nei rilievi altomedievali altoadriatici: dagli animali simbolici all'immaginario zoomorfo, in: *Aquileia e le Venezie nell'alto Medioevo*, Atti della XVIII settimana di studi aquileiesi (Aquileia, 1987), Udine, 1988, pp. 441-463.



Fig. 2. Frammento di fregio a girale abitato con sfinge. Venezia, Galleria G. Franchetti alla Ca' d'Oro, inv. ML 233. Prima metà XII secolo (su concessione del MIBACT)

abbellire gli esterni della basilica, in occasione dei lavori di ricostruzione avviati durante il dogato di Pietro Orseolo I nel 976.⁶ Oggi i resti di questi ornati sono conservati, in forma molto parziale e frammentaria, nel chiostro di S. Apollonia e rivelano, nella declinazione del girale abitato, un linguaggio comune al nord Italia e alla zona altoadriatica (abbazia di Pomposa e Ravenna), che diventerà tipico della scultura architettonica degli edifici civili di Venezia fino al secolo XIII.⁷

I frammenti appartengono alla corrente stilistica e iconografica che interessa l'area mediterranea, caratterizzata dalla commistione di elementi bizantini e latamente orientali, e tratti adriatico-padani, declinata con una resa plastica più matura rispetto alla sua prima apparizione che risale alla fine del secolo X. La datazione dei frammenti attorno alla metà del secolo XII, parrebbe la più plausibile, anche in considerazione, come vedremo, della rappresentazione delle creature che essi contengono.

⁶ W. DORIGO, *Ricerche su una classe di reperti plastici marciani, Storia dell'arte marciana. 3. Scultura, tesoro, arazzi*, (ed.) Renato Polacco, Venezia, 1997, pp. 89-112; W. DORIGO, *Venezia romanica. La formazione della città medievale fino all'età gotica*, Venezia, 2003, p. 446; M. AGAZZI, Laterizi torcellani, in: *Florilegium artium*, (ed.) Giordana Trovabene, Padova, 2006, pp. 23-35; G. TIGLER, *Le sculture dell'Alto Medioevo (dal VI secolo al 1141) a Treviso, nel suo territorio e in aree che con esso ebbero rapporti: tentativo di contestualizzazione storica*, Trieste, 2013, pp. 194-195.

⁷ W. DORIGO, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2003), pp. 449-469. Sul tema delle cornici decorate con tralci e girali abitati, cfr. W. DORIGO, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 1997); F. ZULIANI, Venezia e la cultura figurativa "romanica": i fregi con tralci intrecciati ad animali, in: *Per Maria Cionini Visani: scritti di amici*, (ed.) Elia Bordinon Favero, Torino, 1977, pp. 15-18; M. AGAZZI, Fregi a tralcio abitato nell'edilizia civile veneziana, in: *Medioevo: i modelli*, (ed.) Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Parma 27 sett. - 1 ott. 1999), Milano, 2002, pp. 405-412.



Fig. 3. Cattedra del vescovo Ursone, sfingi alate. Canosa, S. Sabino, 1079-1089.

L'identificazione di questi animali conferma gli influssi orientali che sono una riconoscibile cifra stilistica dell'arte lagunare.⁸ Si tratta di due creature ibride eseguite con leggere differenze. Sgombrato il campo dall'ipotesi che si tratti di due centauri, poiché mancano il corpo equino, gli zoccoli e soprattutto il busto umano,⁹ vi sono solo due animali che corrispondono alla descrizione che ne abbiamo dato sopra: la mantichora e la sfinge, spesso confuse tra loro per le affinità iconografiche. Anche nei nostri fregi gli animali sono difficili da identificare, ma proveremo a distinguerli.

La sfinge proviene dall'Asia occidentale e giunge in Occidente attraverso la mediazione dell'arte greca e romana.¹⁰ Adottata anche dall'arte

cristiana della Siria, dell'Asia minore, dell'Armenia, dell'Egitto e, infine, di Bisanzio, la sfinge venne introdotta e diffusa nel bacino del Mediterraneo.¹¹

Decimo Magno Ausonio, poeta di origini francesi noto per essere stato il maestro di Graziano, figlio dell'imperatore Valentiniano I, la definisce «triformis Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella».¹² L'iconografia orientale prevede, infatti, che l'animale sia raffigurato con la testa umana (di uomo o di donna), corpo di quadrupede alato, con le zampe di felino ma anche con piccoli zoccoli fessurati (come il bue, il toro, la capra).¹³

Esistono diversi tipi di sfinge che sono stati accolti anche nell'arte occidentale e una prima classificazione distingue tra la sfinge aptera e la sfinge alata. All'interno di queste due categorie, si può differenziare la sfinge con il corpo di leone, zampe con artigli (tipo egiziano) e la sfinge con il corpo di toro e le zampe che terminano con zoccoli fessurati (tipo caldeo-babilonese), diffuso anche in Assiria e nella Persia achemenide. La sfinge può avere testa di donna, testa di uomo barbuto e testa di animale. Alcune caratteristiche che si trovano nelle sfingi asiatiche, come la barba squadrata, le ali, la criniera e il diadema, si incontrano anche nelle riproduzioni occidentali, dall'antichità fino al Medioevo.¹⁴ La sfinge è anche ritratta

⁸ Per un'ampia panoramica sulle sculture poste sulle facciate delle chiese e delle case veneziane, cfr. A. RIZZI, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

⁹ K. SCHAUENBERG, s.v. Centauro, in: *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Roma, Treccani, 1959, consultato on line http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/centauri_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Antica%29/.

¹⁰ J. POESCHKE, s.v. Sphinx, in: *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, IV, S-Z, Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1972, coll. 178-188; M.G. PICOZZI, s.v. Sfinge, in: *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Roma, Treccani, 1973, consultata on line, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sfinge_%28Enciclopedia-dell%27-Arte-Antica%29/. Per la sfinge nell'antichità, cfr. A. DESSENNE, *Le Sphinx, Étude iconographique*. I: *Des origines à la fin du second millénaire*, Roma, 1957 (fasc. 186); M.C. BIELLA, E. GIOVANELLI, *Il bestiario fantastico di età orientalizzante nella penisola italiana*, Trento, 2012, pp. 293-304.

¹¹ D. JALABERT, *De l'art oriental antique à l'art roman. Recherches sur la faune et la flore romanes*. I: le sphinx, in: *Bulletin monumental*, 94, 1935, p. 73.

¹² AUSONIUS BURDIGALENSIS (DECIMUS MAGNUS AUSONIUS), *Idyllium XI. Grifus ternari numeri*, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, (ed.) Jacques Paul Migne, Paris, 1844-1864, XIX, col. 897C.

¹³ AUSONIUS BURDIGALENSIS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 75.

¹⁴ AUSONIUS BURDIGALENSIS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 87.

in diverse posture: mentre cammina, seduta, accovacciata sulle zampe posteriori e sulle quattro zampe.¹⁵ Infine un'altra specifica tipologia di sfinge, adottata nella Roma imperiale e poi durante il Medioevo, segue il modello dell'Egitto dei Faraoni, che la ritrae in posizione semisdraiata, priva di ali e con il nemes.¹⁶

Nell'antico Egitto, la sfinge è la guardiana del sacro o dei sepolcri, con lo stesso ruolo passa nell'Occidente cristiano e spesso si trova, come il grifone e il leone, all'ingresso delle chiese, nei chiostri, nei cori, nei recinti presbiteriali.¹⁷

In Italia, le sfingi sono state studiate prevalentemente nella scultura monumentale del Meridione e per lo più appartengono alla versione alata. Si trovano in Puglia: sui lati della cattedra di Elia a Canosa (Fig. 3), in un capitello a stampella, proveniente probabilmente dalla cattedrale di Bari,¹⁸ in due capitelli a S. Maria della Colonna a Trani,¹⁹ e in un capitello della cattedrale di Brindisi;²⁰ più raramente nella decorazione degli avori.²¹ Si tratta di un'area che manifesta, nel secolo XI, affinità culturali con le operazioni di ricostruzione della cattedrale salernitana²², come il reliquiario di san Matteo a Roma²³, che ritrae la sfinge insieme al grifone e ad altri animali ibridi. Qui il modello è quello dell'arte sassanide passata attraverso l'interpretazione dell'arte bizantina, copta e, soprattutto, musulmana,²⁴ come nell'esempio della casula di Tommaso Becket, che aggiorna all'arte cristiana un tessuto (e un'iscrizione) islamici.²⁵ In questi ultimi esempi, la sfinge, come il grifo, il pegaso e lo pseudo-*senmurv*, a causa della loro natura ibrida – celeste e terrestre –, diventano immagine della doppia natura di Cristo e, in ultima istanza, guardiani del sacro.²⁶

¹⁵ M.C. BIELLA, E. GIOVANELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 297-298.

¹⁶ M. GIANANDREA, L'Egitto dei faraoni nella Roma dei papi. Riflessioni sull'Egitto nella cultura medievale tra storia, religione e mito, in: *La lupa e la sfinge. Roma e l'Egitto dalla storia al mito*, (ed.) Eugenio Lo Sardo, Catalogo della mostra (Roma, 11 luglio-9 novembre 2008), Milano, 2008, pp. 132-142; M. GIANANDREA, Creazioni à l'antique. I Vassalletto e il fascino della sfinge egizia nel Medioevo romano, in: *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 16, 2010, pp. 151-160.

¹⁷ M. GIANANDREA, *op. cit.* (n. 16, 2010), p. 155.

¹⁸ Il capitello, datato alla prima metà del secolo XI, è conservato nella Pinacoteca Provinciale di Bari, cfr. P. BELLI D'ELIA, scheda III.2, in: *Arte in Puglia dal Medioevo al Settecento. Il Medioevo*, (ed.) Francesco Abbate, catalogo della mostra (Foggia, Bari, Trani 2010), Roma, 2010, p. 123; si veda anche T. GARTON, *Early romanesque sculpture in Apulia*, New York-London, 1986, pp. 232-233, t. XVIa-c.

¹⁹ U. SCERRATO, Arte islamica in Italia, in: *Gli arabi in Italia. Cultura, contatti e tradizioni*, (ed.) Francesco Gabrieli, Umberto Scerrato, Milano, 1979, p. 296, fig. 330, in questo caso vi sono stringenti affinità con i modelli islamici.

²⁰ T. GARTON, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 275, fig. 76. Entrambe le sfingi di Brindisi recano una decorazione con un anello perlinato all'attacco dell'ala, derivato dalla produzione tessile sassanide.

²¹ Kühnel osservava che la sfinge viene sostituita dalla sirena/arpia e la registrava solo sul coperchio della scatola di Maastricht (opera "saracena" del secolo XI), E. KÜHNEL, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulturen. VIII-XIII. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1971, pp. 66-67, t. LXXXIX, XC fig. 85c.; essa si trova anche affrontata ad un grifo nel corno di Orlando (eseguito in Italia meridionale alla fine secolo XI), J. PENENT, scheda 217, in: *I Normanni, popolo d'Europa 1030-1200*, catalogo della mostra (Roma 1994), (ed.) Mario D'Onofrio, Roma-Venezia, 1994, pp. 457-458.

²² A. BRACA, *Il duomo di Salerno: architettura e culture artistiche del medioevo e dell'età moderna*, Salerno, 2003, p. 81.

²³ Il reliquiario proviene da Salerno o Montecassino e giunse a Roma come dono di Desiderio a Cencio Frangipane, cfr. S. RICCIONI, Sul "bestiario" del reliquiario di san Matteo: Montecassino, Roma e la "Riforma" tra Occidente cristiano e Oriente islamico, in: *"Conosco un ottimo storico dell'arte. ...". Per Enrico Castelnuevo. Scritti di allievi e amici pisani*, (ed.) Massimo Ferretti, Maria Monica Donato, Pisa, Edizioni della Normale, 2012, pp. 35-42.

²⁴ Si veda la resa delle ali che sono quasi sempre attaccate sulle zampe anteriori e sono ornate con un nastro spesso perlato, come nella sfinge e nel grifo del reliquiario di san Matteo, *Ibidem*, p. 38; D. JALABERT, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 92-93, disegno n. 3. Sulle migrazioni di temi iconografici musulmani da oriente a Occidente, cfr. (ed.) Gerhard Wolf, Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, *Islamic Artefacts in the Mediterranean World. Trade, Gift, Exchange and Artistic Transfer*, Venezia, 2010.

²⁵ *The Chasuble of Thomas Becket. A Biography*, (ed.) Avinoam Shalem, München, 2017.

²⁶ J. VOISENET, *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval. Le bestiaire des clercs du V^e au XII^e siècle*, Turnhout, 2000, pp. 25-26.



Fig. 4. Arco d'ingresso con sfingi e grifoni. Aulnay de Saintonge, Saint-Pierre, 1150 ca. (https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%89glise_Saint-Pierre_d%27Aulnay#/media/Fichier:Islamic_stylistic_detail_Eglise_Saint-Pierre_Aulnay-de-Saintonge_mid_12th_century.jpg)

Nel continente europeo incontriamo anche la versione aptera, e con la criniera sul collo, per esempio nel primo arco sul portale di accesso della chiesa di Saint-Pierre d'Aulnay (1120-1140),²⁷ che contiene un bestiario popolato da grifoni e sfingi, largamente ispirato ai modelli orientali. (Fig. 4)

Tornando ai fregi della Ca' d'Oro, potremmo identificare con la sfige aptera e imberbe la creatura del frammento ML 233; un simbolo che evoca il Bene. Considerato che si trovava su una cornice marcapiano, probabilmente esposta sulla facciata di una dimora privata, è plausibile dedurre che fosse posta a custodia della casa con una funzione apotropaica.

Per quanto riguarda la creatura ritratta nell'altro fregio, col numero d'inventario ML 202, vi sono delle leggere differenze iconografiche: il viso umano (sebbene il naso e il labbro superiore siano rovinati) mostra un pizzetto che spunta dal mento; la coda si arrotola in una sorta di nodo. Elementi che potrebbero corrispondere al tipo della sfige aptera barbata, raramente rappresentata nel Medioevo e, inoltre, con modalità differenti.²⁸ A ben vedere, invece, queste caratteristiche ben si addicono alla manticora.²⁹

In letteratura la manticora è descritta nella *Storia dell'India* di Ctesia di Cnido, medico greco che soggiornò in Persia, nel IV secolo a.C. L'opera purtroppo è perduta ma ne abbiamo i riflessi in vari autori successivi, in particolare con il patriarca di Bisanzio, Fozio, che nel IX secolo ne scrisse un'epitome contenuta nella sua *Bibliotheca*. Qui è riportato che la manticora è una belva che vive in India. La sua stazza è quella di un leone, ma ha il volto umano. Il pelo è rosso cinabro, ha i denti disposti su tre file, orecchi umani ed occhi cerulei simili a quelli degli uomini. Nella coda nasconde un pungiglione simile a quello dello scorpione che gli serve per colpire le sue prede, tra le quali anche l'uomo. «In greco il termine *martichoras* equivale al greco “antropofago”, perché nella maggior parte dei casi essa divora gli uomini che uccide»;³⁰ la creatura ha, quindi, un significato negativo che potremmo genericamente associare al Male. Sulle forme e le caratteristiche della manticora esistono varie descrizioni,³¹ per la verità, non troppo dissimili tra loro.

Pausania nella sua *Guida della Grecia*, pur rifacendosi a Ctesia, ritiene che si tratti di una tigre e che le favolistiche descrizioni della tripla fila di denti in ciascuna mascella, aculei all'estremità della coda

²⁷ D. JALABERT, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 77-79.

²⁸ Il tipo aptero con barba squadrata, cioè di tipo caldeo, stando alle ricerche di Jalabert, si trova nei capitelli della chiesa di Cunault, in Francia e di Serabone a Boule d'Amont, nei Pirenei, cfr. D. JALABERT, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 77-79.

²⁹ S. ZAJADACZ-HASTENRATH, Die Manticora, ein Fabeltier aus Indien, in: *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 41, 1971, pp. 173-181; M. SOUTH, *Mythical and Fabulous Creatures: A Source Book and Research Guide*, New York, 1985, pp. 125-131; P. LI CAUSI, *Sulle tracce del mantichora. La zoologia dei confini del mondo in Grecia e a Roma*, Palermo, 2003.

³⁰ PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca*, 72, 45c-46a, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, (ed.) Jacques Paul Migne, Paris, 1856-1886, 103, coll. 214-215; per la traduzione dell'opera di Fozio, cfr. FOZIO, *Biblioteca*, introduzione di L. CANFORA, (ed.) Nunzio Bianchi, Claudio Schiano, Pisa, 2019.

³¹ LI CAUSI, *op. cit.* (n. 29), pp. 11-12.

(con i quali si difende da vicino e che scaglia contro i nemici lontani come frecce di un arco) siano solo «false dicerie che gli Indi si tramandano per l'eccessiva paura che nutrono nei confronti della belva».³²

Anche Aristotele menziona la manticora nell'*Historia animalium*, senza aggiungere elementi originali ma riportando il testo di Ctesia quasi letteralmente.³³

Claudio Eliano, nel *De Natura Animalium*, descrive la manticora come una creatura che appartiene al mondo reale e che vive in India. Alla versione tradizionale di Ctesia aggiunge che può scagliare spine avvelenate contro la preda. Inoltre, l'unico animale che può fronteggiare la manticora è il leone. Gli Indiani quando riescono a catturare i cuccioli ancora privi degli aculei, gli mozzano la coda, così non possono far danno e possono anche essere portati a spasso.³⁴

Nella letteratura in lingua latina, Plinio il Vecchio cita Ctesia nella *Naturalis Historia*, dicendo che la manticora ha il volto e le orecchie di un essere umano, occhi grigi, una tripla fila di denti che si incontrano come i denti di un pettine, un corpo di leone di un colore rosso sangue e una voce simile a una cornamusa mescolata a una tromba. Punge con la coda come uno scorpione; è molto veloce e ha un appetito speciale per la carne umana.³⁵

Nel Medioevo, nonostante il silenzio del *Fisiologo*, delle *Etymologiae* di Isidoro di Siviglia e del *Liber monstrorum*, la manticora ricompare, seguendo il testo di Plinio, negli scritti a carattere enciclopedico (*De mirabilibus mundi* di Teoderico di Saint-Trond, 1060-1107³⁶; *Descriptio mappe mundi* di Ugo di San Vittore, 1096-1141³⁷; *Historia Orientalis* di Giacomo de Vitry, 1170-1140³⁸), e nei *Bestiari* latini illustrati di provenienza inglese (Oxford, Cambridge, Aberdeen) della seconda metà del secolo XII, ma soprattutto del secolo XIII; in Italia si trova nel *Tresor* di Brunetto Latini e nel *Bestiario eugubino*.³⁹

L'anonimo autore del *Bestiario* della British Library, Add MS 11283 (1175-1200), ripete la versione di Plinio, ovvero che la manticora nasce in India, ha una tripla fila di denti, la faccia da uomo, gli occhi glauchi, il corpo leonino e di colore rosso; la coda terminante con un aculeo e la voce che imita

³² PAUSANIA, *Guida della Grecia*, libro IX, *La Beozia*, 21, 4-5, testo e traduzione a cura di Mauro Moggi, commento a cura di Mauro Moggi e Massimo Osanna, Milano, 2010, p. 102.

³³ ARISTOTELE, *Histoire des animaux*, II, 1, 501a 24-25, texte établi et traduit par P. LOUIS, Paris, Les belles lettres, 1964, pp. 44-45.

³⁴ AELIAN, *De Natura Animalium*, 4.21, (ed.) Rudolf Hercher, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0545.tlg001.perseus-grc1:4.21>; AELIAN, *Characteristics of Animals*, 4.21, Topos Text, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation 2019., <https://topostext.org/work/560#4.21>.

³⁵ PLINIUS MAIOR (CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS), *Naturalis historia* (LLA 399), liber 8, par. 75, vol. 2, Library of Latin Texts – Series A, Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, 2019 (=LLT-A), p. 103, l. 13, <http://clt.brepols.net/llta/pages/FullText.aspx?ctx=ICFIEEJ>: «apud eosdem nasci Ctesias scribit quam mantichoran appellat, triplici dentium ordine pectinatim coeuntium, facie et auriculis hominis, oculis glaucis, colore sanguineo, corpore leonis, cauda scorpionis modo spicula infigentem, vocis ut si misceatur fistulae et tubae concentus, velocitatis magnae, humani corporis vel praecipue adpetentem.»

³⁶ THEODERICUS TRUDONENSIS, *De mirabilibus mundi*, col. 292, v. 31, LLT-A: «Manticora. Hec facie nostra leo corpore scorpio cauda.»

³⁷ HUGO DE SANCTO VICTORE, *Descriptio mappe mundi*, cap. 9, p. 141, l. 227, LLT-A: «Inter Coaspim et mare Rubrum sunt Ymantipodes, versis plantis incedentes, et manticora, animal quadrupeds, femineum vultum et caput habens, acer nimis.»

³⁸ IACOBUS DE VITRIACO, *Historia orientalis*, cap. 88, p. 360, l. 122, LLT-B: «Est ibi preterea quoddam animal monstruosum manticora habens hominis faciem, corpus leonis, caudam scorpionis, triplicem in dentibus ordinem habens, colore rubea, oculis glauca, habens sibilum quasi serpentis, ita sonorum quod modulos imitatur fistularum, carnes humanas ad edendum avidissime affectans, ita velox cursu sicut avis volatu.»

³⁹ La ricerca è stata realizzata interrogando i database: *Mirabile. Archivio digitale della cultura medievale. Digital archive for Medieval Culture*; *Patrologia Latina*; *Library of Latin text series A e series B*. Ringrazio Francesco Zambon per alcuni preziosi suggerimenti; sui bestiari cfr. *Bestiari tardoantichi e medievali. I testi fondamentali della zoologia sacra cristiana*, (ed.) Francesco Zambon, Firenze-Milano, 2018; ARTHUR H. COLLINS, *Some Twelfth-Century Animal Carvings and their Sources in the Bestiaries*, in: *The Connoisseur*, v. 106, n. 472, 1940, pp. 238-243.



Fig. 5. Manticora. British Library, Royal 12 F XIII, fol. 24v. 1225 ca. (© British Library)

le cornamuse; velocissima, è ghiotta di carne umana.⁴⁰ La stessa descrizione è contenuta nel manoscritto della Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1511, datato tra il 1201 e il 1225.⁴¹

In entrambi gli esemplari si tratta di *Bestiari* inseriti in libri miscelanei aventi carattere enciclopedico, composti con finalità didattiche, secondo una consolidata tradizione medievale, e spesso rivolti agli ecclesiastici.⁴²

Nel secolo XIII, Bartolomeo Anglico, infine, descrive la manticora con alcune varianti rispetto alla tradizione classica. La bestia vive in India e «ha forme meravigliose, simile all'orso nel corpo e nel pelo mentre il suo volto è simile a quello di un uomo. Essa ha una testa rossa, una bocca grande e orribile, e in entrambe le mascelle tre file di denti distinti tra loro. I suoi arti esterni sono come gli arti esterni di un leone, e la sua coda è simile a uno scorpione selvaggio, con un pungiglione, e colpisce come una specie di suino selvatico e ha una voce orribile, come la voce di una tromba, e corre veloce e mangia gli uomini. E tra tutte le bestie della terra non c'è nessuno più crudele, né

⁴⁰ British Library Add MS 11283, foll. 8r-8r, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100055965341.0x000001: «In India nascitur bestia que mantico/ra di(citu)r; triplici dentiu(m) ordine coeunte / viab(us) alt(er)nis; facie hominis; glaucis oc(u)lis; sanguineo colore corpore le/onino; cauda velut scorpionis / aculeo spi(cu)lata; voce tanqua(m) sibi/la ut imitet(ur) modulos fistularu(m); // humanas carnes avidissime affectat pedib(us) sic viget saltib(us) sic po/test ut morari eam nec extentissima spatia possint nec obstac(u)la latis/sima».

⁴¹ Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1511, fol. 22v: «De Manticora. In India nascitur bestia que manticora dicitur. Triplici dentium ordine coeunte vicibus alternis; facie hominis; glaucis oculis; sanguineo colore corpore leonino; cauda velud scorpionis aculeo spic(u)lata; // voce tamquam sibila ut imitet(ur) modulos fistularum; humanas carnes avidissime affectat pedib(us) sic viget saltib(us) sic p(otes)t ut morari eam nec extentissima spacia possi(n)t nec obstacula latissima».

⁴² I. DINES, The function of Latin Bestiaries in Medieval Miscellanies, in: *Book of Beasts. The Bestiary I the Medieval World*, (ed.) Elizabeth Morrison, Los Angeles, 2019, pp. 67-75.



Fig. 6. Manticora che atterra un uomo. British Library, Harley MS. 3244, fol. 43v. 1240-1250. (© British Library)

una forma più meravigliosa, come dice Avicenna. E questa bestia si chiama *Baricos* in greco». ⁴³

Una ricerca eseguita in rete sui cataloghi dei manoscritti digitalizzati della Bibliothèque nationale de France (*Gallica*) ⁴⁴, della British Library di Londra, ⁴⁵ del *Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries* ⁴⁶ ci ha permesso di raccogliere un piccolo catalogo di immagini della manticora, dal secolo XII al secolo XIII, utili a fornire alcune precisazioni in merito alla sua iconografia.

La manticora è raffigurata con corpo e zampe di un grande felino, pelo rosso o arancione, criniera sul collo che può estendersi fino al dorso, coda terminante a punta come un pungiglione oppure con un innocuo ciuffo di peli; la testa è umana, più frequentemente barbata, spesso con un pizzetto lungo che sporge dal mento (Fig. 5), ma anche imberbe. Talvolta la manticora è raffigurata con un copricapo frigio,

per segnalare le sue origini orientali; le fauci mostrano due (più raramente tre) file di denti serrati, in alcuni casi macchiati di rosso sangue. Può essere ritratta mentre atterra un uomo (Fig. 6), o quando lo ha appena divorato e si vede la gamba del malcapitato sporgere dalle fauci. ⁴⁷

Con queste stesse caratteristiche la manticora si trova anche in scultura, per esempio in Francia, nell'arco di una chiesa (1150 -1175) in origine a Languedoc-Roussillon, ora al Metropolitan Museum

⁴³ BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS, De proprietatibus, liber 18, in: *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Mediaeval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus*, by Robert Steele, pp. 180-181, <http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/6493>.

⁴⁴ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/it/content/accueil-it?mode=desktop>. Recentemente la Bibliothèque Nationale de France e la British Library hanno avviato anche un altro progetto che raccoglie circa 800 manoscritti medievali inglesi e francesi, cfr. <https://manuscripts-france-angleterre.org/polonsky/it/content/accueil-it?mode=desktop>.

⁴⁵ <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/>.

⁴⁶ <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/about>.

⁴⁷ Nel manoscritto della Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 3630 (1275 ca.), fol. 80r, la manticora ha corpo e criniera di leone, fauci che mostrano i denti, coda terminante a punta; nel Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 1511 (1201-1225), fol. 22v, la manticora a una caratteristica coda spinosa, mascelle serrate che mostrano i denti, cappello frigio; nel Bodleian Library, MS. Bodley 533 (1250 ca.), fol. 7r, ha solo la testa umana e il corpo coperto di peli; nel British Library Royal 12 F XIII (1230-1240), fol. 24v, ha corpo leonino con coda a punta, criniera, barba e pizzetto lungo; nella Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6838B (1250 ca.), fol. 10r, ha volto imberbe; nella miscellanea teologica British Library, Harley MS. 3244 (1240-1250), f. 43v, ha corpo e criniera leonina, fauci serrate e insanguinate mentre atterra un uomo; nel British Library, Royal MS12 C XIX, fol. 29v, ha barba e pizzetto, con cappello frigio e coda a punta; nel Der Naturen Bloeme manuscript, c. 1350, National Library of the Netherlands, ha la barba; nel Bodleian Library MS. Bodl. 764 (1225-1250 ca.), fol. 25r, la manticora ha il corpo rosso e la criniera che si estende alla parte anteriore del corpo, pizzetto lungo, cappello frigio, e sta divorando un uomo del quale si vede solo la gamba che esce dalle fauci; nel Museum Meermanno, MMW, 10 B 25, fol. 13r, la manticora ha la barba e il pizzetto; caratteristica che conserva anche in esemplari più tardi come il *Bestiario* di Anne Walshe, Copenhagen, Die Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl kgl. 5 1633 4°, fol. 15v.

di New York. Qui la creatura ha zampe di rapace, coda di serpente e copricapo frigio e appartiene a un corteo di animali fantastici con funzione apotropaica posti all'ingresso dell'edificio.⁴⁸ Con forme semplificate, senza barba ma con il cappello frigio, la manticora si trova nel pilastro con lo zodiaco, datato alla fine del secolo XII, proveniente da Prieuré Saint-Pierre e ora al Musée Municipal di Souvigny.

E' del tutto plausibile, dunque, che il fregio ML202 ritragga proprio una manticora per significare la minaccia del Male, che va combattuto ed allontanato.

La presenza di queste creature conferma l'appartenenza dei fregi della Ca' d'Oro al gusto ravenate-lagunare, caratterizzato da richiami a un immaginario tardo classico arricchito, tramite Bisanzio, da temi iconografici di provenienza iranico-sasanide distribuiti in tutta la produzione figurativa dell'Oriente e dell'Occidente mediterraneo, e in particolare a Venezia.

Quanto al significato, dobbiamo ricercarlo nei trattati enciclopedici del Medioevo, all'interno dei quali confluirono anche i *Bestiari*, che illustravano l'eterno conflitto tra il Bene e il Male e che funzionavano come *summae* di conoscenza e come avvertimenti morali per l'uomo, fornendo temi e modelli che, usciti dal libro, dapprima apparvero all'esterno degli edifici ecclesiastici, in facciata, sui portali, nei chiostri, o al suo interno sui capitelli, negli arredi architettonici, e successivamente, anche nelle dimore civili con valore apotropaico,⁴⁹ come si vede ancora oggi sugli esterni di molte case veneziane.

Mantikora i sfinga – odjeci Orijenta u depoima Ca' d'Oro u Veneciji

U članaku se analiziraju dva mramorna ulomka koje se temeljem stilskih odlika datira približno u sredinu 12. stoljeća, a čuvaju se u depoima Galerije Giorgio Franchetti u Ca' d'Oro u Veneciji (ML 202 i ML 233). Ulomci su ukrašeni biljnom povijušom nastanjenom dvjema fantastičnim životinjama, a raspoznaje ih se kao sfingu i mantikoru. U literarnim izvorima ta se bića često povezuju s Dobrom (sfinga) i Zlom (mantikora). Pojava tih bića potvrđuje pripadnost friza iz Ca' d'Oro ravenatsko-mletačkom kulturnom krugu, a karakterizira ga pozivanje na pozne klasične motive obogaćene iransko-sasanidskom ikonografijom raširenom inače u figuralnoj produkciji cijeloga Sredozemlja, a posebno u Veneciji. Značenje ovih životinja, tj. bića, povezano je sa srednjovjekovnim enciklopedističkim traktatima, posebice s bestijarijima, ilustrirajući vječni sukob između Dobra i Zla prikazivan ponajprije na sakralnim građevinama, a posljedično i na privatnim kućama, i to u apotropejskoj funkciji što se razabire na brojnim mletačkim palačama.

Ključne riječi: srednjovjekovna Venecija, srednjovjekovna skulptura, bestijarij, mantikora, sfinga

Prijevod s engleskog: Karla Cigić

⁴⁸ M. COHEN, The Bestiary beyond the book, in: *Book of Beasts* (ed.) Elizabeth Morrison, Los Angeles, 2019, p. 178.

⁴⁹ Su questi temi si veda, *Animali figurati. Teoria e rappresentazione del mondo animale dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, (eds.) Stefano Riccioni, Luigi Perissinotto, Roma, 2019.

THE DALMATIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN BENEVENTAN SCRIPT AND THE NOTION OF “ADRIATIC PERIPHERY” . NOTES FOR A NEW RESEARCH SETTING*

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The analysis of the corpus of manuscripts in Beneventan script from Dalmatia (2011) makes it possible to identify some specific features that characterize the book production in the region over time. The conclusion is that the manuscripts of Dalmatia should not be considered simply as “provincial” products, i.e. lacking the qualitative elements of the artistic production of the major centres, but are instead the result of a complex process of reception, adaptation, reworking of the models, which did not come to an end within a few decades, but lasted until the 13th century. The article aims to take stock of the issue, defining the critical parameters useful to frame the Dalmatian book production through a different interpretative system and a new historiographical approach that finds an effective “theoretical” support in the paradigm of so-called “peripheral art” developed by Lj. Karaman in 1963.

Key words: *Dalmatian Manuscripts, Dalmatian Miniature painting, Beneventan Script, Southern Italy, Dalmatia, Apulia, Middle Age, Beneventan Zone, E. A. Loew, Adriatic Sea, Adriatic Periphery, Peripheral Art, Provincial Art, Lj. Karaman*

This paper was inspired by a topic that Elias Avery Loew started in his work on the Beneventan Script in Southern Italy, which has recently celebrated a publication centenary.¹ In his monographic study the palaeographer circumscribed the boundaries of the area that used the Beneventan script, and included Dalmatia, a territory closely linked to Southern Italy by continuous political, economic and religious relations in the Middle Ages, especially in the 11th century. From this starting point Loew elaborated the idea of a “Beneventan zone”, which included the territories across the Adriatic Sea, and was understood as a geographical and territorial area essentially dominated by Latin culture and featuring a common regional script, Beneventan (Fig.1).

* This article re-examines and further develops the paper presented at the 50th International Congress on Medieval Studies, University of Western Michigan, Kalamazoo, 2015 May 14-17. The topic fits this collection, since the topic of the decoration of the Dalmatian manuscripts in Beneventan script marks my appreciation for Prof. Nikola Jakšić. To him, after twenty years, goes my deep gratitude for having contributed with his writings to lead me to discover the richness of the historical and artistic heritage of Croatia, but above all for having enriched my book *Miniatura in Dalmazia* (2011) with his precious intervention “from across the Adriatic”. A sincere thank you also goes to my friend and colleague Jasenka Gudelj, with whom I share my interest in the topic of Adriatic artistic relations; our exchange of ideas on Ljubo Karaman and peripheral art one afternoon in Zagreb a few years ago proved very useful for this work. Finally, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to Richard Gyug for reviewing the English version of this paper and offering his precious suggestions.

¹ E. A. LOEW, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1914; E. A. LOEW, *Scriptura beneventana: Facsimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Fourteenth Century*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1929.

The importance of the Adriatic for transportation and contact helped to explain the spread of Latin writing and culture, including the production of books in Beneventan script, beyond the regions included in the Benevento duchy to territories such as Apulia and Dalmatia, marked for over two centuries by the strong impact of Byzantine culture. Loew noted some clear affinities in writ-



Fig. 1. Loew's Beneventan Zone (from E. A. LOEW, op. cit. (n. 1, 1914)

ing and decoration between the manuscripts produced in Dalmatia and the contemporary examples produced in Apulia. These affinities, together with the use of a common script, which he himself identified as “Bari-type”, to distinguish it from the “Montecassino-type”, showed that the Beneventan script and Beneventan miniature painting crossed the Adriatic Sea mainly through Apulia and that its spread was promoted by the numerous Benedictine monasteries built between the 9th and 11th century along the Balkan coast and islands.²

The notion of Loew’s “Beneventan Zone” therefore reflected, albeit indirectly, that historiographical paradigm, typical of the European artistic research of the time, which based the cultural development on the dual opposition centre/province, province/periphery. This dichotomous logic of confrontation and at the same time opposition ended up influencing all subsequent studies of Dalmatian miniature painting in Beneventan script, which has therefore long been frozen in a restrictive idea of “provincial” art and considered no more than an Adriatic “extension” of South-Italian book production, especially from Apulia.³

The systematic study of the catalogue (*corpus*) of the manuscripts in Dalmatian Beneventan script has led to a new critical reading of the Beneventan miniature painting from Dalmatia,⁴ in particular through a comparative analysis of the principal manuscripts, all dated to the second half of the 11th century. Most of these were produced in Zadar for the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus – home, as it is known, of an important *scriptorium* and a library⁵ – or for the female convent of Saint Mary, linked to the most prestigious manuscripts of the Croatian miniature painting.

By extending the analysis of the relations between the two Adriatic coasts from a one-way perspective to a two-way perspective, and focusing on the peculiarities of the Adriatic manuscript illumination, it was possible to establish how Dalmatian manuscripts related to southern Italian manuscripts, and to concentrate on both the type of reception and the methods of reworking the models themselves. On these new methodological bases, it is evident that the link

² For an overview of this subject, see I. OSTOJIĆ, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, I-III, Split, 1963-1965; the work remains valid, albeit dated. On the role of the Benedictines as the means of spreading of Latin writing tradition in Dalmatia, see also: V. DELONGA, Il patrimonio epigrafico latino nei territori croati in età carolingia, in: *Bizantini, Croati, Carolingi. Alba e tramonto di regni e imperi*, (ed.) Carlo Bertelli et alii, Milano, 2001, pp. 199-229.

³ This “downgrading” of the Dalmatian phenomenon to a marginal and provincial phenomenon, together with the difficulty of being able to conduct an autoptic analysis of the surviving book heritage, scattered among various European and Croatian institutions, are the main factors that have long held back the possibility of studying the subject. Not by chance, especially in Italy, the first studies focused on a single case, that of the manuscript kept in the Vatican City, Vatican Apostolic Library (= BAV), Vat. Borg. lat. 339, quoted on several occasions by G. OROFINO, *Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e Bitonto e la produzione miniaturistica in Puglia nel XII secolo*, in: *I codici liturgici di Puglia*, (ed.) Gerardo Cioffari, Giuseppe Di Benedetto, Bari, 1986, p. 213; G. OROFINO, *La prima fase della miniatura desideriana (1058-1071)*, in: *L’età dell’abate Desiderio. La decorazione libraria, II: Atti della tavola rotonda*, (ed.) Giuglielmo Cavallo [*Miscellanea cassinese*, 60], Montecassino, 1989, p. 53; and by V. PACE, *Studi sulla decorazione libraria in area grafica beneventana*, in: *L’età dell’abate Desiderio. La decorazione libraria, II: Atti della tavola rotonda*, (ed.) Giuglielmo Cavallo [*Miscellanea cassinese*, 60], Montecassino, 1989, p. 83. Both classified the manuscript as an eccentric and “provincial” product, the result of a remote reworking of the models.

⁴ E. ELBA, *La decorazione dei codici in beneventana della Dalmazia tra XI e XIII secolo*, *Segno e testo*, 4, Cassino, 2006, pp. 107-147; E. ELBA, *Miniatura in Dalmazia: I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, Galatina, 2011. Another valid comprehensive study on the same subject is R. VOJVODA, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir (doctoral thesis)*, Central European University, Budapest, 2011.

⁵ G. PRAGA, *Lo scriptorium dell’abbazia benedettina di san Crisogono in Zara*, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, VII: fasc. 39 (pp. 127-146), fasc. 40 (pp. 177-190), fasc. 42 (pp. 279-298); VIII: fasc. 43 (pp. 314-325), fasc. 45 (pp. 438-453), fasc. 46 (pp. 481-494), fasc. 47 (pp. 542-562); IX: fasc. 49 (pp. 144-149), Roma, 1929-1940. Further reference in E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), p. 55.

to book production of the Bari-type is not exclusive – as often assumed – but the interchange encompasses the entire area from Montecassino to Benevento, Capua and Bari.⁶

This is a considerable shift in understanding, which now lays the foundations for a critical re-view of the conceptual setting of Loew's "Beneventan Zone".

Such a review first requires identifying the existence or non-existence of a Dalmatian Beneventan script, arriving at a thesis that takes into account the graphic forms attested in manuscripts from Dalmatia, which may result from reliance on multiple models, rather than creating a further different type.⁷ Only this important step can help solve the question of the origin of some manuscripts and fragments, currently attributed in a generic way to Apulia or Dalmatia because of their graphic characteristics.

1. THE INFLUENCE OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT: "ENDOGENOUS" AND "EXOGENOUS" FACTORS

Two specific elements define the degree of uniqueness of the Dalmatian phenomenon. Firstly, the local artistic tradition reflects the coexistence of different cultural components settled on a classical and late antique substrate,⁸ and secondly, there are specific historical factors, the most important of which is the Gregorian Reform, a topic that has been examined extensively in recent historical contributions on Dalmatia.⁹

⁶ Among the contributions which followed the publication of the *corpus* and contributed to increasing the considerations supporting this new vision, see E. ELBA, *Oltreadriatico: modelli figurativi e temi iconografici della Riforma Gregoriana in Dalmazia*, in: *Art History – the Future is Now. Studies in Honor of Professor Vladimir P. Goss*, (ed.) Maja Cepetić et alii, Rijeka, 2012, pp. 314-328; E. ELBA, *I messali "votivi" in beneventana: funzione, struttura, decorazione*, in: *Libri e testi: lavori in corso a Cassino*, (ed.) Roberta Casavecchia et alii, Atti del Seminario internazionale (Cassino, 30-31 gennaio 2012), *Studi e ricerche del Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia*, 7, Università di Cassino. Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia, Cassino, 2013, pp. 261-301. For a bibliographic update, see A. J. M. IRVING, (Not) Identifying a Desiderian Evangelistary Fragment: BAV Vat. lat. 10644, f. 28r-31v, *Scriptorium*, 66, n.1, 2012, pp. 109-155; R. F. GYUG, Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and the Monastic Liturgy in the Beneventan Region, in: *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Production, Reception, and Performance in Western Christianity*, (ed.) Susan Boyton, Diane J. Reilly, Columbia University Press, New York, 2011, pp. 34-60; R. F. GYUG, Liturgy and law in a Dalmatian city: The Bishop's Book of Kotor (Sankt-Peterburg, Bran, F. n. 200), *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana*, 7, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 2016.

⁷ The palaeographers on the Beneventan script of Dalmatia differ in a problematic way on the question of the relationships with the Bari-type which, as in the case of the miniature painting, does not seem to be always exclusive or at least is not always direct. Loew assimilated the Dalmatian Beneventan script to the Bari-type, but only a few years later the palaeographer Viktor Novak affirmed the need to keep distinct the two graphic forms, the Dalmatian one and the Bari one, since the first shows a specific character based on some peculiarities. Cf. V. NOVAK, *Scriptura beneventana, s osobitim obzirom na tip dalmatinske beneventane*, Zagreb, 1920. The starting point for Novak was that the Dalmatian centres knew in fact two forms of script, one "angular" – the Montecassino-type – and one "round", close to the Bari-type but not completely similar to it. Similarly, G. CAVALLLO, *Struttura e articolazione della minuscola beneventana libraria tra i secoli X-XII*, *Studi medievali*, XI fasc.1, 1970, pp. 343-368, considers the Dalmatian Beneventan script as the result of a mixture of scripts. He therefore compares its "ambiguities" to the "atypical" characters of the script used in the centres of northern Apulia, an area where we see the confluence and subsistence of all the scripts of the major centres (Montecassino, Bari, Benevento). Thus, in Capitanata as well as in Dalmatia, the script models of the main centres merge to reach new and original syntheses. The late Professor Franco Magistrale, overcoming Loew's vision and following Cavallo's line of thought, also suggested defining the Dalmatian Beneventan script as "close to the Bari-type", rather than completely of Bari-type.

⁸ In addition to the Byzantine component, Carolingian artistic culture, which is manifest in the first monumental testimonies linked to the Benedictine sphere, should not be overlooked. See V. DELONGA, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

⁹ See S. GIOANNI, *La Vita Domnii d'Adam de Paris (XIe siècle). La construction d'un lien hagiographique entre l'Eglise de Split et le siège de Rome*, *Hagiographica*, 19, pp. 83-120 and especially S. GIOANNI, *Les cours croate set la Réforme de l'Eglise dalmate (IXe-XIe siècle). Structures, hommes, doctrines*, in: *Le corti nell'alto medioevo*, LXII Settimane di Studio della fondazione CISAM, (Spoleto, 24-29 aprile 2014), Spoleto, 2015, pp. 341 f.

The centrality of links between the church of Rome, Montecassino, southern Italy and the Reform on the one hand, and the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, the main monastery of Dalmatia in the 11th century, on the other, clarifies the role of Zadar as the hub of book circulation in the region and the principal locus of Dalmatian book phenomenon. An instrumental role was played by those who were involved with the monastery: the papal delegates, sent to the East to eradicate unorthodox customs, and the highest local ecclesiastical figures, bishops and abbots, all the Benedictine monks, leading figures in the process of consolidating the Latin cultural identity of the region. It was probably these men, intellectually more active than other ecclesiastical groups and participants in the Reform, who favoured the circulation of books, promoted their transfer from Italy and encouraged local production.

Another significant circumstance has emerged from recent studies. The third quarter of the 11th century, i.e. the period of intensification of the relations between the monasteries of the two Adriatic shores and during which the oldest manuscripts in Beneventan script were copied in Dalmatia, coincides with the moment in which the Abbey of Montecassino was governed by Desiderius. This aspect is not a coincidence, since Desiderius was one of the main supporters of Pope Gregory VII, and above all a great lover of books and a decisive figure in the development of the *scriptorium* of Montecassino as a centre of book production.

2. IDENTIFYING FEATURES

Characteristics which we could define as “eccentric”, if compared to those conveyed by South-Italian models, helps classify Dalmatian book production as independent of southern Italian models or types. In the light of this, it is essential to consider the manuscript as a complex manufact, which needs to be studied through a multidisciplinary analysis and a multifocal vision.

a. Codicological, textual and figurative aspects

An important topic for discussion concerns the codicological, textual and figurative aspects of Dalmatian “evangelaries”, or “evangelistaries”, a manuscript genre which was more widespread in Dalmatia and forms a larger portion of the corpus. As it is well known, they are books that contained the collection of evangelical pericopes organized according to the liturgical feasts. This category of books includes seven out of the twenty-one pieces of evidence of the *corpus*, made up of manuscripts and fragments.¹⁰ More importantly, three of those books are among the sizeable group of manuscripts dating to between the second half of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th century: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Lat. 61; Vatican City, BAV, Borg. Lat. 339; and Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. qu. 278.

These manuscripts form a consistent subset because they contain the *Exultet*, which is not generally included in Beneventan evangelaries from southern Italy.¹¹ This characteristic could derive from

¹⁰ The complete list of evangelaries of Dalmatia is: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Borg. Lat. 339; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Lat. 61; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat. qu. 278; Trogir, Kapotolski Arhiv, (two manuscripts *s.n.*); Rab, Nadžupski Arhiv, *s.n.*; Sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, R4106. For a comprehensive description of these evangelaries, see: E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011). For an updated bibliography, see *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana* (= BMB), <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/>.

¹¹ For a full list of evangelaries in Beneventan script, see V. BROWN, *I libri della Bibbia nell'Italia meridionale longobarda*, in: *Forme e modelli della tradizione manoscritta della Bibbia*, (ed.) Paolo Cherubini, Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, Vatican City, 2005, pp. 290-291; R. F. GYUG, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2011), p. 55. For a preliminary comparative study, see A. J. M. IRVING, *op. cit.* (n. 6). The evangelary Vat. Borg. Lat. 339 is an exceptional manuscript compared to the other surviving evangelaries of southern Italy also for the presence of Lucan neumed Genalogy of Christ, attested only in two other evangelaries of southern Italy, but almost certainly realized later. For setting of Lucan genealogy to chant see R. F. GYUG, *Innovation, Adaptation and Preservation: the Genealogies of Christ in the Liturgy of Medieval Dalmatia*, in: *Zagreb and Music 1094-1994. Zagreb and Croatian Lands as a Bridge between Central-European and Mediterranean Musical Cultures. Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium (Zagreb, September 28 - October 1, 1994)*, (ed.) Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 35-55.

a practical choice, since both the Gospel and the *Exultet* were read and sung by the deacon. However, it could also be explained in a codicological way, as linked to the specific liturgical context in which it was conceived and adopted. This particular codicological solution may be the result of the specific role that the evangeliary had at the time of the Gregorian Reform in Dalmatia, as the main means of diffusion of liturgical practices and Reform ideas.¹² This could explain the adoption of a combined form in which the Evangeliary, being the main book of the Mass, also included the *Exultet*, which is related to the most and solemn liturgical ceremonies, that of the Easter Vigil,¹³ a spectacular mixture of images, lights, colours and melodies that, especially at the time of the Reform, should have been particularly appealing to the faithful and appropriate to communicate the idea of the triumphant Church of Rome.¹⁴

The presence of the *Exultet* denotes a singularity also on the figurative level. The MS Vat. Borg. Lat. 339, better known as the “Osor Evangeliary”, is the oldest evangeliary from Dalmatia and can be considered closest to the hypothetical archetype derived from an South-Italian model, if not the archetype itself.¹⁵ The manuscript contains at c. 53r (Fig. 2) an unusual picture which illustrates the text of the *Exultet* and which is derived from the union of several figurative elements typical of the illustration of *Exultet* rolls (*Vere quia dignum*, *Maiestas Domini*, *E* which stands for *Exultet*) and some types of manuscripts, in particular



Fig. 2. BAV, Vat. Lat. 339, *Evangeliary*, 11th century, c. 53r (*Exultet*), (Copyright Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

¹² From the point of view of territorial location, it is worth noting that all the surviving Dalmatian evangeliaries are linked to cathedrals or basilicas located in particularly important and strategic locations, e.g., the Zadar Evangeliary, Oxford, Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61, whose realization should be probably related, as it has been hypothesized, to the completion of the new basilica of Saint Mary; see: E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), p. 84; and the Rab Evangeliary, now reduced to fragments and linked to the local cathedral, as well as the later Trogir Evangeliary, whose extraordinary decorative program, characterized also by some illustrated pages, suggests the important liturgical function which it must have had in the context of the renewed cathedral; see: E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), pp. 101 f.

¹³ On this issue, I share the view of T. F. KELLY, *The Exultet in southern Italy*, Oxford-New York, 1996, p. 195.

¹⁴ *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici dell'Italia meridionale*, (ed.) Giuglielmo Cavallo, Giulia Orofino, Roma, 1994; *Exultet, testo e immagine nei rotoli liturgici dell'Italia Meridionale*, (ed.) Giulia Orofino, CD-Rom, Cassino, 1999.

¹⁵ I provide new insight on the origin of the manuscript Vat. Borg. Lat. 339 at the Colloque d'étude “Saint-Pierre d'Osor (île de Cres) et le monachisme bénédictin dans l'espace adriatique”, Osor, June 1st-3rd 2018, whose proceedings, edited by the École Française de Rome, are being printed.

votive missals.¹⁶ Although the individual parts of the miniature find comparisons in different examples from Southern Italy, there is no other image, taken as a whole, similar (or at least close) to it, *i.e.*, which derives from a similar synthesis of the various figurative units of an *Exultet* roll. We cannot know if this particular combination was copied directly from a Southern-Italian archetype. Neither can we exclude the possibility that the picture was created as the original idea of a local illuminator. In this case, as this process of adaptation of the image to the Dalmatian evangelistary requires the use of models, we should accept the idea that BAV, Vat. Borg. Lat. 339 constitutes the oldest testimony of the arrival in Dalmatia not only of an archetypical evangelistary but also of rolls containing the *Exultet* and codices, probably missals, containing the *Prefatio* illuminated with *Majestas Domini*.¹⁷

b. Stylistic evidence and iconographic choices

As for decorative repertoire of the manuscripts, there is clearly a general recurrence of the syntax and ornamental vocabulary of the South-Italian Beneventan miniature painting, especially from Apulia, that in some cases produces effects of extraordinary overlaps between Dalmatian and southern Italian manuscripts.¹⁸ However, these common features are, in hindsight, limited only to a few specimens, while looking at it with a broader perspective, some iconographic choices mark a notable differentiation between Dalmatian and southern-Italian or Apulian manuscripts. One common element in all the manuscripts of the eleventh century is the beloved iconographic motif of a “beardless Christ”, which we find, apart from the previously mentioned evangelistaries, also in the two Books of Hours, Budapest, Magyar Tudomány Akadémia, K 394 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Lit. 277.¹⁹ This motif, which is rarely found in the decorative South-Italian and Apulian repertoire, is much more widespread in Dalmatia.

Another unusual iconographic choice, a result of autonomous elaboration, is the importance given to peacocks in Dalmatian manuscripts compared to the traditional animal repertoire of Apulia, as we can see in the beautiful peacocks that crowd the pages of the Evangelistary and Oxford Book of Hours of Oxford Bodleian Library. These two codices share some stylistic affinities, whose extraordinary beauty compared to the rest of the contemporary regional production can be explained by the commission of the noblewoman Vekenega. The moment when she became abbess of Saint Mary’s convent marks the highest moment in Zadar’s cultural history, in part because of her close link with the court of King Koloman.²⁰ The peacock decorative motif is widespread in Dalmatia, especially in

¹⁶ For a fuller treatment of this image, see E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), pp. 79-80. On the decoration of votive missals in Beneventan script, see E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2013).

¹⁷ As for the *Exultet* rolls in Dalmatia, it is known that one of these could be identified with the “*carta longa continens Exultet iam angelica turba*”, mentioned in the inventory of 1425 of Split Cathedral; J. BELAMARIĆ, Cenni per un profilo della storia e dell’arte medievale e rinascimentale della città di Traù (Trogir), in: *Tesori della Croazia. Restaurati dal Venetian Heritage Inc.*, Venezia (Chiesa di San Barnaba, 9 giugno-4 novembre 2001), Venezia, 2001, p. 19.

¹⁸ In Dalmatian miniature painting, a notable feature in common with southern Italian and Apulian miniatures is the recurrence, already highlighted by Loew and previously by other art historians such as F. von Baldass, É. Bertaux, J. A. Hesbert, of the motif of human heads in profile with or without conical headgear; E. ELBA, Lungo le rotte adriatiche: il Libro d’ore in beneventana di Budapest e la miniatura pugliese dell’XI secolo, *Rivista di Storia della miniature*, 12, Firenze, 2008, pp. 45-55. Note in particular the comparison between the human heads in profile of the initial letter “b” at c. 43r of Budapest, Magyar Tudomány Akadémia, K 394; and “P” at c. 31r of Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3327, considered by Loew as one of the main witnesses of Bari production. Both images are reproduced in E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2006), table 6a-6b.

¹⁹ For a comprehensive description of the Book of Hours, Budapest, Magyar Tudomány Akadémia, K 394; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Lit. 277, see E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011). For an updated bibliography on the manuscript, see BMB, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

²⁰ E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), pp. 82-90. On the nun Vekenega and her relationships with the royal family, see M. ANČIĆ, Vekenega i kralj Koloman, in: *Laude nitens multa. Zbornik radova s kolokvija u povodu 900. obljetnice Vekenegina epitafa*, (ed.) Pavuša Vežić, Ivan Josipović, Zadar, 2018.



early medieval sculpture and is characteristic of the miniature painting of Byzantium in that period. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that in the manuscripts from Zadar the peacock is not just a decorative motif, but is also used as the symbol of John, who is elsewhere represented by an eagle. Since it is so common in the region, we cannot consider this choice to use the peacock simply as a mistake made by the painter. Moreover, as we know that it is not attested in South-Italian and Apulian manuscripts, it certainly indicates a hallmark of the artist who made the two manuscripts of Zadar, and particularly the evangelistary.²¹

Moreover, the fact that both the peacock and the “beardless Christ” refer to early Christian art is certainly a specific artistic direction of Dalmatian Beneventan miniature painting, which may be explained by the “renouveau paleochrétien” mentioned by H  l  ne Toubert which had so much impor-

²¹ For an example see extensive plates online through the Bodleian Library (Digital Bodleian), in particular plate of c. 10r, 55v, 62v, 64v, 142v, 144r. The origin and motivation behind this particular iconographic choice is still an open question. A few years ago, while visiting the Zadar convent of Saint Mary, I found it somewhat strange that peacocks with multicoloured tails freely circulated in the cloister. This represents some anecdotal picturesque evidence, without historical value. It is worth noting, though, that the same circumstance attracted my attention when I visited the Lokrum archaeological area near Dubrovnik, occupied by a prolific colony of the same birds. In this last case, however, the presence of the peacocks is explained, according to popular tradition, by the transformation of the Benedictine monastery and of the adjoining garden into summer residence by Maximilian of Habsburg.

tance in South-Italian art at the time of the Gregorian Reform.²² This topic opens up the interesting research proposal which has not yet been fully investigated, on the relationship between medieval Croatian art of the 11th century and classical models.²³

c. Persistence and reiteration

A final feature of Dalmatian book production concerns the duration of the phenomenon, which lasts until the 13th century. The Beneventan manuscripts of the Trogir cathedral date to this period, especially the richly illuminated evangelistary, probably copied from an older manuscript, in turn derived from South-Italian models (Figg. 2-3).²⁴ An interesting aspect is that the manuscript was not produced in a Benedictine environment, as some critics believe,²⁵ but probably in a Franciscan one, as shown by some textual and decorative features, which relate it to the book production of the convent of Saint Francis in Zadar.²⁶

The question of the centre of production of the evangelistary and its destination certainly remains an open problem, which needs to be further explored.²⁷ At the moment, however, another finding proves to be more important: the deliberate choice to follow a precise book model after a long time, *i.e.*, to produce an evangelistary in Beneventan script at a time when it was no longer the only or principal genre and script in use. This means that that model was not only perceived as a marker of cultural identity, but underlined a precise ideological link with the past.²⁸ To put it another way, the evangelistary prototype, taken as a model for the newer manuscript, is not considered a model that is outdated and therefore inadequate, but rather, on a functional level, capable of transmitting those same “liturgical” values of the original, albeit through an updated artistic language, *i.e.*, a more modern style.

²² See H. TOUBERT, *Un'arte orientata: riforma gregoriana e iconografia*, Milano, 2001.

²³ There are other elements that highlight the bond of the Dalmatian evangeliaries with the Reform period on a decorative level, *i.e.*, the preference accorded to the figurative motif of the *Agnus Dei* in the picture of *Vere dignum* in the *Exultet* in Oxford, Bodl. Canon. Lat. 61. This reflects the intentional choice of deviating in a sacramental sense from the expressive function generally associated with the monogram, and instead explicitly inserting the image in the Easter liturgical context. See E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2012). Another explicit reference to the Eucharistic theme was hidden, again in the Oxford Evangeliary, in the iconography of the Last Supper at c. 106r, as a result of the doctrinal debate that opposed Westerners and Byzantines in the mid-11th century. See E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2006), pp. 126-128.

²⁴ E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2006), pp. 135-139, 145-147. Further insights in E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), pp. 100 f., 183-194. For an updated bibliography on the manuscript, see BMB, *op. cit.* (n. 10).

²⁵ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti / The First Five Centuries of Croatian Art*, (ed.) Biserka Rauter Plančić, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 280-284 (Rozana Vojvoda, cat. n. 69: Trogirski evanđelistar / Trogir Evangeliary); R. VOJVODA., *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), pp. 186 f.

²⁶ On the Zadar Franciscan book production and on its link with the Venetian and Paduan miniature painting of the late 12th and 13th centuries, see A. BADURINA, *Illuminated manuscripts in Croatia*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 100-101, n. 192-196; see also especially F. TONIOLO, *Liturgia in figura: le miniature dei corali di san Francesco a Zara*, in: *Medioevo adriatico. Circolazione di modelli, opere, maestri*, (ed.) Federica Toniolo, Giovanna Valenzano, Viella, Rome, 2010, pp. 113-132. During the 13th century, the Franciscans were gradually replacing the Benedictines in the religious life of the region, and assuming what had been their function in terms of cultural and artistic promotion. It is not a coincidence that friars begin to emerge in local artistic and book history. For an example, see the recent considerations about the bishop of Osor, Michael, mentioned in the prayer transcribed on the “Osor Evangeliary”, BAV, Vat. Borg. Lat. 339 (E. ELBA, 2019, forthcoming).

²⁷ The hypothesis I advanced is that the manuscript, although intended for the local cathedral, was not produced in the same city but in Zadar which, still in the 13th century, was the centre of the Dalmatian book production, as demonstrated by the activities of the Franciscan scriptorium. Vojvoda holds a different view, as she considers the manuscript to have been made in the local Benedictine monastery of St. John the Baptist of Trogir.

²⁸ Whether this phenomenon, together with its ideological meaning, is limited to Dalmatia or finds significant examples in South Italy too, is another interesting research proposal.

It follows that the “persistence” of the models represents the last step of a succession of stages of comparison with the models themselves. This persistence does not correspond to a process of occasional repetition, but rather is a process of conscious affirmation of a precise liturgical and cultural tradition.²⁹

This evaluation reinforces the idea that Dalmatian book production is not the consequence of a simple irradiation of the Montecassino and/or Apulian graphic and decorative forms, but a separate piece in the history of the Beneventan miniature painting.

3. CONCLUSIONS: “PERIPHERY” AS A VALUE

What emerges from the data on the palaeographic, codicological and above all decorative aspects is that the phenomenon of the manuscript production in Beneventan script in Dalmatia is a complex one, which must be studied from multiple points of view. It is significant that the analysis of these aspects is leading to a revision of knowledge in the field of South-Italian library production and promoting discussion around old and new issues.³⁰

As for the Dalmatian Beneventan miniature painting itself, it is clear that it cannot be described as a regional artistic phenomenon, nor can it be associated with the notion of “provincial art”, *i.e.*, an art which straggled in receiving models and which was characterized by poor execution, as it was originally labelled by scholars. It better matches the notion of “peripheral art”, that Ljubo Karaman worked out to describe the art of those territories such as Dalmatia where the greater distance from the hegemonic centres does not affect the reception of the models, which come numerous and from different directions, but rather grants the artists a larger margin of “freedom”.³¹ The artistic expression of peripheral art is not reduced to the pure and simple acceptance of imported forms but, in some cases means an individual and original interpretation.

It is revealing that Karaman and his innovative proposal for an artistic geographical system, based on the three categories of provincial (or provincialized) art, boundary art and peripheral art, ended up being considered itself in a “marginal” way in European historiography, as evidenced by the late recognition of his work abroad.³² As far as Italy is concerned, even the two fundamental contri-

²⁹ For an in-depth examination of this interpretative hypothesis, see E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 2011), p. 109. It is worth noting, however, in this regard that the evangeliary, like the other codex of the same type kept in the Trogir Cathedral, does not contain the text of the Exultet, unlike the oldest Dalmatian evangeliaries (*i.e.* Osor and Zadar evangeliaries). This aspect opens an interesting question that remains unanswered: was the Trogir Evangeliary copied from an archetype (from Southern Italy) that did not include the *Exultet* text, or, more likely, was the *Exultet* not introduced because in the 13th century the liturgy of the Easter Vigil had lost its link with the South-Italian liturgical practice?

³⁰ An interesting field of my ongoing research focuses on the specific decorative features of the manuscripts in Bari-type, and more generally their relationship with the book production from Apulia and Montecassino, especially during the Desiderian period.

³¹ LJ. KARAMAN, *Problemi periferijske umjetnosti. O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva*, (ed.) Radovan Ivančević, Zagreb, 2001 (1sted. 1963).

³² The first take of Karaman’s theory is by R. IVANČEVIĆ, Ljubo Karaman e la nozione dell’arte provinciale, dell’arte di frontiera e dell’arte periferica, in: “*La scuola viennese di storia dell’arte*”, (ed.) Marco Pozzetto, Atti del XX Convegno dell’Istituto per gli Incontri Culturali Mitteleuropei (Gorizia, Palazzo Attems, 25-28 settembre 1986), Gorizia, 1996, p. 183-193; and out of Croatia by Jan Białostocki, Some Values of Artistic Periphery, in: *World Art: Themes of Unity in Diversity*, I, (ed.) Irving Lavin, Act of the XXVIth International Congress of the History of Art (Washington D.C. 1986), University Park (PA), 1989, pp. 49-58. For further insights on this subject of study concerning Karaman’s theory, see more recently J. GUDELJ, Ljubo Karaman e i problemi dell’arte periferica, in: *Arte e architettura: le cornici della storia*, (ed.) Flaminia Bardati, Anna Rossellini, Milano, 2008, pp. 216-272. An interesting example of applying the concept of “peripheral art” in Dalmatia heritage is offered by P. MARKOVIĆ, Experiment in construction – Innovation in the form. The cathedral of St. James in Šibenik and “Freedom of creation in a peripheral milieu”, in: *Periferie dinamiche territoriali e produzioni artistica*, (ed.) Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari, *Il capitale culturale. Studies on the value of Cultural Heritage*, X, 2014, pp. 157-175. (<http://riviste.unimc.it/index.php/cap-cult>)

butions on the topic of central/peripheral art elaborated by Enrico Castelnuovo,³³ do not mention the categorical system of Karaman. However, Castelnuovo calls for a similar change of approach as Karaman had in the need to replace the notion of “province” with that of “periphery”, because less characterized by evaluative implications.³⁴ In this way Castelnuovo takes into account not only new positions in the field of social geography and the German historiographical debate on artistic geography, but above all the multiplication of historical and artistic research on the Italian territory,³⁵ a field of research that he defines as a “laboratorio privilegiato” because of the complexity of the factors that interact with each other.³⁶

The failure to receive the model proposed by Karaman, now re-evaluated in the context of a general different approach to studies on cultural and artistic phenomena,³⁷ does not in any way result from the evaluation of the effectiveness of that model.³⁸ If anything, it may be that Karaman’s early approach to the topic of peripheral art was almost “visionary”, and offers today the opportunity to reinterpret artistic phenomena through the perspective of a geo-cultural system that we could define as “global”.³⁹ In this context, once the binary centre/periphery has been definitively overcome, the peripheries become an autonomous object of study, acquiring the value of fundamental pieces for the study of the historical study of cultural identity.

On this basis, if the Beneventan miniature painting of Dalmatia is no longer configured as a simple Adriatic reflection of the Bari type, the entire “Beneventan Zone”, in the multiplicity of its expressions, can no longer be understood as an area characterized by major centres and minor centres, but rather as an extra-regional and polycentric territory, marked by deep and adaptive cultural interchange.

³³ E. CASTELNUOVO - C. GINZBURG, Centro e periferia, in: *Storia dell’arte italiana*, I, Questioni e Metodi, (ed.) Giovanni Previtali, Torino, 1979, also online; E. CASTELNUOVO, La frontiera nella storia dell’arte, in: *Periferie dinamiche territoriali territoriali e produzioni artistica*, (ed.) Giuseppe Capriotti, Francesca Coltrinari, *Il capitale culturale. Studies on the value of Cultural Heritage*, X, 2014, pp. 985-1008.

³⁴ E. CASTELNUOVO - C. GINZBURG, *op. cit.* (n. 33, 1979), p. 5.

³⁵ E. CASTELNUOVO - C. GINZBURG, *op. cit.* (n. 33, 1979) n. 3 and 4.

³⁶ E. CASTELNUOVO - C. GINZBURG, *op. cit.* (n. 33, 1979), pp. 6 f.

³⁷ For the debate on artistic geography, see also: *Borders in art: revisiting “Kunstgeographie”*. *Proceedings of the Fourth Joint Conference of Polish and English Art Historians*, (ed.) Stefan Muthesius et alii, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1998, Warsaw, 2000; and L. PUPPI, Centro e periferia nella storia dell’arte: un falso problema o un problema mal posto? Approssimazioni a un’introduzione metodologica allo studio della cultura artistica friulana, in: *La Galleria d’Arte Antica dei Civici Musei di Udine. I. Dipinti dal XIV alla metà del XVII secolo*, (ed.) Giacomo Bergamini, Vicenza - Udine, 2002, pp. 23-33. For a general overview on studies on the historiographic notion “centre/periphery”, see also the dossier: Centri e periferie. Forme e modelli attraverso la storia, *Storicamente*, 2, 2006, https://storicamente.org/02_dossier01.

³⁸ Castelnuovo’s model cannot be considered as effective as Karaman’s, as stated by J. GUDELJ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 272 who rightly considers the first model not easily applicable due to the complexity and richness of the phenomena covered.

³⁹ On the notion of “geoculture”, see M. WALLERSTEIN, *Geopolitica e geocultura. Saggi sull’evoluzione del sistema-mondo*, Trieste, 1999. The reference to Wallerstein’s theory and its possible implications for the complex theme of artistic geography and especially the notion of “peripheral art” is the starting point for future analysis.

**Dalmatinski beneventanski rukopisi i
ideja "jadranske periferije".
Prijedlog za uspostavu novog istraživanja**

Analiza ukupnoga korpusa beneventanskih rukopisa Dalmacije (2011.) omogućava raspoznavanje nekih specifičnih odlika koje karakteriziraju knjižnu produkciju te regije kroz vrijeme. Zaključak je da dalmatinske rukopise ne bi trebalo smatrati isključivo „provincijskim” proizvodima, jer bi to onda značilo da ne pokazuju elemente kvalitetne umjetničke produkcije karakteristične za razvijena središta. Oni su, naprotiv, rezultat složenog procesa preuzimanja, prilagodbe i prerade stanovitih modela koji nisu obilježili tek nekoliko desetljeća, već su trajali do 13. stoljeća. Nakana je člankom pomnije objasniti one parametre kojima bi se dao zaokružen pogled na knjižnu produkciju Dalmacije, ali uz drugačije interpretativne modele i nov historiografski pristup koji omogućuje uspostavljanje učinkovite „teorijske” osnove u paradigmi takozvane „periferijske umjetnosti” koju je razvio Ljubo Karaman 1963. godine.

Ključne riječi: *dalmatinski rukopisi, dalmatinsko minijaturno slikarstvo, beneventansko pismo, južna Italija, Dalmacija, Apulija, srednji vijek, beneventanska zona, Elias Avery Loew (Lowe), Jadransko more, jadranska periferija, periferijska umjetnost, provincijska umjetnost, Ljubo Karaman*

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UN MESSALE E IL SUO SISTEMA ILLUSTRATIVO. CONTRIBUTO PER LA MINIATURA “BARI TYPE”

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The following essay will examine a fragmentary missal whose constituent parts are currently held by various institutions throughout Switzerland. Until now the work has been almost entirely ignored in the world of art historiography, despite the fact that it represents an outstanding specimen, not only when considered from textual, codicological and palaeographical viewpoints, but above all on account of its gold embellished decorative apparatus. The work of a single hand, the apparatus is of high quality and shows striking illustrative originality. The information that can be inferred from the script (Beneventan, with clearly “Bari type” characters) and from the decorations (ornamental initials and marginal illustrations that highlight the structure of the text, thereby intensifying the power of the sacred words), suggest an attribution of the 18 surviving leaves to a leading scriptorium of the Terra di Bari and a dating to within the first half of the 11th century.

Key words: Beneventan script, “Bari type” characters, Missal, Adriatic, Apulia, Dalmatia, 11th century

Il 3 luglio 2018 sono stati battuti all’asta presso Sotheby’s a Londra due frammenti provenienti da un omiliario, assemblati in Irlanda nel XIX secolo all’interno di una cornice lignea insieme ad una croce anglosassone del V-VI secolo, un singolare pastiche etichettato “The Cross and the Book in Britain: Two relics of Early Christian Irish Art” (Fig. 1). I due fogli sono in realtà scritti in beneventana Bari type e assegnati nel catalogo d’asta a “southern Italy or Dalmatia, 11th or early 12th century”¹. Le iniziali decorate che segnalano gli incipit dei sermoni traditi nei frammenti sono molto simili, per la tipologia nastriforme, per i colori, per la morfologia delle protomi beccute e rapaci che animano le lettere e per una certa corsività di mano, a quelle del Libro d’ore di Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, K 394, databile alla seconda metà dell’XI secolo, proveniente dal monastero benedettino di Santa Maria di Zadar, per il quale è stata dimostrata una marcata dipendenza dalla miniatura pugliese².

Il 20 settembre 2014 è stato recuperato a Montecassino da d. Mariano Dell’Omo il ms. Archivio Privato 2, annotato da d. Mauro Inganez e citato da E.A. Lowe negli anni ’60 del secolo scorso, di cui si erano perdute le tracce per quasi un ventennio; scritto in beneventana Bari type del sec. XI ex, nella prima metà del XIII secolo fu aggiunta nel verso dell’ultimo foglio la lista dei beni immobili

¹ <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2018/medieval-and-renaissance-manuscripts-and-russian-books-118403/lot.1.html?locale=en> (cons. 25 aprile 2019).

² E. ELBA, *Miniatura in Dalmazia. I codici in beneventana (XI-XIII secolo)*, Bari, 2011, p. 73-77, 135-144, tav. XIX-XXX. Per tutti i manoscritti in scrittura beneventana citati d’ora in avanti si rimanda alla bibliografia raccolta in BMB. *Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana*, Roma, 1993, interrogabile online <http://edu.let.unicas.it/bmb/> (cons. 25 aprile 2019).



Fig. 1. Due fogli di un omiliario in beneventana Bari type (Sotheby's London, 3 luglio 2018)



Fig. 2. Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, Archivio Privato 2, p. 176 © Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia

posseduti dal monastero di Ognissanti di Cuti a Valenzano nel territorio di Montrone, confermando la localizzazione del codice biblico in Terra di Bari³. Le iniziali decorate, per i busti di Giovanni e di Giacomo issati sulle *I* incipitarie delle rispettive epistole (pp. 205, 176) (Fig. 2), per le piccole teste maschili di profilo sgorganti dai nastri (p. 209) e per le soluzioni ornitomorfe, in particolare i pavoni (p. 1), presentano notevoli tangenze con quelle dei manoscritti zaratini di fine XI secolo, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Lit. 277 e Canon. Lat. 61⁴.

Si aggiungono così altri anelli alla linea di trasmissione che nei secoli centrali del Medioevo portò oltremare, lungo la rete dei monasteri insediati sulle due opposte sponde dell'Adriatico, non solo la

³ M. DELL'OMO, *Ritrovato il codice 2 dell'Archivio Privato di Montecassino. Un manoscritto in beneventana del monastero di Ognissanti di Cuti in Terra di Bari (Valenzano)*, in *BMB. Bibliografia dei manoscritti in scrittura beneventana*, Roma, 2016, p. 59-80.

⁴ E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (nota 2), p. 82-90, 145-168, tav. XXXI-LX.

scrittura ma anche il linguaggio ornamentale pugliese, segno dell'adesione ad un sistema identitario forte, che si affermò travalicando i confini del mosaico geopolitico – fossero longobardi, carolingi o bizantini – e la cui ricostruzione passa necessariamente attraverso il censimento, la catalogazione, la collazione e l'analisi critica di tutti i testimoni sopravvissuti.

Se per la Dalmazia è stato recentemente costituito un importante corpus⁵ – la cui presentazione nel 2012 a Bari è stata per me la prima occasione di incontro con Nikola Jakšić – manca una ricerca altrettanto capillare e organica sui manoscritti che per dati interni o esterni possono attribuirsi alla Puglia.

Tra questi va annoverato un Messale frammentario, pressoché ignorato soprattutto dalla storiografia artistica⁶, nonostante si tratti di un esemplare notevole non solo dal punto di vista testuale, codicologico e paleografico, ma soprattutto per il suo apparato ornamentale, di elevata qualità, dovuto ad un'unica mano e arricchito dall'oro, e per l'originalità del suo sistema illustrativo⁷.

Del messale sopravvivono oggi 14 fogli e 2 bifoli, conservati in varie sedi svizzere⁸ e pubblicati a più riprese a partire dagli inizi del XIX secolo⁹. Contengono i formulari di 12 messe del periodo pre-quaresimale e quaresimale (compreso il Canone per il giovedì santo e la Passione del venerdì santo), di 10 messe del Proprio dei santi per i mesi di giugno/agosto e delle messe per la Trasfigurazione e per la domenica precedente e seguente la festa di san Michele. Il sistema a tre letture (Antico Testamento, Epistola e Vangeli, le prime due separate dal graduale), la presenza dell'*oratio post evangelium*, probabilmente corrispondente all'*oratio super sindonem* del rito ambrosiano, e di quella *super populum* prevista non solo alla fine delle messe di Quaresima come richiede invece l'uso romano, la scelta di passi dal Vangelo di Giovanni per le domeniche quaresimali, sono sopravvivenze di antiche tradizioni liturgiche locali – secondo Klaus Gamber il messale sarebbe “das bedeutendste Zeugnis der älteren

⁵ Ivi, *passim*.

⁶ Gli unici accenni di qualche interesse alla decorazione del Messale sono in A. DOLD, *Die Zürcher und Peterlinger Messbuch-Fragmente*, Beuron, 1934, p. XIX-XXI e in E. ELBA, *I Messali 'votivi' in beneventana: funzione, struttura, decorazione*, in R. Casavecchia, P. De Paolis, M. Maniaci, G. Orofino (ed.), *Libri e testi. Lavori in corso a Cassino. Atti del Seminario internazionale (Cassino 30-31 gennaio 2012)*, Cassino, 2013, p. 261-301, a p. 264.

⁷ Proprio per il suo interesse e la sua complessità, il Messale meriterebbe una esaustiva edizione.

⁸ Un primo nucleo è conservato a Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Z XIV 4 (1-4), 4 fogli singoli di cui due in successione testuale; un secondo nucleo comprende due bifoli a Luzern, Staatsarchiv, Sankt Leodegar 1912 e PA 1343/127, in origine parte di un unico fascicolo; un terzo nucleo è a Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, W I 3.19, ff. 6r-15v, 10 fogli tagliati a metà per un totale di 6 fogli interi, di due quali manca sicuramente la metà superiore; un quarto nucleo è a Payerne, Archives communales, sn, ff. 1r-6v, 1Ar-v, 4 fogli (di cui uno già a Lausanne, Archives) e un bifolio, attualmente in deposito presso il Musée de l'Abbatiale. Sia i frammenti dello Staatsarchiv di Zürich che quelli di Payerne risultano oggi segnati senza tener conto della sequenza testuale, che è la seguente: Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, ff. 9v/7v-9r/7r, 12r/14r-12v/14v, [?]/6v-[?]6r, [?]/15v-[?]/15r, 10v/8v-10r/8r e 11v/13v-11r/13r, questi ultimi in continuità testuale; Payerne, Archives communales, sn, ff. 1v-1r, 5r-5int1, 5int2-5v, 2v-2r e 6r-6v in continuità testuale, 1Av-1Ar. Ringrazio Marina Bernasconi per la disponibilità e il supporto nella ricerca dei frammenti e della documentazione fotografica.

⁹ M. BESSON, *L'Art Barbare dans l'ancien diocèse de Lausanne*, Lausanne, 1909, pp. 219-223 (foglio di Lausanne, oggi a Payerne, Archives communales, sn, f. 1Ar-v); E. A. LOEW, *The Beneventan Script*, Oxford, 1914, p. 370 (10 frammenti di Zürich, Staatsarchiv, già nella collezione di Ferdinand Keller (1880-1881) della Società Antiquaria); G. MORIN, *Le Missel de Payerne*, in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 25, 1931, p. 102-111 (frammenti di Payerne); A. DOLD, *op. cit.* (nota 6) (frammenti della Zentralbibliothek di Zürich, pubblicati in edizione critica insieme agli altri noti); E. OMLIN, *Ein Messbuchfragment im Stiftsarchiv Luzern. Vier neue Seiten zum beneventanischen Missale vom Zürich und Payerne aus dem beginnenden 11. Jh.*, in *Innerschweizerisches Jahrbuch für Heimatkunde* 8/10, 1944/46, p. 39-60 (frammento dal monastero di Sankt Leodegar di Luzern); P. LADNER, *Ein neues Messbuchfragment in beneventanischen Schrift. Zur Rekonstruktion eines liturgischen Denkmals*, in *Das Denkmal und die Zeit. Festschrift für Alfred A. Schmid*, Luzern, 1990, p. 171-178 (frammento dello Staatsarchiv di Luzern, dal monastero di Sankt Urban).



Fig. 3. Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, WI 3. 19, f. 15v © Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons

beneventanischen Liturgie¹⁰ – mentre la notazione neumatica in campo aperto testimonia “the thin, spidery, early type of Beneventan notation”¹¹.

La destinazione a un monastero benedettino è provata dalla messa per la Traslazione di san Benedetto l’11 luglio, festa commemorativa di sicura origine gallica e prediletta in area francese, dove era funzionale ad avvalorare Fleury-sur-Loire come centro del culto del Fondatore e delle sue reliquie, e per le stesse ovvie e opposte ragioni estranea invece alla tradizione cassinese¹².

La localizzazione in Terra di Bari è stata genericamente accettata su base paleografica e per avallo di Loew, che, datando i frammenti all’XI secolo, parla di “Beneventan writing with some features of the

¹⁰ K. GAMBER, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, I, Freiburg, 1968, p. 240-241, a p. 240. Per le particolarità testuali e liturgiche del Messale frammentario si vedano anche T. F. KELLY, *Il canto beneventano. Edizione aggiornata*, Lugano, 1989, p. 95; R. F. GYUG, *Missale Ragusinum. The Missal of Dubrovnik* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Liturg. 342), Toronto, 1990, p. 5-11; V. BROWN, *Il messale medievale e le ‘Missae votivae’: esempi di pratica monastica in area beneventana*, in O. Pecere (ed.), *Il monaco il libro la biblioteca. Atti del convegno (Cassino-Montecassino 5-8 settembre 2000)*, Cassino, 2003, p. 119-153, a p. 120 n. 2, 121 n. 4.

¹¹ T. F. KELLY, *The Oldest Musical Notation at Montecassino*, in B. M. Antolini, T. M. Gialdroni, A. Pugliese (ed.), *Et facciam dolci canti. Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, Lucca, 2003, p. 37-45, a p. 38-39 (citazione a p. 38).

¹² J. DESHUSSES – J. HOURLIER, *Saint Benoît dans les livres liturgiques*, in *Studia Monastica* 21, 1979, p. 143-204. Si veda anche L. NARDINI, *La messa Vir Dei benedicti nei manoscritti liturgici beneventani e non beneventani*, in N. Tangari (ed.), *Musica e liturgia a Montecassino nel medioevo*, Roma, 2012, p. 115-131, a p. 116.



Fig. 4. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Z XIV 4, f. 4v © Zürich, Staatsarchiv

Bari type¹³; peculiarità che il paleografo non specifica, ma che sono evidentemente riconoscibili nel frequente uso della *c* spezzata, della *e* con occhielli di dimensioni quasi uguali, della *r* a spalla alta a inizio o interno di parola e della *r* corta con secondo tratto a tilde in fine parola, delle legature con *i* enclitica terminanti con curve pronunciate, dell'abbreviazione soprascritta per *m* a "3" verticale. Mancano invece altri elementi caratterizzanti del tipo, come la nota tironiana per *est*, il puntino sul segno orizzontale di contrazione e soprattutto la sistematica riduzione dei tratti discendenti e ascendenti (la *f* scende costantemente sotto il rigo anche in legamento con *i*)¹⁴.

Punta ad una datazione alta, entro la prima metà dell'XI secolo, l'aspetto decisamente rotondeggiante della scrittura, priva di contrasti e spezzature, con lettere larghe e distanziate – in *de* e *be* le curve per esempio non sono mai tangenti – senza accenni alle stilizzazioni e all'artificioso bilinearismo che si affermano nel Bari type a cavallo del secolo, a partire dal Benedizionale del Museo Diocesano¹⁵.

La vicinanza con lo "stile rotondo" dei rotoli liturgici prodotti a Benevento al tempo dell'arcivescovo Landolfo I (969-981), il Pontificale e il Benedizionale della Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma, 724 (B I 13) 1 e 2, per i quali Virginia Brown ha ipotizzato scribi provenienti dalla Pu-

glia¹⁶, conferma la tesi di Guglielmo Cavallo secondo la quale punto di partenza per l'elaborazione del Bari type fu proprio la beneventana libreria canonizzata dopo la metà del X secolo, evidentemente nota, se non praticata, anche sulla costa adriatica dell'Italia meridionale¹⁷. Il Messale si affianche-

¹³ E. A. LOEW, *op. cit.* (nota 9), p. 370.

¹⁴ Per le caratteristiche del Bari type, individuate per la prima volta dallo stesso Loew, si rimanda a P. CHERUBINI – A. PRATESI, *Paleografia latina. L'avventura grafica del mondo occidentale*, Città del Vaticano, 2010, p. 299-325, con bibliografia precedente.

¹⁵ F. MAGISTRALE, *Bari, Archivio del Capitolo Metropolitano, Benedizionale*, in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale*, Roma 1994, p. 143-150.

¹⁶ V. BROWN, *Origine et provenance des manuscrits bénéventains conservés à la Bibliothèque Capitulare*, in T. F. Kelly (ed.), *La cathédrale de Bénévent*, Gand, 1999, p. 149-165, a p. 152-159.

¹⁷ G. CAVALLO, *Struttura e articolazione della minuscola beneventana libraria tra i secoli X-XII*, in *Studi Medievali* 3 s., 11, 1970, p. 343-368, a p. 347-356.



Fig. 5. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Z XIV 4, f. 2v © Zürich, Staatsarchiv

rebbe dunque all'Omiliario della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, VI B 2, confezionato nel capoluogo pugliese o in qualche centro limitrofo agli inizi dell'XI secolo¹⁸, come importante attestazione di una fase intermedia tra la scrittura di base e la tipizzazione barese.

Quello che resta dopo le pesanti mutilazioni subite nel corso del tempo basta a qualificare il Messale come "display manuscript", di cui Alban Dold ha ricostruito ipoteticamente dimensioni (mm. 435x310) e consistenza (350 fogli) originarie¹⁹. Che fosse un codice di pregio, prodotto di uno scriptorium di punta, lo dimostra l'accuratezza della *mise en page*, dai margini che si intuiscono ampi, con l'ariosa beneventana disposta su due colonne, nelle quali si alternano i brani cantati vergati con lettere di modulo minore e le frequenti didascalie rubricate. Il prefazio del Canone della messa del giovedì santo – Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, W I 3 19, f. 6v – è trascritto su 5 linee (la prima in gran parte rifilata) in maiuscole d'apparato integrate da un'h minuscola, colorate di rosso, azzurro e verde, con aggiunta di mezze foglie, noduli, riccioli e palmette che sostituiscono i segni di abbreviazione.

La fruizione del testo liturgico è agevolata dalla gerarchia dimensionale

adottata con rare incertezze per le iniziali decorate, che sottolineano le partizioni dei formulari: le grandi (ll. 11/20) e le medie (ll. 5/9) segnalano, quasi sempre in *diminuendo*, le *lectiones*, le piccole (ll. 2/5) *orationes*, *preces* e introiti. Dopo la pausa forte, indicata da due punti sovrapposti alla virgola, il periodo comincia con una lettera ingrandita ricalcata e ravvivata con le stesse tinte che connotano la tavolozza dell'intero corredo ornamentale, con prevalenza di azzurro, giallo, rosso aranciato, verde, tocchi di oro e, nelle parti figurative, rosa, porpora, bianco, marrone.

I motivi dell'*Initialornamentik* riflettono modi elaborati in ambito longobardo-cassinese tra la fine del X e gli inizi dell'XI secolo, con citazioni quasi puntuali dal Pontificale di Benevento (nella tipologia delle *a* aperte, in cui all'asta destra si aggancia una mezza foglia d'acanto ricadente a sagomare la forcel-

¹⁸ G. OROFINO, *Miniatura in Puglia agli inizi dell'XI secolo: l'Omiliario VI B 2 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, in *Miniatura* 3-4, 1990-1991, p. 21-32.

¹⁹ A. DOLD, *op. cit.* (nota 6), p.



Fig. 6. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Z XIV 4, f. 3v © Zürich, Staatsarchiv

la²⁰, o delle *E* con asta centrale segnata da un doppio fiocco²¹) ma anche dalle invenzioni grimoaldiane, cui rimandano sia le zoomorfe sagomate da cani simmetrici e opposti che si mordono la zampa (Fig. 3)²², sia le monumentali geometriche (Fig. 4) che per i fitti intrecci risaltati su fondi bruni a occhi e perle riservati si apparentano a quelle del Benedizionale barese²³, mentre le *gouilliches* che separano gli scomparti si ritrovano nel manoscritto delle Leggi longobarde a Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, ms. 413, ormai stabilmente assegnato a un centro urbano in Terra di Bari verso lo scadere della prima metà dell'XI secolo²⁴.

Un deciso orientamento verso gli sviluppi dell'ornamentazione Bari type è riscontrabile nelle lettere nastriformi (Fig. 3), costruite da fettucce sottili che si annodano formando triquetre, motivi a picca e quadrangolari, e nelle versioni caleidoscopiche si metamorfizzano in foglie, palmette, monconi, protomi rapaci, a becco lungo a volte chiuso dalla lunga lingua, con orecchie a punta o foliate, o in teste canine, leonine e lupidi: i confronti più puntuali, tanto da far sospettare se non un'identità di mano almeno una comunanza di scuola, sono con il Messale frammentario oggi diviso tra Cambridge, New York e la Collezio-

²⁰ Si confrontino la *A* di *Auge* in Payerne, Archives communales, sn, f. 2r e la *A* di *Accipite* del Pontificale, riprodotta in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale cit.* (nota 15), p. 80.

²¹ Si confrontino la *E* di *Ecclesiae* in Payerne, Archives communales, sn, f. 5v e la *E* di *Exaudi* del Pontificale, riprodotta in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale cit.* (nota 15), p. 82.

²² Si confrontino la *S* di *Simili* di Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, W I 3.19, f. 15v e la *S* di *Sanctam* nell'omiliario Casin. 106^{II}, p. 100, riprodotta in G. OROFINO, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 2 I codici pretebaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma, 2000, tav. CXXXVIIIc.

²³ Si veda in particolare la *V* di *Vere Dignum* del Benedizionale, riprodotta in *Exultet. Rotoli liturgici del medioevo meridionale cit.* (nota 15), p. 149.

²⁴ L'attribuzione del manoscritto, avanzata da G. CAVALLLO, *Per l'origine e la data del Cod. Matrit. 413 delle Leges Langobardorum*, in *Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili*, Napoli, 1984, p. 135-142, è stata ribadita da L. Speciale, *Immagini della regalità longobarda. Da Agilulfo alle Leges Langobardorum*, in *Cahiers Archéologiques* 47, 1999, p. 39-53; EAD., *Il libro decorato nella Puglia dell'Alto Medioevo. Qualche novità e qualche riflessione*, in *Bizantini, longobardi e arabi in Puglia nell'Alto Medioevo. Atti del XX Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo (Savelleri di Fasano, 3-6 novembre 2011)*, Spoleto, 2012, p. 685-706, a p. 702-706.



Fig. 7. Payerne, Archives communales, sn, f. 1Av © Payerne, Archives de la Commune

ne Schøyen²⁵ e con i fogli superstiti di un altro Messale anch'esso quasi sicuramente riconducibile al capoluogo pugliese, attualmente legati nel codice Vat. lat. 10645 (ff. 3-6)²⁶, entrambi genericamente datati all'XI secolo.

In quattro casi, nei ff. 2v, 5int2 e 6v di Payerne e nel f. 4v della Zentralbibliothek di Zurigo, le grandi I geometriche iniziali di *In illo tempore* fanno da supporto al simbolo dell'evangelista autore della lezione che introducono: l'Angelo (Messa per la vigilia della festa di san Lorenzo, Mt 16, 25), la protome del toro alato (Messa per la Trasfigurazione, Lc 9, 27), l'aquila intera col collo piegato a beccare il libro o girato a nettare l'ala spiegata dalle piume variopinte (Messa per la festa di san Lorenzo, Gv 12, 24 e per la terza domenica di Quaresima, Gv 8, 12). La I del f. 4v della Zentralbibliothek (Fig. 4) è affiancata nel margine esterno della pagina dal busto di Cristo (che ha sul capo una croce accerchiata non inclusa) in atto di parlare a tre farisei, rappresentati dalle sole teste. Il nesso tra segno alfabetico e narrazione si fa più stretto in altre quattro lettere, anch'esse incipitarie di lezioni: nei frammenti della Zentralbibliothek di Zurigo dalla I di *In diebus* (prima

domenica di Quaresima, Es 24, 12, f. 2v) (Fig. 5) si affaccia il busto di Cristo barbuto e con il nimbo crucifero, che consegna le tavole della Legge a Mosè, sollevato nell'intercolumnio dentro una sorta di cilindro bruno, forse allusivo alla nube che inghiotte il patriarca; lo stesso Mosè, questa volta in vesti sacerdotali, è issato sulla I di *In diebus* (terza domenica di Quaresima, Dt 1, 1, f. 3v) (Fig. 6) mentre si rivolge con l'indice teso della mano sinistra a due ascoltatori, anche questa volta sintetizzati dalle sole teste, nel margine interno. La stessa iconografia torna nella I di *In illo tempore* del f. 1Av di Payerne

²⁵ Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Library MS Typ 701 + New York, Morgan Library, Bernard Breslauer Collection SN + London and Oslo, The Schøyen Collection MS 063: T. F. KELLY, *Fragments of a Notated Missal in Bari-type Beneventan Script*, in *Etudes grégoriennes* 36, 2009, p. 207-221. In particolare le iniziali del Messale svizzero sono vicine a quelle del foglio di Schøyen: <https://www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/latin-book-scripts/national-regional-scripts/beneventan-minuscule/ms-063> (cons. 25 aprile 2019).

²⁶ Sia G. MORIN, *op. cit.* (nota 9), p. 105 n. 1 che A. DOLD, *op. cit.* (nota 9), p. XVIII-XIX, avevano notato le affinità con la decorazione del Vat. lat. 10645 e Dold, pur riconoscendo "doch weist unsere Schrift immerhin noch ältere, weniger künstliche Züge auf" per la decorazione suggerisce la stessa mano.

(domenica prima della festa di san Michele, Mt 22, 23) (Fig. 7), dove Cristo, che ha il capo circondato dall'aureola nei bracci della cui croce sono iscritte le lettere *LUX*, dialoga con due Sadducei; a f. 1v (Fig. 8) l'angelo-erma in cima alla lettera annuncia alla testa del vecchio Zaccaria la nascita del Battista, coerentemente con le prime frasi della pericope (Lc 1, 18) da leggersi per la festa del Precursore. Una diversa variante di lettera con figura è offerta dalla *D* che in nesso con la *S* abbrevia *Deus* a f. 2v del foglio della Zentralbibliothek di Zurigo (orazione per la messa della prima domenica di Quaresima) (Fig. 5), ospitando nel fondo dell'occhiello il busto frontale di Cristo imberbe e benedicente, con la sinistra velata che regge al petto il Libro chiuso²⁷.

Lo schema della predica con attori 'dimezzati' si ripete in una delle tre miniature che occupano, prive di cornice o di sfondi e di ogni riferimento ambientale, i margini dei frammenti: sul f. 1r della Zentralbibliothek di Zurigo (Fig. 9) Paolo esorta alla pratica della carità due astanti, al cospetto di due angeli, giustificati dal testo adiacente (domenica di Quinquagesima, I Cor 13, 1: "*Si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem non habeam*"). Un soldato con corta tunica, elmo e lancia trascina per il polso Cristo al Calvario "*baiulans sibi crucem*", come recitano le parole della *Passio* del venerdì santo (Gv 19-16-17) trascritte esattamente al di sopra della scena, nell'ultimo rigo della col. b del f. 13v dello Staatsarchiv zurighese (Fig. 10): i protagonisti dell'andata al Calvario sono a figura intera, ma i due sacerdoti che vi assistono levitano nel bordo inferiore della pagina con le sole teste, come Pietro che taglia l'orecchio a Malco con un coltellaccio, epitomizzando tra le colonne del f. 8v un altro episodio della Passione (Gv 18, 10).

Lo stile assai personale e maturo del miniatore, caratterizzato da una gestualità vivace affidata soprattutto alle grandi mani dalle dita lunghissime e da una notevole sicurezza di impianto, solo latamente si apparenta, per i panneggi solcati da pieghe insistite con orli sollevati ad "omega", alla dizione lineare dei rotoli beneventani, dai quali dipendono in maniera molto più diretta i disegni dell'omiliario Neap. VI B 2. I volti pieni e tondi ombreggiati di verde e ritoccati di rosso, con naso e sopracciglia uniti a graffa e bocca a parentesi quadra, i profili aguzzi con i sopraccigli sporgenti, trovano qualche corri-



Fig. 8. Payerne, Archives communales, sn, f. 1v © Payerne, Archives de la Commune

²⁷ Un'altra iniziale sormontata dalla testa barbata di Geremia è descritta da E. OMLIN, *op. cit.* (nota 9), p. 42 nel frammento da Sankt Leodegar di Lucerna, che non è stato possibile visionare.



Fig. 9. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Z XIV 4, f. 1r © Zürich, Staatsarchiv

spondenza nel Benedizionale di Bari e sembrano preannunciare le fisionomie enfiate del più tardo codice delle *Metamorfosi* ovidiane di Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV F 3, anch'esso copiato e illustrato da artefici baresi²⁸.

Prese singolarmente le tipologie illustrative scelte per accompagnare i formulari nei frammenti svizzeri hanno tutte i loro precedenti o corrispondenti in manoscritti di area beneventano-casinese e pugliese. In particolare la grande *O* iniziale della Regola di san Benedetto nel Casin. 175, prodotto a Capua durante l'esilio capuano dei monaci casinesi, durante l'abbaziale di Giovanni I (915-934)²⁹, per il Cristo che abita in maestà – ma a figura intera – il fondo della lettera presenta affinità con la *D* a f. 2v del foglio della Zentralbibliothek di Zurigo (Fig. 5), soprattutto nella scelta di raffigurare il Salvatore giovane e imberbe, motivo di origine tardoantica riadattato nei monogrammi del *Vere Dignum* in esemplari beneventani, pugliesi e dalmati³⁰.

Nel Graduale Vat. lat. 10673, variamente attribuito a Capua³¹ o alla Puglia³² tra la fine del X e gli inizi dell'XI secolo compaiono non solo le iniziali con figura ma anche quelle con storia, in particolare con scene di dialogo che, per la 'disgregazione' tra gli elementi narrativi (allocutori in cima al segno

²⁸ Sull'apparato illustrativo del manoscritto si veda G. OROFINO, *L'illustrazione delle Metamorfosi di Ovidio nel ms. IV F 3 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, in *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 49, 1993, p. 5-18; EAD., *Ovidio nel Medioevo: l'iconografia delle Metamorfosi*, in I. Gallo, L. Nicastri (ed.), *Aetates ovidianae. Lettori di Ovidio dall'Antichità al Rinascimento*, Napoli, 1995, p. 189-208; EAD., *Il codice napoletano delle «Metamorfosi» come libro illustrato*, in G. Cavallo, P. Fedeli, G. Papponetti (ed.), *L'Ovidio Napoletano*, Sulmona, 1998, p. 105-109. Il manoscritto è integralmente riprodotto: <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/4524/> (cons. 25 aprile 2019).

²⁹ Sul manoscritto e in particolare sulla *O* di p. 3 si veda G. OROFINO, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. I I secoli VIII-X*, Roma, 1994, p. 25-28, tav. XXI.

³⁰ Per la discussione del motivo nei manoscritti in beneventana si veda E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (nota 6), p. 263-264.

³¹ G. OROFINO, *I codici decorati dell'Archivio di Montecassino. II, 1. I codici preteobaldiani e teobaldiani*, Roma, 1996, p. 15; EAD., *Oriente eccentrico: provincia greca e Islam nella miniatura italomeridionale*, in A. C. Quintavalle (ed.), *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi (Parma, 21-25 settembre 2004)*, Milano, Electa, 2007, p. 285.

³² R. F. GYUG, *op. cit.* (nota 10), p. 4 n. 4; V. BROWN, *Early Evidence for the Beneventan Missal: Palimpsest Texts (saec. X/XI) in Montecassino 271*, in *Mediaeval Studies* 60, 1998, p. 239-306, a p. 273.



Fig. 10. Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons, WI 3. 19, f. 13v © Zürich, Staatsarchiv des Kantons

alfabetico, interlocutori al di là della colonna di scrittura), tipica dell'*Initialornamentik* dei lezionari bizantini³³, testimoniano la *liaison* greco-latina nell'Italia meridionale.

L'associazione della lettera con i simboli degli evangelisti è documentata nei codici liturgici italo-meridionali a partire dalla fine del X-inizi dell'XI secolo, e diventerà un leit-motiv del repertorio fino a tutto il XII secolo.³⁴

L'assemblaggio delle diverse tipologie in un corredo illustrativo di alta complessità si riscontra però, oltre che nei frammenti svizzeri, solo nell'Omiliario Neap. VI B 2, e in nessun altro Messale, integro o

³³ M. L. DOLEZAL, *Illuminating the liturgical word: text and image in a decorated lectionary (Mount Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 587)*, in *Word & Image* 12/1, 1996, p. 23-60; A. ZAKHAROVA, *The Relationship between Text and Image in Byzantine Illuminated Gospel Lectionaries*, in K. Krause - B. Schellewald (ed.), *Bild und text im Mittelalter*, Wien, 2011, p. 283-310.

³⁴ G. OROFINO, *Gli Evangelieri in beneventana di Bisceglie e di Bitonto e la produzione miniaturistica in Puglia nel XI secolo*, in *I codici liturgici in Puglia*, Bari, 1986, p. 199-232, a p. 204-215; E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (nota 6), p. 263-264.

frammentario, pervenuto dalla zona beneventana³⁵, per essere ripreso tra la fine dell'XI e gli inizi del XII in Terra di Bari negli evangelieri di Bitonto, Biblioteca Comunale, e di Bisceglie, Museo Diocesano³⁶.

E' dunque nella Puglia dei primi decenni dopo il 1000 che si elabora un sistema di immagini³⁷ che, superando la funzione meramente narrativa, amplifica la potenza delle parole, intensificando l'esperienza della lettura durante il servizio liturgico e rafforzando la sacralità del libro.

Jedan misal i njegov ilustrativni aparat – doprinos za minijaturu „tipa Bari (“Bari type”)

U ovom se tekstu raspravlja o fragmentarno sačuvanom misalu čiji su sastavni dijelovi, tj. pojedini listovi pohranjeni na različitim mjestima po cijeloj Švicarskoj. Unatoč tome što je riječ o iznimno zanimljivom rukopisu ne samo s tekstualnoga, kodikološkog i paleografskog stajališta, već ponajprije po njegovim zlatom urešenim dekorativnim iluminacijama, ovo je djelo u povijesnoumjetničkoj literaturi ostalo gotovo posve zanemareno. Vrlo kvalitetne iluminacije pokazuju iznenađujuću originalnost, a rad su jedne te iste ruke. Činjenice koje nam nude pismo (beneventana s čistim slovima „tipa Bari” slova) i dekoracija (ornamentalni inicijali i ilustracije na marginama koje ističu strukturu teksta te time naglašavaju snagu svetih riječi), upućuju na atribuciju ovih osamnaest sačuvanih listova *skriptoriju* koji je djelovao na širem prostoru grada Barija u Apuliji (*Terra di Bari*), a valja ih datirati u prvu polovinu 11. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: *beneventana, slova „tipa Bari” („Bari type”), misal, Jadran, Apulija, Dalmacija, 11. stoljeće*

Prijevod s engleskog: Martina Ivandić

³⁵ Per i sistemi illustrativi dei Messali in beneventana si rimanda a E. ELBA, *op. cit.* (nota 6).

³⁶ G. OROFINO, *op. cit.* (nota 34).

³⁷ Il sistema che unisce miniature marginali e iniziali istoriate e figurate, sperimentato per la prima volta nei più antichi lezionari liturgici greci del X secolo, tra cui il cod. 70 del Monastero di San Giovanni il Teologo di Patmos, nel cui ciclo (f. 171v) compare anche la scena in cui Pietro taglia l'orecchio di Malco, raramente isolata dalla scena dell'Arresto di Cristo (E. MAAYAN FANAR, *Revelation through the Alphabet. Aniconism and Illuminated Initial Letters in Byzantine Artistic Imagination*, Geneva 2011, p. 73-74, pl. XIII. 3), diventa tipico dei lezionari mediobizantini: M. L. DOLEZAL, *op. cit.* e A. ZAKHAROVA, *op. cit.* (nota 33). Per i rapporti tra i cicli illustrativi dell'Omiliario Neap. VI B 2 e degli Evangelieri di Bitonto e di Bisceglie e quelli dei lezionari bizantini si veda G. OROFINO, *op. cit.* (nota 18), p. 26-27; EAD., *op. cit.* (nota 34), p. 228-229.

**SANCTO GRISOGONO QUO GAUDET IADRA PATRONO:
THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF ST CHRYSOGONUS AND THE TRADITION
OF MARTYR'S *TRANSLATIO***

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The paper discusses possible implications of the new interpretation of a late-twelfth century inscription in the Romanesque church of St Chrysogonus in Zadar for understanding of the (liturgical and collective) memory of the translation of the relics of St Chrysogonus to Zadar. Departing from the reassessment of the now-lost three inscriptions in the main apse of the monastic church of St Chrysogonus, the aim is to try to shed new light on the beginnings of the veneration of the relics of St Chrysogonus as well as the establishment of late medieval liturgical celebration of the consecration of the same church. Offering a new reading of the dedicatory inscription dated to 1175, the paper moves further offering to contextualize the inscription – interpreted as reflecting some sort of collective memory of the time the relics arrived to Zadar – in the framework of the beginnings of the communal cult of St Chrysogonus in Zadar at the turn of the twelfth to the thirteenth century.

Key words: Civic patron saints, liturgical memory, monastery of St Chrysogonus in Zadar, church of St Chrysogonus, translation of the relics of St Chrysogonus, consecration of the church in 1175, inscription of Stana, daughter of Petronja

That *curiositas* might be dangerous was not only experienced by the proverbial cat, but was a firm opinion of none other than St Thomas Aquinas. To this "inordinate appetite for pleasures arising within intellectual knowing", *Doctor Angelicus* expectedly preferred the virtue of *studiositas*, as he defined it, *vehemens applicatio mentis ad aliquid*. Notwithstanding the elaborate dismissal of this intellectual vice, one cannot resist the feeling that it is still the *curiositas* that makes a good point of departure in the study of the things past and forgotten. Especially so when dealing with the past from which the lack of written sources turns traces such as water stains and scratches on the walls into historical clues. Patiently observing these as threads, however, brings us closer to St Thomas' understanding of *studiositas*, that is the safe ground of "a vigorous application of the mind to something". Be it as it may, having a keen eye on such traces – and a mind ever ready to see them as evidence – definitely makes a good art historian. The celebrant of this volume is no doubt a prime example of this. However, his work in the field of medieval studies, broadly understood, made Nikola Jakšić so much more than *Arthistoriker* in any narrow sense. He has indeed indebted many a humanist discipline in the field of what is nowadays called medieval studies during the past decades of his work.

Measured in these categories, the period I have had pleasure of knowing him is relatively short. The following lines are, thus, by no means an attempt to inscribe myself as an even distant background actor in his scholarly life. It is rather an expression of gratitude for the inspiration I received from him during the past years. Our first encounter happened when I approached Jakšić in an attempt

to formulate research questions for my, *in spe*, thesis. The attempt, as it turned out, led to nowhere but it made me read some of his papers for the first time. In the following years I have never left his track. Skimming through the pages of the *Cividale Gospel*, searching for traces of the baptistery in the Catalogue of *Biblioteca Marciana* or rubbing my head in front of curious Iadertine miniatures, as a rule, I discovered that *magister* Nicholas had already been there. This, obviously, brought some frustration – but as the time went on, it became a signal that I might be on the right track. It goes without saying that it does not imply that I always followed him – for better or worse – nor that I agreed, agree or intend to agree in future with all his interpretations. Yet more often than not, his approach was inspiring and his conclusions proved illuminating. His capacity to find a hint and build from the scratches never stopped surprising.

The most recent surprise came just about two years ago when, as reviewer and editor, I received his paper on the cult of the Iadertine patron saints. If one thought all that can be said on the origin of the cult of the Iadertine patron saints has been said – they were wrong. Jakšić's latest study turned everything upside down as he argued for a completely new reading of the beginning of their cult in Zadar. The freshness of his arguments – whether he is right or not – forced us to re-think the traditional interpretation of the translation of the relics of St Chrysogonus to Zadar. Be it as it may, this re-thinking is a reason that the invitation to participate in marking the celebration of Nikola Jakšić's 70 birthday did not catch me completely off guard. It offered, instead, another opportunity to continue our talks about the Iadertine saints. This contribution is, therefore, submitted with gratitude and curiosity. *Gratitudo* for all the good I have received from our *septuagenarius*, and *curiositas* to continue our talks – *ad multos annos*!

TRACES: Q&Q

Following the slippery path of curiosity, the point of departure of this paper is a single letter. The letter, hardly readable by the time it was recorded in the late eighteenth century, was Q that appeared in two inscriptions in the apse of the church of St Chrysogonus in Zadar – seemingly referring to *quarto* "the fourth (of May)" in the first instance, and *quinque saecula* ("five centuries") in the second. The first to notice the first one (speaking of its modern reception) was Iadertine historian Carlo Federico Bianchi (1809–1891) who published the text of the dedicatory inscription in the first volume of his *Zara Cristiana*.¹ Transcribing the inscription, Bianchi "provided the information (...) that the existing church of St Chrysogonus was consecrated on May 4, 1175". This conclusion of Bianchi's was "generally accepted in scholarly literature"² along with the assumption that the church was consecrated by Lampridius (1154–1179), the first archbishop of Zadar who also oversaw the renovation of the cathedral in the same period. The inscription part of which was the said letter, however, might as well have been produced after the time of Lampridius as the construction works on the church continued during the 13th century.³ The inscription in question undoubtedly belongs to the remains of Romanesque wall decorations that are considered to have been preserved in two layers – "the earlier layer believed to originate from 1175 (time of church consecration)" and the later dated "to the beginning of the 13th century".⁴ Moreover, as it was recently observed, "it is worth mentioning that except for frescoes decorating the church interior,

¹ C. F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, vol. 1, Zara, 1877.

² I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, The Abbey of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar – between Early Christian Sculpture and the Romanesque Architecture, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 23/1, 2017, p. 305. (for the references see n.19).

³ To be followed by "extensive renovations" in the period between the 15th and the 18th century. I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 305.

⁴ I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 307, n. 35. See also: E. HILJE – R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Slikarstvo*, Zadar, 2006, pp. 9-10, 79-84.

the conch of the main apse was ornamented with a wall mosaic commissioned by Stana, daughter of Duke Petronja, in 1175 or 1219 according to some researchers".⁵ The possible relevance of the said letter will become obvious only when read in the context of the two inscriptions found in the main apse of the church. Yet, before analyzing the inscriptions, a brief overview of the early history of the church is in order.

THE PLACE: MONASTIC CHURCH OF ST CHRYSOGONUS

The excavations and conservation work in the church of St Chrysogonus have not included systematic analysis and thus have so far provided no satisfactory account of its earliest history. Thus, one still has to rely on the restoration activities undertaken by Ćiril Iveković after the First World War.⁶ The archaeological excavations undertaken under his supervision unearthed two older layers of the church, a church (interpreted as that of St Anthony the Hermit) built between the fifth and eighth centuries, and the earliest phase of the early medieval church of St Chrysogonus, built some time before the 950s.⁷ These finds, unfortunately not verified by more recent excavations, allow for the conclusion that the church existed at least as early as the sixth century. However, the interpretation based on the local tradition connecting the church of St Chrysogonus with the previous one dedicated to St Anthony the Hermit belongs, in a sense, to its pre-history and thus plays no visible role in reconstructing the medieval phases of the building or in the medieval traditions connected to the church. It is, however, not impossible that there was a church there at the time of alleged first *translatio* of the relics St Chrysogonus.

By the time Bianchi compiled his *Zara cristiana*, the tradition that St Chrysogonus' relics came to Zadar from Grado in the mid-seventh century was widespread and common.⁸ Relying on diverse local chronicles, proverbially unreliable, Bianchi infers that the relics of St Chrysogonus were originally deposited in the church of St Mary the Major⁹, but also narrates of the relics of St Chrysogonus being kept in the church of St Anthony the Hermit – at the site of the future church dedicated to St Chrysogonus.¹⁰ All in all, the earliest history of the relics in Zadar is pretty obscure – likewise of the church itself – before the late ninth century. However, the church has, very likely, housed the relics of the Aquileian martyr before the rebuilding around 900 and definitely before the (re)establishment of the monastery in 986. All the information concerning the church before the beginning of the tenth century is highly questionable. Things seem to get clearer only towards

⁵ I. JOSIPOVIĆ – I. TOMAS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 306, n. 36. See more in: Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *Crkva i samostan sv. Krševana u Zadru*, Djela JAZU (vol. 30), Zagreb, 1931., pp. 20-21; I. PETRICIOLI, Umjetnička baština Samostana Sv. Krševana do 16. stoljeća, in: *1000 godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru: prilozi sa znanstvenog skupa održanog 11. i 12. prosinca 1986. u Zadru, u povodu 1000. obljetnice Samostana Svetog Krševana i 30. obljetnice Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, (ed.) Ivo Petricoli, Zadar, 1990, p. 198., p. 208; I. FISKOVIĆ, Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji. Ikonološka razmatranja o zadarskim spomenicima, in: *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba. Zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Trogiru 26.-30. rujna 1990. godine*, (ed.) Ivo Babić, Trogir, 1994, pp. 201-216; E. HILJE – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 7.

⁶ Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5). As recently noted "Iveković ..., in addition to a detailed description of the course of restoration, made the first serious research on the monastery. However, when it comes to historical interpretation, his attitude is outdated and the greatest value of the book lies in the fact that it is an eyewitness account of how the church looked prior to the restoration" (F. HORVAT, *Artistic transfers from across the Adriatic sea: the thirteenth century frescoes in the Church of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar*, (MA Thesis, Central European University), Budapest, 2014, p. 5).

⁷ Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 19.

⁸ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 297.

⁹ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 297-298.

¹⁰ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 297.

the end of the tenth century when the first historical persons and groups started to appear in the written sources. These, in turn, become abundant enough to allow for an attempt at reconstructing the emergence of an institutionalized memory connecting the church and the martyr.

While the arrival of the relics of St Chrysogonus in Zadar cannot be dated precisely, the available source material confirms their links to the monastic church. Compared to the cathedral, where the relics of St Anastasia are housed, the church of St Chrysogonus might be labeled a latecomer¹¹, even a midget compared to the imposing episcopal complex. On the symbolic level, while the basilica of St Anastasia and the rotunda attached to it dominated the central space of the town as early as the mid-ninth century¹², at that time St Chrysogonus was only a small church (possibly) connected to a decaying monastery.¹³ An important moment for the development of the cult of St Chrysogonus was certainly the foundation (or reconstruction) of the monastery in 986, testified to in the *Cartula traditionis*.¹⁴ According to this charter, the church was joined to the existing monastery, which was thoroughly reconstructed on the occasion. According to interpretation of the charter, the church given to the monastic community actually belonged to the Madii, the respectable family ruling Zadar in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹⁵ It is significant that this *traditio* implied realigning the existing street pattern, which attests a broader public enterprise. The monastery was enlarged, and a monk named Madius was appointed the new abbot.¹⁶ To this reconstruction, one should add the claustrization of the monastery in 1078, on which occasion Chrysogonus was for the first time called *beatissimus martir, qui est patronus nostre urbis*¹⁷. Discussing the place of the church in the "memory network" of this future communal patron saint and its importance for the monastic mnemohistory, it is worth discussing two moments in its history; re-invention of the relics in the mid-eleventh century, and, particularly, the (re)dedication of the church in 1175. The former is documented in the report of the *inventio* only, and the latter is attested by three now-lost inscriptions.

¹¹ Although some authors (M. SUIĆ, Zadar u 'De administrando imperio' Konstantina Porfirogeneta, in: *Radovi Zavoda JAZU u Zadru* 17-18, Zadar, 1981, pp. 8-9) inferred that his cult was "influential in Zadar" before the introduction of the cult of St Anastasia, there is no evidence for it. Also, the idea of Donatus' acquisition of the relics of St Anastasia as a means of "neutralising the ideological influence" of St Chrysogonus is a speculation (Cf. J. BELAMARIĆ, Sveti Vlaho i dubrovačka obitelj svetaca zaštitnika, in: *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu*, Split, 2001, p. 178).

¹² While the compiler of the *DAI* admires the beauty of the cathedral, comparing it with the Chalcostratean church in Constantinople, he fails to mention the church St Chrysogonus, referring to his relics only.

¹³ The older opinion was that by the end of the tenth century a connected monastery was already in ruins (Cf. Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5)). For a more recent opinion about the monastery see notes below.

¹⁴ The restoration of the monastery documented in the *Cartula traditionis*, traditionally read as the founding of a new monastery, was contested by the analysis of I. Mustać who aimed to show that there was a Benedictine monastery near the church as early as 986 and that charter testifies to the delivery of the church to the Benedictines. I. MUSTAĆ, *Cartula traditionis ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni martiris* iz 986. godine, in: *1000 godina samostana Svetog Krševana*, (ed.) Ivo Petricoli, Zadar, 1990, pp. 21-35.

¹⁵ MUSTAĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 26. For the recent scholarship on the Madii see M. ANČIĆ, Vekenega i kralj Koloman, in: *Laude nitens multa: Zbornik radova s kolokvija u povodu 900. obljetnice Vekenegina epitafa*, Pavuša Vežić and Ivan Josipović (eds.), Zadar, 2018, pp. 15-42; M. ANČIĆ, Zadarska biskupija u okviru splitske metropolije od 805. do 1154., *Ars Adriatica* 7, Zadar, 2017, pp. 29-46; Z. NIKOLIĆ, *Rođaci i bližnji. Dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 2003; Z. NIKOLIĆ-JAKUS, Madijevci: primjer obitelji dalmatinske gradske elite u desetom i jedanaestom stoljeću, in: *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 23, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 1-24.

¹⁶ Local scholars have often considered Madius, called *monachus noster*, to have been of Zadar origin. His possible connection to Monte Cassino and Abbot Aligerna (†986), however, brings him into the context of late tenth-century Church reform. MUSTAĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 29, *passim*.

¹⁷ CD I, 167-168 (doc. 131)

THE *INVENTIO* OF 1056

According to the highly problematic charter dated to 1056 (preserved only in a seventeenth-century transcription), Bishop Andrew (1046-1066)¹⁸ at some point, *anxius quereretur beati Grisogoni martiris corpus, quod misericors Deus ad tuitionem Iaderensium olim concesserat, tandem in ecclesia et sub altare ipsius martiris illud inuenit*.¹⁹ Soon after, as we learn from the document allegedly issued the same year in order to confirm the duties of the fishermen from the previous document, "blessed Chrysogonus was, with God's help, re-buried and placed in a new sarcophagus". According to the charter, this was the occasion for the "aforementioned bishop to admonish the people and preach to them".²⁰ How to interpret the narrative underlying this *inventio*? Is it really possible that the body of St Chrysogonus was somehow lost after it was mentioned previously in the charter from c.1042 and found again a decade later?²¹ Bianchi, for example, considered that the body of the martyr was hidden under the main altar during the war threat of the 11th century.²² In this description Bianchi follows a seventeenth-century historian V. Ponte²³ whose account also relies on the two above-mentioned charters. Resisting the siren call to connect these two reports, it is important to treat them separately. That is to say, while the Doc 61 may be considered "relatively authentic", the former one, Doc 60 is almost certainly an early modern forgery. Following the opinion of G. Praga, M. Ančić recently argued that the narrative preserved in the former charter is derived from the monastic annals – likewise other fragments preserved in the diverse charters produced in the *scriptorium* of St Chrysogonus.²⁴ In this light the attempt to reconstruct the time and circumstances of the alleged destruction of the church remains no more than counterfactual.

The discovery referred to in the first document was traditionally interpreted, at least by the authors who believed the story to be true, as a result of the church being torn down during the military conflict between Zadar and the Venetians in 1052.²⁵ The destruction of the church, while not explicitly referred to in the charter, *theoretically* might have been the result of the Venetian attack in the mid-eleventh century. But how realistic is this interpretation? An account in *Annales Venetici breves* (late twelfth century) credits Doge Domenico Contarini (1043-1071) with "going to Zadar with his army and capturing it"²⁶. The account was adopted and remodelled by later chroniclers like Andrea Dandolo, who in his *Chronicle* (mid-fourteenth century) mentions Contarini "recapturing Zadar", after it rebelled at the instigation of the Hungarian king Salomon.²⁷ This event is dated to the "elev-

¹⁸ A seventeenth-century Iadertine chronicler Ponte, in his *Catalogue* (after 1637), calls Andrew II *Jadertinus* (*sub anno 1046*) and credits him with the discovery of the relics of St Chrysogonus in his church (*Hic invenit corpus s<anti> Grisogoni in eius ecclesia*). Cf. Ponte, *Catalogus episcoporum*, fol. 32 (in Z. STRIKA, *Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Iaderinae* arhiđakona Valerija Ponte, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 48, 2006, p. 90). Some later local historians (like Ferrante) consider Andrew to have been the third bishop of that name.

¹⁹ CD I, 82 (Doc. 60). On these charters see, among others, the views of J. NAGY, *O samostanskim ispravama*, *Croatia Sacra* 5, Zagreb, 1935, pp. 3-5; N. ČOLAK, *Otpor ribara zadarskog otočja u XVI. stoljeću protiv obaveza samostanu sv. Krševana u Zadru*, *Anali Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 4-5, Dubrovnik, 1956, pp. 503-526. etc.

²⁰ CD I, 83 (Doc. 61) *Nos hec recordamur et testificamus, quia quando beatissimus Chrisogonus auxiliante deo reconditus est a nobis atque collocatus in sarcophago nouo, supradictus Andreas episcopus fecit amonitionem atque sermonem in plebe...*

²¹ CD I, 76.

²² C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 299.

²³ V. PONTE, *Historia ecclesiae Iadensis*, *Rivista Dalmatica* 4/2, Roma, 1908., pp. 227.

²⁴ Cf. M. ANČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 15, 2018), p. 31, n. 64.; 38-41; G. PRAGA, *Lo „scriptorium” dell'abbazia benedettina di san Grisogono in Zara*, in: *Scritti sulla Dalmazia I*, Egidio Ivetic (ed.), Rovigno, 2014, p. 621.

²⁵ E.g., V. BRUNELLI, *Storia della città di Zara*, vol. 1, Venezia, 1913., pp. 212-213.

²⁶ *Annales Venetici breves*, in: L. A. BERTO, *Testi storici veneziani (XI-XIII secolo)*, *Medioevo Europeo* 1, Padua, 1999, p. 86. *Anno Domini millesimo sexagesimo secundo Dominicus Contarenus, qui in illis temporibus erat dux Venecie, iuit Iaderam cum exercitum et cepit eam.*

²⁷ F. A. GOMBOS, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*, vol.1., Budapest, 1937, p. 60.

enth year" of Contarini's *ducatus* (1054) by Dandolo or to 1062 by *Annales Venetici*. Both accounts should be treated with caution (especially Dandolo's) and certainly cannot be taken as proof that the church would be torn down in the conflict.²⁸ In other words, the constellations of the evidence allow for, at least, the hypothesis that some sort of "disruption of the cult" – possibly caused by the collapse of the church – might indeed have taken place.²⁹

Such an interpretation, however, – given the circumstances and the quality of the available evidence – is not convincing. In the first place, all the evidence of the *inventio* is derived from the charter (Doc 60), which is almost certainly a forgery. Unlike that, the evidence of other charter (Doc 61) might perhaps be accepted as historical at its core. Subsequently, liturgical "re-invention" of the body and introduction of the "new sarcophagus" should not be connected to the Venetian expedition. Chronologically, however, it could indeed have indeed taken place in ca. 1056. As it seems unlikely that the body of St Chrysogonus would have been just misplaced between 1042 and the mid-1050s, the need to re-discover it should simply be interpreted as the result of the liturgical collocation of the relics and not the (alleged) collapse of the church. Thus, the "discovery under the altar" referred to by the charter should not be interpreted as a result of "digging in ruins". The body of the martyr was simply, as the other charter testifies, *reconditus atque collocatus in sarcophago nouo*.³⁰ It is hard to say whether this collocation had something to do with the beginning of the restoration of the church, as the next reliable piece of evidence for this is the information concerning its re-consecration in 1175. This in turn, finally, brings us to the subject of this paper

THE DEDICATIO OF THE CHURCH

The lost inscription(s) testifying to the consecration of the church in 1175 has been accessible to the scholars almost exclusively from the transcription of Bianchi, who duly recorded that the inscriptions were "barbarically destroyed in 1791 as a reflection of the condemnation typical of the age".³¹ Luckily, Bianchi discovered "a drawing from 1771 (...) found by chance, through which the memory was kept". He was able to transcribe it, thus saving the text after the drawing was lost again in the twentieth century.

As already noted, the inscription recorded by Bianchi has usually been taken to be authentic. It was remarked recently that: "Bianchi's note of the consecration date of the church as 1175 has always been accepted and considered as if it were an eye-witness account, although this was far from the case. This is hardly surprising, since there is no evidence pointing to another consecration date."³² Reservations concerning the authenticity of the account seem to be in order. Bianchi clearly relied on the now-lost eighteenth-century manuscript and his data, while so commonly referred to, cannot be taken as completely trustworthy. If the inscription indeed stood above the apse for almost six centuries, one would expect additional evidence of its existence and references to its contents. Perhaps curiously, this seems not to be the case.

The dating of the frescoes in the main apse (once thought of as contemporary to the consecration) cannot help either, as the views on when the church was actually decorated differ drastically. Recent authors date the decoration between the alleged period of the consecration and the mid-thirteenth

²⁸ For reasons to take accounts with reserve see N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. 2, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar, 1976, p. 101. Also, the early thirteenth-century chronicle, *Historia ducum Venetorum* (cf. L. A. BERTO, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 2-83), does not mention the expedition.

²⁹ As already noted, the testimony of two charters dated to 986 and 1042/4 confirms not only that the church of St Chrysogonus lies inside the city walls, but also that it houses the relics of the martyr. CD I, 46. *idcirco ecclesiam beati Chrysogoni martyris, que sita est infra muros ciuitatis, ubi et sacratissimum eius corpus requiescit...* CD I, 76. ... *santi Ghrysogoni cuius sacratissima membra Iadera retinetur* [!].

³⁰ CD I, 83 (Doc. 61).

³¹ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 301-302; F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 20.

³² F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 20.

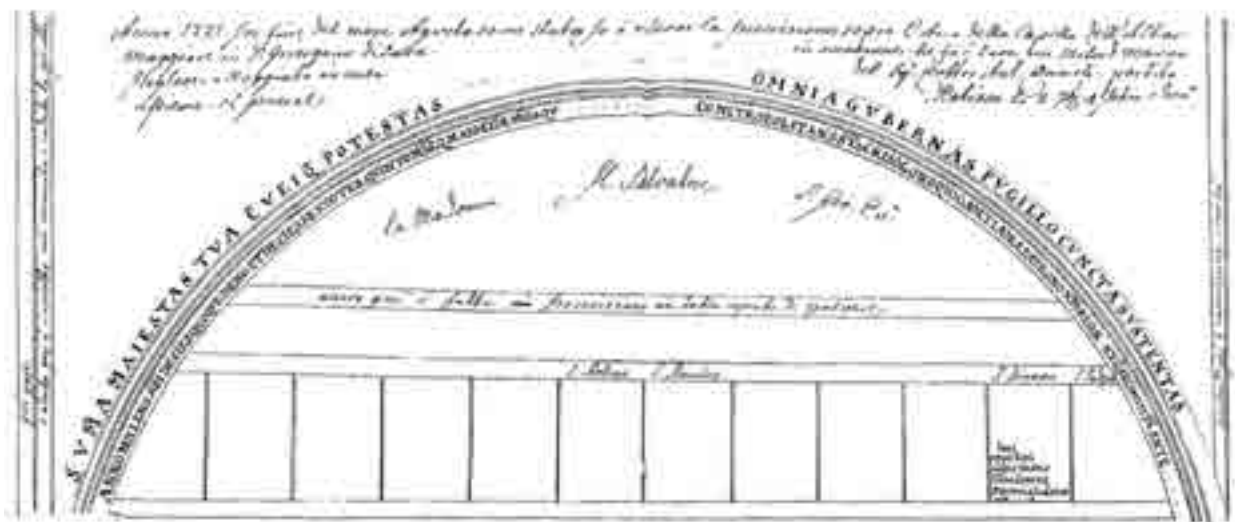


Fig. 1. Inscriptions in the apse of the church of St Chrysogonus

century.³³ Luckily the first (indirect) evidence of the date of consecration is recorded by the Iadertine chronicler V. Ponte in his *Catalogue of Iadertine Bishops and Archbishops* (compiled after 1637)³⁴. Ponte dated the consecration of the church to the era of Archbishop Lampridius (1154-1179), omitting, however, the exact year.³⁵ His *Catalogue* cannot, in fact, be taken as proof that Ponte himself knew the inscription as he makes no reference to it. Nevertheless, one may conclude at least that the dating of the consecration was known in Zadar in the first half of the seventeenth century. This, in turn, strengthens Bianchi's claims concerning the inscription. Moreover, a recent discovery of another early modern manuscript shed new light on this issue.

Ivo Babić has recently noted the existence of an eighteenth-century humanist compilation (clearly originating in Zadar and preserved in the archive of the Tragurine Ivčević family) under the title *Martyria Sti: Grisogoni, et. S: S:tarum Agapis, Chionie et Irenis et Translationes Ejusdem Sti. Grisogoni, et Ste. Anastasie Vid. et M.*³⁶. The inscription on the front cover of the manuscript confirms that it is a transcription of a manuscript kept in the "second box of the Archive of the monastery of St Chrysogonus". The last page has the inscription from 1298 testifying to the (re)construction of the city walls.³⁷ Finally, the penultimate page has a drawing of the main apse with three inscriptions: the upper, the lower and the one beneath the figures of Simeon and Judas (see Fig.1).³⁸

³³ F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 21, n. 56-58; I. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 204 (contemporary); N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 267 (late twelfth century); A. DEANOVIĆ, *Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu, Peristil 2, Split, 1957*, p. 118 (early thirteenth century); V. ĐURIĆ, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1975, n. 18 (mid-thirteenth century); also F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 36-39.

³⁴ The working copy of the text is kept in the Scientific Library in Zadar (ZKZd, MS 865, fol. 32–38) and was published in: STRIKA, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 90-103.

³⁵ *Templum sancti Chrysogoni tunc in eam, quae nunc visitur angustiore formam redactum consecravit anno <year omitted>* (in STRIKA, *op. cit.* (n. 18), pp. 94-95).

³⁶ I. BABIĆ, *Zadarski knez Petronja i njegova kći Stana, Opuscula archaeologica 23-24*, Zagreb, 1999-2000, p. 317. I am grateful to I. Babić for providing me with a copy of the manuscript. The whole family archive was obtained by the Historical Archive in Split (*Historijski arhiv u Splitu*). Two Ivčević family members were active in Zadar during the nineteenth century: Mate was a priest and director of the gymnasium, while Vicko was an MP in the Dalmatian Diet in Zadar.

³⁷ The inscription is otherwise well known and commonly referred to (cf. C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 300; Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 302, 358, n. 93; N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 287, n. 133; I. BABIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 317.

³⁸ MS Ivčević, here: I. BABIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 323.

This item is important primarily because the Italian text of MS *Ivčević* accompanying the drawing has additional information, lacking in the account of Bianchi. It records that the inscriptions were transcribed on the occasion of the visit by a certain "English bishop" (*Milord Vescovo Inglese*) to Zadar in late August of 1771. The note, thus, allows for three conclusions: a) the transcription was made not long before the destruction of the original inscriptions; b) it is not completely identical to the text reproduced by Bianchi, and, thus, c) it was likely transcribed separately from Bianchi's source, the *Anonymous Filippi*. All these observations obviously support the claim of the authenticity of the dedicatory inscription. Nevertheless, minor differences between the two transcriptions deserve additional attention.

<i>Zadar MS Filippi</i> (after Bianchi)	<i>Trogir MS Ivčević</i> (after Babić)
SUMA MAIESTAS TUA TUAQ. POTESTAS OMNI GUBERNAS PUGILLO CUNCTA SUSTENTAS	SVM(m)A MAIESTAS TVA C(ξ) VEIQ(VE)/= caelique?/POTESTAS OMNIA GVBERNAS PVGILLO CVNCTA SVSTENTAS
Your supreme majesty and your power governs and sustains all with full authority (Horvat)	Supreme Majesty of Yours and Your Celestial Power rule all, sustain by your power (after Babić).

Fig. 2. Upper inscription (above the apse) in the church of St Chrysogonus

This (first) inscription is relevant primarily from the point of view of an attempt to reconstruct and analyze the frescoes. It is less relevant for the present research. The next inscription, the one found inside the central apse, however, is much more interesting:

ANNO MILLENO XPI DECIES QUOQUE DENO ET DECIES SEXTO TER QUINTO MSEQ. MAIO (die) EI(us)DE(m) M(en) SIS QU(arto Lampridius archiepis)CO(pus) METROPOLITAN(us) hanc Ecclesiam dedicavit Sanc)TO C(h)RISOGONO QUO GAUDET IADRA PATRONO XPO REGNATE Q(uinque) SEC(u)LA FUT DE ANTE ...	ANNO MILLENO CHR(ist)I DECIES QUOQVE DENO ET DECIES SEXTO TER QVINTO M(en)SEQ(ve) MAIO EI(vs)DEM M(en)SIS QV(arto) . . (epis) CO(pvs) METROPOLITAN(v)S S(anc) TO CRISOGONO QVO GAVDET IADRA PATRONO CHR(ist)O REGN/a/NTE Q(vinque?) SECLA FVIT De ANTE ...
In the year of Christ 1175 and in the month of May, on the fourth day of the same month ... Lampridius the metropolitan archbishop dedicated this church to S. Chrysogonus, a patron under whose patronage Zadar rejoices in Christ's reign ... (Horvat)	In the year of Christ 1175, month of May, on the fourth day of the same month ... (bishop) metropolitan to St Chrysogonus, whose protection Zadar enjoys, in the reign of Christ, for five centuries ... (after Babić)

Fig. 3. Lower inscription (inside the apse) in the church of St Chrysogonus

Minor differences between the two versions of the transcriptions aside, there are, in this context, two issues of particular interest. Both issues stem from different possible readings of two Q letters – in one interpreted as referring to number four, and in the latter as number five. In the first place, it is the consecration date interpreted as taking place "on the fourth of May" (MAIO EI[vs]DEM

M(en)SIS QV[arto]). Secondly, it is the reference to "five hundred years" (Q[vinque] SEC[u]LA). The working hypothesis here is that the former might have been interpreted wrongly, and the meaning of the latter, while noted by older local historians³⁹, has not received more thorough scrutiny.

THE FIRST THREAD: FOUR OR FOURTEEN?

As for the consecration taking place on 4 May, it is worth noticing that there is no, as it seems, reference to commemoration of the *consecratio* in the liturgical sources before the last decade of the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ In fact, only a group of liturgical books commissioned by Abbot Deodatus Venier (1459-1488) preserves the liturgical memory of this event. The next known consecration took place on 21 June 1407 – as duly recorded by chronicler Paulus de Paulo: *Die martis 21. mensis iunii consecrata fuit ecclesia Sancti Grisogoni de Iadra*.⁴¹ How, then, to understand the sudden appearance of the feast commemorating the first consecration only at the end of the fifteenth century? In my view, the establishment of this feast could, perhaps, be sought in the broader context of Abbot Venier's project to restore diverse, deliberately traditional, "ancient practices". In this context, it is possible that instead of a more "recent" consecration (that of 1407), the famous abbot took keen interest in the "historical one". But how did he know about it if it was not celebrated liturgically in the meantime? One of the possible interpretations might be that he saw the inscription himself – and in the framework of his project of *restoratio* – attempted to re-establish the festivity. Yet is it also possible that by the end of the fifteenth century, the inscription was not completely legible? My proposal is that Venier's introduction of the *consecratio* as taking place on 4 May *might* have been not only "invented tradition", but also the result of misreading the date preserved in the inscription. In this perspective, it is possible that instead of 4 May, the date originally stood as 14 May – the same date as the well-known *translatio*.

That is to say, as none of the "hagiographic testimonies" supply any precise date for the *inventio/translatio*, it is hard to identify the time and circumstances when this festivity was introduced. Although it seems obvious that it was celebrated before, the first direct evidence about the festivity is the testimony of a charter dated to 14 May 1190, mentioning *eiusdem sancti Crisogoni patroni nostri pie translationis festum*.⁴² If one accepts this charter as the evidence of liturgical celebration – and I do not see any reason not to – then 14 May should be taken as the earliest known date when *translatio* was liturgically celebrated.⁴³ The first direct liturgical testimony for the feast of the *Translatio Sancti Chrysogoni martiris* is preserved, however, only in two late thirteenth-century calendars. The *Calendar of St Mary* (c.1290) and the *Calendar of St Chrysogonus* (c.1292) both have the feast on 19 May.⁴⁴ This date, interpreted as the "traditional feast of the translation of St Chrysogonus from Aq-

³⁹ E.g. C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 303.

⁴⁰ On May 4 as the date connecting the consecration and the translation see J. KOLANOVIĆ, Liturgijski kodeksi svetokrševanskog opata Deodata Venijera, *Radovi Zavoda JAZU u Zadru*, 29–30, Zadar, 1982-1983, pp. 66-76; and M. GRANIĆ, O kultu sv. Krševana zadarskog zaštitnika, in: *1000 godina samostana sv. Krševana u Zadru*, Zadar, 1990, p. 47. Both authors suggest that the date – although connected to the first consecration of the church in 1175 – must be of a later date as it does not appear in earlier liturgical sources (e.g., the KSK from 1292). It instead appears in all the liturgical books commissioned by Abbot Venier.

⁴¹ F. ŠIŠIĆ, Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga/Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii jadrensis: (1371-1408), *Vjesnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arhiva* 6, 1904, p. 41; V. BRUNELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 354; C. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 22.

⁴² CD 2, 244 (doc. 229).

⁴³ This is confirmed by the *narratio* of the document stating that the citizens gathered in his church on the feast day of St Chrysogonus: *eiusdem sancti Crisogoni patroni nostri pie translationis festum deuotissime celebrandum conuenissemus* CD 2, 244 (doc. 229).

⁴⁴ While VAN DIJK, *Handlist*, p. 173, dates it to 1292-1293, others demonstrated that the *Calendar* was compiled from two different documents; the *Calendar* proper was produced in Zadar in the late thirteenth century.

uileia to Zadar⁴⁵, was later "confirmed" by the liturgical codices commissioned by Abbot Venier, most notably the now-lost *Missale* and *Evangeliarium*.⁴⁶ Interestingly, the same *Missale* also records the *Dedicatio ecclesiae* on 4 May.⁴⁷

THE SECOND THREAD: FIVE CENTURIES ... SINCE WHEN?

The second chronological question brings us to the reference to the term *quinque saecula*. If the proposed interpretation is correct, the "memory of five hundred years" (i.e. reference to *quinque secula* in the second inscription) gains additional relevance. But what do these "five centuries" refer to? The inscription (if properly interpreted) seems to indicate that the church was dedicated to the "patron under whose patronage Zadar rejoices in Christ's reign for five centuries". If five hundred years are subtracted from the established time of the consecration one arrives at the year 675 (1175 – 500 = 675). In other words, the inscription suggests that Chrysogonus has protected Zadar since the second half of the seventh century. This interpretation, then, points towards the conclusion that already at the time of the dedication there was a tradition (or one may call it memory) about the arrival of the relics in Zadar in the seventh century. In other words – be this dating correct or not – it constituted, so to say, a part of the local "social knowledge".

This "knowledge" was, regardless of the inscription, preserved in another source. The lost Iader-tine chronicle also recorded that the relics of St Chrysogonus (along with the relics of St Zoilus) were transferred to Zadar from Grado in 649, following an order of Patriarch Maximus (649-670).⁴⁸ This evidence, again, is problematic as the information on the translation comes from the "lost chronicle of Bonifatius" recorded in the likewise lost writing of Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja (1509-1537).⁴⁹ The epistemological chain of reference-to-lost-reference-to-lost-reference seems especially weak in the light of the new arguments provided by recent paper by Nikola Jakšić.⁵⁰ Yet, in the light of the present interpretation of the dedicatory inscription, the traditional dating of the translation gains "additional weight". That is to say, along with the general *terminus post quem non* (the appointment of the next Patriarch, Stephen in 670) for the service of patriarch Maximus, our local source provides additional information stating that Maximus held his position until 14 December.

In his recent attempt to "re-examine the validity of the widely held views", Jakšić interpreted the transfer of his cult to Zadar as "a part of active Carolingian Adriatic politics, and the trans-Adriatic networks of contact".⁵¹ In his view, unlike the traditional interpretation, the cult of both Chrysogo-

⁴⁵ M. GRGIĆ, Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 13-14, Zadar, 1967, p. 133, n. 26.

⁴⁶ Cf. KOLANOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 41), pp. 57-84.

⁴⁷ M. GRGIĆ, Kalendar zadarske stolne crkve iz 15. st., *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 20, Zadar, 1973, p. 160 considers this date to be a later addition, in his view "certainly after 1292". It seems, however, that he did not take into consideration the testimony of the charter from 1190.

⁴⁸ Bianchi provides the Latin text as: *Ex quo loco [basilica Gradensis] circa haec tempora datae fuerunt nonnullae sanctorum reliquiae amicis Jadertinis, et inter caetera, ossa S. Chrysogoni et S. Zoili, scilicet anno 649 tempore Maximi Patriarchae Gradensis, natione Dalmatae, qui a die 24 Novembris 649 sedit, ut catholicus in patriarchali stallo post intrusum Fortunatum usque ad diem 14 Decembris 670.*

⁴⁹ T. VEDRIŠ, *Memoria S. Chrysogoni*: between the legend on the Transfer of Relics and the Ownership over Monastic Land, in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (eds.), Zagreb, 2014, pp. 517-521.

⁵⁰ N. JAKŠIĆ, The installation of the patron saints of Zadar as a result of Carolingian Adriatic politics, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević and Trpimir Vedriš (eds.), Leiden, 2018, pp. 225-244.

⁵¹ D. DZINO, A. MILOŠEVIĆ and T. VEDRIŠ, A View from the Carolingian Frontier Zone, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity*, p. 13.

nus and Anastasia originated in the area of Friuli and "their implementation into Zadar's ambience, in Jakšić's opinion, took place only in the 9th century, and not earlier." For this hypothesis Jakšić provided valuable, so far unused, evidence (such as evidence of the translation of the relics of Sts Anastasia, Agape, Chionia, Irene, Chrysogonus and Zoilus to Cividale at the end of the ninth century – or the evidence of their cult therein⁵²).

If we take Jakšić's arguments into consideration it is possible and the hypothesis seems plausible yet, I would not consider it proven. The arrival of the cult (what about the relics?) of St Chrysogonus in Zadar in the ninth century would dovetail with the local evidence – providing evidence of his veneration (and the presence of his relics) not before the late ninth century. This would also provide historical background for the compilation of the core of the later *Translatio*, usually dated between the ninth and the eleventh centuries.⁵³ Many issues, however, remain unsolved. As already noted, this local hagiographic tradition not only lacks any precise data that would help date the translation, but also displays agenda that is not easy to explain in the light of the recent interpretation by Jakšić. That is to say, the fact that the author of the legend – while acknowledging the obvious fact that Chrysogonus is from the "province of Aquileia" – seemingly obscures the "act" of translation itself – focusing instead on the invention of the martyr in the vicinity – as suggesting that the martyr has been present in Zadar "since time immemorial".

But, this is not the place to solve this problem. What I would like to propose here is rather an observation on the particular memory of the martyr, obviously widespread in Zadar by the end of the 12th century. The inscription in the church – if the proposed reading is accepted – explicitly states that (at the moment of the consecration) the city enjoyed heavenly protection of the martyr for five centuries. Needless to say, this is not meant to *prove* that the relics did indeed arrive in the mid-seventh century, but rather to stress that the Iadertines seemingly believed so by the end of the 12th century. This in turn sheds new light on the 'hagiographic tradition' of the arrival held by Bianchi and local chroniclers before him.

While keeping the reservation about the veracity of the information preserved in this "translation account", the dating of the translation in the mid-seventh century emerges again – in the light of the inscription – as a form of local knowledge. This tradition cannot be verified. Nada Klaić presumed, moreover, that the tradition was invented in the context of the "conflict" between the two patron saints of the city after the 12th century.⁵⁴ While the notion of the "conflict between the two cults" is a rather crude description of the relation between the two institutions which stood behind the cult of the two patron saints, it is not completely unlikely that the emergence of the tradition could have something to do with the positioning of the monastery of St Chrysogonus – and its heavenly patron – in the web of urban memory. These observations should suffice, I guess, to provide the hints of the context for our clues – two Q letters depicted in the main apse on the occasion of the dedication of the church of the martyr who has just proven himself capable of protecting the Iadertines from the arch-enemy, the Venetians.

If the inscription was produced before the legend of the patriarch of Grado sending the relics to Zadar was compiled, it might have been the source for the information. However, if the memory (shaped in the form of what I termed the "first tradition"⁵⁵) already existed when the church was consecrated, it is worth asking why this "precise historical information" was muddled in the second tradition,

⁵² N. JAKŠIĆ, *Klesarstvo u službi evangelizacije*, Split, 2015., pp. 114-115. I must admit to have myself previously failed to evaluate the significance of this information.

⁵³ For the state of the art on the *Translatio* see: R. KATIČIĆ, *Zadrani i Mirmidonci oko moći Sv. Krševana*, in: *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka*, Split, 1993, pp. 191-201; M. ANČIĆ, *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris kao povijesno vrelo*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 25, Split, 1998, pp. 127-138; Z. STRIKA, *Translatio beati Chrysogoni martyris kao narativno vrelo rane hrvatske prošlosti*, in: *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 51, Zadar, 2009, pp. 1-53; T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 50), pp. 508-534.

⁵⁴ N. KLAJĆ – I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 66.

⁵⁵ T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 517.

the one preserved as *Translatio Beati Grisogoni*? Both interpretations seem plausible, thus, yet another "the chicken or the egg" question cannot be solved at the moment. Nevertheless, what is important to stress here is that by the time the legend presumably enjoyed wide circulation, its audiences "knew" about the time when the relics arrived. This sheds additional light not only on the relation between the different traditions about the arrival, but clarifies some of the murkier messages in the *TBG*. However, before moving towards the conclusion, let us briefly pay some attention to the third inscription.

THIRD THREAD: WHO CARED?

The importance of the third inscription lies primarily in the fact that it allows the monastery (that is, the work on the decoration of the church) to be connected with a particular social group, represented in this case by the donor, Stana, daughter of Petronja.⁵⁶ A brief glance at their identity is thus in order.

HIC OPUS FIERI IVSSIT STANA FILIA COMITIS PETRANA JADERAE ET Dalmatiae Proconsulis	HOC OPVS FIERI IVSSIT STANA FILIA COMITIS PETRANA JADER(a)E ET D(almatiae) P(roconsulis)
Stana, the daughter of Petronije, the count of Zadar and governor of Dalmatia had this building erected/built here. (Horvat)	This work had been commissioned by Stana, the daughter of Petronja, the count of Zadar and governor (<i>princeps</i>) of Dalmatia. (after Babić)

Fig. 4. Inscription bellow St Symeon and Judas in the church of St Chrysogonus

Stana and Petronja were traditionally considered to have belonged to the once all-powerful Iadertine Madii family of the eleventh century, who successfully ran Zadar for more than two centuries.⁵⁷ While accepting the opinion that "they belonged to one of the groups of Croatian noblemen who governed Dalmatian cities during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries", Zrinka Nikolić Jakus suggested that it is "difficult to establish further genealogical lines which would connect them to the noble families with the later-established family names".⁵⁸ Instead, she sees them as the "immediate descendants (...) or the first generations of Croatian nobility in Dalmatian cities"⁵⁹. There can be no doubt that the family was Slavonic/Croatian speaking, as suggested not only by Stana's and Petronja's names (Lat. *Petrana* being the Slavonic augmentative version of Peter),⁶⁰ but also Petronja's brother, "who appeared among his nobles in 1134," had a typical Slavonic name, Bratonja⁶¹. His son's name, Dujam⁶², was widespread in the vicinity of Trogir and Split but also, interestingly, among the Croatian counts of Krk.⁶³ The fact that Petronja was a count of Zadar and prince (*princeps*) of Dal-

⁵⁶ On identity of the donor see V. JAKIĆ CESTARIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 39), pp. 291-336; I. BABIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 317-325; Z. NIKOLIĆ, *The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir and Zadar* (PhD Dissertation, Central European University), Budapest, 2004, pp. 38-40.

⁵⁷ Cf. N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 225-226. For the recent debate on the role of the Madii cf. Z. NIKOLIĆ-JAKUS, *op. cit.* (n. 15); M. ANČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 15, 2018); M. LONČAR 2020.

⁵⁸ N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 28), pp. 225-26.

⁵⁹ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39.

⁶⁰ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39.

⁶¹ CD II, 44-45 (doc. 43).

⁶² CD II, 262 (doc. 246).

⁶³ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 38. Moreover, she thinks that "Petronja's family might have been related to the counts of Krk who at the time also recognized Venetian supremacy just as Zadar did".

matia at the time of Venetian domination over Zadar⁶⁴, led Nikolić Jakus to conclude that, judging by "Petronja's elevated status", "his titles and image in posterity" as well as "the names of his brother and son", he was not from Zadar.⁶⁵ By concluding this, she disagrees with the opinion of L. Steindorff (who thought Petronja's family originated in Zadar) or the opinion of Lujo Margetić who considered Petronja to be a locally elected city official.⁶⁶ Noting that the name of Petronja's brother was "also one of the lead-names in the family of the counts of Krk, who at the time also recognised Venetian supremacy just as Zadar did", she suggested that "Petronja's family might have been related to the same family".⁶⁷ Be that as it may, Nikolić Jakus concluded that "Petronja's children remained in Zadar even when Venetian rule was over" – interpreting the investment in the mosaic in St Chrysogonus by his daughter Stana⁶⁸ (and the social position of his son⁶⁹) as a proof of the family "being accepted in the circle of the old Zaratian elite". Be that as it may, it is obvious that Petronja and Stana were not only members of the urban elite, but their names clearly reflect the cultural habitus of those who greeted Pope Alexander III by singing *in eorum Sclavica lingua* during his visit to Zadar in 1177⁷⁰.

In other words, leaving a discussion of the exact identity of this social group for another occasion, here it should suffice to stress that this fragment of the twelfth-century inscription confirms a continuing link between St Chrysogonus and the local "Croatian" elites of Zadar. The Croatian nobles not only maintained close contacts with the monastery between the ninth and the twelfth century, but also actively participated in the promotion of his cult. In this context, it comes as no surprise that "they financed the construction of at least two of church buildings for the monastery".⁷¹ Furthermore, the fact note that the apse was adorned by a mosaic rather than a fresco suggests not only the prestige of the monastery, but also the wealth of its patrons and consequently power, in which the scenery for a prosperous city was gradually reconstructed, resting on the influence of the monastery, the rich Romanesque building activity, and the powerful patrons.⁷²

It is in this context the two Qs of these inscriptions executed at close to the turn of the 13th century mark the end of the century, which saw the quantitative explosion of the evidence about the cult of St Chrysogonus as the urban patron saint – referred to as *patronus noster* in since the late twelfth century⁷³. The gathering of the Iadertines in the church in mid-May of 1190 is not only a

⁶⁴ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39, n. 119 lists available references to Petronja (1134, CD 2, doc. 43, pp. 44-45; 1146, CD 2, doc. 60, pp. 61-62; doc. 61, p. 62; Thomas, 100) adding that he was not a mere "Venetian puppet". Nikolić also stressed the fact that he kept his position also after the takeover by the Hungarian king (cf. CD 2, doc. 96, pp. 99-100) – which might be taken as an argument in favor of their origin in the island of Krk.

⁶⁵ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39.

⁶⁶ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39, n. 120. cf. L. STEINDORFF, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung*, Köln, 1984, p. 74; L. MARGETIĆ, *Međunarodni položaj Zadra u XII. stoljeću*, *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razred za društvene znanosti* 34, Zagreb, 1996, p. 52.

⁶⁷ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39, n. 124 adds that the name of the contemporary count of Krk was also Dujam (CD 2, doc. 41, p. 42.)

⁶⁸ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 39, n. 125; C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 302. Steindorff thinks that Bianchi's reading of *p(rocunsulis)* should be replaced with *p(rincipis)* (L. STEINDORFF, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 74).

⁶⁹ Z. NIKOLIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 40, n. 126 notes that he was a witness to a sale of the houses of Roger Morosini (*Duymi comitis Petronie filii*, in 1193. CD 2, doc. 246, pp. 261-62) warning that the edition wrongly has *Duymi comitis, Petronie filii Albinii*. More than half a century later (in 1260) he is mentioned again as having once participated in a deambulation of an estate of St Chrysogonus among noblemen of Zadar, "old and honest people" (CD 4, doc. 662, p. 153).

⁷⁰ A. STRGAČIĆ, *Papa Aleksandar III u Zadru*, *RIZd* 1, 1954, p. 165.

⁷¹ F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 20.

⁷² F. HORVAT, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 20.

⁷³ CD 2, 243 (Doc. 229).

testimony to the festive liturgical commemoration, but also provides a glimpse into the life of the community of Chrysogonus' venerators. For the first time in sources the gathering was called *tota communitas*. Among those present on the occasion, the charter lists not only the "first row" members of the local elite (like *comes* Damian), but also a group of influential citizens, members of the families that might be termed city's "second best". This gathering gives a foretaste of the communal organization that will be fully formed in the following century. And it is this particular feeling of belonging that will bind the citizens of Zadar together – under the banner of St Chrysogonus. The memory of St Chrysogonus – be it in the form of his liturgical commemoration (such as the feast of translation) or knowledge about the time of his "historical arrival" to the city was made part of the complex network of meaning. Not long after the consecration of the church in 1175, Chrysogonus would go on to defeat the Venetians at the promontory Treni and give the Iadertines a palpable reason to rejoice in his patronage.

***Sancto Grisogono quo gaudet ladra patrono* – posvetni natpis iz crkve Sv. Krševana i tradicija prijenosa svečeva tijela (*translatio*) u Zadar**

Polazeći od raščlambe danas izgubljenog natpisa u glavnoj apsidi crkve Sv. Krševana u Zadru, u članku se raspravlja o „liturgijskoj memoriji” i „društvenom sjećanju” na prijenos Sv. Krševana u Zadar u kasnome srednjem vijeku. Natpisi koji su predmet ove raščlambe bili su poznati starijim zadarskim povjesničarima, a objavio ih je Carlo Federico Bianchi u prvom svesku svoje knjige *Zara Cristiana*, tumačeći ih u kontekstu posvete samostanske crkve 4. svibnja 1175. godine i pripisujući posvetu prvome zadarskom nadbiskupu Lampridiju (1154.-1179.). U žarištu autorova zanimanja su implikacije mogućeg novog čitanja „dvaju slova Q” iz posvetnih natpisa. Naime, „prvo” slovo „Q” bilo je pročitano kao kratica (QV) riječi *quarto* i protumačeno kao dio referencije na „četvrti svibnja”, dan posvete samostanske crkve Sv. Krševana. „Drugo” slovo „Q” odnosi se na čitanje kratice QSEC-LA kao *quinque saecula*, tj. „pet stoljeća” otkad Zadar uživa zaštitu Sv. Krševana.

Kao uvod u predmetnu raščlambu autor u članku donosi kratak pregled povijesti samostana i crkve Sv. Krševana te raspravlja o (ne)povijesnosti „otkrića” relikvija Sv. Krševana 1056. godine. Smještajući raščlambu natpisa u kontekst posvete crkve za nadbiskupa Lampridija, autor podsjeća na okolnosti nestanka natpisa iz crkve koje je, zahvaljujući podatku sačuvanom u humanističkoj kompilaciji obitelji Ivčević, moguće datirati u kraj 18. stoljeća. Ključan detalj za ovu raspravu jest crtež koji ne samo da potvrđuje Bianchijev opis natpisa, već donosi i nekoliko dragocjenih podataka za osvježavanje razumijevanja tog natpisa. Na tom tragu autor razrađuje i moguće implikacije nove interpretacije odnosa natpisa i najstarijih podataka o blagdanu prijenosa Sv. Krševana u srednjovjekovnom Zadru. Uz opažanja o mogućim i dosad neuočenim vezama te podudarnostima, dotiče se i nešto mlađeg natpisa Stane, kćeri Petronje, upozoravajući na važnost smještanja interpretacije u specifičan društveni i povijesni kontekst. Držeći da spomen „pet stotina godina” zabilježen na natpisu iz 1175. godine ne treba nužno čitati kao povijesno svjedočanstvo o stvarnom vremenu prijenosa relikvija Sv. Krševana u Zadar, smatra ga oblikom „kolektivnog sjećanja” učvršćenoga u okviru početaka komunalnog kulta Sv. Krševana u Zadru krajem 12. i početkom 13. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: *svetci gradski zaštitnici, liturgijsko pamćenje, samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru, crkva Sv. Krševana u Zadru, prijenos relikvija Sv. Krševana, posveta crkve 1175. godine, natpis Stane (kćeri Petronje)*

SAINTE ANASTASIE ET LA « LIBERTÉ » DE ZADAR : REMARQUES SUR LE « PRIVILÈGE DE LIBERTÉ » DU PAPE INNOCENT III AU « CHAPITRE DE SAINTE-ANASTASIE » (1198)

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St. Anastasia's memory played an increasingly important role between the 9th and 12th centuries in the history of the Church and the city of Zadar. This evolution is particularly obvious in the "privilege of freedom" granted by Pope Innocent III to the "Chapter of St. Anastasia" on February 6, 1198. While the Church of Zadar was trying to preserve its independence from the Patriarchate of Grado, Venetian aggressions against Zadar and the neighboring islands had increased since 1181. It was in this context that the new Pope Innocent III granted the cathedral chapter the right to choose its bishop freely. In this paper, I will first study the early romanization of the hagiographic legend of this "foreign saint", before analyzing the functions of St. Anastasia's memory, which expresses the close relationship with the papacy, the autonomy of the cathedral chapter and the freedom of Zadar threatened by Venice.

Key words: *Zadar, Dalmatia, Saint Anastasia, Venice, cathedral chapter, cartula libertatis, papacy, pope Innocent III, Gregorian reform*

Au X^e siècle, l'empereur byzantin Constantin Porphyrogénète désignait la cité de Zadar¹, la capitale de la Dalmatie byzantine, par son nom grec « *Diadora* » donné, selon lui, par ses habitants hellénophones. Il estimait aussi que son nom latin, *Iadera* était la preuve étymologique de son ancienneté : « la ville de Diadora est appelée en langue romaine *Iam erat*, ce qui signifie : « elle existait déjà », c'est-à-dire, qu'elle avait déjà été fondée avant Rome ; c'est une grande ville. La tradition populaire lui donne le nom de *Diadora* »². Décrivant brièvement la topographie ecclésiastique de la cité, il exprime son admiration devant la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie : « L'église de Sainte-Anastasie est une basilique, comme l'église de Chalcopratia, avec des colonnes vertes et blanches, toute décorée d'images encaustiques de style antique ; son plancher est une magnifique mosaïque »³. La magnifi-

¹ À plusieurs reprises en 2014, 2018 et 2020, j'ai eu la chance de découvrir la topographie ecclésiastique de Zadar avec le professeur Nikola Jakšić. Ceux qui connaissent son érudition, sa disponibilité et sa générosité scientifiques, comprendront mon admiration et ma gratitude envers ce grand chercheur vers lequel convergent tous les historiens, historiens de l'art et archéologues croates et étrangers qui étudient la Dalmatie de l'Antiquité tardive et du haut Moyen Âge. Je tiens également à remercier le professeur Ivan Josipović pour la relecture de cet article et pour ses suggestions.

² Constantin Porphyrogénète, *De administrando imperio* [désormais *DAI*], cap. 29.

³ *DAI*, *op. cit.* (n. 2) ; Constantin Porphyrogénète évoque, à proximité, « une autre église, couverte d'un dôme, la Sainte-Trinité, et au-dessus de cette dernière, encore une autre église, à la manière de celle des Catéchumènes, en rotonde également, dans lequel on monte par un escalier en colimaçon ».

cence de la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie illustre, en même temps qu'elle y contribue, le rayonnement de la patronne de la cité au milieu du X^e siècle. Si l'on en croit le témoignage tardif de l'*Historia translationis sanctae Anastasiae*⁴, les reliques de la sainte martyrisée à Sirmium auraient d'abord été transportées à Constantinople avant d'être apportées à Zadar au début du IX^e siècle par l'évêque Donat⁵ qui les déposa dans la cathédrale où se trouve encore son sarcophage de marbre blanc⁶. La mémoire de sainte Anastasie, qui se confondit peu à peu avec la cathédrale, remplit peu à peu des fonctions essentielles dans l'histoire de l'Église et de la cité de Zadar⁷. Cette sainte nouvelle, dont le culte semble s'être strictement limité à Zadar⁸, en devint même l'un des principaux symboles au cours du Moyen Âge. Cette évolution est particulièrement visible dans la documentation pontificale relative à Zadar, comme en témoigne le privilège de liberté accordé par le pape Innocent III au « chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie » le 6 février 1198.

Dans le prolongement de la réforme « grégorienne » mise en œuvre par Grégoire VII dans la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle, le règne du pape Innocent III (1198-1216) a été marqué par un renforcement des pouvoirs du pape. Il se traduisit notamment par un « phénomène de bureaucratisation ou de départementalisation de la Curie »⁹ dont témoignent la production, l'envoi et l'archivage méthodique de nombreux documents de chancellerie. Ce nouveau mode de gouvernement par l'écrit offre aujourd'hui à l'historien « un des plus précieux monuments historiques de Moyen Âge » sur l'organisation de l'Église mais encore sur « la plupart des grands événements qui s'accomplirent alors en France, en Angleterre, en Espagne, en Allemagne, à Constantinople et dans la terre sainte »¹⁰. Dans l'abondante production diplomatique de ce « pape de papier »¹¹, le privilège de liberté « au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie » revêt une place singulière. Rédigé quelques jours seulement après l'élection d'Innocent III, il reproduit l'essentiel du formulaire caractéristique des *cartulae libertatis* qui jouèrent

⁴ La *Translatio reliquiarum S. Anastasiae Byzantio Iaderam* a été publiée dans D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum*, V, 1775, pp. 34-35. D'autres translations de reliques en Dalmatie sont datées du IX^e siècle par des récits de la fin du Moyen Âge, comme la translation de saint Tryphon à Kotor (voir I. PETROVIĆ, *L'hagiographie, latine et vernaculaire, de l'espace croate des origines à 1350*, in : *Hagiographies IV*, (ed.) Guy Philippart, Turnhout 2006, p. 211).

⁵ Sur le transfert des reliques et le culte de sainte Anastasie à Zadar, voir N. JAKŠIĆ, *The Installation of the Patron Saints of Zadar as a result of Carolingian Adriatic Politics*, in: *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, (eds.) Danijel Džino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš, Leiden/Boston, 2018, pp. 225-244 ; voir aussi J. OSBORNE, *Politics, Diplomacy and the Cult of Relics in Venice and the Northern Adriatic in the First Half of the Ninth Century*, *Early Medieval Europe*, 8, 1999, pp. 369-386 ; T. VEDRIŠ, *The Cult of St. Anastasia in Sirmium, Constantinople, and Rome in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, *Diadora*, 22, 2007, pp. 191-216.

⁶ R. KATIČIĆ, *Litterarum studia: Književnost i naobrazba ranoga hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja*, Zagreb, 1998, p. 368 : *In nomine s(an)c(t)e Anastasie / De donis D(e)i et s(an)c(t)e Anastasie Donatus peccatur episcopus fecit D(e)o gratias. / In nomine s(an)c(t)e Trinitatis hic requiescit corpus beate s(an)c(t)e Anastasie. / De donis D(e)i Donatus peccatur episcopus fecit.*

⁷ Sur l'histoire de Zadar, voir V. BRUNELLI, *Storia della città di Zara dai tempi più remoti sino al MDCCCXV*, Venezia, 1913 et N. KLAJČ – I. PETRICIOLI, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar, 1976.

⁸ Il semble en effet que, en dehors des murs de la cité, aucune église n'ait été dédiée à sainte Anastasie dans la « *prouincia* » de Zadar entre le IX^e et le XII^e siècle, ce qui illustre la nouveauté de ce culte strictement lié à l'Église et la cité de Zadar.

⁹ A. FOSSIER, *Innocent III. Un pape de papier, Médiévales*, 65, 2013, p. 180. Sur Innocent III, voir notamment H. TILLMANN, *Papst Innocenz III*, Bonn, 1954 ; *Pope Innocent III and his World*, (ed.) John Clare Moore, Aldershot, 1999 ; O. HANNE, *Innocent III: la stupeur du monde*, Paris, 2012 ; O. HANNE, *De Lothaire à Innocent III. L'ascension d'un clerc au XII^e siècle*, Aix-en-Provence, PUP, 2014.

¹⁰ L. DELISLE, *Mémoire sur les actes d'Innocent III*, *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 1858, 19, p. 1.

¹¹ A. FOSSIER, *op. cit.* (n. 9).

un rôle essentiel dans le gouvernement de l'Église¹². En effet, ces « privilèges » offraient aux clercs des « protections quasi sacrées »¹³ et permettaient au souverain pontife d'intervenir dans des affaires apparemment extérieures à la papauté, en l'occurrence l'extension de la puissance vénitienne dans l'Adriatique orientale qui menaçait l'autonomie de la métropole dalmate et les intérêts de la papauté en Dalmatie. Alors que l'Église de Zadar s'efforçait de préserver son indépendance du patriarcat de Grado, les expéditions vénitiennes se multipliaient depuis 1181 contre Zadar et les îles voisines. C'est dans ce contexte que le nouveau pape Innocent III adressa au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie, le 6 février 1198, le « privilège » de choisir librement son évêque qui occupait une place centrale dans l'Église et dans la cité de Zadar¹⁴. Après avoir rappelé la romanisation précoce de la légende hagiographique de cette sainte étrangère, je m'attarderai donc sur quelques fonctions du souvenir d'Anastasie dont le simple vocable évoque à la fois la relation étroite avec la papauté¹⁵, l'autonomie du chapitre cathédral et la liberté de Zadar menacée par Venise au tournant des XII^e et XIII^e siècles.

I. SAINTE ANASTASIE, UNE SAINTE ÉTRANGÈRE ?

A. La première organisation ecclésiastique de Zadar

Au IV^e siècle apparaissent les premiers indices d'un complexe épiscopal à Zadar, non loin du forum impérial. Plusieurs prêtres ou évêques de Zadar sont aussi attestés dans divers conciles : un évêque, qui n'est pas nommé, est présent au synode romain de 341 et un prélat, nommé Felix, participe aux conciles d'Aquilée en 381 et de Milan en 390¹⁶. Les informations sont plus précises au VI^e siècle où la présence de l'évêque Andreas de Zadar au concile de Salone de 530 révèle que l'évêque de Zadar est suffragant de la métropole de Salone. À la fin du VI^e siècle, trois lettres de Grégoire le Grand à l'évêque Sabinianus en 597 et 598 délivrent des éléments importants sur l'Église de Zadar, sur le conflit entre l'évêque de Zadar et celui de Salone, et sur ses rapports privilégiés avec Rome. Tout en renouvelant « les privilèges concédés par ses prédécesseurs à l'Église de Zadar », le pape rappelle à Sabinianus « la nécessité de transmettre à Rome une copie des écrits conservés dans les archives de son Église »¹⁷. La présence d'un *scrinium* à Zadar s'explique sans doute par le haut niveau d'organisation de l'administration de Zadar qui joua un rôle central en Dalmatie. L'essor continu de la cité et de l'Église zara-

¹² Parmi les nombreux exemples, voir E. FALASCHI, A proposito della datazione di una 'Cartula libertatis et absolutionis' dell'Archivio Capitolare di Pisa (sec. XI), *Bollettino storico pisano*, 42, 1973, pp. 311-315 ; L. MORELLE, Examen de trois privilèges pontificaux du XI^e siècle en faveur de Montier-en-Der, *Cahiers Haut-Marnais*, 161, 1985, pp. 22-42, pp. 31-34, n° 1 (fac-similé, pp. 31-32).

¹³ P. BERTRAND, *Les écritures ordinaires. Sociologie d'un temps de révolution documentaire (1250-1350)*, Paris, 2015, p. 31 : « Avec la consolidation de l'institution grégorienne, la chancellerie produit des actes à la volée – lettres ou privilèges –, inondant la chrétienté. (...) Dans la suite logique de la réforme dite de Grégoire VII, avec le triomphe des conciles de Latran IV et de Lyon II, les bulles papales deviennent de plus en plus des protections quasi sacrées ».

¹⁴ Nous citerons les actes médiévaux d'après l'édition du *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1 (a. 743-1100) [désormais CDCDS I], (ed.) Marko Kostrenčić, Zagreb, 1967 ; vol. 2 (a. 1101-1200) [désormais CDCDS II], (ed.) Tadija Smičiklas, Zagreb, 1904 ; vol. III (a. 1201-1235) [désormais CDCDS III], (ed.) Tadija Smičiklas, Zagreb, 1905. La *cartula libertatis* adressée par Innocent III au « chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie » est éditée dans CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°273 (6 février 1198), pp. 289-290.

¹⁵ Je me permets de renvoyer à S. GIOANNI, *Gouverner le monde par l'écrit. L'autorité pontificale en Dalmatie de l'Antiquité tardive à la réforme « grégorienne »*, Rome, 2020 (BEFAR, 386). Sous-presses.

¹⁶ Z. STRIKA, Kada i gdje se prvi put spominje zadarski biskup? [résumé en anglais: When and Where was the First Bishop of Zadar Mentioned?, p. 64], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 46, 2004, pp. 31-62 ; voir aussi M. SUIĆ, Zadar u *De administrando imperio* Konstantina Porfirogenita [résumé en italien: Zara nel *De administrando imperio* di Costantino Porfirogenito, pp. 27-29], *Radovi Zavoda Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 27-28, 1981, pp. 5-26.

¹⁷ Grégoire, *epist.* VIII, 24, pp. 544-545 : *si qua ex eis scripta in ecclesiae uestrae scrinio reiacent, eorum huc exemplaria transmitti necesse est.*

tines aux VII^e-VIII^e siècles, qui profitait de l'héritage antique, de la présence des nombreuses élites et d'une relative stabilité politique¹⁸, explique sans doute le choix de Zadar comme capitale de l'administration byzantine pour l'Adriatique orientale puis, à la fin du IX^e siècle, comme capitale du thème de Dalmatie. La position dominante de Zadar et l'étendue territoriale de la Dalmatie¹⁹ supposaient l'existence d'un gouvernement local jouissant d'une forte autonomie sous la conduite d'un *prior* qui exerça aussi les fonctions d'« archonte » ou, à partir de 986, de « pro-consul » de Dalmatie²⁰. En dépit de l'organisation précoce de son église, de son administration et de sa position dominante, la cité de Zadar ne contient au X^e siècle aucune trace de cultes paléochrétiens, à l'exception du culte de saint Pierre attesté par la titulature initiale de la cathédrale²¹ dédiée ensuite à sainte Anastasie, par d'autres églises dédiées à saint Pierre²² et par la persistance de fêtes liturgiques consacrées à saint Pierre²³.

B. Les origines du culte d'Anastasie à Zadar : le rôle de l'évêque Donat

Anastasie, la patronne de Zadar, n'est pas originaire de Dalmatie²⁴ : l'*Historia translationis sanctae Anastasiae* raconte que les reliques de la sainte, martyrisée à Sirmium, auraient été apportées de Constantinople au début du IX^e siècle par l'évêque Donat qui les déposa dans la cathédrale de Zadar. La tentative de reconquête byzantine des côtes de l'Adriatique septentrionale et orientale au début du IX^e siècle s'était accompagnée de plusieurs translations de reliques de Constantinople jusqu'à la Dalmatie, notamment celles de sainte Anastasie à Zadar (en 806?) et de saint Tryphon à Kotor (en 809?)²⁵ qui sont documentées par des récits tardifs et des chroniques du bas Moyen Âge. Selon John Osborne, l'introduction du culte d'Anastasie à Zadar et de Tryphon à Kotor traduit la volonté byzantine de compenser l'influence croissante de la culture franque favorisée par l'extension du culte de saint Martin depuis l'Adriatique occidentale²⁶. Les transferts de reliques d'Anastasie et de Tryphon ont bien contribué au début du IX^e siècle à renforcer l'identité des cités byzantines de l'Adriatique orientale²⁷ au moment

¹⁸ Ravenne et Aquilée passèrent sous le contrôle des Lombards et l'ancienne capitale de Dalmatie, Salone, fut abandonnée par ses habitants au début du VII^e siècle.

¹⁹ Il est difficile de déterminer pourquoi Constantin Porphyrogénète considère que l'extension territoriale de la Dalmatie s'étend jusqu'à Bénévent (*DAI, op. cit.* /n. 2/ : « Sous le contrôle de la Dalmatie est un ensemble de très nombreux archipels, s'étendant aussi loin que Bénévent, de sorte que les navires ne craignent jamais la tempête dans ces régions »).

²⁰ J. FERLUGA, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1978, p. 191 sq.

²¹ N. JAKŠIĆ, Il culto di san Pietro nella Dalmazia paleocristiana e medievale, in : *San Pietro e San Marco - arte e iconografia in area adriatica*, (ed.) Letizia Caselli, Rome, 2009, pp. 61-93 ; p. 80 ; N. JAKŠIĆ, La cathédrale plus ancienne à Zadar, *Antiquité tardive*, 16, 2008, p. 192 ; N. JAKŠIĆ, Il nucleo del complesso vescovile paleocristiano di Zara, in : *Ideologia e cultura artistica tra Adriatico e Mediterraneo orientale (IV-X secolo)*, (eds.) Raffaella Farioli Campanati et alii, Bologna, 2009, pp. 303-312.

²² Nikola Jakšić a rappelé l'existence, « le long d'un des décumanes secondaires, d'un édifice rectangulaire, de dimension réduite et doté d'une abside, que les sources médiévales évoquent comme *ecclesia sancti Petri veteris* » (N. JAKŠIĆ, Il culto..., *op. cit.* /n. 16, 2009/, p. 82) ; voir aussi I. PETRICIOLI – S. VUČENOVIĆ, Crkve sv. Andrija i sv. Petar Stari u Zadru, *Diadora*, 5, 1970, pp. 177-202.

²³ V. DE PONTE, *Historia ecclesiae iadrensis*, a cura di Vitaliano Brunelli, Zara, 1906, p. 118 ; voir également la lettre d'Amalaire de Metz à l'abbé Hilduin après un bref séjour à Zadar durant son voyage à Constantinople (voir *Epistola ad Hilduinum abbatem*, pp. 65-67 et p. 138 : *In loco ubi eram uigilia memorata festiuitatis sancti Petri*).

²⁴ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 240 sq. ; T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

²⁵ Sur les traditions liturgiques et hagiographiques de Kotor, voir R. F. GYUG, Liturgy and Law in a Dalmatian City: The Bishop's Book of Kotor (Sankt- Petersburg, Bran, F. no. 200), *Studies and Texts*, 204 ; *Monumenta Liturgica Beneventana*, 7, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, 2016.

²⁶ J. OSBORNE, *op. cit.* (n. 5). Nikola Jakšić a critiqué cette interprétation en rappelant à juste titre que le culte de Martin dans l'Adriatique orientale est attesté dès le VI^e siècle : N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 240.

²⁷ T. VEDRIŠ, Martyrs, Relics, and Bishops: Representations of the City in Dalmatian Translation Legends, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 12, 2006, pp. 175-186.

où l'empire byzantin recouvra, à la suite de la *Pax Nicephori*, son autorité administrative sur les villes côtières de Dalmatie. Toutefois, Nikola Jakšić²⁸ et Trpimir Vedriš²⁹ ont bien montré qu'il serait erroné d'utiliser l'expression « saints byzantins » pour désigner les principaux cultes zaratins.

Les récits de la *translatio reliquiarum* sont beaucoup plus tardifs³⁰ mais le rôle de Donat dans l'essor du culte d'Anastasie³¹ est confirmé dès le milieu du X^e siècle par Constantin Porphyrogénète qui évoque également le culte de saint Chrysogone³². Il est intéressant de constater que les deux principaux saints de Zadar sont donc des « martyrs étrangers », Anastasie de Sirmium et Chrysogone d'Aquilée. D'après Ivanka Petrović, leur culte à Zadar, qui « s'explique par les liens étroits qui existaient entre la Dalmatie et les centres d'Aquilée, de Rome et de Ravenne »³³, est à l'origine des autres principaux cultes de la cité où l'on retrouve les martyrs qui « appartiennent au cycle hagiographique latin des saints Anastasie et Chrysogone (*Passio S. Anastasiae* ou *Passio S. Chrysogoni et sociorum*) »³⁴, c'est-à-dire les martyres de Thessalonique (Agape, Chionia et Irène) et les martyrs de Nicée en Bithynie (Théodote et ses fils)³⁵, ou encore le culte de saint Siméon le Sage qui se développa à partir du XII^e siècle. Si la plupart de ces saints ou de leurs reliques (à l'exception de Chrysogone d'Aquilée) sont originaires de l'Orient byzantin, l'analyse attentive du cycle d'Anastasie et de Chrysogone met en évidence son empreinte romaine.

C. La « romanisation » précoce du cycle de sainte Anastasie et de saint Chrysogone

Le cycle d'Anastasie est introduit par un prologue polémique³⁶ qui revendique la liberté de lire les *Passiones*, contre lesquelles le *Decretum Gelasianum* (début VI^e siècle) avait mis en garde en raison de leur anonymat et des doutes sur leurs origines. La condamnation de la lecture des *Passiones de martyrs*

²⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 235 sq. Nikola Jakšić considère que le culte d'Anastasie et des autres martyrs du cycle hagiographique d'Anastasie de Sirmium et de Chrysogone d'Aquilée pourrait venir de Cividale del Friuli. Les principaux saints de Zadar illustreraient donc une influence non pas byzantine, mais carolingienne. Les liens étroits entre Aquilée et Cividale, où se rendit notamment le *dux* Branimir au IX^e siècle, mais aussi le possible séjour de l'évêque de Zadar Donat à la cour de Charlemagne et les caractéristiques du reliquaire de sainte Anastasie constituent en effet des indices probants. Toutefois, ils ne remettent pas en cause la romanisation précoce du cycle hagiographique d'Anastasie et Chrysogone.

²⁹ T. VEDRIŠ, "Frankish" or "Byzantine" Saint? The Origins of the Cult of Saint Martin in Dalmatia, in : *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies: Sailing to Byzantium*, (ed.) Savvas Neocleous, Cambridge, 2009, pp. 219-247.

³⁰ Voir note 4.

³¹ P. VEŽIĆ, Su san Donato, vescovo di Zara, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 8, 2002, pp. 235-240 ; A. MIŠKOVIĆ, St Donatus and the Impact of the Church Reform in Zadar, in : *5th Hagiotheca Conference "Church Reforms and the Cult of Saints" (colloque organisé à Zadar, 17-21 septembre 2014)*, (ed.) Trpimir Vedriš, à paraître.

³² DAL, *op. cit.* (n. 2) : « Dans cette même ville repose le corps de Sainte-Anastasie, fille vierge d'Eustathe, qui fut sur le trône à l'époque, et Saint-Chrysogone, moine et martyr, dans sa sainte chaîne ».

³³ I. PETROVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 205-206.

³⁴ I. PETROVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 16), pp. 205-206.

³⁵ L'un des plus anciens manuscrits hagiographiques de Zadar, qui contient les textes du cycle hagiographique des saints Anastasie et Chrysogone, est conservé aujourd'hui dans le couvent des bénédictines de Sainte-Marie à Zadar (sign. R-81). Deux autres manuscrits latins, qui comptent parmi les plus anciens Livres d'heures et qui ont été réalisés « dans le *scriptorium* du monastère Saint-Chrysogone à Zadar entre 1060 et 1090 » (I. PETROVIĆ, *op. cit.* /n. 4/, p. 209) illustrent la vitalité du cycle hagiographique des saints Anastasie et Chrysogone à Zadar durant la réforme « grégorienne ». Il s'agit du *Liber horarum* de l'abbesse Čika, conservé à Oxford (Bodleian Library, sign. Ms. Canonici Liturgical 277), et le *Liber horarum* de l'abbesse Večenega conservé à Budapest (Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, sign. Ms. Cod. latini octavo 5). Ces Livres d'heures ont été édités par M. GRGIĆ, *Libri horarum. Duo manuscripti Monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*, Editio princeps, Zagreb, 2002.

³⁶ La *Passio Anastasiae*. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione, (ed.) Paola Francesca Moretti, *Studi e Testi TardoAntichi*, 3, Roma, 2006, pp. 102-104.

a suscité de vives réactions dont témoignerait, entre autres, le prologue de la *Passion d'Anastasie*, texte probablement d'origine romaine³⁷. Toutefois, l'absence de référence à Anastasie dans le prologue a suscité deux autres interprétations : la première considère que ce prologue est indépendant de la rédaction de la *Passion d'Anastasie*, en se fondant sur le fait que ce prologue polémique hostile au *Decretum Gelasianum* introduit d'autres passions tardo-antiques ou médiévales³⁸ ; la seconde accepte l'hypothèse selon laquelle l'auteur du prologue serait le même que celui de la *Passion d'Anastasie* et qu'il exprime une défense de la lecture des passions bien antérieure au VI^e siècle : en d'autres termes, le prologue de la *Passion d'Anastasie* illustrerait « un conflit romain sur la recevabilité liturgique des Passions (...) bien antérieur au *Decretum Gelasianum* : la *Passion d'Anastasie* pourrait donc en constituer un jalon précoce »³⁹.

Le calendrier liturgique de Zadar situe la festivité de sainte Anastasie le 25 décembre et celle de saint Chrysogone le 24 novembre⁴⁰. Le martyrologe de Bède, en 755, et celui d'Adon, en 858, furent les premiers à mettre en relation Chrysogone et Anastasie durant leur emprisonnement à Rome au cours duquel Chrysogone aurait converti son gardien, le vicaire Rufin et sa famille, comme en témoigne une fresque de la Basilique souterraine de Saint-Chrysogone qui représente Anastasie, Rufin et Chrysogone.

L'origine romaine de Chrysogone est contestée par ceux qui considèrent que son culte⁴¹ a été importé d'Aquilée au cours du VI^e siècle. Mais cette hypothèse supposerait l'existence de deux saints homonymes puisque le sacramentaire léonien et les actes d'un concile du pape Symmaque en 499 évoquent la célébration de messes en l'honneur de saint Chrysogone et l'existence d'un *titulus Chrysogoni*⁴² à Rome, ce qui tend à montrer qu'un illustre fondateur du même nom était honoré à Rome à la fin du V^e siècle. L'existence à Rome de deux églises (*titulus Chrysogoni* et *titulus Anastasiae*) situées à peu près à la même hauteur du Tibre, de part et d'autre du fleuve, est un autre point commun entre les deux saints. Elle révèle en outre un processus fréquent dans la Rome du V^e siècle : comme dans les cas célèbres de Sabine ou de Suzanne, Chrysogone et Anastasie furent probablement à l'origine des donateurs ou fondateurs dont la sainteté fut ensuite confondue avec les légendes de martyrs homonymes⁴³. Quelle que soit l'origine réelle des saints Anastasie et Chrysogone, l'origine de leur légende révèle une « romanisation » du cycle hagiographique, comme en témoignent les premières attestations de la *Passion de sainte Anastasie* (BHL 401) dans les milieux ascétiques romains⁴⁴. On

³⁷ DE GAIFFIER cité par C. LANÉRY, *Hagiographie d'Italie (300-550) – I. Les Passions latines composées en Italie, Hagiographies*, V, (ed.) Guy Philippart, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 15-369 ; p. 53.

³⁸ C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 53, note 79 : C. Lanéry cite par exemple BHL 6991 ; BHL 1545 ; BHL 2922b ; BHL 7558.

³⁹ C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 54.

⁴⁰ H. DELEHAYE, *Étude sur le Légendier romain : les saints de novembre et de décembre, Subsidia hagiographica*, 23, Bruxelles, 1936, p. 158. Sur la festivité de saint Chrysogone dans le calendrier liturgique romain, voir G. PICCOLINI, *S. Crisogono in Roma. Chiesa primitiva sotterranea e basilica medioevale*, Roma, 1953, p. 133 ; pp. 13-26. Sur le cycle d'Anastasie et Chrysogone, voir la récente synthèse de C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 45-60.

⁴¹ T. VEDRIŠ, *The Origin and Early Cult of St Chrysogonus, the Patron Saint of Zadar, Ars Adriatica*, 4, 2014, pp. 29-42.

⁴² M. MESNARD, *La basilique de Saint-Chrysogone à Rome*, Rome, 1935 ; P. GUERRINI, *Le chiese e i monasteri del Trastevere: cronologia e topografia*, in : *Ecclesiae Urbis*, 1, (eds.) Federico Guidobaldi, Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi, 2002, pp. 377-396.

⁴³ C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 54-55.

⁴⁴ *La Passio Anastasiae*, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 28 : « Una molteplicità di elementi collega l'elaborazione della leggenda di Anastasia alla città di Roma, soprattutto perché tipicamente "romani" sono sia il modello di santità che in Anastasia si incarna sia alcuni particolari della sua storia ». Moretti pense que la *Passio Anastasiae* fut composée dans un cercle de femmes pannoniennes installées à Rome. C. Lanéry considère que la *Passion d'Anastasie* est finalement « assez symptomatique des tensions léguées par la crise jovinienne dans l'Église de Rome ». Toutefois, elle est plus réservée sur le rapport avec les milieux pannoniens, considérant que « l'hagiographe ne connaissait pas grand-chose de la martyre Anastasie de Sirmium » (C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* /n. 37/, p. 58).

assiste donc, dans le cas d'Anastasie, à une dissociation précoce entre la naissance romaine de la légende hagiographique et la diffusion du culte et des reliques de la sainte de Sirmium qui furent conservées en Orient jusqu'au début du IX^e siècle et furent ramenées à Zadar par l'évêque Donat de Zadar avec l'accord de l'empereur byzantin⁴⁵. Cette *translatio reliquiarum* – qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de la reconquête byzantine de la région peu avant la *Pax Nicephori* – s'explique peut-être aussi par un culte local à Anastasie dont la *Passion* évoque le martyr sur les îles Palmaria. Pourtant, la mention dans la *Passion d'Anastasie* des îles Palmaria « dans lesquelles évêques et prêtres et de nombreux religieux de toutes époques avaient été relégués en exil »⁴⁶ semble indiquer que ces îles ne se trouvent pas en Dalmatie⁴⁷ mais dans la mer tyrrhénienne, dans l'archipel des îles pontines dont l'une des îles du même nom était un des principaux lieux de *relegatio in insulam* dans l'Antiquité tardive⁴⁸.

L'éventuelle localisation, par l'auteur de la *Passion d'Anastasie*, du martyr de la sainte dans l'espace maritime des îles Pontines, non loin de Rome, ne remet pas en cause la tradition du martyr à Sirmium. Elle pourrait s'expliquer simplement par le fait que l'hagiographe latin, qui « ne connaissait pas grand-chose de la



Fig. 1. Portrait de sainte Anastasie (détail d'une fresque de la crypte de la Basilique souterraine de San Crisogono in Trastevere - Rome, VIII^e s. - Cl. Marie Gioanni)

⁴⁵ Sur l'extension du culte de saint Anastasie, voir T. VEDRIŠ, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

⁴⁶ La *Passio Anastasiae*, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 182 : *Tertia uero die deuoluti sunt ad insulas quas Palmarias appellant, in quibus episcopi et presbyteri et multi religiosi uiri temporibus diuersis fuerant religati exilio, et descendentes cum hymnis et psalmis suscepti sunt.*

⁴⁷ Il existait pourtant des îles dalmates susceptibles de recevoir des exilés ou des prisonniers, par exemple l'île de Bua (Bubus, Bavo, Bua ou Boa aujourd'hui Ciovo près de Trogir) qui correspondrait aussi à un site insulaire de réclusion ou de relégation en Dalmatie, si l'on en croit les sources anciennes : voir D. ALBERI, *Dalmazia. Storia, arte, cultura*, Trebaseleghe (PD), 2008, pp. 894-899.

⁴⁸ M. TORRES AGUILAR, La pena de exilio: sus orígenes en el Derecho romano, *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 63-64, 1993, pp. 748-749.

martyre Anastasie de Sirmium »⁴⁹, voulait situer le martyr près de Rome. Cette hypothèse, qui reste à démontrer, renforcerait la romanisation précoce de la légende hagiographique d'Anastasie. L'origine de la dévotion de sainte Anastasie et de saint Chrysogone montre qu'il est impossible de les considérer comme des « saints byzantins » dont le culte aurait permis à l'empire de renforcer l'identité byzantine de la capitale dalmate. Leurs liens indéniables avec l'hagiographie romaine ne permettent pas toutefois de les considérer non plus comme des saints romains puisque leur culte n'a cessé d'évoluer au fur et à mesure de leur appropriation par l'Église, les élites et les fidèles de Zadar. La réforme de l'Église zaratine dirigée par l'évêque Donat – qui devint lui-même un des principaux saints de Zadar grâce notamment à son long épiscopat et à son action de pacification entre les pouvoirs francs et byzantins – souligne au contraire l'ambivalence culturelle et liturgique des cultes zaratins⁵⁰. On pourrait parler enfin d'ambivalence sociale : selon une étude de Tirpimir Vedriš, apparut peu à peu une sorte de compétition entre les deux cultes qui reproduisait la rivalité voire les conflits des communautés des habitants de la ville : alors qu'Anastasie était vénérée par le peuple de Zadar, le culte de Chrysogone, étroitement lié à l'essor du grand monastère éponyme soutenu par les élites, représentait davantage les valeurs élitaires et l'excellence spirituelle de l'aristocratie⁵¹. La relative nouveauté de ces saints a sans doute favorisé les dévotions particulières et les identifications des différents groupes de la société zaratine.

Une autre différence tient aux fonctions des bâtiments portant la titulature des deux saints : si le monastère Saint-Chrysogone associe le martyr d'Aquilée au rayonnement et au rôle du grand monastère zaratine dans l'expansion bénédictine en Dalmatie, la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie mêle étroitement la mémoire d'Anastasie à l'histoire mouvementée de l'Église et de la cité de Zadar.

II. L'ÉGLISE DE ROME ET LA « LIBERTÉ » MENACÉE DE ZADAR

A. Sainte Anastasie dans les actes diplomatiques antérieurs à 1200

Une vue d'ensemble des actes diplomatiques antérieurs à 1200 publiés dans le *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatie et Slavonie*⁵² révèle la présence relativement limitée du vocable « Anastasia ». Dans la documentation écrite, la mémoire de la sainte patronne de la ville de Zadar se limite presque exclusivement à la mention de la cathédrale, à travers les termes *cathedra* ou *ecclesia*, et du chapitre. Le nom de sainte Anastasie est donc indissociable de l'un des principaux lieux de la vie religieuse, spirituelle, judiciaire et administrative de Zadar. Il apparaît par exemple dans le règlement du conflit entre les monastères Saint-Chrysogone et Sainte-Marie au sujet des terres situées à Obrovica⁵³. « L'Église Sainte-Anastasie » est aussi le lieu où sont réalisés « publiquement » certains actes civils, comme des actes de donation à des établissements ecclésiastiques⁵⁴. La centralité de la mémoire d'Anastasie explique sans doute l'emploi du qualificatif « *alma* » (nourricière, protectrice), dans un privilège de liberté de l'archevêque de Zadar Michel⁵⁵, pour qualifier la patronne de Zadar présentée ainsi comme une véritable « *alma mater* » de la cité au XII^e siècle.

C'est pourquoi, dans le contexte des convoitises vénitiennes sur l'Église et la ville de Zadar au XII^e siècle, la mémoire de sainte Anastasie va incarner la résistance et la liberté du chapitre de la cathédrale Zadar. Le meilleur exemple est sans doute le privilège de liberté accordé par le pape Innocent III au

⁴⁹ C. LANÉRY, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 58.

⁵⁰ A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 31).

⁵¹ T. VEDRIŠ, *Communities in conflict. The rivalry between the cults of Sts Anastasia and Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar*, *Annual of medieval studies at Central European University Budapest*, 11, 2005, pp. 29-48.

⁵² CDCDS I, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1967) et CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904).

⁵³ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°43 (a. 1134), p. 44 : *presidente cathedre beate Anastasie M(ichaele) archiepiscopo, Petro comitatum Jadere, totiusque Dalmacie principatum feliciter procurante.*

⁵⁴ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°127 (a. 1172), p. 133 : *in ecclesia sancte Anastasie publice testificatus est.*

⁵⁵ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°39 (a. 1129), pp. 39-40 : *Ego M(ichael) diuina clementia alme Anastasie cathedra presulante publice testificatus est.*

« chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie » le 6 février 1198. Ce document essentiel pour l'histoire de l'Église et de la ville de Zadar rappelle d'abord la défense de la liberté dalmate⁵⁶ devant laquelle le roi Coloman avait dû s'incliner au début du XII^e siècle⁵⁷. Le privilège d'Innocent III s'inscrit aussi dans le prolongement de l'action de ses prédécesseurs⁵⁸.

B. La « liberté » de Zadar dans les lettres pontificales au XII^e siècle

Le 17 octobre 1154, le pape Anastase IV, ancien prieur du monastère de Sant'Anastasia à Rome, avait élevé le diocèse de Zadar au rang d'archidiocèse métropolitain avec, pour suffragants, les diocèses de Krk, d'Osor, de Rab et de Lesina qui furent placés sous l'autorité de l'archevêque Lampredius de Zadar⁵⁹. En accordant le *pallium* à l'archevêque Lampredius, le pape Anastase IV revendiquait la longue tradition d'autonomie dont jouissait l'Église de Zadar, y compris au temps de « la cité de Salone ». La décrétale d'Anastase IV contient un éloge de l'histoire chrétienne de la Dalmatie qui, « irriguée par une pluie de grâce céleste, a reçu la semence du verbe de Dieu par les prédications des hommes apostoliques »⁶⁰.

Mais le successeur d'Anastase IV, le pape Adrien IV, allié du doge de Venise dans son conflit avec l'empire, changea brutalement d'attitude en acceptant de subordonner l'archevêché de Zadar au patriarche de Grado. Cette décision suscita la désapprobation de l'archevêque Lampredius et des habitants de Zadar qui revendiquaient leur autonomie en tentant d'échapper à l'autorité de Venise et de Grado. Le pape Alexandre III, qui succéda à Adrien IV en 1159, renforça lui aussi ses liens avec Venise en raison de l'hostilité de l'empereur Frédéric Barberousse qui ne reconnaissait pas Alexandre III : au cours d'un long conflit de plus de quinze ans, Alexandre III excommunia l'empereur en 1160 et trouva des appuis à Venise et dans d'autres cités du nord de l'Italie qui s'unirent en janvier 1167 en une Ligue lombarde symboliquement dirigée par le pape qui infligea une lourde défaite à l'empereur le 29 mai 1176 à la bataille de Legnano. Toutefois, en se rendant dans la cité des doges pour signer le fa-

⁵⁶ Dès le début du XII^e siècle, certaines cités dalmates (Zadar, Rab et Trogir) bénéficiaient de privilèges royaux qui garantissaient leur ancienne autonomie : I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *Governmental Palaces in eastern adriatic Cities (13th–15th Centuries)*, in : *Political Functions of Urban Spaces and Town Types through the Ages*, (eds.) Roman Czaja, Zdzisław Noga, Ferdinand Opll, Martin Scheutz, Cracow-Toruń-Vienna, 2019, p. 114, note 9 ; voir aussi T. RAUKAR – I. PETRICIOLI – F. ŠVELEC – Š. PERIČIĆ, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom [Zadar under the Venetian rule]*, Zadar, 1987 ; N. BUDAK – T. RAUKAR, *Hrvatska povijest srednjeg vijeka [Croatian medieval history]*, Zagreb, 2006, pp. 212–213.

⁵⁷ Le nouveau maître de la Dalmatie, le roi hongrois Coloman, s'était rendu à Zadar pour confirmer et célébrer la liberté antique de la Dalmatie devant la curie de la cité : CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°21 (oko god. 1111.), p. 21 : *Colomanus rex ueniens Jadram, ante ciuitatem conuocat curiam, ibique de Dalmacie libertate integra perpetuaque seruanda comuniter tractante, ipse rex imprimis supra sancta quatuor dei euangelia, patre meo G. episcopo annitente, manu confirmauit propria. Videlicet : ut antiquam Dalmatie libertatem in nullo unquam deberet fraudare, nec episcopum uel primate aliquem nisi ab eorum uelle electum illis dare, confirmauere. (...) Nam preter regem et episcopos et comites magnos, iurauere hoc idem et multi centurionum. Ille enim, qui prouinciam Dalmatie subesse regi disposuerat securus esse uolebat permultas et magnas personas, sibi suisque successoribus et eorum heredibus antiquam fore debere libertatem*

⁵⁸ Pour une mise à jour récente sur la métropole ecclésiastique de Zadar au XII^e siècle, voir Z. STRIKA, *Zadar - novo nadbiskupsko i metropoljsko sjedište Dalmacije u kontekstu političkih prilika 12. stoljeća* [résumé en anglais: *Zadar (Zara) – A New Archbishopric and Metropolitan See of Dalmatia in the Context of the Twelfth Century*, p. 45], *Croatica christiana periodica*, 57, 52, 2004, pp. 1-45.

⁵⁹ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°78 (a. 1154), p. 77 : (...) *cui nimirum Absarensis, Vegliensis, Arbensis et Farensis episcopatus tamquam sue metropoli subiacebunt (...).*

⁶⁰ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), p. 76 : *Ad hanc siquidem constitutionem regularum paternarum et generalem formam ecclesie, postquam Dalmacia imbre superne gracie irrigate predicantibus apostolicis uiris semen uerbi dei suscepit, et iusta (!) euangelicum uerbum fructum cepit reddere tricesimum, sexagesimum et centesimum, ne pontificalis ei plenitudo deesset officii, unus ibidem qui aliis presideret ordinatus antistes, et Salonitana ciuitas, que ad hoc conuenientior uidebatur, est metropolis instituta.*

meux « Traité de Venise » avec Frédéric Barberousse, le pape Alexandre III fit une halte à Zadar pour manifester son attachement à la métropole dalmate et son autorité sur la région. L'historiographie zaratine garde un souvenir précis de cette première visite pontificale à Zadar : inscriptions, fresques et récits racontent l'arrivée solennelle du pape sur un cheval blanc, le 13 mars 1177, acclamé par les fidèles qui l'accompagnèrent, au milieu des cantiques, jusqu'à la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie. Là, le souverain pontife honora les reliques de sainte Anastasie, la patronne de Zadar⁶¹, qui apparut comme un symbole des liens étroits entre la papauté et la métropole dalmate. Après un bref séjour de quatre jours à Zadar, Alexandre traversa à nouveau l'Adriatique jusqu'à Venise où, après une halte au monastère Saint-Nicolas, il signa en mai l'accord de réconciliation avec l'empereur Frédéric Barberousse qui acceptait de reconnaître la légitimité d'Alexandre III et de se soumettre au souverain pontife qui, de son côté, révoqua son excommunication⁶².

La procession solennelle du pape Alexandre III à Zadar illustre la relation privilégiée entre l'Église catholique romaine et la Dalmatie depuis la seconde moitié du XI^e siècle⁶³. Ce rapport de *fides*, qui se traduisit sous le règne des derniers rois croates par une forme de quasi-vassalité à l'égard de l'Église romaine, reflète la construction d'un équilibre religieux et géopolitique nouveau qui incita la papauté à défendre l'autonomie de l'Église de Zadar et à limiter, autant que la diplomatie pouvait le permettre, les convoitises vénitiennes sur la cité. C'est probablement dans ce contexte qu'il faut lire la bulle du nouveau pape, Innocent III, qui adressa, moins d'un mois après son élection, le 6 février 1198, un privilège de liberté au « chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie ».

C. Le privilège de liberté d'Innocent III « au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie »

La brève *cartula libertatis* d'Innocent III au chapitre de la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie est particulièrement riche par son contenu : elle souligne d'abord avec insistance les liens étroits entre l'Église romaine et l'Église de Zadar, et revendique le rôle du pape comme défenseur de l'autonomie du chapitre. Par l'évocation de la langue et du rite grecs pratiqués à Zadar (« *Graecorum hactenus et ritum seruauerit et linguam* »), elle rappelle aussi que souverain pontife exerçait son autorité sur une métropole qui faisait toujours partie formellement de l'empire byzantin⁶⁴. Cet acte manifeste donc le souhait implicite de contrer les convoitises de Venise qui, tout en étant l'alliée du pape dans son conflit avec l'empire, limitait l'autonomie (pas seulement ecclésiastique) de la métropole dalmate. Sans jamais nommer Venise, Innocent III s'empresse, moins d'un mois après son élection, d'accorder au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie le privilège de choisir son évêque, prenant ainsi le contre-pied de la diplomatie du pape Adrien IV qui avait accepté la subordination canonique de Zadar au patriarcat de Grado :

⁶¹ L'entrée du pape à Zadar est évoquée dans la biographie que lui consacra le cardinal Bosone, secrétaire pontifical contemporain d'Alexandre III, dans sa continuation du *Liber Pontificalis* : LP, II, « *Gesta Alexandri III papae* », p. 437.

⁶² S. WEINFURTER, Papsttum, Reich und kaiserliche Autorität. Von Rom 1111 bis Venedig 1177, in : *Das Papsttum in der Welt des 12. Jahrhunderts*, (eds.) Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Ingrid Heike Ringel, Hubertus Seibert, Stuttgart, 2002, pp. 77-99 ; S. WEINFURTER, Venedig 1177 – Wende der Barbarossa-Zeit, in : *Stauferreich im Wandel: Ordnungsvorstellungen und Politik in der Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas*, [Mittelalter- Forschungen, Band 9], (ed.) Stefan Weinfurter, Stuttgart, 2002, pp. 9-25 ; H.-J. BECKER, Der Friede von Venedig im Jahre 1171 und die Entstehung der Papstkirche, in : *Gli inizi del diritto pubblico. L'età di Federico Barbarossa: legislazione e scienza del diritto / Die Anfänge des öffentlichen Rechts. Gesetzgebung im Zeitalter Friedrich Barbarossas und das Gelehrte Recht*, [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento. Contributi, 19], (eds.) Gerhard Dilcher, Diego Quagliani, Bologna, 2007, pp. 261-282.

⁶³ S. GIOANNI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), pp. 251-273.

⁶⁴ L. BENEVENIA, Il comune di Zara nel secolo XII, *La rivista dalmatica*, 1, 1899/1900, pp. 113-149.

*Capitula sancte Anastasie, ut electus per potentiam laicalem intrusus cassetur
et alius de licentia apostolica eligatur*

Ex illo singulari excellentie priuilegio, quod unigenitus dei filius Jesus Christus principi Petro concessit, et sanctorum patrum postmodum instituta manarunt, ut maiores cause ad sedem apostolicam perferrentur, quatenus, quod super eis deberet statui, circumspecta ipsius responsio declararet. Cum igitur in ecclesia uestra, quae sub obedientia sedis apostolice perseuerans, Graecorum hactenus et ritum seruauerit et linguam per laicalem potentiam preter uestram auctoritatem et electionem uestram non tam latinus quam barbarus sit intrusus, nos de fratrum nostrorum consilio intrusionem ipsam irritam decernentes, ne diutius pastoris solatio uestra careat ecclesia, uobis humiliter postulantibus, secundum statuta canonum et antiquam eiusdem ecclesiae consuetudinem liberam concedimus licentiam eligendi, per apostolica scripta mandantes, qualiter talem uobis in pastorem electione canonica preficiatis, qui non minus prodesse desideret et nouerit, quam preesse. Datum Laterani VIII. Idus februarii MCXCVIII⁶⁵.

La forme de ce privilège mérite quelques précisions : en s'adressant aux *canonici* du chapitre (à travers la répétition de la deuxième personne du pluriel *uestra, uestram, uobis*), le pape semble répondre à une requête du chapitre qui lui aurait demandé d'intervenir pour chasser un archevêque imposé par un pouvoir civil (« *per laicalem potentiam* ») qui n'est pas nommé et qui aurait installé sur le siège de Zadar, sans l'accord des *canonici*, un pasteur « moins latin que barbare » (« *non tam latinus, quam barbarus* »). Accueillant favorablement cette demande, Innocent III concédait donc « au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie » la liberté de choisir son évêque (« *liberam concedimus licentiam eligendi* »).

En invoquant les statuts canoniques et l'ancienne tradition de l'Église (« *statuta canonum et antiquam eiusdem ecclesiae consuetudinem* »), le nouveau pape inscrivait sa décision dans la longue tradition des privilèges accordés à l'Église de Zadar rappelée par Grégoire le Grand dès la fin du VI^e siècle⁶⁶. Il poursuivait également la diplomatie de ses prédécesseurs Anastase IV, qui avait octroyé le *pallium* à l'archevêque Lampredius, et Alexandre III, qui avait mis en scène sa relation privilégiée avec la capitale dalmate lors de son entrée triomphale dans la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie en 1177. Mais cet acte va plus loin : l'évocation de la langue et de la culture grecques de Zadar (« *Graecorum hactenus et ritum seruauerit et linguam* ») est sans doute une référence implicite aux élites byzantines qui gouvernaient Zadar, la capitale du thème byzantin de Dalmatie. Ce privilège de liberté accordé au chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie contiendrait donc à la fois l'éloge de la fidélité de l'Église zaratine au siège apostolique (« *ecclesia uestra, quae sub obedientia sedis apostolice perseuerans* ») mais aussi un appel implicite à l'unité des élites religieuses et civiles de Zadar contre les convoitises et l'agression imminente de Venise. Selon cette hypothèse, l'invocation du souvenir de sainte Anastasie, dont le vocable suffit à désigner la cathédrale de Zadar, révélerait les fonctions unifiantes et protectrices de la mémoire de la sainte. Mais la défense de la liberté (*liberam licentiam*) du chapitre de Sainte-Anastasie me semble dépasser les prérogatives du chapitre et pouvoir être interprétée comme la défense de la liberté de la cité de Zadar à laquelle la papauté apporte sa protection contre les agressions extérieures.

En effet, la communauté civique de Zadar entretenait des rapports étroits avec les principales institutions religieuses de Zadar : avant la construction du palais communal, le conseil se réunis-

⁶⁵ CDCDS II, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1904), n°273 (6 février 1198), p. 289.

⁶⁶ Voir les trois lettres de Grégoire le Grand à l'évêque Sabinianus de Zadar en 597 et 598 à propos du conflit entre l'évêque de Zadar et celui de Salone, dans lesquelles Grégoire le Grand renouvelle « les privilèges concédés par ses prédécesseurs à l'Église de Zadar » (Grégoire, *op. cit.* /n. 17/ : *Praeterea pariter hic portitor quaedam Ecclesiae uestrae priuilegia a nostris concessa praedecessoribus intimaui*).

sait dans la sacristie de la cathédrale Sainte-Anastasie ou au monastère Sainte-Chrysogone et les assemblées de citoyens pouvaient se tenir dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Zadar⁶⁷. Leurs décisions devaient souvent être ratifiées par l'évêque qui jouissait d'une autorité importante, y compris dans les affaires civiles, comme le montrent les souscriptions de nombreux actes diplomatiques zaratins dans lesquelles apparaissent d'abord l'évêque puis le *prior* de la ville⁶⁸. Dans ces conditions, la possibilité de choisir librement l'archevêque (droit que voulaient s'octroyer Venise et le patriarcat de Grado) dépassait donc les questions ecclésiastiques et posait clairement la question de l'autonomie de la cité face aux convoitises vénitiennes. L'intervention d'Innocent III en faveur de la liberté de Zadar permettait donc au pape d'apparaître comme le garant et le protecteur de l'autonomie de la métropole dalmate⁶⁹. Toutefois, l'intervention du pape Innocent III en 1198 n'a pas empêché le sac de la ville en 1202 par ses alliés vénitiens qui détournèrent l'élan de la Quatrième Croisade pour attaquer, détruire et piller Zadar.

En apprenant cette nouvelle, Innocent III exprime un mélange d'indignation et de pragmatisme qui tente de concilier son attachement à la liberté de Zadar et les contraintes de la diplomatie pontificale. Le pape procède en deux temps : tout d'abord, il s'adresse aux armées des Croisés qui avaient pris part à l'agression, en exprimant sa totale réprobation : « Nous souffrons beaucoup et nous sommes troublés »⁷⁰. « Oui, alors que vous portiez la Croix pour le Christ, vous avez ensuite retourné les armes contre lui et vous qui deviez vous emparer de la province des Sarrasins, vous avez attaqué celle des chrétiens, Zadar »⁷¹. « Sous vos yeux, les Vénitiens ont renversé les murs de cette même cité, ont pillé les églises, ont détruit les édifices et vous, vous avez partagé avec eux les dépouilles des habitants de Zadar »⁷². En conséquence, Innocent III exige, sous peine d'anathème, d'arrêter ces attaques et de restituer les biens volés : « nous vous adressons à tous un avertissement et nous vous exhortons très fortement et nous vous demandons par lettres apostoliques et nous vous ordonnons instamment, sous menace d'anathème, de ne pas détruire Zadar plus qu'elle ne l'a été jusqu'à maintenant et de faire en sorte qu'elle ne soit pas détruite avec toute la force qui est en vous mais aussi d'œuvrer à restituer aux messagers de ce roi tous les biens qui ont été volés »⁷³.

Dans un second temps, Innocent III s'adresse aux élites de Zadar pour leur réitérer la protection de saint Pierre et du pape. Il écrit par exemple à l'abbé du monastère Saint-Chrysogone de Zadar, le 2 février 1204, pour lui rappeler qu'il a placé « sous la protection de Saint-Pierre et sous (sa) protection » toute une série

⁶⁷ Plusieurs documents indiquent que le *prior* de la cité, les nobles et plusieurs ecclésiastiques tenaient conseil dans les bâtiments ecclésiastiques de Zadar (*Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, 128 (a. 1091), (ed.) Franjo Rački, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, 7, Zagreb, 1977, p. 155 ; voir aussi I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *op. cit.* /n. 56/, p. 116, note 20).

⁶⁸ Par exemple, CDCDS I, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1967), n°31 (a. 986 ζ), p. 46 : *Ego Anastasius, episcopus testis supradicte ciuitatis. Ego Petrus, episcopus Arbense ciuitatis, testis. Ego Maio, prior predictae ciuitatis Iadere, testis (...)*.

⁶⁹ Dès le début du XII^e siècle, certaines cités dalmates (Zadar, Rab et Trogir) bénéficiaient de privilèges royaux qui garantissaient leur ancienne autonomie : I. BENYOVSKY LATIN, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 114, note 9 ; voir aussi T. RAUKAR – I. PETRICIOLI – F. ŠVELEC – Š. PERIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 56) ; N. BUDAK – T. RAUKAR, *op. cit.* (n. 56).

⁷⁰ CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°17 (février 1203), p. 20 : *Dolemus non modicum et mouemur*.

⁷¹ CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°18 (février 1203), p. 22 : *Sane, cum crucem tuleritis propter Christum, in eum arma postmodum conuertistis, et qui debueratis Sarracenorum prouinciam expugnare, Christianorum Jaderam occupastis*.

⁷² CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°17 (février 1203), p. 21 : *Veneti ergo in oculis uestris subuerterunt muros ciuitatis eiusdem, spoliauerunt ecclesias, aedificia destruxerunt et uos cum eis Jaderinorum spolia deuistis*.

⁷³ CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°17 (février 1203), p. 21 : *uniuersitatem uestram commonemus et exhortamur attentius et per apostolica uobis scripta mandamus et sub interminatione anathematis districte praecipimus, quatenus Jaderam nec destruat is amplius quam hactenus est destructa, nec destrui faciatis, aut quantum in uobis fuerit permittatis, sed nunciis regis eiusdem omnia ablata restituere procuretis*.

d'églises et de terres appartenant au monastère⁷⁴. Mais cette double stratégie révèle surtout l'embaras du pape qui n'avait pas su éviter la destruction de la ville par ses alliés Vénitiens quelques mois plus tôt. À cet égard, il est intéressant de constater qu'il n'évoque pas, dans ses lettres aux Zaratins, la menace d'excommunication⁷⁵ contre Venise et les Croisés mais se contente d'exprimer « l'indignation de Dieu Tout Puissant, de ses apôtres saints Pierre et Paul » :

*Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostre protectionis et confirmationis infringere uel ei ausu temerario contraire. Siquis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum*⁷⁶.

Si les lettres d'Innocent III aux autorités religieuses de Zadar montrent l'efficacité limitée des « privilèges de liberté » et de la « protection de saint Pierre », ces documents n'en demeurent pas moins une arme essentielle de la diplomatie pontificale. Ils démontrent en effet l'attachement du pape à l'autonomie de Zadar, comme le confirme sa détermination (au moins en paroles) de « punir l'arrogance de Venise »⁷⁷ et de « rendre justice par l'intermédiaire de l'Église romaine »⁷⁸. Peu après la mort à Constantinople du doge Enrico Dandolo, le pape Innocent III écrivit en août 1206 au nouveau doge Pietro Ziani pour lui faire savoir que « toute l'Église » était « scandalisée » par la destruction de Zadar et qu'il n'avait pas l'intention de répondre à la demande des Vénitiens qui le priait de reconnaître l'abbé de San Felice de Venise comme le nouvel archevêque de Zadar : « Attribuez donc non pas à notre sévérité, mais à votre offense le fait que nous n'ayons pas encore décidé d'accueillir favorablement les prières que vous nous avez faites par vos légats d'envoyer le *pallium* à l'abbé de San Felice que vous souhaitez voir élu sur le siège de Zadar : en effet, puisque le peuple chrétien est grandement scandalisé contre vous pour ce que vous avez fait contre Zadar, non avons refusé de faire quoi que ce soit pour vous à propos de Zadar dans la mesure où toute l'Église devrait être encore plus scandalisée contre nous, s'il se produisait que, en répondant favorablement à votre demande de lui remettre le *pallium*, nous semblerions avoir pardonné une si grande offense (...) »⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°36 (a. 1204), pp. 38-39 : *Sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus. Specialiter autem ecclesias Sancti Petri de Diculo, sancti Jacobi, sancti Martini, sancti Michaelis de Brauzo, sancti Georgii de Caminani, sancti Johannis de Tilago, sanctorum Cosme et Damiani de Berbino, sancti Michaelis de Pusimano, sancti Laurentii de Locorano cum pertinentis earundem ; insulam Mauni, terram de Berda, terram de Sichouarra et terram de Ceperlanne, sicut ea iuste et pacifice possidetis, uobis et per uos monasterio uestro auctoritate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus.*

⁷⁵ La menace d'excommunication revient à de nombreuses reprises dans les documents pontificaux de la fin du XII^e et début du XIII^e siècle. Une rapide recension des lettres pontificales de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle adressées à des correspondants de Dalmatie-Croatie montre que 18 lettres pontificales contiennent une formule comminatoire comprenant une menace d'excommunication ou d'anathème. Sur les formules d'anathème et d'excommunication, voir *Exclure de la communauté chrétienne. Sens et pratiques sociales de l'anathème et de l'excommunication (IV^e-XII^e s.)*, (eds.) Geneviève Bührer-Thierry, Stéphane Gioanni, Turnhout, 2015 (Haut Moyen Âge, 23).

⁷⁶ *Exclure de la communauté...*, *op. cit.* (n. 75).

⁷⁷ *Gesta di Innocenzo III*, Rome, Viella, 2011, trad. S. FIORAMONTI, (eds.) Giulia Barone, Agostina Paravicini Bagliani, § 79, p. 155 (trad. fr. Stéphane Gioanni).

⁷⁸ *Gesta di Innocenzo III*, *op. cit.* (n. 77).

⁷⁹ CDCDS III, *op. cit.* (n. 14, 1905), n°55 (5 août 1206), pp. 60-61 : *Non ergo nostre duritie imputetis, sed uestre ascribatis offense, quod preces quas pro pallo destinando abbati sancti Felicis, quem uos Jadertinum appellatis electum, per prefatos nobis nuntios porrexistis, nondum duximus admittendas ; quia cum ex hiis, que per uos acta sunt contra Jaderam, nimis contra uos scandalizatus sit populus christianus. Noluimus propter uos aliquid agere circa Jaderam, per quod amplius contra nos scandalizari deberet ecclesia generalis, quod utique fieret, si ad petitionem uestram ei pallium largiendo absque omni satisfactione tantam remisisset uidere offensam (...).*



Fig. 2. Reliquaire contenant la tête du pape saint Grégoire, avec représentation de sainte Anastasie (fin XIII^e siècle), Exposition permanente d'art sacré à Zadar

La colère d'Innocent III illustre la gravité de la destruction de Zadar aux yeux du souverain pontife : l'agression vénitienne marquait à la fois le détournement de la Quatrième Croisade par les Vénitiens mais aussi leur mépris pour le privilège pontifical qui devait sanctuariser la « protection quasi sacrée » apportée par le pape et ses prédécesseurs à l'une de ses principales métropoles dans l'Adriatique. Car c'était bien l'autorité pontificale qu'incarnait l'archevêque de Zadar, comme l'avait rappelé le pape Anastase IV en accordant en 1154 à l'archevêque de Zadar Lampredius le *pallium*

« signe de la plénitude du pouvoir pontifical »⁸⁰ et en lui demandant d'« appliquer fermement les décrets du siège apostolique » et de « lui obéir humblement comme à (sa) mère et souveraine »⁸¹.

La défense et la célébration de la liberté de Zadar interrogent l'historien sur les fonctions de la mémoire de sainte Anastasie et sur son rapport avec la religion civique de la métropole dalmate : d'une certaine manière, sainte Anastasie apparaît comme un possible « recours qui compense les défaillances »⁸² de la cité et de ses protecteurs. Mais sa figure spirituelle et consensuelle ne doit pas dépolitiser la défense de la liberté zaratine. Sous la plume du pape, la mémoire d'Anastasie permet au souverain pontife de radicaliser la défense de la liberté de l'Église zaratine en rappelant de manière implicite les origines romaines de la légende d'Anastasie et la culture grecque des élites hellénophones de l'ancien thème byzantin de Dalmatie. Dans le contexte de la menace vénitienne, le privilège de liberté concédé par Innocent III au « chapitre de sainte Anastasie » vient donc magnifier doublement la mémoire d'Anastasie, d'une part, en célébrant la liberté du chapitre et de la cité de Zadar et, d'autre part, en faisant du pape le garant et le protecteur de l'autonomie de la métropole dalmate conformément à l'héritage de la réforme « grégorienne ».

Ce lien privilégié entre la papauté et la métropole dalmate est pour ainsi dire incarné par la mémoire de sainte Anastasie honorée à la fois à Rome et à Zadar. Il est aussi sacralisé par de nombreux objets de la liturgie zaratine. J'évoquerai donc pour finir l'exemple du précieux reliquaire renfermant la tête du pape saint Grégoire⁸³ dont le règne a marqué une étape décisive dans l'histoire de la papauté. Cette pièce d'orfèvrerie de style roman tardif fut probablement réalisée à Zadar à la fin du XIII^e siècle. Sur le haut du couvercle, l'inscription « *S. Gregorius pape* » est accompagnée de l'effigie de saint Grégoire qui est aussi représenté sur chacune des faces latérales du couvercle et sur la face postérieure entouré des saints Chrysogone et Anastasie, représentant ainsi les liens étroits entre le grand pape, héraut de l'autorité pontificale, et les saints patrons de Zadar⁸⁴.

⁸⁰ CDCDS II, op. cit. (n. 14, 1904), n°78 (17 octobre 1154), p. 77 : *Palleo itaque, plenitudine uidelicet pontificalis officii insignitus, erga subiectos tuos talem te satage exhibere, ut plus pensari onus regiminis quam dignitatis excellentiam uidearis (...).*

⁸¹ CDCDS II, op. cit. (n. 14, 1904), n°78 (17 octobre 1154), p. 77 : *Super omnia studium tibi sit apostolicae sedis decreta firmiter obseruare, eique tamquam matri et dominae tuae humiliter oboedire.*

⁸² Cette interprétation n'est pas sans rappeler des fonctions de la mémoire d'autres saints patrons de cités médiévales, comme celle de saint Ambroise à Milan : voir P. BOUCHERON, Les combattants d'Ambroise. Commémorations et luttes politiques à la fin du Moyen Âge, in : P. BOUCHERON – S. GIOANNI, *La mémoire d'Ambroise de Milan. Usages politiques et sociaux d'une autorité patristique en Italie (V^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, Paris-Rome, 2015, pp. 484-498.

⁸³ *Exposition permanente d'art sacré à Zadar. Catalogue de la collection*, Antun Travirka (rédacteur), Lukrecija Pavičić Domijan (collaboratrice), Zadar, 2004, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Je remercie une nouvelle fois le professeur Nikola Jakšić de m'avoir fait découvrir l'exposition permanente d'art sacré de Zadar. Je remercie également les sœurs bénédictines du monastère Sainte-Marie de Zadar pour leur généreux accueil dans ce temple de la culture zaratine et dalmate qui contient notamment les pièces du trésor de la cathédrale de Zadar.

Sveta Stošija i zadarska »sloboda«: bilješke o »privilegiju slobode« pape Inocenta III. »kaptolu Sv. Stošije« 1198. godine

Veličanstvenost katedrale Sv. Stošije ilustrira i istovremeno pridonosi ugledu zaštitnice čije su relikvije u grad Zadar donesene početkom 9. stoljeća. Kult Sv. Stošije bio je od iznimne važnosti u povijesti Crkve i grada Zadra čiji je jedan od simbola. Navedeno do izražaja dolazi posebice u privilegiju slobode koji je papa Inocent III. dodijelio „stolnom (katedralnom) kaptolu (lat. *capitulum cathedralis*) Sv. Stošije” 6. veljače 1198. godine. Kao nastavak grgurovske reforme, pontifikat pape Inocenta III. (1198.-1216.) bio je obilježen jačanjem papinske vlasti i sastavljanjem brojnih dokumenata u papinskoj kancelariji. Među brojnim diplomatskim dokumentima istaknuto mjesto pripada privilegiju slobode „stolnom kaptolu Sv. Stošije”. Sastavljen je svega nekoliko dana nakon izbora Inocenta III., pružao je kanonicima „gotovo svetu” zaštitu, a Papi je omogućavao intervenciju u slučajevima koji se naizgled doimaju nevezanim uz papinstvo, posebice pri širenju venecijanske vlasti na istočnoj obali Jadrana koja je prijetila autonomiji dalmatinskih gradova i papinskim interesima u Dalmaciji.

Od 1181. godine povećavao se broj venecijskih ekspedicija prema Zadru i susjednim mu otocima, u vrijeme dok se zadarska Crkva trudila održati svoju neovisnost od patrijarhata u Gradu. U takvim je okolnostima novoizabrani papa Inocent III. omogućio stolnom kaptolu Sv. Stošije, 6. veljače 1198. godine, privilegij „samostalnog odabira biskupa koji ima ključno mjesto u Crkvi i gradu Zadru”. Nakon uvodnog osvrta na ranu romanizaciju historiografske legende o toj „stranoj svetici”, u članku se analizira nekoliko funkcija sjećanja na Stošiju čiji titular istovremeno evocira bliski do-dir s papinstvom, autonomiju stolnoga kaptola te slobodu grada Zadra, koju Venecija ugrožava na prijelazu 12. na 13. stoljeće.

Ključne riječi: *Zadar, Dalmacija, Sv. Anastazija, Venecija, stolni (katedralni) kaptol, cartula libertatis, papinstvo, papa Innocent III., grgurovska reforma*

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Kasni srednji vijek
Le bas moyen Âge
The Late Middle Ages

IN DEFENSE OF THEIR SEE: THE BISHOPS OF ZAGREB (1272-1301)

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The last quarter of the thirteenth century saw the weakening and ultimately the dying out of the Arpad dynasty, while the figures usually defined as oligarchs were on the rise. The considerable power and influence the Arpads had over the Church was also threatened. The present study takes the case study of the bishopric of Zagreb in the period between 1272 and 1301 in order to see how the bishops of Zagreb operated in this unstable political context, what threats to church's rights and possessions they encountered and how they responded to them. The paper is organized chronologically and looks at the ways in which the four bishops of Zagreb interacted with the royal court, local oligarchs, prelates of the kingdom, the cathedral chapter, and the middling/lower nobility.

Key words: *bishops of Zagreb, Ladislaus IV, Andrew III, oligarchs, Babonići, Kőszegi, 13th Century Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia*

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was undergoing a period of instability. The period saw the weakening and ultimately the dying out of the Arpad dynasty, while the figures usually defined as oligarchs were on the rise. While the kings traditionally had a considerable power and influence over the Church, this period led not only to the open confrontations between the king and the prelates, as in Ladislaus IV's reign, but to the ever more aggressive attempts of the oligarchs to put the church institutions in the territories they dominated under their control. Modes of this control varied greatly, as did the responses of the people that headed these institutions.¹ The Church of Zagreb was always a strong pillar of royal authority, ever since it was established at the end of the 11th century as a royal endowment.² The aim of this paper is thus to look at how the bishops of Zagreb operated in this unstable political context, when the royalist stance was not always a possibility, and when the local pressures proved highly challenging for any bishop trying to defend his see and its material resources. The period in focus are the reigns of the last two Arpadian kings, Ladislaus IV (1272-1290) and Andrew III (1290-1301), during which time four bishops headed the Church of Zagreb. Their offices will serve as a basis of investigation conducted in a chronological fashion, especially since the topic of this paper has not received much attention.³

¹ See A. ZSOLDOS, *Kings and Oligarchs in Hungary at the Turn of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, Hungarian Historical Review*, II/2, Budapest, 2013, pp. 227-228, and for further examples see A. NEKIĆ, *Društvene mreže i uspon oligarha: primjer Babonića (od 1270-ih do 1320-ih)*, *Historijski zbornik*, 70/1, Zagreb, 2017, pp. 26-31.

² For this see M. ANČIĆ, *Dva teksta iz sredine 14 stoljeća. Prilog poznavanju „društvenog znanja u Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu”*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 40, Split, 2013, pp. 158-164.

³ Practically the only work is that of Lelja Dobronić written as a part of an edited volume on bishops of Zagreb, *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, (ed.) F. MIROŠEVIĆ, Zagreb, 1995, which is at moments no more than a simple retelling of a source material, without any further analyses.

TIMOTHY (1263-1287)

As Stephen died very soon after taking the throne, he was succeeded by his underage son, ten-year-old Ladislaus IV (1272-1290), who bore the royal title but whose rule was only nominal. It was his mother Elizabeth who tried to take the actual power in her hands, but by 1274 she was pushed out by the aristocratic factions that were struggling to control the court. These factions coalesced around the Gutkeled and Kőszegi families on one and Csák family on the other side. They were forming two parties that will dominate the court until 1277, one overthrowing the other in a constant struggle to dominate the royal court, a constellation in which it was especially important to obtain the post of a palatine.⁴ It was this instability that the bishop of Zagreb Timothy also had to cope with.⁵ The first information on his maneuverings in these turbulent struggles suggest he managed it well. Sometime between 17 July and 31 October 1273⁶ Medvedgrad, which was prior to that controlled by the Slavonian bans, was returned to Zagreb's bishopric. This was of utmost importance since the castle was, together with Kalnik, one of the keys for the control of the most part of Slavonia, as it would be expressed in a royal charter some 20 years later.⁷ The relevant royal charter can be dated even more precisely. Namely, Timothy was present at the royal court at the beginning of October, when he presented Stephen V's charter guaranteeing the privileges of the bishopric of Zagreb, which was then confirmed by Ladislaus.⁸ It could be presumed then that during the bishop's presence at the court the case of Medvedgrad was also discussed and the decision was made to return it into the bishop's hands. But whose decision was it? Unfortunately, it is impossible to say anything conclusively. The question, however, can be posed in another way. Who was at lost with such a decision? There is one answer to such question: Slavonian ban(s), who previously controlled the castle. At that specific moment the ban was Henrik Kőszegi, and thus it can only be concluded that the decision was made contrary to his interests.⁹ To this one has to add the case of another castle, Garić, which was apparently in Timothy's control since Ladislaus' coronation, when the king transferred it to Timothy's protection, as the royal charter from 1277 puts it.¹⁰ It is not possible to pin down this transfer more precisely, but it certainly happened in the first years of Ladislaus' reign, from which we can only conclude that Slavonian bans lost two castles which were returned/transferred to Timothy and his church. Timothy's power and strength were thus greatly boosted by these acts.

⁴ P. ENGEL, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, London, 2001, pp.107-108; J. SZŰCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, Budapest, 2002, pp. 391-402; A. ZSOLDOS, *The Árpáds and Their Wives. Queenship in Early Medieval Hungary 1000-1301*, Rome, 2019, pp. 143-152.

⁵ For Timothy's election see M. JERKOVIĆ, *Imenovanje papinoga kapelana Timoteja zagrebačkim biskupom 1263. godine: studija o odnosima srednjovjekovnih središta moći*, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 39, Zagreb, 2015, pp. 27-48.

⁶ T. SMIČIKLAS et al., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Zagreb, VI, doc. 48, pp. 52-53, (further CD) the document is dated only by the year, but the persons enumerated in the list of dignitaries – queen's chancellor Philip's start of office as *terminus post quem*, and the end of palatine Roland's office *terminus ante quem*, A. ZSOLDOS, *Magyarország Világi Archontológiája 1000-1300*, Budapest, 2011, pp. 20, 116 – suggests those two dates. N. KLAJČ, *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*, Zagreb, 1987, pp. 34-36, considers the charter to be a forgery but without providing any valid argument; the author did not even bother to check the list of the dignitaries in the document – which is not suspicious in any way - thus not respecting what is certainly a first step when checking the authenticity of a document.

⁷ CD VII, doc. 30, pp. 36.

⁸ CD VI, doc. 43, pp. 46-47.

⁹ He held the position of ban between May 1273 and September 1274, A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 46.

¹⁰ CD VI, doc. 175, pp. 193.

Ban Henrik Kőszegi's discontent with such decisions can perhaps be ascertained in the royal charter from May 1274. It is the king's mandate to ban's and *magister tavernicorum*'s men charged with collection of taxes to stop levying them on the Church of Zagreb since it was exempted from such burdens.¹¹ Although the burden of *collecta* is more emphasized, and with it the misdeeds of the incumbent *magister tavernicorum* Joachim Gutkeled, considering the partnership of the Kőszegis and the Gutkeleds it can be safely concluded that the church resources were under threat from both of them. This continued in the following period. In August 1275 someone representing the Church of Zagreb was at the royal court, and, among other things, complaint regarding *collecta septem denariorum banalium* was made, which meant that Joachim was causing problems again.¹² But royal mandates proved futile, even though Joachim himself acknowledged church's rights in this regard in his own charter. Timothy was at the royal court in October 1275, dealing with the same matter again. He presented two Bela IV's charters, concerning estate Saint Martin near Vaška, which were confirmed, and the need apparently again stemmed from Joachim's unlawful claims.¹³ This picture can be contrasted with the mode of solving *collecta* problem when Matthew Csák was *magister tavernicorum*. Instead of procuring, as we saw, inefficient royal mandates, the bishop intervened directly with Matthew, and the job was assigned to magister Hab, whom Matthew refers to as his *cognatus karissimus*.¹⁴ The contrast thus indicates that Timothy was closer to the Csák party, which does not have to mean he openly supported them, but only that he managed to establish *modus vivendi* with them. The reason for this should be sought in the fact that Slavonia, and thus the bishopric of Zagreb, was not a territory where the Csáks tried to build their territorial power, which was precisely what the Kőszegis and the Gutkeleds were trying to do there.¹⁵ This local pressure was thus the reason why the former and Timothy had hard time living next to each other.

Besides building their territorial power, the Kőszegis and the Gutkeleds were in a constant struggle to control the court, and between January 1276 and middle of 1276 they had the upper hand in court politics.¹⁶ If we are to suppose a certain level of hostility between Timothy and them, how can one then explain several important donations to Timothy in the February and March 1277? Ladislaus confirmed Stephen V, Bela IV, and Andrew II's charters regarding immunities and liberties of the Church on 3 March – another sign these were infringed upon? – and on 27 February donated the estate Blaguša, some 20 km north-east of Zagreb, where in the next ten years Timothy would build a wooden fortress.¹⁷ On March 22 the king issued two more charters for Timothy – for whom it is indicated that he was in the king's presence then – one of them concerning the donation of the previously mentioned castle Garić.¹⁸

Returning to the question posed above, I would argue that we can be sure that these royal charters were a reflection of the king's own decisions and his own relations with the bishop Timothy,

¹¹ The mandate was directed to "collectoribus marturinarum, undecim et septem denariorum per Sclauoniam", CD VI, doc. 65, pp. 71. For tax system in Slavonia in this period see B. WEISZ, Kraljevsko oporezivanje u Slavoniji od doba Arpadovića do prve polovice doba Anžuvina, in: *Prekretnice u suživotu Hrvata Mađara: ustanove, društvo, gospodarstvo i kultura*, (eds.) P. Fodor, D. Šokčević, Budapest, 2015, pp. 285-293.

¹² CD, VI. doc. 108, 123-24.

¹³ CD VI, doc. 117, p. 130, doc. 126, p. 143., I. SZENTPÉTERY, *Az Árpádházi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke* II/2-3, 1272-1290, Budapest, 1961, doc. 2655.

¹⁴ CD VI, doc. 144, pp. 158-159.

¹⁵ J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 402.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 400.

¹⁷ CD VI, doc. 169, pp. 183-84, doc. 168, pp. 182-183. In both of these charters it is stated that the decision was made with the approval of the barons "qui tunc temporis presentes nobiscum aderant". For the fort see L. DOBRONIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 70.

¹⁸ CD VI, doc. 175, p. 193.

and were not a part of aristocratic power plays conducted in the name of the king. For an explanation it is necessary to broaden the picture and look at the political developments of the first half of 1277. Firstly, it is instructive to take a look at the king's itinerary. After visiting the northwest of the kingdom, the king travelled to southern parts, issuing a charter in his mother Elizabeth's estate Lábod, Somogy county, in January, and his southern end point was, as it can be deduced, Timothy's estate Vaška in the middle of February.¹⁹ After that he was on his way north again, and we find him in another of his mother's estates, Aranyos in Somogy county, on 22 March, when Timothy was in his presence. It was on this date that the news from Transylvania on brutal Saxon attacks on the Church of Alba Iulia surely reached the king.²⁰ For the next information on his itinerary, from 26 April, I would propose that the toponym *Keurus* should be sought in Köris-patak in Vas county.²¹ The second half of April was a time when Ladislaus and Rudolf I made some sort of an agreement, as can be seen from Rudolf's letter.²² Ladislaus' movement towards the Hungarian-Austrian border is thus quite understandable, for it would have eased their communication. The meager information we have on Ladislaus' itinerary is thus still instructive, and shows his preoccupations before the turning point in May. He obviously relied on his mother, an important puzzle in his network of trustworthy men was Timothy, and the king and Rudolf deepened their mutual support.

Focusing on Timothy's relation with the king before May, but also on the subsequent events, it is more than obvious that Timothy was in that group of churchmen which instigated the promulgation of the 15-year-old Ladislaus' to be of age at the assembly held on Rákos at the end of May. It was a response against the growing violence which the kingdom found itself, and the most savage episodes concerned precisely the Church. This brought about the coalition of the young king and the group of churchmen, highly educated and influenced by specific ideas of government.²³ That Timothy had an important place in the plans for the reestablishment of royal power can also be seen in Timothy's participation in Ladislaus IV's further dealings with Rudolf, who was the king's most precious ally at the time, for Timothy was among the envoys to Rudolf in July 1277.²⁴ Furthermore, not only did the king intervene to protect the bishopric's resources,²⁵ but he greatly expanded them. The king donated Garešnica, which was not an estate but a county (*comitatus*), and which was to be held by a perpetual right by the bishops of Zagreb; the donation also secured complete exclusion of any kind of interference (whether judicial or monetary) by the ban or any royal official in the new bishop's acquisition.²⁶ By donating Garešnica, Ladislaus followed in the footsteps of his father

¹⁹ T. Kádár, IV. László király itineráriuma, 1264-(1272)-1290, *Fons*, 23, Budapest, 2016, pp. 19-20. Thus far I agree with the author's reconstruction, but for the next two places of the king's stay I would argue differently. As for *Oronyos*, I follow the author's clue regarding the king's stay at his mother's estate, thus I identify *Oronyos* with Aranyos attached to Segesd, owned by queen mother, see A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 47, 49, for Lábod see 48-49.

²⁰ See T. Sălăgean, *Transylvania in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century: The Rise of the Congregational System*, Leiden, 2016, pp. 121-22.

²¹ For general identification of toponym *Keurus* as Köris-patak in Vas county see T. ALMÁSI, *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár*, XII, 1328, (Budapest-Szeged, 2001, p. 335; T. SZŐCS, *Damus pro memoria-oklevelek - A Magyar Országos Levéltár kiadványai*, Budapest, 2017, p. 377.

²² O. REDLICH, *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Wien, 1894. For their relations in this period see G. VARGA, *Ungarn und das Reich vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert. Das Herrscherhaus der Árpáden zwischen Anlehnung und Emanzipation*, München, 2003, pp. 285-86.

²³ For Rákos and the role of churchmen, among whom he also counts Timothy, see J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 406-9.

²⁴ CD VI, doc. 186, pp. 211-214.

²⁵ Again concerning St. Martin near Vaška, CD VI, doc. 196, pp. 227-228; since the authentic transcription of the charter was made by the Esztergom chapter on 4 July it is obvious that the royal charter was issued in June.

²⁶ L. DOBRONIC, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 70.

who gave the Esztergom County to the archbishop of Esztergom in 1270.²⁷ Garešnica was probably a wealthy *comitatus*, but moreover its geographical position merits attention: it was situated in the vicinity of Garić, from which one could control Garešnica to a large degree. These two were also in the vicinity of other lands of Church of Zagreb (Čazma being the closest), and they formed together a huge complex of lands belonging to the Church of Zagreb, stretching from Zagreb to the county of Garešnica, and making the bishop and the chapter without a question one of the biggest landowners in Slavonia (the estates that the incumbent ban controlled were larger, but soon after this date they would be rapidly seized by the oligarchs).²⁸ Unfortunately, the charter registering the royal donation has been dated only by the year; its *terminus ante quem* is 28 July 1277,²⁹ but there are good indications for the conclusion that the donation was made somewhere in June.³⁰ This decision can be seen as a reaction to the local Slavonian circumstances. During the spring (due to the lack of sources it is impossible to establish a firm chronology, but probably in April) the hostilities between the *societas* of the Babonići kindred on one side and Joachim Gutkeled and Kőszegi family on the other reached its zenith, culminating in the death of Joachim Gutkeled, until then the strongest figure among both opposing parties. His death was a serious blow to his family's ambitions and it strongly influenced the reshaping of power relations in Slavonia.³¹ The donation of Garešnica can thus be seen as a move towards strengthening Timothy's position, for he seems to have become the king's most trusted man in Slavonia.

We are poorly informed about Timothy's activities during the next year, but the first precise information reveals him in the middle of the most pressing affair in Slavonia, namely putting the hostilities and havoc these brought to Slavonia to an end. A charter from November 1278 that registered an important peace treaty between the Babonići and the Gutkeleds opens with a list of a group of mediators, delegated by the king, which presided peace negotiations, with Timothy listed first, even

²⁷ N. TOTH, Hereditary Countship, *Transylvanian Review*, vol XIX, supplement 2, Cluj Napoca, 2010, p. 1082; M. RADY, *Nobility, Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*, New York, 2001, pp. 31-32.

²⁸ All of Timothy's land acquisition in the period after 1272 were prudently conducted, since the new acquisitions were in the vicinity of or precisely on the border of existing church estates. This was the case with royal donations – Faiz (CD, VI, pp. 108) in 1275, Blaguša, Garić – and also in the case of purchases for which see footnote 35 here. Generally, for the estates of the Church of Zagreb and their management (bishop's and those belonging to the chapters) see L. DOBRONIĆ, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkih biskupa prema ispravi kralja Emerika iz god. 1201., RAD JAZU, II, Zagreb, 1951, pp. 245-318; idem, Topografija zemljišnih posjeda zagrebačkog kaptola prema izvorima XIII i XIV stoljeća, RAD JAZU, II, Zagreb, 1951, pp. 171-256.; Gajer, Radovan, „Posjedi zagrebačkog kaptola oko Zagreba u prvoj polovici 14. st.“. *Radovi: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest* 11, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 5-102. N. KLAJČ, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 1982, pp. 304-327, 398-442; M. ČEPETIĆ, Granice srednjovjekovnih biskupskih posjeda Dubrave, Ivanića i Čazme, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III/40, Split, 2013, pp. 217-233; idem, Srednjovjekovni Ivanić - razvoj i prostorna organizacija naselja, *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 33, Zagreb, 2015, pp. 21-48.

²⁹ The charter was written by Demeter, royal vice-chancellor, who held the post until that date; A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 112.

³⁰ The royal charter is very specific when it emphasizes that the king is taking into account what Timothy has done „in regni nostri negociis et coram nostre maiestatis oculis“, which seems to point precisely to Timothy's activities in May/June, and can be contrasted with the royal charters from February and March which just vaguely speak of him as *fidelis*. Furthermore, when the king on 22 March confirmed Timothy's donation of a certain piece of land the former bought and then donated to his chapter, Timothy asked for this land to be exempted from jurisdiction of the ban and the count of Garešnica, which would have been unnecessary if Timothy had already obtained the *comitatus*, CD, VI, doc. 174, pp. 192-93.

³¹ For these political struggles see N. KLAJČ, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 1976; H. KEKEZ, *Pod znamenjem propetog lava: Povijest knezova Babonića do kraja 14. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 2016, pp. 84-89.

before Palatine Matthew Csák, and backed by a number of mostly diocesan clergy.³² The role of the clergy, headed by Timothy, is understandable in an attempt to provide neutral men for the peace negotiations, and besides acting as mediators, these clergymen also provided one of the mechanisms by which the parties tried to uphold the agreement: spiritual sanction in form of excommunication, which was to be proclaimed on those breaching the agreement.³³ The bishop and the chapter also assumed another role stemming from this agreement. The opposing parties agreed that the Babonići and some of their allies would not conduct their lawsuits in front of a ban (who was then a member of the Gutkeleds) or some of his officials anymore, but in front of Timothy or the chapter, which practically meant the dissolution of the ban's judicial prerogatives.³⁴ It is not likely that Timothy consciously accepted this role in order to weaken the ban's authority, its outcome being part of unintended consequences; the primary motive should be sought on a level of short term goals directed towards securing the peace.

By expanding material resources and obtaining a new level of moral authority Timothy assumed another role in the local politics. He built up his own strength by providing protection to the lesser nobility whose material position worsened during these struggles. On three occasions during 1278 and 1279 several members of the Ača kindred sold their estates to the bishop, but these transactions were sales only in form. Behind them we can observe establishment of relationships that were grounded in protection which the bishop provided for those unable to cope with the instability of the political situation.³⁵

Attempts made after Rákos, for a time highly effective in fact, to restore the order in the kingdom and establish the young king's authority confronted an unexpected obstacle in the Cuman question, forced upon by the pope's legate Philip in 1279, and under this burden these efforts in the end collapsed. The Cuman question would transform some of the architects of Rákos, in the first place Lodomer, but also Timothy, in Ladislaus' bitter enemies.³⁶ Timothy was of course present at the synod at Buda in July 1279 with his fellow prelates,³⁷ and must have been present at the general assembly at Tétény at the end of the month. However, these efforts proved futile, and bitter struggles would ensue soon afterwards, and the kingdom would be once more permeated with violence, and even the king himself would be captured.³⁸ The Church of Zagreb headed by Timothy would also have its shares of troubles. Initial problems started when the inhabitants of Virovitica and Lipovac, which were the queen's possessions, refused to pay tithe and were subsequently put under interdict in November 1280.³⁹ In the meantime he made preparations to protect the properties of his bishopric by requesting a confirmation of royal donation of Garešnica and Garić from Lodomer and the legate Phillip in October 1280, and his fears proved more than valid. As he was returning from the legate's *curia* in the middle of March 1281 – which means he spent the period between October and March in the legate's company – he found out that his estate Vaška was devastated, and the same scene he

³² The full list includes the abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Topusko, Templar Girard, Hugo, hospitaler preceptor of Pakrac, and four members of the cathedral chapter of Zagreb: Provost Michael, Giraldus, the archdeacon of Sana, Dubica and Vrbas, Mamfred, the archdeacon of Guercha, and Gregory, the canon of Zagreb. CD VI, doc. 224, pp. 261.

³³ CD VI, doc. 224, pp. 264.

³⁴ A. NEKIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 28-29.

³⁶ J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 417-429; N. BEREND, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c.1000 - c.1300*, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 171-189., P. ENGEL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 109.

³⁷ CD VI, doc. 252, pp. 302-304; doc. 254, pp. 306-307.

³⁸ J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 427-29, A. ZSOLDOS, *Téténytől a Hód-tóig. Az 1279 és 1282 közötti évek politikátörténetének vázlata*, *Történelmi Szemle*, 39, Budapest, 1997, pp. 80-86.

³⁹ L. DOBRONIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 71-72.

found at some other unnamed estates. The culprits, Nicolaus, the Slavonian ban at the time, John and Henrik Kőszegi, did more than that. They took Garešnica and Garić from the bishop, refused to pay tithe to the bishop, imprisoned and tortured some of his men, and Timothy responded by excommunicating them on 25 March in the Franciscan church in Virovitica and putting their lands under interdict.⁴⁰ Bishop Timothy's decision to proclaim excommunication from Virovitica, an important queen's *comitatus*, was probably intended to send a strong political message and to point out to the joint actions against him by the queen mother and the Kőszegis acting in concert. It must have been Timothy's support for the legate Philip that led to strained relations with the queen mother Elizabeth who stood firmly by her son. It would thus not be surprising if the Kőszegis were retaliating for the harsh measures against the queen's subjects, although they had their interest also, as they took Garić and Garešnica from the bishop. In the April charter, where these attacks were described, the bishop emphasized that the Kőszegis ignored the legate's and the king's urges to return what they took. While Philip's exhortations must have been sincere, those of the king seemed as a pure formality, since he placed John Kőszegi as a palatine in June 1281⁴¹: high politics and expediency ruled the day.

Queen mother Elizabeth was given a prominent role from December 1279 as a duchess of Mačva and Bosnia, and from the first quarter of 1282 – first mention in March – the scope of her authority was extended to *totius Sclavonie* (until 1283).⁴² Since at the same time there was a change at the office of palatine, this can be seen as an attempt at reorganization of the court's political configurations, in which the Kőszegis found themselves on the losing side.⁴³ Widening of her authorities also meant reorganization at the local, Slavonian, level, and her new ban was Denis Pécs, while John, son of Junk, became the count of Garešnica.⁴⁴ For Timothy this change only meant that someone else was usurping his rights. Furthermore, in the same period he also lost Vaška, as we see from Ladislaus' letter from August 1282 addressed to his mother, with whom the king intervened numeral times to return it to Timothy, but all of this to no avail.⁴⁵

Royal policy for the southern part of the kingdom changed again in the middle of 1283. While Elizabeth was still titled *maior regina Hungarie, ducissa totius Sclavonie, de Machou et de Bozna* in January 1283, in September she is titled only as *regina Hungarie* in the royal charter,⁴⁶ and in her own charter from November 1284 she is titled *dei gracia maior regina Hungarie*.⁴⁷ I suppose that the death of the palatine Mathew Csák sometime in the spring of 1283 led to the partial reconfiguration of the royal court. His place was taken by Denis of Pécs kindred, who was previously the ban of Slavonia, and in his stead the king gave the post to Peter Pekri of the Teteny kindred, who appears as such in June⁴⁸, right about the time when the king was "*in communi congregatione baronum et nobilium regni nostri*" on 20 June at Buda.⁴⁹ It seems thus that it was on this occasion that the decision was made to relieve Elizabeth of her wide authorities, and as far as the extremely meagre

⁴⁰ CD VI, doc. 324, pp. 382-384.

⁴¹ A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 38), 90.

⁴² A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 167-69.

⁴³ Matthew Csák became palatine in March 1282, A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 22; J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 430.

⁴⁴ CD Supplementa, 2, doc. 54, p. 120.

⁴⁵ CD VI, doc. 105, p. 120, but for correct dating see, I. SZENTPÉTERY, *op. cit.* (n. 13), doc. 3155.

⁴⁶ CD VI, doc. 374, pp. 442. Ladislaus by this act confirmed his mother's charter from 1282, and thus it seems that the recipients felt a need to have it confirmed when Elizabeth was not there to guarantee it.

⁴⁷ CD, VI, doc. 378, pp. 447. She is once more titled the duchess of Bosna and Mačva in the first half of 1284, but at that moment it was an empty title, as Mačva would soon be taken over by Stefan Dragutin, A. ZSOLDOS; Ducissa Sclavoniae in: *Studia professoris — professor studiorum. Tanulmányok Érszegi Géza hatvanadik születésnapjára*, (eds.) T. Almási, I. Draskóczy, E. Jancsó, Budapest, 2005, p. 388.

⁴⁸ I. SZENTPÉTERY, *op. cit.* (n. 13), doc. 3241, gives the right date, 24 June.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, doc. 3225.

material reveals, it was exactly Peter Pekri who took a part of her powers.⁵⁰ Not only was the ban of Slavonia, but he got Garić, and he was the count of Garešnica and Baranja, as is attested in October.⁵¹ This meant that Timothy was far from able to recover Garić and Garešnica, while the king surely granted these with the full knowledge that he was infringing on church's rights. Still, once more the political plans, part of which Timothy was not even closely, dictated the king's decision and disregard for Timothy's pleas.

This political realignment on the other hand also meant that queen mother was not so involved in the political affairs and there was a possibility to reconcile with Timothy. Judging by the queen's promise from 18 November 1283 to return the tithe from the county of Virovitica to Bishop Timothy, the two parties reconciled as similar issues were no longer mentioned.⁵² In June 1284 that deal was confirmed by Ladislaus IV and his wife, the queen Elizabeth.⁵³ Not only did the king confirm this deal, but he also confirmed his donation of the Garešnica county, for which he acknowledged it was previously, on improper requests, donated to certain nobles.⁵⁴ What led to this turnaround, that Ladislaus – at least formally, since we do not know if Timothy really got these back immediately – reinstated Timothy's rights? One could easily look for it in the general mood of the king, in the spirit of hopelessness after he failed to subdue the Kőszegis in the first months of the year.⁵⁵ After he abandoned every hope of establishing his authority, meeting the pleas of the bishop who attended him surely did not present a high cost for the king.

The sources about Timothy's activities after he returned from the court are sparse. The bishop consecrated an altar dedicated to Virgin Mary in the cathedral church in August 1284 and he was buried there after his death on 4 April 1287.⁵⁶ Throughout his life, regardless of the occasional strife with the king, and even when Ladislaus was far from holding the reins of government, Timothy operated in a mindscape where the king was considered to be the ultimate foundation of political order, not only on theoretical but also on the practical level. Finally, in Timothy's time, from the perspective of the Church, the Kőszegis appear as villains, and the Babonići, who were spreading their influence from the region between the rivers Sava, Glina and Una, are nowhere to be seen, but this would change pretty soon, as these noble families were turning into oligarchs whose appetites were getting bigger.

JOHN (1287-95)

Besides one charter that he issued, the only piece of information on Anthony (1287), the next, short-lived bishop of Zagreb, comes from the short text under the heading "*De nominibus et temporibus regiminum episcoporum zagrabiensis ecclesie*" (hereafter "The list", as this short text is known in Croatian historiography), written by an unknown author in the middle of the 14th century, and attached to the *Statuta capituli Zagrabiensis*, whose first version was written by the archdeacon Ivan Gorički in 1330s.⁵⁷ The short remark about Anthony, besides recording the time of his incumbency – only six months – and the time of his death (November 1287), reveals that he was elected to the post from

⁵⁰ For a different view see A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 173, and the literature quoted there.

⁵¹ CD VI, doc. 377, p. 446.

⁵² CD VI, doc. 378, pp. 447-8.

⁵³ CD VI, doc. 400-402, pp. 482-485.

⁵⁴ CD VI, doc. 404, 487-8.

⁵⁵ J. SZŰCS, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 436.

⁵⁶ L. DOBRONIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 76.

⁵⁷ Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, *Monumenta Historica Episcopatus Zagrabiensis. Povjestni spomenici zagrebačke biskupije*, vol. II, Zagreb, 1874 (further MHEZ).

prepositura Albensi, that is from the church of Székesfehérvár.⁵⁸ This could indicate that he came to the post at the intervention from someone at the royal court or through an intervention from the Hungarian prelates.⁵⁹ Whatever might be the case, his office, as could be expected, left no lasting mark.

Anthony's successor in the bishop's office was John, the provost of the Zagreb cathedral chapter, who held the office until 31 October 1295. Due to the several writings from the early modern period John's time has been depicted through two themes: that he was an Angevin supporter and that he was in conflict with his chapter, which supported Andrew III as a king.⁶⁰ These claims cannot be backed by sources. Andrew III supported the cathedral chapter with his donations, and even though there are no sources speaking about the bishop's involvement with the king, there are not any sources revealing any kind of contact between John and the Angevins either. Furthermore, there are no signs that John had any kind of disagreement with the chapter.⁶¹ The idea of the conflict between them is one of the leitmotifs of the work of Baltazar Adam Krčelić. Quoting Ivan Gorički as his source for John's time, Krčelić writes that John alienated church goods and that he persecuted the Church, mostly the chapter.⁶² The meaning that the writer of the short remark in "The List" made of John says something entirely different: that in his time the church lost Medvedgrad and through it the Church, and especially the cathedral chapter, suffered greatly.⁶³ John's support for the Angevins and his conflict with the cathedral chapter have thus no grounds in the contemporary source material, and it remains an open question which written sources or oral traditions writers from the early modern period used in writing about the medieval Church of Zagreb.

The details of John's election are unknown, but it is clear that as the provost of the Zagreb chapter he was a local candidate. There are at least two possibilities. Judging by John's reliance on the Babonić and their men during part of his tenure, the first one is that he was sponsored by them as these oligarchs, following the way they extended their control over the Cistercian monastery of Topusko, tried to influence the most important ecclesiastical institution in Slavonia.⁶⁴ The other possibility is that John's election was conducted independently by the chapter, whose members could have found themselves with the opportunity to freely elect one of their own, as John's election came very soon after the brief term in office of his predecessor. In that case John's open collaboration with the Babonići might have resulted from his realization how weak his position was and the need to rely on the local elites to protect his Church effectively.

This second option seems to me as a more plausible solution. John's connections with the Babonići can be best seen through his contacts with Grdun, a distinguished Slavonian nobleman whose family's rise during this period was closely connected to that of the Babonići.⁶⁵ The first news about these connections comes from 1289 from a bishop's charter. John complained about the infidelity of Ugrin, the castellan of Garić, and the troubles the province of Čazma suffered from him, which was the reason for the bishop to take certain land in *comitatus* Ivanić from him and confer it to Grdun, for the amount of money (30 marks) Grdun previously lent to him.⁶⁶ On the next occasion Grdun was

⁵⁸ MHEZ, 6.

⁵⁹ MHEZ, 6.

⁶⁰ Mainly through the work of Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Povijest stolne crkve Zagrebačke*, Zagreb, 1994, the work written in the 18th century, partly relying on earlier, 16th century authors, and very often on unreliable readings of medieval source material; see remarks in S. ANTOLJAK, *Hrvatska historiografija*, Zagreb, 2004, 228-230.

⁶¹ For Andrew III's donations and interventions to the chapter, see CD VII, doc. 78, pp. 96-97; doc. 119, pp. 140.

⁶² MHEZ, 112.

⁶³ MHEZ, 6.

⁶⁴ For Topusko see A. NEKIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 26-31, and the literature quoted there.

⁶⁵ M. ANČIĆ, *Hrvatsko kraljevstvo u doba anžuvinske vlasti*, (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ CD VI, doc. 548, pp. 652-653.

the bishop's castellan of Medvedgrad and Blaguša in 1290.⁶⁷ If we are to judge by these examples, John was in (financial) troubles already at the beginning of his office, trying to solve them on his own, but also lending money, only to end by fully relying on Grdun, and thus also on the Babonići. What this shows above all is also how fragile his position was in a situation where he had to rely on such support. In June 1291 Grdun came to the royal court and Andrew III issued a charter on this occasion, in which it was stated that Grdun handed over Medvedgrad, which was in his custody, to the king.⁶⁸ Grdun's connections to the bishop of Zagreb and his role as the bishop's officer were omitted. Losing Medvedgrad was, as we have seen above, in fact the main thing that the posterity remembered and emphasized about John's office. Although it was too late, it is not surprising that John tried to pull himself out of the Babonići's hold. There are few indications for this.

John had unresolved business with Radoslav Babonić concerning estate Hrastovica, which the former requested already from the bishop Anthony, and the case was finally settled in September 1292. The estate, which the Church held ever since the time of Bishop Philip (1247-1262) who had bought it, was now lost for John, and although he got 230 marks, the long process of litigation indicates that he fought for the estate and not the money.⁶⁹ John had problems defending Church estates from different directions also. Especially vulnerable were the estates around Vaška, which were the farthest from the core of other church possessions, and which were devastated and depopulated during these turbulent times. The bishop responded by giving these lands to certain nobles to hold them as church *prediales*. This was probably the case with St. Martin near Vaška, which was in September/October given to nobles with whom the bishop previously litigated about the estate borders.⁷⁰ Another estate near Vaška, Gvešće, was given in a similar manner to Stephen Moslavački, member of a distinguished noble family who had a family estate in the vicinity.⁷¹ The bishop gave another estate, Lubena in the Čazma county, to Salomon, son of Gozo.⁷² What these last two donations, and presumably the first one mentioned, have in common is a clause that in the case of infidelity or ingratitude the estates were to revert to the bishop.⁷³ Fidelity and loyalty were thus primary occupations in those uncertain times. It is instructive to compare this to the charter registering Grdun's case. Although even then, as the case of Ugrin shows, loyalty was of utmost importance, we do not find

⁶⁷ For Medvedgrad and Blaguša see CD VI, doc. 584, p. 693. Some of Croatian historians have added Garić to these two, coming to Grdun either in the form of alleged sales transition or that he also held it as a castellan, L. DOBRONIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 85, Krešimir Regan, Plemićki grad Garić, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru*, 4, Bjelovar, 2011, p. 26, and the literature quoted there. However, the source they were referring to (CD VI, doc. 548, pp. 652-653) says nothing of the kind; the mistake should again be seen as uncritical following of Krčelić's writing who speaks of a sale of Garić for 30 marks, misreading the very same charter which he for certain had in hands, B. A. KRČELIĆ, 1994, p. 112.

⁶⁸ CD VII, doc. 30, pp. 35-36: „qui quidem propter sue fidelitatis insignia castrum Medve, quod idem conservabat, nostre tradidit maiestati”. It is impossible to say under whose control the castle was after this date. The first information comes from January 1295; when we see the castle controlled by Andrew III's men, brothers Torust; from the relevant charter it can be seen that Nicolaus and Janinus Torust have been at the post for some time, but it is impossible to establish for how long with more precision; for Torust brothers see N. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 53-55, although one cannot rely on her chronology due to bad datation of several charters.

⁶⁹ CD VII, doc. 88, pp. 106-107.

⁷⁰ This act is registered in the charter issued by the chapter of Pécs; the mention that the estate was given under specific “*condicionibus seu sub condicionum articulis et pactis*” leaves no doubt they received it as *prediales*, CD VII, doc. 90, pp. 109-110.

⁷¹ For the family see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, Obitelj Čupor Moslavački, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstvenoistraživački i umjetnički rad u Bjelovaru*, 4, Bjelovar, 2011, pp. 269-300.

⁷² CD VII, doc. 146, pp. 166-167.

⁷³ “si in infidelitatis vel ingratitude vicium incidere contigerit, quod non optamus, cadere debebunt a iure terre emirate nullo unquam tempore ad eandem reuersari”.

this clause in John's charter to Grdun. It could be thus concluded then that the case of Medvedgrad had a sobering effect, and that afterwards this clause was inserted in contracts concerning *prediales*. It would thus also indirectly confirm the bishop's distancing from the Babonići.

The way that the anonymous writer of the "List" depicted John's time is instructive: while his predecessor and successor, regardless of how successful they were, are presented in active terms, John was presented as a passive figure. While Timothy could rely on the king at certain moments, and on fellow prelates at others, John appears as a lonesome figure, entrapped in local circumstances. It could have been due to the fact that as a local provost and then bishop he did not develop a wide network among ecclesiastical circles. Even more so it could be due to the fact that this period was a time when oligarchs, like the Babonići, were strengthening their grip over more rounded territories, and this hold was more and more hard to escape from.

MICHAEL (1296-1303)

Despite the fact that Andrew III's reign was anything but strong when it comes to Slavonia, he still succeeded to have his candidate elected for the post of the bishop of Zagreb after John's death. This guaranteed that the king had a faithful man with significant resources in Slavonia. Michael from kindred Bő was elected on Andrew's suggestion. Michael's pro-royal network consisted of important ecclesiastics, royal officials and family members, which enabled him to quickly advance in life due to these connections. Before his election Michael was the provost of the chapter in Alba Iula, where his cousin, the bishop of Transylvania, Peter Monoszló, placed him in 1387. Seven years later his brother Peter was given the post of *comes Siculorum* by Andrew III, a clear sign where Michael's family political alliance laid.⁷⁴ Michael was also *comes* of Garić and Garešnica between 1297 and 1303, and chancellor of the king's uncle Albert Morosini, honors and offices that he obviously held with Andrew's full support. He did not have experiences like Timothy, in which changes at the court politics significantly affected his real control of Church's various resources.⁷⁵ That does not mean there were not any threats, quite the opposite. Being the king's only serious supporter in Slavonia meant that he could expect serious clashes with the Kőszegis and the Babonići, and the anonymous writer of "The List" was certainly not wrong when he wrote that Michael defended his Church with arms to the best of his abilities.⁷⁶

Michael's charter from January 1299 reveals that, in opposition to the king, Henrik Kőszegi attacked the chapter's possession, *liberam villam Čazma*, causing significant damage to the Church.⁷⁷ Two among those who were fighting on that occasion *sub vexillo* of Henrik Kőszegi, George and Matthew, sons of Gregory, were the bishop's *prediales*, and because of their unfaithful acts their estates were taken from them. In order to placate the bishop and return to the grace of their lord and mother, the church of Zagreb, both gave to the bishop their share of rights in the possession Međurječje.⁷⁸ Two months later quite a number of George's and Matthew's cousins conducted another transaction with the bishop who was represented by the lector of the cathedral chapter of Zagreb, on which occasion they asserted that they ended up in poverty and famine because of the frequent devastation of *depredatorum regni*, which they survived thanks to the bishop's help. To compensate the bishop, they gave him their rights to the estate Međurječje.⁷⁹ We see a similar pattern to Timothy's transactions

⁷⁴ Andrea Fara, *La formazione di un'economia di frontiera: La Transilvania tra il XII e XIV secolo*, Naples, 2010, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁵ For his titles see A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 153-154.

⁷⁶ "Cum armis defendabat in quantum poterat ecclesiam suam", MHEZ, 6.

⁷⁷ CD VII, doc. 284, pp. 327-328.

⁷⁸ CD VII, doc. 284, pp. 327.

⁷⁹ CD VII, doc. 288, pp. 330-331.

with the members of the Ača kindred, when they were likewise supported by the bishop in rough times, returning the favor by giving up their estates. This meant that the bishop was enlarging the Church's land resources and also spreading in general his influence among the lesser nobility that was impoverished and threatened.

In the same year Bishop Michael gave the estate *Gulynchi* in the Ivanić county to Ugrin. Michael emphasized that Ugrin was faithful to the Church and to the bishops of Zagreb, which is then contrasted with the example of Grdun who is "*hostis et tyrannus notorius dei ac predictae sanctae matris ecclesiae Zagrabiensis grauissimus persecutor*". Thus, in ten years the situation completely reversed, Ugrin who proved disloyal to John⁸⁰ was presented as a staunch church's supporter by Michael, and Grdun, obviously as a consequence of relinquishing the control over Medvedgrad, was depicted as the worst enemy of the Church. In 1299 this was also symbolically reversed in the transfer of estate which was then returned to Ugrin and which John had previously given to Grdun.

Grdun's relations with Michael can be seen as a reflection of the bishop's relations with the Babonići, which fluctuated depending on the family's relations with Andrew III. These underwent significant changes in the period between 1299 and 1300. The change came during the problematic years for King Andrew III as his position was seriously weakened by the aristocracy from within and threats of an invasion from a pretender from Naples. As a result, Andrew decided to reaffirm his rule by approaching the rebel oligarchs, including the Babonići. This rapprochement severely diminished the power of the bishop of Zagreb, and shows another option how church institutions might have come under the influence of oligarchs and thus deserves closer investigation.

The best starting point for the discussion is the agreement between the Babonići and Michael from May 1300 by which the bishop gave up much of his power into the hands of the Babonići. Besides some concessions of territory, the bishop practically obliged himself to help them in all the cases when they were threatened, except when the threat came from the king himself, although even in such a case the bishop was to help them by interceding at the royal court in the favour of the Babonići.⁸¹ The last clause hints at the possibility that the king approved of this deal, something which has never been addressed before. This option can be collaborated by the two royal charters issued on 1 August 1299. In the first charter the king conferred the title of *ducatus totius Sclavonie* and the county of Požega to Albert Morosini, while the second one records the returning of the Babonići to the royal grace, on which occasion Stephen Babonić was given the honor of *banus totius Sclavonie*, which Albert also confirmed.⁸² These decisions signaled the attempt by the king at a reorganization of power in Slavonia that were intended to boost his authority. Still, in May 1300, when the Babonić signed the agreement with Michael, no one among them had the title of ban, which suggests that something happened in the meantime that redefined their relations. This is confirmed by the charter of Albert Morosini from June 1300 where we can see that the Babonići sent him letters informing him about their deal with the king, and Albert confirming this deal. The expressions – help, protection – that Albert uses are pretty much reminiscent of the ones seen in the agreement between Michael and the Babonići.⁸³ This is another confirmation, besides the time overlap, that the Babonići made the deal with the king before May 1300, and that it included a redefinition of their position in Slavonia, the relationship towards the bishopric being one of the most important segments. We can place this change in the context of wider attempts of the king to come to terms with the oligarchs of the Kingdom. Between 1298 and

⁸⁰ This was the same Ugrin, as testified by Michael's statement that Ugrin served the Church for a very long time ("*in operibus sumpme fidelitatis ab antiquo sancte matri Zagrabiensi ecclesie ac nostris predecessoribus demumque nostre assistens persone indefesse studuit laborare*" CD VII, doc. 313, pp. 359-360.

⁸¹ CD VII, doc. 343, pp. 389-390, H. KEKEZ, *op. cit.* (n. 31), pp. 112-113.

⁸² CD VII, doc. 304-305, pp. 350-353.

⁸³ L. THALLÓCZY – S. BARABÁS, *A Blagay-család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Blagay*, Budapest 1897, doc. 33, pp. 69-70.

1300 the king concluded agreements with the strongest nobles in the kingdom, turning to the method of cooperation, if possible, rather than confrontation. The agreement nevertheless demanded a strong renunciation of the king's authority, as can be seen in the inflation of the palatine post: there were seven of them in the first decade of the fourteenth century.⁸⁴ If the Babonići were not eager to obtain the title of ban – it can be supposed that it was offered to Henrik Jr. Kőszegi at the same time – that did not mean they were without requests.⁸⁵ They concentrated instead on obtaining the royal approval to put the bishopric of Zagreb quite openly in their sphere of interest, showing another way – with the support of the king himself – how a bishop might come under the influence of the oligarchs.

Time prevented Andrew III from testing how efficient his new method of dealing with oligarchs was, as he died in January 1301, and these new circumstance found Michael aligned with the papal and the Angevin interests, which would bring him the post of archbishop of Esztergom in 1303.⁸⁶ Rising from the post of provost to the very top of the church hierarchy in the kingdom was a remarkable feat, and it speaks of Michael's skills, connections and his ability to use both. What the Slavonian experience brought to him were the skills necessary for operating in a violent context, where preservation and protection of his diocese was to a large degree a matter resolved through the clash of arms. Whether there was too much pressure on ecclesiastical resources he controlled is hard to ascertain, but fighting with the oligarchs at one point proved too much for Andrew III, with serious consequences for Michael.

CONCLUSION

The present analysis shows a variety of ways in which the four bishops of Zagreb interacted with the royal court, local oligarchs, prelates of the kingdom, the cathedral chapter, and the middling/lower nobility. To understand the world of these bishops is to understand the dynamics of political circumstances which were shaped by a growing localization of power assumed by the oligarchs at the expense of the last members of the Arpad dynasty. Still, even with these political trends in mind, it is obvious that the royalist stance of the bishops did not significantly change. The only exception to this is John, while for Michael it is understandable that he stood by his patron until the very end. Timothy's case stands out, since he still operated in a mindscape of expectations that came under threat as the royal authority was waning, and furthermore the prelates found themselves on the side opposing Ladislaus IV. Besides that, resources and rights of his church were even threatened by one of the members of the royal dynasty, the queen mother Elizabeth. This theme, although with different villains, is something that all the bishops considered here had in common, since all of them had to fight off encroachments on their rights and possessions. This came as a consequence of pure violence, which the period abounded with, through help that ended up as an appropriation (Bishop John and Grdun), and through conscious relinquishing that came as a part of a political deal (Michael in the context of the negotiations between Andrew III and the Babonići). Among the mechanism these bishops used to defend their see, Timothy stands out as the only one who used spiritual sanctions, which can be seen as a reflection of a specific moment, a tide that was caused by the activities of the legate Philip, that is a political moment in which the prelates were each other's main support. Still, no matter which mechanism they employed, it is obvious that it was hard for the bishops to protect their church and its resources against the oligarchs, as numerous examples presented here suggest.

⁸⁴ A. ZSOLDOS, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 231-233.

⁸⁵ The first decade of the 14th century shows that for the Babonići obtaining the title of ban may have even become redundant, A. NEKIĆ, *The Oligarchs and the King in Medieval Slavonia, 1301-1342, Südost-Forschungen*, 74, Regensburg, 2015, pp. 9-12.

⁸⁶ Mišo Petrović, *Papal power, local communities and pretenders: the Church of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia and the struggle for the throne of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia (1290-1301)*, *Banatica* 26, Cluj-Napoca, 2016, p. 28.

U obrani svoje biskupije – zagrebački biskupi (1272.-1301.)

Posljednja četvrtina 13. stoljeća u Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu obilježena je slabljenjem kraljevskog autoriteta zadnjih dvaju vladara dinastije Arpadovića, Ladislava IV. (1272.-1290.) i Andrije III. (1290.-1301.). Usporedno s time rasla je moć obitelji i pojedinaca koje se ustalilo nazivati oligarsima, a oni su, zajedno s borbom za prevlast na dvoru, postupno oblikovali teritorijalne oblasti koje su podvrgavali svojoj sve snažnijoj kontroli. U takvim političkim okolnostima slabila je i tradicionalno snažna moć i utjecaj koji su Arpadovići imali nad crkvenim institucijama, naročito nadbiskupijama i biskupijama, a sve su istaknutiji bili i pokušaji oligarha da, na vrlo različite načine, prošire svoj utjecaj nad crkvenim institucijama na teritoriju pod njihovom dominacijom.

U ovom radu Zagrebačka biskupija uzima se kao studija slučaja kako bi se sagledalo kako su između 1272. i 1301. godine zagrebački biskupi djelovali u toj nestabilnoj političkoj situaciji, s kakvim su se opasnostima susretali i na koje su načine nastojali na njih odgovoriti. Riječ je o temi koja nije dobila odveć pozornosti u hrvatskoj medievistici, budući da je jedino Lelja Dobronić do sada o tome nešto pisala. Rad je organiziran kronološki te sagledava kako su djelovala četiri zagrebačka biskupa u mreži aktera koju su sačinjavali kraljevski dvor, (lokalni) oligarsi, prelati kraljevstva, katedralni kapitol te slavonsko srednje i niže plemstvo.

Još od utemeljenja Zagrebačka je biskupija snažno vezana uz dinastiju, tj. uz kraljevski dvor. To se pokazuje i na primjeru prvoga od ovdje analiziranih biskupa, Timoteja. Bez obzira na sukobe s kraljicom majkom Elizabetom, ali očito i sa samim kraljem Ladislavom, te bez obzira na to što je kraljev autoritet u razdoblju do 1284. godine bio značajno narušen, on je i dalje djelovao u mentalnom krajobrazu u kojem je kralj smatran utjelovljenjem političkog reda, i to ne samo na teorijskoj, već i na praktičnoj razini. Vidljivo je to i iz Timotejeve, kako se može shvatiti, značajne uloge u proglašenju tada petnaestogodišnjeg Ladislava punoljetnim, na Rakoškom polju u svibnju 1277. godine, u pokušaju da se okončaju dvorske frakcijske borbe te da se predavanjem vlasti samom kralju zavede red u kraljevstvu.

Za razliku od njega, biskup Ivan – Antonijev mandat je trajao prekratko da bi se o njemu moglo nešto više reći – potpuno je drukčija figura. Budući da je bio lokalni prepošt koji se uspeo na biskupsku stolicu, njegova društvena mreža bila je izrazito lokalna, te se u početku u obrani svoje biskupije oslonio na Baboniće i njihove ljude, što se već 1291. godine pokazalo kao dvostruki mač. Gubitak Medvedgrada, koji je u ruke crkve 1273. vratio Timotej, bio je od presudne važnosti, te je po tome Ivan i ostao zapamćen u krugovima zagrebačke Crkve. Nakon toga, Ivan se izgleda pokušao distancirati od Babonića, no oskudnost izvornog materijala ne dopušta više zaključaka o toj tematici. Njegov nasljednik Mihovil bio je kraljevski čovjek, moglo bi se reći i posljednji kraljevski oslonac u Slavoniji. To je pred njega stavljalo izazove koji su se većinom rješavali snagom oružja jer su crkveni resursi bili meta kako Babonića tako i Kőszega (Gisingovaca). No, sam kraj Andrijine vladavine donio je i neočekivan obrat, kada je kralj u sklopu pokušaja učvršćivanja svoje vlasti, ukoliko se to uopće može tako nazvati, Babonićima zapravo prepustio Zagrebačku biskupiju kao sferu utjecaja, što je bio još jedan od načina kako su oligarsi ovladavali crkvenim institucijama.

Ključne riječi: *zagrebački biskupi, Ladislav IV., Andrija III., oligarsi, Babonići, Kőszegi, Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, 13. stoljeće*

THE MURDER OF QUEEN ELIZABETH – A CASE STUDY OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL POLITICAL PROPAGANDA*

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The paper is focused on the question whether the Queen Regent Elizabeth was murdered or died of natural causes during her imprisonment in January, 1387. In order to resolve ambiguities the author analyzes content of the narratio formula of the royal charter issued in the name of the Queen Mary on September 14, 1387, as well as contemporaneous literary texts – poem Carmen de Carolo Parvo written by Lawrence de Monacis and “diary-chronicle” of the Zadar patrician Paul de Paulo. After the thorough analysis the author concludes that different versions of the stories concerning the capture and imprisonment of the Queens Elizabeth and Mary were produced as a political propaganda serving the interests of two confronted political factions that formed the ruling stratum of the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.

Key words: Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia, political factions, medieval political propaganda

At the end of the 14th century, the large Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia was hit by a deep structural crisis, which vividly manifested itself as a clash of political factions, ultimately developing into a dynastic war that lasted for more than twenty years. The war started at the end of 1385, when Charles of Durazzo took over the royal throne from the fifteen-year-old Queen Mary, the daughter of Louis the Great (r. 1342-1382). Charles' rule lasted a mere thirty nine days; crowned on December 31, 1385, he was attacked and severely wounded on February 7, 1386, and died from those wounds on February 24, 1386. The political faction that brought Charles to Hungary-Croatia, led by the brothers de Horvathi – Paul, the Bishop of Zagreb, and John, the ban of Mačva (*Machou* – modern day Serbia) – and John de Palissna, the prior of the Hospitallers in Hungary-Croatia, took the murder of their candidate as a *casus belli*. Six months later, on July 25, they attacked the young Queen, her mother – the Queen Regent Elizabeth, and their entourage, on a road near the township of Djakovo (in modern-day Croatia), which was the seat of the Bishop of Bosnia. In the ensuing battle, the forces led by John de Horvathi and John de Palissna overpowered the royal forces, killing the most prominent members of the Queen's entourage and taking both Queen Mary and her mother Elizabeth prisoners, together with the surviving members of their entourage. Six months later, in mid-January of 1386, still in captivity in the fortress of Novigrad near Zadar on the eastern coast of Adriatic, the Queen Regent Elizabeth was murdered by her captors. In the meantime, the political center of the Kingdom was reconstituted by the most prominent barons of Hungary, who accepted as their leader

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Mary's husband, Sigismund of Luxemburg, and even crowned him as King at the end of March, 1386. Queen Mary remained in custody of de Horvathi and de Palissna in Novigrad, and was finally liberated with the help of the Venetian fleet some six months later, probably on June 4 of the same year.

This, in short, with minor differences and, in some extreme cases, wild speculation in commentaries, is the story that has been repeated on numerous occasions over the last hundred and fifty years in modern national historiographies (Croatian, Hungarian, Slovak, Polish etc.).¹ My aim on this occasion is to pose the questions about, or rather, to challenge one of the "facts" in this story – namely, the circumstances surrounding the death of the Queen Regent Elizabeth. To put it simply, I maintain that Elizabeth died of natural causes, and that the story about her murder was a part of "political propaganda" of its time.² In order to prove my point, I will use the "diary" of Paul de Paulo, a patrician of Zadar, as well as the documents issued by the public notaries of Zadar during the first months of 1387 (registers kept by those notaries are conserved in the State Archives of Zadar, where I first met prof. Jakšić way back in 1986, who was then working on those same registers). My revised narrative of the captivity of the two Queens, developed here on the principle known as "thick description", will then be a starting point for some comments concerning the nature and functioning of the political center in the 14th century Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia.

The story of the murder of the Queen Regent Elizabeth hangs in reality on only one contemporaneous source – the *narratio* of the charter of donation issued by the royal chancery in the name of Queen Mary on September 14, 1387.³ However, this document is not a simple charter of donation,

¹ The story, interpreted as a "tragedy", has recently been repeated and commented on together with an overview of Hungarian and Polish historiography on the subject in S. A. SROKA, *The Imprisonment of the Hungarian Queens: Elizabeth of Bosnia and Mary (1386-1387)*, *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae*, 19, Warsaw, 2014, pp. 303-316. Although S. Sroka mentions the "Serbian and Croatian literature" (obviously as a substitute for now obsolete "Yugoslav literature"), it is quite clear from the works he cites (S. A. SROKA, *op. cit.* p. 305, n. 9) that he really did not bother to review this literature. If he had, he would have noticed that the subject has been of no interest to Serbian historians, while it has attracted Croatian historians from the times of Franjo Rački and gained a special status in the framework of meta-narrative of the national history. See F. RAČKI, *Pokret na slavenskom jugu koncem XIV. i početkom XV. stoljeća*, *Rad JAZU*, 2, Zagreb, 1868, p. 120 ff., whose ideas were later revised in F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Vojvoda Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić i njegovo doba (1350-1416)*, Zagreb, 1903, p. 48 ff., and again in N. KLAJČ, *Crte o Vukovaru u srednjem vijeku*, Vukovar, 1983, p. 112 ff. For the way Hungarian and Slovak historiographies treated the problem, see E. MÁLYUSZ, *Kaiser Sigismund in Ungarn 1387-1437*, Budapest, 1990, pp. 20 ff.; P. ENGEL, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*, London – New York, 2001, pp. 198 ff.; D. DVORÁKOVÁ, *Rytíř a jeho kral: Štěpán z Štěpánova a Žigmund Luxemburský*, Budmerice – Bratislava, 2010, 42-49.

² On late medieval political propaganda in general and with focus on Italy, France, and England, see: S. MENACHE, *The Vox Dei. Communication in the Middle Ages*, New York – Oxford, 1990, 98 ff., 175 ff., 260 ff.; *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento* (*Collection de l'école Française de Rome*, 201), (ed.) Paolo Cammarosano, Roma, 1994.

³ The Queen's charter of donation has not been preserved as an original document. It was transcribed and corroborated in another charter, issued also in the name of Queen Mary on the February 21, 1388 – MOL DL 7309. However, the original version of the document that will be discussed on this occasion was still existent in the first half of the 19th century – it was transcribed and then published in *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus et civilis* (hereafter *CDH*), (ed.) György Fejér, X/3, Budae, 1838, 312-322, nr. XL (the transcription from the original is visible through the note readable only in the originals: *Commissio propria domine regine* – p. 322, omitted in the transcription from 1388). The version from the transcription made in 1388 is published in *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Sclavoniae* (hereafter *CDC*), (ed.) Tadija Smičiklas et al., XVII, Zagreb, 1981, pp. 85-92, nr. 67. The differences between the two versions are negligible, and I will cite the version from *CDC*. On the *narration* formula in Hungarian royal charters see D. DVORÁKOVÁ, *Aspekte der Narrationen der Schenkungsurkunden Sigismunds für ungarische Adelige*, in: *Kaiser Sigismund (1368-1437): Zur Herrschaftspraxis eines europäischen Monarchen*, (ed.) Karel Hruza, Alexandra Kaar, Wien - Köln - Weimar, 2012, pp. 235-244, and J. CSÁKÓ, *Chancellerie royale et historiographie dans la Hongrie du XIV^e siècle. État des recherches*, in: *Formations et cultures des officiers et de l'entourage des princes dans les territoires Angevins* (*Collection de l'école Française de Rome*, 518/3), (ed.) Isabelle Mathieu, Jean-Michel Matz, Rome, 2019, pp. 187-208.

because it registers two separate acts. It includes first a sentence for the act of treason perpetrated by brothers de Horvathi, a *decretum* of collective deliberation of the Queen as *acting King* together with her husband Sigismund (who, according to the wording at the moment of promulgation of the *decretum*, was not yet the King, but only prince consort)⁴ and the royal council.⁵ After the sentence (*decretum*) is rendered, there follows a separate and proper act of donation, clearly marked as a different act,⁶ by which the confiscated possessions of the brothers de Horvathi were donated to Nicholas de Gara (Gorjanski), the son of the former count palatine and a close associate of the Queen Regent Elizabeth, who was killed on July 25 near Djakovo. This sequence of different acts is rendered chronologically, but the two acts have rather different formulas of *narratio*. In the sentence, the narration, rendered as the Queen's speech act, is focused on the acts of treason committed by the brothers de Horvathi. It begins with the journey of the two Queens from Buda (today Budapest) to Djakovo, provoked by the treacherous acts of the brothers de Horvathi. In this manner, the account omits the episode of the short rule of Charles of Durazzo. Hereafter it develops along the already familiar line, climaxing in the murder of the Queen Regent Elizabeth, and ending with Mary's liberation.⁷ As such, this narration constitutes the main element of the sentence, providing the reasons why it was promulgated.

In the part of the document that is a proper charter of donation, there is another, much shorter, *narratio* formula.⁸ It briefly narrates two episodes of conflict with John de Horvathi; one in the district of Chereg, and the other around the castle of Požega, in which Nicholas de Gara, who was the recipient of the donation, showed his bravery and fidelity to the royal couple. This second *narratio* is more in line with the usual way such stories were rendered. Generally, they may be considered as brief chronicles that provide an introduction to the dispositive parts of donation or privilege charters. They tell in a brief and objective manner individual stories about the deeds by which a beneficiary proved worthy of the royal donation or privilege.⁹

Seen from this perspective, the document issued in the name of Queen Mary on September 14, 1387, or at least its first part, which renders the sentence in the case of de Horvathi treason, is quite

⁴Sigismund's role during Mary's imprisonment is rendered in the text of the document in this way: *serenissimo principe domino Sigismundo, eadem gracia marchione Brandenburgensi etc. conthorale nostro karissimo Polonorum rege imperante solio et sceptro regiminis dicti regni Hungarie* (CDC, XVII, p. 88). This is quite in line with the fact that the rite of Sigismund's coronation on March 31 1386 was performed by the bishop of Veszprém (ENGEL, *op. cit.*, /n. 1/ p. 199), whose duty by default was to coronate the King's spouse (J. M. BAK, *Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpadian and Angevin Hungary* (1000-1386 A.D.), in: *Medieval Queenship*, (ed.) John Carmi Parsons, New York, 1998, pp. 21-22). On the other hand, Mary's role after the liberation is clearly described in this way: *suscepti regiminis officio, cum rite est* (CDC, XVII, p. 89). As Pal Engel noted "Louis's throne passed to the eleven-year-old Mary, who was crowned on 17 September 1382, the day following her father's burial" (ENGEL, *op. cit.* /n. 1/ p. 195). Although such practice was not unknown in medieval Europe it usually provoked all kinds of troubles - see R. BATLETT, *Blood Royal: Dynastic politics in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge, 2020, pp. 124-154.

⁵The procedure in which the sentence (*decretum*) was allegedly promulgated is described in this way: *Nos Maria, dei gracia regina Hungarie, Dalmacie, Croacie etc. ... una cum eodem serenissimo domino Sigismundo rege, consorte nostro carissimo, prelatisque et baronibus, militibus ac pocioribus proceribus regni nostri ... decretum subnotandum nostro in conspectu vniformiter sanctione iuris dictante proferentibus* (CDC, XVII, p. 89). For the composition and role of the royal council in the Angevin era see P. ENGEL, *Struttura sociale e politica dell'Ungheria in epoca angioina*, in: *L'Ungheria angioina*, (ed.) Enikő Csukovits, Roma, 2013, pp. 133-134.

⁶*Quibus sic legitime et condigno iuridico moderamine per ipsam regiam et nostram maiestatem ex consilio et consensu prelatorum, baronum, militum et procerum predictorum ac decreto et sanctione unanimi eorundem diffinitis et consumpmatis* (CDC, XVII, p. 90).

⁷CDC, XVII, pp. 86-89.

⁸CDC, XVII, pp. 90-91.

⁹D. DVORÁKOVÁ, *op. cit.* (n. 3) pp. 355-356; J. CSÁKÓ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 198-202.

unusual. Its *narratio* is not rendered in objective form, nor does it concern a beneficiary of the donation: instead, it tells the story from the Queen's perspective as a ruler, supplying the reasons why the possessions of the de Horvathi brothers have been confiscated. The effect produced in this way is to render the authoritative "official version" of the events that led to the classification of specific acts as "acts of treason". At first glance it seems that this was of paramount importance for both the Queen and her spouse Sigismund, as well as for those who now stood by their side. The reason why the consolidated political center¹⁰ needed a new "official" version of what transpired during the last twelve months is easy to gauge: previously, in August 1386, the prelates, barons, and nobles of the Kingdom classified the events of the July 25, 1386 differently.

This group gathered under the leadership of acting count palatine Nicholas of Szécs in August 1386 in Székesfehérvár, and formed the "league" that acted as the "Council of the Realm", with its own seal bearing the inscription SIGILLUM REGNICOLARUM REGNI HUNGARIAE. On this occasion, they even deliberated about promulgating a special decree to serve as a "peace treaty" between the warring factions.¹¹ Whether the decree was ever promulgated is still open to question, but it is clear that it circulated, and the text is preserved as an undated contemporaneous copy or even a draft of the document.¹² What is of special interest on this occasion is that on the subject of the events described here, it speaks about "the time of the recent strife and struggle of ban John, prior John of Vrana, their brothers and dependents with the late Nicholas of Gara, count palatine, and his brothers, followers, and adherents". It also clearly states:

¹⁰ It is still impossible to determine the precise timing as well as the form of the consolidation of political center, in the sense that Sigismund took over the position of *acting* King together with his spouse. After the Queen was liberated, she met her husband in Zagreb on July 4, 1387, but for the time being, she still performed the role of the official ruler. Her messengers reached the southernmost city of the kingdom, Dubrovnik, on July 19, and on that day they started negotiations about the form of pledge of loyalty due to the Queen as the city's "natural master" and to her husband (*domine nostre naturali et viro suo*). M. DINIĆ, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke republike*, II, Beograd, 1964, p. 371. The text of the pledge was finalized on July 23 (M. DINIĆ, *op. cit.*, p. 398), while the formal rite was performed on July 24. The text of the pledge is preserved in Dubrovnik archives and printed in *CDC*, XVII, pp. 74-75, nr. 57. The text clearly states that the loyalty is due Queen as "natural master", her offspring and then Sigismund only in the capacity of the Queen's spouse (*domine Marie ... domine nostre naturali ... et suis heredibus ... atque serenissimo regi Sigismundo tamquam inclito consorti*). However, the relations in the political center were changed before August 15, when the notaries in the city of Zadar changed their dating formula, substituting the name of Mary with that of Sigismund. The notary Raymond de Modiis entered under that date a special note in his register: *Die XV augusti. Hic incepit intitulari serenissimus princeps dominus Sigismundus rex Vngarie etc. et marchio Brandenburgensis etc. et dominus Stephanus Laccouich regni Vngarie comes palatinus et ciuitatis Iadre comes*; see Državni arhiv u Zadru, *Spisi zadarskih bilježnika* (hereafter: DAZd, SZB), Raymundus de Modiis, Busta I, fasciculus I, fol. 194. Another notary, Peter de Serçana, entered under the same date a similar note in his register (DAZd, SZB, Petrus de Serçana, Busta II, fasciculus 27, fol. 12 – and here it has to be noted that those two registers are the only contemporary ones preserved in the archive, although at that time at least four or five public notaries were active in the city of Zadar). This change must have been the result of the decision of the city's governing bodies, provoked by a formal notification from the political center. From all of this, it can safely be concluded that the formal act empowering Sigismund to act as the King was performed in the first days of August 1387. This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that Sigismund took a formal solemn oath to abide by the *pactum pacis* concluded between King Louis and the Venetian Republic in 1381, otherwise due from every new ruler of Hungary-Croatia, only on August 25, 1387; see the document issued on that day in *Monumenta Hungariae historica: Acta extera*, (hereafter *MHH*), (ed.) Gusztáv Wenzel, III, Budapest, 1876, pp. 646-649, nr. 372.

¹¹ On the gathering in Székesfehérvár see E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 22-24; P. ENGEL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 198; *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (2019). All Complete Monographs. 4.*, (ed.) János M. Bak (https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/lib_mono/4 - accessed January 3, 2020), p. 302.

¹² See *Magyar Országos Levéltár, Diplomatikai levéltár* (hereafter MOL DL or MOL DF) nr. 52575 (photographs of all the medieval documents from this archive are accessible online: <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/charters/>).

since the aforementioned strife arose not for the contempt or injury of the queen's majesty, but was induced and carried on because of *ancient enmities among the aforementioned parties*, the same ladies, the queens, in order that the state of the kingdom may be restored for the better, should entirely root out from their hearts anything that the aforementioned ban John and prior John of Vrana, their close relatives, retainers, and followers, may have *by chance* committed against the royal honor or that of the queen; and they should confirm this by their letters and other necessary and pertinent remedies, and they should kindly receive these men at the queen's court and should deign to honor and promote them appropriately in council and otherwise by honoring and promoting them to royal honors, which are in accordance with the preeminence of their station and birth, just as the royal majesty is wont to do with other barons and nobles of the kingdom.¹³

That this interpretation was widely distributed and accepted among the nobility, even those who composed the political center after Mary's husband Sigismund took the leading position, can be clearly discerned from the poem *Carmen de Carolo Parvo*, written by a Venetian notary and humanist Lawrence de Monacis, who in 1386/87 served as a notary to Pantaleone Barbo, the Venetian ambassador in Hungary.¹⁴ This was not the last time Lawrence went to Hungary. He would be sent there again by the Venetian government, this time alone, on a diplomatic mission in February 1389, and on this occasion was explicitly ordered to consult with barons and ecclesiastical lords.¹⁵ In this way Lawrence became the "expert" in Hungarian affairs, and was again sent there on a diplomatic mission in February 1390. This time it was calculated that he would be received in separate audiences by the King and the Queen.¹⁶ Through all of those contacts, Lawrence obviously built an informal relation with Queen Mary, which is clear from the "letter of dedication" to his poem. In it, he explains that they continued to talk even after he was officially dismissed, and that at this point, she commissioned him to put down in writing the story of what happened "in recent times" (*temporibus modernis*). The passage from the "letter of dedication" concerning this commission reads: *In urbe Zeucana injunxisti mihi ... dum me Venetorum Reip. Functum mandatis, expeditumque remitteres, ut quae ibi domi foris que temporibus sunt gesta modernis ad secla ventura scribendo transferrem.*¹⁷ The topo-

¹³ *Online Decreta...*, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 304-305, nrs. 5 and 8. Possessions of the de Gara and de Horvathi clans near the township of Đakovo were close by (see F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* /n.1/ p. 36) and it is quite understandable that "enmities" were "old" (*antiquae inimicitiae*) leading to open "strife and struggle" (*rixae et pugnae*). Members of both clans belonged to the aristocratic circle of the kingdom in the 14th century so it is quite natural that members of that social stratum knew very well what was going on between them.

¹⁴ On Lawrence de Monacis and his poem see M. POPPI, *Ricerche sulla vita e cultura del notaio e cronista veneziano Lorenzo de Monacis, cancelliere Cretese* (ca. 1351-1428), *Studi Veneziani*, 9, Pisa – Roma, 1867, pp. 153-186; I. FERENCZI, *Poetry of Politics: Queen Mary of Hungary in Lorenzo Monaci's Carmen (1387)*, MA Thesis in Medieval Studies CEU, Budapest, 2008, pp. 7-11, 33-49. The poem is edited in *Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Crete cancellarii chronicon de rebus Venetis*, (ed.) Flaminio Cornelius, Venice, 1758, pp. 321-338. Contact with the members of Sigismund's inner circle, the political center, is visible in the report of Pantaleone Barbo's mission drawn by Lawrence for the Venetian governing bodies, submitted in April 1387. It starts with the description of talks that took part on April 7 (that was the date of Easter in 1387) in the King's gardens: *Serenissimus dominus Sigismundus rex Hungarie dixit in die pasce in viridario suo domino ambaxatori presentibus baronibus et prelatibus*; in: *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke Republike*, (ed.) Šime Ljubić, IV, Zagreb, 1874, pp. 237-238, nr. 340, April 1387.

¹⁵ *Listine...*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 261-262, nr. 376, February 10, 1389. Among other duties Lawrence was ordered: *Visitabis quoque illos prelatos et barones, quibus nostras literas mittimus, si eos invenies, cum illis verbis, que tibi videbuntur, et quicquid ab eis habueris, nobis in tuo reditu particulariter declarabis.*

¹⁶ *Listine...*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 274-275, nr. 393, February 3 1390: *Laurenti! Vade ad presentiam serenissimi domini regis et excellentissime domine regine Hungarie ... quibus et utrique eorum facta cordiali salutatione.*

¹⁷ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 323.

nym *urbs Zeucana* in the printed version of the poem was corrected by Mario Poppi, who consulted the manuscript Vaticano Latino 11507. The term *Leucana*¹⁸ that he replaced it with corresponds to the medieval royal free town of *Leuche* or modern day Levča (Lőcse in Hungarian) in Slovakia. This identification helps determine the time of commission and writing of the poem.¹⁹ Namely, there is a document issued in the name of Queen Mary in *Leuche*, dated April 28, 1389,²⁰ which gives a rough time frame for the sojourn of the Venetian ambassador. It was on this second trip to Hungary in 1389 that Lawrence crossed the Danube and on that occasion experienced some kind of shipwreck, which caused him material losses.²¹ However, it is not quite clear when and where this accident happened, because the Venetian notary had to cross the Danube twice: first in order to reach both the Queen and also King Sigismund (who at this time sojourned in southeastern parts of his Kingdom after the campaign in Serbia, far away from Levča).²² Then he had to cross the river again on his way back home when his mission was over after the sojourn in Levča. Taking into account that his mandate was written on February 10, 1389, and that he was in Levča at the end of April, it is safe to assume that Lawrence first traveled to southeastern parts around the city of Timișoara, where Sigismund spent most of April, and that he afterwards traveled some four hundred kilometers to the north in order to reach the Queen.

All of this sheds new light on the process of composing the poem – it was definitely written down after Lawrence's return from Hungary in the spring of 1389. His talks with the Queen in Levča gave him material for writing, which can clearly be seen in the scene depicting the arrival of Charles of Durazzo in Buda,²³ or in the way he renders the reaction of the Queen and Queen Regent when they were requested to cede the crown, and when they were left to themselves with no witnesses.²⁴ However, through his praise of the Queen's demeanor – being only sixteen, and yet capable of "sublime grasp" of worldly affairs²⁵ – Lawrence hints at the idea that the talks in Levča also defined the angle for the emplotment of his poem. Stripped of humanist embellishments and flattery, the story remains simple, and points to two main culprits on the Hungarian side: the count palatine Nicholas de Gara²⁶ and the Bishop of Zagreb, Paul de Horvathi, who leads his brothers,²⁷ quite in line with what

¹⁸ M. POPPI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 170, nn. 96, 98.

¹⁹ The problem of dating the poem is tackled by M. Poppi, who concluded that Lawrence wrote the poem in 1386 and then only slightly corrected it in 1388 (M. POPPI, *op. cit.* /n. 14/, p. 170, n. 98).

²⁰ P. ENGEL – N. C. TÓTH, *Itineraria regum et reginarum Hungariae (1382-1438)*, Budapest, 2005, p. 40; the document is preserved as MOL DL nr. 7492 and the dating reads: *Datum in Leuche feria quarta proxima post festum beati Marci ewangeliste, anno domini Mmo CCCmo LXXXmo nono.*

²¹ M. Poppi cites a document from the Venetian archives dated March, 1390, stating: *in altro viaggio, al passaggio del Danubio, subi naufragio e sopportò un grave danno per i panni e le altre cose che aveva con sè.* M. POPPI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 172.

²² See Sigismund's itinerary in P. ENGEL – N. C. TÓTH, *op. cit.* (n. 20), pp. 62-63.

²³ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 330-331: *Ergo propinquant Carolus solemniter ambae occurrunt, curru aurato, pompaque superba, et medium accipiunt...*

²⁴ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 332: *Attonitas discrimine tanto exemplo aggreditur reginas nuntius acer impia iussa ferens, ut cedat nata coronae. Annuit ore parens formidine saucia mortis; dissimulare nequit, sic apta voce locuta: Nolo refutare ingeminat diadema paternum et mihi jure datum. Hungariam, permittite, linguam, exul ad expulsum conjux properabo maritum. Ast iram exhalat senior regina remotis testibus: omnipotens cur non festinate ab alto vindictam in caput ingrate praedonis, & hostis foeminei: ille sui reginas sanguinis, altis ut matres meritibus venerandas, culmine sacro legitimas, soliis didicit depellere avitis.*

²⁵ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 313: *Obstupui, in tali aetatura; sextum enim, & decimum agebas annum; tam virilem curam, & sublimem conceptum, specimenque tam vetusti, & gloriosi sanguinis in tanta animi magnitudine recognovi.*

²⁶ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 326: *Prima palatinus labes & causa malorum editus urbe Gara.*

²⁷ *Laurentii de Monacis, op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 327: *superat crudelia fratrum arma trium immani Paulus feritate togatus. Zagrabiæ, praesul, caput, incentorque malorum tantorum, ad facinus quodcumque paratior ipsis.*

was described in the decree of the Székesfehérvár diet. This point is reiterated again in his “letter of dedication”, with his admiration for the Queen’s courage when she was “being held prisoner by the sacrilegious hands of hostile servants and [her] kingdom was burning in the fires of war because of the *bloody quarrels of [her] subjects*”.²⁸ This same interpretation was upheld by some of the leading figures of the political center, namely count palatine Stephen Laczkfy (Lazcouich among Croatian speakers). On February 12, 1389, his chancellery produced a document in which the clash of the opposing factions was described as “a war between” two opposing sides, neither one being declared as rightful.²⁹ However, this same clash was described quite differently in a document produced by royal chancellery only one month earlier, on January 15, 1389. In it the conflict was described as rightful violent action of a royal official against the “notorious infidel”.³⁰ It is in this context that Lawrence’s decision to omit from his story the details of the imprisonment of the Queens, without even a hint about the fate of the Queen Regent, gains significance.

This omission becomes even more meaningful if we now look at the way several contemporaneous sources registered the news of Elizabeth’s death. First of all, there is the “diary-chronicle” (*memoriale*) of a Zadar patrician, politician, and lawyer Paul de Paulo.³¹ Regrettably, the “diary-chronicle” is preserved only as a “fourth-hand” transcription edited by John Lucius (Lucić), with lots of inconsistencies and errors (probably as a result of transcriptions), some of them partly corrected later and again edited by Ferdo Šišić.³² From his text it is quite clear that the patrician from Zadar had a special relationship with Queen Elizabeth, as well as a personal relationship with her daughter Queen Mary. First of all, his more or less regular entries in the “diary-chronicle” begin with the death of King Louis, and with Mary’s coronation.³³ Prior to this, his entries were sporadic, with a total of nine entries for the period between the years 1371 and 1382. He registered family affairs (birth of son), accidents in the city (fall of a house and fires), arrivals and departures of prominent persons, as well as news from the external world, with their echoes from the city. But with Elizabeth and Mary his native city and its ruling stratum, of which Paul was part, found itself drawn into high politics. On the other hand, Elizabeth herself had had a personal history with Zadar and its patriciate, starting from 1377 at the latest, when she commissioned a monumental gilded si-

²⁸ Translation of Ilona Ferenczi in I. FERENCZI, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 58 (italics mine – M.A.). Lawrence’s text in Latin reads: *tempore quo te sacrilegis hostilium servorum minibus intercepta, regnum tuum cruentis regnicolarum disceptationibus flagrabat bellorum incendiis.*

²⁹ *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez*, (ed.) Tivadar Ortway, Frigyes Pesty, I, 1183-1430, Pozsony, 1896, p. 169, nr. 106: *eo tempore quo videlicet domus prefati Bartholomei in Temesuar existens, in guerra inter Ladislaum filium Petri fratrem Johannis bani ac inter Ladislaum et Stephanum filios Stephani de Lochonch habita, cremata extitisset* (counteritalics mine – M.A.).

³⁰ *Oklevelek Temesvármegye, op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 163, nr. 105: *in bellico conflictu per virum magnificum dominum Ladislaum de Lossonch, regni nostri Sclauonie banum, contra eundem Ladislaum filium Petri de Horuathy nostrum notorium infidelem in Themeswar virtuose commiso* (counteritalics mine – M.A.).

³¹ On Paul de Paulo and his different social “roles”, see I. ANZULOVIC, Pavao Pavlović – istaknuti Zadranin 14. i 15. stoljeća (oko 1330.-33 – 1416.), *Zadarska smotra*, 1-2, Zadar, 1995, pp. 75-111; D. KARBIĆ – L. ČORALIĆ, Prilozi za životopis Pavla de Paulo, *Rasprave iz hrvatske kulturne prošlosti*, 1, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 63-68.

³² “Memoriale Pavli de Pavlo patritii Jadrensis” in I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex*, Amstelaedami, 1661, pp. 423-438. Modern edition in F. ŠIŠIĆ, Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskog, *Vjesnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, VI, Zagreb, 1904, pp. 1-59. A definition of the genre of “diary-chronicle” has been elaborated by literary historian A. ZLATAR, *Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii jadrensis, Dani Hvarskega kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 17 (1), Split, 1991, pp. 241-250, who points out Paul’s description of his mainly public activity combined with self-centered process of writing.

³³ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 5.

liver casket for the remains of St Simeon the Prophet to be made precisely in the city.³⁴ The casket was an object of negotiations between the Queen and Zadar patricians when she, together with her daughters, visited the city in October 1383, during Paul's term as one of the three "mayors" (*rectores*) of the city. According to the agreement they reached on the subject, one of the keys of the casket (obviously there were at least two locks) was to be kept by the governing body (*regimen*) of the city, and it was precisely Paul, as the first among the three "mayors", who took that key solemnly from the royal castellan of the city citadel, as he proudly notes in his "diary-chronicle".³⁵ As far as we know, Paul never saw Elizabeth again, and what is of even more interest here is that he does not even hint about the events that transpired either in the winter of 1385 (Charles' coronation³⁶ and subsequent violent death), or in the summer of 1386 (when Elizabeth and Mary were taken prisoners). When he writes about Elizabeth's death (and I will return to the subject shortly), he simply and coldly states that she was interred (*in captivitate*) in the Novigrad citadel, without explaining how, when or by whom she was captured and imprisoned. This same way of presenting facts is repeated when Paul rendered his visit with the newly liberated Queen Mary. He writes that she was "liberated from captivity" and exited the Novigrad citadel "in the morning" of June 4, 1387. He does not reveal how she then traveled to the nearby city of Nin, but he makes sure that the day he arrived to Nin, Friday (June 7), is recorded. Continuing in the same vein, he then writes down that he "spoke" with the Queen on Saturday (June 8), and left Nin on next Monday (June 10), being formally "dismissed" by her,³⁷ which implies that he was probably there on a formal mission.

As is by now clear from what has been said, Paul did not feel the urge to concatenate into a full story the facts he recorded, nor did he give any explanations. His text is dry and coldly registers the

³⁴ Members of the Zadar patriciate, a group of five, played a crucial role in the commissioning, planning, and execution of the work on the casket, performed by goldsmith Francis from Milan. See N. JAKŠIĆ, *Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska arca d'oro*, *Ars Adriatica*, 4, Zadar, 2014, pp. 95-124, who also gives convincing interpretation of the scenes depicted on the sides of the casket. The casket became one of the symbols of the Croatian/Dalmatian medieval culture and as such was the subject of numerous papers and no less than three monographs. The one still relevant being I. PETRICIOLI, *St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar*, Zagreb, 1983.

³⁵ Paul notes in his "diary-chronicle" that October 24, 1383, is the date when Elizabeth and her daughters arrived in Zadar; F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 6. He does not mention the negotiations but he notes that Elizabeth ordered the ban (viceroy) to take one of the keys of the casket; F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 7: *Die ultimo mensis octobris domina regina antedicta praecepit domino (Stephano) bano praedicto, ut acciperet unam clavem arcae argentae super arcam Sancti Simeonis*; F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 8: *Die 16. mensis novembris dominus Vladislavus, castellanus et vicarius Iadrae, praesentavit nobis pro parte dominarum reginarum antedictarum clavem arcae praedicti Sancti Simeonis, ut per regimen servaretur, et data fuit mihi Paulo de Paulo, tunc rectori, praedicta clavis, ita quod primus rector qui incoepit servare dictam clavem, mandato dominarum reginarum praedictarum, ego fui*. A very late echo of the negotiations comes from 1455 when one citizen of Zadar deposited his formal testimony remembering the advent of Elizabeth "circa 1380", when rumors spread about her intention to take away the "body of the saint" from the city. See N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 116. Distribution of the keys would not signify the end of the affair. The following year, the Queen's representatives commissioned a special iron grille to be mounted in front of the chapel of St Simeon, where the casket and the sarcophagus with the saint's body were located; see N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 117. Paul, however, does not write about that.

³⁶ This seems even more strange when we know that the Zadar commune wrote a letter to Queen Margaret, wife of Charles de Durazzo, with information concerning her husband's coronation. That letter reached Naples on January 21, 1386 - *Anno domini MCCCLXXXVI die dominica XXI ianuarii VIII Ind. universitas Iadare de Sclavonia scripserunt nova domine regine Margarite, quomodo rex Karolus erat coronatus in regem Ungarie, de voluntate domine regine Ungarie, et omnium prelatorum, comitum et baronum, in ora terciarum in civitate Albe regalis, ubi coronatur reges Ungarie, et ibi sePELLIUNTUR quando moriuntur. Et eodem sero facte (sic) fuerunt in civitate Neapolis magna luminaria*. See *Chronicon Siculum incerti auctoris ab anno 340 ad annum 1396*, (ed.) Giuseppe de Blasiis, Neapoli, 1887, p. 63.

³⁷ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 11: *Die 4. nensis iunii de mane serenissima princeps et domina nostra naturalis, domina Maria regina Ungariae, liberata fuit a captivitate et exivit de castro Novigradi, in quo detinebatur; et die veneris sequentis ivi ad (civitatem) Nonam, et die crostino, die sabbati, locutus fui maiestati suae, et die lunae immediate recessi a Nona, licentiatu ab ea*.

facts as they come by, at best formatting them into some sort of episodes or “units of information” (in the remainder of the text I will not use quotation marks when I speak about them) regarding specific persons or protracted events. From the fact that he states the days of the week when he writes about his sojourn in the city of Nin, it seems safe to conclude that in some cases his habit was to record facts or episodes when his memory was still fresh and clear, but as we will see shortly, that was not the rule. It is no surprise then that he handled the information about Elizabeth’s death in the same inconsistent way. Here he linked together two disparate units of information only through the fact that the later one began the day after the first one ended. Paul thus formulated a unit from the information concerning the whereabouts of the Archbishop of Zadar between 1384 and 1386. He ended that unit by writing that on August 18, 1386, the Archbishop left his city to visit the nearby island of Pag, returning to Zadar on Thursday, August 20. With the new sentence Paul started writing about the fate of the Queens, opening this information unit with the fact that on August 21 (the day after the Archbishop returned from the island of Pag), the person whom he usually calls „ban“ (John de Horvathi, the former ban of Mačva) returned to Zadar. The sentence then continues in a surprising manner, making a temporal leap of five months – the same person left Zadar on January 13, 1387, only to be back on January 16. Precisely on that day, but not explicitly connected to the ban’s return, arrived the news of Elizabeth’s death.³⁸ Apart from the quite unusual temporal leap of five months in the second sentence, the dates and the days of the week in the first sentence are inconsistent – August 20, 1386, was not Thursday but Sunday. In his edition F. Šišić tried to salvage the data rendered in this messy way by dismantling Paul’s units of information and ordering the extracted facts chronologically, regardless of their original composition. So between the parts of the second sentence he interjected a good deal of text extracted from other units of information concerning the events from November 23 and 26, as well as December 10, 1386.³⁹ As is visible from this argumentation, Šišić’s edition of Paul’s “diary-chronicle” is in fact a peculiar “work of fiction”, and consequently his interpretation of the text can be used by modern historians, but only very cautiously, and with an eye on the text as it is rendered in Lucius’ edition. It is only there that we can see how Paul composed his information unit concerning the fate of the Queens.

The text rendered by Lucius but using modern orthography reads as follows:⁴⁰

Die sequenti (i.e. 21 mensis augusti) reversus est Iadram banus et die 13 ianuaris 1387 recessit, et die 16 eiusdem mensis reversus est Iadram. Eodem die hoc est 16 ianuaris applicuit novum quod domina regina senior obiit in castro Novigrad in captivitate. Die 22 februaris mensis dominus episcopus Sgrabiensis et comes Thomas frater domini prioris et bani iter arripuerunt versus Apuliam cum quibus ivit dominus Paulus de Georgiis et certi alii nobiles de Iadra et cras

³⁸ The text in Lucius’ edition runs as follows: 1386. Die 18. Aug. idem D. Archiepiscopus ivit Pagum die Martis 20. mensis post vespervas idem D. Archiep. reversus est Iadram. Die sequenti reversus est Iadram B. & die 13. Ianuar. 1387. Recessit, & die 16. ejusdem mens. Reversus est Iad. eodem die hoc est 16. Ian. applicuit novum, quod D.R. senior obiit in Castro Novigrad in captivitate; I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 424.

³⁹ The version of F. Šišić looks like this (F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* /n. 32/, pp. 9-10):
1386.

...

Die 18. mensis augusti idem dominus archiepiscopus ivit Pagum. Die martis 21. Mensis (augusti) post vespervas, idem dominus archiepiscopus reversus est Iadram.

Die sequenti (22. mensis augusti) reversus est Iadram banus.

Die 23. mensis novembris ...

Die 26. mensis novembris ...

Die lunae 10. mensis decembris ...

1387.

Die 13. mensis ianuarii recessit (banus) et die 16. eiusdem mensis reversus est Iadram. Eodem die, hoc est 16. mensis ianuarii, applicuit novum, quod domina regina senior obiit in castro Novigradi in captivitate.

⁴⁰ I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 424.

die sequenti recessit versus Chroatiam dominus Iohannes banus. 1387 die sabbati 9 februaris fertur quod corpus praedictae dominae reginae fuit portatum Iadram et repositum in monasterio sancti Grisogonis. Eodem anno die 5 martii hora tertiarum fuit in Iadra terraemotus magnus. 1387 die 4 mensis iunii de mane serenissima princeps et domina nostra naturalis domina Maria regina Vngariae liberata fuit a captivitate et exivit de castro Novigrad in quo detinebatur, et die veneris sequentis ivi ad eam Nonam et die crastina die sabbathi locutus fui maiestati suae, et die lunae immediate recessi a Nona licentiatu ab ea. Postea die sabbathi inde sequenti die scilicet 15 praedicti mensis recessi a Nona cum galeis Venetorum et applicuit Segniam cras die dominico, unde recessit die lunae prima iulii et die iovis in nomine sanctae Trinitatis conjunxit se cum rege illustre consorte ejus.

This makes it easier to see what was worth Paul's attention and how he composed this unit of information:

1. Ban John de Horvathi returned from his journey to Zadar on August 21, 1386. It is safe to assume that John probably went to Ancona, carrying the heads of Nicholas de Gara, de Gara's nephew, and Blasé Forgach, who were beheaded on July 25 near Djakovo. He also brought the royal flag taken from the carriage of the two Queens. It seems that from Ancona he sent two messengers to deliver the heads, the flag, and his letter to the governing body of the city of Florence.⁴¹
2. At the beginning of 1387 John de Horvathi was in Zadar again (or still – at this point it is irrelevant), and he left the city on January 13, only to return on January 16. With him “arrived” the news that Elizabeth *had died*. The only way to explain this is to assume that he rode to Novigrad, probably with an intent to go somewhere else, but was surprised by the death of the Queen Regent so that he had to go back and bring the news to his associates (but not to the general public). Paul de Paulo was not a member of John's circle, but other patricians were (see nr. 3), and it is in this indirect way (*applicuit novum*) that Paul de Paulo became aware of the news.
3. Members of the circle of John de Horvathi, his brother, the Bishop of Zagreb, Paul, and the brother of Prior John de Palissna, Thomas, left Zadar on February 22, 1387, with an intention to go to Naples. Their trip was obviously connected to the fact that the Queen Regent had died a month before that. A member of their entourage was Paul de Georgiis, one of the leaders of Zadar's patricians,⁴² together with some others whom Paul did not mention by name. John de Horvathi,⁴³ on the other hand, left the city the following day, heading towards “Croatia”

⁴¹ The content of John's letter are rendered by Florentine chronicler Naddo de Montecatini: *alli 25 d'Agosto detto per due Ungheri mandati per lo detto Giambano ed altri gentiluomini il detto stendardo tolto dalla carretta predetta e le dette tre teste giunsono in Firenze mandate alli signori priori con lettere a loro ed alli capitani delle parti; le quali lettere significavano la detta sconfitta, presura e morte per loro fatta per vendetta della morte del giusto sangue re Carlo e che rea Margherita(!?) del suo padre tenevano ad hanno con gran guardia: della vecchia non dice la lettera che fatto ne hanno. Poi dice che mandano il detto stendardo e teste quà a chiarezza della detta vendetta e del mandarle a Napoli ella reina, donna che fu del re Carlo, se piace alli signori priori, e se a loro non piace non si mandino. Chronicle Fiorentina di ser Naddo da Montecatini e del cavaliere Iacopo Salviati (Delizie degli eruditi toscani XVIII), (ed.) Ildefonso di San Luigi, Firenze, 1784, p. 87. Florentines decided to send the heads to Naples and they were there before September 16, 1386 – on that day they were paraded on the streets of the city on a small cart pulled by a donkey: *Delata fuerunt Neapolim tria capita Ungarorum, et asserebatur esse capita magni comitis Ungarie, et Fulcarii Balasii qui percussit regem, et tercius vocabatur Care senese (sic), et portate (sic) fuerunt cum quadam carreptam per civitatem Neapolis cum quodam somerio, et postea fuerunt posita in foro Neapolis. Chronicon Siculum, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 65. On all of this see also A. CUTOLO, Re Ladislao d'Angiò-Durazzo I, Napoli, 1936, pp. 65-67.**

⁴² Paul de Georgiis was one of the five patricians, always the first one to be mentioned, who oversaw the making of the St Simeon casket commissioned by Elizabeth in 1377. N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 118.

⁴³ In Paul's text *Iohannes banus* is always John de Horvathi, while his namesake John de Palissna is differentiated with the title *prior et banus*.

(here it clearly means hinterland of the city), probably resuming whatever it was that was disturbed by Elizabeth's death. All this goes to prove that the de Horvathi – de Palissna faction had a strong basis and backing in the city, which makes Zadar the real center of their activity. 4. Somebody revealed (*fertur*) to Paul de Paulo that the body of the Queen Regent was brought to Zadar on February 9, 1387, and interred in the monastery of St. Grisogonus – which corroborates the notion that the death of the Queen Regent was kept as a secret (the fact did not become public before the last days of February, 1387).

5. Queen Mary was liberated and *exited* (*exivit*) the citadel in Novigrad, where she was held in captivity, on the morning of June 4, 1387 (Thursday). Paul traveled to the city of Nin on Friday (June 7), and was received in audience by the Queen on the following day, Saturday (June 8), only to be formally dismissed on Monday (June 10).⁴⁴ He was obviously there in an official capacity, but it remains unclear whether there were any unofficial talks, although it seems very probable because he stayed in Nin for two more days.

6. Queen Mary left the city of Nin on following Saturday, June 15,⁴⁵ aboard one of Venetian ships (*galeis*), and it is here that Venetian ships are mentioned for the first time (she exited from imprisonment eleven days earlier). The next day she arrived to the city of Senj, where she stayed until Monday, July 1,⁴⁶ when she left to join her husband on Tuesday (July 4, probably in Zagreb).⁴⁷

Seen in this way, Paul's text reveals a lot. First of all, it makes it clear that in the summer of 1386, the city of Zadar was already the main hub of the entire de Horvathi – de Palissna enterprise. There, they had found powerful city patricians sympathetic to their cause (the case of Paul de Georgiis). What is even more deserving of attention on this occasion is that de Horvathi and de Palissna tried to conceal the Queen Regent's death that occurred between January 13 and 16, 1387. They even secretly brought her body to the city and interred it in the monastery, which was under patrician patronage and control, keeping it a secret so successfully that even Paul de Paulo as one of the important persons of the governing stratum did not know about it (he was obviously not there on the occasion, otherwise he would not have used the formulation *fertur* meaning "being told"). Finally, there are two more things of utmost importance here. We must start from the conclusion that the whole unit of information that Paul composed was definitely written down after Queen Mary met her husband at the beginning of July 1387, which means subsequently to speaking with her directly in the city of Nin. The text, however, does not even hint to the idea that violence had been involved in the death of Elizabeth, nor is there any mention of Venetians when he writes about Mary's release from prison. Finally, in Paul's text there is no word or hint about the eventual military clash resulting in her release – apparently, she simply *exited* prison on Monday morning!

However, ten years later Paul was again in a situation to write about the death of the Queen Regent Elizabeth. This happened on the occasion of Sigismund's return from Constantinople, where he found refuge after the catastrophe in battle with Turks at Nicopolis on September 25, 1386. It can

⁴⁴ The dates and days of the week come from Paul's text, while the explanations in parentheses are mine.

⁴⁵ Queen Mary was still in the city of Nin on June 13, 1387, and on that day, the charter of privilege for newly appointed royal admiral and count of the islands of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula, a Zadar patrician Jacob de Cesamis, was issued in her name. He was able to present the charter before the Zadar notary on the same day – *vt patet patentibus litteris serenissime principis et domine nostre domine Marie dei gratia regine Vngarie, Dalmatie, Croatie etc. datis Nove sub impressione sui sigilli M CCC LXXXVII indiccione X, die XIII iunii*; see DAZd, SZB, Raymundus de Modiis, Busta I, Fasciculus I, fol. 187-187', June 13, 1387.

⁴⁶ On June 22, 1387, a charter of donation for the Cannon of the Zagreb chapter, Gregory de Rawen, was issued in the Queen's name in Senj. CDC, XVII, pp. 70-71, nr. 52.

⁴⁷ Paul's dates and chronology are here watertight and without flaw, which means that he had written down all the data shortly afterwards.

be assumed that Sigismund's renewed interest in the circumstances surrounding the death of Queen Elizabeth was awoken during his return trip from Constantinople. This is clear even from Paul's text, or rather from his unit of information dedicated to the relations of the King to his city, which chronologically covered the period from January 1396 to February 1397.⁴⁸ Although Paul does not state it plainly, it is provable beyond any doubt that Sigismund sailed back from Constantinople at least part of the way on the galley provided by the commune of Zadar. That galley was prepared for the King's expedition against the Turks, and it left Zadar heading east in July 1396.⁴⁹ It is hard to tell whether the galley was on the mouth of the Danube at the time of the catastrophe at Nicopolis or if it stayed in Constantinople, but it was definitely not prepared to host the King and his entourage.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, after the ship was replenished with luxury items, the King sailed from Constantinople with the escort of three Venetian galleys,⁵¹ only to leave the Zadar galley behind in the Venetian port of Modon (modern day Methoni in Peloponnese, Greece). Namely, the Venetian dispatches register the arrival of that ship in Modon, but when the King arrived in Dubrovnik on December 22, 1396, only Venetian galleys are mentioned.⁵² This in turn explains why the Zadar galley arrived at home port as late as February 27, 1397.

That something was "wrong" with Zadar in the King's perception at the time he entered the Adriatic becomes visible if the final leg of his return trip is considered: he visited Dubrovnik and Split, but bypassed Zadar, obviously on purpose, only to disembark in the port of Nin some 20 kilometers to the north of Zadar.⁵³ From Nin he rode to the city of Knin and from there summoned

⁴⁸ Although entries in his "diary" for those years are chronologically much more consistent and episodes have the contours of a story, Paul never acquired the ability to concatenate them in a consequential manner; see the text in I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 429-430. The sequence of the episodes that Paul narrates goes like this: resolution of the conflict between the commune of Zadar and inhabitants of the island of Pag by the royal commission; details on the departure and arrival of the galley that went east in the King's service; participation of the Zadar nobles in the resolution of territorial conflict between the commune of Split and the royal fortress of Klis; beginning of ecclesiastical indulgence connected with the remains of St Simeon the Prophet; resolution of the conflict between the city's political factions; royal investigation concerning the circumstances of Elizabeth's death and the de Horvathi – de Palissna mutiny; murder of the former count palatine Stephen Lackfi; royal seizure of the possessions of some Zadar nobles.

⁴⁹ Departure of the Zadar galley on July 26, 1386, heading toward eastern Mediterranean "in the King's service" (*causa eundi ad partes orientales ad servitium domini nostri regis*), is duly noted by Paul de Paulo, who provides even the names of important figures onboard as well as the date of the return of the ship to Zadar, February 27, 1397; see his original entry in I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 428. Although the entry was in its present form written sometime after the fact (it starts with words *Die 20 mensis iulii proxime sequenti*) it is clear that the Zadar patrician had had some notes before him and was able to report exact timing of the departure ("early in the morning" – *in crepusculo noctis*).

⁵⁰ This can be deduced from the fact that the captain of the ship, John de Soppe, and the ambassador of the commune, Raphael de Sorba, also named as such by Paul de Paulo, were forced to replenish the ship in Constantinople with the "textiles, biscuit, wine, meat, and other things", worth quite a large sum of 250 ducats, bought on credit from Genoese merchants in Pera. The debt was repaid by the Zadar commune on May 14, 1398; see DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta II, Fasciculus VII, fol. 40v-41.

⁵¹ On this see the Venetian dispatches from December 16 and 27, 1396, in *Listine*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 393, nr. 541; p. 394, nr. 543.

⁵² See N. LONZA, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1395-1397*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik, 2011, p. 265.

⁵³ Disembarking point of the King's return trip is stated in his final ruling in the case of commune of Zadar vs. islanders of Pag issued on February 25, 1397 (CDC, XVIII, pp. 189-194, nr. 130; here p. 190: *nobis anno imminenti ad Dalmacie et Croacie regnorum nostrorum predictorum climata presertim Nonam et extremo Tininum ciuitates nostras regales accedentibus*), while stopovers at Dubrovnik and Split are registered in minutes of Dubrovnik governing councils (N. LONZA, *op. cit.* /n. 52/, pp. 265 ff.) as well as in the King's letter dated Januar 4, 1397, in Split; see *Listine*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 395, nr. 543.

Zadar nobles to come before him, to answer the charges regarding what happened ten years ago.⁵⁴ Paul de Paulo simply registers Sigismund's accusations and demands – the King wanted those among the Zadar nobility “who were responsible for or participated in the death of the late lady Elizabeth, his mother-in-law, and those who wanted to introduce the alien rule in Dalmatia, as well as those who took part in what John de Palissna, former prior in Vrana, and ban John had done”.⁵⁵ The case was to be adjudged by the bishop of Senj, Leonard, and in order to fulfill his request he ordered ten of the most prominent Zadar noblemen together with three specifically named members of the clan of de Grisogonis to appear in Knin. Paul does not tell how the ten “most prominent nobles” (*potiores nobiles*) were selected, but he gives the names of all of them. They really arrived in Knin, together with three of de Grisogonis, as well as Paul himself who was also ordered to appear before the King. Although Paul does not say it explicitly, it is clear that none of those who appeared in Knin were found guilty of the charges and they all returned safely to Zadar. Also, Paul does not write it explicitly but it is obvious that the charges brought out by the King had some foundations. It becomes clear when he renders the information about the royal seizure of the possessions of the brothers de Matafaris, “royal knights” Guido and Louis as well as the third brother Peter, the archbishop of Zadar, and Jacob de Raduchis (*legum doctor*).⁵⁶ In hindsight it can be inferred that they in fact were the real target of the King's action, but it seems that they were informed what to expect and fled the city in time. In this way it was impossible to include them among those “most prominent” who appeared before the King in Knin. Realizing that the main culprits, as far as he was concerned, slipped through his “net”, Sigismund issued, on February 3, 1397, a written formal order for the confiscation of all the property of the brothers de Matafaris, as well as the property of Jacob de Raduchis, and he left Knin three days later.

In order to ascertain the reality behind Sigismund's accusations with the meager sources at our disposal and with the idea to shed some new light on Paul's information covering the first six months of 1387, the only possible way is to compile the list of the city's “mayors” (*rectores*) who served between July, 1386, and July, 1387, and to then see whether and in what way it corresponds with the names of those who were accused of treason. In this period the office of “mayors”, held by three at any given time, was the highest in the commune, and was held for two months. That means that for the designated period we have six turns and, at least theoretically, 18 persons who served in that capacity. However, when the full list is compiled it becomes clear that there were three persons who served more than one term during this period,⁵⁷ and it was Jacob de Raduchis who held the record among them with three terms served. Among those who served more than one term is also Mauro

⁵⁴ The “Knin episode” is rendered by Paul as rounded-off story; see I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 429, and also F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), pp. 22-23: *Die 12 ianuarii applicuerunt Iadram ... die martis 6 mensis februarii recessit dominus rex et ivit ad Comichium.*

⁵⁵ The text in Šišić's orthography reads as follows: *omnes culpabiles seu participes mortis quondam dominae Elizabeth suae socrus, et eos qui alium dominium introducere in Dalmatia (voluerint), et eos qui participati sunt cum Ioanne Ioannis de Palisna, olim priore in Vrana, et cum Ioanne bano*; see F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 22.

⁵⁶ I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 429: *Die iouis 22 februarii venerunt Iadram ... dederunt eis facultatem eodem die intromittendi ea juxta regium mandatum etc.* This in fact forms the last episode from Paul's information unit concerning the relations of the city and the King in 1396/97.

⁵⁷ The list is compiled on the basis of the following documents: for the term of August – September, 1386, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 1, fol. 11, August 22, 1386; for the term of October–November 1386, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 1, fol. 17v, October 21, 1386; for the term December, 1386 – January, 1387, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 3, fol. 30, January 20, 1387; for the term February – March, 1387, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 1, fol. 20v, March 21, 1387; for the term April – May, 1387, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 1, fol. 23v, April 24, 1387; for the term June – July, 1387, DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 4, fol. 31v, June 6, 1387.

de Grisogonis with two terms, and he was one of three members of the de Grisogonis clan who were summoned before the King in 1397 (the other de Grisogonis summoned to Knin were Andrew, who served one term as “mayor”, and Doymus who did not serve as “mayor” during this period). Also of interest in this context are three “mayors” who served their term in August 1386, when ban John de Horvathi arrived in Zadar and was received there after sending the heads of his enemies to Florence. Those “mayors” were Paul de Georgiis (the same person whom Paul de Paulo explicitly named as one of the Zadar nobles who participated in the delegation that traveled to Naples in February 1387), Jacob de Raduchis and Louis de Matafaris. Jacob de Raduchis was also one of the “mayors” in January 1387, when Elizabeth died, while Guido de Matafaris was one of the “mayors” in February when the aforementioned delegation was dispatched. All of this clearly points to the conclusion that there really was a network of powerful Zadar nobles from the clans of de Matafaris, de Georgiis, de Grisogonis, and lone Jacob de Raduchis (born in the city of Senj, he was aggregated into Zadar nobility after returning from studies in Italy) who during this period closely cooperated with the members of the de Horvathi – de Palissna faction. However, there is one puzzling detail in all of this, and that is the fact that the King accused the de Matafaris brothers, Jacob de Raduchis and some members of the de Grisogonis clan but omitted Paul de Georgiis, one of the most prominent nobles from this period, who was otherwise deeply engaged in politics of his commune as well as those of the kingdom.⁵⁸ The reason for this can only be inferred if we take into account that his first cousin Philip, at this time a “royal admiral”, was one of the two nobles who accompanied Sigismund during his return trip from Constantinople. The second patrician was Raphael de Sorba, already mentioned as communal ambassador aboard the galley.⁵⁹ They were obviously Sigismund’s source of information, when after ten years he reopened the question of his mother-in-law’s death, and the alleged treasonous acts of Zadar nobles. Whether in addressing the Zadar council his messengers used in their speech a neutral term “death” (*mors*) or spoke about the “murder” (*nex*) of the Regent Queen, as was the case in Mary’s charter from the September 14, 1387, is hard to tell, but Paul was explicit, and by using the word “death” simply reiterated what he had written down ten years earlier.

Going back to Paul’s text now, it has to be pointed out that some of the elements forming the rudimentary story behind Paul’s unit of information are verifiable through other documents. The secrecy around Elizabeth’s death is corroborated by the fact that the news about it reached Dubrovnik as late as the first day of March. The city’s government (*Consilium Rogatorum*) deliberated on that day about a memorial Mass for the “senior Queen who died and was interred in Zadar”, and on March 2, the executive council (*Minor Consilium*) elected three patricians who were charged as

⁵⁸ For the prosopographic information on Paul de Georgiis see B. GRBAVAC, Zadarski plemići kao kraljevski vitezovi u doba Ludovika I. Anžuvinca, *Acta Histriae*, 16, Koper, 2008, pp. 94-95. For the “family tree” of the de Georgiis clan see S. DOKOZA – M. ANDREIS, *Zadarsko plemstvo u srednjem vijeku (rodoslovlja)*, Zadar, 2020, pp. 281-282.

⁵⁹ For the few facts regarding Raphael de Sorba gathered from relevant sources see B. GRBAVAC, Prilog proučavanju životopisa đenovskog i zadarskog plemića Baltazara de Sorbe, kraljevskog admirala, in: *Humanitas et litterae: Zbornik u cast Franje Šanjeka*, (ed.) Lovorka Čoralić, Slavko Slišković, Zagreb, 2009, pp. 231-232, who wrongly concluded that Raphael was killed at Nicopolis. In fact he had a career in royal service with middling posts such as a count in the cities of Split, Šibenik, and Rab (*Arbe*) in accordance with his title of “royal knight” (*regius miles*). He was also very active in communal politics serving as *rector* on numerous occasions starting as far as our sources go in 1375, when he was already a “royal knight” (Arhiv HAZU, LUCIUS, XX-12/XVIII, p. 105, April 4, 1375). His other known rectorial terms are from February-March 1388 (DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta IV, Fasciculus 4, fol. 153, February 24, 1388), February-March 1391 (DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta V, Fasciculus 1, fol. 113v, February 19, 1391) and August-September of the same year (DAZd, SZB, Articutus de Rivignano, Busta 2, Fasciculus 7, fol. 58v-60v, October 10, 1398). Obviously, he did not serve in that capacity in 1386/87, during the crisis provoked by the imprisonment of the Queens. It is also quite clear that he was not killed at Nicopolis because it was his Genoese background that enabled him and the captain of the communal galley to obtain credit from Genoese merchants in Pera (see here note 50).

officials in that matter.⁶⁰ If we now take into account that the news about Queen Mary's liberation on June 4, 1387, needed four days to reach Dubrovnik,⁶¹ it is safe to assume that the facts regarding Elizabeth's fate became publicly known in Zadar on February 25, 1387, corroborating in this way Paul's chronological scheme (January 13 – 16, news of the death – February 22, departure of Bishop Paul – c. February 25, public knowledge about the death and details of interment). Needless to say here that the news disseminated along the eastern Adriatic coast about the death of the Queen Regent ("senior Queen") spoke about her "death" and not her "murder"! On the other hand, it remains a mystery how it was possible for Elizabeth's death to still remain unknown at Sigismund's court as late as the Easter of that year (April 7, 1387), almost a month and half after it became publicly known in Zadar – the report on the mission of the Venetian ambassador Pantaleone Barbom, written down by his notary/secretary Lawrence de Monacis, states that the ambassador talked with Sigismund on the day of Easter and that he told the ambassador that according to his information Elizabeth was probably still alive.⁶² The news about Elizabeth's death must have reached Venice at roughly the same time as it reached Dubrovnik, and from there it was easy to relay it even to the court at Buda. At this time Zadar, on the other hand, had a substantial contingent of Florentine merchants, who formed a tightly knit network, stretching from Florence through Zadar, Senj, and Zagreb, all the way to Buda.⁶³ The importance of this network for circulation of news becomes quite clear when we see from the already cited chronicle of Naddo de Montecatini that the news needed some twenty days or less to travel from Hungary to Florence. The news about the coronation of Charles of Durazzo on December 31, 1385, arrived in Florence on January 19, 1386.⁶⁴ A letter from the Florentine merchants residing in the city of Buda, containing details about the attack on Charles, was written on February 14, 1386, and arrived at Florence on March 7, 1386.⁶⁵ Finally, a letter written by the Florentine merchants "residing in Hungary" (*mercantanti Fiorentini i quali stanno in Ungheria* – judging by the dates, this could also mean those who resided in some of the cities on the eastern Adriatic shore, maybe Zadar or Senj), containing a detailed description of what transpired near Djakovo on July 24, 1386 (*recto*: July 25), arrived in Florence on August 8.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ M. DINIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 392, March 1, 1387: (*Consilium Rogatorum*) *Prima pars de faciendo exequias pro domina regina antiqua Vngarie viam universe carnis ingressa et Jadre sepulta. Captum per omnes*; 354, March 2, 1387: (*Minor Consilium*) *Ser Lampre de Zrieua, ser Andreas de Volgo, ser Marinus de Chaboga facti fuerunt officiales super exequiis domine nostre domine regine Vngarie viam universe carnis ingresse, Jadre inhumate, que fuit consors domini regis Ludouici.*

⁶¹ For the news on Mary's liberation see M. DINIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 10), pp. 296-297.

⁶² *Listine*, *op. cit.* /n. 14/, p. 237, nr 340.

⁶³ This network is easily discernible through the results of research obtained by Antonio Teja, Tomislav Raukar, Neven Budak, Martin Štefánik, and Katalin Prajda (A. TEJA, *Aspetti della vita economica di Zara dal 1289 al 1409: Parte I. La Pratica Bancaria*, Zara, 1936; T. RAUKAR, I fiorentini in Dalmazia nel secolo XIV, *Archivio storico Italiano* 153(4), 1995, 657-680; N. BUDAK, I fiorentini nella Slavonia e nella Croazia nei secoli XIV e XV, *Archivio storico Italiano* 153(4), 1995, 681-695; M. ŠTEFÁNIK, Italian Involvement in Metal Mining in the Central Slovakian Region, from the Thirteenth Century to the Reign of King Sigismund of Hungary, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 14/15, 2011, 11-46; IDEM, Die Dalmatische Route als Transportweg slowakischer Metalle in den Mittelmeerraum im 13.-14. Jahrhundert, in: *Slovakia and Croatia* vol. 1, (ed.) Martin Homza, Ján Lukačka, Neven Budak, Bratislava – Zagreb, 2013, 414-418; K. PRAJDA, *Network and Migration in Early Renaissance Florence, 1378-1433: Friends of Friends in the Kingdom of Hungary*, Amsterdam, 2018). Tens upon tens of unused and unpublished notarial deeds drawn up by Zadar notaries up to the first decade of the 15th century provide reach source material that sheds further light on this network.

⁶⁴ *Chronice Fiorentina*, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 81.

⁶⁵ *Chronice Fiorentina*, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 83.

⁶⁶ *Chronice Fiorentina*, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 86. Accurate and timely information regarding political situation was of vital significance for the smooth running of large-scale business ventures covering different and complex political units ("states"). This provides context for understanding why the East-central European network of Florentine merchants served as a unit for gathering and distribution of news.

Be that as it may, in the next ten days Sigismund's court became assured of Elizabeth's death. So as far as is known, she was proclaimed dead for the first time in the charter issued in King's name on April 17, 1387.⁶⁷ Over the course of the following month, the death of the Queen Regent morphed into a story about her murder, becoming known as a crime perpetrated by the brothers de Horvathi. This transformation is revealed in the charter of donation concerning confiscated possessions of the brothers de Horvathi issued on May 17, 1387,⁶⁸ days before the release of Queen Mary, the presumed witness of that act. What is of importance here is the fact that the violent death of Queen Mary's mother isn't mentioned in the charter of donation issued in her name on July 7, 1387 in Zagreb, for the brothers George, Stephen, and Andrew, royal treasurers and sons of *magister* Jakch de Kusal. Their brother Dionysus was also a royal treasurer, killed in the battle on June 25, 1386, near Djakovo, and the act of donation compensated the loss to the brothers de Kusal. It was a proper occasion to describe in the *narratio* of the charter what transpired in the battle and what the consequences were. In this context the text mentioned the attack on the royal entourage by John de Horvathi and John de Palissna, detailing the capture and imprisonment of the Queens, the capture of the royal treasury, the capture, imprisonment and murder of the barons, as well as bravery of the deceased Dionysus, but not even a hint appears on the murder of the Queen Regent.⁶⁹ To fully understand the difference between this and the charter issued on September 14, it must be emphasized that the charter of donation for the brothers de Kusal was issued while Mary was still the *acting king*, while the other one was issued in her name but under different circumstances, as she was by that point already being pushed into background through the interventions of the head of the royal chancellery, the (elected) archbishop of Esztergom, John de Kanizsai.⁷⁰

By now it should be clear that the differences in the accounts under discussion here, namely whether the Queen Regent was murdered in captivity, or if she died of natural causes, reflect the

⁶⁷ The charter is preserved as transcript in MOL DL 7253, and it speaks about services rendered *serenissimis principibus dominis Lodouico regi patri demumque dominabus Elizabeth matri beatorum recordacionum et Marie reginis Hungarie consorti nostris carissimis* (inverted italics are mine – M.A.).

⁶⁸ The charter of donation is preserved as transcript in MOL DF 236510. In it the King donates *quasdam possessiones Pauli condam episcopi Zagrabiensis necnon Iohannis bani et Ladislai filiorum Petri filii Pauli de Horuaty nostrorum sczylczet infidelium ... in comitatu Symigiensem habitas ad manusque nostras regias propter pretaxatam ipsorum notoriam infidelitatem et publica iudicibilia facinora et pleraque ingencia crimina que iidem dolosa perfidia ... contra ipsum sacrum regni dyadema et nostram maiestatem temerarie procedendo contumaciter perpetrasse perhibentur potissime ex eo quia iidem filii Petri non verentes ad indelendam ipsorum infamiam peiora committere prioribus prefatam serenissimam principem dominam Elizabeth reginam dicti regni Hungarie matrem nostram karissimam in eorum captiuitate proh dolor iugulare et in exilium redigi procurarunt* (inverted italics are mine – M.A.).

⁶⁹ The charter of donation is preserved as transcript in another charter issued in Mary's name on June 23, 1388 – MOL DF nr. 254817. The part of the *narratio* relevant here reads: *cum felici interitu et laudabili nece condam Dyonisii fratris ipsorum carnalis qui nuper in hostile valido conflictu et agresso vtriusque Iohannis condam bani scilicet et prioris nostrorum infidelium cum eorum fallerata et scelerata ingenti caterua aduersus ipsius gentricis nostre et nostram maiestatum in detencionem personarum nostrarum et alienacionem thesauri reginalis non sine quorundam baronum militum et pociorum procerum nostrorum fidelium decolacione, interempcione et detencione ac variorum rerum immense quantitates ablacione per ipsos nostros infideles pro tunc temerarie perpetratis et commissis contra eosdem virosque Iohannem et ipsorum armigeram choortem fidelitatis furore instinctas et leonine audacia suffultus pro ipsius illustris gentricis nostre precare et nostri honoris valido incremento viriliter bellando et diucius cum eisdem strennua agilitate nobis limpidus cernentibus dimicando in area ipsius certaminis gladiis ipsorum infidelium transfixus occubuit*. It is worth noting that the brothers de Kusal received the charter of donation for the same possession earlier on, issued in the name of Sigismund on April 19, 1387 (MOL DF nr. 254812), but it is not mentioned in the Queen's charter.

⁷⁰ On the role of the (elected) archbishop (he received papal confirmation on October 9, 1387) John de Kanizsai in Sigismund's promotion to the forefront of the political center see E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 35.

tensions in the fabric of the political center, and points to the dissent between factions, dissent that is not easily visible in the extant sources. The fact that Sigismund got his position with the consent of the baronial “league” (*liga*) that took over the administration of the kingdom when the Queens were captured in July, 1386, barely conceals the contention between the members of that “league”, which was articulated as a question about legitimacy. Two opposite factions are best represented by two most visible members of the “league” who were holders of two most prestigious positions in the royal administration – Stephen Lackfi the count palatine and John de Kanizsai, the archbishop of Eszergom and head of the royal chancellery (*summus cancellarius*). Stephen Lackfi openly defied the King on various issues,⁷¹ and as was shown earlier, stubbornly persisted on the position that defined the clash between the de Gara and de Horvathi clans as a “private war”. Here it has to be noted that in 1385 Lackfi was one of the most prominent figures in the “league” that opposed the rule of the Queens and count palatine Nicholas de Gara.⁷² As such he surely had a voice in formulating the decree from August 1386, and that probably paved the way for his promotion to the office of count palatine. It is worth noting in this context that he did not use his position in order to acquire any of the possessions confiscated from members of the de Horvathi – de Palissna faction.⁷³

At the same time John de Kanizsai stood firmly by Sigismund and proved to be the main pillar of his success, which opened an opportunity for him and his brothers to get hold of the enormous confiscated possessions.⁷⁴ From the start, the young King showed appreciation for de Kanizsai’s rhetorical capabilities and power of persuasion, and this forms the background for the decision to give him the position of the head of the royal chancellery. A curious testament to the power of his rhetorical skills is preserved in the charter of donation for the archbishop and his brothers formally issued on May 7, 1388, in Sigismund’s name by his royal chancellery. As is customary, there is in it the formula of *narratio*, which spells out the story that explicitly mentions political factions, and the way the archbishop handled discontent of the members of royal council whose thinking was channeled by the arguments of the opposite faction – simply by his skilled rhetoric he was able to “turn discord into unity”.⁷⁵ It is curious that the charter was written in royal chancellery, creating an impression that it used the King’s own words, while at the same time clearly pointing to the head of the chancellery as its author in wording and style. Simply put, the archbishop would today be called a “PR wizard”, and one of his great PR feats was the story about “treason” of the former count palatine and presumed head of the opposing political faction,

⁷¹ On Lackfi’s defiance see E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

⁷² In the document issued by the members of the league on May 16, 1385 (CDC, XVI, pp. 521-522, nr. 404), Stephen’s name is the second one, behind the name of the Zagreb bishop, Paul de Horvathi. In the document issued on the same day by the then count palatine Nicholas de Gara Stephen’s name was third, after the names of the Zagreb bishop and former royal judge Nicholas de Zeech. M. ANČIĆ, *Putanja klatna: Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. stoljeću*, Zagreb – Mostar, 1997, pp. 265-266, nr. 8.

⁷³ E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 31.

⁷⁴ On this see E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 30 ff.

⁷⁵ CDH X/1, p. 422, nr. CCXXXIX, May 14, 1388: *cum nouissime humani generis inimico erga tranquilos et vnanimos interdum sissaniam dissidii seminante vna cum potioribus Praelatis, Baronibus et Proceribus regni nostri ex subdolo astu et pseudolo instinctu ac praua suggestione et sinistro relatu ipsorum nostrorum infidelium et fautorum eorum, quorum inuidiae pestiferi surculi vipote locustae ex abyssi puteo ad nocendum erumpentes, nos regno nostro a praefato exterminare et nequiter eliminare satagebant ad incapacitatis noxam et discrimina deuenissemus antefatus reuerendus Pater Dominus Archiantistes, tanquam pacis alumnus, ex diuisis faciens vnum et ex caduco solidum, ipsos Praelatos et Barones nostrum quodammodo a nostra curia protunc auulsos in laribus ipsorum propriis compertos per sincerum dogma, vrbانيتate sagaci et loquelae peritae modulis et verborum amoeno suorum contextu vt turbata corda reconciliauit, impacatos animos leniuit et commotae mentis austeritatem suis affatu et doctrina mulcere maluit et sopire non cessauit ipsosque ad cuncta nostra beneplacita effectui mancipanda et illibate exequenda perduxit.*

Stephen Lackfi, formulated in 1397 in order to portray him as “the actual author and leader of the de Horvathi movement, a participant in all the crimes committed at the time and the author of all the evils that afflicted the country and the king”.⁷⁶

Although this story was widely accepted by later authors, starting with the chronicler John Thuróczy, and was seldom seen for what it really was – a part of a defamation campaign,⁷⁷ the modern historian must be careful when judging the real success of such an undertaking among its contemporaries. The murder of Stephen Lackfi and the consequent defamation campaign meant to portray him as a “traitor” is illustrative in this sense. Although the King and his archbishop even resorted to threats and coercion to suppress alternative accounts about the end of Lackfi and his cousins,⁷⁸ it is unexpectedly Paul de Paulo who unveils the alternative version. Almost as a footnote to his information unit about the relations of his commune and the King in 1396/97, he simply states that on the February 26, 1387, in the royal quarters in Križevci *Stephanus Laccovich* was murdered by some Hungarian barons, while the information about what transpired there arrived in Zadar on March 6.⁷⁹ That means that rival stories about Lackfi’s murder circulated right from the start – it was on March 4, 1397, that the first charter with the details concerning his “treason” was redacted and issued. Still, the *narratio*, or Kanizsai’s version, was preserved and later on used again, which testifies that it was, at least partially, successful, and that could not be said about the story of Elizabeth’s death.

The story about the Queen’s murder never again appeared in the *narrationes*, not even in the aforementioned larger story about the “treason” of Stephen Lackfi, although that would be the proper place to tell it again, especially in the charter issued on January 6, 1401, in which the misdeeds of

⁷⁶ The story is fully rendered in at least three charters produced by royal chancellery in the span of four years: CDH, X/2, pp. 415-417, nr. CCXLVI, April 4, 1397; 557-563, nr. CCC, December 1, 1398; *Zala vármegye törtéte*, (ed.) Imre Nagy, Dezső Véghely, Gyula Nagy, Budapest, 1890, pp. 300-306, nr. 119, January 6, 1401. The quote comes from E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 47.

⁷⁷ Writing close to the end of the 15th century, John Thuróczy combined different sources in constructing the “Lackfi story”. For what is pertinent here, when he gives reasons for his murder, he is simply retelling the story about Lackfi’s “treason” taken from the charters, as he otherwise used to do. For his text that lapidarily reiterates what is told in the charters cited in the previous note see the chapter entitled *De penis per regem Sigismundum a Stephano wayuoda et ceteris infidelibus exactis* (I am using the Augsburg edition of *Chronica Hungarorum* from 1488, accessible at <https://corvina.hu/kepnezegeto/index.php?corvina=inc1143&lang=en&img=228#228> - accessed January 3, 2020; the text is here on the page 228). Thuróczy’s use of the *narrationes* from charters is discussed in K. SZENDE, *The Uses of Archives in Medieval Hungary*, in: *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, (ed.) Anna Adamska, Marco Mostert, Turnhout, 2004, pp. 138-139. It was Elemér Mályusz who recognized the story as a part of smear campaign (E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* /n. 1/ p. 47), but he did not further pursue the subject in order to ascertain what were the facts and what was the fiction in that story.

⁷⁸ Brothers Stephen, “called Fanch”, and Fanch, the *familiares* of Stephen Lackfi, were forced under the threat of death penalty to solemnly swear before the chapter of Pécs not to speak of what transpired when their *dominus* was murdered. They also provided more than thirty guarantors that they would keep their promise. MOL DL nr. 8333, June 9, 1398; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, (ed.) Elemér Mályusz, I, Budapest, 1951, pp. 590-591, nr. 5355.

⁷⁹ *Eodem anno die martis 26 februarii in Crisi in curia domini nostri regis Sigismundi interfectus fuit Stephanus Laccovich cum nepote suo per certos barones Vngarie de quo venit novum Iadram die 6 martii sequentis*; see I. LUCIUS DALMATINUS, *op. cit.* (n. 32), p. 429 (almost needless to say – February 26, 1397, was indeed Thursday). The document cited in the previous note nicely dovetails with Paul’s diary entry providing the list of barons who were implicated: *contra et aduersus magnificos viros comitem Cilii, Detricum Bubek regni Hungarie palatinum ac filios et successores suos, item Nicolaum et Iohannem de Gara regnorum Sclauonie et Dalmacie banos ac filios et successores eorundem, item Nicolaum Treutul fratres et filios eiusdem, magistros Nicolaum et Stephanum de Kanisa, Iohannem de Maroth (et) Franciscum Bubek banos Machouienses, Nicolaum de Zeech, Symonem filium Konye bani, Ladislaum filium Pauli de Gara, Stephanum de Dobre, Nicolaum filium Petri de Machedonya et filios Bodizlay de Korbauia ac quoslibet alios qui in huiusmodi perpetracionem dictorum Stephani wayuode et alterius Stephani filii Dyonisy wayuode et suos adherentes ac facta premissis capituitatibus, exulacionibus, possessionum, rerum et bonorum ablacionibus, nocumentorum, dampnorum et iniuriarum irrogacionibus et aliis quibusuis circa premissa et occasione eorundem quomodolibet perpetratis verbo vel facto, consilio, auxilio vel fauore participes extiterunt*.

both ban John de Horvathi and prior John de Palissna are rendered.⁸⁰ It is omitted even from the grand *narratio* in the charter of donation for the brothers Nicholas and John de Gara issued on August 1, 1406, in the name of King Sigismund. It narrates the merits of the brothers, covering the time span of the last twenty years, including the episode of the de Horvathi and de Palissna “rebellion”. What is even more curious is that the text clearly points to the conclusion that its author simply forgot the time of Elizabeth’s death,⁸¹ let alone her murder.

What remains now is to try to answer the question why the story about the “murder of the Queen”, probably devised and developed by the Archbishop John de Kanizsai in order to smear the names of the members of the de Horvathi and de Palissna faction and to provide justification for the act that proclaimed them “traitors”, never gained popularity and was not successfully promoted to the status of the “official truth”. The answer to that question must start with a discussion of the channels through which that story was disseminated as a piece of political propaganda. Today, with the sort of sources a modern historian of Hungary-Croatia has at his disposal, the only channel that is visible is a royal charter and its *narratio*. We do not know whether there were other forms of written communication that could have been used,⁸² but as far as our knowledge goes, the life in Hungary-Croatia at the end of the 14th century was still predominantly focused on orality, with a very narrow scope of social communication committed to writing.⁸³ In a situation like this it is obviously hard to find traces of oral communication in the written sources. However, in this specific case there are such traces, and it is possible to see that at least in the circles of social elite the story about the murder of Queen Elizabeth was really kept alive, but also that it was changed according to specific circumstances. The first instance when it was recorded and fixed in a written text occurred not long after the presumed murder took place, but not in Hungary-Croatia. It was written down in Venice, as an appendix to the *Chronicle* of Raphael (Raffaino) Caresini, a Venetian chancellor and politician/diplomat who died in 1390. It forms part of an appendix to his text and isn’t included in all nineteen extant copies of the work, but is usually ascribed to Caresini on the grounds of “internal critique”.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ *Zala vármegye törtéte*, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 301.

⁸¹ The charter is edited in F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Nekoliko isprava iz početka XV st.*, *Starine JAZU*, 37, Zagreb, 1939, pp. 276-287, nr. 108. Narrating the armed clashes between Nicholas de Gara, at that time the ban of Mačva, with ban John de Horvathi, the author of the text gives as time reference Sigismund’s crowning on March 31, 1387, and then continues narrating what happened in April and May of that year. He comes to the point of the story where ban John surrenders in the fort of Požega after a series of clashes, offering to free the Queens in exchange for his personal freedom (F. ŠIŠIĆ, *op. cit.* /n. 81/, p. 278): *Senciens itaque dictus Johannes banus se evadere non posse, quamvis suam personam in signum obsidis sub eo pacti articulo ut ipse prescriptas utrasque dominas reginas, pro quibus iamfatus Nicolaus pater prescripti alterius Nicolai nunc palatini laudabilem mortem subiit, pristina libertati redderet manibus et potestati sepefati Nicolai assignasset*. The problem is that according to the official version produced in 1387, ban John had murdered Queen Elizabeth in January of that year and her death was already a well-known fact at the time of the siege of Požega! The mere fact that the story is rendered in a similar way two years later, in another royal charter of donation – see *CDH*, X/4, pp. 660-678, nr. CCCXIII, July 12, 1408 (here p. 664) – goes to show that at this point in time nobody in the royal chancellery cared about such chronological inconsistency or even straight-out fallacy.

⁸² For the specter of the possible genres of the written texts that were at this time used for the dissemination of political propaganda see discussion in J. VERGER, *Théorie politique et propagande politique*, in: *Le forme della propaganda*, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 29-44.

⁸³ On the subject see E. FÜGEDI, *Verba Volant ... Oral culture and literacy among the medieval Hungarian nobility*, in: IDEM, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, (ed.) János M. Bak, No. 6, 1-25; L. VESZPREMY, *The Birth of a Structured Literacy in Hungary*, in: *The Development of Literate op. cit.* (n. 77), 161-181.

⁸⁴ On Caresini and his work see E. PASTORELLO, *Introduzione*, in: *Raphayni de Caresinis cancellarii Venetiarum Chronica aa. 1343-1388 (Raccolta degli storici Italiani XII-2)*, (ed.) Ester Pastorello, Bologna, pp. V-XXXII, as well as entry “CARESINI, Rafaino” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* by Antonio Carile - [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raffaino-caresini_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/raffaino-caresini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed Januray 3, 2020).

The part of the text that is of concern here briefly tells the story about Charles of Durazzo's arrival in Hungary and his subsequent death, and then goes on to tell the story about Queen Mary and vagaries that fell upon her.⁸⁵ On the one hand, the author shows poor knowledge of what was really going on in Hungary-Croatia in 1386/87, making it clear that he got his story second-hand: he states that the "Hungarians and Dalmatians" were not content with the rule of Queen Mary and her husband Sigismund;⁸⁶ the Queens were caught by the *brothers* John de Horvathi and John de Palissna (at least he ascribes proper titles to them) while traveling to Dalmatia;⁸⁷ the Queen was liberated by military intervention of Venetian forces and transported by their galleys to Senj;⁸⁸ she, her husband, and three Venetian ambassadors happily travelled from Zagreb to Buda.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the author of the text in the appendix of Caresini's *Chronicle* knew a lot of details concerning the mission of the Venetian ambassador Pantaleone Barbo. Apart from his name, he knew the exact date of Sigismund's coronation, the location where the Queens were held (Novigrad), as well as the names of the captain of the Venetian galleys in the service of Queen Mary and five nobles who paid service to her in Senj. His statement that Elizabeth was murdered in Novigrad while imprisoned there obviously comes from that context and mirrors (one of) the version(s) that circulated among Venetian ruling circles (although Caresini belonged to the same circle as Lawrence de Monacis – both were notaries and diplomats – it is quite clear that the author of the text rendered in the appendix of the *Chronicle* was not familiar with *Carmen de Carolo Parvo*, which provides a strong argument against Caresini's authorship of the text under discussion here). A further trace of oral transmission of the story among the elite circles of the Kingdom can be discerned in the work of John Thuróczy, whose *Chronica Hungarorum* was put in print in 1488. On this occasion it is enough to point out that the story about the killing of Queen Elizabeth after a whole century of oral transmission became almost unrecognizable – in Thuróczy's version the Queen Regent was killed, or to be precise, drowned in

⁸⁵ Text in *Raphayni de Caresinis op. cit.* (n. 84), pp. 66 l. 35-68 l. 27.

⁸⁶ *Raphayni de Caresinis op. cit.* (n. 84), p. 67 ll. 6-7: *Iamdixtus Carolus, ad suasionem Hungarorum et Dalmaticorum non contentium de regimine dictae Mariae supradictae et Sigismundi sponsi eius*. It is unclear who the "Dalmatians" could be, while Sigismund entered the political life of the Kingdom only after the Queens were taken into custody by de Horvathi and de Palissna.

⁸⁷ *Raphayni de Caresinis op. cit.* (n. 84), p. 67 ll. 14-17: *... dum ipsa regina Elisabeth, cum rege Maria filia sua ... descenderet ad partes Dalmatiae fuit per insidias, a Ioanne banno et priore Aurannae fratre suo ... capta*. As was said earlier, the Queens rode to Djakovo to solve problems there – at that moment Dalmatia was nowhere near their horizon. Today historians know a lot about John de Horvathi and John de Palissna, but it is quite clear that they were in no way related.

⁸⁸ *Raphayni de Caresinis op. cit.* (n. 84), p. 68 ll. 5-9: *Venetiarum potentia ... misit nobilem virum Iohannem Barbadico capitaneum, cum galeis optime armatis ... (he) potenter descendens in terram, adeo expugnavit et armavit ipsum priorem Aurannae, quod per vim coegit eum ad restituendum ipsam (sc. Mariam), quam super galeis transducit Signam*. As was said earlier, the Queen *exited* Novigrad citadel on the *morning* of June 4, 1387, and was stationed in the royal *villa* Dolac, an architectural complex that functioned as a center of the royal domain (for the royal *villa* at Dolac see M. ANČIĆ, Architecture on Royal Domains in Northern Dalmatia, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 13/1, p. 207). Residing in Dolac, on the same day the Queen sent a certain Thomas Sović from Šibenik as her envoy to the cities of Šibenik, Trogir, and Split, giving him credential letter (CDC XVIII, p. 69, nr. 51). Then she left for the city of Nin where she spent almost two weeks, to be transported to Senj on a Venetian galley only on June 15, 1387.

⁸⁹ *Raphayni de Caresinis op. cit.* (n. 84), p. 68 ll. 25-27: *subsequenter regia et reginalis excellentia, ispisque tres ambassatores, scilicet Leonardus Dandulo, Paulus Mauroceno et Pantaleone Barbo milites, Budam, cum eximia laetitia, pervenerunt*. After spending July together in Zagreb and its surroundings, Sigismund and Mary parted their ways to be reunited only somewhere around September 10, 1387, in Varad – see ENGEL – TÓTH, *op. cit.* (n. 21) pp. 39 and 58. Venetian ambassadors joined Sigismund and sojourned together in Čazma in the last days of August (see n. 10 here), not to be mentioned in existing documents after that. The King and the Queen reached Buda as late as the second half of the November 1387.

the river Bosut, on the night after the battle of Djakovo.⁹⁰ The mere fact that Thuróczy, who took the material from the *narrationes* of royal charters whenever it was possible (see n. 77 here), used here a deformed orally transmitted tradition, clearly corroborates my starting point – the story about Elizabeth’s killing rendered in the charter issued on September 14, 1387, was seldom, if ever, used again in royal charters. Its circulation was confined to oral transmission in later times, which led, naturally, to the deformation of the story.⁹¹

From all that has been said up till now it may be surmised that the main obstacle for the success of the story rendered in the charter issued on September 14, 1387, was the unwillingness of Queen Mary to fully back the story narrated in that charter. She was obviously not in a position to openly challenge the truthfulness of the story devised in Sigismund’s circle, but at the same time she was able to circulate a rumor about what transpired during the time that she and her mother spent in prison in Novigrad (she was evidently not in the same position as brothers Stephen and Fanch who were forced to “keep their mouths shut”). The reasons for this are not hard to disentangle – the young Queen must have been unhappy with the way her spouse and his clique deprived her of the position of the rightful ruler. She did voice her opinion on the subject through the text of Lawrence de Monacis (*Nolo refutare ingeminat diadema paternum et mihi jure datum* – see note 24 here), as well as in practical acts (right after the release from Novigrad she promoted a Zadar nobleman to the office of “royal admiral”; her messengers obtained the solemn oath of the Dubrovnik commune to her as the rightful ruler and to Sigismund only as her spouse). It would not be a surprise in this context if she had found common ground with the count palatine Lackfi and other noblemen who were far from happy with Sigismund’s rule. A sign of that common ground is the way the clash between the de Gara and de Horvathi clans was interpreted, as a “private war”, both by the count palatine and the Queen.

All of this goes to explain the conclusion, reached when Sigismund’s and Mary’s itineraries are analyzed, that they seldom spent time together. What is even more telling in this context is the negligence Sigismund showed for the memorial services of his wife after her death in May 1395,⁹² making it clear in this way that by then she was only a nuisance to him. With that in mind, it becomes clear that the story about Elizabeth’s death was not simply a question of what really happened in Novigrad in January 1387. In fact, public stories like this, those that speak about past, are often closely connected with political identity and used to mobilize and give coherence to political networks, especially in the context of contentious politics⁹³, and in that way they fully qualify as “political propaganda”.

⁹⁰ *Chronica Hungarorum op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 213: *Dum autem nox superueniens illius diei fugata luce vndique suas diffudisset tenebras regina Elizabeth tollitur et frenatis faucibus amnis Bozwtiha altis demergitur in aquas.*

⁹¹ For the logic of oral transmission of such stories, leading to their transformation and deformation see D.C. RUBIN, *Memory in Oral Traditions: The Cognitive Psychology of Epic, Ballads, and Counting-out Rhymes*, New York – Oxford, 1995, but also A.B. LORD, *The Singer of Tales*, Cambridge (Mass.), 2000², as well as E. TONKIN, *Narrating our past: The social construction of oral history*, Cambridge, 1993.

⁹² E. MÁLYUSZ, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 57-58.

⁹³ On this see C. TILLY, *Stories, Identities, and Political Change*, Lanham, 2002.

Ubojstvo kraljice Elizabete – obrazac kasnosrednjovjekovne političke propagande

Autor polazi u raščlambu od teksta diplomatske formule *narratio* iz privilegija izdanoga u ime ugarsko-hrvatske kraljice Marije 14. rujna 1387. godine, u kojem se u prvome licu pripovijeda o tomu kako je – za vrijeme dok su ona i njezina majka bile zatvorene u Novigradu – Elizabeta ubijena pred samom Marijom. Nakon što je pokazao kako privilegij nije jednostavna kraljevska darovnica već složeni dokument koji donosi (navodnu) presudu (*decretum*) o krivnji braće Horvata i priora Ivana Paližne zbog izdaje, autor upozorava da ovdje nije riječ o standardnoj formuli *narratio* već o tekstu koji daje argumente za navodno donesenu presudu protiv braće Horvat zbog počinjene izdaje. U daljnjoj raščlambi autor tome tekstu suprotstavlja djelo *Carmen de Carolo Parvo* mletačkoga kancelara i diplomata Lovre de Monacisa, dokazujući da je to djelo nastalo na temelju informacija koje je autoru, tijekom neformalnih razgovora nakon dovršetka njegove diplomatske misije 1389. godine, dala sama kraljica Marija. Na temelju tih informacija, de Monacis je napisao djelo u kojem se prikazuju zbivanja koja su dovela do napada na kraljice nedaleko Đakova i njihova zarobljavanja u srpnju 1386. godine. Način na koji su tu prikazana zbivanja, pa i sam sukob kod Đakova, stubokom se razlikuje od prikaza istih događaja koji će se oblikovati u kancelariji kralja Sigismunda, i korespondira sa stajalištima o tome sukobu koja je artikuliralo ugarsko plemstvo u kolovozu 1386. godine. U obje verzije, i onoj koju donosi de Monacis, kao i onoj artikuliranoj u posebnome ediktu što ga je izdalo plemstvo, sukob se interpretira kao „privatni rat” klanova Gorjanskih i Horvata, pri čemu postupci Horvata i njihovih pristaša nisu usmjereni protiv kraljevske vlasti, pa samim time ne mogu biti ni činovi izdaje, odnosno „uvrede veličanstva”.

U nastavku autor raščlanjuje tekst dnevničkih zapisa zadarskoga plemića, odvjetnika i političara Pavla de Paula, koji govore o zarobljeništvu kraljica, smrti kraljice Elizabete i oslobađanju kraljice Marije. Pri tomu razmatra strukturu Pavlovih dnevničkih zapisa i način na koji je on zapisivao informacije kojima je raspolagao, prikupljene između ostaloga i kroz izravan dodir s glavnim protagonistima političke frakcije braće Horvat i priora Ivana Paližne, ali i s kraljicom Marijom nakon njezina oslobađanja. Temeljem tih razmatranja autor zaključuje kako tim zapisima, u kojima se govori o „smrti”, a ne „ubojstvu”, valja pokloniti više povjerenja no tekstu *narratio* iz privilegija od 14. rujna 1387. godine. Takav zaključak autor potvrđuje raščlambom zapisnika dubrovačkih gradskih vijeća koji govore o prispeću vijesti o Elizabetinoj smrti u taj grad i reakciji gradskih upravnih tijela.

S takvim rezultatima autor se okreće raščlambi načina na koji je oblikovana pripovijest o kraljičinu ubojstvu, utvrđujući da se ta pripovijest prvi put pojavila u pisanome obliku, opet u sklopu diplomatske formule *narratio*, u jednome kraljevskom privilegiju izdanom petnaestak dana prije no što je kraljica Marija bila oslobođena. K tomu upozorava da u prvome sačuvanom privilegiju izdanome u Marijino ime nakon njezina oslobađanja, a koji također ima relativno opširnu formulu *narratio* s opisom zbivanja u Đakovu i onoga što se događalo poslije zarobljavanja kraljica, nema niti spomena nasilne smrti njezine majke.

U tome kontekstu autor zaključuje kako je pripovijest o „ubojstvu kraljice” oblikovana u krugu oko Sigismunda, po svemu sudeći na inicijativu (izabranoga) ostrogonkog nadbiskupa i kraljevskoga kancelara Ivana Kanižaja, koji je u vremenu nakon Sigismundove krunidbe 31. ožujka 1387. godine postao glavni oslonac njegove vlasti i ključni čovjek u promoviranju „muža kraljice”, što je bio Sigismundov stvarni položaj, u okrunjenoga vladara. Različite verzije pripovijesti o zbivanjima iz godina 1386. i 1387. autor dovodi u svezu s postojanjem političkih frakcija u vladajućemu sloju Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, zaključujući kako te pripovijesti predstavljaju „političku propagandu” onoga doba te ih upravo tako i treba čitati.

Ključne riječi: Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, političke frakcije, srednjovjekovna politička propaganda

GIOTTO – INVENTORE DI ICONOGRAFIE: ANCORA SUL CICLO DEGLI SCROVEGNI

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The article focuses on some iconographic inventions created by Giotto in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua. In particular, the author proposes two hypotheses which differ from what has been hitherto suggested. The first concerns the model of the church offered by the client Enrico Scrovegni. Through a series of visual examples, the article demonstrates that Giotto repropose the iconographic convention already invented by the Roman mosaicists during the early Middle Ages, in which the model shows apse, side elevation and facade in a single image, but this image is renewed, according to a rendition of the vision of the elevations which posits it as a sort of ante litteram axonometry. The second proposal is centred on the figure of the animula holding the Cross in the scene of the Last Judgment. The author suggests a different interpretation of this image, seen as the risen soul of the Wandering Jew, according to the hypothesis formulated by Chiara Frugoni. In fact, it is the soul of Adam who supports the Cross, in the light of some patristic passages that see Christ as the new Adam and a different iconographic tradition, which in any case indissolubly links the Cross to Adam.

Key words: Padua, Giotto's Arena Chapel, Adam in the Last Judgment

La cappella degli Scrovegni è il riconosciuto capolavoro assoluto dipinto da Giotto (Fig.1). L'edificio, che racchiude il ciclo affrescato, si è conservato quasi integralmente: nasce non solo con la funzione di cappella di palazzo, cappella privata a cui accedeva direttamente la famiglia del signore, ma, pur nelle piccole dimensioni, almeno nelle intenzioni del donatore, svolgeva anche funzioni cittadine.¹ Era infatti meta conclusiva dell'importante processione di inizio anno il 25 marzo, dal momento che a Padova i documenti erano rogati secondo questa convenzione.² Infatti il legame con la città continuò ad essere molto stretto, almeno nel suo primo secolo di vita. Di più, lo stesso collegio dei maestri, e degli studenti, lo *studium universarum*, vi si recava annualmente in processione. Il ciclo nacque non tanto per espiazione del peccato di usura, esercitata dal padre Eginardo, ma per un desiderio di affermazione politica, come hanno magistralmente dimostrato le ricerche di Silvana Collodo, riprese e articolate in modo efficace da Chiara Frugoni nel suo volume dal felice titolo *L'affare migliore di Enrico. Giotto e la cappella degli Scrovegni*.³

¹ Su questo aspetto L. JACOBUS, *Giotto and the Arena Chapel: art, architecture and experience*, London, 2008; G. VALENZANO, Architettura reale, architettura dipinta, in: *La cappella degli Scrovegni nell'anfiteatro romano di Padova: nuove ricerche e questioni irrisolte*, (ed.) Rita Deiana, Padova, 2018, pp. 131-145.

² D. GIORGI, La colomba di Giotto, Forma e funzione della cappella degli Scrovegni, *Studi di Memofonte*, 23, Firenze, 2019, pp. 1-53.

³ S. COLLODO, Origini e fortuna della famiglia degli Scrovegni, in: *Il secolo di Giotto nel Veneto*, (eds.) Giovanna Valenzano, Federica Toniolo, Venezia, 2007, pp. 47-80; C. FRUGONI, *L'affare migliore di Enrico. Giotto e la cappella degli Scrovegni*, con l'edizione, la traduzione e il commento del testamento di Enrico Scrovegni, a cura di Attilio Bartoli Langeli e un saggio di Riccardo Luisi, Torino, 2008.



Fig. 1. Giotto, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)



Fig. 2. Giotto, coretto, cappella Scrovegni, Padova
(© Musei Civici di Padova)



Fig. 3. Giotto, coretto, cappella Scrovegni, Padova
(© Musei Civici di Padova)

A Padova Giotto sperimenta più compiutamente, seppure in modo empirico, una progettazione spaziale, che non è, né poteva essere, ancora quella teorizzata da Leon Battista Alberti, dell'unico punto di fuga, ma una visione prospettica, nel seno etimologico di *perspectiva*, così come è usato nel medioevo, di scienza della visione. La *perspectiva* era del resto una materia trattata dai maestri attivi nel libero studio della città di Padova. Proprio a Padova si manifesta compiutamente il "Giotto Spazioso",⁴ secondo la felice definizione inaugurata nel 1952 da Roberto Longhi, incentrata sui due coretti, come li aveva chiamati Fiocco nel 1939,⁵ e due inganni ottici, chiamati "ripostigli" da Cavalcaselle, che per primo vi cercò significati allegorici (Figg. 2-3). La critica novecentesca ha cercato di trovare le ragioni di questa grande invenzione giottesca, a partire da Andrea Moschetti, direttore del Museo Civico di Padova: "di questa allegoria, l'unica introdotta da Giotto in forma così astratta...ci sfugge il significato".⁶ Per Weigelt, nel 1925, i due spazi diventano due piccole cantorie, importante elemento di cesura delle scene narrative.⁷

Come spesso accade noi troviamo, nei volumi di Toesca, il grande padre della storia medievale in Italia, osservazioni puntuali, utilissime e grandi intuizioni. A Padova Giotto "...seguita ad affrontare la prospettiva per se stessa, quasi a sfidarne i problemi, e ai due lati del presbiterio finge, per semplice gioco prospettico, due arcate aperte da cui pendono lampade poligonali".⁸

⁴ R. LONGHI, Giotto spazioso, *Paragone*, III/31, Firenze, 1952, pp. 18-24.

⁵ G. FIOCCO, Giotto e Arnolfo, *Rivista d'arte*, 19, Firenze, 1937, pp. 221-239. Fiocco si sofferma sulle cornici, mettendo per la prima volta in relazione le cornici di Assisi con quelle di Padova. Il tema delle cornici è importantissimo, come dimostrano i più recenti studi di H. BELTING, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi, ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei*, Berlin, 1977 e L. BELLOSI, *Cimabue*, Milano, 1988, su Assisi.

⁶ A. MOSCHETTI, *La cappella degli Scrovegni e gli affreschi di Giotto in essa dipinti*, Firenze, 1904, p. 54.

⁷ C. H. WEIGELT, *Giotto: des Meisters Gemälde in 293 Abbildungen*, Stuttgart, 1925, p. 79.

⁸ P. TOESCA, *Il Trecento*, Torino, 1951, p. 476.



Fig. 4. Giotto, Adorazione dei Magi, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)

Io credo che qui vi sia, come ho già avuto modo di argomentare, “una delle realizzazioni più significative e impressionanti della storia di tutti i tempi, frutto dello straordinario rapporto tra arte e scienza... Giotto raffigura per la prima volta nella storia della pittura occidentale due spazi vuoti proprio negli stessi anni in cui uno dei più famosi maestri dello *studium* patavino [Pietro d’Abano] ne aveva teorizzato l’esistenza, in opposizione alla concezione tomistica aristotelica. Pietro dà piena evidenza alla scienza fisica come scienza della natura, non più intesa in senso aristotelico, ossia come risposta all’interrogazione metafisica sulla natura, ma come scienza (*modus sciendi*) che attraverso un nuovo concetto positivo di metodo sperimentale (*modus operandi*) può giungere ad una nuova concezione dell’essenza del vuoto (*modus essendi*). I rapporti tra gli studi di ottica e le sperimentazioni spaziali di Giotto, riletti in questa prospettiva, assumano un significato ancora più pregnante, che giustifica ancor più la fama raggiunta dall’artista presso i contemporanei e gli umanisti”.⁹

⁹ G. VALENZANO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 136.

Giotto misura lo spazio, adotta, per la prima volta in pittura, un metodo scientifico. Il fatto che avvenga compiutamente a Padova non può non essere strettamente interrelato con le ricerche sperimentali e all'avanguardia che si svolgevano presso una delle più importanti università europee dell'epoca.¹⁰ Del resto Pietro è a Padova, dopo aver lasciato l'università parigina, almeno dal 1302. Egli redasse il *Conciliator*, a cui aveva lavorato per 10 anni, intorno al 1303.¹¹ Proprio in questo testo Pietro d'Abano polemizza contro la fisica aristotelica che negava l'esistenza del vuoto.

Pietro d'Abano sviluppa e prosegue le ricerche ottiche e astronomiche già avviate da Witelo.

La grande invenzione giottesca nella realizzazione della stella cometa come una palla di fuoco nella scena dell'*Adorazione dei magi* non può che essere letta come una trasposizione alla lettera della descrizione che della cometa Halley ci ha lasciato Pietro d'Abano (Fig. 4).

L'illustrazione dell'*Eclissi* (Fig. 5), miniata nell'*Officiolo*, la straordinaria opera manoscritta di Francesco da Barberino, scritta a Padova tra 1305 e 1308, opera fino a poco tempo fa ritenuta perduta, rivela il parallelo interesse da parte di un letterato e poeta sulle ricerche astronomiche in corso presso lo *studium* di Padova.¹² Di fatto, in modo implicito, conferma l'attenzione dedicata da Giotto alla presentazione della stella cometa, di Halley, così come l'aveva descritta Pietro d'Abano, che l'aveva potuta osservare nel suo passaggio vicino alla terra del 1301. L'inserimento della stella cometa nella scena dell'*Adorazione dei Magi* compare assai anticamente nell'elaborazione di tale iconografia. La stella



Fig. 5. Francesco da Barberino, *Officiolo*, Eclissi

¹⁰ Su questo tema rimando a G. FEDERICI VESCOVINI, La teoria delle immagini di Pietro d'Abano e gli affreschi astrologici del Palazzo della Ragione di Padova, in: *Die Kunst und das Studium der Natur vom 14. zum 16. Jahrhundert*, (eds.) Wolfram Prinz, Andreas Beyer, Berlin, 1987, pp. 213-235; G. FEDERICI VESCOVINI, Il sole e la luna nelle citazioni di Pietro d'Abano dei segreti di Albumasar, di Sadan, *Micrologus*, 12, Firenze, 2004, pp. 185-194; G. FEDERICI VESCOVINI, La piramide visiva nelle "Questioni di Prospettiva" di Biagio Pelacani da Parma, in: *L'arte della matematica nella prospettiva: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Istituto svizzero di Roma, Centro internazionale di studi Urbino e la prospettiva, Roma - Urbino, 8-11 ottobre 2006*, (ed.) Rocco Sinisgalli, Foligno, 2009, pp. 247-278; G. FEDERICI VESCOVINI, La nozione di oggetto secondo la "Perspectiva" di Teodorico di Freiberg, in: *Oggetto e spazio, fenomenologia dell'oggetto, forma e cosa dai secoli XIII-XIV ai post-cartesiani: atti del Convegno, Perugia, 8-10 settembre 2005*, (eds.) Graziella Federici Vescovini, Orsola Rignani, Firenze, 2008, pp. 81-90 e L. BAGGIO, Sperimentazioni prospettiche e ricerche scientifiche a Padova nel secondo Trecento, *Il Santo*, II/34, Padova, 1994, pp. 173-232; L. BAGGIO, Sperimentazioni spaziali negli affreschi di Altichiero nell'oratorio di San Giorgio, in: *Il secolo di Giotto nel Veneto*, (eds.) Giovanna Valenzano, Federica Toniolo, Venezia, 2007, pp. 417-435. Nell'interessante saggio di F. GANDOLFO – F. GHIONE, Giotto e il punto di fuga, in: *Giotto e il Trecento. "Il più Sovrano Maestro stato in dipintura"*, (ed.) Alessandro Tomei, Milano, 2009, pp. 365-377, si mette l'accento sulla ricerca prospettica empirica che raggiunge risultati superiori alle conoscenze ottiche dell'epoca facendo riferimento soprattutto ai testi di Witelo e Scoto.

¹¹ F. BOTTIN, Introduzione, in: AL-FĀRĀBĪ, *La classificazione delle scienze (de scientiis)*, (ed.) Anna Pozzobon, Padova, 2013, p. 51, sottolinea l'eco della fortuna del *De scientiis* di al-Fārābī nei *Documenti d'amore* di Francesco, testo in cui sono citati espressamente anche il *De divisione Philosophiae*, correttamente attribuito ad al-Fārābī e *De ortu scientiarum* attribuito invece erroneamente al traduttore Domenico Gundissalini. Si ritiene che Francesco da Barberino, che cita le pitture della cappella degli Scrovegni, si sia avvicinato alle tematiche filosofiche e astronomiche proprio grazie alla frequentazione di Pietro d'Abano. Francesco soggiornò a Padova dopo il 1304 e fino al 1309.

¹² *Officiolum di Francesco da Barberino*, (eds.) Sandro Bertelli, Daniela Goldin Folena, Giordana Mariani Canova, Chiara Ponchia, Francesco G.b. Trolese, Salerno Editrice, Roma, 2016, pp. 55-62 e 169-174.

è raffigurata a più punte, già nei sarcofagi di IV-V secolo. La cometa è raffigurata anche da Nicholaus, il grande artista protagonista della scultura nell'Italia padana della prima metà del XII secolo, tra le costellazioni scolpite sull'estradosso del portale principale del duomo di Piacenza, la cui ricostruzione fu iniziata nel 1122.

Nel XIV secolo e anche in quello successivo la stella cometa è raffigurata su tavole dipinte o su pareti affrescate con la sua coda ad assumere la forma ancora oggi adottata per le decorazioni natalizie dell'albero o del presepe dei bambini. Alla base della presenza della stella, vi è il passo dello Pseudo Matteo: "apparve nel cielo una stella grandissima tanto che sembrava che il cielo non la potesse comprendere ed era più splendente del Sole". Ma Giotto, diversamente da quanto era stato allestito nel cantiere di Assisi, non dipinge una stella secondo la tradizione tramandata, ma raffigurò la cometa secondo la descrizione di Pietro d'Abano. Non si tratta di una "rappresentazione simbolica, dal momento che dipinge la chioma con 24 raggi e 12 linee dorate."¹³

La presenza della lamina d'oro non esclude l'intenzionalità di raffigurazione scientifica, come attesta la raffigurazione dell'eclissi nella miniatura che illustra l'Offiziolo. Del resto una scienziata come Margherita Hack, in *Notte di stelle*, riprende il passo del medico filosofo padovano e chiosa il passo di Pietro d'Abano "...esalazioni secche e calde che si infiammano...dopo un grande fuoco (il nucleo N.d.A) la materia perde il colore rosso e si tinge di nero. Per questo Giotto la dipinse con un nucleo rosso fuoco molto evidente e una coda curva e striata dove il rosso sfuma in nero"¹⁴.



Fig. 6. Giotto, Invidia, cappella Scrovegni, Padova
(© Musei Civici di Padova)

¹³ C. BELLINATI, Giotto e la cometa nell'Adorazione dei Magi, in: *Magico appuntamento. Halley e Giotto nel cosmo*, (eds.) Cesare Barbieri, Luisa Pigatto, Claudio Bellinati, Castelfranco Veneto, 1985, pp. 81-85, ritiene che non sia un riflesso delle ricerche scientifiche e delle osservazioni astronomiche di Pietro d'Abano, ma una pura rappresentazione simbolica; A. MONCIATTI, Il cielo rappresentato. Per gli astri nella pittura in Italia al tempo di Dante, *Rivista di studi danteschi*, XVI/2, Roma, 2016, pp. 389-405, ritiene, giustamente, che solo la raffigurazione di Giotto sia un effettivo riflesso del passaggio della cometa nel 1301.

¹⁴ M. HACK – V. DOMINICI, *Notte di stelle. Le costellazioni fra scienza e mito: le più belle storie scritte nel cielo*, Milano, 2013.

Pietro, grazie alla conoscenza della filosofia araba, di al-Fārābī e di Avicenna, ai loro commenti del pensiero aristotelico, è in grado di contrapporsi ad Aristotele, prendendo posizione contro il grande filosofo greco sulle definizioni e rapporti tra arte e natura, di fatto polemizza contro la stessa concezione metafisica.¹⁵ Pietro introduce la nozione di *habitus intellectivus* acquisito nell'anima e soprattutto il concetto di arte entro e non fuori dalla natura. Da questa impostazione teoretica Pietro è in grado di affermare la dignità dell'attività medica, di cui rivendica il valore professionale, raggiunto grazie all'esercitazione pratica basata sulla conoscenza scientifica. Si tratta di una rivoluzione di valore epocale nel pensiero medievale, il superamento della divisione canonica tra arti liberali e arti meccaniche. Il mutamento epistemologico della scienza medica attuato da Pietro è il presupposto dell'analogo processo che porterà all'esaltazione degli artisti non più relegati nelle arti meccaniche.¹⁶ Il fatto che Pietro citi il Giotto del miracolo della Navicella raffigurato sul lato occidentale del quadriportico di San Pietro a Roma fa comprendere che i due grandi protagonisti della rivoluzione naturalistica della fine del XIII secolo si conoscevano prima della collaborazione in palazzo della Ragione¹⁷. L'opera, già in redazione a Parigi, è destinata a un pubblico universale di lettori, a ulteriore conferma della fama sovranazionale conquistata da Giotto già allo scorcio del XIII secolo.¹⁸

Una delle più grandi invenzioni figurative giottesche è quella della Personificazione dell'Invidia, come aveva già indicato Francesco da Barberino nei Documenti d'Amore "*Invidiosus invidia comburitur intus et extra. Hanc Padue in Arena optime pinxit Giottus*".¹⁹ Il volto animalesco da cui esce una serpe che va a ritorcersi verso il proprio occhio, è caratterizzato dalle orecchie lunghe e appuntite (Fig. 6.) Il rapporto tra Giotto e Francesco da Barberino è stato da tempo richiamato, da quando Eva Frojmović²⁰ ha giustamente interpretato la figura dipinta sopra l'architrave della porta che metteva in co-

¹⁵ Per l'apporto di al-Fārābī nella classificazione delle scienze e il superamento della consolidata divisione aristotelica delle scienze in teoretiche e pratiche si veda: AL-FĀRĀBĪ, *La classificazione delle scienze (de scientiis)*, introduzione di Francesco Bottin, traduzione e note a cura di Anna Pozzobon, Subsidia Mediaevalia Patavina, collana del Centro Interdipartimentale per Ricerche di Filosofia Medievale "Carlo Giacon" Università degli studi di Padova, Padova, 2013.

¹⁶ Su questi aspetti, analizzati per il periodo successivo si rimanda al sempre fondamentale, M. BAXANDALL, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450*, Oxford, 1971 (traduzione italiana: *Giotto e gli umanisti. Gli umanisti osservatori della pittura in Italia e la scoperta della composizione pittorica 1350-1450*, Milano, 1994).

¹⁷ Significativo al riguardo è che lo stesso L. B. ALBERTI, *De pictura*, 42, citi solo Giotto tra i pittori precedenti e proprio ricordando come unica sua opera quella del miracolo della Navicella. Sul mosaico della Navicella, sul braccio orientale del quadriportico di San Pietro si veda M. ANDALORO, *La pittura medievale a Roma 312-1431. Atlante percorsi visivi, volume I suburbio, Vaticano, Rione Monti*, Milano 2006, al capitolo *San Pietro*, pp. 21 e ss., in part. 22. Rimane a tutt'oggi fondamentale per l'analisi iconografica H. KOEREN JANSEN, *Navicella Bildtradition Deutung Receptionsgeschichte*, Worms, 1993 che data i mosaici al 1300 perché già Villani li mette in connessione con il Giubileo. Da ultimo S. ROMANO, *Il male del mondo: Giotto, Dante, e la Navicella*, in: *Dante und die bildenden Künste*, (eds.) Maria Antonietta Terzoli, Sebastian Schütze, Berlin, 2016, pp. 185-203. Nessuno di questi contributi menziona la citazione di Pietro d'Abano.

¹⁸ F. BOTTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 51, sottolinea l'eco della fortuna del *De scientiis* di al-Fārābī nei *Documenti d'amore* di Francesco Barberino, testo in cui sono citati espressamente anche il *De divisione Philosophiae*, correttamente attribuito ad al-Fārābī e *De ortu scientiarum* attribuito invece erroneamente al traduttore Domenico Gundissalini. P. D'ABANO, *Liber compilationis phisionomie*, Padue, 1447, c. 24v; H. STEINKE, *Giotto und die Physiognomie*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59, 523-547:16.

¹⁹ F. DA BARBERINO, *Documenti d'Amore*, pt. 2, 5 reg. 66: Il testo completo della glossa *Invidus est qui tristatur in bonorum prosperitatibus. Inimica: inimicatur enim patientibus eam, unde invidiosus invidia comburitur intus et extra. Hanc Padue in Arena optime pinxit Giottus* si riferisce al seguente passo di testo "Non arricchisce ne dà stato,/ ma vedi ch'ho trovato/ch'ella è nemica sol de la sua gente/ et alloro più nocente,/ dunque è del parentado/ de l'angel rio che fuge del ciel levado".

²⁰ E. FROJMOVIČ, *Giotto's Circumspection*, *The Art Bulletin*, 89, New York, 2007, pp. 195-210.



Fig. 7. Giotto, Circumspectio, cappella Scrovegni, Padova
(© Musei Civici di Padova)



Fig. 8. Francesco da Barberino, Discorsi d'Amore, Prudentia
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municazione la cappella con il palazzo della famiglia Scrovegni, in opposizione all'*Insipiens*, come la personificazione della *Circumspectio* “*Et videbis quod ista domina in singulis que videri vel sentiri possunt circumspicit unde vere potest qui ad singula oculum recte dirigit circumspectu vocari*” (Figg. 7-9).²¹

Solo da questi brevi cenni si possono immaginare fruttuosi colloqui tra Francesco di Barberino, Giotto e Pietro d'Abano.²² Non ne abbiamo altre testimonianze, ma per un'opera degli inizi del XIV secolo avere comunque indizi sicuri della conoscenza e attenzione reciproca tra i grandi intellettuali dell'epoca è assai significativo. Del resto lo stesso Giotto proprio all'Arena si qualifica come *doctus*.²³

Di più: l'*Invidia*, ricordata da Francesco da Barberino, è dipinta con le orecchie appuntite e allungate, caratteri tipici degli invidiosi, secondo quanto annotava Pietro d'Abano nel suo testo sulla Fisiognomica: “*Aures angustae et oblongae testantur invidiam*”.²⁴

Significativo è che Pietro d'Abano, per illustrare come le passioni e i caratteri umani condizionino l'aspetto fisico degli uomini cita proprio le pitture di Giotto, in cui si coglie la tensione degli affetti, “gli aristotelici affetti umorali”, riflessa nell'espressione dei volti. Nel trattato di Pietro d'Abano, *Compilatio phisionomiae*, terminata a Parigi il 24 maggio 1295, secondo il colophon, si cita espressamente il mosaico di Giotto realizzato per l'allora chiesa di San Pietro a Roma, è un dato importante perché costituisce il termine ante quem della prestigiosa commissione papale che conferma quindi la datazione precoce delle pitture di Assisi.

²¹ “Vedrai che questa signora dirige lo sguardo verso ogni singolo oggetto con i mezzi con cui è possibile essere visto e percepito, onde colui che dirige rettamente gli occhi verso ciascuna cosa a buon diritto può dirsi circospetto”. Su queste raffigurazioni aveva richiamato l'attenzione S. G. MIETH, Per i due tondi soprastanti l'antico accesso alla Cappella degli Scrovegni, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, 78, Padova, 1989, pp. 15-20, ripresi in S. G. MIETH, *Giotto: das mnemotechnische Programm der Arenakapelle in Padua*, Tübingen, 1991. Altre osservazioni interessanti in R. STEINER, *Paradoxien der Nachahmung bei Giotto: die Grisallen der Arena Kapelle*, in: *Die Trauben des Zeuxis Formen künstlerischer Wirklichkeitsaneignung*, (ed.) Hans Körner, Constanze Peres, Hildesheim, 1990, pp. 61-86.

²² P. MURRAY, Notes on early Giotto Sources, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 16/1-2, London, 1953, pp. 58-80.

²³ Si veda più oltre in questo stesso testo, p. 355, Fig. 8-9 (per concessione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana © 2020, ogni diritto riservato).

²⁴ J. THOMANN, Pietro d'Abano on Giotto, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 54, London, 1991, pp. 238-241; H. STEINKE, Giotto und die Physiognomik, *Zeitschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, 59, München - Berlin, 1996, pp. 523-547; P. SEILER, Giotto als Erfinder der Porträts, in: *Das Porträts vor Erfindung des Porträts*, (eds.) Martin Büchsel, Peter Schmidt, Mainz, 2003, pp. 160-164.



Fig. 9. Francesco da Barberino, Discorsi d'Amore, Circumspectio (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 4076 f. 101r)

Questo passo di Pietro d'Abano è inoltre particolarmente significativo, perché aiuta a comprendere che al di là dei *topoi* retorici, sempre presenti nei testi degli umanisti, da Dante a Boccaccio, da Petrarca a Francesco Villani, quando si celebra la perizia del pittore fiorentino in grado di duplicare la natura, al punto da richiamare il famoso confronto tra Apelle e Zeusi di pliniana memoria, vi è effettivamente una convinzione delle grandi capacità ritrattistiche di Giotto e della sua abilità nel saper raffigurare le passioni e i mutamenti dell'animo.

Le maggiori novità iconografiche, in effetti, riguardano il ciclo delle personificazioni dei Vizi e delle Virtù.

Esse non sono un ciclo a se stante, ma devono essere considerate nel contesto della cappella: fanno parte del percorso della salvezza. L'ultimo riquadro del terzo livello, con il quale si concludono le *storie di Cristo*, rappresenta la *Pentecoste*. È l'ultimo atto della Rivelazione Divina e l'atto di nascita della Chiesa.

Il fedele è giunto alla fine di quello che è stato definito il "percorso didattico" dispiegato nei primi tre registri della Cappella. Ora è a conoscenza della storia sacra e può affrontare le scelte di vita con il *libero arbitrio*.

Il tema del libero arbitrio e dell'influenza degli astri sull'uomo è assai studiato nel medioevo, ben presente anche in Dante. Nel Canto XVI del Purgatorio della Divina Commedia, dedicato a Marco Lombardo abbiamo una trattazione del libero arbitrio.

Alto sospir, che duolo strinse in "uhi!", / mise fuor prima; e poi cominciò: "Frate, / lo mondo è cieco, e tu vien ben da lui. / Voi che vivete ogne cagion recate / pur suso al cielo, pur come se tutto / movesse seco di necessitate. / Se così fosse, in voi fora distrutto / libero arbitrio, e non fora giustizia / per ben letizia, e per male aver lutto. / Lo cielo i vostri movimenti inizia; / non dico tutti, ma, posto ch'i' l dica, / lume v'è dato a bene e a malizia, / e libero voler; che, se fatica / ne le prime battaglie col ciel dura, / poi vince tutto, se ben si notrica. / A maggior forza e a miglior natura / liberi soggiacete; e quella cria / la mente in voi, che 'l ciel non ha in sua cura."²⁵

²⁵ Riporto una parafrasi:

Egli emise un sospiro profondo, che il dolore trasformò in un "ahi!", e poi cominciò: "Fratello, il mondo è cieco, e tu vieni proprio da là.

Voi che siete vivi attribuite ogni causa sempre e solo agli influssi del cielo, come se esso determinasse necessariamente tutto.

Se così fosse, in voi sarebbe distrutto il libero arbitrio e non ci sarebbe giustizia nell'avere beatitudine per il bene e punizione per il male.

L'influsso degli astri è all'inizio delle vostre azioni; non dico tutte, ma anche se lo dicessi, vi è stata data la luce [della ragione] per distinguere ciò che è bene e ciò che è male,

e un libero volere; ed esso, anche se fatica nelle battaglie iniziali contro gli influssi del cielo, poi vince completamente, se si alimenta bene.

Voi, pur essendo liberi, siete soggetti a una potenza più grande [dell'influsso degli astri] e a una entità superiore, la quale ha creato in voi la mente [comprendente intelletto e volontà], che l'influsso celeste non può dirigere.



Fig. 10. Giotto, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)

Vi sono richiami espliciti di gesto e significato tra storie bibliche e Virtù, già da tempo individuati, ad esempio *Ira* e Caifa, *Desperatio* e Giuda Impiccato.

Le personificazioni allegoriche dei Vizi e delle Virtù si alternano a coppie di lastre che simulano marmi policromi. Le lastre in finto marmo sono incastrate, da una cornice prospettica in marmo bianco, in una grandissima lastra che finge marmo verde.

Nei documenti dell'epoca sarebbe forse stato descritto come porfido verde, dalla valenza simbolica di redenzione. Alberto Magno nel suo libro sulle pietre fornisce importanti informazioni sulla catalogazione di pietre e rocce e sugli attributi ad esse riconosciute.²⁶

Nessuno, ma potrei sbagliarmi, perché è impossibile dominare tutta la letteratura passata e presente sulla Cappella degli Scrovegni (Fig. 10), ha mai sottolineato che le lastre a finto marmo verde incorniciano solo le lastre a finti marmi, creazione della natura, opera artistica straordinaria, segno della potenza creativa divina avrebbe detto Alberto Magno, alunno dello *Studium* di Padova e poi grande maestro europeo, che esercitò una notevole influenza su Pietro d'Abano.²⁷ Alberto Magno, in un celebre passo in cui esalta la chiesa di San Marco a Venezia, non cita i mosaici, ma le lastre di marmo, vero miracolo della natura, dove si possono scorgere teste, figure. La qualità di questi marmi, il valore delle cornici prospettiche, fanno assai dubitare dell'ipotesi intelligentemente costruita, su una serie di osservazioni e passi di altri studiosi, spinti a convergere sul postulare un precedente

²⁶ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De mineralibus*, in: ALBERTI MAGNI *opera omnia*, II, III, 1-3, Paris, 1890-1899, V, pp. 48-52. Per molti autori il testo è in realtà da attribuire allo Pseudo Alberto Magno.

²⁷ F. CORDEZ, *Les marbres de Giotto. Astrologie et naturalisme à la chapelle Scrovegni*, *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 45/1, Firenze, 2013, pp. 8-25.

delle *crustae* dipinte da Giotto negli Scrovegni in quelle, a tutta altezza, dipinte dal medesimo artista presso il Santo. Giotto avrebbe dipinto una cappella decorata interamente da *crustae* marmoree, una straordinaria invenzione giottesca, che celebrerebbe l'uso dei marmi di per sé, senza la necessità di raffigurazioni religiose. Il tutto sulla base dei finti marmi ancora oggi esistenti nello zoccolo della cappella di Santa Caterina, dedicata poi a Santa Rosa e oggi nota come Cappella delle Benedizioni che si affaccia sul deambulatorio della chiesa del Santo di Padova e a una serie nota di vecchie fotografie. Chi come me si ricorda visivamente i finti marmi sulle pareti della cappella della chiesa del Santo rammenta che avevano l'aspetto dei marmi rifatti nell'Ottocento, come si vedono nel vano di accesso dal chiostro alla chiesa, a lato della cappella di San Giacomo e San Felice.²⁸

I finti marmi degli Scrovegni, alternati alle personificazioni, ne amplificano l'allegoria.²⁹

Già Leonetto Tintori, che ha restaurato la cappella negli anni Sessanta, ha approfondito la tecnica di esecuzione: "...nell'architettura inserisce marmi con un tipo di stucco lucido (romano) adottato poi in tutto il ciclo. Stira con ferro freddo il colore ancora fresco, impastando le venature tra di loro, completando la lucidatura più tardi con il ferro caldo..." poi ancora "i colori dello stucco romano, sono stati lucidati molto presto dopo averli dipinti ed il colore ancora eccessivamente fresco ha seguito il ferro conferendo al marmo una sfocatura utile all'effetto voluto".³⁰

Quando la malta stesa era quasi asciutta, si stendeva lo strato di intonachino dello spessore di 2 o 3 mm, formato con materati di grana fine. Su questa superficie si eseguiva la coloritura con i pigmenti, macinati molto finemente onde evitare macchie indesiderate o abrasioni per la successiva lisciatura. La lisciatura a caldo è stata realizzata con degli strumenti molti simili a piccoli ferri da stiro che erano scaldati al fuoco di bracieri ardenti. Appena il ferro diminuiva la sua temperatura e poteva essere toccato con una mano, veniva immediatamente messo a contatto con la superficie e mosso con regolare continuità su questa fino a renderla lucida e riflettente come il marmo. Il calore della piastra accelera infatti la carbonatazione dell'intonachino e blocca la crescita dei romboedri della calcite, ottenendo così tante facce complanari poste sulla superficie esterna, che diventa così riflettente. Era inoltre usato anche il sapone o la cera per evitare di impastare i colori delle venature insieme. L'acqua saponata veniva assorbita dalla porosità dell'intonaco e lasciava sulla superficie un velo opaco e biancastro di sapone secco che andava poi rimosso. Si alternavano lucidatura con i ferri e stesure pittoriche successive, attraverso le quali si eseguivano, a seconda del tipo di marmo che si voleva imitare, mazzature o venature di diversi colori.

Nella letteratura artistica il finto di marmo di Giotto è sempre ricordato come stucco romano, perché il procedimento è descritto nel *De architectura* di Vitruvio. Di fatto, è ben noto come per tutto il medioevo il testo vitruviano sia presente in molte biblioteche monastiche di tutta Europa, già copiato in età carolingia e ottoniana. L'uso di alternare finti marmi e personificazioni delle Virtù è attestato

²⁸ La superficialità e la disinvoltura intellettuale, ma per chiamare le cose con il loro nome dovremmo parlare di scorrettezza e disonestà di giovani studiosi sospinti su riviste di classe A, è certamente colpa di un sistema di ranking che porta ormai al dolo, come rivelano fatti recenti, in altro campo, quello medico, che ha visto un professore allontanato da Harvard per accuse di molestie sessuali essere accusato anche di falsificazione dei dati pubblicati sulla più prestigiosa rivista al mondo Nature, che ha rischiato, per interessi e mancanza di responsabilità in chi ha assecondato il presidente del CDA, di essere chiamato a dirigere il Vimm, un centro di ricerca di eccellenza in biologia cellulare e molecolare: Corriere della Sera, 27 e 28 giugno 2020.

²⁹ L. LAZZARINI, I finti marmi di Giotto agli Scrovegni (Padova, Italia), *Marmora*, 4, Pisa - Roma, 2008, pp. 131-140.

³⁰ L. TINTORI, *Giotto nella Cappella degli Scrovegni a Padova, Raccolta dei rilievi Tecnici Sull'Arte ed il Mestiere del Maestro* (dattiloscritto); L. TINTORI *Nella tecnica della pittura murale*, Prato, 1993; G. BASILE, Osservazioni sui processi e tecniche di esecuzione dei dipinti murali di Giotto nella Cappella degli Scrovegni, in: *Giotto e il Trecento. Il più Sovrano Maestro stato in dipintura*, (ed.) Alessandro Tomei, vol. I, *I saggi*, Milano, 2009, p. 340. Sui restauri in cappella mi permetto di rimandare al video in versione italiana e inglese di cui con Monica Pregnotato ho curato il progetto scientifico: <https://www.unipd.it/news-en/film-scrovegni>. Il filmato in italiano è scaricabile anche da <https://www.padovaurbspicta.org>.

già all'XI secolo e in Veneto si conservano antichi esempi, nella Cripta di Aquileia, nelle pitture di Summaga.³¹ Ma nella mente di Giotto ebbero un peso visivo, che gli permisero di rinnovare radicalmente la tradizione, la possibilità di vedere i marmi antichi e tardo antichi di Roma nel foro Romano e la suggestione della trabeazione del tempio di Minerva nel Foro di Nerva³². La caccia alle citazioni dall'antico nell'opera di Giotto ha individuato nel fregio della basilica Emilia, raffigurante Trapea, oggi esposto nell'Antiquarium Forense, la suggestione per il manto gonfiato dal vento accentuato dal movimento nella figura dell'*Inconstantia* (Fig. 11) Il motivo del mantello gonfiato dal vento è abbastanza diffuso, e si ritrova anche in un frammento di sarcofago oggi esposto al Museo Archeologico di Firenze che raffigura il Mito di Altea, come in rilievi conservati presso i Musei Civici di Padova (Fig. 12).³³

Il tema dei vizi e le virtù ha una storia plurisecolare nel Medioevo, a cui non si può neppure accennare. Si è spesso ricordato che le personificazioni funzionano come *Imagines agentes* secondo la nota definizione di Tomaso d'Aquino, ossia figure destinate a colpire l'immaginazione, secondo le regole della memoria artificiale, sebbene l'ordine e la titolazione non rispondono alla serie elaborata nella *Summa Teologica*. Del resto già il Grammatico Boncompagno da Signa, autore della *Rethorica Novissima*, scritta verso il 1235, celebra la memoria che il cristiano deve avere per ricordare senza posa le gioie del paradiso e gli eterni tormenti e cita una lista di vizi e virtù Sapienza-Ignoranza, Sagacia-Imprudenza, Mansuetudine-Furia. L'ordine proposto delle virtù cardinali e di quelle teologali nello zoccolo degli Scrovegni è quello di Sant'Agostino, nel trattato *De doctrina Christiana*, tanto da far ipotizzare che il programma iconografico sia stato steso dall'agostiniano Alberto da Padova.³⁴ *Prudentia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, Iusticia, Fides, Caritas, Spes* si susseguono da est a ovest, seguendo la sequenza elicoidale di lettura scelta da Giotto. Ad esse si contrappongono *Stultitia, Inconstantia, Ira, Iniustitia, Infidelitas, Invidia, Desperatio*.



Fig. 11. Giotto, *Inconstantia*, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)

³¹ L. PIETRIBIASI, *Tipologie, modelli e varianti dei velari e dei partimenti ornamentali nella pittura romanica del Patriarcato di Aquileia*, Tesi di dottorato, Udine, 2002/2003. La tesi iniziata sotto la mia direzione è stata poi diretta da Andrea De Marchi, dopo il mio trasferimento a Padova: L. PIETRIBIASI, *I partimenti in alcuni cicli parietali del Patriarcato di Aquileia tra XI e XIII secolo*, in: *Medioevo adriatico. Circolazione di Modelli, opere, maestri*, (eds.) Giovanna Valenzano, Federica Toniolo, pp. 59-86; L. PIETRIBIASI, *Il velario dipinto nelle chiese venete medioevali tra IX e XIII secolo: iconografia e allegoria*, *Studi e Fonti del Medioevo Vicentino e Veneto*, 3, Vicenza, 2007, pp. 71-138.

³² G. CURZI, Giotto "finxit". Figurazione, rappresentazione degli edifici e illusionismo dei materiali nella pittura di Giotto, *Rivista d'arte*, s. V, I, Firenze, 2011, pp. 4 ff, oltre ad analizzare come Giotto realizza le architetture dipinte ad Assisi, si sofferma sui finti marmi e sulle citazioni dall'antico, sottolineando come in Giotto non vi è mai una semplice citazione ma una straordinaria reinvenzione.

³³ Il mantello rigonfio presente nella raffigurazione scolpita del lato corto illustrante Altea che dilaniata e folle per il dolore della morte dei due fratelli uccisi dal figlio Meleagro, spinta dalla Furia (una delle Erinni) pone sul braciere il tizzone consegnatole dalle Moire che stabilivano la durata della vita di Meleagro, decretando così la sua morte. anche nel sarcofago del Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Rilievo riprodotto in *Ovidio, amori, miti e altre storie*, (ed.) Francesca Ghedini, Napoli - Roma 2018, p. 281. Il medesimo rigonfiamento del pannello compare anche in un frammento di pietra calcarea proveniente da Legnaro, ugualmente esposto presso i Musei Civici di Padova, cfr. ivi p. 266 e F. GHEDINI, *Sculpture greche e romane del Museo civico di Padova*, Roma, 1980, pp. 72-73, raffigurante il ratto d'Europa; lo stesso mantello sollevato appare in alcuni cippi conservati nei Civici Musei di Padova.

³⁴ G. PISANI, *L'ispirazione filosofica-teologica della sequenza "Vizi-Virtù" nella cappella Scrovegni di Giotto*, *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova*, Padova, XCIII, 2004, pp. 61-97; G. PISANI, *I volti segreti di Giotto. Le rivelazioni della Cappella degli Scrovegni*, Milano, 2008.



Fig. 12. Altea istigata da Furia,
Museo Archeologico,
Firenze



Fig. 13. Giotto, Prudentia,
cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Rita
Deiana Università di Padova DBC)

Le personificazioni sono accompagnate dal titolo e da iscrizioni latine in versi. Purtroppo il testo lacunoso delle iscrizioni, per le molte cadute di colore, hanno reso difficile, nel tempo, la loro lettura, privandoci di uno dei testi fondamentali per comprendere non solo ogni aspetto di queste raffigurazioni, ma per analizzare in un contesto più ampio, l'indissolubile rapporto tra testo e immagine proprio della cultura figurativa medievale, affatto esclusivo della miniatura. Specificatamente sulle iscrizioni aveva richiamato l'attenzione Giovanna Gianola.³⁵ Di recente Giulia Ammannati ha presentato uno studio assai importante. Avvalendosi di una campagna di riflettografie, ha potuto integrare di molto il testo scritto e raggiungere una più completa lettura dei *tituli* e quindi delle stesse immagini figurate.³⁶ “*Pinxit industria docte mentis*”, è il titolo del volumetto, edito nel 2017 dalle edizioni della Normale. Il titolo è tratto proprio dall'iscrizione che accompagna l'*Invidia* e l'autore del testo si riferisce espressamente a Giotto: «[P]atet hic Invidi[a]/sua feres propria/ quam pinxit industria/ docte mentis (Ecco qua l'*Invidia*, con i suoi attributi, dipinta dall'*industria* di una dotta mente»,³⁷ o meglio dipinta dall'arte di una mente colta, di un uomo che ha studiato e conosce la scienza nel suo complesso.³⁸

³⁵ G. GIANOLA, Sui ritmi che accompagnano le immagini giottesche delle Virtù e dei Vizi nella Cappella degli Scrovegni: prime ipotesi e congetture, *Italia medievale e umanistica*, Roma – Padova, 2006, XLVII, pp. 25-74, aveva avanzato l'ipotesi che l'autore potesse essere Marchetto da Padova.

³⁶ *Pinxit industria docte mentis. Le iscrizioni delle allegorie di Vizi e Virtù dipinte da Giotto nella Cappella degli Scrovegni*, (ed.) Giulia Ammannati, Pisa, 2017.

³⁷ *Pinxit industria docte mentis...*, op. cit. (n. 36), p. 85.

³⁸ D. GIORGI, *L'esordio della celebrazione di Giotto*, Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, s. 5, 2017, 9/1, pp. 209-218: 214 che si sofferma sulla formula *docta mens*. L'autore nell'analisi del significato di questa firma accetta la traduzione proposta da Giulia Ammannati. Io invece propongo di tradurre il termine latino *industria* come arte, perché nella lingua di oggi *industria* ha una connotazione più tecnica, tecnologica, mentre mi pare evidente che Giotto faccia riferimento ad una maestria imbevuta di conoscenze intellettuali. Il discorso andrebbe affrontato anche facendo riferimento al significato del termine *industria* nella filosofia medievale.

Nel caso della *Prudentia* la restituzione del testo ha permesso una piena comprensione dell'iconografia dell'immagine (Fig. 13). La *Prudenza*, dalla sua origine etimologica *pro-videntia*, vedere in anticipo, prevedere, indica la capacità di anticipare il futuro sulla base della conoscenza del passato e l'analisi del presente. Già Pietro Selvatico Estense aveva sottolineato che Giotto aveva dipinto con due volti la Prudenza.³⁹

Res et tempus summa cura
 Agit[a]t Prudentia,
 spec[u]letur [ut] futu[ra]
 [su]a providentia.
 Memoratur iam elapsa.
 O[rd]inat pres[en]tia;
 mens ruinam non est [p]assa,
 hac donata gratia
 Sextu(s) [circu]mgi[r]at pergens;
 scit futurum spe[c]ulum
 et antiqua vultus vergens
 [qu]o transiit [s]e[c]ulum

La traduzione proposta da Giulia Ammannati è la seguente: “La Prudenza considera i fatti e il tempo con grande attenzione, per scrutare il futuro con la sua preveggenza. Ricorda le cose già passate, ordina quelle presenti: la mente non soffre rovina, se le è concessa questa grazia. Il compasso gira in tondo tenendo la direzione; lo specchio conosce il futuro, e il volto orientato dove è trascorso il tempo (conosce) le cose passate”.⁴⁰

Giulia Ammannati ha inoltre sottolineato che lo specchio appare qui per la prima volta come attributo della *Prudenza*, ritenendo che l'idea di raffigurare la *Prudenza* con lo specchio abbia una origine testuale, ovvero sia “la traduzione figurativa di uno stimolo testuale. L'attributo dello specchio fu suggerito dall'etimologia della parola, perché in latino *speculum* ha la stessa radice del verbo *speculari*, scrutare”.⁴¹

Giotto quindi è in grado di rinnovare l'iconografia, di creare magnifiche e potenti invenzioni come quella dell'*Incostanza*, che scivola su un piano inclinato, rimandando, per me, allo studio del moto dei corpi, su cui pure si discuteva allora presso lo *studium* di Padova come si discuterà per secoli, prima e dopo il celebre studio sulla misurazione della caduta dei pesi sul piano inclinato del 1602 di Galileo Galilei.

In un mio recente testo ho suggerito l'ipotesi che Giotto abbia voluto innovare anche l'iconografia del committente e soprattutto del modellino della chiesa offerta, che pur recuperando in toto l'iconografia tradizionale, la rinnova in modo determinante, proponendo una sorta di prospetto assonometrico (Fig.14).

“Straordinaria è l'enfasi con cui Giotto ripropone un modello iconografico nel passato impiegato solo per i papi, i vescovi o gli abati. Come è noto, il tema del committente recante un modelletto, derivato da monete coniate in molte province dell'impero, con la personificazione della città che offriva il modellino del tempio all'imperatore che gli era stato dedicato, ha la sua prima attestazione, in ambito cristiano, nel mosaico absidale della chiesa dei Santi Cosma e Damiano, con il ritratto di

³⁹ P. SELVATICO, *Sulla Cappella degli Scrovegni nell'Arena di Padova e sui freschi di Giotto in essa dipinti*, Padova, 1836, p. 45.

⁴⁰ G. AMMANNATI, Prudenza, in: *La cappella degli Scrovegni nell'anfiteatro romano di Padova: nuove ricerche e questioni irrisolte*, (ed.) Rita Deiana, Padova, 2018., pp. 164-165.

⁴¹ G. AMMANNATI, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 167.



Fig. 14. Giotto, Enrico Scrovegni offre il modelletto della chiesa, *cappella Scrovegni, Padova*



Fig. 15. Papa offre il modelletto della chiesa, *mosaico absidale, Sant'Agnese, Roma*

a cui si affiancano, del tutto inopinatamente per le nostre regole prospettiche, facciata e abside. Si tratta di uno schema iconografico raro ma attestato in aree distanti e in un arco cronologico che abbraccia tutto il medioevo. A Roma lo si era già incontrato nel modellino retto forse da Giovanni IV, ritratto in pendant con papa Onorio I (625-638) che tiene un libro in mano, posti ciascuno a lato di Sant'Agnese, a cui la chiesa è dedicata (Fig. 15).

Giotto, che per la dimensione adottata del committente in ginocchio, l'attenzione al dettaglio, sembra tener conto dell'immagine di Nicolò III che offre il modello del *Sancta Sanctorum*,⁴³ per raffigurare il modelletto architettonico ripropone invece uno schema iconografico di antica tradizione, inserendosi quindi in una consolidata restituzione sintetica del modellino, attestato anche in miniatura, ad esempio nel *Leggendario* dell'Archivio del monastero di Santa Grata di Bergamo. Nell'illustrazione della *statio in ramis palmarum* il Vescovo visita la chiesa del monastero ed offre alla badessa, anch'essa raffigurata con il pastorale in mano, appena uscita dalla porta della chiesa, accompagnata da due laici

papa Felice IV (526-530) che offre con la mano velata il modellino della chiesa vista dall'abside e dal lato longitudinale adiacente.⁴² Ne esisteva una testimonianza ancora più antica, nel ritratto musivo di papa Simplicio (468-483), esibito nel catino della chiesa dedicata a santa Bibiana, tramandato solo da un disegno cinquecentesco. Tra i numerosi esempi di papi committenti, raffigurati con l'aureola quadrata dei viventi e recanti il modellino in mano, dispiegati attraverso i secoli sulle absidi romane, ha un importante significato il modellino presentato da Papa Pasquale I (817-824) che raffigura la chiesa rappresentata nel suo prospetto longitudinale

⁴² F. GANDOLFO, *Il ritratto di committenza*, in: *Arte e iconografia a Roma da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*, (eds.) Maria Andaloro, Serena Romano, Milano, 2000, pp. 175-192.

⁴³ S. ROMANO, *Il Sancta Sanctorum: gli affreschi*, in: *Sancta Sanctorum*, Milano, 1995, p. 57, sottolinea "Ritratto è il modellino della cappella, raffigurata in modo del tutto realistico, con esattamente nove incroci di grate alle finestre e le ombre giuste sul tetto; e anche le figure dei Santi Pietro e Paolo (Figg. 42-43), che affiancano il papa autorevolmente e monumentalmente, meritano in certa misura di essere considerate dei ritratti". Il modellino è ritratto in prospettiva, ne sono raffigurati due lati, con l'angolo di giunzione di due lati in primo piano, tenuto saldo dalle mani di Nicola III e san Pietro. Il volto del pontefice è caratterizzato individualmente, con gli occhi azzurri e non ha alcun precedente per forza ritrattistica in pittura.

e dalle monache che fanno capolino alla porta.⁴⁴ Lo schema iconografico che riporta su un unico piano abside, prospetto laterale e facciata è superbamente adottato anche nel Salterio di Ormesby, nella splendida miniatura su pergamena f.147v della Oxford Bodleian Library Ms Douce 366.⁴⁵ Si tratta di uno degli esiti più alti della miniatura inglese. Nel campo della lettera D (*dixit dominus*) sono illustrate le due persone della Trinità, il volto della terza si trova nell'iniziale U (*Unice obsecrationis domine deus*), sedute in trono all'interno della chiesa raffigurante la Gerusalemme Celeste. Il fianco dell'edificio è spalancato ad esibire la Trinità su fondo oro, stretto tra abside, in lieve scorcio, e facciata della chiesa, il tutto rinserrato da due serafini dipinti entro il corpo della lettera. Lo schema convenzionale di disegnare sulla carta un edificio visibile contemporaneamente su più lati perdura in area germanica per secoli, ad esempio nella veduta di Bamberga del XV secolo, in cui tutti gli edifici religiosi mostrano facciata, prospetto e abside, col chiaro intento di renderli ben riconoscibili nei loro aspetti peculiari.

Gentile da Fabriano, nel modello di chiesa tenuto in mano da San Gerolamo, nel polittico di Valeromita eseguito a Venezia, ripropose l'esposizione dei tre prospetti più salienti per rappresentare compiutamente un edificio. Dal confronto con questi esempi io credo di poter sostenere che il modello di Giotto volontariamente riproponga lo schema, attestato nel mosaico monumentale della Roma dei papi, che affianca abside, prospetto e facciata, ma lo tratti in modo aggiornato, puntando non ad una resa convenzionale, ma sfidando la possibilità di rappresentare compiutamente i principali prospetti dell'edificio, fronte fianco abside, una sorta di visione assonometrica *ante litteram*.⁴⁶

Ma la più grande invenzione iconografica giottesca, di fatto rimasta a lungo ignorata, è il piccolo omino nudo che sembra sostenere la croce portata in alto dai due angeli (Fig. 16).

Sulla figura, passata inosservata persino da Yves Christe,⁴⁷ ha avuto il merito di richiamare l'attenzione Chiara Frugoni. A pagina 237 pubblica l'immagine a piena pagina, con la didascalia che indica: "Giotto, *Risorto che si nasconde dietro la croce*, particolare del Giudizio Universale, navata, parete ovest". La studiosa ha richiamato i *Chronica maiora*, ossia quei testi che narrano le storie dalla Creazione fino a raggiungere i giorni in cui viveva il compilatore del volume. Soffermendosi sul testo iniziato "dal benedettino Ruggero di Wendover, storico dell'abbazia di Sant'Albans in Inghilterra, morto nel 1236, e continuati dal fratello Matteo Paris che li integrò con bellissimi disegni di sua mano (Matteo morì nel 1259, all'anno 1228 è registrato l'arrivo al monastero del vescovo armeno che con l'aiuto dell'interprete del suo seguito poté soddisfare le domande dei monaci, relative ad uno strabiliante racconto (che per noi corrisponde alla Leggenda dell'ebreo errante) già loro evidentemente noto. Il vescovo aveva proprio incontrato e parlato con Cartafilo, "praetorii ostiarius et Pontii Pilati", aveva colpito con un pugno alla schiena Cristo ("pepulit eum pugno contemptibiliter post tergum") e gli aveva detto beffardo "Vai, vai, che aspetti?" (*Vade Iesus citius, vade quid moraris?*) Cristo, con volto severo, gli aveva risposto: "Io vado, ma tu mi aspetterai fino al mio ritorno (*Ego vado et expectabis donec veniam*). Una ciclica morte e resurrezione dell'offensore, che giunto ai cento anni tornava ad averne trenta, l'età in cui aveva schernito Cristo, destinata a durare fino al Giudizio Universale, aveva adempito fino a quel momento la profezia".⁴⁸ Secondo altre fonti l'ebreo errante avrebbe colpito Cristo durante il cammino della sua passione.

Chiara Frugoni identifica quindi Cartafilo nell'uomo accanto al capo della scorta mandata da Pilato e ancora nell'uomo che pungola con un bastoncino, come si pungola un animale da soma, Cristo che porta la croce verso il Calvario, che sarebbe quindi rappresentato alla fine della sua storia, dopo

⁴⁴ M. CORTESI – G. MARIANI CANOVA, *Il Leggendario di Santa Grata tra scrittura agiografica e arte (con riproduzione in facsimile della vita)*, Bergamo, 2002, p. 136.

⁴⁵ F. AVRIL, *L'enluminure à l'époque gothique 1200-1420*, Paris, 1995, pp. 88-89.

⁴⁶ G. VALENZANO, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 145, con numerose illustrazioni.

⁴⁷ Y. CHRISTIE, The Apocalypse, in *The Monumental Art of the Eleventh through Thirteenth Centuries*, in: *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, New York, 1992, pp. 234-254.; Y. CHRISTIE, *Il Giudizio Universale*, Milano, 2000.

⁴⁸ C. FRUGONI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 234.



Fig. 16. Giotto, Giudizio Universale, particolare dell'animula che porta la Croce, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)



Fig. 17. Pittore bizantino, Croce dipinta, Museo di San Matteo, Lucca

essersi convertito con il nome di Giuseppe, e che, pur esercitando le virtù, temeva un nuovo incontro con Gesù nel Giudizio Universale. Secondo questa dotta interpretazione il fedele avrebbe potuto proiettare la propria angoscia di peccatore pentito, ansioso per il proprio destino nella figurina che si nasconde, terrorizzato dalla possibilità che Cristo Giudice, ancora irato per i suoi gesti, lo condannasse alle pene infernali, malgrado la conversione e la nuova vita caritatevole.⁴⁹

Io credo, invece, che qui vi sia la rappresentazione dell'anima di Adamo risorto, con un richiamo figurale, tipico della mentalità scolastica, al novello Adamo o secondo Adamo proposto da alcuni padri della chiesa, a partire da Irnerio, principale esponente della teologia cristologica adamitica, che molta fortuna esercitò sul pensiero teologico cristiano dal medioevo ai nostri giorni.⁵⁰

Il richiamo ad Adamo, seppellito sotto il monte, il Golgota, su cui sarà infissa la croce di Cristo, è presente in molte Crocifissioni. L'iconografia più diffusa è proprio quella del *Cranio d'Adamo* dipinto in una grotta del Golgota. Giotto accetta l'iconografia canonica in tutte le sue croci dipinte, a Padova il teschio si tinge di rosso, per la presenza del sangue di Cristo.⁵¹

Alla Croce lignea dipinta con il Cristo Crocifisso che si trovava al centro dell'arco trionfale, faceva riscontro la croce della resurrezione sostenuta dagli angeli.⁵² Adamo dipinto o scolpito ai piedi della croce

⁴⁹ C. FRUGONI, op. cit. (n. 3), p. 236.

⁵⁰ M. GAGLIARDI, *Cristologia adamitica. Tentativo di recupero del suo significato originario*, Roma, 2002.

⁵¹ Il Cranio nella grotta ai piedi della Croce di Cristo è già presente nella Croce dipinta da Sotio. Si tratta di una iconografia canonica, già attestata in avori carolingi e macedoni, come nella Crocifissione della placchetta d'avorio bizantino della metà del X secolo conservato nel Kestner, Museum di Hannover.

⁵² D. BANZATO – R. DEIANA, Nuovi dati e riflessioni sulla cappella degli Scrovegni di Padova, in: *La cappella degli Scrovegni nell'anfiteatro romano di Padova: nuove ricerche e questioni irrisolte*, (ed.) Rita Deiana, Padova, 2018, p. 21.



Fig. 18. Crocifissione, Avorio,
Metropolitan Museum, New York



Fig. 19. Crocifisso (particolare), Avorio,
Metropolitan Museum, New York

risale ad una antica tradizione figurativa, di cui mi limito a richiamare gli esempi più famosi. In una raffigurazione del Sacramentario di Drozone (c. 850) il serpente è attorcigliato alla Croce che gli schiaccia il capo in segno di vittoria. Nel manoscritto del Beatus di Gerona c. 975 il sangue di Cristo Crocifisso cade in un calice poggiante sulla croce sotto la quale vi è Adamo dipinto nel suo sarcofago. Nella placchetta d'Avorio esposta al Musée de Beaux-Arts, inv. 4 X 490, raffigurante l'Anastasis, aiuta ad alzarsi Adamo, accompagnato da Eva. La figura in basso è stata interpretata sia come Adamo sepolto nel Golgota sia come personificazione dell'Inferno. Ma qui si tratta appunto della scena dell'Anastasis. Del resto, i temi della Crocifissione e dell'Anastasis sono strettamente interrelati, anche se a livello artistico abbiamo poche opere che li colleghino direttamente, come nella Croce dipinta del Museo di San Matteo a Pisa (Fig. 17). Qui, alla base, è dipinta l'Anastasis, con Cristo risorto che solleva dai sepolcri Adamo ed Eva. In un trittico in avorio del X secolo del Metropolitan Museum di New York l'albero della Croce è conficcato nell'addome dell'Inferno come assicura l'iscrizione greca *ο σταυρος εμπαιγης εν τη κοιλια του Αδου* incisa sulla superficie dell'avorio (Fig. 18). La Croce dei Cloister del XII secolo, resa ulteriormente celebre dal romanzo di *Il re dei confessori*, esibisce ai piedi della croce Adamo insieme ad Eva. I progenitori sono raffigurati non come animule ma come persone invecchiate a seguito della condanna al lavoro e alla fatica e al parto con dolore, inflitta alla coppia cacciata dal paradiso terrestre (Fig. 19). Adamo compare anche ai piedi dello straordinario gruppo della Crocifissione posto sul Lettner del duomo di Halberstadt (Figg. 20-21).⁵³

⁵³ Giova ricordare che ad Halberstadt è documentato a partire dal XIV secolo il dramma liturgico incentrato su Adamo (Adamspiel o Jeux d'Adam, nella tradizione francese), cfr. A. ODENTHAL, *Liturgie vom Frühen Mittelalter zum Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung*, 2011, p. 89; B. GALLISTI, *Erzähltes Welterbe: Zwölf Jahrhunderte Hildesheim*, Hildesheim - Zurich - New York, 2015, p. 142, si chiede se l'Adamspiel attestato a Halberstadt non possa essere stato recitato anche a Hildesheim, davanti alle famose porte bronze.

Il tema di Adamo redento dalla morte di Cristo è un tema assai complesso per le implicazioni sulla creazione, sulla natura dell'uomo e sulla natura di Cristo, assai discusso ancora oggi in ambito teologico.⁵⁴

Lo stesso nome Adam, in aramaico, rimanda alle quattro direzioni, quasi a voler ricordare che da Adamo la progenie si è diffusa in ogni parte della terra.

A(natolè) Oriente
D(ysis) Occidente
A (rectos) Settentrione
M (esembrea) Meridione

A questa tradizione si collega la leggenda che commenta Gen. 2, 7 (il Signore Dio plasmò l'uomo con polvere del suolo).⁵⁵

L'interpretazione della Genesi e dei rapporti tra Antico e Nuovo Testamento alla luce della Parola rilevata e i suoi rapporti con la realtà esperita hanno toccato drammaticamente la storia del pensiero occidentale. Nota è l'abiura delle proprie teorie da parte di Galileo Galilei, ma giova ricordare che anche alla base dei processi subiti da Pietro d'Abano prima a Parigi poi a Padova, accusato di eresia, da cui si dovette difendere più volte, le accuse non erano collegate tanto agli studi astrologici, che ne hanno fatto una sorta di leggendario negromante dedito agli oroscopi nel rinascimento, ma erano incentrate proprio sulla dichiarata separazione tra le verità derivate dalla ricerca fisica e la verità rivelata dalle scritture. Pietro d'Abano, riprendendo un passo già di Witelo, afferma che il racconto della resurrezione di Lazzaro, se analizzato dal punto di vista razionale e dell'esperienza umana, non può che essere un esempio riconosciuto di isteria collettiva.

Nel *Conciliator* Pietro d'Abano distingue la *sapientia* che è di Dio, dalla *scientia* che è dell'uomo. La *scientia* è un *habitus intellectualis per demonstrationem elicitus* (un abito intellettuale che si ottiene con la dimostrazione).

Nel *Lucidator* scriverà che la *scientia* è *comphensio veritatis ex demonstratione* acquisita, è



Fig. 20. Lettner, Duomo, Halberstadt



Fig. 21. Adamo (particolare), Lettner, Duomo, Halberstadt

⁵⁴ F. ORIOLES – S. BANCHIERI – J. L. BERTOLIO, *Il riscatto di Adamo nella morte di Gesù Cristo*, Roma, 2015.

⁵⁵ G. BOSCHI BERNARDO, *Il nome nella bibbia. Il suo significato attraverso il tetragramma sacro*, Roma, 2009.



Fig. 22. Giotto, Giudizio Universale, cappella Scrovegni, Padova (© Musei Civici di Padova)

una conoscenza vera, verificata dalla ragione e confermata dalla dimostrazione. La scienza, come l'intelletto, è un *habitus* acquisito, è vera conoscenza come l'intelletto ma a differenza di esso è acquisita gradualmente e non immediatamente, attraverso il ragionamento e la dimostrazione. Giotto è stato esaltato da Michele Savonarola nel suo *libellus* della città di Padova come *magister perspectivae*, dell'ottica, della rappresentazione delle cose così come sono viste dagli occhi, da Pietro d'Abano come in grado di rendere veri i caratteri e le disposizioni dell'animo degli uomini, da Francesco da Barbarino per la sua verve inventiva.

Mi pare pertanto almeno suggestivo pensare che Giotto abbia voluto raffigurare in modo figurativamente convincente l'animula di Adamo, resuscitato e rinnovato da Cristo risorto, novello Adamo, Salvatore dell'umanità. L'artista ha creato una iconografia nuova e per questo difficile da sciogliere, come è successo per la *Circumspectio* o per la *Prudentia*, le cui esegesi si sono potute condurre solo grazie al confronto di altri testi o al recupero dei titoli.

Se l'animula è l'Adamo rinnovato, redento e il gesto di sostenere più che nascondersi della figura mi fa propendere per questa ipotesi, che si collega comunque alla tradizione figurativa di porre Adamo ai piedi della Croce del Risorto, può forse comprendersi meglio il dettaglio dei dannati circoncesi (Fig. 22). L'osservazione, compiuta per la prima volta direttamente dai ponteggi da parte di Giovanni Lorenzoni, in un memorabile sopralluogo che facemmo insieme, fu presentata nel convegno di Motovun.⁵⁶

Forse, allora, più che ad un antisemitismo generico, non di Giotto, ma del suo tempo, il particolare che tutti i dannati, compresi papi e giudici, esibiscano manifestatamente peni circoncesi richiama la Rivelazione del Nuovo Testamento, che permette a chiunque di abbracciare la nuova fede, proprio perché l'uomo è stato rinnovato nella carne dall'incarnazione, celebrata il 25 marzo giorno della consacrazione della cappella. Chi accetta la novella è rinnovato nella carne, non basta il battesimo, ma bisogna praticare la Carità per essere accolti in cielo, dice San Paolo. Pertanto, chi non segue l'insegnamento di Cristo è condannato perché non è stato rinnovato nella carne.

Giotto si rivela ancora una volta, come egli stessi si dichiara nella criptica firma, un artista che rivendica la sua arte frutto di conoscenza esperita in grado di tradurre in immagine i più complessi significati elaborati dagli studi scientifici e teologici: *Pinxit industria docte mentis*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ G. LORENZONI, Su alcuni aspetti iconografici dell'Inferno di Giotto nella Cappella degli Scrovegni di Padova, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 4, Zagreb - Motovun, 1998, pp. 155-159.

⁵⁷ Per questo motivo io sono incline a ridurre il ruolo del *conceptor*, individuato in Alberto da Padova, frate agostiniano del convento degli Eremitani, o in Altegrado dei Cattani, canonico della cattedrale di Padova, dal 1304 vescovo di Vicenza o in Remigio dei Girolami, celebre teologo domenicano presso il convento di Santa Maria Novella a Firenze: Giotto è in grado di incarnare il nuovo artista così come è celebrato dagli umanisti, proprio perché può discutere con i grandi intellettuali dell'epoca e dare vita a straordinarie invenzioni che ancora oggi affascinano per la loro complessità di significato celata in una efficace e sintetica resa visiva. Lo dichiara la stessa firma il cui termine *industria*, che io traduco con arte, è propria della creatività umana, come a lungo si specifica nei testi di Ugo da San Vittore già nel XII secolo e come discute lo stesso Pietro d'Abano: L. OLIVIERI, *Pietro d'Abano e il pensiero neolatino. Filosofia, Scienza dell'Aristotele greco tra i secoli XIII e XIV*, Padova, 1988.

Giotto – ikonografski inovator: još o ciklusu u kapeli Scrovegni

Članak razmatra neke ikonografske novitete koje je Giotto ostvario u *Cappelli degli Scrovegni* u Padovi. To je ponajprije prikaz zvijezde repatice u sceni *Poklonstva kraljeva* te prikazi personifikacijâ mana i kreposti, od kojih se posebno ističe personifikacija Razboritosti (*Prudentia*) nasuprot Ludosti (*Stultitia*), inače prikazane kao Bezumnik (*Insipiens*). Navedeni prikazi već su odavno dovodeni u svezu s istovremenom prisutnošću liječnika, filozofa i astronoma Pietra d'Abana te pjesnika i pisca Francesca da Barberina tijekom ranoga 14. stoljeća u Padovi.

Pokazuje se na koji se način u Giottovu slikarstvu u *Cappelli degli Scrovegni* odražavaju najinovativnija znanstvena istraživanja toga vremena. On se kao slikar hvata ukoštac s perspektivom te po prvi put u povijesti zapadnoga slikarstva slika dva prazna prostora (čučeni *coretti*), i to upravo u godinama kada je Pietro d'Abano teoretizirao postojanje praznina nasuprot aristotelističkoj koncepciji Tome Akvinskoga. Giotto je zvijezdu repaticu prikazao poput Halleyjeva kometa viđenoga u Padovi 1301. godine, a koji je Pietro d'Abano opisao kao „suhe i vruće plinove koji se zapale..., a nakon izgaranja komet izgubi crvenu boju i postane crn.” Zavist (*Invidia*) ima životinjsko lice iz čijih usta izlazi zmija i vraća se kroz njezino vlastito oko, a ima i duge i šiljaste uši, kao što je i Pietro d'Abano primijetio: “*Aures angustae et oblongae testantur invidiam*”.

Pored toga, autorica predlaže još dvije različite, inače već u znanstvenoj kritici iznesene pretpostavke. Prva se odnosi na model crkve koji rukama pridržava naručitelj Enrico Scrovegni. Smatra se da Giotto obnavlja ikonografski koncept rimskih mozaičara ranoga srednjeg vijeka poznat u više primjera, gdje se na malome modelu i na istom prikazu vide apside, bočna strana građevine i njezina fasada, no takav je koncept sada obnovljen po načelu zamišljenih perspektiva koje se nude kao svojevrsne preteče aksonometrije, tj. aksonometrijski *ante litteram*. Druga se pretpostavka usredotočuje na lik *Duha* koji pridržava križ u sceni *Posljednjeg suda*. Ovom prikazu, koji je ranije prema hipotezi Chiare Frugoni interpretiran kao uskrsla duša lutajućeg Židova, predlaže se drukčije čitanje. Nastoji se razložiti da duša Uskrslog koji podržava križ zapravo predstavlja Adamovu dušu, i to u svjetlu pojedinih patrističkih tekstova koji Krista vide kao novog Adama, ali i prema analizama različitih ikonografskih tradicija koje nerazdvojno povezuju križ s uskrslim Adamom.

Ključne riječi: Padova, *Giottova kapela Arena* (*kapela Scrovegni*), *Adam u Posljednjem sudu*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Dora Štublin

MEDIEVAL RELIQUARIES AND THEIR ROLE IN CHRISTIAN PROCESSIONS

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This paper establishes a link between reliquaries and Christian processions, which can be traced back to the earliest times. The author first briefly presents the nature of processions that took place inside the sanctuary as well as outside of it, i.e. around its perimeter and across the city. Processions as transient events are evidenced by illustrative examples from the time, the most common and most famous being the Traditio legis motif: Christ flanked by the Apostles, lambs facing the cross in the centre, or a deer between kantharoi. Clear symmetry, axial harmony, and a parallel number of figures moving or facing Christ or his symbol in the centre prevail in all the examples. The same concept is present in smaller artefacts of the reliquary type, which were closely bound with or even integral to the nature of processions. Besides the figures that are harmoniously distributed across surfaces, they are characterized by the motif of arcades, prefiguring the (city) porches or the Heavenly Jerusalem. A notable number of medieval reliquaries preserved in Zadar have such a disposition of visual elements, which testifies to the concurrent processions. A source from the 14th century confirms that the Zadar reliquaries were carried in processions, and traces of later restoration or alteration of the original form have been observed in some of the examples. Sources from the early 18th century abound in data on processions held on feast days, when relics were brought out of their permanent repositories and carried around the sanctuary or the city.

Key words: reliquary, procession, symmetry, cathedral, treasury

Christian liturgy had an extremely dynamic character from its beginnings, manifested in constant, continuous actions, passages and movements. They could take place inside the sacral space – within a certain perimeter¹ or between two separate architectural structures: for example, between congregational and initiation areas (*catechumeneon*, baptistery, *consignatorium*) or between congressional and memorial areas. Accordingly, Christian liturgy had both its internal and its external character manifested in processions or ceremonies. Such liturgical expressions were an utterly common phe-

¹ As in the liturgy of Entrance (Entrance into the sanctuary as a single process in the Western Church, or Little and Great Entrance in the Eastern Church). On this issue in the area of Constantinople, see: C. KUCHARÉK, *The Byzantine-Slav Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, Allendale N. J., 1971, pp. 383-384; T. F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*, Pennsylvania State University and London, 1971, pp. 113-147; T. F. MATHEWS, *The Clash of Gods, a Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*, Princeton and Oxford, 1999, p. 171; R. F. TAFT, *Quaestiones disputatae: The Skeuophylakion of Hagia Sophia and the Entrances of the Liturgy Revisited, Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine*, VII and VIII, Suffolk, 2001, pp. 66-83; and in the area of Rome: J. BALDOVIN, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship. The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Rome, 1987, pp. 132-134; S. DE BLAAUW, *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*, Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri, *Studi e testi*, 355-356, Città del Vaticano, 1994, p. 95.

nomenon, as they accompanied almost every public and religious act: *The eucharist was now being performed in a world where every public act secular or religious had always been invested with a certain amount of ceremony as a matter of course. Christian worship was now a public act, and any different treatment of it was simply not thought of.*²

Of particular interest is the nature of urban processions when Christianity manifested itself in the public area of the city, that is, by moving from one sanctuary to another, which was accompanied by repetitive chanting in the form of acclamations or universally familiar psalms, church hymns and laudations.³ These Christian processions have recently been amply discussed in international scholarly publications,⁴ while in Croatian historiography such research is still in its beginnings.⁵ As for Zadar and its wider surroundings, attempts have been made to decipher the traces, recorded mainly in archival and archaeological layers (architecture or historical records), that may indicate the existence not only of processions that took place within the sacral areas (which is essentially characteristic of any ritual), but also of the more prominent ones that took place outside the sacred spaces or churches.⁶ Such investigations have focused on the early Christian and medieval architecture in Zadar itself, which is very interesting and almost paradigmatic, useful for the description of urban or “stational” liturgy. It was a specific type of liturgy linking two churches in a city, one of which was the cathedral (most often the starting point) and the other the “station” – the final goal of the Christian procession, in which the *main liturgical celebration* would be celebrated on a particular feast day or holiday, presided by the bishop.⁷ This nature of stational liturgy had several reasons. One of them was that the celebration of the Christian calendar was divided between the cathedral (where the most important Christian holidays were celebrated) and other larger churches in a parish, so that not all worship was concentrated solely in the cathedral.⁸ The other, perhaps even more important reason was that such manifestations made Christianity visible in all parts of the city and sacralised the entire urban area.

Researching urban or stational liturgy throughout the Christian world from Late Antiquity into the medieval period, scholars have studied in detail written documents and buildings in three important centres: Jerusalem (Christian liturgy *par excellence*), Rome (the city of Apostles and numerous earliest martyrs, and therefore abounding in relics) and Constantinople (the city of the so-called “caesaropapists”).⁹ There is no such rich historiography about other cities, but it is known that urban

² G. DIX, *The Shape of Liturgy*, Glasgow, 1949, pp. 398-399.

³ G. DIX, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 434-500; J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 137, 206-209, 220; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 437.

⁴ I will list only the most significant studies: J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1); S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1); T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 167; J. A. S. EVANS, *The Age of Justinian, The Circumstances of Imperial Power*, London, 2000, p. 65; B. CROKE, Justinian's Constantinople, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, Cambridge, (ed.) Michael Maas, 2006, pp. 77-78; D. KRUEGER, Christian Piety and Practice in the Sixth Century, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, (ed.) Michael Maas, Cambridge, 2006; R. F. TAFT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 53-87.

⁵ A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *Liturgijski ambijenti i instalacije ranokršćanskog razdoblja na zadarskom području*, PhD diss., Zagreb, 2012.

⁶ A. MIŠKOVIĆ, Prostor i funkcije sakristije u ranokršćanskom razdoblju na primjeru zadarskog episkopalnog sklopa, *Ars Adriatica*, 3, Zadar, 2013, pp. 7-20.

⁷ J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 36-37; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 27.

⁸ J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 230; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29.

⁹ For the area of Constantinople, see: R. F. TAFT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 53-87; H. SWAINSON – W. R. LETHABY, *The Church of Sancta Sophia Constantinople, a study of Byzantine Building*, London and New York, 1894 (2005), p. 95; for Rome, see: J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1); S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1). As for the Jerusalem processions, there are contemporary reports by the French nun Aegeria, who went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land: cf. G. DIX, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 109; M. MANDAC, *Egerija – Putopis*, Makarska, 1999.

processions were organized in cities such as Milan or Aquileia,¹⁰ and regarding the nature of Christian liturgy one may claim that public processions were held in every Christian environment. It is certainly important to emphasize that the stational processions in Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople emerged separately, independently of one another, in symbiosis with the city tissue and the specific local features or conditions. Each of these cities has its peculiar history and topography, and therefore a unique stational liturgy.

However, a typical feature of urban processions was that they took place in the centre of the city, in the main streets, which allowed for a direct insight into the ceremony – the regular and wide urban streets were particularly suitable for the movement of crowds. They actually looked like solemn or triumphal movement.¹¹ The main streets of major urban centres were often covered – by porches, as the examples from Jerusalem and Constantinople show.¹² Besides celebrating a particular holiday or saint, processions often focused on the city and its saintly protector, and along with the visual effects their nature was that of an intercessory prayer. Two more features are clearly identifiable: public religious expression (essentially the character of prayer) and manifestation of Christian religion in the common expression of all faithful citizens (the character of propaganda). The procession was led by the local bishop or a representative of the church community, it included the clergy and other ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries, and regularly featured objects such as crosses, candles, *baiuli* with precious church vessels, standards, and so on.¹³

REPRESENTATIVE SYMBOLS IN PROCESSIONS

The Christian worldview has its most illustrative examples in the sacral space itself: on the walls of churches and surfaces of liturgical furniture, in installations, liturgical vessels and textiles. Excerpts from the Bible or Christian doctrine are shown in places that are visible to the faithful, and behaviours adequate for Christian life are demonstrated in models from the heavenly world. The best explanation of this hypothesis is in the examples themselves.

Images created by Christian processional worship were staged in the liturgical furnishing of the time, that is, in furniture and cemetery equipment. One of the oldest iconographic motifs, that of *Traditio legis*, is thus linked precisely to processions.¹⁴ In such depictions, where Christ is flanked by the apostles Peter and Paul while handing over the doctrine to Peter, one can find proto-models for the faithful's movements as they focus on the core of their faith – Christ. Although the primary iconographic significance of this scene is related to the tradition of Christian teaching, management or leadership of the Church and Apostle Peter, T. Mathews has emphasized the movement of the apostles towards Christ as the fundamental element of the nature of processions. In addition, the scene is symmetrical, with a clear axis in Christ. He is shown frontally, immovable and static, while the figures of the apostles are depicted laterally and in specific gestures, in movement! There are numerous examples of such iconography, including, of course, the Zadar area, which is in the focus of our study, but for general illustration I will mention a famous silver reliquary with the *Traditio legis* scene found in Nea Herakleia near Thessaloniki (4th century),¹⁵ a sarcophagus front with the

¹⁰ For the Milan area, Bishop Ambrose mentions the processions, but does not describe them in detail. Cf. S. DE BLAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29.

¹¹ J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 234-235.

¹² H. W. DEY, *The Afterlife of the Roman City: Architecture and Ceremony in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

¹³ J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 118-141; S. DE BLAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 60.

¹⁴ T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 150-161.

¹⁵ The reliquary is kept at the Byzantine Museum of Thessalonica. Cf. H. BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die spätromischen Metallschreine und frühchristlichen Reliquiare*, Vienna, 1971, pp. 249-251; T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), p. 80, fig. 57.

same scene kept at the Museo Archeologico in Ravenna (dated to the 5th century), and a *Traditio legis* sarcophagus kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁶ Of particular interest is a group of sarcophagi belonging to the type with the *Traditio legis* motif in the centre. In the background of this iconographic scene there are symbols of the city: the city gate and city walls. Such examples are known as products of a northern Italian workshop – the one from S. Ambrogio in Milan (Fig. 1), or the Sarcophagus of Flavio Gorgoni at the Museo Diocesano in Venice.¹⁷

According to the same concept, there is also a scene with two lambs or two deer (with the varieties of a deer and a doe or two does) facing the cross (or a *kantharos*) in the centre. Such scenes are known from the calottes in Ravenna's churches, with Christ in the centre and lambs striving towards him (e.g. the calotte in the basilica of S. Apollinare in Classe),¹⁸ or scenes in various initiation areas: here I would like to mention some geographically closer examples, such as the *catechumeneon* of the cathedrals in Salona and Zadar.¹⁹ Here too the primary iconographic meaning is unambiguous: the lambs can be associated with the apostles, while the deer (with its variants) are associated with the neophytes soon to be baptized. They are, therefore, directed towards the symbols of Christ, laterally positioned towards him, and often shown as animals (ungulates!) in motion. In addition, the Salonitan *catechumeneon* had an inscription with Psalm 42 (41), *Sicut cervus desiderat*, which was, according to the rite, sung before the Easter vigil, perhaps during the initiation processions when the neophytes were moving toward the baptismal well. Illustrations of initiation processions also include a mosaic showing the procession of apostles with laurel wreaths in their hands, circularly arranged on the ceiling of the dome in the Arian baptistery in Ravenna (first half of the 6th century).²⁰ In the centre Christ's baptism in Jordan is depicted, flanked by the symmetrical figures of John the Baptist and the symbol of river Jordan.

As for the smaller artefacts and objects of use, I will mention a silver elliptical casket-reliquary from Grado, dated around 500 and originally from St. Euphemia.²¹ Its cover features motifs of lambs in shallow relief, with plastically depicted fleece, turned towards a cross of the *crux gemmata* type in the centre. The lambs are vigorously propped towards the horizontal *hastae* of the cross, and there are four rivers of Eden springing thereunder. On the lower oval recipient there are busts of Peter and Paul in medallions on one side, laterally turned towards Christ in the centre, frontally positioned towards the observer. On the other side, there are busts of local saints, all frontally facing the observer: St. Cantian, Cantius, and Cantianilla. There are also portraits of Latinus, the bishop of Brescia, and Quirinus, the bishop of Siscia.²² One of the most illustrative early Christian reliquaries has been found within the presbytery of St. Hermagora's church in the Istrian town of Samagher (Fig. 2). It is one of the most famous and most beautiful early Christian reliquaries: a rectangular

¹⁶ E. KITZINGER, Christian Imagery, in: *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, (ed.) Kurt Weitzmann, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, published in association with Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 145, fig. 5.

¹⁷ D. MILINOVIĆ, *Nova post vetera coepit. Ikonografija prve kršćanske umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2016, pp. 310-311, fig. 131.

¹⁸ T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 156-157.

¹⁹ J. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ Mozaici Simferijevo-Hezihijeve katedrale u Saloni, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 38, Split, 1999-2000, pp. 58-60 (with an exhaustive historiography of the Salonitan example); I. PETRICIOLI, Contribution à la recherche de la plus ancienne phase de construction de la cathédrale de Zadar, *Disputationes Salonitanae*, 2 / *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 77, Split, 1984, pp. 250-253; P. VEŽIĆ, Starokršćanski sloj katedrale u Zadru, *Diadora*, 10, Zadar, 1988, p. 176; E. HILJE – R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Slikarstvo*, (ed.) Nikola Jakšić, Zadar, 2006, pp. 65-67.

²⁰ T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 132-135, fig. 102.

²¹ E. THUNO, *Reliquaries and the Cult of relics in Late Antiquity*, in: *The Routledge Handbook of Early Christian Art*, (ed.) Robin M. Jensen and Mark D. Ellison, Rutgers University, 2016, p. 158, fig. 10.6.

²² G. NOGA-BANAI, *The Trophies of the Martyrs, An Art Historical Study of Early Christian Silver Reliquaries*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 95-120, fig. 70-72, 84, 93-95.

ivory casket, a lypsanotique with silver buckles.²³ This reliquary is a very good analogy as all its panels show the typical nature or order of processions. The main scenes are framed by borders whose centrepiece is the main motif of Christian religion: the cross or *chrysmos* between two pairs of lambs that emerge from architectural elements. On the lid there is the *Traditio legis* motif, while on the longer sides there are processions of apostles heading towards an empty throne decorated with gems, with a lamb thereunder and four rivers of Eden springing forth from it. In this scene the number of apostles has been reduced to six, three on either side of the lamb, and each apostle is placed under an arch, eventually forming a triple arcade with regard to the central axis. Supposedly the arcade or porch motif is related to the image of Heavenly Jerusalem, since the motif of the throne with the lamb (the so-called *Hetoimasia*) is taken from the book of Revelation.²⁴ It should also be noted that this reliquary is often quoted when reconstructing the original appearance of the sanctuary of St Peter's in the Vatican, because in the rear it has the scene of *dextrarum iunctio* – marriage contraction, i.e. a man and a woman laterally positioned, standing next to the tomb of Apostle Peter, which was the centre of the Constantinian presbytery before the interventions of Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century. On this side Constantine and his mother Helen have been identified among the side characters of *orantes* under the arcades. On the left-hand shorter side of the casket, under a series of doves flanking the cross in the upper register, and lambs coming out of the architecture towards the cross in the lower register, is the Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, which also takes place under the arcades. On the right-hand narrow surface the narrative scene is thematically linked to the baptism of a



Fig. 1. Sarcophagus with Christ and the apostles with a city in the background, S. Ambrogio in Milan (www.omnia.ie; <https://cmc.byzart.eu/items/show/4996/>)



Fig. 2. Ivory reliquary from Samagher (N. Cambi, 2002)

²³ The reliquary is kept at the Museo Archeologico di Venezia. Cf. N. CAMBI, *Antika*, Zagreb, 2002, pp. 304-306, fig. 480.

²⁴ *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, (ed.) Anđelko Badurina, Zagreb, 1990, pp. 122-123.



Fig. 3. Mosaic with a procession of saints, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna. Detail of a procession of female saints (<https://corvinus.nl/2016/07/25/ravenna-santapollinare-nuovo/>)



Fig. 4. Mosaic with a procession of male saints, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (www.christianiconography.info)

child in a hexagonal baptistery. It is noticeable that all these scenes take place under the porches or arcades.

Therefore, the said scenes clearly show the movements of those figures that stand on both sides of Christ or his image, and even the *confessio* that preserves the remains of the martyrs, whereas Christ himself, or his symbol, is in the centre, frontal and fixed. This can indeed be compared to the nature of the procession and those who participate in it: the faithful are in motion, striving towards Christ, who is represented by the bishop with the cross leading the procession, or walking after Christ, who is statically and consistently present at a specific sanctuary.²⁵

If there are images of Christ in the apse, which due to the size of the wall surface allows for a greater number of figures, then one finds a procession of apostles (or their symbols – lambs) turned towards the central motif: Christ or his symbols. However, regardless of whether it is the apostles or some other saints, the figures turned towards him are mostly positioned symmetrically. In addition to the aforementioned example of the calotte in S. Apollinare in Classe, there is a preserved mosaic from another church in Ravenna – S. Apollinare Nuovo – which is also suitable as an analogy, since it also has processions of saints on the protrusions of walls in the lateral naves: female martyrs to the left and male martyrs to the right, facing the apse in which Christ is shown (Fig. 3, 4).²⁶ The latter scenes are paradigmatic examples of processions, not only celestial or symbolic, but also specific ones,

which took place either inside the sanctuary or outside. Perhaps in this case this external character of processions is even more dominant, because the procession of saints comes out of the specific architecture into open space, which symbolically represents the city. The mosaic in the apse of the early Christian three-nave church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome (early 5th century) has a depiction of enthroned Christ, above which, in the centre, there is a processional cross of the *crux gemmata* type, with apostles at the sides (Fig. 5).²⁷ Those closest to Christ, Peter and Paul, are positioned laterally, their arms extended. In the background, along the curve of the apse, there is a city vista – a

²⁵ About processional crosses: A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *Motiv krizmona i Kalvarije na ranokršćanskim plutejima sa zadarskog područja*, *Bogoslovska smotra*, 83, Zagreb, 2013, pp. 859-876.

²⁶ T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), p. 168.

²⁷ A. GRABAR, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1968, pp. 72-73, fig. 172; G. NOGA-BANAI, *op. cit.* (n. 22), pp. 107-108.



Fig. 5. Mosaic from Santa Pudenziana, Rome (<https://corvinus.nl/2016/01/02/rome-santa-pudenziana/>)

depiction of the real or symbolic Heavenly Jerusalem.²⁸ It is this, hierarchical iconographic scheme that the smaller, mobile objects of the reliquary type adopted, and their panels had depictions of the saints whose remains they preserved, paired with figures to which they were related by context, or rather hagiography, and often these saints are presented in a stylized urban or architectural space.

THE CHARACTER OF REPRESENTATIVE SYMBOLS

From what we have said it is clear that all late antique scenes of processions have some common formal features, which is that they are presented symmetrically, with a clear and emphasized axis in which the main figure of the iconographic hierarchy is located: either Christ or a person to whom the particular sanctuary is dedicated. On both sides there are other figures, often in similar or identical postures, attitudes and movements. Thus, there is obvious symmetry or harmony in these scenes due to the observance of the laws of proportion, which contributes to the impression of overall ideal balance. It is a reflection of the Heavenly World, in which everything is harmonious and balanced according to the Christian worldview.

Often there are urban vistas in the background of figurative motifs, either in the apse calottes or on the edges of scenes. Their symbolism lies in the prefiguration of the Heavenly Jerusalem. We have already mentioned the urban vistas from Santa Pudenziana in Rome and the protrusions in the lateral walls of S. Apollinare Nuovo, as well as urban motifs on mobile artefacts, such as the symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem on the ivory reliquary from Samagher. However, the urban motif is even more prominent in the preserved segment of the ivory reliquary on a panel from Trier (originally perhaps from Constantinople), dated to the 6th century, which shows the solemn arrival, the *ad-*

²⁸ T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 96-99.



Fig. 6. *The Trier Ivory (originally Constantinople?)*, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Elfenbeintafel_mit_Reliquienprozession,_Konstantinopel,_5._Jahrhundert.jpg)

ventus, of relics (most likely St Stephen's) in the city, presumably Constantinople (Fig. 6).²⁹ On the left-hand side of the scene there are two bishops sitting on a cart pulled by horses, holding the casket with the relics in their hands. They have just passed through a city gate (of Constantinople?) and are probably driving along the main city road towards the church on the other end of the panel. In fact, the bishops with the relics are at the rear of the procession led by the Emperor and welcomed by the Empress!³⁰ The central part of the panel is populated with faithful citizens of all social statuses and ages, depicted in as many as three horizontal levels, divided in the first row by the arcades and in the second by a sort of gallery comprised of columns linked by a parapet. Finally, at the highest level there are only busts of the observers. The panel abounds in figures and content, and the action is vigorously shown not only in the form of horses drawing the cart with the bishops and the relics with visible effort, but also in three builders on the roof of the church, which is still under construction and is about to receive the relics. Thus, it is not only the welcome and the triumphal passage of the emperor and the relics that are of interest here, but also the participants of the procession, those at the level of the gallery, who swing their censers and acclaim joyfully, as well as the stylized representation of the city in the background, represented by a series of arches.

This arcade motif would become a symbol of urban space with time, as it could serve both as a prefiguration of the Heavenly City (Jerusalem) and as a depiction of a particular city, or even some smaller enclosure or sanctuary.

The Trier reliquary is interesting for many reasons: it shows a triumphal welcome of the relics, their movement through the city and a procession led by the Emperor himself, who would later in

²⁹ E. THUNO, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 155, fig. 10.3; C. HAHN, *Strange Beauty, Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400 – circa 1204*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 2015, p. 150.

³⁰ There are various hypotheses on the identity of the imperial figures, but if the panel shows the arrival of St Stephen's relics in Constantinople in the 5th century, then they are Emperor Theodosius II and Empress Augusta Pulcheria. Cf. P. CHATTERJEE, *Iconoclasm's Legacy, Interpreting the Trier Ivory*, in: *Art Bulletin*, 100:3, 28-47, DOI: 10.1080/00043079.2018.1393322 (last accessed on April 30, 2019).

Christianity be replaced by another person – the bishop. The latter, of course, would not drive on a cart, but walk through the city in a tempo that would be appropriate for a solemn procession. In any case, the bishop is the central figure of the Christian community, and thus he is also the leader of the procession, the true mobile focus of urban liturgy in any city.

MEDIEVAL RELIQUARIES FROM ZADAR USED IN PROCESSIONS

As already noted by art historian André Grabar, there is an interesting parallel between the representations of churches and reliquaries as paradisiacal gardens.³¹ Indeed, stylized scenes of processions were also present in smaller artefacts, not only in Late Antiquity, but also throughout the Middle Ages, just as the processional character of Christian rites would permeate the entire history of Christianity.

Regarding the reliquaries, especially those of the casket form (*capsa*, *scrinia*, *arcula*) or the larger formats such as sarcophagi (*arca*), their limited dimensions dictate the logical distribution of figures and spaces depicted on their panels, which adhere to the laws of iconographical perspective. Thus, saints are generally represented symmetrically: in the centre there is either Christ or the saint whose relics are in the recipient. If it is the saint to whom the reliquary belongs, then he is often flanked either by those saints to whom his life or hagiography were related, or by those to whose community or religious order he belonged. Symmetry and harmony here are also a reflection of the divinely ordered world.

It is interesting to note that also here the saints are often depicted under arches, which are a stylized representation of space as church colonnades, city arcades or the Heavenly Jerusalem. Medieval reliquaries from Zadar are illustrative examples of this principle, and our further discussion focuses on them. Zadar is fortunate to have preserved a considerable number of reliquaries made of precious materials, which reached their pinnacle in the 14th century, although there are also older reliquaries.

In my analysis of Zadar reliquaries I will take those examples that are a good indicator in deciphering Christian processions within the sanctuary, as well as those outside it: the so-called urban or stational processions across the city. Therefore, my focus is on those cases that contain either a completely stylized or rudimentarily depicted architecture in the form of arcades or a precise depiction of urban space. I am presenting the reliquaries chronologically, from the oldest to the younger ones. In this respect, before I proceed to the medieval examples of reliquaries, I will mention one that has been found in the wider Zadar area, more precisely in Novalja (Fig. 7). The reliquaries found in the 1970s in the courtyard of the Vidas house in Novalja have been well known and presented in scholarly literature, and it is superfluous to discuss all of them.³² The one that is especially interesting for our purpose has an octagonal, prismatic form made of partially gilded silver, and its sloping panels show a reduced version of the *Traditio legis* motif. By analogy, it is very close to a reliquary from Pula (which has a somewhat different, hexagonal form), both of them dated to the turn of the 5th century.³³ A more renowned example is the larger, box-shaped reliquary with one of the earliest depictions of the Virgin in the centre of its front panel, which has recently been completely restored and exhibited in its original form. That the reliquaries were closely related to processions and their

³¹ C. D. SHEPPARD, Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs, *The Art Bulletin*, 51, I, 1969, pp. 65-71, 66, n. 9.

³² A. BADURINA, Ranokršćanski relikvijar iz Novalje, in: *Novalja. Grad*, (ed.) Ivan Dabo – Đoni, et alii, Novalja, 2002, pp. 39-67; N. CAMBI, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 303-304; J. BARAKA, Krist i apostoli na relikvijaru iz Novalje u općem kontesktu starokršćanske arheologije, *Archaeologia adriatica*, 2, Zadar, 2008, pp. 113-127.

³³ B. ILAKOVAC, Ranokršćanski relikvijari kesenske (Cissa) biskupije iz Novalje na otoku Pagu, in: *Novalja. Grad*, (ed.) Ivan Dabo – Đoni, et alii, Novalja, 2002, pp. 13-38; N. CAMBI, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 306-307; J. BARAKA, A proposito dei reliquiari paleocristiani di Pola e di Novalja, *Il cristianesimo in Istria fra tarda antichità e alto medioevo. Novità e riflessioni, Atti della giornata tematica dei Seminari di Archeologia Cristiana*, 8, Città del Vaticano, 2009, pp. 187-207.

typical way of carrying it around is shown by the preserved deambulatory mosaic band, which runs along the apse wall in the early Christian three-nave basilica in whose vicinity they were found.³⁴ Deambulatories were certainly suitable for flowing movement, since they were semi-circular and ran between the apse and the clergy bench, the latter also defining the dimensions of the deambulatory.

As for Zadar's medieval reliquaries, one of the most famous is certainly the stone sarcophagus of the ark type that contains the remains of St Anastasia, an early Christian martyr. It is well known how the relics arrived in Zadar: their translation and final deposition in the cathedral were probably very impressive because written testimonies have been preserved (the oldest from 17th century), and the previously described panel from Trier may help us visualize the event. The historical description of this translation runs as follows: *Omnis concurrit aetas, omnisque sexus, omnisque conditio, exultant animo, manibus plaudunt, vocibus clamant, laudibus resonant dicentes Gloria tibi D(omi)ne, Gloria tibi D(omi)ne. Cumque diu multumque in Dei laudem ac Beatissimae Virginis acclamatum fuisset, tandem populos requievit.*³⁵ Or: *Praesul autem Donatus quasi celebraturus Missam, una cum clericis cujusque ordinis, ac luminaribus praeparatus(!) praecedentibus, cum clericis, monachis, sanctimonialibus, ac ceteris viris religiosis, sequentibus vero mulieribus, cum prefato Benenato Duce Venetiarum, cantantes et psallentes, ac summis laudibus venerantes corpus Beatissimae Virginis et Martiris Anastasiae per supradictam portam in civitatem introducentes, ad ecclesiam B[ea]ti Petri, ubi praesulis erat et nunc est sedes, perduxerunt...*³⁶ The welcome by Zadar's



Fig. 7. Reliquary from Novalja with the *Traditio legis* motif (N. Cambi, 2002)

faithful was ecstatic and the procession with the relics of the Syrmian martyr, led by Bishop Donatus, solemnly entered the city through one of the gates, accompanied by chanting, cheering and laudations, followed by a Eucharistic concelebration for which special lamps were prepared.

³⁴ B. ILAKOVAC, Apsidni mozaik starokršćanske bazilike u Novalji, in: *Novalja. Grad*, (ed.) Ivan Dabo – Đoni, et alii, Novalja, 2002, pp. 69-78; J. MEDER, *Podni mozaici u Hrvatskoj od 1. do 6. stoljeća*, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 75-76, T. XXIX.

³⁵ Manuscript at the State Archive in Zadar, Miscellanea vol. 9, III, Poz. br. 2; fols. 93r and v., titled: *Narratio historica circa Beatam Anastasiam Virginem et Martirem, desumpta ex manuscriptio asservato in Archivio Rev. Cap. Jadr. Eccl.*; D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum, tomus V, Ecclesia Jadertina cum suffraganeis, et ecclesia Zagabriensis*, Venezia, 1775, p. 44; M. GRGIĆ, *Zadarske laude (aklamacije) iz godine 1677.*, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 9, Zadar, 1962, pp. 283-284.

³⁶ ZKZd, ms. 385, kat. br. 15870, f. 1-134, 36; *Narratio historica circa Beatam Anastasiam Virginem et Martirem, desumpta ex manuscriptio asservato in Archivio Rev. Capituli Jaderana Ecclesia.*

A contemporary example is the *bursa* of St Anselm from Nin (Fig. 8), preserved at the Treasury of the parish church. It dates back to the 9th century, but underwent modifications during the 13th and 14th centuries that did not alter its original shape of a thin purse or *bursa*. The reliquary is decorated on both sides, but the front is particularly interesting for our purpose. This side is divided into two parts: in the lower, square segment there are three saintly figures under tortuous arches, while in the upper segment with concavely indented lateral edges (imitating handles) there is Christ in a mandorla. The saints are positioned frontally, the two male saints flanking a female saint in the centre. It is St Marcella, shown in the posture of adoration, with her brother, St Ambrose, at her side, his arms extended as in oration, and St Anselm at her right, holding a censer. The lateral figures were partly affected by medieval restoration, but their basic iconographic features are nevertheless recognizable.³⁷ The reliquary was presumably made in Milan, which was an important centre of art



Fig. 8. Reliquary-bursa of St Anselm from Nin
(N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 46)

and the royal (imperial) capital in the 9th century.³⁸ The depicted saints are relevant for Nin and their choice is transparent: the cathedral was dedicated to St Anselm, the male Benedictine monastery to St Ambrose, and the Benedictine nunnery to St Marcella: therefore, this famous triad of Nin is depicted in the lower segment of the reliquary in which the relics of the cathedral titular saint were preserved, while the upper segment part has Christ enthroned, with a book in his left hand and blessing with his right. The semantics of the scene lies not only in the expression of the possession and power of the local community honouring the remains of their patron saint, but also in the image of the adoration of Christ by the three saintly figures underneath him. This act of adoration and worship of God was often manifested in the form of processions and the symmetrical staging of the triad under the arches, where harmonious arrangement was achieved by placing St Marcella in the centre flanked by two saints it indeed speaks in favour of the liturgists' interpretation that one can recognize a rudimentary depiction of processions in such scenes. It can be as-

³⁷ I. PETRICIOLI, Osvrt na ninske građevinske i umjetničke spomenike srednjeg i novog vijeka, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 16-17, Zadar, 1969, p. 339; CATALOGUE, *Sjaj zadarskih riznica*, (ed.) Miljenko Domijan, Ivo Petricoli, Pavuša Vežić, Zagreb, 1990, p. 309; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Zlatarstvo*, (ed.) Nikola Jakšić, Zadar, 2004, pp. 46-48, cat. no. 002, with older bibliography.

³⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 47, cat. no. 002.



Fig. 9. Reliquary of St Orontius, Zadar (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 50)

sumed that the reliquary itself was used in processions, which is supported by the fact that it had to be repaired, probably due to its frequent use (taking it out for processions or pious touching of the faithful) and damage, particularly in its lower part with the saints. This has led N. Jakšić to point out: *The reliquary was obviously highly appreciated, as it served as a model for another reliquary in Nin, produced some time during the late 13th century.*³⁹ In the latter reliquary, which had the same shape as the former, the central figure of St Marcella is more monumental and taller, which has led Jakšić to presume that it was intended for the monastery dedicated to this saint.⁴⁰ It is also related to some objects from Zadar's Benedictine monastery, such as the Pax of St Pope Gregory.⁴¹

The reliquary of St Orontius or the Twelve Brothers from the second half of the 11th century also suffered alterations in the 16th century, when its original cylindrical shape was transformed into that of a casket or box (Fig. 9).⁴² A gold-plated silver sheet was applied on a wooden base, and the motifs were embossed. It was commissioned by Sergije Madi, identified as the tribune of Zadar during the 1060s and 1070s, which is also an orientation point for its dating. The sides of the casket bear figures of martyr saints embossed in shallow relief, positioned under arches supported by Corinthian capitals. These are the figures of the Twelve Brothers (*Duodecim fratrum*), especially

³⁹ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 47, cat. no. 002.

⁴⁰ C. F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, II, Zara, 1879, p. 249; CATALOGUE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 319; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 59-60, cat. no. 011; M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Umjetnička obrada plemenitih materijala u 14. st. u Zadru*, PhD diss. Zadar, 2010, pp. 1199-1203.

⁴¹ I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 343.

⁴² C. F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, I, Zara, 1877, pp. 157-159; CATALOGUE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 65; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 49-50, cat. no. 004. The reliquary belongs to the cathedral treasury, and is today part of the Permanent Collection of Sacral Art in Zadar.

venerated in Benevento, whose feast day was celebrated in medieval Zadar on September 1. Ten figures face the observer frontally, holding a cross with one hand, and are dressed in ceremonial Byzantine vestments. Above them, along the oval of the arches, they have their names engraved in Greek letters, while the rear side has a dedicatory inscription of the donator carved in Latin epigraphy. As the reliquary was subjected to restoration in the early modern period, it was obviously worn out or damaged by frequent use.



Fig. 10. Reliquary of St James the Martyr, Zadar (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 52)



Fig. 11. Reliquary of St Quirinus, front panel, Zadar
(N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 68)

The head reliquary of St James the Martyr has been dated to the early 12th century (Fig. 10).⁴³ It is made of silver applied on a cylindrical wooden base, with a calotte-shaped cover. The ornamentation is made in the technique of embossing and engraving. It was commissioned by Božna, wife of Zadar's prior Kaže. The cylindrical form corresponds to the shape of the relic kept in it – the head of St James, whose holiday was celebrated in the Zadar area on November 27 (*Iacobi intercesi martiris, duplex*). In the lower part of the curved panel there are nine frontally positioned figures of apostles under semi-circular, unequivocally Romanesque arches. On the lid there are figures of Christ, the Virgin, St James the Martyr, and Andrew, Simon and Judas in medallions. Their names are embossed next to them in Latin, while

the border of the lid bears the donator's inscription, which refers to the reliquary as CAPSAM. Thus, although it is cylindrical (an adequate form for a head relic), it also features the characteristic motif of arcades on its curved panels, with saintly figures underneath the arches.

The next reliquary – a casket of St Quirinus that belonged to the monastery of St Mary Minor in Zadar – has the same motif, although it is significantly younger than the previous one (dating back to the first half of the 14th century, Fig. 11). Here an embossed silver sheet was applied on a wooden base.⁴⁴ It is a rectangular casket with a truncated pyramidal cover, and the sloping front bears the kneeling figure of an unknown donator. The lateral slopes have the figures of the Archangel and a mourning saint, while the rear side features the symbol of St Mark the Evangelist. The flat lid top has a younger medallion with the Risen Christ. On the panels of the lower, rectangular part of the casket there are figures under three-lobe Gothic arches supported by tortuous columns. On the front side, parallel to the donator, there is a representation of enthroned Christ under the highest arch. He is flanked by the holy bishop Quirinus to the left and by St Chrysogonus as a monk, as he was usually depicted during the Venetian rule in Zadar. On the rear side there are three figures under arches of the same height: St Nicholas, St Mark and St Zoilus, accompanied by inscriptions. On the lateral panels there are two female and two male saints, respectively, of whom one is named TOMAS on a coil. The figures are facing the observer frontally, same as in the previously mentioned reliquaries, symmetrically arranged in relation to the main axis with the central figure (Christ, St Mark as the symbol of Venetian dominion in Zadar), and represented in the Romanesque-Byzantine style.

⁴³ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 155-156; V. de PONTE, *Historia Ecclesiae Iadrensis, Rivista dalmatica*, IV/1,2 and V/1, Zadar, 1907, p. 120; CATALOGUE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 432; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 52-53, cat. no. 006. It belongs to the cathedral treasury and is today part of the Permanent Collection of Sacral Art in Zadar.

⁴⁴ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 328; V. de PONTE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 102; CATALOGUE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 70; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 67-70, cat. no. 018.



Fig. 12. Casket of Pope St Gregory, Zadar
(N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 85)



Fig. 12a. Rear side of the casket of St Gregory, with the Pope's
figure between St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia
(N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 86)

The casket reliquary for the head of Pope St Gregory comes from the treasury of the Benedictine monastery of St Mary in Zadar and is part of the Permanent Collection of Sacral Art (Fig. 12).⁴⁵ It is made of embossed silver sheet applied on a wooden base, rectangular in shape, covered with a lid in the form of a truncated pyramid, and standing on short metal legs. On all slopes of the lid, bordered by ribbons of grapevine, there are identical figures of Pope St Gregory sitting at his desk, placed in circular medallions. The lower part of the reliquary has figures embossed in relief on all sides, whereby those on the long sides stand under arches. Thus the front side features the iconographic scene of *Deisis*, in which the figure of Christ is represented enthroned under the highest and widest arch. On the rear side there is a figure of St Gregory flanked by Zadar's patron saints: St Chrysogonus wearing the uniform of a Roman soldier and St Anastasia with a crown on her head and a cross in her right hand. All figures are positioned frontally to the observer, but here, unlike the previous examples, they possess more vivacity due to draperies and counterpoints (for example, with St Anastasia). On the lateral panels there is the Annunciation scene, or its prefiguration in the form of the Meeting of Joachim and Ana at the Golden Gate. The latter scene is very interesting because it was made after James' proto-gospel, in which Ana welcomes her husband Joachim at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem. The city is symbolized by two circular towers, ending with conical roofs with tiles and crosses. Under the roof there

are closed double windows, while in the lower zones of the towers there is a closed double door. The towers rest on multi-profiled bases and their multi-layered carved slabs are connected by means of bed joints. The second Annunciation scene even contains a reduced interior in the form of an arch with Mary sitting underneath. In this example one thus finds specific spatial and architectural elements: in

⁴⁵ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 328; V. de PONTE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 102; V. BRUNELLI, *Storia della città di Zara dai tempi più remoti sino al MDCCCXV compilata sulle fonti da Vitaliano Brunelli*, Venezia, 1913, p. 328; CATALOGUE, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 318; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 84-88, cat. no. 029.

the Meeting of Ana and Joachim, it is an exterior (city walls) and in the Annunciation scene Mary's room (interior). The latter two scenes on shorter panels are of exceptional quality, very vivid and picturesque, and the figures are represented in dynamic movement, *realistic yet spiritual*.⁴⁶

Our next example of a reliquary that would have been used in Christian processions in the Zadar area is the Shrine of St Simeon. In this case I shall not elaborate on the rich iconography and its interpretation, since that has been done by a number of scholars: among others I would like to single out G. Meyer, L. Fondra, I. Petricioli, N. Jakšić and M. Kovačević.⁴⁷ This example of Gothic goldsmithery *par excellence*, not only in national art, but also in Europe at large, duly represents a royal donation. As it is known, it was commissioned by Queen Elizabeth, wife of King Louis I the Great and daughter of the Bosnian bishop Stjepan Kotromanić, and produced by Francesco of Milan during the 1370s or 1380s. Since the shrine has been analysed in detail in the quoted literature, I will confine myself to describing a single scene, which shows the solemn reception of the King in Zadar's harbour (Fig. 13).

The shrine is prismatic in shape, rectangular and covered with a double-layered lid. It is made of wood, but entirely covered with gold-plated silver sheets with embossed reliefs. The front and rear panels are divided into three cassettes, and the lateral ones into one with narrative scenes. The interior of the shrine is also covered with reliefs, which can only be seen when the front panel is open. The rear side features a relief by Toma Martinov from 1497. On the front sloping roof panel there is a reclining figure of the saint in high relief, his head turned to the right.

The central scene of the Presentation at the Temple, which is the iconographic attribute of St Simeon, is flanked by scenes that are important in identifying the reasons why St Simeon is kept and venerated in Zadar.⁴⁸ To the left, it is the invention of the saint's body, and to the right the scene that is crucial for our discussion: the reception of the King in the city harbour, or as N. Jakšić has argued, the *collocatio corporis*: bringing the saintly body into the city or the sanctuary.⁴⁹

The scene has two levels in the vertical perspective. The lower level includes a number of figures, from which the representatives of the authorities stand out: Archbishop Nikola Matafar to the left and King Louis to the right, whereby the latter is also the largest figure depicted. Behind them is a procession of the faithful around Matafar, who kneel before the King, as well as the King's subjects who stand by him to the right.

Scholars are unanimous in the analysis of the scene when emphasizing the gratitude of Zadar's citizens because the victorious King freed them from Venetian tyranny. The peace was signed with Venice in 1358, after which Louis solemnly entered Zadar. Although it is not known by which route he reached the city, most authors assume that it was by land which is what makes his position near the coast, where two ships are docked, intriguing. In this context Bersa has interpreted the harbour and the ship as indicating the return of the saint's body to the city after the Venetians had taken him to their city for a shorter period of time. Accordingly, Louis' merit for Zadar would have been presented as even greater.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 86.

⁴⁷ L. FONDRA, *Istoria della insigne reliquia di San Simeone profeta che si venera in Zara*, 1855; C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 334-356; I. PETRICIOLI, *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru*, Zagreb, 1983; N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 97-120, cat. no. 038; M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), pp. 227-231, cat. no. 08, pp. 1069-1123; M. KOVAČEVIĆ, O prvoj monografskoj obradi škrinje sv. Šimuna u Zadru, *Ars Adriatica*, 1, Zadar, 2011, pp. 17-204.

⁴⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 102.

⁴⁹ N. JAKŠIĆ, Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja sv. Šimuna, zadarska arca d'oro, *Ars adriatica*, 4, Zadar, 2014, 95-124.

⁵⁰ N. Jakšić has endorsed Bersa's interpretation, with an additional explanation that the King also collected port levies, so the presence of numerous ships in the harbour is only logical N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), pp. 103-105.

In the upper register of the scene the saint is portrayed in the same way as on the lid of the monumental shrine, although it was still in the making at the time (it may be useful to mention here that the body of St Simeon was still in its stone sarcophagus when the king arrived in Zadar).⁵¹ Given the perspective and the distorted vantage point, it seems that the figure here is also slanted as on the sloping lid of the shrine, but M. Kovačević is right in observing that the saint must be lying on some sort of bed. This is supported by the surface on which the figure is reclining, which seems soft and pliable, folds on the lower edges, and is decorated with embossed motifs resembling flowers. The drapery is similar to the motif in the upper zone of the canvas with Angevin coats of arms in quadruple fields, extended behind the royal procession. Kovačević considers it to be a tent, although a carpet should not be ruled out either. It is known that red carpets were placed in churches for certain ceremonies (the inventory of St Chrysogonus' monastery in 1449 mentions a ceremonial carpet in the church), and the king's entry in the city may have been considered worthy of such a ceremony.⁵²

The king is thus placed in the centre of the scene, along the same axis as the crossed hands of the reclining saint, which reflects the desire for his blessing (as those were the same hands that once held the Messiah). The date of commissioning the shrine is clear: the Queen ordered it in the years of the King's illness, although he is here depicted as a corpulent and strong man, as monumentally as it befits the laws of hierarchical perspective!

However, as has been said before, it is only in this scene of King Louis' entry into the city (or the *collocatio corporis*) that the saint's body is shown as if on a slope of a monumental sarcophagus; that is, his body is lying in the same direction, as in all other scenes the shrine is shown as a rectangular trunk with the saint's body lying and his head turned to the left, just as he is carved in full relief on the stone sarcophagus.



Fig. 13. Reception of King Louis the Great in the Zadar harbor / collocatio corporis (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 104)

⁵¹ Diaries of the two pilgrims to the Holy Land, Konrad von Grünenberg (1486) and Pietro Casola, a priest from Milan (1494), who made a halt in Zadar on their way, confirm that the saint's body had not been transferred from the Romanesque stone sarcophagus to the new silver ark before the end of the 15th century. At the time the silver ark was placed high above the stone sarcophagus in which the saint's relics were resting, and Casola recognized the *Presentation at the Temple* relief, adding that in the centre it had a Latin inscription that mentioned a "Hungarian queen" as its donator. M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), 2010, p. 716.

⁵² J. KOLANOVIĆ, Liturgijski kodeksi svetokrševanskog opata Deodata Veniera, *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 29-30, Zadar, 1983, p. 79. Carpets were also laid out in the cathedral at certain holidays, as attested by a younger report of M. Ferrari. Cf. I. M. FERRARI, *Compendio di tutte le Funzioni e le Cerimonie che si praticano per tutto il corso dell'Anno nella Chiesa Cattedrale di Zara*, Zara, 1716, p. 42.

In essence, if the scene really shows the entry of the saint's body into the city and his permanent deposition in the sanctuary, then the direction in which the body is moving, with his feet turned towards the city gate, is only logical, and Jakšić's hypothesis is then correct, because the iconography of relic translation is thus complete.⁵³ The transfer of the saint's body after the Venetian theft to Zadar's Basilica of St Mary Major, whose roof is seen on the third level of the panels, above the crenelations of the city walls, would thus have been the third act in the narrative series on the relics, after the *inventio* and *translatio corporis*, which is the general hagiographical model when it comes to the acquisition and deposition of relics.⁵⁴

As far as the main discussion of this paper is concerned, this scene certainly supports the hypothesis on urban processions, since in any case the body of St Simeon, as a precious religious and communal relic, would have been carried through the city gate in one way or another (either because of returning to Zadar or, less likely, to welcome the King), which is evident from the depiction of the city walls and the roof of St Mary's church. As C. Hahn has stated: *They [i.e. relics] were not inert objects but live beings and as a result had a very personal meaning for their audiences*. Referring to Jerome, she then concludes that the ecclesiastical author ... *not only implies that "dust and ashes" can embody a saint, but that ceremonies including processions create a vivid unity among the Christian people that in some sense reimagines the presence of Christ himself*.⁵⁵

However, in the context of urban processions and reliquaries in the Zadar area, I would also like to mention the largely neglected example of an ark reliquary of St Chrysogonus that was first mentioned in post-Tridentine documents. The report on the apostolic visitation of M. Priuli to the monastery and church of St Chrysogonus in 1603 mentions a *capsa lignea* on the altar of the saint.⁵⁶ There is no further description of the *capsa* until the report of Valerio de Ponte, who associated it with the event of transferring the relics from Zadar to the Venetian church of S. Gervasio e Protasio at the time of Venetian rule in the first half of the 14th century. According to him, it was very old or archaic in relation to his time, and maybe this is the reason why he associated it with the Gothic period. He described it as a large wooden shrine (ark or sarcophagus) that probably contained the saint's body, with scenes from the saint's life painted all over the interior and the exterior.⁵⁷ In the 18th century I. Tanzliger-Zanotti wrote that the arca of St Chrysogonus was made of gold-plated wood and likewise described it as a sarcophagus with scenes from the saint's life, as well as life of St Zoilus.⁵⁸ Apparently, the same description of the shrine made of gold-plated wood was then taken over by Bianchi, but he also mentioned it as solemnly carried through the city, which took place on the saint's feast day or when certain dangers befell the city.⁵⁹ This information is not to be ignored, even though it is found only in Bianchi. The ark or shrine is a symbol of processions from the earliest, Biblical times (e.g. the Ark of the Covenant or David's Ark), when they were carried around with music and songs.⁶⁰ Numerous medieval reliquaries were made in the form of an ark. However, as far as the Zadar ark of St Chrysogonus is concerned, Bianchi dated it back to a very early period, before the construction of the Benedictine

⁵³ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 95-124.

⁵⁴ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 95-124.

⁵⁵ C. HAHN, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 148.

⁵⁶ M. PRIULI, *Visitatio Apostolica Dalmatiae. Visitatio Ecclesiae Jadrensis*. Archivio segreto Vaticano, 1603 (microfilm ZM 67b-004 at the State Archive in Zagreb, accessible at the server of the State Archive in Zadar), f. 654r.

⁵⁷ V. de PONTE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), pp. 226-229.

⁵⁸ I. TANZLIGHER-ZANOTTI, *O relikviji sv. Zoila, 25. travnja 1714. godine*, HR-AZDN-16/6; Z. DUNDOVIĆ, *O obnovi kulta sv. Zoila u Zadru u XVIII stoljeću, Bogoslovska smotra*, 88, Zagreb, 2018, p. 1022.

⁵⁹ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 298.

⁶⁰ According to Gregory the Great, the Ark of the Covenant was a symbol of the unity of the Church and the community. Cf. C. HAHN, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 149.

Romanesque complex, and linked it with the processional carrying of a standard with the saint's effigy, starting from the church of the same name. The standard was most certainly kept at the church before the mid-15th century, when it is mentioned in an inventory of the monastery of St Chrysogonus from 1449, the same one that lists the carpet to be placed in the presbytery for certain ceremonies.⁶¹ However, the inventory does not mention the ark, and therefore it is still difficult to estimate the date of its making based on the meagre descriptions. At some point it disappeared, as it is not mentioned again after Bianchi's note. Brunelli thus regarded it as destroyed at the time he was writing his history of Zadar.⁶²

However, although the information on the processional carrying of the relics of St Chrysogonus is of a relatively recent date, Zadar has luckily inherited a medieval report on taking the relics out in a procession, which is a sure confirmation that they were indeed occasionally taken out of the treasury or permanent repository. M. Kovačević mentions this in his doctoral thesis: ... In 1349, Andrija Vidov de Sloradis determined in his last will that the relics he kept in a casket within another, larger box should be inserted into a beautiful cross for whose production he left some money. The same document states that this cross should be carried along every time the relics of Zadar were brought out in a procession (*sempre quanto le reliquie ci si traçisi o purtasiper la terra*). This is also Zadar's only document from the period that mentions processions.⁶³ It is obvious that the cross was carried in processions, which was no novelty, quite on the contrary. The so-called processional crosses were the main symbols of all processions, because they stood in the figurative image of Christ at the beginning of any procession as its head. A typical feature of such crosses was thorns or grooves on the lower vertical *hastae*, by which they were fitted into their long handles. In early Christianity such crosses are found on the *plutei* of chancel screens made by Zadar's stone carving workshop,⁶⁴ while for the medieval period an illustrative example is the beautiful, but sadly stolen and still missing processional cross that originally belonged to the monastery of St Francis in Zadar (Figg. 14a, 14b).⁶⁵

The dynamic life of relics that have been carried around the city is also attested in documents from the post-tridentine period, but I believe that they are reflections of the older, traditional ways of ritual behaviour in the Zadar area. On the day of St Mark (in 1716, when the record was created, it was the day of the state patron saint), April 25, the altar with relics in the cathedral was thus ceremonially opened: *Si cavanno tutte le reliquie, e si pongono sopra l'altar maggiore, alla messa interviene il Prelato in Cappia magna e la Pubblica Maestà in Ducale con Tamburi. Terminata la Messa si dividono le Reliquie ai sacerdoti Latini e Illirici, quali devono essere apparati in abito sacerdotale, e sono tenuti appararsi tutti, tanto della cattedrale, quanto della collegiata, ecettuato il Piovano, e li mansionarij devono appararsi in Pluviale, e si fa la solita processione alla quale si canta = Tristes erant ... – e intervengono le scuole, e tutte le religioni, niuna eccettuata, e la Processione si ferma sotto la loggia, ove si fanno le solite cerimonie. Il consigliere più giovine e tenuto far preparare le careghe per tutti, e terminate le funzioni solite, la processione si porta verso la cattedrale, e giunta in chiesa, il Prelato e la pubblica Maestà s'inginocchia innanzi l'altare del Santissimo, e due mansionarij apparati in Pluviale dicono il solito Versetto (ora pro nobis S. Anastasia) e l'arciprete dice la solita orazione di S. Anastasia e poi la pubblica Maestà si licenzia.*⁶⁶ There are a few important facts here: the relics were taken out of their repository and laid out on the main altar, and the ceremony was attended not only by all church officials, but also by the state representatives. The important term

⁶¹ J. KOLANOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 80.

⁶² V. BRUNELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 213.

⁶³ M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 709.

⁶⁴ P. VEŽIĆ, Klesarska radionica u kasnoantičkome Zadru, *Biogradski zbornik*, 1, Zadar, 1990, pp. 248-262.

⁶⁵ M. GRGIĆ, *Zlato i srebro Zadra i Nina*, Zagreb, 1972, pp. 169-170; M. KOVAČEVIĆ, Ophodni križ – još jedan anžuvinski ex voto u Zadruž, *Radovi Instituta povijesti umjetnosti*, 31, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 29-42.

⁶⁶ Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 30-31.



Fig. 14a. Processional cross from St Francis in Zadar, front side (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 82)



Fig. 14b. Processional cross from St Francis in Zadar, rear side (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 83)

is *solita processione*, the “usual procession”, therefore something that was regular and well-known behaviour, whereby a tune *Tristes erant* was chanted, suitable for the slow passage through the city. The procession halted in front of the City Loggia, where regular or usual ceremonies were performed, and then returned to the cathedral for the final parts of the ceremony.

The relics were placed on the main altar of the church on certain feast days (e.g. those of St Chrysogonus and St Anastasia): on the eve of the feast, the vigils, the relics of Anastasia were placed on the main altar: *In tempo di Vespero si espone sopra l'altar maggiore la reliquia della Santa, e devono stare sempre accesi due lumi. Così pure in cappella in tempo che si canta il Vespero, si accendono quattro candelotti.*⁶⁷ However, on the next day after the morning Mass, the relics were returned to the chapel of St Anastasia, solemnly and ceremonially, where they remained until the beginning of the main Mass of that day. Then they were taken out again: *Prima di dar principio alla messa si porta la Reliquia della Santa sopra l'altar maggiore.*⁶⁸ Something similar happened with all the relics kept in the cathedral. So for the feast day of St Chrysogonus all the four reliquaries were placed on the main altar, and the church was decorated ceremonially.⁶⁹ In any case, the church had to be decorated for the days of the ceremony: *La chiesa deve essere addobbata con li arazzi, ed il coro con li Tappetti, l'altar maggiore con gli argenti.*⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 11.

⁶⁸ Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 13.

⁶⁹ Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 66-67. Something similar was taking place on the feast day of St Donatus, on February 25: in the morning, *i curati* exhibited the open casket with the saint's relics and placed it on the main altar: *altare posticcio preparato dai sacristi nella sua Chiesa – ed i curati, tenuti del suo accendergli due lumi di cera, che devono ardere continuamente sinoche sta esposta la cassetta.* *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁷⁰ Similar ceremonies as the one on the feast day of St Mark (*ut in die S. Marci*) took place on other significant days, such as the feast day of St Simeon. Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), pp. 11, 42, 55-57.

CONCLUSION

Reliquaries, as necessary elements in the inventory of almost every sanctuary, were produced in various forms and materials, in different styles and times, and reflect not only pious initiatives, but also the liturgical situation. Special rituals were created because of them and for them, and they were almost regularly part of certain ceremonial movements or processions. Procession thus marked the deposition of relics in their permanent recipients, from which they were taken on particular days and carried through the sanctuary, around it, or across larger urban areas. It should be emphasized that urbanism and architecture directly influenced liturgy from the very beginning, especially the reliquaries and objects of use, which exemplify the ritual life through their decoration and the depicted motifs (especially architecture). It is a true reciprocal link: the porch, as an urban architectural element closely related to the procession and its flow, ultimately found its place on the reliquaries, which are again inevitably linked to the procession.

Artefacts from the earliest Christian times testify to their own mobile nature with illustrative scenes depicted on them. Scenes on the Samagher reliquary or the panel of the one from Trier speak of the worship of relics and their settings – confessionals, and especially of the processions related to them. Elements of architecture in the interior of the Samagher church indicate processions within the sanctuary, while the elements of porches and galleries on the Trier panel speak of processions across the city, which usually started from an important or recognizable urban symbol (building or monument), a city gate in case of the Trier panel, and ended at a specific sacral space, often the cathedral. These architectural elements, such as stylized arches, can therefore equally symbolize church interiors or urban spaces. Such stylization is m

anifest in numerous medieval reliquaries throughout Europe, and a number of examples from Zadar's reliquaries with series of arcades on their panels and saintly figures underneath them, regularly and symmetrically arranged in relation to the main figure in the iconographic hierarchy, suggest that they were also carried around in processions. This is confirmed by written documents from Zadar's history, the earliest one being from the mid-14th century, but the visual representation on one of the panels on the shrine of St Simeon, namely that of the body of the saint carried in front of or along the city walls, directed towards the city gate and eventually the basilica of St Mary Major, testify to a sort of solemn procession across the city featuring the main communal relic. The sarcophagus of the next crucial communal saint, St Chrysogonus, which has been lost or destroyed, was apparently also solemnly carried through the city, either on the saint's feast day or during the periods of great danger for the city. Eventually, on the day of the saintly protector of the state, St Mark, on April 25, all the relics deposited at the Cathedral were taken out of the cathedral treasury and carried to the main municipal building – the City Loggia, where traditional ceremonies were performed – and then solemnly carried back to their permanent repository. All these observations testify to the intertwined and interconnected nature of relics and processions.

Srednjovjekovni relikvijari i njihova uloga u kršćanskim procesijama

Kršćanska liturgija od svojih početaka ima izrazito dinamičan karakter. Njezini obredi inicijacijske, kongregacijske ili memorijalne naravi koncipirani su od raznih gesti i pokreta, a nerijetko su popraćeni procesijama. Svečane liturgijske kretnje odvijale su se unutar sakralnih zdanja, ali i izvan njih, po širemu gradskom prostoru. O tome svjedoče arhivski dokumenti i crkveni pisci, ali i ilustrativne predodžbe. Prizori koji opisuju kršćansku procesionalnu ili ceremonijalnu narav jesu poznati ikonografski motiv *Traditio legis*, Krist između apostola, no i motivi jaganjaca ili jelena u središtu kojih su kršćanski simboli. Elementi liturgijskog inventara koji su neraskidivo povezani s procesijama jesu i sami relikvijari.

Naime, relikvijari kao neophodan inventar gotovo svakog svetišta, u raznoraznim formama i materijalima, nastali u različitim stilovima i vremenima, ne proizlaze samo iz pobožnih pobuda, već i iz liturgijskih datosti. Artefakti iz najranijih kršćanskih vremena ilustrativnim prizorima na svojim ploham svjedoče o vlastitoj mobilnoj naravi. Scene na Samagerskom relikvijaru ili na ploči relikvijara iz Trier govore u prilog štovanju relikvija i njihovih ambijenata – konfesija, a posebno dokazuju procesije koje su vezane uz njih. Elementi arhitekture interijera crkve na Samagerskom primjerku odraz su procesija unutar svetišta, dok elementi trijema i galerija na ploči iz Trier govore o procesijama po urbanom tkivu koje započinju od nekoga važnog ili prepoznatljivog gradskog simbola (arhitekture ili spomenika), a na ploči iz Trier to su gradska vrata, dok za cilj imaju konkretni sakralni prostor, nerijetko stolnu crkvu. Ti elementi arhitekture kao stilizirani pojavni oblik u vidu arkada simboli su interijera crkava i gradskog prostora.

Na određenom broju zadarskih srednjovjekovnih relikvijara imamo simetričan raspored likova koji se nalaze pod arkadama. Takav karakterističan motiv i rekonstrukcija nekolicine zadarskih relikvijara u mlađim vremenima, upućuje da su se i oni iznosili u procesijama. Kao potvrda o nošenju relikvija u procesijama jesu i pisani dokumenti iz zadarske povijesti, od kojih je zasada najstariji poznati onaj iz sredine 14. stoljeća, no likovna predodžba na jednoj od ploha sa škrinje Sv. Šimuna, točnije tijela Sv. Šimuna na nosiljci pred gradskim zidom ili uzduž njega, a usmjerenog prema gradskim vratima, svjedoče o nekoj vrsti svečanog prijenosa (povratka ili iznošenja pred kralja, kakogod) glavne komunalne relikvije po gradu.

Uostalom, danas zagubljena ili uništena raka sljedećeg važnoga komunalnog sveca, Sv. Krševana, također se izgleda svečano nosila po gradu na svečev dan. Zanimljiv je procesijski običaj koji je zapisan početkom 18. stoljeća, a za koji autor tvrdi da se odvijao po ustaljenom običaju: na određene dane, kao što je bio blagdan tadašnjega državnog sveca, Sv. Marka (25. travnja), ili na dan Sv. Šimuna (8. listopada), iz katedralne riznice sve su se relikvije svečano iznosile izvan same katedrale, po gradu, do municipalne građevine – Gradske lože, gdje su se izvodile tada već tradicionalne procesije, i potom na jednako svečan način vraćale u svoje trajno spremište. Primjeri i navodi obrađeni u raspravi svjedoče o isprepletenoj prirodi relikvija i procesija.

Ključne riječi: *relikvijar, procesija, simetrija, katedrala, riznica*

LITTLE-KNOWN METALWORK IN TRECENTO VENICE AND THE VENETO

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This essay discusses two little known pieces of sacred goldsmith's art: a chalice preserved in the parish church of San Simon in Vallada Agordina, in the northern Veneto, and a chalice from the church of San Samuele in Venice, now held in Santo Stefano. The former can be placed in the context of a large series of liturgical vessels produced in Venice and the Venetian area around the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The latter is a rare example of non-Venetian, possibly Central Italian goldsmithery still preserved in Venice, and can be dated to the second half of the Trecento.

Key words: Goldsmith's art, goldsmithery, liturgical vessels, enamels, Venice, Veneto

THE CHALICE OF SAN SIMON IN VALLADA AGORDINA

Amongst the numerous pieces of Venetian metalwork of the Trecento – examples of which, as we know, were sent to other regions and locales, well outside the Venetian lagoon itself – one object in particular has recently come to the attention of scholars: the chalice of San Simon in Vallada Agordina (figs. 1-2)¹. This object, now conserved at the Museo Diocesano in Feltre, has likely survived in large part because the surrounding area had less economic resources at its disposal than the major centres, and as such, there was less chance of the chalice being subjected to mercantile interests.

Seen as a whole, the formal elements of the chalice suggest a fruitful comparison with a series of similar liturgical furnishings datable to the period between approximately 1320-1350, all conceived with similar formal characteristics, and differentiated by the degree of accent placed on particular variants of core forms. This group of works has been gathered together over some years, the point of departure being the magnificent serpentine chalice with silver mount in the Treasury of San Marco – a work for which the scholar Hahnloser coined the term ‘Maestro del Serpentino’². In terms of sheer quantity and variety of production, this corpus of related works cannot be considered the product of a single workshop. Rather, they testify to widespread sharing of models and ideas amongst Venetian workshops, and perhaps even to the spread of Venetian models to workshops operating beyond the confines of the lagoon itself.

Many of these objects employ a distinctive motif of leafy volutes, examples being the *navicella* in the Treasury of San Marco, the chalice of San Lorenzo in Valdagno (Vicenza)³, the monstrance

¹ Museo Diocesano di Belluno-Feltre: Feltre – Antico Vescovado, (ed.) Tiziana Conte, Belluno, 2018, p. 166.

² Il tesoro di San Marco, 2 vols., II. Il tesoro e il museo, (ed.) Hans Robert Hahnloser, Firenze, 1971, pp. 68-70.

³ G. BALDISSIN MOLLI, Il calice trecentesco nella parrocchiale di San Clemente di Valdagno, in: *De lapidibus sententiae: scritti di storia dell'arte per Giovanni Lorenzoni*, (ed.) Tiziana Franco, Giovanna Valenzano, Padova, 2002, pp. 23-31.



Fig. 1. Venetian goldsmiths, Chalice, Feltre (Bl), Diocesan Museum (from Vallada Agordina, church of San Simon)

of Massenhäuser now conserved in the Diocesan Museum in Freising⁴, the chalice of the parish church of Caoria (Trento)⁵, the chalice of Baierdorf, the chalice of San Gimignano, in the Cathedral of Modena⁶, the chalice in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the pix in the Diocesan Museum in Treviso⁷, a similar pix in Zara, and the *Reliquary of San Crisogono* and the *Arm-Reliquary of Saint John the Baptist*, also in Zara⁸. All of these are characterised by a motif of plump, rather fleshy leaves – perhaps meant to be understood as vine leaves, making Christological reference to the biblical metaphor of Christ as True Vine. Alternatively, they may be oak leaves with acorn (as can be seen in the serpentine chalice) – oak, indeed, was a positive, hopeful, symbol in Greco-Roman culture, and was reconfigured in the Middle Ages as a correlate for eternal life and the figure of Christ.

Variants that date to the same period, but are less obviously linked to the model of the Serpentine chalice, are the *Reliquary of the Holy Thorns* in the church of San Salvador in Venice, the chalices of San Lorenzo in Sogliano al Rubicone (Forlì-Cesena)⁹, the Duomo of Muggia (Trieste)¹⁰ and the Duomo of Dubrovnik¹¹, and the foot of the pyx of Cunevo, in the province

of Trento¹². There remain some doubts about the authenticity of the base of a small monstrance, later transformed into a candlestick, now at the Musée du Louvre, and a monstrance at the Musée de

⁴ *Il tesoro...*, op. cit., (n. 2), tav. CLI.

⁵ M. L. MEZZACASA, "Hunc calicem fecit fieri presbiter". Testimonianze di oreficeria tardogotica veneziana nell'Alto Veneto, in: *Quando comandava la spada. Il medioevo in Valbelluna, conference proceedings*, (ed.) Giorgio Reolon, Belluno, 2017, pp. 119-132.

⁶ M. L. MEZZACASA, Il Calice di san Geminiano, in: *La gloria del Santo. Culto e immagine di San Geminiano a Modena dal Medioevo all'Ottocento*, (eds.) Giovanna Caselgrandi, Francesca Fontana, Simona Roversi, Modena, 2014, p. 36.

⁷ *Oreficeria Sacra in Veneto*, (ed.) Anna Maria Spiazzi, Cittadella (Pd), 2004, pp. 99-100 (Maria Pregnolato, cat. n. 16); M. L. MEZZACASA, Temi d'ornato e microtecniche nell'oreficeria gotica veneziana a paragone con le arti maggiori, in: *Rabeschi d'oro. Pittura e oreficeria a Venezia in età gotica*, (eds.) Cristina Guarnieri, Andrea de Marchi, Milano, 2015 [*Arte Veneta*, 71 (2014)], pp. 202-206.

⁸ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Zlatarstvo*, Zadar, 2004, pp. 66-67, 72-76; I. PETRICIOLI, *Esposizione permanente d'arte sacra*, Zadar, 2004, p. 11, cat. M3.2.

⁹ M. L. MEZZACASA, op. cit. (n. 7), pp. 202-206.

¹⁰ L. CRUSVAR, Il tesoro del duomo: testimonianza di fede e di arte, in: *Muggia e il suo duomo a 750 anni dalla fondazione*, (ed.) Giuseppe Cuscito, Trieste, 2014, pp. 159-160.

¹¹ *Arte per Mare. Dalmazia, Titano e Montefeltro dal primo Cristianesimo al Rinascimento*, (ed.) Giovanni Gentili, Cinisello Balsamo, 2007, pp. 147-148 (Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić, cat. 71).

¹² D. FLORIS, L'oreficeria: una ricognizione territoriale, in: *Le vie del Gotico. Il Trentino fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, (ed.) Laura Dal Prà, Trento, 2003, pp. 284-287.

Cluny, both in Paris. Works that are less dependent on the volute scheme, meanwhile, but still linked to the *namepiece* of the San Marco Treasury, using freer raceme motifs comprising tiny little leaves, include the foot of the chalice later re-employed as the base of the cross at Santa Maria del Giglio in Venice, the *Reliquary of San Forte* in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua, and, also in the Santo, the much richer and more complex *Reliquary of the Glass of Aleardino*, which adopts an even freer scheme¹³. The beautiful chalice from the parish church in Vallada, now in Feltre, can be traced back to this last variant of decoration.

In the Vallada chalice, there are several striking characteristics indicating Venetian production: the form of the octagonal base with inflected sides, the decoration with embossed racemes and the typical studded knop, which, over the course of the Trecento, gradually substituted the undulating knop pattern popular in the thirteenth century, exemplified in the Fitzwilliam chalice. Similarly 'Venetian' are the little collars placed above and below the knop, an element typically found in Venetian metalwork

of the late Duecento and evidenced in a handful of important surviving objects, such as the candelabras in rock crystal in the basilica of San Nicola in Bari.

The type of filigree is of particular interest, too. 'Filigree' is a term used in a rather general manner to refer to different kinds of metalwork techniques, principally granulation, as well as the technique of twisted thread (the latter being the Venetian meaning of the term). Granulation – a technique for which the term 'filigree' would seem more 'correct' – is a decorative technique that exploits the natural tendency of metals to coagulate into granules when brought to melting point (1064 degree Celsius for gold). The granules thus naturally produced came to be employed as a form of decoration by making them adhere to each other and to the surface through a process known as colloidal soldering. The filigree for which Venetians metalwork is famous, on the other hand – so famous that the technique came to be referred to as *opus veneticum ad filum* – is the use of bent and twisted gold thread to craft delicate volutes and tresses. In Venetian works, in any case, the term filigree always refers to twisted thread attached on top of a structure – not integral, that is, to the actual surface. The technique was certainly not invented in Venice; in this period it was widely used in different parts of Europe, especially in the area between northern France and Germany bounded by the Meuse and Rhine rivers. However, some extraordinary thirteenth-century examples of certain Venetian facture



Fig. 2. Venetian goldsmiths, Chalice (detail), Feltre (Bl), Diocesan Museum (from Vallada Agordina, church of San Simon)

¹³ *Basilica del Santo. Oreficerie*, (eds.) Marco Collareta, Giordana Mariani Canova, Anna Maria Spiazzi, Padova-Roma, 1995, pp. 85-66 (Giordana Mariani Canova, cat. 4); *Giotto e il suo tempo, catalogo della mostra (Padova, 25 novembre 2000-29 aprile 2001)*, (ed.) Mirella Cisotto Nalon, Milano, 2000, pp. 403-404 (Giovanna Baldissin Molli, cat. 42).



Fig. 3. Venetian goldsmiths, Chalice (detail), Feltre (Bl), Diocesan Museum (from Vallada Agordina, church of San Simon)



Fig. 4. Venetian goldsmiths, Chalice (detail), Enego (Vi), church of Santa Giustina



Fig. 5. Venetian goldsmiths, Chalice (detail), Feltre (Bl), Diocesan Museum (from Vallada Agordina, church of San Simon)

are still conserved in the Treasury of San Marco. The filigree technique gradually declined in quality throughout the course of the thirteenth century and was eventually abandoned in the Trecento. The last examples of it, rather poor in quality, are found in some of the chalices mentioned above, including the chalice of Vallada.

In terms of the figurative aspect of the chalice, we can observe that there are small reliefs on the studs of the knop, which were most likely realised with punches. By examining different examples in this group of furnishings, we can recognise strong similarities between objects and sometimes even identify actual artistic personalities based on those similarities. Some of the plaquettes on the knop of the chalice of Vallada (fig. 3) are identical to those of the chalice of the parish church of Santa Giustina in Enego (Vicenza)¹⁴ (fig. 4), for example; the same style is recognised in a pyx conserved in

Liubač and in the chalice of Caoria. Punching techniques are sometimes also employed for the larger plaquettes on the foot, as in the case of the monstrance of San Vito di Cadore (Belluno) and the chalice of Sant'Elizario in Ariano Irpino (Avellino)¹⁵. In the case of the Vallada chalice, however, the

¹⁴ *Oreficeria Sacra in Veneto*, (ed.) Anna Maria Spiazzi, Cittadella (Pd), 2004, p. 21 (Claudio Rigon, cat. 7).

¹⁵ M. L. MEZZACASA, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 119-124.

plaquettes with figures that are applied to the base have been realised with an embossing technique and free-hand incision (fig. 5). The representations, it must be said, are not particularly refined: the faces are rather simplified and the garments rendered with rigid and not especially complex or articulated lines. Even so, stylistically and iconographically they are fully aligned with the figurative context of all the other Venetian objects cited above, thus with a probable dating around the 1320s-1330s.

THE CHALICE OF SAN SAMUELE IN VENICE

An important late medieval chalice originally belonging to the church of San Samuele in Venice is now kept in the church of Santo Stefano (fig. 6). This chalice, whose quality of craftsmanship is way above the average, is a complete *unicum* within the Venetian context, and thus far has not had adequate scholarly attention or thorough analysis directed towards it. In the sixteenth century it was believed that the object had been made for the church by the knight Marco Venier, son of Nicolò, consistent with a liturgical object mentioned in his testamentary will and in subsequent church inventories. This belief is expressed in the following inscription, found on the rear of the foot of the chalice: DE LA COMESARIA D.M. MARCO VENIER CHEVALIER 1581 ADI' PRIMO ZUGNO. Along with this, three coats of arms are incised: the Venier one and two other shields. However, this evidence alone is inconclusive, since the chalice also bears another inscription that would seem to contradict its association with Venier. On the lowermost collar of the chalice, standing out against an enamelled background, we read: PER RIMEDIO DEL ANIMA DI LORENZO DI MATEO¹⁶. This would seem to indicate that the chalice was made for a man named Lorenzo di Matteo, for the express purpose of soliciting prayers for his soul. The donation and bequest of objects "pro remedio animae" was a common practice at the time, and chalices appear to have been the kind of liturgical vessel that was most frequently donated for this purpose. The link with Venier seems further contradicted by the fact that the studs on the knop bear two coats of arms – one, a shield with a bend chequy on a red background (fig. 7), and another a shield with a ben featuring three stars, possibly blue, also on a red background. Neither of these shields match that of the Venier family. The former, though, matches the coat-of-arms of Pietro Tomacelli, the Pope Boniface IX, who reigned at



Fig. 6. Central Italian goldsmiths (?), Chalice, Venice, church of Santo Stefano Protomartire (from San Samuele)

Neither of these shields match that of the Venier family. The former, though, matches the coat-of-arms of Pietro Tomacelli, the Pope Boniface IX, who reigned at

¹⁶ The collar – which is clearly consistent with the original making of the chalice – has been re-mounted upside down.



Fig. 7. Central Italian goldsmiths (?), Chalice (detail), Venice, church of Santo Stefano Protomartire (from San Samuele)

the time this chalice was in all likelihood realised. If this were the case, the concession of the shield to the man who commissioned the chalice would represent a connection between that man and the Roman Curia, possibly a sort of statement of loyalty to the Pope during the Western Schism. Moreover, this would account for the presence of two different coats of arms, and would imply a date within the epoch of the Tomacelli papacy.

The foot of the chalice has a peculiar floral form, comprising six large petals that alternate with six smaller ones. Each side bears a hexalobular enamelled plaque with a figure of a saint. Above the foot of the chalice there is a small hexagonal knop, connected to the main knop via a hexagonal stem, bearing on each side an engraved and enamelled figure of an angel with hands joined together in a gesture of prayer. The knop takes the shape of a flattened sphere from which six hexalobate protuberances extend. On each of these, the figures of the Magdalene and the Virgin alternate with the above-mentioned coats of arms. A second hexalobate collar – here portraying musician angels – links the knop to the cup. The base of the cup is surrounded by a plaque featuring ogival arches depicting seraphim.

No similar chalice can be found in Venice, and the analysis of the object itself and the enamels' figurative language exclude, in fact, a provenance from Venice. As far as I know, there is only one chalice sufficiently similar that it might actually be considered a product of the exact same milieu, if not of the same workshop, and that is the chalice that used to be in the church of Vízakna (now part of Romania), but which entered the collections

of the National Museum of Hungary (58.173 C) at the beginning of the twentieth century (fig. 8). The Hungarian chalice and the San Samuele not only match closely in their distinctive shape, but are strikingly similar in every single aspect. They both employ the same floral motifs on the foot as well as on the knop, and use the same ornamental bands – a roped one and a band made of a series of small embossed stars – on the step of the foot. Even the shape of the plaquettes that wrap around the foot of the cup is perfectly consistent from one to the other. There are some noticeable differences, however, in the iconographic program, as well as in the craftsmanship. The basse-taille plaquettes of the San Samuele chalice are considerably more refined and accurately incised. Moreover, the Vízak-



Fig. 8. Central Italian goldsmiths (?), Chalice, Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (from the church of Vízakna, nowadays Ocna Sibiului, Romania)

na chalice bears a coat of arm with golden fleurs-de-lys on a blue field, which fostered a traditional attribution to the patronage of Louis I of Hungary. The Vízakna chalice has been exhibited a few times¹⁷ and catalogued by Judit Kolba¹⁸. More recently also Etele Kiss¹⁹, followed by Glyn Davies²⁰, considered the chalice in Budapest to be a Tuscan, probably Florentine object, dating between 1350 and 1400. To support their hypothesis, both Kolba and Kiss compare the chalice to the one by Francesco di Vanni in the Duomo of Barga (Lucca), notice the presence of St. John the Baptist, patron of Florence, and highlight that Vízakna was a mining centre where Florentine merchants were active as silver dealers. The Tuscan hypothesis, although plausible, would need the support of further and more compelling evidence.

The San Samuele and Vízakna chalices share some features with Siennese examples, such as hexalobate shape of the enameled plaquettes, both on the foot and on the knop, and the ogee-shaped plaquettes around the cup with figures of angels. Related examples, to mention only a few, are the chalices in The Martin D'Arcy Gallery in Chicago, Museu Capitular of Avila, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge²¹. These features were adopted until the late fourteenth century, as can be seen in the chalice by Antonio Celi in the Treasury of the Cathedral of Lyon (France), datable between 1390 and 1400²², as well as the one by Andrea Brac-

¹⁷ *Hungaria regia (1000-1800): fastes et défis*, exh. cat. (Bruxelles, 1999-2000), Turnhout, 1999, cat. 32, p. 123; *L'Europe des Anjou: aventure des princes angevins du 13. au 15. siècle*, exh. cat. (Fontevraud 2001), Paris, 2001, pp. 336, cat. 105.

¹⁸ *Liturgische Goldschmiedearbeiten im Ungarischen Nationalmuseum: 14.-17. Jahrhundert (Catalogi Musei Nationalis Hungarici. Series Mediaevalis et Moderna; 1)*, Budapest, 2004, pp. 28-29 (Judit H. Kolba, cat. 5).

¹⁹ *Sigismundus rex et imperator: art et culture au temps de Sigismond de Luxemburg*, (ed.) Imre Takács, Mainz, 2006, p. 104 (Etele Kiss, cat. 1.22).

²⁰ G. DAVIES, „Omnes et singuli aurifices”: guild regulations and the chalice trade in central Italy c. 1250 – 1500, in: *The historian's eye: essays on Italian art in honor of Andrew Ladis*, (eds.) Hayden B. J. Maginnis, Shelley E. Zuraw, Athens, (Ga, USA), 2009, pp. 33-44.

²¹ E. CIONI, *Scultura e smalto nell'oreficeria senese dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Firenze, 1998, pp. 624-648.

²² G. CANTELLI, *Storia dell'oreficeria e dell'arte tessile in Toscana dal Medioevo all'età moderna*, Firenze, 1996, p. 86, p. 117, fig. 11-13.



Fig. 9. Central Italian goldsmiths (?), Chalice (detail), Venice, church of Santo Stefano Protomartire (from San Samuele)

cini in the Museum of the Cathedral of Pistoia (1384)²³, and the so-called Albergati Chalice in the cathedral of Bologna²⁴. However, these comparisons only show that specifically Siennese features spread in Gothic goldsmithery and got assimilated by other productive contexts, as the differences between the San Samuele and Vízakna, and the others are still marked.

Although the Tuscan goldsmithery does not offer indisputable terms for comparisons, the enamels of the San Samuele chalice have generic affinities with late fourteenth-century Florentine and Tuscan paintings. The figures of the Crucified Christ and the Virgin in the chalice (fig. 10), for example, appear reminiscent of some of the figures in contemporary Florentine painting, such as those in the *Crucifixion* by Nardo di Cione in the Accademia in Florence. However – in spite of the excellent quality of these enamels – the difference in dimensions renders an exact comparison difficult, and all these resemblances remain necessarily vague and generic and not sufficient to put forth a hypothesis of a Tuscan provenance.

In conclusion, the most plausible conclusion for the San Samuele chalice would be that it was made in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, whereas any hypothesis of provenance needs further

analysis. At any rate, the San Samuele chalice remains one of the very few pieces of non-Venetian goldsmith's art existent in Venice. Foreign goldsmiths, both from other Italian states and from beyond the Alps, were clearly present and working in the Lagoon, as is confirmed by documents more than by material evidence. In this case, however, nothing proves that the chalice was made in Venice; and it was not brought to the city among the personal goods owned by a foreigner that moved to the city and left it to San Samuele upon his death.

It remains only to confirm how the San Samuele chalice came into the hands of Venier, given that, according to the evidence presented here, the object does not appear to have been originally made for him. In Venier's will there is actually no mention of one object in particular, but simply a request for the building and endowment of a chapel. Furthermore, a Byzantine reliquary, later inserted into a Renaissance frame at San Samuele, and now in Santo Stefano, has been linked to Venier by Grevomboch, who reproduces it for his collection of drawings. Here again, however, there is no documentary evidence to verify this link. Indeed, the oldest inventories conserved in the church

²³ G. CANTELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 128.

²⁴ *Il tesoro di San Pietro in Bologna e Papa Lambertini*, (ed.) Franca Varignana, Bologna, 1997, p. 171, cat. 4.

of San Samuele, datable to the late Cinquecento, list the chalice as an object from Ca' Venier, but make no mention of Venier when the *Reliquary of the Cross* is listed. Unfortunately, the inventory of assets and furnishings is missing from the dossier of Venier's *commissaria* in the Archivio di Stato in Venice, which may have contained the information we require. I hope that, in the future, further documentation will emerge and shed light on some of these questions, particularly in regard to how these precious artefacts ended up in the belongings of Marco Venier.



Fig. 10. Central Italian goldsmiths (?), Chalice (detail), Venice, church of Santo Stefano Protomartire (from San Samuele)

Neke manje poznate trecentističke metalne rukotvorine u Veneciji i Venetu

U ovom će radu biti predstavljena dva, čak i među istraživačima slabo poznata, trecentistička zlatarska djela. Radi se o dvama kaležima datiranim u 14. stoljeće.

Prvi se čuva u crkvi San Simon u mjestu Vallada Agordino u okolici Belluna, dakle u najsjevernijem dijelu pokrajine Veneto. Kalež posjeduje neka od oblikovnih svojstava koja ga povezuju s poznatom skupinom mletačkih rukotvorina razasutih od Venecije i Veneta do Dalmacije, ali i šire po Europi. Unatoč sličnostima, djela iz ove skupine ne mogu se atribuirati jednom te istom zlataru. Analiza ukupnoga *corpusa* upućuje na usvajanje zajedničkih motiva i na kolanje istih modela među raznim zlatarskim radionicama tog doba. Kaležom iz Vallade proširuje se ta važna skupina zlatarskih rukotvorina.

Drugi kalež čuva se u crkvi Santo Stefano Protomartire u Veneciji, međutim potječe iz nedaleke crkve San Samuele. Taj primjerak iznenađujuće visoke kvalitete predstavlja *unicum* u kontekstu mletačkog zlatarstva. Jedini koji se s njim može izravno usporediti je kalež iz Vízakne u Rumunjskoj, a čuva se u Narodnom muzeju u Budimpešti. Spomenute dvije rukotvorine posjeduju dovoljno zajedničkih svojstava po kojima ih se može pripisati istoj radionici, mada je kalež iz crkve San Samuele stilski i izvedbeno profinjeniji. Ipak se čini da nije proizveden u Veneciji.

Neki su istraživači pretpostavili da je kalež iz Vízakne nastao u Toskani. Unatoč stanovitim srodnostima sa sijenskom produkcijom, ova pretpostavka zahtijeva ipak dodatna pojašnjenja i potvrde. Zanimljivo je između ostaloga primijetiti kako je mletački kalež naručen *pro remedio animae* stanovita Lorenza di Mattea, čiji je grb izveden na kaležu, no već je u 16. stoljeću naveden kao dio ostavštine Marca Veniera (umro 1417.) crkvi San Samuele.

Ključne riječi: *umjetnost zlatarstva, zlatarstvo, liturgijsko posuđe, emajli, Venecija, Veneto*

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The reason that motivated the discussion presented in this paper were the findings of chalices and patens recovered from medieval burials on the site Bribirska Glavica (antique Varvaria, medieval Breberium). To this discussion other similar findings from the territory of Middle Dalmatia are added, indicating that this was in fact practice that can be observed in other parts of Europe in the same period and that it was mostly connected to the burials of distinguished clerics. The chalices and patens from Bribir are explained using similar analogies and because they were found within religious architecture, it is assumed that important ecclesiastical figures were also included in those burials. This contributes to the development of the discussion about the chronology of the church of Sts Joachim and Anne, today used by the Serbian Orthodox Church. So far its chronological span was rather wide, but based on the latest archeological excavations of the church and its surroundings, we can conclude that it was a part of the medieval abbey of St John the Evangelist, known to us from the historical sources, and that it was built during the first half of the 14th century on the foundations of the earlier Late Antique and Early Medieval octofoil rotunda. Moreover, we also established that it served as a funerary church of the one of the branches of the powerful Šubić-Bribirski noble house.

Key words: Late Middle Ages, calices et patenae funerales, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bribir, abbey of St John the Evangelist, Šubić Bribirski noble house

Centennial archaeological investigations at Bribirska glavica have yielded myriad valuable medieval artefacts varying in character. Related research has been published continuously, with a significant contribution given by our colleague and friend Nikola Jakšić, to whom we dedicate this paper. Most of these artefacts are remains of buildings and stone monuments, utilitarian products and jewellery, weapons and warrior equipment, whereas items possibly belonging to movable inventories of former Bribir churches are very rare. In this paper, therefore, we will present two such examples. They are pewter chalices and patens from graves of eminent members of the church, unearthed during recent archaeological investigations on the location of modern-day church at the Bribir cemetery, built on the ruins of an eight-apsed late antique rotunda. One excavated grave is near the church façade, and the other inside, in its presbytery, close to the altar, set crosswise to the orientation of the church.

Grave 76 by the church front was found with no lids and partially damaged by a modern-age burial of grave 72, containing two infant skeletons (Fig. 2.1). Grave 76 contained one interred body, with modest remains of a chalice made from low-grade tin alloy in the middle-right side (Fig. 1). Among the rather small fragments of the chalice, only parts of its foot (Figs. 2.1–3) and a tubular-shaped bent sheet-bronze piece, probably once wrapped around the chalice stem (Fig. 2.4), were found together in the grave. It is not possible to determine the dimensions of the chalice. The sheet-bronze tubule is 2 cm long and its diameter is 1.6 cm.



Fig. 1. Correlations between graves 72 and 76 (photo: V. Ghica), the position of grave 76 (photoscan and layout: A. Di Miceli), and the stratigraphic position of grave 76 (drawing: V. Ghica) in the cemeterial-sacral complex with rotunda at Bribir

Grave 16 (Fig. 3) in the church presbytery, was found with no lids and filled with earth, but its contents were intact¹. It comprised skeletal remains of six adult bodies, a damaged pewter chalice and a whole paten (Fig. 4), as well as an iron belt buckle frame and around twenty clothes clasps (Fig. 5). During the excavation a Roman bronze coin was also found in the grave. It had ended up in it with backfill after removal of its lids. Given the number of bodies, there is no doubt that the grave saw some reuse, probably over several decades. It was in an interesting stratigraphic position (Fig. 6), not fully clarified by the end of the investigation. There exists a network of walls around and below this grave, not entirely defined. We can assume they are remnants of earlier medieval walled tombs. The bottom of the grave is about 1.5 m above the bed-rock, and its top around 0.70 m below the floor of the modern-day church. The stratigraphy also reveals that the grave was buried around 0.80 m above the probable level of the rotunda floor, so it clearly dates from a period between Late Antiquity and the modern age. We suppose that this find correlates to the time when the longitudinal church was built, i.e., in our opinion – the first decades of the 14th century, which will be elaborated below.

The chalice and paten from grave 16 have been relatively well preserved. The paten is complete, while the stem of the chalice is broken and mostly lost (Fig. 4), but can be reconstructed based on the preserved elements. Its bowl (*cuppa*) is bell-shaped and undecorated, the stem (*stilus*) has a bi-conical node or knob (*nodus*), vertically divided in sixteen lobes. The stem lightly spreads mid-line to the base or foot (*pes*), which is softly rounded along the edge. Its whole surface is ornamented. The dominant motif is a series of six five-petal flowers with dished centre and thin hatches in-between

¹ V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DZINO – N. URODA, Arheološki projekt "Varvaria / Breberium / Bribir" u 2015. godini, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 43, Split, 2016, pp. 22–23, Fig. 18.



Fig. 2. Grave 76 with the position of the chalice (photo: Y. Béliez) and finds from the grave (photo: D. Popović and A. Milošević)

the flowers. The lower edge of the foot was flatly flared, but is mostly missing. It is presumed that it was 19 cm high, with a foot diameter of 10.6 cm, the biconical knob diameter on the stem of 5.3 cm, the bowl height of 6.5 cm, and its opening measuring 9.1 cm in diameter. The paten is made from tin-plate with a pressed circle in the centre, the 8.9 cm in diameter, which corresponds to the chalice bowl opening diameter, according to the liturgical practice of that time. The paten is not decorated, and its patent unevenly distributed small bulges are due to the inferior quality of its tin alloy and a lack of casting skills (bubbles?). Its overall diameter is 15.9 cm.

A chalice with paten was also found in a grave at Bribir in 1911 or 1912. The information on this find was cited by S. Gunjača after L. Marun's notes, indicating that some locals, apparently at odds with him, had been deliberately opening and destroying graves in his absence. Consequently, one priest's grave was also opened. It contained the chalice and paten, on which we have no other information². At that time a small Romanesque church at Vratnice was being excavated in the western part of Glavica, as well as a building north of the local cemetery at Bribir. Marun assumed they were remains of the Franciscan monastery and church of St Mary, and therefore it is likely that the mentioned grave with the chalice and paten had been located at one of those sites. When it comes to funeral chalices in medieval graves, it is quite interesting to note a piece of information from a written historical record, which gives to understand that in the then Croatia such items were not

² S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga za savezno iskopavanje na Bribiru, *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*, 3/1, Beograd, 1953, p. 142.



Fig. 3. Position of grave 16 in the cemeterial-sacral complex with rotunda at Bribir (layout: V. Ghica), a photoscan of the grave (Y. Béliez) and the positions of the chalice and paten in it (photo: Y. Béliez)

placed in priests' graves only, but also in those of secular dignitaries, who were buried according to a similar funeral ceremonial, seemingly wishing to retain their privileges after their earthly lives. Thus, in his last will and testament, brought by the abbot of the Bribir Franciscan monastery to the Skradin chapter for confirmation in 1498³, Viceban James II of Bribir (ca. 1375–1456)⁴ bequeathed movable property and funds for renovation and repair of the churches of St Mary and Holy Salvation at Bribir, as well as 20 florins for purchase of a chalice and the same sum for a priest's robe, both intended for his grave (*arca*)⁵. Joint chalice-and-paten finds – moreover, with patens which might have been

³ The first will was made before the Knin chapter in 1441; the other one dates from 1456, and its translation and transcription, since it had been made in the Croatian language and Glagolitic script, was certified by the Skradin chapter in 1498. Cf. I. BOJNIČIĆ, Jakov Bribirski od plemena Šubić, *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, 1, Zagreb, 1899, pp. 86–87, doc. Nos. 5 and 7.

⁴ Jacob II, son of Paul IV Banić from the Nikolić lineage, one of the Šubić family branches, died with no offspring as the last member of the main family branch of the Bribir dukes. He concluded a succession agreement with his cousins from the Zrinski lineage before the *Zagreb chapter*. After his death all his properties in Bribir and its surroundings were inherited by the Duke Petar II Zrinski (d. 1493) and his sons. I. BOJNIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 87, doc. No. 5; M. ANČIĆ, Parba za dio naslijeđa banovca Jakova Šubića Bribirskog, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 36, Zadar, 1994, pp. 309–352.

⁵ S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, pp. 138–139; I. BOJNIČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 86–87, doc. No. 7. The will reads as follows: *...lego viginti florenos emere calicem ad arcam meam et indumentum sacerdotale ad eandem similiter pro viginti florenis...* There is no doubt that Jacob II of Bribir was buried in his family tomb in the church of St Mary at Bribir. Its headstone with the crest of the Šubić family has been preserved. It is interesting to note that the term *arca* was used for this grave, which indicates that it had had an *arcosolium* above it, approximately like the one from our proposed reconstruction in: A. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Varvaria – Breberium – Bribir: the Past and the Monuments*, Split, 2015, p. 21.



Fig. 4. Pewter chalice and paten from grave 16
(photo: Z. A. Alajbeg)



Fig. 5. Bronze belt buckle frame and clothes clasps
from grave 16 (photo: A. Milošević)

used as chalice covers – have not been frequently found in medieval graves in Dalmatia. We know of only one such set from an unknown site, kept in the *Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments* in Split, and of chalices from Asseria and Lepuri, as well as one, probably modern-age, from Solin. Since the majority of those for which we know how they were discovered have been found in graves, we can make the same assumption about the so-called, we can assume that such cases also regard the so-called *calices et patenae funerales* or *sepulchrales*, viz. chalices and patens reserved for funeral rites, a common practice in burials of church dignitaries in various parts of medieval Europe, particularly in the 11th and 12th centuries⁶. Given the material from which they are made, they were probably not used in Eucharistic liturgy, since only chalices and patens from precious metals were allowed for church services. In exceptional cases the use of bronze or tin vessels was tolerated in the most modest churches with bishop's permission⁷; some historical sources reveal that equipment made from such materials was indeed used in church services (*...et aliam crucem de stagno...et aliam calicem et patenam stagnatas...*)⁸. Since the dimensions of the Bribir chalices and patens are fitting for the Eucharist service, we are of the opinion that they were made for funeral purposes only, since the Bribir church at that time could not be regarded as modest in any way. A number of charters, mostly testamentary, bequeathed not only landed and various movable property to the Bribir churches, but also funds for procurement or making of valuable church inventory. Chalices are repeatedly mentioned in such cases.

⁶ Historical sources confirm the practice of placing chalices in priests' graves (J. MARZOHL – J. SCHNELLER, *Liturgia Sacra: Oder Die Gebräuche Und Alterthümer Der Katholischen Kirche Sammt Ihrer Hohen Bedeutung...* Vol. 3, Luzern, 1837, pp. 223–224). There are even recorded cases of symbolic use of wooden or wax chalices instead of metal ones (*Ibid.*, Vol. 5, pp. 1003–1005). A leather chalice was placed in the grave of a bishop in the church of St Stephen in Mainz (V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch im Frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin 1964, pp. 46–48, fn. 159, Fig. 57). For general and detailed information on liturgical and funeral chalices and patens in Christianity through the centuries, cf. CH. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe. Etudes Archéologiques sur ses Monuments*, Vol. 4, Paris, 1888, pp. 45–153 (on chalices), pp. 155–167 (on patens), and V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 34–57.

⁷ J. P. MIGNE, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie sacrée*, Paris, 1862, pp. 577–582.

⁸ This description of the altar in the Freising basilica originates from Erchambertus (d. 855), a local bishop. Cf. J. VON SCHLOSSER, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der Karolingischen Kunst*, Wien, 1892, p. 160.

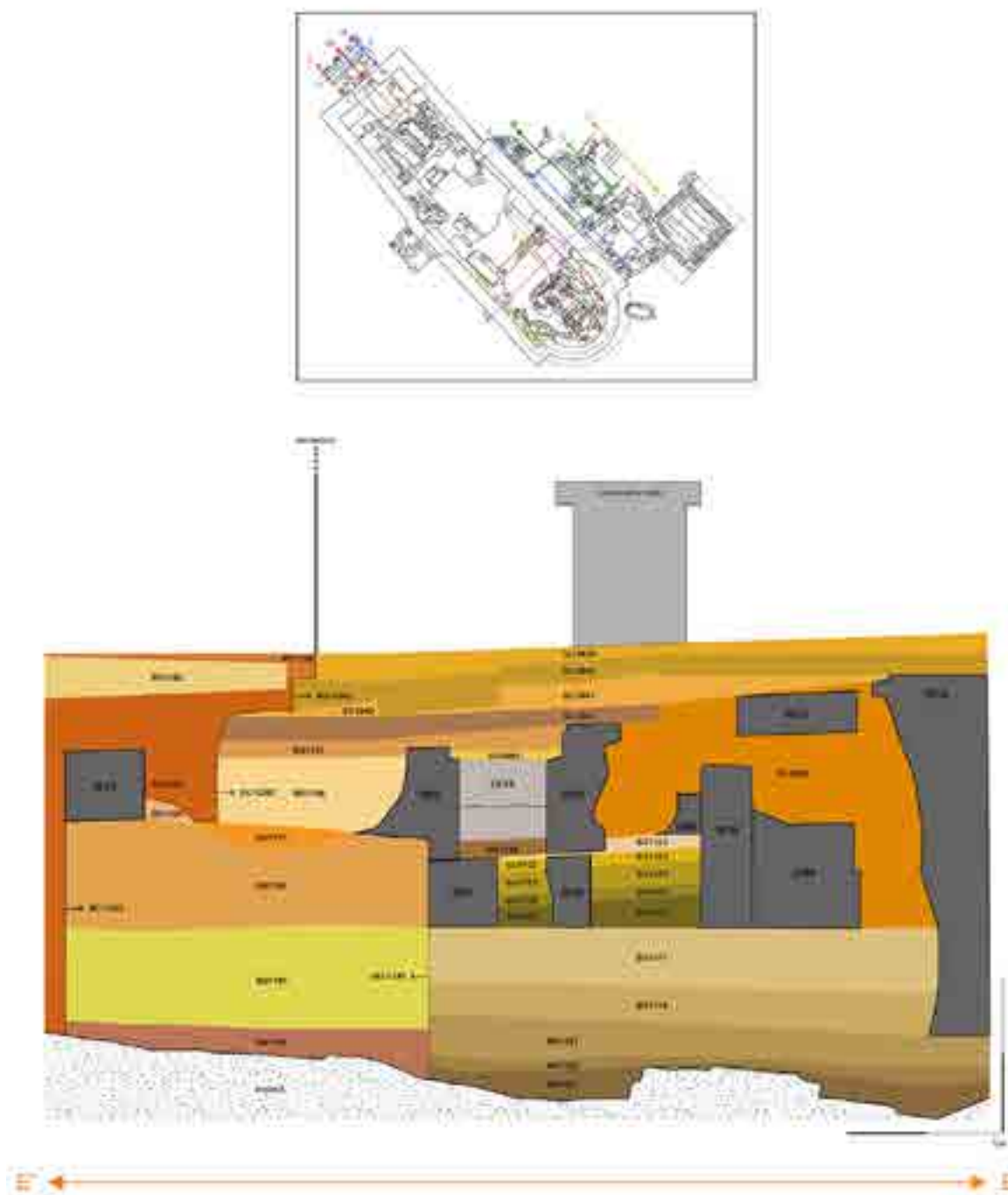


Fig. 6. Stratigraphic position of grave 16 (according to: V. Ghica)

For instance, in 1370 Ivan Besida, Duke of Bribir, bequeathed *...tres ciffos argenteos...* to be converted into a chalice for the church of St Mary⁹; in 1383 Dabrul Nikolić, the Duke of Zadar from the Šubić lineage of Bribir, had a chalice made from the family silver for the church of St John¹⁰; the afore-mentioned James II of Bribir bestowed ten florins, also for purchase of a chalice for the main altar in the

⁹ *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, Vol. 14, Zagreb, 1916, p. 279, doc. No. 202; S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 138.

¹⁰ *Codex diplomaticus*, 16, Zagreb, 1976, p. 336, doc. No. 269; S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 139.

same church¹¹. It was recorded in the Bribir Necrology that the Bribir Duke Grgur Stipanov had also donated a silver cross and chalice to the church of St Mary in 1384¹². A chalice was also indirectly mentioned in 1346, in the generous testament of Paul II, son of the Croatian Ban Paul I of Bribir, bequeathing to the church of St Mary at Bribir, *inter alia*: ...*item to aliam super altare laboratam cum ser-ico*¹³.... Tomazina de Georgiis, a noblewoman from Zadar and the widow of Budislav Šubić, Duke of Bribir, hired goldsmith Stjepan Crnotić from Zadar in 1401 to forge her a silver chalice, to be gilded and adorned with enamel work¹⁴.

The foot of the pewter chalice from Solin was found during the development of the Jadro riverbanks and its dredging, next to the ruins of the late antique and medieval church of St Peter and Moses (the so-called Hollow Church [Šuplja crkva]). Only a major part of the foot and its stem below the bowl have been preserved (Fig. 7). Only the flared edge of the foot is decorated with a series of small hanging separate pentagons with an oak leaf in the middle. Above this edge there are two parallel wide flutes; another single one separates the top edge of the foot from the teardrop stem. The stem is 9.7 cm in diameter and 6.7 cm in height with the rest of the stem. We assume that it dates from the 17th or 18th century. Even though it is chronologically beyond the scope of our topic, we are presenting the information on this find for the sake of comprehensiveness with respect to such known discoveries in Dalmatia.



Fig. 7. Foot of the pewter chalice from Solin
(photo: Z. A. Alajbeg)

A fragment of a pewter chalice stem and a complete well-preserved glass bottle were found in a grave (Figs. 9.1–2) in Lepuri near Benkovac¹⁵, south of the late medieval church of St Martin (Fig. 8). The grave is part of a cemetery started in the first late medieval phase between the 14th-century church and the ruins of earlier sacred structures at the site. The chalice stem has been preserved in its entire height (Fig. 9.1). In its upper zone there is a flattened biconical unornamented knob. The stem is 5.4 cm high, while the knob is 3.1 cm in diameter. Its remains are not sufficient for any chronological dating. Along with the remnants of the chalice, the mentioned bottle made from transparent greenish glass was also discovered in the grave (Fig. 9.2). Its flared base is in the shape of a deformed circle, quite bevelled in the centre, almost through the entire biconical body which is divided in vertical lobes. The body shoulders a long gracious neck ending in a flared thick lip. Approximately in the middle of the neck there is a hol-

¹¹ S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 139.

¹² S. ZLATOVIĆ, Bribirski nekrolog XIV. i XV. vieka, *Starine JAZU* 21, Zagreb, 1889, p. 84 (...*unam crucem argenteam et calicem pro anima sua et suorum*).

¹³ Š. LJUBIĆ, *Listine o odnošajih između južnog Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, Vol. 2, Zagreb, 1870, doc. No. 672, p. 419; V. KLAJČ, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347.*, Zagreb, 1897, p. 154; S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 138.

¹⁴ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*. Split, 1959, p. 125, fn. 770.

¹⁵ N. JAKŠIĆ, Arheološka istraživanja razorene crkvice sv. Martina u Lepurima kod Benkovca, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 27, Split, 2000, pp. 189–200.

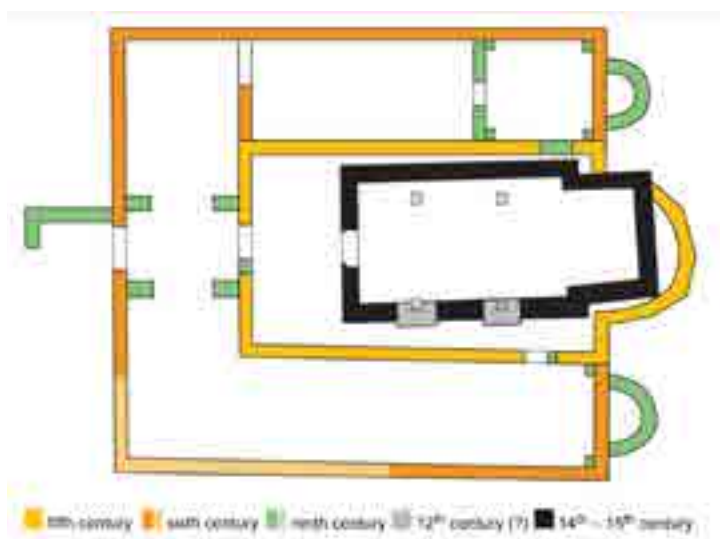


Fig. 8. Plan of architectural remains with the church of St Martin in Lepuri (after: N. Jakšić)



Fig. 9. Stem of the pewter chalice and the glass bottle from Lepuri (photo: Z. A. Alajbeg)

bowl accounts for 5.7 cm of its height. The bowl opening is 10.7 cm in diameter. The foot ring is 10.4 cm in diameter. This find is typologically quite similar to that from *grave 16* at Bribir, so we can assume that they are chronologically more or less simultaneous.

Two interesting pewter chalices were found in 1897 in two graves near the church of the Holy Ghost at the hillock in Podgrađe near Benkovac (Roman *Asseria*). The first was discovered by the parish priest of Perušić. The report on this find indicated that it was rather damaged and had been uncovered in a grave with a body¹⁷. The other chalice was unearthed by L. Marun during his continued in-

low flattened biconical widening. We take it that the bottle is of Venetian or central European origin from the 13th–14th century, with typological roots in the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, it can be used to indirectly date the chalice from the grave. The base of the bottle is 6.1 cm in diameter and 2.1 cm in height; the biconical body is 8.9 cm in diameter; the neck is 8.6 cm high, while the neck knob is 3.5 cm in diameter. The overall height of the bottle is 15.3 cm. We assume that it was placed in the grave together with the chalice as a liturgical item, and that it had been used as a water or wine container in the Eucharist service¹⁶.

The chalice and paten from an unknown site, today kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, most likely also originate from a grave. They are not decorated (Fig. 10). Like all other such finds covered in this paper, they are made from cast tin alloy. The chalice has a bell-shaped bowl, considerably concaved at the joint with the stem (Fig. 10.2). The stem is slightly conical and the upper zone of its knob is divided in four zones by shallow horizontal flutes. Only the outer rim of the chalice foot has been preserved. On the other hand, most of the paten has survived. There is a recess in its central part, the diameter of which matches that of the bowl opening. Its preserved dimensions are 13.7 by 12.5 cm, while the central recess is 10.4 cm in diameter. The entire preserved chalice is 12.1 cm high and the bell-shaped

¹⁶ Arguably, such an example is the glass chalice from the grave in the presbytery of the Berceto Cathedral (in the province of Parma) from the early 16th century. For this and other finds of similar character in Europe, cf.: M. UBOLDI, Il calice vitreo del Duomo di Berceto: una puntualizzazione, in: *Dall'Appennino a Luni tra tarda Età romana e Medioevo* (S. Lusardi Siena, G. Legrottaglie, Eds.), Milano, 2016, pp. 239–259.

¹⁷ Izveštaj Upraviteljstva hrvatskoga starinarskoga društva u Kninu o društvenom radu i napretku kroz zadnji tromjesec, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3/3–4, Knin, 1897, p. 163.



Fig. 10. Pewter paten and chalice from an unknown site, kept in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split (photo: Z. A. Alajbeg and A. Milošević)

vestigations at the same site. This one was also quite fractious and completely unornamented. The description noted that both chalices were quite similar in shape and dimension, and that "...they had rusted and become so fragile that they broke into tiny pieces during the excavation and transport..." In the news on the finds there was no mention of patens, but it is very likely that they were parts of the grave unit. However, they were not recognised in the pewter debris.

The chalice from Asseria which had been found first was published in detail by F. Radić (Fig. 11)¹⁸. In the article he also described stratigraphic relationships of the graves with chalices, and noted that they had been lying on a paved work of an ancient Roman building in the lowest of the three layers with medieval graves. Other graves in the same layer contained jewellery and spurs that "...date to the ninth century..."¹⁹, which can serve as an estimated date of the chalice.

As to the specimen which had been found first and then published by Radić, the conical foot and the stem with knob in the upper section, divided in sixteen vertical lobes, survived to a large extent, whereas the size and shape of the bell-shaped bowl were reconstructed in a drawing according to the preserved fragments.

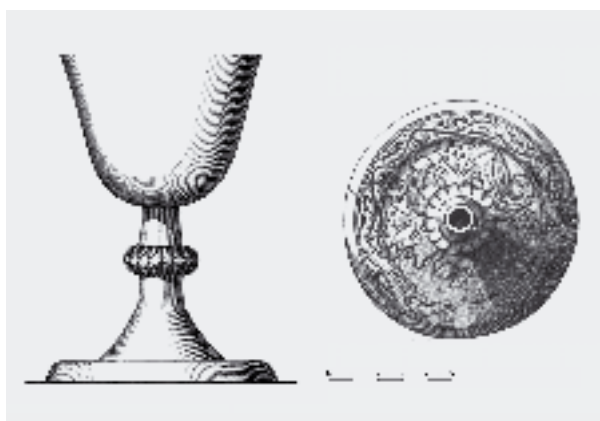


Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the pewter chalice and foot from Asseria (after: F. Radić)

¹⁸ F. RADIĆ, Dva starokršćanska grobna kositrena kaleža iz Podgrađa (Asseria) kod Benkovca, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 6/3–4, Knin, 1901, pp. 101–105.

¹⁹ F. RADIĆ, Dva starokršćanska grobna kositrena kaleža, p. 101.



Fig. 12. Foot of the chalice from Asseria with some examples of similar ornaments on stone sculptures:

1. foot of the chalice (after: S. Gunjača); 2. fragment of the altar screen gable from the church of St Mary in Biskupija near Knin, 11th century (photo: A. Milošević); 3. detail of the pluteus of the altar screen from Constantinople in the Bode Museum in Berlin, 12th century (photo: A. Milošević); 4. fragment of the altar screen gable from Kotor, 11th century (photo: A. Milošević)

Furthermore, S. Gunjača published a photograph of the chalice, with a note that it was a find from Bribir (Fig. 12.1)²⁰. It is realistic to suppose that this item had been transferred from Asseria to nearby Bribirska glavica at one point, under unknown circumstances, and stored in the local museum collection. This is where it had been photographed with the finds from Bribir, which led Gunjača to an erroneous conclusion²¹. The foot of this chalice has perished since the whole Bribir collection was either looted or destroyed during World War II. Therefore, the only documents on this find are Radić's information with his description and drawing, and Gunjača's photograph.

The whole surface of the foot of the chalice from Asseria is decorated, and therefore this specimen belongs to the so-called *calices imaginati*. Along the periphery of the foot there is a relief tendril with acanthus trefoils. At the joint of the trefoils and tendril there is a small relief bud. The whole tendril is framed with a double relief strip from both sides. On the surface, between the plant tendril and the foot base, there are figural motifs divided in four sections separated with stylized trees, each with three branches and leaves shown by small bulges, mainly arranged as six-leaved flowers of different sizes. The published drawing and photograph do not offer sufficient information for our further elaboration of Radić's work, so we will use his description. Radić thus noted that the sections between the trees contained symbolic busts of the four Evangelists, symmetrically arranged in facing pairs: Luke and John, Mark and Matthew. Luke and John are depicted in full profile, with smaller heads, whereas Mark and Matthew's heads are larger and in half-profile. Three animal busts, symbolizing Evangelists, have their wings raised, represented by three or four parallel curved feathers. The upper parts of Matthew's wings are visible, turned downwards. All figures have halos over their heads. Closed Gospels, held by Luke and John, are perceptible in front of them, resting on their legs. As to Mark's lion, only the top section of his head with ears and the halo, as well as three feathers from the right wing and three from the left one have been preserved. Matthew is in a long-sleeved tunic and his right hand is raised toward the Gospel. All figural depictions are made with thin, simple relief lines, in which Radić saw a stylistic reflection of art from the second half of the tenth century,

²⁰ S. GUNJAČA, Strateško i historijsko-arheološko značenje Bribira, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 10, Split, 1968, p. 211, Fig. 3.

²¹ Perhaps he was led to such a conclusion by Marun's record on the chalice and paten found in a grave at Bribir in 1911 or 1912 (see fn. 2).

as evident on the stone reliefs from the Split baptistry of St John or the plutei from the church of St Nediljica in Zadar. Here he also sensed a possibility for an assumption that the chalice had been made by a local artisan²². A good basis for the dating of the chalice is provided by the tendril on the periphery of its foot, similar to those on early Romanesque reliefs, such as, for instance, the ones found in the church of St Mary at Crkvina in Biskupija near Knin²³, in the St Tryphon Cathedral in Kotor²⁴ and elsewhere outside of Dalmatia²⁵ (Figs. 12.2–3). Therefore, we propose that the chalice from Asseria be dated to the 11th–12th centuries.

So far we have presented all finds of pewter chalices and patens from medieval Dalmatia known to us. Presumably, there are other museum collections in the broader east Adriatic littoral that keep specimens yet to be published and evaluated²⁶.

Chalices and patens have also been found in graves of medieval church dignitaries in other parts of Europe²⁷, mostly dating from the period ranging from the eighth/ninth to the 15th centuries, albeit with some chronological exceptions in archaeological practice²⁸. Such is the case, for instance, with the small chalice with paten, found in a grave, most likely of a bishop, from the seventh century in the cathedral of S. Lorenzo in Aosta (Fig. 13.8)²⁹, and another silver chalice (6.95 cm high) with paten

²² F. RADIĆ, Dva starokršćanska grobna kositrena kaleža, p. 105.

²³ The fragment is kept in the *Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments* in Split (*Zbirka kamenih spomenika/Collection of Stone Monuments*, Inv. No. 7).

²⁴ Different dating has been proposed for the fragment of the Kotor pluteus. M. Abramić and Lj. Karaman believed it was from the eighth century. Cf. M. ABRAMIĆ, Quelques reliefs d'origines ou d'influences byzantines en Dalmatie, in: *L'art byzantine chez les Slaves II*, Paris, 1932, p. 330; LJ. KARAMAN, O spomenicima VII. i VIII. stoljeća u Dalmaciji i o pokrštenju Hrvata, *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 22–23, Zagreb, 1941–1942, pp. 93–94. Most other authors have assumed that it dates from the 11th century. Cf. cat. No. 34, M. For more details see: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu*, p. 111.

²⁵ The example we are referring to is the altar screen from Constantinople (12th century), now in the *Bode Museum* in Berlin, (*Museum für Byzantinische Kunst*, Inv. No. 3250).

²⁶ We have no reliable information to confirm that the 14th-century chalices, which I. Bach wrote about, are in fact grave finds. One was found in Dalmatop. citia, and is now kept in the *Museum of Applied Arts* in Vienna; another one was unearthed in the town of Vođenica in Bosnia (today in the *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb); the third one, of unknown origin, is in Đakovo (I. BACH, Tri kaleža iz četrnaestog stoljeća, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 18/1, Split, 1970, pp. 39–51).

²⁷ In this regard, it is also interesting to note headstones for church dignitaries, depicting the dead with chalices in their hands. There are several such examples in the Trento Cathedral, one in the cloister of the Bressanone Cathedral (in the province of South Tyrol), depicting the clergyman Joseph Ripper (d. 1539) on a catafalque with a chalice in his hands folded across his stomach (cf. M. UBOLDI, Il calice vitreo, pp. 252–253, Fig. 12).

²⁸ Our information on funeral chalices with patens from European sites is based on the following: F. VAN MOLLE, Notes sur quelques calices funéraires du XI^e siècle en France et en Belgique, *Les Monuments historiques de la France* 12, Paris, 1966, pp. 113–119; S. FRANCIS, Calices funéraires du XI^e siècle, *Bulletin Monumental*, 124/4, Paris, 1966, pp. 426–427; M. BEGHELLI – J. PINAR GIL, Corredo e arredo liturgico nelle chiese tra VIII e IX secolo, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums*, 60, Mainz, 2013, pp. 719–723.

²⁹ R. PERINETTI, Le tombe privilegiate della chiesa di S. Lorenzo ad Aosta, in: *L'Inhumation privilégiée du IV^e au VIII^e siècle en Occident*. Actes du colloque tenu à Créteil (Paris) les 16–18. 03. 1984, Paris, 1986, pp. 143–146; R. PERINETTI, Le sepolture nella chiesa di San Lorenzo ad Aosta, in: *Sepolture in Sardegna dal IV al VII secolo. IV Convegno sull'Archeologia Tardoromana e Medievale* (Cagliari, 27–28 giugno 1987), Oristano, 1990, pp. 335–382, Figs. 12–15, 21; M. BEGHELLI – J. PINAR GIL, In ecclesia iuxta cancelos. Sulla composizione del corredo liturgico nelle chiese altomedievali, in: *Oro sacro. Aspetti religiosi ed economici da Atene a Bisanzio* (I. Baldini, A. L. Morelli, Eds.), Bologna, 2014, pp. 230–231, Fig. 5. The date is not binding since it is derived from the context of the whole cemetery. For the Aoste chalice dating to the eighth–ninth centuries, cf. CH. BONNET, Calices et patènes en étain retrouvés dans quatre sépultures du haut Moyen Âge, *Bulletin de la Société académique religieuse et scientifique Saint Anselme*, 49, Aoste, 1979, pp. 39–48; C. TREFFORT, *L'Eglise carolingienne et la mort: christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives*, Lyon, 1996, p. 60. The earliest known historical confirmation of the practice of placing chalices in graves with the dead dates from the very end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. Its author was Amalarius of Metz. For this information, cf. M. UBOLDI, Il calice vitreo, p. 253, fns. 33–34.



Fig. 13. Funeral chalices and patens from graves in Europe: 1.–4. Rome, 11th–12th centuries (*Sts Cosmas and Damian, St Felix, the Vatican treasury*, after: Ch. Rohault de Fleury); 5. Huy in Belgium, 11th century (after: Ph. George); 6. treasury of the Reims Cathedral in France, 1033 (after to: F. van Molle); 7. Gerona in Catalonia, ninth/tenth centuries (after: G. Roura); 8. Aosta in Italy, seventh or eighth/ninth centuries (after: Ch. Bonnet and M. Beghelli – J. Pinar Gil); 9. Alise-Sainte-Reine in France, eighth–ninth centuries (after to: P. Wahlen)

(dia 6.75 cm) in the grave of Bishop Nicolas Bousmard (1576–1584) from the cathedral of Verdun. Typological analyses of these finds revealed that they were in fact earlier specimens, presumably taken from a grave dating to the 11th/12th centuries in the same church³⁰.

Chalices and patens from graves in Europe are mainly made from precious or gold-plated semi-precious metals. Those of regular size are considered to have been used in liturgical service before being

³⁰ F. VAN MOLLE, *Notes sur quelques calices funéraires*, pp. 115–116, Fig. 108; S. FRANCIS, *Calices funéraires*, p. 426.

placed in graves³¹. Since a number of them are considerably smaller than the standard size, it is assumed that they are symbolic specimens made strictly for sepulchral purposes³².

Quite a few such artefacts from medieval Europe were found by the end of the 19th century (Figs. 13.1–4)³³. Some of them were systematically processed during the 20th century³⁴, while we will provide references to but a select few interesting examples in order to illustrate the topic at hand. One such item is the 7.5 cm high silver chalice in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum. It belonged to Bishop Bernulphus of Utrecht (d. 1054). The chalices and patens from the Bremen Cathedral were found in four tombs: in Archbishop Liemar's grave there was a silver chalice (7 cm in height) and a paten (dia. 4–4.3 cm), while the grave of an unknown archbishop from the 11th century contained a silver chalice (9 cm high) and a paten (dia. 5.4 cm)³⁵. One chalice comes from the grave of bishop Hertpertus (d. ca. 972) of Müstair³⁶, and another small bronze gold-plated one from the 11th century (6.5 cm high) from Hexham Abbey in England³⁷. One silver chalice (10.9 cm in height) from the same period was discovered in the grave of abbot Reingard (d. 1105) in the Benedictine abbey of Siegburg near Bonn³⁸; three chalices with patens were found in the Trier Cathedral: one gold chalice (5 cm high) with a paten (dia. 4,6 cm) was in the grave of Archbishop Ruodbert (d. 956), another gold set (a chalice 5 cm high and a paten 5 cm in diameter) in the grave of Archbishop Popp (d. 1047), and a silver chalice (6.7 cm in height) and paten (dia. 7 cm) in the grave of Archbishop Udo (d. 1078)³⁹. A silver chalice (6.5 cm high) and paten were also placed in the grave of Pope Clement II (d. 1047), buried in the Bamberg Cathedral, while the treasury of the cathedral holds yet another silver chalice (7.2 cm in height) and paten (dia. 8.3 cm), probably from the 12th-century grave of Bishop Eberhard II⁴⁰. The church treasury in Hildesheim keeps small silver chalices and patens from five graves of local bishops, ranging from the 10th to the 12th centuries⁴¹. Such grave goods have also been recorded in two cases from the Reims Cathedral. The grave of Archbishop Gervasius (1055–1067) contained a silver, partially gold-plated, chalice with two handles (9 cm in height) and a paten (dia. 8.5 cm), while the grave of Archbishop Ébale de Rouci (1021–1033) comprised one lead chalice (Fig. 13.5)⁴². Several examples have also been found in Belgium. A gold-plated silver

³¹ For instance, such could be the entirely decorated silver gold-plated chalice and paten from the grave of Archbishop Hubert Walter (d. 1205) in the Abbey Church of Canterbury (cf. C. SCOTT ROBERTSON, *Burial-places of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 20, Canterbury, 1893, pp. 286–288) or the more luxurious gold chalice (13.2 cm in height) and paten (dia. 15 cm), decorated with filigree, inserted jewels and enamelled, from the grave of bishop Guzelin (d. 962), today in the treasury of the Nancy Cathedral (V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 34, 72, Figs. 36, 120).

³² S. FRANCIS, *Calices funéraires*, p. 426; F. VAN MOLLE, *Notes sur quelques calices funéraires*, p. 114.

³³ CH. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe*, pp. 95–145. This work also presents quite a number of other funeral chalices with patens found in Europe, dating from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries.

³⁴ J. BRAUN, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung*, München, 1932; V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*; F. VAN MOLLE, *Notes sur quelques calices funéraires*, pp. 113–119.

³⁵ V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 52–53, 68, Figs. 69, 122; M. BEGHELLI – J. PINAR GIL, *Corredo e arredo liturgico*, p. 723, Figs. 19.2–5.

³⁶ M. BEGHELLI – J. PINAR GIL, *Corredo e arredo liturgico*, pp. 722–723, Fig. 19.9.

³⁷ V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 48, 69, Fig. 63; M. RYAN, *Insular chalices and the Tassilo-Liutpirc Chalice*, in: *Der Tassilo-Liutpirc-Kelch im Stift Kremsmünster* (E. Wamers, Ed.), Frankfurt, 2019, pp. 291–292.

³⁸ F. VAN MOLLE, *Notes sur quelques calices funéraires*, p. 114.

³⁹ M. BEGHELLI – J. PINAR GIL, *Corredo e arredo liturgico*, pp. 722–723, Fig. 19.7; V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 44–46, 74–75, Figs. 54–56, 121.

⁴⁰ CH. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *La Messe*, pp. 119–120; S. MÜLLER CHRISTENSEN, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II. im Dom zu Bamberg*. München, 1960, p. 95; V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 51, 67, Figs. 67–68.

⁴¹ V. H. ELBERN, *Der Eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 47–48, 69–70, Figs. 58–62.

⁴² S. FRANCIS, *Calices funéraires*, p. 426; F. VAN MOLLE, *Notes sur quelques calices funéraires*, pp. 114–115, Fig. 105.

chalice (5.8 cm high, missing the foot and a part of the stem) and a paten with Manus Dei in the centre (dia. 7.1 cm) were placed in the grave by the body of abbot Fulbert (1039–1066) in the Saint Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent⁴³, whereas two interesting finds originate from graves in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Huy. A small bronze chalice (7.1 cm high) was found in the grave of Théoduin, Archbishop of Liège (1048–1075)⁴⁴; another grave was excavated in the same chronological horizon, containing a small silver chalice (8.8 cm in height) and paten with a motif of the Lamb of God and the words *Agnus Dei*⁴⁵ inscribed on its central disc.

Some European finds are made from tin alloy and lead, like our local examples. We have already mentioned the chalice and paten of that kind from the church of S. Lorenzo in Aosta (Fig. 13.8)⁴⁶. Two other chalices with patens were also found in graves from the eighth–ninth centuries in France. A lead chalice and paten with a motif of Manus Dei on the central disc and an inscription of master Oddo (*Oddo me fecit*, sl. 13.9) were unearthed in the monastery church of Ste. Reine in the town of Alise (Roman *Alesia*, in the Côte-d'Or department)⁴⁷, and another set in the town of Saint-Rambert-sur-Loire (in the Loire department, Fig. 13.6)⁴⁸. The treasury of the Reims Cathedral holds the small lead chalice with damaged foot (6.7 cm in height), discovered in the grave of Archbishop Ébale (d. 1033)⁴⁹. The lead chalice from the first half of the 11th century from Hazleton in Gloucestershire, England, is also a grave find in all probability⁵⁰. Earlier European medieval examples also include two pairs of pewter chalices with patens from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, found in the archbishops' tomb of the Gerona Cathedral (Fig. 13.7)⁵¹.

The discovery of graves with funeral liturgical vessels in the façade and presbytery of the church at the local cemetery of Bribirska glavica yet again prompted the matter of its dating. In the early years of reinvestigation of the cemeterial-sacral complex in the present-day cemetery of Bribir (Fig. 14), we believed that the church was a modern-period structure, adapted and built on the existing ruins of the rotunda in the early 18th century for the newly-arrived Orthodox population⁵². This situation was clarified during the 2016 investigation, when some ten graves were excavated outside the church, two of which proved to be important for the dating of its erection and the demolition of the rotunda (Fig. 15). *Grave 45* was excavated in the crest of the apse of the single-nave church. It was set against its wall in such a way that the external face of the wall had been used for its longer,

⁴³ F. VAN MOLLE, Notes sur quelques calices funéraires, pp. 117–118, Fig. 107.

⁴⁴ F. VAN MOLLE, Notes sur quelques calices funéraires, pp. 115–116; PH. GEORGE, De constructione – de consecratione ecclesiae Hoyensisi (1066), *Hortus artium medievalium*, 20/2, Zagreb – Motovun, 2014, pp. 525–526, Fig. 9 (the chalice is 7.1 cm high, the bowl opening is 6 cm in diameter, while the foot is 5.4 cm in diameter).

⁴⁵ [www.numeriques.be/images et histoires des patrimoines numerises](http://www.numeriques.be/images-et-histoires-des-patrimoines-numerises) (accessed: 26/11/2019).

⁴⁶ R. PERINETTI, Le sepolture nella chiesa, pp. 335–382, Figs. 12–15, 21; C. TREFFORT, *L'Eglise carolingienne*, 1996, p. 60.

⁴⁷ P. WAHLEN, Alesia – La basilique Sainte-Reine et la chapelle Saint Leger, *Mémoires de la Commission des antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or*, 36/1990–1992, Dijon, 1996, pp. 127–128, Fig. 2.

⁴⁸ C. TREFFORT, *L'Eglise carolingienne*, p. 61, Fig. 7.

⁴⁹ V. H. ELBERN, *Der eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 54–55, 73, Fig. 72; F. VAN MOLLE, Notes sur quelques calices funéraires, pp. 114–116, Fig. 106.

⁵⁰ V. H. ELBERN, *Der eucharistische Kelch*, pp. 48, 76, Fig. 64.

⁵¹ G. ROURA, *Girona carolíngia. Comtes, vescomtes i bisbes (del 785 a l'any 1000)*, Girona, 1988, pp. 54–55.

⁵² V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DZINO – N. URODA, Arheološki projekt "Varvaria / Breberium / Bribir" u 2014. godini, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 42, Split, 2015, pp. 7–44; V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DZINO – N. URODA, Arheološki projekt Varvaria u 2015, p. 11.

west side (Fig. 16). It also transpired that the grave was placed directly on the torn-down wall of the large east apse of the rotunda and its central counterfort, which makes it clear that the rotunda had already been considerably ruined at the time of burial of *grave 45*. Based on the finds from the grave, viz. no less than four skeletons (Fig. 17), it can be assumed that the burial, roughly from the 14th century, was intended for respectable inhabitants of Bribir. The other place of burial useful for dating of the single-nave church, i.e. *grave 60*, was excavated by the foundation of its south wall (Fig. 13). It was rather damaged by modern burials, and therefore only the lower legs with feet of a skeleton survived (Fig. 18). This grave, like the first one, was also placed directly against the church wall to utilise it for one of its shorter sides. Its stratigraphic position is also interesting (Fig. 19). Its bottom lies around



Fig. 14. Cemeterial-sacral complex with rotunda at Bribir, results of the investigations until 2018 (orthophotoscan: M. Žapčić)



Fig. 15. Positions of graves 45 and 60 in the cemeterial-sacral complex with rotunda at Bribir (layout: V. Ghica)



Fig. 16. Grave 45 by the external face of the mediaeval church apse (photo: A. Milošević)

1.20 m above the strip foundation of the rotunda, at the junction of its two south apses, already in ruins at the time. The lid of the grave was flush with the strip foundation of the single-nave church, and directly below the threshold of the door, now walled-up, with arch lintel, in the south wall of the church. Since *grave 60* contained a pair of well-preserved spurs from the 14th century (Fig. 20) by the legs of the skeleton, it is very likely that this was a privileged burial, in line with the early medieval practice⁵³.

Graves 16, 45, and 60, which we have covered in this paper, prove beyond doubt that the present-day cemetery church at Bribir is indeed a late medieval structure. The stratigraphy of *graves 45* and *60* demonstrates that it existed at the time of the burials, and since the two graves are also laid over the apse walls of the late antique and early medieval rotunda, it is obvious that it was already rather devastated at the time. Such circumstances also aid in dating the graves containing pewter chalices with patens, which, in line with European grave finds, probably belonged to church dignitaries, most likely from the abbey to which the church belonged. Therefore, we can assume that the single-nave church with semi-circular apse dates from the 14th century, probably its initial



Fig. 17. Finds from grave 45 (photo: Z. A. Alajbeg)

⁵³ For instance, such are the examples in front of the entrances to the churches of St Mary in Biskupija near Knin and in Gornje Koljane. The grave at the entrance to the early medieval church of St Stephen in Peroj is an unambiguous find. For Peroj, cf. I. MATEJČIĆ *Sveti Stjepan – crkva s ožiljcima / Santo Stefano – una chiesa con le cicatrici*, Vodnjan / Dignano, 2013, p. 14.



Fig. 18. Grave 60 in front of the south wall entrance to the mediaeval church
(photo: A. Milošević, photoscan of the wall: A. Di Miceli)

decades, since it was the time of the rule of the two politically and economically most powerful members of the Bribir family of Šubić – Paul I (1245–1312), the Ban of Croatia and Lord of all of Bosnia, and his son Mladen II (1270–1343), the Ban of Croatia and Bosnia⁵⁴.

New archaeological information and this dating of today's cemetery church at Bribir raise the question of its dedication and reactivate the assumption that this is actually the abbey church of St John the Evangelist, as already presented in literature by S. Gunjača and M. Zekan. In his elaboration on this topic, S. Gunjača used a cartographic sketch from the early 18th century (Fig. 21); to avoid recounting his views, let us present them verbatim⁵⁵: "...While we are on the topic of church buildings, we will also address the most recent one we discovered, the fourth in line. It is a small single-nave church stretching to the south-west wall of the village cemetery, with an angular apse, and void of any specific features. The building is late mediaeval, with thick ashlar walls, and a few rampart blocks inserted in the foundations here and there. No architectural finds have been made, but the front part of the church has not been fully investigated. It follows that deeper excavations are in order.

⁵⁴ For general information on the Šubić family, see: V. KLAJČ, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347.*, Zagreb, 1897; S. ANTOLJAK, Ban Pavao Bribirski – 'Croatorum dominus', *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 19, Zadar, 1972, pp. 5–62; N. KLAJČ, Paulus de Breberio, banus Croatorum dominus et Bosne, *Arhivski vjesnik*, 17–18, Zagreb, 1975, pp. 409–423; D. KARBIĆ, *The Šubići of Bribir – A Case Study of a Croatian Mediaeval Kindred*. Thesis, Budapest, 2000; D. KARBIĆ, Šubići Bribirski do gubitka nasljedne banske časti (1322.), *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU*, 22, Zagreb, 2005, pp. 1–26. It would be more plausible to assume that the erection of the church of St John at Bribir was made possible by Paul I, who, together with his wife Urša, always stood out in terms of donations, financial support and construction of new church buildings. For example, in the capacity of an *instructor* for the Franciscan monastery with the church of St John the Baptist in the Skradin suburbium in 1299, or as a *fundator* for the Franciscan monastery with the church of St Mary in Dol at Bribir around 1300. He also generously supported the construction of the Clarisses' nunnery dedicated to St Elizabeth of Hungary, established by his sister, Duchess Stanislava, most likely during the 1270s. For more information, see: D. KARBIĆ, Utjecaj velikaškog roda Šubića na širenje i razvoj franjevac u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji s posebnim osvrtom na skradinsko-bribirsko područje, in: *Zbornik o Pavlu Posiloviću* (P. Knezović, M. Šišak, M. Zenić, Eds.), Šibenik, 2001, pp. 147–166.

⁵⁵ S. GUNJAČA, *Strateško i historijsko*, pp. 210–211, drawing 2; S. GUNJAČA, *Nalaz srednjovjekovnih arhitektura*, pp. 238–239.

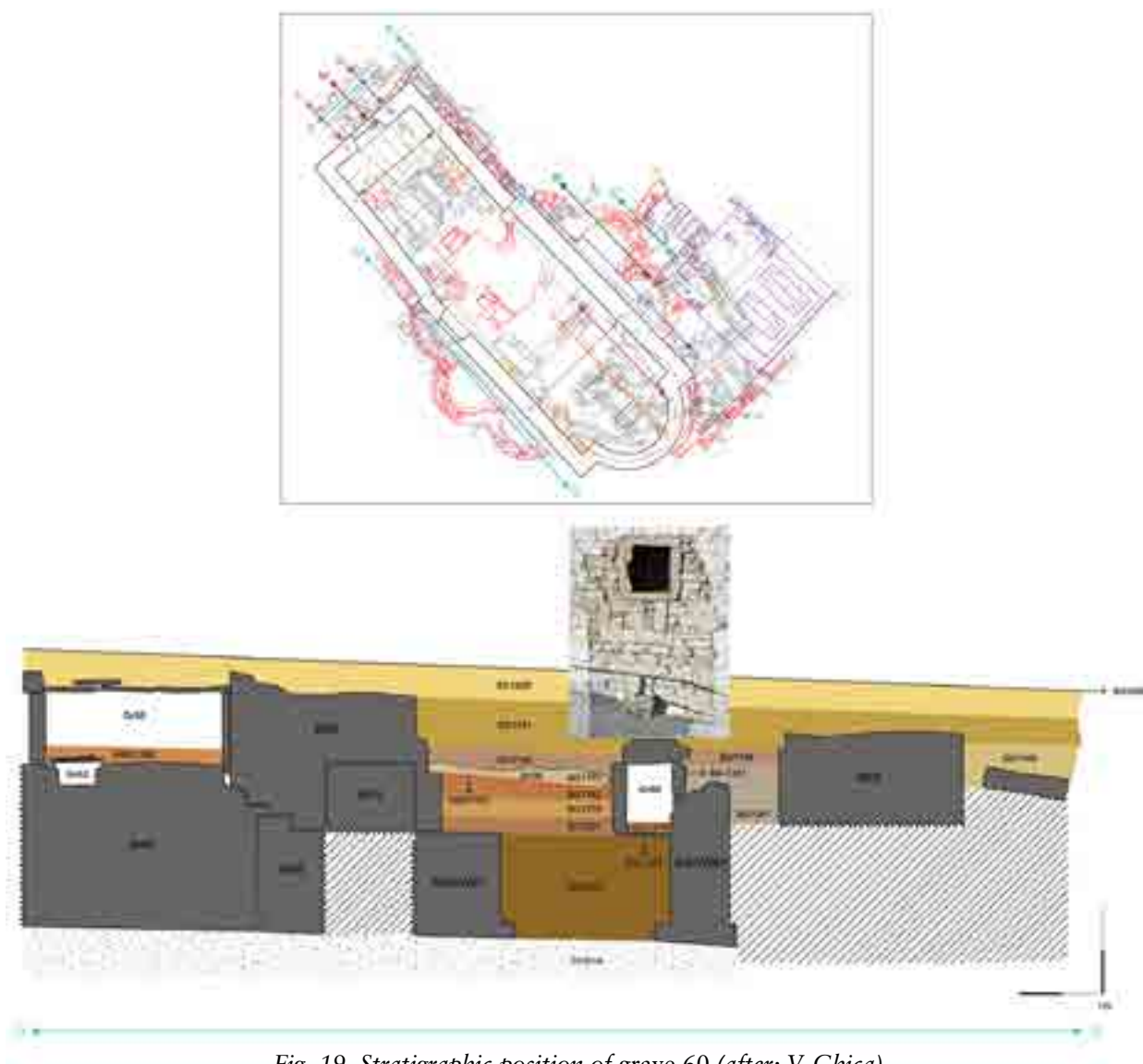


Fig. 19. Stratigraphic position of grave 60 (after: V. Ghica)

This small church has caused some confusion, given the topographic identification of the church of St. John, the sole church building in the sketch map from the 18th century, in which it is explicitly marked as Chiesa di S. Zuanne. Namely, the point is that it is quite close to the remains of the church we discovered under the Orthodox parish church. In the sketch, the church of St. John is drawn to the east of the fortification on the Glavica hill-top, which makes it impossible to tell which of the two discovered churches was dedicated to St. John. The sketch map does not even reveal the shape of the church, which could help identify it. That is to say, it is drawn as a plain square, merely to mark the position, and this vague shape can therefore denote both churches. In addition, there is no scale in the sketch to help determine the exact positions. Since not even the fortification is marked in the sketch in its actual shape, it is evident that the structures were arbitrarily drawn on the paper. What matters to us the most is that the orientation of the church of St. John in relation to the fortification has been established, including the average distance, which determines the Glavica area on which it stood.

Another factor will help us overcome this dilemma, viz. the historical piece of information that the church of St. John belonged to an abbey, known to have received rich donations, and it is only logical that such an abbey, a wealthy one at that, was not represented by the small church near the cemetery, but rather the larger one. This larger one is in fact the one below the Orthodox parish church in the midst of the cemetery, and therefore – until another church is discovered in the vicinity of these two – I take it that this one was dedicated to St. John...”



Fig. 20. Mediaeval iron spurs from grave 60 (photo: Z. A. Alajbeg)

Gunjača, therefore, assumed that the rotunda, albeit somewhat dilapidated, had survived until the early 18th century, and that the marking on the map indeed referred to the church of St John at Bribirska glavica. His opinion was also our landmark when we initiated the reinvestigation of the whole complex, which was also aiming to either prove or disprove M. Zekan's conclusions. Namely, M. Zekan broached this question again after removal of mortar on the inside and outside of the church⁵⁶. This is when new details emerged, previously not visible, which facilitated a new debate about this structure. Relying on the archaeology of its walls and the written historical documents from the 18th century as published by the assiduous V. Kapitanović⁵⁷, Zekan concluded that the present-day cemetery church of Bribir had in fact been the medieval abbey church of St John⁵⁸. Our investigation has essentially confirmed the bulk of such assumptions.



Fig. 21. Sketch map with the church of St John at Bribir, early 18th century (after: S. Gunjača)

In addition, we are now much more capable to interpret the sketch map as pointed out by S. Gunjača. It clearly shows the complex with the church of St John to the east of the then already ruinous fortress, which in turn is marked only by a note reading *Fortezza destrutta*. This trapezoidal fortification with a round tower at the junction of its walls was built during the Ottoman-Venetian wars along the western edge of Tjeme at Glavica. The sketch of the complex with the church of St John (*Chiesa di S. Zuanne*), properly positioned in terms of the principal points of the compass, comprises markings of several other structures. The church itself is elongated, with a triangular jut on its east side, supposedly denoting its semi-circular apse. To the north of the church there is a small square, which can be interpreted as a mausoleum with two sarcophagi, probably still visible back in the 18th century. It was subsequently

⁵⁶ M. ZEKAN, Bribir – ubikacija crkve sv. Ivana i prilog atribuciji nekih kamenih spomenika, *Dani Stjepana Gunjače*, 2, Split, 2012, pp. 165–175.

⁵⁷ V. KAPITANOVIĆ, Skradinski biskupi i građevine u porječju Krke u 18. stoljeću prema arhivskim spisima, *Titius*, 1, Split, 2008, pp. 45–46.

⁵⁸ T. Burić offered his opinion that the church of St John was a small single-nave Gothic church with an angular apse by the south-west wall of the Bribir cemetery, in: T. BURIĆ, Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura s Bribira, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 16, Split, 1986, pp. 121–123.

buried during the 18th century, when the area around the church became a new cemetery, partly covered by a mortuary added to the north side of the church. It was rediscovered in 1969 and investigated in 1979. The 2016–2017 excavations made it possible to produce a more coherent interpretation of the square with a circle in its centre by the church façade, which is to say, the approximate location where a large tomb was excavated. It was covered with a monolithic slab with profiled bottom (Fig. 22.2) and had



Fig. 22. Late antique tomb in front of the present-day Orthodox parish church at Bribir (photo: Z. A. Alajbeg and V. Ghica, photoscan: A. Di Miceli)

a side stepped entrance in its western part (Fig. 22.3). It is a late antique tomb of the "a pozzo" type, plastered inside, deeply entrenched in bed-rock, with lids originally flush with what was then the surface of the floor. We assume that it was made in memory of someone special, as indicated by a wide chamfer on the slab above the entrance (Fig. 22.1). The results of archaeological investigations have shown that it had continued to be used in the Middle Ages. It was partly damaged in the first half of the 18th century and subsequently completely overlaid by graves of that era. The tomb is surrounded by the excavated and as yet completely undefined walls 104 and 107, but also by the fragments of columns with bases, which suggest that at one time it had been part of some architecture (Figs. 23.1–2), visible until the 18th century, and marked on the aforementioned sketch map as such.



Fig. 23. Walls 104 and 107, south of the late antique tomb (orthophoto: Z. A. Alajbeg)

The abbey church of St John is therefore an important religious building of medieval Bribir. According to historical documents, we know that it was the see of the Bribir archpresbyter, first mentioned in written sources in 1229⁵⁹. It is likely that the very see of this archpresbyter of the church of St John at Bribir was in the octofoil rotunda, which was still in use at the time. This information could also be a direct confirmation of its dedication in the early Middle Ages. The see of the other archpresbyters, occasionally mentioned during the 14th and 15th centuries (Ambrosius, 1308; Andrew, 1338; Ivan Dojmi, 1463) was most likely already located in the single-nave single-apse church. It is also known that the dukes of Bribir were its patrons and looked after it following its construction⁶⁰. Furthermore, St John is one of the two heavenly protectors of the Šubić family, the other being St Mary. This was indicated in the foundational document of Ban Paul I when the monastery of St John the Baptist was established near Skradin in 1299 (*...beatum Joannem Baptistam pro*

⁵⁹ F. SMILJANIĆ, Neka zapažanja o teritoriju i organizaciji Bribirske županije u srednjem vijeku, *Povijesni prilozi*, 25, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 23–24, fn. 123 (*...dominus presbiter Johannes Doymi, archipresbiter ecclesie sancti Johannis de Briberio*, according to information from 1463). – *Codex diplomaticus*, 3, p. 316, doc. No. 281 (*...R. archipresbiterum de Berberio*, as member of the court deciding on the demarcation between the Vrana Templars and the monastery in Rogovo in 1229).

⁶⁰ In the mid-15th century Jacob II Nikolić of Bribir, Croatian Viceban, hired Vidul Ivanov, the builder from Zadar, for major construction works on the church of St Mary at Bribir (E. HILJE, *Zadarski graditelj Vidul Ivanov i njegovi sinovi*, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 47, Zadar, 2005, pp. 149–190, doc. Nos. 7, 11). In the course of the works he was also entrusted with some small-scale tasks on the church of St John (C. FISKOVIĆ, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 72, fn. 430). We assume that his engagement can be distinctly seen in the renovated foundations of the south wall of the church, resting on soft fill soil and partly over the demolished walls of the rotunda. At this point two large aabutments were added to this wall, similar to those annexed to the side walls of the church of St Mary as supports. They might also be Vidul's work, rather than an annex from Turkish times as generally assumed (S. GUNJAČA, *Nalaz srednjovjekovnih arhitektura*, pp. 236–237). In addition to other works on the church of St Mary, there might have been a need to structurally reinforce it and finish the vaulting, loaded with similar structural elements made in 1415 by Petar Radmilov, a master builder from Šibenik (C. FISKOVIĆ, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 71).

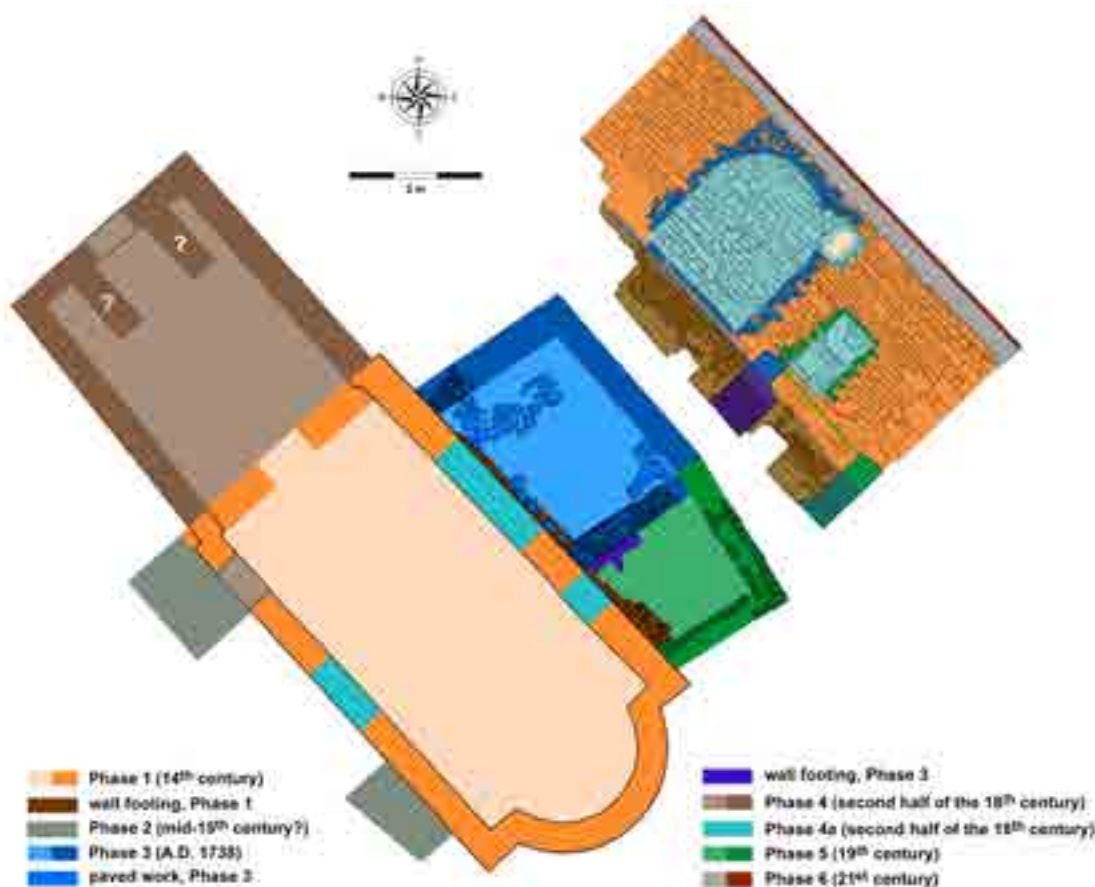


Fig. 24. Construction phases of the mediaeval abbey church of St John the Evangelist at Bribir, with a view of its north longitudinal wall (interpretation: A. Milošević)

nostro heredumque nostrorum patrono et domnio...)⁶¹. It also confirmed that the Šubić family could have influenced the selection of priests serving in the church of St John at Bribir. On that score, it would also be interesting to note the information from 1491, revealing that a priest from that church refused to take part in the synod of Skradin, claiming he was not obliged to attend, since he had been appointed parish priest by the dukes of Bribir, rather than church authorities⁶². Therefore, in the 14th and 15th centuries the church of St John was also the seat of the Bribir parish⁶³, for which it was receiving valuable donations, both movable and immovable⁶⁴.

This once wealthy Bribir abbey and its church of St John the Evangelist were found in ruins by D. Farlati in 1690. The Skradin bishops' efforts to repair it and re-establish its purpose were not successful, since the whole area had been laid to waste demographically and economically following the Venetian-Ottoman wars in the late 17th and the early 18th centuries. Consequently, it can be concluded that this exact structure was refurbished by the Bribir Orthodox population for their own

⁶¹ Š. LJUBIĆ, *Listine o odnosajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, Knj. 1, Zagreb, 1868, p. 190, doc. No. 279.

⁶² D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum*, Vol. 4, Venezia, 1769, p. 25; S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 139.

⁶³ Farlati's information on the 1397 appointment of the Knin canon Bartul as parish priest of the church of St John in the town of Bribir was cited by Gunjača (cf. D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum*, p. 20; S. GUNJAČA, Referat u vezi predloga, p. 139).

⁶⁴ In this vein, in 1383 Duke Dobruš Nikolić bestowed donations in his will on the then parish church of St John at Bribir, in addition to other Bribir churches (*Codex diplomaticus*, 16, p. 336, doc. No. 269).

religious needs in the first half of the 18th century. After obtaining a permission from Vicencije Bragadin, the bishop of Skradin, in 1738, those new inhabitants of Bribir were allowed to add a new chapel with altar next to the church of St John, so that they can hold their services according to Greek liturgy⁶⁵. Shortly after its erection, this chapel was torn down in the second half of the 18th century, most of its openings were walled up and the church was extended westward, so that the whole of its west façade was removed. We also assume that there were plans to build a bell tower on the façade of this new elongated structure in the axis of the church. However, this never came to fruition, except for the massive foundations. The building as such, re-dedicated to Sts. Joachim and Ann, is still standing. The medieval church of St John the Evangelist thus remains the only historic building which has survived all turbulent events from the Bribir past.

Today we are able to view the church at the Bribir cemetery in a totally new light. We can also regard its alleged building phases, from its erection on the ruins of the rotunda in the first decades of the 14th century all the way to the more recent construction operations during the 18th, 19th and 21st centuries (Fig. 24), which mainly contributed to its decadence. One of the tasks of our investigation under the international *Varvaria – Breberium – Bribir* archaeological project was its refurbishment for the purpose of a future archaeological park at Bribirska glavica. To that end, all excavated and investigated architecture around it was promptly conserved, the floor in the church repaired, the bell-gable on its façade reconstructed (Fig. 25)⁶⁶, all



Fig. 25. New paving in the interior and the restored bell-gable on the façade of the present-day Orthodox parish church of Sts Joachim and Ann at Bribir (photo: A. Milošević)



Fig. 26. Inadequate conservation treatment of external faces of the walls on the present-day Orthodox parish church of Sts Joachim and Anna at Bribir (photo: A. Milošević)

⁶⁵ For more information on events from that time, see: N. MILAŠ, *Spisi o istoriji pravoslavne crkve u dalmatinsko-istrijskom vladicianstvu od XV do XIX vijeka.*, Zadar, 1899; M. JAČOV, *Venecija i Srbi u Dalmaciji u XVIII veku*, Zemun, 1987; V. KAPITANOVIĆ, *Skradinski biskupi*, pp. 33–52; V. KAPITANOVIĆ, *Religiozni život i međusobni odnosi katolika i pravoslavnih na području Skradinske Biskupije*, *Titius* 4, Split, 2011, pp. 57–98; M. ZEKAN, *Bribir – ubikacija crkve sv. Ivana*, pp. 165–175.

⁶⁶ V. GHICA – A. MILOŠEVIĆ – D. DZINO – N. URODA, *Arheološki projekt "Varvaria / Breberium / Bribir" u 2016. godini*, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III, 44–45, Split, 2018, pp. 44–47.

of which would not have been possible without the support and understanding of the *Serbian Orthodox Church* in Dalmatia, now in charge of the church. Unfortunately, our efforts were not recognised by conservators of the Šibenik office, who have recently allowed its plastering, so that all historical layers which were visible in the structures of its walls are now completely imperceptible (Fig. 26). Therefore, another aim of this text and its appurtenant documents is to educate them, so that they can better understand the significance of this monument and the topics concerning it, and redress this inadequate and intolerable situation.

Translation from Croatian: Denis Gracin

***Calices et patenae funerales* i srednjovjekovna crkva Sv. Ivana na Bribiru**

Povod za raspravu u ovom tekstu su nalazi kaleža i patene koji su bili priloženi uz pokojnike u grobovima srednjeg vijeka na Bribirskoj glavici (antička *Varvaria*, srednjovjekovni *Breberium*). Raspravi su dodani i drugi takvi nalazi iz srednje Dalmacije, a pokazalo se da je riječ o pogrebnoj praksi kakva je u to vrijeme bila prisutna i vrlo raširena u drugim dijelovima Europe, gdje je u pravilu bila povezana s ukopima crkvenih uglednika. S tim analogijama objašnjeni su i kaleži s patenama u grobovima na Bribiru, a kako su nađeni u sklopu sakralne arhitekture pretpostavljeno je da pripadaju grobovima crkvenih uglednika.

S tim u vezi ponovo je otvoreno i pitanje kronologije same crkve koju, s titularom Sv. Joakima i Ane, danas koriste vjernici pravoslavne vjeroispovijesti. Njezino datiranje, naime, do sada se kretalo u vrlo širokom vremenskom rasponu. Temeljem najnovijih arheoloških istraživanja crkve i njezina neposrednog okoliša, utvrđeno je da se ta građevina, dijelom adaptirana u 18. stoljeću, uistinu nalazila u sklopu srednjovjekovne opatije Sv. Ivana Evanđelista, poznate iz povijesnih izvora, da je sagrađena u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća nad ostacima kasnoantičke i ranosrednjovjekovne osmerolisne rotonde te da je jednim dijelom služila i kao cemeterijalna crkva nekom od rodova moćnih i utjecajnih Šubića Bribirskih.

Ključne riječi: *kasni srednji vijek, calices et patenae funerales, Hrvatska, Dalmacija, Bribir, opatija Sv. Ivana Evanđelista, plemićki rod Šubića Bribirskih*

SU UN MAESTRO DAL FARE GARBATO. UNA MADONNA DEL TRECENTO E UN RAGGRUPPAMENTO DI SCULTURE LIGNEE NELLE ALPI ORIENTALI*

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The article presents a polychrome wooden statue of the Madonna and Child in a private Belgian collection. The piece is attributed to the so-called Master of the enthroned St. Peter of Aufkirchen, active around 1330/40 in centres spread across Salzburg and the Eastern Alps. A consistent group of wooden sculptures in the same area outlines the Master's artistic personality, influenced by works from the Upper Rhine, southern Germany and central Europe, highly indebted to French prototypes and executed between the last decades of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th century. The relationship with Moravian wooden sculpture is emblematic; yet, our Master's more conventional Gothic inclination is reliable to the artistic trend of Salzburg. Indeed, its archdiocese fostered contacts with the centres of the Empire and the nearby Tyrolean Alpine valleys.

Key words: Gothic in Southern Germany, Gothic in Central Europe, Gothic in Moravia, Medieval wooden sculpture, Master of the enthroned St. Peter of Aufkirchen, Virgin and Child, Gothic in Salzburg, Gothic wooden sculpture in Eastern Alps and Tyrol

Grazie al rinnovato interesse critico degli ultimi decenni, la scultura medievale in legno di un'area così vasta e complessa come l'arco alpino è stata oggetto di indagini sul campo che hanno messo in luce un patrimonio di enorme importanza, specialmente per la varietà delle sue declinazioni stilistiche e tipologiche¹. I valichi transfrontalieri, infatti, oltre a garantire i rapporti con le diocesi suffraganee nelle Alpi e tra abbazie dello stesso ordine, assicurarono la circolazione di pellegrini, carovane e delegazioni, al punto

* Sono molto riconoscente per i suggerimenti e la generosa disponibilità a Johanna Bampi, Serenella Castri, Zuleika Murat, Giuseppina Perusini, Rosmarie Schiestl, Robert Wlattnig e Lucio Zambon.

¹ Tra i contributi apripista che coinvolgono anche la scultura lignea tra XII e XIV secolo, soprattutto per le Alpi tirolesi su cui si focalizza buona parte della nostra indagine, è prima doveroso ricordare: C. T. MÜLLER, *Mittelalterliche Plastik Tirols*, Berlin, 1935; N. RASMO, *La scultura romanica dell'Alto Adige. Note e revisioni*, in "Cultura Atesina - Kultur des Etschlandes", VII, 1953, pp. 9-49; C. T. MÜLLER, *Gotische Skulptur in Tirol*, Bozen, 1976. Per gli studi degli ultimi due decenni si citano invece: E. CASTELNUOVO, F. DE GRAMATICA (a cura di), *Il Gotico nelle Alpi. 1350-1450*, catalogo della mostra (Trento, Museo del Castello del Buonconsiglio, 20 luglio - 20 ottobre 2002) Trento, 2002; L. MOR, *Il "Crocifisso gotico doloroso" di Bolzano*, in *Domenicani a Bolzano*, catalogo della mostra (Bolzano, Galleria Civica e Chiostro dei Domenicani, 20 marzo - 20 giugno 2010) a cura di S. Spada Pintarelli, H. Stampfer, Bolzano, 2010, pp. 184-191; U. SÖDING, *Gotische Kruzifixe in Tirol*, Berlin-München, 2010, pp. 96-115, nn. 1-7; L. MOR, *Il Crocifisso di Lana, i Profeti di Wenns e su alcuni gruppi lignei pusteresi fuori contesto (secoli XII- XIII)*, in *Citazioni, modelli e tipologie nella produzione dell'opera d'arte*, atti del convegno (Padova, Università degli Studi, 28-29 maggio 2008) a cura di C. Caramanna, N. Macola, L. Nazzi, Padova, 2012, pp. 53-63, 323-328; ID., *Orizzonti d'Oltralpe ed eccellenze nel crocevia patriarcale. Il Crocifisso del Duomo di Cividale e la scultura lignea "tardoromanica"*, in *Il Crocifisso di Cividale e la scultura lignea nel Patriarcato di Aquileia al tempo di Pellegrino II*, catalogo della mostra (Cividale del Friuli, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo de Nordis, 12 luglio - 12 ottobre 2014) a cura di L. Mor, Torino, 2014, pp. 17-58; L. MOR, C. RIGONI (a cura), *Il Crocifisso di Araceli. Dalle Prealpi a Vicenza. Itinerari di scultura lignea medievale*, catalogo della mostra (Vicenza, Gallerie d'Italia di Palazzo Leoni Montanari, 4 marzo - 14 maggio 2017), Venezia, 2017.

che dal XII secolo, lungo i crocevia principali, ebbero modo di svilupparsi i primi mercati e fiere annuali con privilegi doganali che incentivarono le relazioni fra i diversi versanti². Nel corso del Duecento gli apporti culturali eterogenei si consolidarono e i contatti extraregionali andarono ben al di là delle zone confinanti fino a spingersi agli ambiti franco-renano, svevo-bavarese e boemo. L'effetto fu un adeguamento diffuso degli usi devozionali e l'adozione di modelli iconografici tipici del mondo d'Oltralpe³, in particolare per la scultura lignea, le cui testimonianze risentirono precocemente delle novità gotiche. Sebbene in modo non omogeneo, questi stimoli furono veicolati dall'importazione di oggetti d'arte e da maestri itineranti di origine transalpina⁴. Tutto ciò non impedì però che tra una vallata e l'altra maturassero identità artistiche proprie e differenti filtri interpretativi; anzi, fin dall'età tardoromanica si imposero botteghe autoctone specializzate nell'intaglio del legno, quasi sempre cirmolo (*Pinus cembra*), una conifera peculiare della dorsale alpina. Esempi rimarchevoli e fautori di tradizioni durature furono, entro l'antica contea di Savoia, gli scultori della Valle d'Aosta e, nel cuore delle Alpi, quelli della Val Pusteria/Pustertal (Alto Adige/Südtirol) le cui opere, spesso di grandi dimensioni, sono rintracciabili anche negli odierni Grigioni, Vorarlberg, Tirolo, Salisburghese, Friuli e, almeno in qualche caso, nella pianura padana e perfino molto oltre, confermando una vocazione tutt'altro che stanziale o di confine⁵.

Parimenti emblematica del perpetuarsi di tale intreccio di idiomi e forme fino al XIV secolo è la poco conosciuta *Madonna in trono col Bambino* che mi accingo a presentare e che appartiene a un'importante collezione privata belga (Figg. 1, 5)⁶. Anch'essa è ricavata in legno di cirmolo (cm 77 × 33,5 × 29), policromata, dorata e anticamente rifinita con una decorazione in "pastiglia" di cui rimangono tracce diffuse, ma il dato rilevante è rappresentato dalla sua stretta relazione con un pregevole raggruppamento di sculture gotiche nelle Alpi orientali realizzate attorno al quarto decennio del Trecento. Si tratta degli intagli di un unico artista ispirato a modelli francesizzanti irradiati attraverso l'Alto Reno e la Germania del Sud fino all'Europa centrale. A questo artefice si ritiene opportuno assegnare fin d'ora l'appellativo di *Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen*, la cui opera eponima nel Museo Diocesano Hofburg di Bressanone/Brixen è una piccola scultura (H. cm 45) che giunge dal Santuario di Santa Maria/Aufkirchen (Dobbiaco/Toblach) in Val Pusteria, già nell'antica chiesa locale di San Pietro in Monte (Figg. 2, 8)⁷. È il medesimo scultore che in passato fu denominato «Meister der Heiligenbluter Madonnen» da Robert

² J. RIEDMANN (a cura di), *Il sogno di un Principe. Mainardo II e la nascita del Tirolo*, catalogo della mostra (Castel Tirolo e Abbazia di Stams, 13 maggio - 31 ottobre 1995), Milano, 1995; G. CASTELNUOVO, *Strade, passi, chiuse nelle Alpi del basso medioevo*, in E. Castelnovo, F. De Gramatica (a cura di), *Il Gotico*, cit., pp. 61-77; G. ANDENNA, *Monasteri e canoniche regolari nelle Alpi*, Ivi, pp. 79-89.

³ Caratteristica al riguardo fu l'affermazione alpina del culto di Maria Maddalena: J. W. ANDERSON, *Moving with the Magdalen. Late Medieval Art and Devotion in the Alps*, London, 2018. A quest'ambito, in particolare a quello della Val Pusteria, appartiene anche l'immagine in legno più antica che a oggi si conosca (Milano, collezione privata) di *Maddalena in trono* (1220/30 circa): L. MOR, in *Il Crocifisso di Cividale*, cit., pp. 198-201, n. 18.

⁴ È il caso del raffinatissimo scultore francese che eseguì la *Croce trionfale* (1205/20 circa) della parrocchiale vecchia di Gries (probabilmente già nel Duomo di Bolzano): L. MOR, *Anno 1205 circa: la Croce trionfale di Gries*, in *Le Arti a confronto con il Sacro*, atti del convegno (Padova, Università degli Studi, 31 maggio - 1° giugno 2007) a cura di V. Cantone, S. Fumian, Padova 2009 (2008), pp. 71-79, 259-262.

⁵ L. MOR, *Il Crocifisso di Lana*, cit., in cui ipotizzo anche la presenza in Galizia di una bottega di origine sudtirolese, verosimilmente in viaggio sulla rotta di pellegrinaggio per Santiago di Compostela; G. CAIAZZA, L. MOR, in *Il Crocifisso di Cividale*, cit., pp. 192-195, n. 16; L. MOR, *Sculture gotiche in legno della Valle d'Aosta. Analisi critica di un censimento*, in "Bollettino della Soprintendenza per i beni e le attività culturali della Valle d'Aosta", n. 15 (attività 2018), 2019, pp. 164-174; ID. Legni scolpiti e modelli nella Bologna medievale, in: *Imago splendida. Capolavori di scultura lignea a Bologna dal Romanico al Duecento*, catalogo della mostra (Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 22 novembre 2019 - 8 marzo 2020) a cura di M. Medica, L. Mor, Cinisello Balsamo 2019, pp. 13-33, in part. pp. 14, 16-23.

⁶ La provenienza risale a una raccolta privata svizzera; in seguito l'opera è transitata sul mercato antiquario internazionale.

⁷ Il *San Pietro* è correttamente citato in relazione al resto del raggruppamento da U. SÖDING, in *Kunst in Tirol. Von den Anfängen bis zur Renaissance*, a cura di P. Naredi-Rainer, L. Madersbacher, Innsbruck-Wien-Bozen, 2007, pp. 236-237, n. 142. Più tarda e didascalica è la datazione proposta da J. KRONBICHLER, *Museo Diocesano Hofburg di Bressanone*, Ratisbona, 2016, pp. 32, 44.



Fig. 1. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna in trono col Bambino, Belgio, collezione privata

Wlattnig con riferimento alla *Madonna in trono col Bambino* (cm 71,5 × 32 × 27) di una cappella privata di Schachnern (ora Gurk, Schatzkammer), frazione rurale nella Mölltal del villaggio di Heiligenblut am Großglockner (Carinzia) sul confine con il Tirolo orientale (Fig. 3)⁸. Tuttavia, per quanto si sia dinanzi a un parallelo determinante su cui ritorneremo, si ignora la provenienza storica della *Madonna* di Schachnern, probabilmente giunta nel sito di ritrovamento in epoca molto tarda; inoltre, non essendo collegabile direttamente alla produzione plastica carinziana, ritengo opportuno identificare il nome convenzionale dell'artista con una scultura dal luogo di origine più sicuro come il *San Pietro* di Aufkirchen. La percezione qualitativa è però frustrata dal rifacimento della policromia e forse della mano destra, ma a parte una parziale riscalpatura sopra la fronte, la figura esibisce un'esecuzione molto delicata, finanche nei capelli a ciocche tortili con la tonsura (predisposta per accogliere una mitria dispersa), nelle orecchie minuscole, nelle ciocche increspate della barba e nelle nicchie gotiche in sottosquadro che si stagliano sui fianchi del trono. L'intaglio incarna altresì in egual modo i parametri tipologici e stilistici del raggruppamento in questione, sia per quell'espressione incantata e per la sensibilità lenticolare dei dettagli, sia per le geometrie taglienti che ritmano i panneggi con increspature a "V", sia per l'elegante impianto piramidale del corpo. Altri due esemplari del Maestro rappresentano invece la variante iconografica della *Madonna stante col Bambino*: la statua reliquiario (H. cm 40,7) del Cleveland Museum of Art (già Salisburgo, collezione Kurt Rossacher; in seguito William M. Milliken) (Fig. 6) e a Matri in Osttirol (Tirolo orientale), nella Fialkirche St. Nikolaus della frazione di Ganz, una *Madonna* a grandezza naturale (H. cm 155), la policromia della quale è stata sottoposta a un rifacimento, forse ottocentesco, che stempera le fattezze gotiche dei volti (Fig. 7)⁹. In verità, ognuna delle statue assegnabili al Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen presenta uno stato di conservazione incerto o parziale del pigmento pittorico e ciò non consente di stabilire una sequenza cronologica precisa, eppure, la reciprocità tra i manufatti selezionati è talmente forte da sostenere l'intervento di un unico artefice. A questo insieme potreb-

⁸ Cfr. le brevi schede di R. WLATTNIG, in, *Ausgewählte Denkmäler der gotischen Kunst. Studienausstellung anlässlich des Symposium "Gotik in Slowenien"*, (Ljubljana, Narodna galerija, 19 ottobre 1994 - 2 gennaio 1994), brochure della mostra, Ljubljana, 1994, n. 5; ID., *Maria auf dem Säulenthron, Meister der Heiligenbluter Madonnen, um 1330; Diözesanmuseum Klagenfurt*, in Sammelmappe "Kärnten-Archiv", Wien, November 1995, n. 39, Blatt n. 03012a. A eccezione della *Madonna* belga, lo studioso raggruppa per primo le opere qui approfondite e suppone che la *Madonna* di Schachnern, che assegna al 1330 circa, possa provenire dal Santuario di Heiligenblut. Egli ritiene altresì che questo artista itinerante si sia formato in ambito tedesco meridionale-renano risentendo della cultura al tempo di Luigi il Bavaro. In seguito, il soprannome «Meister der Heiligenbluter Madonnen» viene accolto solo un'unica volta da M. KOLLER, *Material und Technik der polychromen Skulptur der Gotik in Kärnten und Slowenien im Rahmen der mitteleuropäischen Entwicklung*, in *Gotika v Sloveniji. Nastajanje kulturnega prostora med Alpami, Panonijo in Jadranom*, atti del convegno (Ljubljana, Narodna Galerija, 20-22 ottobre 1994) a cura di J. Höfler, Ljubljana, 1995, pp. 131-146, in part. pp. 133-134; G. BIEDERMANN, K. LEITNER, *Gotik in Kärnten*, Klagenfurt, 2001, p. 110. La *Madonna* di Schachnern è fatta oggetto di sintetiche citazioni o descrizioni da M. KOLLER, *Hochgotische Skulpturen in barocken Fassungen*, in "Restauratorenblätter", XVIII, 1997/98, pp. 61-66, in part. pp. 62, 65; U. SÖDING, in *Kunst*, cit.; E. MAHLKNECHT, *Schatzkammer Gurk. Das Museum Sakraler Kunst aus Kärnten*, Klagenfurt, 2017, p. 49, n. 05 I [A].

⁹ Il manufatto di Cleveland ha sul dorso un repositorio per le reliquie. Inoltre, benché sia in legno di cirmolo, l'intaglio è tuttora classificato erroneamente come tiglio. La policromia appare invece confusa e molto reintegrata, ma è verosimile che in origine fosse rifinita con elaborate decorazioni a "pastiglia" come nel resto del raggruppamento: C. GÓMEZ-MORENO (a cura di), in *Medieval Art from Private Collection*, catalogo della mostra (New York, The Cloisters, 30 ottobre 1968 - 30 marzo 1969), New York, 1968, s.p., n. 34; D. GILLERMAN, in *Gothic Sculpture in America. II. The Museums of the Midwest*, Turnhout, 2001, pp. 276-277, n. 209. L'attribuzione salisburghese di entrambi gli studiosi si avvale dell'indubbia somiglianza con la *Madonna* di Matri in Osttirol (riscolpita sopra la testa per indossare una nuova corona). Quest'ultima è trattata invece da M. ZYKAN, *Zwei gotische Madonnenstatuen und ihre Restaurierung*, in "Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege", 1968, 22, pp. 171-181; G. AMMANN, in J. Riedmann (a cura di), *Il sogno*, cit., pp. 464-465, n. 18.16; M. KOLLER, *Hochgotische Skulpturen*, cit., pp. 62-63, 65; H. SCHWEIGERT, *Gotische Plastik unter den frühen Habsburgen von ca. 1280 bis 1358*, in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, a cura di G. Brucher, 6 voll. (1992-2002), München-New York, 2000, II, pp. 318-321, in part. p. 321; Ivi, pp. 332-333, n. 76; U. SÖDING, in *Kunst*, cit.



Fig. 2. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, San Pietro in trono, Bressanone/Brixen, Museo Diocesano Hofburg (da Santa Maria/Aufkirchen)



Fig. 3. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna in trono col Bambino, Gurk, Schatzkammer (da Schachnern)



Fig. 4. Scultore moravo, San Floriano, cosiddetto "Ritter" (particolare), Sankt Florian (Linz), Abbazia agostiniana (Kunstsammlungen)



Fig. 5. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna in trono col Bambino, Belgio, collezione privata



Fig. 6. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna stante col Bambino, Cleveland, The Museum of Art



Fig. 7. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna stante col Bambino (ante restauro), Ganz (Matrei in Osttirol), chiesa di St. Nikolaus

be appartenere infine la *Madonna in trono* sull'altare laterale destro nella Filialkirche Maria Dornach a Mitteldorf (Großkirchheim), in Carinzia sempre sul confine con il Tirolo orientale. L'opera è priva del Bambino originale ed è stata menzionata da Wlattnig che la considera molto simile all'esemplare di Schachnern, ma ad eccezione del volto materno, che effettivamente incoraggia tale proposta, allo stato attuale non è giudicabile da chi scrive perché rivestita interamente da un abito in tessuto bianco (per nascondere i danni di un incendio) e dotata di un'ingombrante corona in stile barocco¹⁰.

La policromia della *Maestà* di collezione belga rivela abrasioni e manutenzioni successive dei pigmenti, ma l'armonia generale dell'insieme rimane pressoché integra, consentendo di esaltare l'intima familiarità delle figure e la naturalezza con cui si dispongono verso lo spettatore. L'accuratezza dell'esecuzione coinvolge ogni aspetto del massello, scavato sulle terga, perfino nella te-

¹⁰ R. WLATTNIG, *Maria auf dem Säulenthron*, cit. Preciso che la *Madonna* di Mitteldorf appare ridipinta ed è stata dotata di un *Fanciullo* moderno. La stessa scultura è citata in relazione a quelle di Matrei in Osttirol e Schachnern anche da M. KOLLER, *Hochgotische Skulpturen*, cit. pp. 62, 65; U. SÖDING, in *Kunst*, cit.

sta materna, quindi sigillato con un pannello modulato plasticamente in sottile rilievo. Oltre allo scranno, le componenti aggiuntive sono riconoscibili negli innesti delle braccia del Fanciullo, di cui rimane appena quello destro, e nell'avambraccio sinistro di Maria. È comunque ragionevole credere che sia la Vergine che il Bambino fossero dotati in principio di un attributo simbolico, forse esibendo rispettivamente il *Fiore* (o *Frutto*) e l'*Uccellino*. La mimica del Figlietto potrebbe accrescerne la probabilità, se non altro per la posa ortogonale verso sinistra, quasi in contrapposizione al solenne schema frontale di Maria. Ugualmente efficace è la tenerezza con cui flette la testa verso la Madre e al contempo ripiega la gamba sinistra per afferrarsi il piedino che spunta dalla tunica. Il movimento abbozza idealmente una croce generando così due effetti complementari: alludere a quello che sarebbe stato il sacrificio salvifico di Cristo e trasformare l'immagine in una fonte di conoscenza diretta per lo spettatore. Il coperchio sul retro è invece schematizzato fino a terra in più sezioni che vanno dalle pieghe del velo bianco, cinto da un diadema fiorito come nei prestigiosi archetipi della statuaria di Strasburgo¹¹, agli svolazzi alla moda plissettati sull'orlo, ai corrugamenti del manto dorato che si dipanano sul fondo, al morbido guanciaie rosso e alle modanature del trono. Proprio la carpenteria dello scranno è un'ulteriore prova della perizia di questo artista, in particolare per le grandi aperture circolari sui lati che traggono la struttura da parte a parte. Le fessure dovettero essere concepite anticamente per accogliere l'intaglio di una griglia traforata a compasso, non molto diversa da quelli preservatesi nel trono della *Maestà* quasi gemella di Schachnern (Figg. 9-10). Il risultato è amplificato dalle pareti in sottosquadro rispetto alla base del cuscino sorretta su entrambe le sponde da una coppia di sottilissime colonne tortili. Va detto inoltre che i fori d'innesto sul retro lungo l'asse centrale appaiono ideati per ancorare l'opera all'interno di un tabernacolo ligneo.

Tutto è reso ancora più convincente dalla volontà di aderire a un naturalismo ricercato che si estende all'azione dei protagonisti e lo stesso espediente delle gambette accavallate del Fanciullo è in linea con una tradizione iconografica che ha innumerevoli riscontri, anche nelle Alpi dove dall'inizio del Duecento è spesso adottata nelle *Maestà* lignee pusteresi¹². È però necessario focalizzarsi su un confronto ben più maturo quale la nobilissima *Madonna stante col Bambino* (1310/20 circa) dell'ex monastero delle benedettine di Castelbadia/Sonnenburg (oggi Brixen, Museo Diocesano Hofburg), situato tra Val Pusteria e Val Badia/Gadertal¹³. Tra le peculiarità condivise con la *Madonna* di collezione belga si ritrovano il piedino afferrato dal Bambino e, soprattutto, quel goticismo palpabile che pervade le forme, le delicate fisionomie perlopiù squadrate, le capigliature arricciate e il manto materno a crisalide con i lembi alla moda allacciati sul petto. Carl Theodor Müller riconobbe l'impronta della statuaria monumentale attraverso modelli analoghi alla *Madonna stante col Bambino* (1270/90 circa) sul trumeau del portale occidentale della Cattedrale di Friburgo in Brisgovia, ipotizzandone quindi a ragione una provenienza dall'Alto Reno o dall'area del lago di Costanza (Bodensee)¹⁴. L'analisi includeva anche l'attinenza indiscutibile con la *Madonna* di Matrei in Osttirol e, quale credibile esito di uno scultore del Bodensee, con la *Madonna stante col Bambino* (1300/10 circa) della chiesa benedettina di Admont in Stiria (ora Graz,

¹¹ Cfr. la *Virtù* (1280-1300) del portale di sinistra della facciata occidentale della Cattedrale di Strasburgo (ora nel Museo dell'Opera): A. ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, *I centri dell'arte gotica. 1260-1380*, Milano, 1988, p. 119.

¹² Si ricorda almeno la *Madonna in trono col Bambino* (1200/10 circa) già nella cappella dei SS. Pietro e Paolo a Götzens (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum), mentre per le varianti iconografiche del suo filone si rimanda a: L. MOR, *Il Crocifisso di Lana*, cit., pp. 58-59, 324.

¹³ L'opera è in legno di taglio (H. 126 cm): J. KRONBICHLER, *Museo*, cit., p. 41.

¹⁴ C. T. MÜLLER, *Gotische*, cit., p. 15. Sulla *Madonna* di Sonnenburg cfr. dunque B. SÖDING, *Die hochgotische Madonna aus dem Benediktinerinnenstift Sonnenburg*, in *Am Anfang war das Auge. Kunsthistorische Tagung anlässlich des 100jährigen Bestehens des Diözesanmuseums Hofburg Brixen*, a cura di L. Andergassen, Bozen, 2004, pp. 55-80.

Alte Galerie Schloss Eggenberg)¹⁵. Le relazioni tra gli ordini religiosi poterono agevolare questo tipo di rapporti, ma ciò non toglie che l'eco francesizzante della *Madonna* di Sonnenburg costituisca ormai una componente congenita. Occorre ricordare che l'influsso delle maestranze dell'Île-de-France, nei primi decenni del XIII secolo attive anche nel cantiere di Strasburgo, si diffuse progressivamente lungo il Reno, tuttavia, le forme e la rappresentazione dei sentimenti furono sottoposti a un'umanizzazione crescente che divenne un fattore caratteristico della scultura gotica tedesca di quel periodo¹⁶. Anche i lavori della regione del lago di Costanza si sarebbero distinti precocemente con prove virtuose, coerenti peraltro con l'importanza dello stesso lago da cui effluisce l'arteria del Reno e che da sempre costituisce uno snodo viario inevitabile, tuttora sottolineato dalla suddivisione territoriale tra Baden Württemberg e Baviera in Germania, Turgovia in Svizzera, Vorarlberg in Austria. In particolare, tra la fine del Duecento e il principio del secolo successivo, da quel contesto nacquero gli altorilievi in legno di Heinrich von Konstanz che, come nella *Visitazione* (1310/20 circa) del convento domenicano di Katharinenthal (nei pressi di Diessenhofen, Canton Turgovia) giunta al Metropolitan Museum di New York¹⁷, anticipano anche alcune delle soluzioni adottate nel raggruppamento della *Madonna* di collezione belga: soprattutto la fisionomia levantina, la fronte ribassata e l'azione garbata dei gesti. Simili affinità ritornano in altre opere di Costanza, variamente databili entro la prima metà del XIV secolo, pervenute alla Skulpturensammlung di Berlino e all'Augustiner-Museum di Friburgo in Brisgovia¹⁸.

Verso gli ultimi decenni del Duecento le botteghe dell'Alto Reno proiettarono la nuova tendenza anche verso Est, compresa la Bassa e Media Franconia dove spiccano i celeberrimi gruppi lapidei dell'*Adorazione dei Magi* (1280/90 circa) in St. Lorenz a Norimberga e quello di uguale soggetto (1290/1300 circa) nella Cattedrale di Würzburg¹⁹. Nel Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen, infatti, i volumi



Fig. 8. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, *San Pietro in trono*, Bressanone/Brixen, Museo Diocesano Hofburg (da Santa Maria/Aufkirchen)

¹⁵ L'ipotesi è trattata anche da H. SCHWEIGERT, in *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 328-329, n. 73.

¹⁶ Per delle sintesi sul "Gotico" renano: P. WILLIAMSON, *The Holy Roman Empire 1240-1300*, in *Gothic sculptures*, New Haven, 1995, pp. 174-199; I. VOSS, *Friburgo in Brisgovia* (sub vocem), in *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*, a cura di A. M. Romanini, 12 voll., Roma, 1991-2002, VI (1995), pp. 398-402.

¹⁷ La stessa logica d'intaglio si ritrova negli altorilievi della bottega di Heinrich o comunque attribuibili a una bottega della città di Costanza: T. KUNZ (a cura di), *Bildwerke nördlich der Alpen 1050 bis 1380. Kritischer Bestandskatalog der Berliner Skulpturensammlung*, Berlin, 2014, pp. 291-303, in part. pp. 301, 303.

¹⁸ D. ZINKE (a cura di), in *Bildwerke des Mittelalters und der Renaissance im Augustiner-museum Freiburg. 1100-1530*, München, 1995, pp. 26-31, 38-40, nn. 7-9, 13-14; T. KUNZ (a cura di), *Bildwerke nördlich*, cit., pp. 291-303.

¹⁹ B. SÖDING, *Die Dreikönigsgruppe im Würzburger Dom. Studien zur hochgotischen Monumentalskulptur in Deutschland an der Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim, 1994; L. SCHULTES, *Drei Madonnen – Drei Meisterwerke. Höhepunkte früher habsburgischer Hofkunst*, in "Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege", LXX, 2016, 3-4, pp. 319-327, in cui si riconsiderano anche le attribuzioni cronologiche di questi modelli.



Fig. 9. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna in trono col Bambino, Gurk, Schatzkammer (da Schachnern)



Fig. 10. Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen, Madonna in trono col Bambino, Belgio, collezione privata

pieni e la rigidità sottesa delle geometrie evocano una maniera ancora condizionata dai modelli della statuaria monumentale e i casi Norimberga e Würzburg contribuiscono a offrire un utile precedente iconografico, anche per le eleganti ciocche a serpentina delle acconciature e per le ripide fenditure dei panneggi. Se da un lato si tratta di accostamenti che ribadiscono la portata della tradizione gotica tedesca, dall'altro non è comunque possibile ignorare la differenza con alcune intonazioni di stile. Le figure del nostro scultore sono un po' meno vivaci e compiaciute, specialmente negli sguardi permeati da una serenità assorta, quasi introversa, più conforme a un'altra serie di illustri prototipi lapidei. Si intendono le statue della *Madonna stante col Bambino* nella Cattedrale di Friburgo in Brisgovia, vale a dire quella anzidetta sul trumeau del portale occidentale (1270/90 circa) e l'esemplare (fine del XIII secolo) già su un pilastro del vecchio coro (ora presso Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum), da cui dipende anche la cosiddetta *Salesianerinnenmadonna*: una colossale *Madonna stante col Bambino* del convento salesiano femminile di Vienna, un tempo venerata in quello agostiniano di St. Jakob e probabilmente proveniente dalla chiesa dei domenicani di Santa Maria Rotunda, il cui coro fu completato entro il 1302²⁰. La scultura è stata ricavata da una pietra arenaria che deriva da una cava nei dintorni di Vienna e sebbene l'esecuzione fosse fatta risalire tradizionalmente attorno al 1320 o poco dopo, Lothar Schultes ne ha di recente anticipato in modo convincente la cronologia tra la fine del XIII secolo e il primo decennio del Trecento²¹. Egli avanza l'ipotesi di un collegamento con l'ascesa del duca

²⁰ Ivi, pp. 319-323.

²¹ M. ZYKAN, *Zwei gotische Madonnenstatuen*, cit.; H. SCHWEIGERT, in *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 332-333, n. 76; L. SCHULTES, *Drei Madonnen*, cit., pp. 319-323.

d'Austria Alberto I d'Asburgo al trono di Germania (1298-1308), il quale accrebbe l'importanza di Vienna e gli scambi culturali con i propri domini, favorendo altresì l'affermazione degli ordini mendicanti di cui la domenicana *Salesianerinnenmadonna* sarebbe testimonianza²². Benché dotate di una tensione organica sempre più ferma e interpreti di uno schema rovesciato dell'iconografia, le Madonne stanti di Matrei in Osttirol e di Cleveland declinano una tipologia simile e il parallelo diventa ancora più puntuale con gli archetipi mariani della Cattedrale di Friburgo in Brisgovia. Anche la *Madonna* di Sonnenburg condivide quest'ultima discendenza e, a maggior ragione, per cercare di delineare la geografia artistica del Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen va sottolineata la prevalente ubicazione alpina delle sue opere: in sostanza tra le valli di quella che fu l'antica contea del Tirolo o poco oltre²³. A ciò si devono aggiungere gli intagli ora in Belgio e a Cleveland che provengono da vecchie raccolte di quell'area, confermate dal requisito del legno di cirmolo che, a eccezione delle Madonne di Sonnenburg ed Admont, vale la pena rammentarlo, riguarda tutti i manufatti lignei discussi fino ad ora. Tra questi il confronto più rispondente all'esemplare di collezione privata, sia morfologicamente, sia nella logica costruttiva di ogni sua parte, è la citata *Madonna* di Schachnern (cm 71,5 × 32 × 27). Malgrado il Bambino sia stato riscolpito sul volto e sia raffigurato in piedi sulla destra, l'esecuzione del Maestro è indiscutibile; nemmeno le piallature che hanno compromesso il velo materno e zone estese del dorso impediscono di riconoscerne l'intervento diretto. Anzi, la sontuosa rifinitura in "pastiglia" dei bottoni sulle maniche, degli orli e delle vesti, in particolare sul petto materno il monile elaborato con motivi floreali che allaccia i baveri del mantello, non solo dà l'idea di come avrebbero dovuto essere in origine le guarnizioni decorative della *Madonna* di collezione belga, ma ne rimarca la dignità iconografica e la consuetudine a soddisfare una committenza di rango.

Non si può dunque concludere senza soffermarsi su un altro riferimento nell'orizzonte linguistico di questo raggruppamento. L'ambito è quello multiculturale dei territori della corona di Boemia, dove, oltre al ruolo crescente degli ordini mendicanti e agli artisti autoctoni, operarono maestri francesi, brabantini, tedeschi e italiani²⁴. Soprattutto in Moravia, dove Carlo IV di Lussemburgo (re di Boemia dal 1347 ed imperatore dal 1355) istituì una secondogenitura che nel 1349 cedette al fratello Giovanni Enrico, la colta rielaborazione degli apporti franco-renani si concretizzò già fra il terzo e quarto decennio del Trecento con diverse statue lignee estremamente raffinate. Basti nominare l'imponente *San Floriano* (1320/30 circa), cosiddetto *Ritter*, dell'omonima abbazia agostiniana di St. Florian (Kunstsammlungen) nell'Austria Superiore (Fig. 4), nei pressi di Linz, e la *Madonna stante col Bambino* (1330 circa) della parrocchiale di Michle (ora Národní galerie), senza dubbio giunta da Brno o dai dintorni²⁵. Entrambe le sculture sono accomunate da un descrittivismo e da un disegno lineare che ebbero grande risonanza in Europa centrale e che ancora una volta evocano i modelli di Friburgo in Brisgovia. Qualcosa di simile agli accorgimenti del *San Floriano* si coglie pure nel Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen, specialmente in relazione alla barba e alla capigliatura a ciocche ondulate,

²² Per la diffusione dell'arte gotica in Austria cfr. G. BRUCHER, *Die Gotik in ÖSTERREICH: HISTORISCHE, GEISTESGESCHICHTLICHE UND Künstlerische Voraussetzungen*, in *Geschichte der Bildenden...*, cit., pp. 9-34.

²³ J. RIEDMANN (a cura di), *Il secolo decisivo nella storia del Tirolo (1259-1363)*, in *Il sogno*, cit., pp. 27-58.

²⁴ B. DRAKE BOHEM, J. FAJT (a cura di), *Prague. The crown of Bohemia. 1347-1437*, (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20 settembre 2005 - 3 gennaio 2006), New York, 2005.

²⁵ Nello stesso convento del *Ritter* si conserva un'altra grande scultura lignea di *San Floriano*, probabilmente di un intagliatore di cultura renana verso la metà del Trecento. Su queste opere e sulla *Madonna* di Michle cfr. M. ZYKAN, in *Die Kunstsammlungen des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes St. Florian*, a cura di V. Birke, M. Vyoral-Tschapka, Wien, 1988, pp. 106-107, nn. 1-2; H. SCHWEIGERT, in *Geschichte*, cit., pp. 335-336, n. 80; J. FAJT, R. SUCKALE, *Der "Meister der Madonna von Michle" - Das Ende eines Mythos? Mit einem Anhang zur "neuen" Löwenmadonna der Prager Nationalgalerie*, in "Umění", LIV, 2006, 1, pp. 3-30; A. MUDRA, *Doplňek k počátkům Mistra Michelské Madony - socha sv. Reinolda v Dortmundu*, in *Ars videndi. Professori Jaromír Homolka ad honorem*, a cura di A. Mudra, M. Ottová, Halama, 2006, pp. 239-254; L. SCHULTES, *Die thronende Madonna aus Stift Nonnberg*, in *Ars sacra. Kunstschatze des Mittelalters aus dem Salzburg Museum*, a cura di P. Husty, P. Laub, Salzburg, 2010, pp. 175-180, in part. pp. 176, 178.

alle ampie arcate sopraciliari, ai lineamenti affilati, alle sottili pieghe plissettate sul petto e alle nobili guarnizioni a fiore, pressoché identiche a quelle di Schachnern e Matrei in Osttirol (Figg. 2-7, 9). Se nel clima di accenti variegati che si è cercato di delineare, un contatto in Austria con la lezione dell'autore del *Ritter* non va affatto escluso, è altrettanto evidente che il raggruppamento in esame tenda a filtrare l'ipertrofia formale dei modelli moravi a favore di un'armonia espressiva che richiama la *Salesianerinnenmadonna* di Vienna.

È quindi necessario ritornare a quel contesto alpino da cui si è partiti e in cui il Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen lasciò testimonianze tangibili. Sono del parere che una personalità così aggiornata non possa essersi spostata solo tra villaggi montani, ma prima di tutto debba essersi affermata in un centro di prestigio molto vicino alle valli tirolesi, già ambite per le ricche entrate doganali dalla dinastia del Lussemburgo che, dal 1335 al 1341, vide diventare conte del Tirolo per contratto matrimoniale l'anzidetto Giovanni Enrico, prossimo margravio di Moravia²⁶. Mi riferisco ovviamente a Salisburgo, crocevia per raggiungere il Tirolo o da cui esportare verso le Alpi le opere scolpite con il legno di cirmolo commerciato fino alla pedemontana; nonché città all'altezza di canali diretti con i principali centri politici, religiosi e culturali tra Germania meridionale, Vienna e la Moravia. La prosperità di Salisburgo derivava dall'estrazione di sale e minerali, senza trascurare il fatto che il principato arcivescovile di cui era sede esercitava da sempre un'ascendenza sulle Alpi orientali, all'incirca tra i fiumi Inn e Drava²⁷. A questi rapporti contribuirono il radicamento degli ordini mendicanti e il legame con le diocesi suffraganee, tra cui Frisinga (da cui dipendeva la Val Pusteria) e Gurk, nei territori delle quali si ritrovano proprio le sculture *in situ* del Maestro. D'altro canto, a partire dai primi decenni del XIV secolo, Salisburgo si adeguò rapidamente alle novità gotiche, sovente con commissioni dell'aristocrazia ecclesiastica emblematiche delle relazioni con l'autorità imperiale²⁸. Tra le opere superstiti in città si possono citare quelle nell'abbazia benedettina femminile di Nonnberg: il busto-reliquario in lamina d'argento dorato di *Santa Erentrude* (1316) e una scultura in legno, di impronta boema, della *Madonna in trono col Bambino* (1320 circa)²⁹. Gli umori sono risolti in modo diverso, ma ambedue gli esempi, sia nelle fisionomie che nei capelli, prefigurano la stilizzazione grafica convenzionale e più garbata che di lì a poco animerà anche il Maestro del San Pietro di Aufkirchen, concorrendo a ribadire che la sua attività dovette essere precedente all'eccentrica tensione formale che dalla metà circa del Trecento avrebbe sollecitato l'arte gotica dell'Europa centrale.

²⁶ J. RIEDMANN (a cura di), *Il secolo decisivo*, cit., pp. 51-53.

²⁷ E. MARX, *Salzburg im Mittelalter. Ein Überblick der politischen Entwicklung*, in *Ars sacra*, cit., pp. 13-16.

²⁸ L. SCHULTES, *Die thronende*, Ivi, pp. 175-180; si veda inoltre anche un caso altrettanto indicativo importato in Tirolo quale la *Madonna in trono col Bambino* in pietra della chiesa abbaziale di Wilten-Innsbruck (1338): U. SÖDING, *Importierte Skulpturen. Transalpine Wechselbeziehungen vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Dialog - Transfer - Konflikt. Künstlerische Wechselbeziehungen im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, atti del convegno (Monaco di Baviera, 4-6 ottobre 2012) a cura di W. Augustyn, U. Söding, Passau, 2014, pp. 189-256, in part. pp. 196-197.

²⁹ L. SCHULTES, *Die thronende*, cit., p. 179.

O majstoru ljupkih djela – jedna trecentistička Bogorodica i pokušaj grupiranja drvene skulpture u istočnim Alpama

Eklektični stil ove *Bogorodice s Djetetom* u polikromiranom drvu iz privatne belgijske kolekcije dovodi se u vezu s ambijentom Salzburga i istočnih Alpa. Konkretno, čvrsta veza sa skupinom drvenih skulptura iz toga prostora omogućuje pobliže objasniti ulogu jednog umjetnika djelatnoga u četvrtom desetljeću 14. stoljeća, a nazvanoga *Majstor ustoličenoga Sv. Petra u Aufkirchenu* (tal. *Maestro del San Pietro in trono di Aufkirchen*). Djelo po kojem je nazvan ovaj anonimni majstor potječe iz Južnog Tirola (danas Brixen, Dijecezanski muzej), dok ostala djela prikazuju temu *Bogorodice s Djetetom*, a nalaze se u Muzeju za umjetnost u Clevelandu (porijeklom iz kolekcije Rossacher u Salzburgu), zatim u Matreiju (Istočni Tirol), te u Koruškoj, na granici s Istočnim Tirolom, tj. u Schachneru (danas Gurk, Schatzkammer) i Mitteldorfu.

Riječ je o djelima na kojima je raspoznatljiv odjek francuskih modela posredovan tipologijom gotičke kamene skulpture s područja Gornje Rajne, južne Njemačke i središnje Europe, a u razdoblju između posljednja tri desetljeća 13. i početka 14. stoljeća. Čuveni su primjeri *Bogorodice s Djetetom* na središnjem trimou zapadnoga pročelja katedrale u Freiburgu, zatim prikazi *Poklonstva kraljeva* u crkvi St. Lorenz u Nürnbergu te u katedrali u Würzburgu, kao i tzv. *Salesianerinnenmadonna* u Beču. Ova djela, i uopće francusko-porajnski doprinosi, utjecali su na zemlje Češkoga Kraljevstva, posebice na drvenu skulpturu Moravske, pa je tako emblematski primjerak kip Sv. Florijana (oko 1320./1339.), tzv. *Ritter* u augustinskoj opatiji St. Florian (Gornja Austrija), čiji je linearizam mogao utjecati i na našega majstora. On, međutim, nastoji zadržati pročišćeniju gotičku intonaciju samih oblika u korist naglašene harmonije koja će nadahnuti umjetničko stvaralaštvo Salzburga u drugoj četvrtini 14. stoljeća. Pritom se uloga Salzburga kao raskrižja u blizini tirolskih Alpa i kao važnoga nadbiskupskoga središta ogleda ne samo u promicanju izravnih veza s ostalim središtima Carstva, već i u poticanju narudžbi te u širenju svojega utjecaja kroz riječne doline oko kojih je okupljen najveći broj analiziranih djela, uglavnom između Drave i Inna.

Ključne riječi: gotika u južnoj Njemačkoj, gotika u središnjoj Europi, gotička Moravska, srednjovjekovna drvena skulptura, Majstor ustoličenoga Sv. Petra u Aufkirchenu, Bogorodica s Djetetom, gotika u Salzburgu, gotička drvena skulptura u istočnim Alpama i Tirolu

Prijevod s talijanskog: Dorotea Dundov

THE VEGLIA ALTAR FRONTAL: NOTES ON ITS ACQUISITION AND SUBSEQUENT CONSERVATION

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The altar frontal made about 1330 after the design by Paolo Veneziano (active 1333-58) is by far the most monumental of all extant embroideries worked in Venetian medieval workshops. Commissioned for the Cathedral in Krk (Veglia in Italian), a town on the island of the same name in the Kvarner (Quarnero) Bay, it remained in the Cathedral's sacristy until about 1930. Around that year and under still unclear circumstances it was purchased by Otto Bernheimer (1877-1960), who was head of one of Europe's major art-dealing companies at the time. The frontal remained in Germany until July 1964 when it was sent to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Since nothing has been written on why the frontal became part of one of the world's most renowned textile collections, this article primarily focuses on the intriguing story of its acquisition, and it also considers its conservation, undertaken soon after it was accessioned.

Key words: the Veglia Altar Frontal, Victoria and Albert Museum, George Wingfield Digby, Donald King, Ludwig Otto Bernheimer, Otto Bernheimer, Sir George Trenchard Cox

INTRODUCTION

The embroidered antependium commissioned about 1330 for the Cathedral in Krk (Veglia), today known as the Veglia Altar Frontal, is the most important surviving example of *opus venetum* (Venetian work). As such, it is familiar to scholars, having been repeatedly discussed in publications on both medieval embroidery and the *œuvre* of Paolo Veneziano (active 1333-58), after whose design it was worked.¹ This essay shall thus not embark yet again on presenting its well-established provenance

¹ T. G. JACKSON, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cettigne in Montenegro and the Island of Grado*, Volume 3, Oxford, 1887, pp. 150-151; D. KNIEWALD, Antependij i pala stolne crkve u Krku, *Godišnjak Sveučilišta Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Zagrebu za školske godine 1924/25-1928/29*, Zagreb, 1929, pp. 49-55; B. KURTH, Ein gesticktes venezianisches Antependium des 14. Jahrhunderts, *Belvedere*, 18, 1931, pp. 47-48; R. PALLUCCHINI, *La pittura veneziana del Trecento*, Venezia - Roma, 1964, pp. 27-28; D. KING, A Venetian Embroidered Altar Frontal, in *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 1/4, October 1965, pp. 14-25; M. MURARO, *Paolo da Venezia*, Milano, 1969, pp. 141-142; B. DEGENHART – A. SCHMIDT, *Corpus der italiensichen Zeichnungen 1300-1450. Vol. II. Venedig 1300-1400. Addenda zu Süd-und Mittelitalien*, Berlin, 1980, pp. 89-91; P. JOHNSTONE, *High Fashion in the Church. The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century*, London, 2002, pp. 51, 53; L. MONNAS, *Merchants, Princes and Painters. Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300-1550*, London, 2008, p. 42; R. DUIJS, *Gold Brocade and Renaissance Painting: A Study in Material Culture*, London, 2008, p. 393; S. BANIĆ, Zadarski gotički vezeni antependij u Budimpešti, *Ars Adriatica*, 4, Zadar, 2014, pp. 79, 90, note 10; E. COZZI, Paolo Veneziano e bottega: il polittico di Santa Lucia e gli antependia per l'isola di Veglia, *Arte in Friuli Arte in Trieste (AFAT)*, 35, 2016, pp. 245, 264-265; V. BARADEL, Diramazioni adriatiche di botteghe veneziane. L'isola di Veglia (Krk), da Paolo Veneziano a Jacobello del Fiore, in: *La Serenissima via mare. Arte e cultura tra Venezia e il Quarnaro*, (eds.) Valentina Baradel, Cristina Guarnieri, Padova, 2019, pp. 70-72, figs. 14-16.

nor on the stylistic similarities shared with the polyptychs painted by the same master. Nonetheless, its earliest detailed description in the records of the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter V&A), which is the hitherto unpublished acquisition proposal written on July 13th 1964 by Donald King, is useful for setting the scene:

14th century embroidered altar frontal offered for sale by Bernheimer, Munich

This large altar frontal (3ft. 4ins. X 9ft.) is embroidered in gold thread, with details in coloured silk, on a red silk background. In the centre is the Coronation of the Virgin, with twelve angels, and on either side, beneath Gothic arches, SS. Querinus, Peter, John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Paul and Gaudentius. A small kneeling bishop in the central scene is no doubt the donor of the work.

*The frontal, though not well known, has formed the subject of two publications (Karl Kniewald, in *Universitätsjahrbuch in Agram* 1924/5-1928/9; Betty Kurth, in *Belvedere*, 1931). It was sold about 1930 from the 12th century cathedral of Krk, formerly Veglia, near the Italian-Yugoslav frontier, and the iconography suggests that it was made for the high altar there. The church was dedicated to the Virgin and St. Querinus; St. Gaudentius was the patron saint of Cherso,² a neighbouring place.*

The design of the frontal is a fine example of the mixed Byzantine-Gothic style which was current in Venetian painting during the first half of the 14th century. It is certainly the work of a distinguished painter, very probably Paolo Veneziano. The central scene closely resembles his painting of the Coronation of the Virgin, dated 1324, in the National Gallery, Washington, and his undated paintings of the same subject in the Brera, Milan; it apparently belongs to his earlier, more Byzantine period, about 1315-40. If St. John the Baptist in the frontal may be regarded as the patron saint of the episcopal donor who kneels at his feet, then the dating may be narrowed a little further; the only bishop of Veglia who bore the name of John at the relevant period was Bonioannes, whose episcopate fell between the years 1315 and 1330.³

The embroidery, like the design, was evidently produced in a Venetian workshop. It was natural for a bishop of Veglia to commission such work in Venice, about 150 miles distant by sea, the nearest city possessing embroidery workshops of international repute. In the 13th and 14th centuries Venetian workshops supplied embroideries to the Papal court at Rome and at Avignon and one example of their work is recorded as far away as St. Paul's in London. The Veglia altar frontal is of particular interest as the sole surviving work, as far as is known, of this notable school of medieval embroidery.

The frontal is now much worn and a good deal of detail has been lost, but this is by no means unusual in embroidery of the 14th century; fortunately, there has been no disfiguring restoration and the patches of later

² In the following months Donald King conducted a more in-depth research, resulting in the amended and more detailed iconographical analysis, as evident from the registered description of the frontal; *In the centre the Coronation of the Virgin. Christ and the Virgin are seated on a throne covered by a hanging of light green patterned in gold which is held up behind them by two angels. On the throne is a gold cushion. Christ is crowned and holds up a sceptre in his left hand. With his right he places on the Virgin's head another crown. The Virgin's hands are in an attitude of prayer. Above the figures is a light blue starry vault and behind this are seen the heads of rows of angels, all with fair curly hair. Beneath Gothic arches to the left of the central group are the standing figures of St Querinus (S. QVERINUS), St Peter (S. PETRVS) and St John the Evangelist (S. IOHS EVGS.), while to the right are St John the Baptist (S. IOHS BAT), St Paul (S. PAVLVS) and St Gaudentius (S. GAVDENOI). St Querinus and St Gaudentius are vested as bishops with chasuble, mitre and crosier. St Peter holds a key, with a loop for suspension and St Paul holds a sword and a book. St John the Evangelist points to a book bearing the words IN P(R)INC(I)PIO ER(AT) VER(BUM), while St John the Baptist points towards Christ and holds a scroll inscribed ECCE AGNVS DEI ECCE QVI TOLIS PECATA MUNDI. (...) St Querinus, Bishop of Siscia (Sisak) in Croatia, martyred under Diocletian, is the patron saint of Veglia; St Gaudentius is the patron saint of neighbouring Ossero (Osor), where he was bishop, 1030-42. The frontal was mentioned specifically in a Cathedral inventory of 1772: 'Un antependio coll impronta degli apostoli di racamo rosso. Valore d'estimo fior. 30' (...). The Registered Description, files kept in the Furniture, Textiles and Fashion (FTF) Department, V&A South Kensington.*

³ More attention to the figure and identity of the donor was given in the Registered Description: *To the right of the central group, at the foot of the throne, kneels a small figure vested in chasuble and mitre, doubtless representing the bishop for whom the frontal was made. (...) It was presumably commissioned by a Bishop of Veglia, who is represented on the frontal as donor, probably Bishop Bonichannes (in office 1326).*

embroidery which have been applied here and there can easily be removed. Seen in an appropriate setting in the Italian Gothic gallery of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the frontal, with its monumental figures and its powerful harmony of red and gold, still makes a profound impression as a splendid and precious work of art.

The gold-embroidered altar frontals of the 14th century, made, when the craft of embroidery was at its highest development, to occupy the central position in the greatest churches, were among the most sumptuous of all medieval church furnishings. Only about a dozen still exist, in various cathedrals and museums on the continent.⁴ The *Veglia* frontal is the first which has ever been offered to the Victoria and Albert Museum and it is exceedingly unlikely that such an opportunity will recur. On all counts – as an important design attributable to Paolo Veneziano, as the unique specimen of Venetian medieval embroidery, as a magnificent piece of medieval church furniture, and as a work of art of very high quality – it seems a most desirable acquisition for the Museum.⁵

It is still unclear what led to the altar frontal's departure from Krk, which surely remains one of the greatest losses of Croatian heritage. The names of the clergymen in Krk who managed the sale remain unknown. However, the provenance information in Donald King's acquisition proposal suggests it is likely that the Krk Bishopric sold it about 1930. The bishop to approve the sale could, therefore, only have been Mgr Josip Srebrnić (1876 – 1966), who headed the diocese between 1923 and 1966. Further documentation, published here for the first time, primarily comprises the correspondence dating between March 1964 and January 1965. The documents reveal that, apart from the aforementioned Donald King (1920-1998), the principal protagonists of the acquisition were George Wingfield Digby (Fig. 1) and Ludwig Otto Bernheimer. George Wingfield Digby (1911-1989), above all a specialist in medieval and Renaissance tapestry, came to the Textiles Department of the V&A in 1934. He was Keeper of Textiles from 1947 until his retirement in 1972.⁶ Donald King, at this time the Deputy Keeper and curator of textiles, is considered as the founding father of textile studies in England, his true vocation being the study of medieval textiles. During World War II he initially served with the Royal Air Force (RAF) as a mechanic, but due to his proficiency in French, German and Latin was transferred to the Intelligence Service of the Air Ministry, later becoming one of the so-called 'Monuments Men'. He joined the Textiles Department in 1948, soon after having gained a degree in the History of Art at the Courtauld Institute. On the retirement



Fig. 1. George Wingfield Digby, Keeper of the Department of Textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in 1966.
Source: A. BURTON, 1999, p. 218

⁴ A statement also elaborated in the Registered Description; *The frontal is related to other embroideries of the period with the same subject, in particular to a frontal of 1325 from the Duomo of Pisa, a frontal of 1336 from S. Maria Novella in Florence, and a Bohemian frontal of about 1360 from the Marienkirche in Pirna; but also to a Lower-Saxon frontal of the 13th century at Halberstadt Cathedral, a Swedish frontal of about 1300 from Eskilstuna Church and a Rhineland frontal of the later 14th century at Kloster Kamp.*

⁵ V&A Archive, Registered File No. 64/838. The entire correspondence, both external and internal, transcribed in the paper, is the content of this file. The documents are unnumbered and mostly filed chronologically.

⁶ A. BURTON, *Vision & Accident. The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1999, pp. 181, 218.

of George Wingfield Digby, King became Keeper of Textiles, a post which he held until his retirement in 1980.⁷ Ludwig Otto Bernheimer (1907-1970) was the son of Otto Bernheimer (1877-1960), who had bought the altar frontal from the diocese about 1930. At the time of the purchase, Otto was head of *L. Bernheimer*, one of Europe's major art-dealing companies, founded in Munich in 1864 by his father Lehmann Bernheimer (1841-1918). How the contact between Otto Bernheimer and the clergy in Krk was established is still shrouded in mystery. However, it is known that – after taking over the company on his father's death – Otto travelled to many European countries in search of fine art, often in the company of his brothers Max and Ernst. It is therefore possible that about 1930, in search of artworks to purchase, he travelled along the Adriatic coast and reached Krk by chance. On the other hand, Krk might have been his intended destination, chosen specifically upon having seen Dragutin Kniewald's paper on the altar frontal published in 1929. One way or another, Otto Bernheimer clinched the deal with the Bishopric, but did not succeed in reselling the altar frontal during his lifetime. However, it is not at all difficult to comprehend that the frontal remained unsold, especially considering the troublesome times before and during the WWII. Since they were ethnically Jewish, the years of ordeal for the Bernheimer family started with the *Kristallnacht* in 1938, when the windows of their shop were smashed and Otto imprisoned in the Dachau concentration camp, together with his sons Ludwig Otto and Kurt Otto. They managed to get released and the family emigrated to Venezuela. Otto returned to Munich in 1945, when he commenced with repairing the war-damaged commercial building and fighting for the restitution of the confiscated family property - his company's artworks included. He was able to resume his business in 1948, now with a focus on textiles and furnishings.⁸ Hence, the Bernheimers have not been in possession of the frontal for about ten years, and it is somewhat of a miracle that it did not perish during the tumultuous times of conflict. Therefore, it was Otto's son Ludwig Otto Bernheimer (hereafter Ludwig Bernheimer) who negotiated its sale to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1964. The documentation put forward in this essay aims to show how the sale was conducted. Moreover, new visual and material analysis of the altar frontal in the second section shall provide additional insights on the piece.

'A MOST DESIRABLE ACQUISITION': IDENTIFICATION AND NEGOTIATION WITH THE DEALER

The V&A's policy has always been to document meticulously each step of the acquisition procedure, whether the object is a purchase, donation or bequest. Such records include not only information on the object's provenance but also the paperwork recording the process of justification and acquisition; they are gathered together in the relevant Registered File, which is housed in the Museum Archive. The earliest document in the Veglia Altar Frontal Registered File dates from March 16th 1964, and is a letter sent from Ludwig Bernheimer to George Wingfield Digby. The letter reveals that the latter had been in Munich the previous day, when he had visited the *L. Bernheimer* gallery. However, the reason for his going to the art dealer's premises had nothing to do with the altar frontal. Indeed, he was keen to view a pair of 17th-century French tapestries, likely commissioned by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-83), one of which he considered a potential acquisition. Bernheimer wrote: *Referring to your favoured visit to our firm, we have pleasure in enclosing – according to your wish – a photograph of one of the two 'portières de la gloire' with the Colbert coat-of-arms. As we told you, we should have to ask a price of DM 30.000 for each of these tapestries. Whilst hoping to have a possibility in the future of showing you our textile collection in a more detailed way, we are, Dear Sir, yours truly (...).*⁹

The reply from George Wingfield Digby, a week later, further reveals that their meeting in Munich was short and predominantly focused on the tapestries, which is not surprising, because Wingfield

⁷ N. ROTHSTEIN, Donald King, an Appreciation, in: *Textile History*, 20:2, 1989, pp. 115.

⁸ Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otto_Bernheimer [accessed on the 14th of February 2020].

⁹ All typewritten but hand-signed *L. Bernheimer*, as is the case with all his letters in the file.

Digby was an eminent tapestry scholar: *It was a great pleasure to meet you and to visit your magnificent galleries when I was in Munich; I only wish I had been able to put aside a little more time. Thank you very much for having the photograph of a Portière with the arms of Colbert sent to me. The two Portière are very fine and I admire them very much. I am having to think about the arrangement of new galleries which was bearing on our possible acquisition of one of them. May I write to you again when we are able to make up our minds? I am also going into the literature on another of the tapestries I saw with you last week.*¹⁰

On April 10th, George Wingfield Digby wrote again to Ludwig Bernheimer. From what can be read between the lines, he had given up entirely on pursuing one of the door-hangings. Instead, he decided to make further enquiries about a 16th-century Tournai tapestry and 'the 14th century Venetian embroidered antependium'. Albeit short, this letter is one of the most interesting documents in the V&A acquisition file, because it reveals that Wingfield Digby noticed the frontal first, rather than Donald King, as one could wrongly presume.¹¹ Even though tapestries were one of his principal interests in which he had great expertise, he did not fail to recognise the altar frontal as an object of value during his short visit to the Bernheimer gallery. On his return to London, he must have mentioned it to Donald King, who had staged the *Opus Anglicanum* exhibition at the V&A the previous year and was extensively familiar with medieval embroidery. After their conversation Wingfield Digby decided to enquire further: *I am afraid we have not yet come to a decision about the two portieres with Colber's [sic] Arms, but in the meantime I would very much like to ask you about two other things I saw when I was with you. I have looked up the literature on the big early 16th century Tournai tapestry with the curious subject from the Charlemagne epics, the Story of the 'Viateur' (Hamburg Exhibition, 1953, No. 16). I would be interested to know what you are asking for this tapestry. The second piece is the 14th century Venetian embroidered antependium which came from the Cathedral of Veglia in the island of Quarnero in Istria. We would be interested to hear what you are asking for this splendid embroidery.*¹²

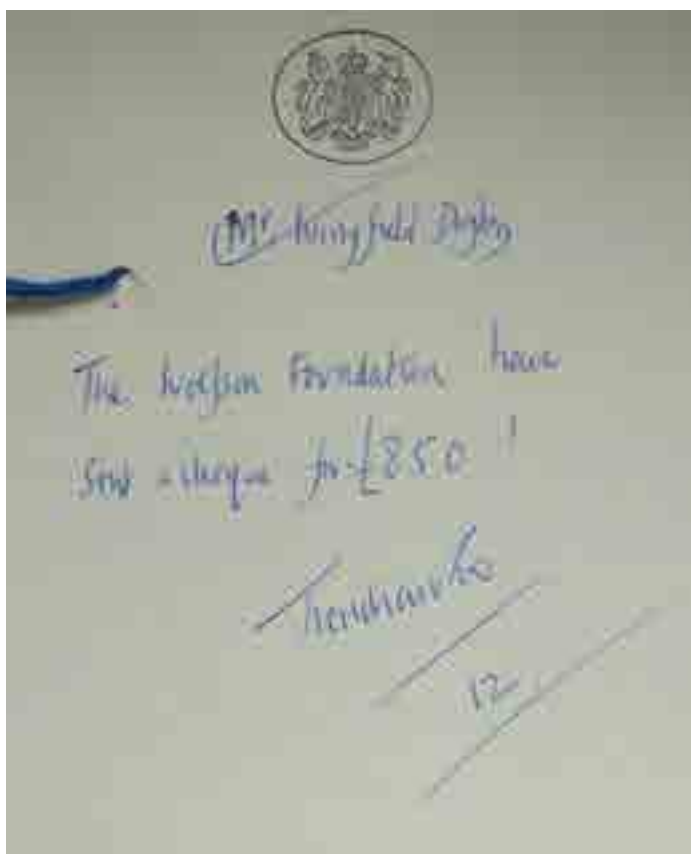


Fig. 2. Note from Sir George Trentham Cox, at the time Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to George Wingfield Digby, informing him that the fundraising campaign for the altar frontal has been successfully completed. Probably 14 December 1964. V&A Archive, Registered File No. 64/838

¹⁰ The letter ends with *I hope you enjoyed some of the Elizabethan Embroideries at the Nationalmuseum. Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper of Textiles* [all typewritten].

¹¹ In this context, it is worth stressing how Natalie Rothstein reflected on this acquisition: *He [Donald King] acquired the Venetian embroidered altar frontal designed by the workshop of Paolo Veneziano (T.I-1965) displayed in gallery 22 and wrote the definitive article upon it in the first volume of the Bulletin of the V&A in 1965. N. ROTHSTEIN, op. cit (n. 7), p. 116.*

¹² Ended with *Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].

It did not take long for Ludwig Bernheimer to answer disclosing his asking prices for both the tapestry and the altar frontal. On receiving the letter, George Wingfield Digby wrote '£10-11,000'¹³ in the margin, his conversion of the price from German currency. He did not do the same for the price of the tapestry, an indication that he had made the decision not to consider acquiring it but to concentrate solely on the altar frontal. Moreover, not surprisingly, Ludwig Bernheimer was enthusiastic about having received an enquiry for the altar frontal: first, because it had spent decades in the family's possession; and second, because selling it was most likely quite challenging due to the high figure on its price tag. In an effort to make it even more attractive to the Keeper of Textiles at the V&A, he did not miss out on the opportunity to stress that the piece had been published twice: *Thank you ever so much for your two letters of March 23rd and April 10th. In reply to the latter I may inform you that we would be ready to sell the 'Viateur' tapestry at a price of DM 100.000, whereas the price for the fine Venetian antependium would amount to DM 120.000. As regards this latter piece, I may mention that there are axisting [sic] two publications on it – one by Betty Kurth and one by Karl [sic] Kniewald. We could make copies of these publications in case you would like to get them.*¹⁴

It was only six days after Ludwig Bernheimer wrote the letter that Donald King put together his opinion on the altar frontal's significance and value, his conclusions based on Betty Kurth's paper, which he obviously consulted. On April 20th he addressed this internal document to George Wingfield Digby, reflecting on the asking price and suggesting how to proceed:

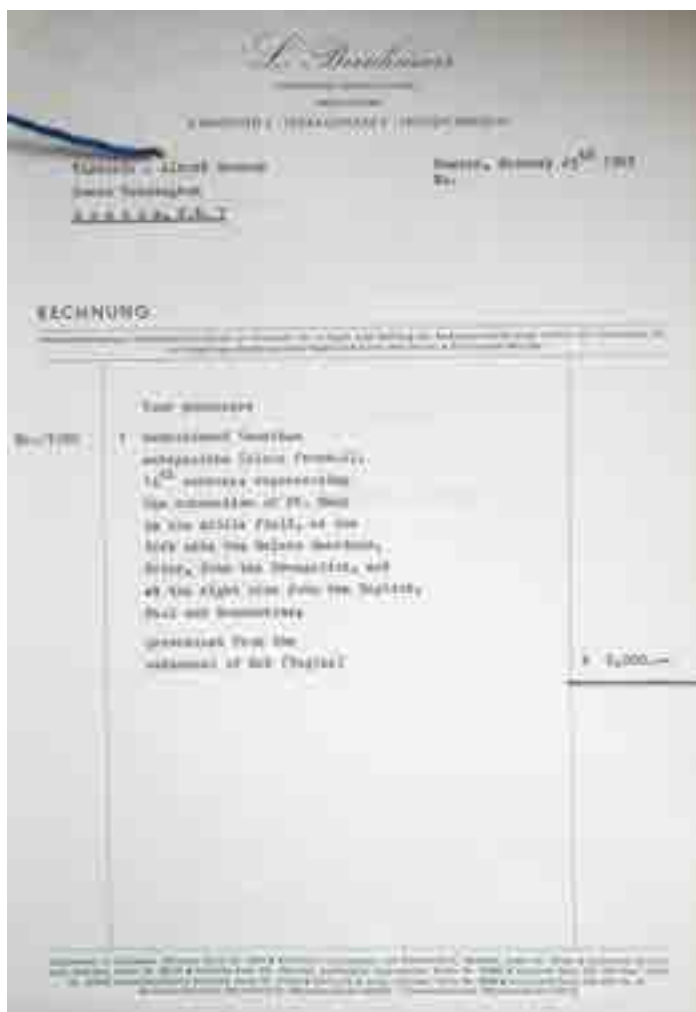


Fig. 3. Receipt for the payment for the Veglia altar frontal, L. Bernheimer, Munich, 25 January 1965. V&A Archive, Registered File No. 64/838

¹³ According to the historical inflation rates calculator, £11,000 in 1964 is equivalent to about £215,000 today. However, since calculations based on the retail price index are not completely appropriate, comparisons should rather be based on average earnings. To provide the historical context that relates to purchasing power in the mid-1960s, it is worth noting that the wage of a skilled tradesman at the time would require slightly over 20 years to earn that amount (source: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>). Therefore, the labour value of £11,000 in 1964 corresponds to about £410,000 today (source: <https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ukcompare/>).

¹⁴ The letter, the same as most others, opens with *Dear Mr. Digby*. It ends with *May I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you how much I enjoyed seeing the exhibition of Elisabethan Embroideries at the Nationalmuseum. It is, indeed, an exhibition of highest standard and I was enthusiastic about the excellent quality of every single specimen. Would that these beautiful textiles remained here permanently! Yours sincerely, Ludwig Bernheimer* [all typewritten but hand-signed].

Bernheimer altar frontal

The price asked – between £10,000 and £11,000 – for this splendid and very large (about 3'4" x 12'6") early 14th century embroidered altar frontal seems modest when compared with £33,000 for the Butler-Bowdon Cope ten years ago, or with current prices for 18th century furniture and silver.

Altar frontals embroidered in silk and gold thread were among the most important and spectacular of medieval church furnishings. Those of the early 14th century – artistically the finest – are extremely rare. The half-dozen or so extant examples are all, except the Bernheimer piece, in cathedrals or ancient municipal collections on the continent; as far as I know, no other example has ever been offered on the open market or is likely to be offered in the future. The Bernheimer frontal, made for the cathedral of Krk (Veglia) in Yugoslavia, is Venetian work. Indeed it seems to be the only known specimen of the Venetian school of embroidery, which was internationally reputed in the 13th and 14th century; examples were recorded at St Paul's, London, in 1245 and 1295, in the collections of the Holy See at Rome in 1295 and at Avignon in 1343, and at St Peter's, Rome, in 1361. The pictorial style of the frontal is the hybrid Byzantine-Gothic of the Venetian Trecento. Betty Kurth made a comparison with a painting by Paolo Veneziano (active 1324-62), which seems reasonable. Mr Pope-Hennessy may have something to say on the attribution; I fancy he owns a picture by that painter.

As the sole extant example of an important school of medieval embroidery and a magnificent specimen of an extremely rare and splendid type of ecclesiastical furnishing, this altar frontal strikes me as a most desirable acquisition for the V. & A., where, apart from its intrinsic merit, it would form a most interesting complement to the existing collection of English and other embroidery of the 14th century. I would suggest that we should accept Mr. Bernheimer's offer of copies of the two articles dealing with the frontal, and also ask for photographs of it, to enable us to consider the matter further.¹⁵

The document is of interest because it shows his process of judging the piece and his frame of reference. Donald King puts the altar frontal in the context of the acquisition of the Butler-Bowdon Cope (V&A T.36-1955), which was purchased for about three times the price.¹⁶ Furthermore, he suggests discussing the potential acquisition with Sir John Pope-Hennessy, a colleague curator in the Department of Sculpture, which demonstrates the influence and reputation enjoyed by Pope-Hennessy within the Museum.¹⁷ Now fully confident in his judgment that the acquisition of the altar frontal deserved to be considered with the utmost attention, George Wingfield Digby wrote to Ludwig Bernheimer the following day, making clear that the interest was genuine. Given that Betty Kurth's paper was illustrated in black and white, he followed Donald King's advice and asked for colour photographs of the altar frontal: *We are definitely interested in the Venetian embroidered antependium. We have look up Betty Kurth's article in Belvedere but do not know the one by Karl Kniewald, and would be very grateful for a copy of this, or at least a reference. I would also be very grateful to have some good photographs of the antependium so that we can come to a decision about its possible purchase. The illustrations in Belvedere seem to me to make it look in worse condition than I remember it.*¹⁸

¹⁵ All typewritten apart from the hand-written initials DK at the bottom.

¹⁶ The amount was raised with assistance from the Art Fund, the Pilgrim Trust, the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, the Worshipful Company of Mercers, the Worshipful Company of Broderers, the Worshipful Company of Drapers, the Worshipful Company of Weavers and the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers. For details and illustrations, see: *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, (ed.) Clare Browne, Glyn Davies, Michael A. Michael, with the assistance of Michaela Zöschg, London, 2016, pp. 213-216, with previously published relevant literature cited here.

¹⁷ Sir John Pope-Hennessy (1913-1994) joined the Victoria and Albert Museum just before the WWII. At the time he worked in the Department of Engraving, Illustration and Design, but had to break off his career for war service. As soon as the war ended, he agreed to return to the Museum on condition that he is appointed to the Department of Sculpture. He served as the Museum's director between 1967 and 1973. A. BURTON, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 215.

¹⁸ The letter opens with *Dear Dr. Bernheimer, Thank you very much for your letter of 14th April* and is concluded with *Thank you very much for what you said about the Elizabethan Embroidery Exhibition; I am so glad you enjoyed it and found it of interest. Yours sincerely, G.F.Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].



Fig. 4. Photograph documenting the condition of the Veglia altar frontal (V&A T.1-1965) at the time it was acquired. Highlighted are the patches partially or completely removed in 1965.
V&A Furniture, Textiles and Fashion Department files

The post was travelling fast from London to Munich and the following letter from Ludwig Bernheimer was written only two days later (on April 23rd): *Thank you very much for your information regarding the Venetian antependium. I was pleased to learn that you are interested in this fine embroidery. According to your wish I, herewith, enclose 2 coloured photographs of the piece and, besides, a copy of Karl Kniewald's article. There was further the enclosed translation of Betty Kurth's article at hand which might likewise be useful to you.*¹⁹ His swiftness in replying in itself testifies to how thrilled he was with this unexpected development and how eager he was to make the sale. As stated in the letter, he sent two colour photographs of the altar frontal, the first an overall shot and the second a detail of the centre section.²⁰ The stamp on the reverse reads *Foto R. Nohr Munchen 23 Wilhelmstrasse 28*. The importance of the photographs lies in the fact that there are no others in colour that document the condition of the altar frontal before its conservation in 1965 (Fig. 4).

George Wingfield Digby acknowledged the reception of the photographs in his letter of 1st May. Evidently, the Department had concluded that Donald King needed to view the altar frontal, and the

¹⁹ The letter ends with *Whilst seeing forward to your further information, I remain, most sincerely, Ludwig Bernheimer* [signed by hand].

²⁰ The photographs are today kept apart from the Registered File, due to their size. They are stored together with other textile-related research photographic material in the Furniture, Textiles and Fashion Department.



Fig. 5a. – 5b. Embroidered orphrey (detail; on the left) and hood (above) of two copes. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. Šibenik, the convent of St Francis

necessary arrangements were now being made: *Thank you very much for sending me the two big coloured photographs of the Venetian altar frontal, and also the article. My colleague Donald King will be calling at Munich on May 31st-June 1st, on his way back from the Byzantine Exhibition at Athens, and will come and see the altar frontal, if you will be so good as to let him see it. He is my colleague in this Department, and a specialist on medieval work, and I very much value his opinion.*²¹

Everything went as planned and Donald King visited L. Bernheimer in early June. However, he returned to London having ascertained that the altar frontal's condition did not merit the asking price. In his next letter to Munich, dated 10th June, George Wingfield Digby raised this issue proceeding with caution by making an offer significantly lower than what Ludwig Bernheimer was asking. Furthermore, he enquired about the possibility of the altar frontal being sent to London, so that the Director of the V&A, Sir George Trenchard Cox,²² could see it: *My colleague, Donald King, called to see the Venetian 14th century embroidered altar frontal from the Veglia cathedral last week, as doubtless you will have heard.*

²¹ Closing: *With kind regards, Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].

²² Sir George Trenchard Cox (1905–1995) was appointed to the directorship in 1956 and remained in post until his early, health-provoked retirement in 1966. It was during his tenure, in 1963, that the Museum put on the *Opus Anglicanum* exhibition - Donald King's principal achievement. Trenchard Cox's memory is still revered in the V&A because of his high appreciation of conservators and care for the staff in general. Amongst other, he had become renowned for having memorised - within weeks of his arrival - not only the names of all staff members but even the names of the cleaning ladies' husbands. A. BURTON, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 211-215.



Fig. 6. Cross-shaped embroidered orphrey on the back of a chasuble. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. The church of St Nicholas in Komiža on the island of Vis



Fig. 7. Cross-shaped embroidered orphrey on the back of a chasuble. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. The Cathedral in Gambarare (Veneto region)

*We feel that this altar frontal has very great quality and would be fitting acquisition for our Museum, but we are somewhat concerned about its rather worn and frayed condition. In view of this, I am wondering whether you would consider a rather more moderate price than DM 120,000 which you name in your letter of April 14th? If we could think in terms of a price between £6,500 - £7,000 I think the Director would be able to find the necessary funds for the purchase. If you felt able to meet us to some extent in this matter, would it be possible for you to send the antependium here, so that the Director of the Museum can see it and we can make a careful decision on the matter. We would have to try to get help with the payment from one of the Funds which supports us in such cases.*²³

Nine days later, Ludwig Bernheimer wrote to London. This time the tone of his letter was less enthusiastic. He dismissed the remarks on the altar frontal's condition as irrelevant. However, he must have felt that Wingfield Digby's arguments were legitimate and that the sale could be close to falling through. Thus, he expressed willingness to send the altar frontal to London, while refusing to accept the amount offered by George Wingfield Digby and responding with a counter proposal. The arguments he made in defence of the price are especially interesting from the point of view of provenance: he clearly stated that his father had bought the altar frontal directly from the Bishopric,

²³ Closing: *With kind regards, Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].



Fig. 8. Two fragments of an orphrey stitched together, removed from the altar frontal in 1965. The quatrefoil medallion encloses a half-length figure of a young martyr saint. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. V&A T.1A-1965

apparently for a high amount, allegedly because the diocese was in need of funds to cover the costs of some building works on the cathedral. This letter is currently the only known document to reveal how the frontal came to be in the possession of L. Bernheimer: *As regards the antependium I should say that same is still in an acceptable condition if one considers the fact that it is over 600 years old. Besides, I could imagine that your technical staff would easily find efficient means for the protection and preservation of the piece. As to the price, I feel that the figures which you mention are really very low. When my father acquired this altar frontal, he had to pay an extremely high price for it, all the more as this money had to be used by the priests for paying important reconstruction work at the Veglia Cathedral. Anyhow, in this particular case it is not my intention to assume an obstinate attitude. No doubt, you will understand that I should appreciate if this important piece of embroidery came into the possession of the Victoria & Albert Museum and that, besides, this transfer would be a matter of prestige to our firm. From this point of view I wish to leave it to you to make us a definite offer for the antependium. Would that you could see your way to make the figure between £8000 and £9000. Of course, our firm would be ready to send the embroidery to London, so that the Director of the Museum could see it before coming to a decision.*²⁴

This was followed by the letter from George Wingfield Digby, dated 25th June, in which he stated that the Museum would be willing to pay £8,000, that is, the lower amount proposed by Ludwig

²⁴ This letter ends with *Whilst seeing forward to the pleasure of hearing from you again, I remain with kind regards, yours sincerely, L. Bernheimer [signed by hand].*

Bernheimer. In addition, he made clear that the final decision would be made after the further assessment of the altar frontal to be carried out in London: *Thank you very much for your letter of 19th June about the embroidered altar frontal from Veglia; I appreciate what you say. I have discussed the matter further with the Director of the Museum and we feel that we can consider the purchase in terms of a figure round about £8,000. But before coming to a definite decision we should like to see the antependium here for careful consideration. We shall want to take into consideration the question of restoration. May me therefore avail ourselves of your offer to send it here? We want to feel free to make up our minds as to its acquisition on seeing it here, but we understand, should we decide to purchase it, we should have to discuss a price with you around £8,000.*²⁵

Ludwig Bernheimer responded affirmatively and by swiftly organising transport. In the letter of 30th June he informed George Wingfield Digby of the company entrusted with the shipment of the altar frontal and of the date of its arrival in London: *With great pleasure we received your letter of June 25th. Accordingly we forward to you the altar frontal from Veglia by Air. The plane which is carrying the tapestry, leaves on July 1st around 19h the airport Riem-Munich and arrives a few hours later in London. Addressee in London of the Altar Frontal is the forwarding Agent of Antiques, Pitt & Scott Ltd.*²⁶ *1/3 Sanket Pauls, Sherd Yard, London E.C.4, this firm is supposed to advise you of the arrival of the tapestry. We send you the frontal piece on approval and certainly it will be a pleasure for us if the Museum would buy it.*²⁷

On 8th July Donald King informed Ludwig Bernheimer of the safe delivery of the frontal as well as of the time needed for the Museum to come back to him with the final decision on the acquisition: *I write to inform you that the altar frontal from Veglia has arrived in the Museum in good order. Both Mr. Wingfield Digby and Sir Trenchard Cox are at present absent from the Museum, so that there is likely to be a delay of a few weeks before you receive their decision on the question of purchase. I can assure you, however, that the matter will be brought to their attention as soon as they return.*²⁸



Fig. 9. Part of an orphrey, removed from the altar frontal in 1965. In the above compartment was either God the Father or Christ. The only remnants of what was enclosed in the medallion underneath it are the tongues of fire. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. V&A T.1B-1965

²⁵ Closing: *Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].

²⁶ Upon having received the letter, on July the 2nd Donald King wrote a note to be passed onto the company; According to the preceding letter, this important 14th century embroidered altar frontal, consigned to us via Pitt and Scott, should have arrived at London airport yesterday evening. Could you please ask Pitt and Scott to expedite delivery – we don't want it to hang around in their warehouse for weeks as has happened on some previous occasions.

²⁷ Closing: *Yours sincerely, L. Bernheimer* [signed by hand].

²⁸ Closing: *Yours faithfully, D. King, Deputy Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].



Fig. 10. *The Virgin and Child (left) and a Bishop Saint (right). Removed from the altar frontal in 1965. Probably Venice, second half of the 16th century. V&A T.1D-1965 and T.1C-1965*

AN EXPENSIVE ACQUISITION: CONVINCING THE MUSEUM AND RAISING THE MONEY

At this point, the internal negotiations started to dominate the Registered File in the V&A Archive: the exchanges between Donald King, George Wingfield Digby and Sir George Trenchard Cox, from which it is clear that action to raise the necessary funds had commenced. The first move was the appeal to the National Art Collections Fund.²⁹ Such appeals involved a full justification of the significance of the piece and the accuracy of the market value. Since a specialist curator was required to provide the information for the Director to make the case, on 13th July Donald King wrote to George Trenchard Cox, enclosing with the note his acquisition proposal (transcribed in the Introduction):

Director,

Attached is a draft of a note on the altar frontal, to accompany the letter to N.A.C.F., which I assume you will wish to draft personally.

Bernheimer sent the frontal to London following Mr Digby's letter of 25th June, in which he wrote: 'we feel that we can consider the purchase in terms of a figure round about £8,000'. You may wish to mention that such a figure compares quite favourably with £33,000 for the Butler-Bowdon cope nearly 10 years ago.

*If you send the attached colour photos to N.A.C.F., may we please request their return? They are the only photos we have.*³⁰

²⁹ The National Art Collections Fund (today Art Fund) is a charity founded in 1903 with the mission to help British museums to purchase works of art for their collections.

³⁰ The note is handwritten and ends with initials DK.



Fig. 11a and 11b. Fragment of an embroidery, overall and detail (bust of a prophet?). Removed from the altar frontal in 1965. Venice, 1330-1350. V&A T.1E-1965

George Wingfield Digby was absent from the Museum at the time, but he obviously wanted to be kept informed. In a note of 14th July, Donald King shared with him that Sir George Trenchard Cox had decided to allocate everything remaining in the Museum's acquisition fund for that year: *Mr Pope-Hennessy saw the altar-frontal in the Italian Gothic gallery on Tuesday of last week and decided that he would like to exhibit it here, beneath the large Venetian sculpture of the Madonna della Misericordia.*³¹ The

³¹ This must refer to the relief *Virgin and Child with kneeling members of the Guild of the Misericordia*, carved by Bartolomeo Buon about 1374-1467 for the tympanum over the principal doorway of the Scuola Vecchia di Santa Maria della Misericordia in Venice (V&A 25-1882). The relief is now on display in the Medieval and Renaissance Galleries (Room 50a).



Fig. 12. Sections of the embroidered band, removed from the altar frontal in 1965. Venice, 1330-1350.
V&A T.1F-1965 and T.1G-1965

Director saw it on Friday last and decided that he would commit all that remains of this year's purchase grant (about £5,000) towards its acquisition. When he returns from the Museums Association conference on Thursday he will write to N.A.C.F. to enquire what assistance they would be prepared to offer; I have drafted a note on the object, for enclosure with his letter.³² The decision to consume the entire sum left in the budget is quite possibly the best piece of evidence to prove how strong the desire was to have the altar frontal in the V&A's collection. By agreeing to use up this budget so early in the year, the Director was preventing the Museum from making any other purchases in any medium until April 1965 the earliest.

Since the Museum was £3,000 short, George Trenchard Cox quickly reached out to the National Art Collections Fund asking for financial support. Already on 17th July, Sir William Emrys Williams dropped him an encouraging note: *The Altar Frontal sounds just the thing you ought to have, and I must see what we can do about it. I am writing to David Crawford today and, if he approves, I will then get in touch with the other members of the Executive Committee, as we do not meet formally again until October. For this reason, as well as for the Post Office slow down, the operation may take a little time, but I will do my best. I should like to keep the coloured photographs for the time being, as the London members of the Committee will be able to come and see them here.*³³

On 23rd July, George Wingfield Digby updated Ludwig Bernheimer and explained that raising the necessary funds might take some time: *I got back from a short holiday in Scotland to find the 14th century embroidered altar frontal had arrived safely, and had been looked at by several of my colleagues. Since then I have looked at it with the Director of the Museum, and we have discussed the possibility of its purchase. We very much admire this splendid altar frontal, and hope to be able to acquire it for this Museum but this involves asking for some financial support from various bodies friendly to the Museum. We have commenced with this, and hope you will understand this may take a little time, particularly as it is now a holiday season. I will write again as soon as I am able to, and I hope then to be able to give you a definite decision about this purchase.*³⁴

When it became evident that it would take the National Art Collections Fund time to come back with a decision, George Wingfield Digby wrote to Munich again on 6th August, not only to make Ludwig Bernheimer aware of the delays but also to ask for the final confirmation of the price: *We are experiencing some difficulty in raising the necessary money for the purchase of the embroidered Altar Frontal from Veglia, but we have got to the point when we would like to come to a definite agreement with you about the*

³² The note is handwritten and ends with initials DK.

³³ Closing: *With best wishes, yours ever, Bill* [signed by hand].

³⁴ Closing: *Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].



Fig. 13. The Veglia altar frontal today. Highlighted are the patches not removed in 1965. V&A T.1-1965

purchase price. In view of the Frontal's relatively frayed condition, and the patches of old material (some from the original piece, others not) which have been used for its present make-up, our conservation staff is going to be involved in a good deal of restoration work. The condition of the embroidery does somewhat detract from its appeal, except perhaps to the expert. So far you have met us very amicably over this question, and if you were now able to confirm the price as not more than £8,000, I have good hopes of our being able to raise the money. But I should have the greatest difficulty in persuading the Director and our supporters to accept a higher figure.³⁵

Ludwig Bernheimer's response, dated August 10th, was affirmative: Let me thank you for your kind letter of August 6th. You will certainly understand that selling the Altar Frontal to your Museum would be a matter of prestige to our firm. We should, indeed, feel honoured if the embroidery came into your possession. I will, therefore, not hesitate in confirming to you that we would be ready to sell the Altar Frontal to your Museum at the price of £ 8,000.³⁶

George Wingfield Digby acknowledged receipt of the letter on 18th August and took the opportunity to stress that it would take about two months at least until the Museum raised the full amount, which did not cause Ludwig Bernheimer any concern: Thank you very much for your helpful letter of August 10th in which you agreed to the price of £8,000 for the embroidered altar frontal from Veglia.

³⁵ Closing: Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles [all typewritten].

³⁶ Closing: Whilst seeing forward to your further news in this matter, I am, yours sincerely [signed by hand].

*We are working hard to raise the necessary funds, but August is very much a holiday month in London and we have to await the meetings of one or two bodies in September. I hope to be able to write to you definitely about the purchase in October. We are most grateful to you for your helpful attitude.*³⁷

On 8th October, Sir William Emrys Williams wrote to Sir George Trenchard Cox informing him about the amount allocated by the National Art Collections Fund: *At its meeting yesterday afternoon the Committee decided to offer you £2,000 as a contribution towards the purchase of the Altar Frontal.*

*In doing so they expressed the earnest hope that you would leave the work in its present condition.*³⁸

The Director expressed his gratitude in his letter written already on the following day, reassuring Williams that the planned conservation works on the frontal should not result in significant alterations: *I am most grateful to you and to the Fund for the generous contribution towards the purchase of the Altar Frontal. We shall be delighted to receive a cheque made out to the Department of Education and Science. With all good wishes, yours ever / P.S. I agree that we should not attempt to alter the appearance of the Frontal. [all typewritten].*

At this point, the Museum needed to raise the remaining £1,000. Pleas to support the acquisition were sent out to the following textile- and embroidery-related guilds of London: the Worshipful Company of Merchant Taylors, the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, the Worshipful Company of Mercers, the Worshipful Company of Drapers, the Worshipful Company of Clothworkers, the Worshipful Company of Dyers, the Worshipful Company of Haberdashers, the Worshipful Company of Weavers and the Worshipful Company of Broderers. Even though the majority of the companies had contributed in 1955 to the purchase of another piece of medieval ecclesiastical embroidery, the Butler-Bowdon cope, in this case only the latter two responded positively, sending cheques for £50 and £100 respectively in early November. This development must have caused anxiety, because Ludwig Bernheimer had been told that he would quite likely receive the full payment in October. In an effort to secure the balance of £850, Sir George Trenchard Cox wrote to the Wolfson Foundation on 9th November. Since weeks had passed without a reply, George Wingfield Digby had no option but to write to Ludwig Bernheimer on 30th November, informing him about the situation: *I am very sorry to have kept you waiting so long over payment for the 14th century embroidered Altar Frontal from Veglia (Krk). We have collected most of the Funds*



14. Fragment of an embroidery, with a full standing figure of a female saint, stitched on the bottom right corner of the altar frontal. Venice, 1330-1350

³⁷ The letter ends, as usual, with *Yours sincerely G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten]. On 21st August Ludwig Bernheimer replied: *Dear Mr. Digby, I wish to thank you very much for your favoured letter of August 18th by which you gave us further information about the altar frontal. I took note that you hope to be able to give us definite news about the purchase in October, and I readily agree to this. Believe to be, Yours sincerely,* [signed by hand].

³⁸ Closing: *With best wishes, yours ever, Bill* [signed by hand].



Fig. 15a. and 15b. Fragment stitched on the bottom left corner of the altar frontal: details of the scrolling stem comprising lotus flowers. Venice, 1330-1350

needed for this purchase, but are still a few hundred pounds short; I hope we shall be able to settle this matter in a few weeks' time now.³⁹ He must have been relieved when he read Bernheimer's cordial response of 7th December: *With many thanks we acknowledge your letter of November 30th regarding the 14th century Altar Frontal from Veglia (Krk). With pleasure we accept your offer to make the payment later, hoping that the Balance arrives here early next year.*⁴⁰

On 11th December, Sir Harold Redman wrote to Sir George Trenchard Cox on behalf of the Wolfson Foundation, relaying their decision and enclosing the cheque that finally enabled the Museum to make the payment: *With further reference to your letter of the 9th November last, I am glad to be able to say that the Trustees of the Wolfson Foundation have agreed to the finding of the balance of £850 needed to save the 14th Century Embroidered Altar Frontal for the nation. I have great pleasure in enclosing herewith a cheque for that amount, and would be grateful if receipt could be acknowledged in due course please.*⁴¹ This was received not only with enormous gratitude – as expressed in the Director's letter of 14th December⁴² – but also with sincere joy. His handwritten note sent to George Wingfield Digby (Fig. 2) tells of the excitement and relief that overwhelmed him upon having heard the good news.

³⁹ Closing: *Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper, Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].

⁴⁰ Closing: *Sincerely yours, L. Bernheimer* [signed by hand].

⁴¹ Closing: *Yours sincerely, H Redman* [signed by hand].

⁴² *Dear Sir Harold, I am deeply grateful to the Trustees of the Wolfson Foundation for their generosity in making it possible for us to buy the altar frontal; and hasten to send them, through you, a message of my most cordial thanks. It would give me a great pleasure if you or any of the Trustees could find time to visit this Museum and allow me to show you the Frontal and some of our other treasures. Yours sincerely, Trenchard Cox, Director* [all typewritten].

Finally, on 15th December, about nine months after George Wingfield Digby first saw the altar frontal in Munich, he wrote to Ludwig Bernheimer confirming that the sum had been reached and that the purchase could be finalised: *I am glad to be able to say that at last we have collected the necessary funds for paying for the 14th century embroidered altar frontal from Veglia (Krk). The payment will be made to you shortly through the Accountant General's office of the Department of Education, but I must again apologise for having kept you waiting so long for this payment. We shall soon now have the altar frontal in our Gallery. Its home will be in the rooms of North Italian medieval sculpture on the ground floor, but we shall be showing the frontal, to begin with, in the New Acquisitions Court near the main entrance for two or three months.*⁴³

The transaction was processed in the following weeks and on 25th January 1965 L. Bernheimer issued the receipt of the payment for the altar frontal (Fig. 3), which was then sent to London together with Ludwig Bernheimer's letter in which he wrote: *We really appreciate that this fine piece of embroidery has come into the possession of your Museum where it certainly has the place it deserves.*

A NEW ACQUISITION CONSERVED: 'UNPACKING' THE OBJECT FOR CONSERVATION AND INTERPRETATION

The frontal entered a new life once it was accessioned. It was thoroughly examined by Donald King whose study surpassed the ones by Dragutin Kniewald and Betty Kurth. Already in 1965 he published an extensive paper on the altar frontal, reflecting on its condition with only a few, but precise remarks: *A number of holes have been patched with fragments from another, apparently contemporary embroidery. The top edge of the frontal has been made up with pieces of an orphrey from the 16th or 17th century.*⁴⁴ He delved no further into the 'patches', possibly because it would have been quite a challenge to discuss them appropriately in a paper illustrated solely with black and white photographs. However, it must have been Donald King who hastened the commencement of conservation works and had the final say on which of the patches ought to be removed. Now is the opportunity to say more about how these interventions altered the altar frontal's appearance. These were not substantial as they mainly involved the removal of about nine embroidered fragments that had been used to patch it. This patching, undoubtedly, took place whilst the frontal was still in Krk, the interventions probably dating to the 19th century.

Figure 4 illustrates the locations of the patches which were completely or partially removed during conservation in 1965. The most prominent 19th-century 'addition' was of course the band running along the full length of the frontal's top edge. It consisted of a number of fragments dating from the second half of the 16th century, which varied in size. Only one section of the band was unstitched during conservation, in order to show fully the representation of the Moon which had been partially concealed underneath it (the location of the removed section is indicated in Figure 13). After it was detached from the altar frontal this section was not accessioned as its part object.

The fragments re-used to make up the band most probably originate in the orphrey of a cope. Two copes with comparable embroideries have survived in the convent of St Francis in Šibenik (Figs. 5a and 5b), the most distinguishable feature being the blue satin used for the ground, instead of a red one; such is the satin of the orphreys of a chasuble in Komiža on the island of Vis (Fig. 6). Regardless of the variants in colour, all orphreys have in common a silk satin ground, lined with linen and embroidered with silver-gilt and silk threads in satin stitch and raised and couched work. Their designs consist of elongated compartments enclosing saintly figures, joined by a symmetrical arrangement of scrolling stems bearing formal flowers. Indeed, the locations of all three examples in Dalmatia suggest the dissemination of such embroideries, which were made in the workshops of Venice and quite probably in more affluent towns in its hinterland during the second half of the 16th century. They were designed exclusively to adorn copes, chasubles and dalmatics. A number of vestments decorat-

⁴³ Closing: *Yours sincerely, G. F. Wingfield Digby, Keeper of the Department of Textiles* [all typewritten].

⁴⁴ D. KING, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 16.

ed with similar embroideries have been documented in churches in Veneto and Lombardy. For example, the Cathedral of Gambarare houses a chasuble (Fig. 7) with front and back orphreys of this type.⁴⁵

Therefore, the presence of these orphrey fragments on the altar frontal suggests that the Cathedral in Krk owned a similar set of vestments which has been dismantled and the pieces of embroidery subsequently applied to the frontal. As is evident from Figure 4, there was a number of complementary fragments on the frontal at the time it was acquired. The crescent-shaped patch, placed immediately above the central Coronation scene, is another fragment which was removed from the altar frontal but not accessioned as a part object. All the remaining unstitched fragments were accessioned and given part numbers. Such is fragment T.1A-1965, consisting of a large rectangular piece of an orphrey and a smaller square piece sewn together at right angles (Fig. 8). It was originally on the lower left-hand corner of the frontal (Fig. 4). The small square piece contains a quatrefoil compartment to which has been applied a half-length figure of a male saint holding a palm of martyrdom. This figure is worked in silver-gilt thread and coloured silks in split stitch and couched on linen. In one of the compartments of the large piece a marked outline and stitch marks are visible, where a similar, full-length figure was once placed. On the opposite end of the altar frontal was the smaller fragment (T.1B-1965) with part of the figure of God the Father or Christ applied to one of the compartments. The compartment below comprises tongues of fire (Fig. 9). The figures of the Virgin with Child and a Bishop Saint (Fig. 10), which must originally have been placed within elongated orphrey compartments, were stitched to the either side of the central group. The Virgin holding the Child (T.1D-1965) was to the left, and the figure of a bishop holding a book and a crosier (T.1C-1965) was placed to the right (Fig. 4).

The next two parts that have been removed belong to a larger group of patches of particular interest, the majority of these having been left in place. As Donald King already noted, these patches were cut from an embroidery contemporary with the altar frontal. Even though these sections are far too small and frayed to permit a definitive conclusion about the object from which they originate, the piece was undoubtedly embroidered in Venice between 1330 and 1350, in silver-gilt threads and coloured silks, on the red silk taffeta ground lined with linen. The embroidery with metal threads is worked in the same undercouching technique. However, the visibly brighter red taffeta and the somewhat coarser linen used for backing, indicate clearly that these fragments



Fig. 16. Embroidered burse panel, edged with a scrolling stem comprising lotus flowers, Venice, about 1325. V&A T.92-1969
© Victoria and Albert Museum

⁴⁵ For further information see: L. BERTI, *Antichi paramenti sacri nel Duomo di Gambarare*, Master's Thesis, Ca'Foscari University, Venice, academic year 2007/2008, pp. 106-109.

differ from the rest, i.e. that they did not originally belong to the altar frontal. It is possible that these are the remnants of another altar frontal or perhaps a processional banner, but whatever the nature of the object, it is evident that the Cathedral in Krk had owned at least one other elaborate example of *opus venetum*. One part of it, fragment T.1E-1965, was stitched near the bottom right end of the frontal. The embroidered design is almost obliterated but it evidently included formal flowers worked in coloured silks and a bust of a prophet (ﷺ) in a roundel (Figs. 11a and 11b). What was also removed, but originates from this same object, are the narrow fragments decorated with a running leafy scrolling stem (T.1F-1965 and T.1G-1965) that have been sewn together to make the band used to neaten the bottom of the frontal (Fig. 12). Also, it is worth noting that the smaller part of fragment T.1A-1965 (Fig. 8) has itself been patched with a piece of 14th-century embroidery. Could this be considered evidence that all patching, both with 14th- and 16th-century fragments, occurred at the same time?

During conservation the decision was made to leave a number of corresponding 14th-century fragments on the altar frontal, in the same position as they were found. Figure 13 shows the current state of the frontal with all the present patches highlighted. At least twelve fragments of *opus venetum* had been used to mend the damage that mostly occurred in the areas of the saints' busts. For example, the original right hand of Christ had been cut out to be replaced with one of such fragments. Two larger, rectangular pieces had been stitched on the left and right bottom corners of the frontal in order to mask the excessive wear that these zones had suffered. In the right corner is a fragment with a full figure of a female saint standing underneath a pointed arch (Fig. 14). On the opposite side is a fragment with a scrolling stem comprising lotus flowers, beautifully worked in coloured silk threads (Figs. 15a and 15b). A similar leafy stem with coloured lotus flowers makes the border of the burse (V&A T.92-1969) embroidered in Venice about 1325 (Fig. 16).⁴⁶

CLOSING REMARKS

The aim of this essay is twofold. First, to demonstrate how working through the museum records can add significantly to what we know not only about an object's provenance and history, but also about circumstances surrounding its purchase, which can – as shown – elucidate how highly desirable acquisition it was and for what reasons. This particular case, so thoroughly documented, sheds more light on how rare and prized the examples of *opus venetum* are, amongst which the Veglia Altar Frontal stands out as an unrivalled masterpiece. It merits the title, regardless of the wear it has suffered and of the many fragments used to conceal the damage. A comprehensive reflection on these patches is thus the second and not less important section of the essay. It aims to contribute to the knowledge of the object's history, which is of vital importance for the accurate interpretation of the altar frontal and its parts housed at the V&A. These analyses should also aid conservators who will be working on it in the future.

Probably the most appropriate way to conclude this contribution to the story of this outstanding piece of medieval embroidery is by paraphrasing Donald King's observations: in spite of its frayed condition, the Veglia Altar Frontal nevertheless commands attention from the spectator with the authority of a great work of art. At the time that his paper was published, the frontal was on display in the Room 23, on the ground floor of the V&A, while today it is in storage. Hopefully, in the near future it shall be conserved again and put on public view to be admired in its full right.

⁴⁶ It was Donald King who recognized the production place and date of the burse, which had previously been in the Untermeyer Collection and described as 'Portuguese or Spanish executed in China, 17th century'. Because of his expertise, the Museum was able to buy it for only £100. N. ROTHSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 116.

Bilješke o ulasku antependija iz katedrale u Krku u Muzej Viktorije i Alberta u Londonu i o tada poduzetom konzervatorsko-restauratorskom zahvatu

Antependij naručen oko 1330. godine za katedralu u Krku i izvezen prema crtežu Paola Veneziana je bez premca najmonumentalnije u svijetu sačuvano djelo venecijanskih srednjovjekovnih vezi-lačkih radionica. Unatoč činjenici da je, počevši od 1929. godine, višekratno objavljivan i u domaćoj i u inozemnoj literaturi, dosad nisu u cijelosti razjašnjene okolnosti njegova odlaska s Krka, prvo u München, te oko trideset i pet godina poslije u zbirku tekstila Muzeja Viktorije i Alberta (*Victoria and Albert Museum*) u Londonu, u kojem mu je dodijeljena inventarna oznaka T.1-1965. Ovaj rad se stoga prvenstveno posvećuje objavi sadržaja njegova dosjea pohranjenog u arhivu Muzeja Viktorije i Alberta, a u kojem najraniji dokument datira iz ožujka 1964. godine. Transkribirana su pisma koja su voditelj zbirke tekstila George Wingfield Digby i njegov zamjenik Donald King razmjenjivali eksterno – s trgovcem umjetninama i tadašnjim vlasnikom antependija Ludwigom Ottom Bernheimerom u Münchenu – ali i interno; među sobom te s ondašnjim ravnateljem Muzeja sir Georgeom Trenchardom Coxom. Iz ovih se mnogobrojnih i brzo razmjenjivanih pisama, te iz ostale interne dokumentacije (stručnih izvješća i mišljenja o antependiju), može steći dojam o uzbuđenju koje je u Muzeju vladalo oko ove vrijedne i rijetke umjetnine, o dinamičnim pregovorima o kupnji, te o gotovo grozničavim naporima da se, u mjesecima nakon dogovora o konačnoj cijeni, namakne pozamašan iznos koji je, naposljetku, u siječnju 1965. godine transferiran u München.

Minhenska trgovina umjetninama *L. Bernheimer* je dakle tek u siječnju 1965. godine prestala biti vlasnikom antependija. Zahvaljujući jednom od pisama koje je u London poslao Ludwig Otto Bernheimer saznajemo da je njegov otac, Otto Bernheimer, kupio antependij od krčke katedralne župe za značajan, no nepoznat iznos, a koji je župi tada navodno bio neophodan radi plaćanja nužnih građevinskih zahvata na katedrali. Iako se i ranije znalo da je antependij dospio u München već oko 1930. godine, ovo pismo svjedoči da nije bilo posrednika u kupnji, odnosno da prije Otta Bernheimera nije imao drugih, privremenih vlasnika. Točna godina, odnosno bar približan datum prodaje antependija Ottu Bernheimeru i dalje ostaje nepoznata.

U drugom dijelu članka donose se dosad nepoznati podatci o stanju antependija u trenutku njegova ulaska u Muzej te o rezultatima konzervatorsko-restauratorskog zahvata kojemu je nedugo potom bio podvrgnut. Po prvi put se objavljuje njegova fotografija u boji, snimljena još u Münchenu, na kojoj se vidi broj i smještaj fragmenata veza iz druge polovine 16. stoljeća koji su na antependij najvjerojatnije bili prišiveni tijekom 19. stoljeća. Uzduž njegova gornjega ruba je tako bio apliciran vezeni rub pluvijala, kojemu veći dio nije uklonjen. Iskorištena je prigoda da se drugi dosad poznati primjerci ovakvog veza iz druge polovine 16. stoljeća, sačuvani na istočnoj obali Jadrana, objave u kontekstu analize ovih fragmenata. Zaključno, vizualnom analizom antependija ustanovljen je niz fragmenata upotrijebljenih za ispune njegovih oštećenja još dok se nalazio u Krku, a koji su, bez sumnje, preuzeti s neke druge umjetnine izvezene u Veneciji tijekom druge četvrtine 14. stoljeća. Postojanje tih fragmenata je stoga važan pokazatelj da ovaj veličanstveni antependij nije bio jedini primjerak trećentističkog mletačkoga veza koji je katedrala u Krku nekad posjedovala.

Ključne riječi: *antependij iz katedrale u Krku (the Veglia Altar Frontal), Muzej Viktorije i Alberta (Victoria and Albert Museum), George Wingfield Digby, Donald King, Ludwig Otto Bernheimer, Otto Bernheimer, sir George Trenchard Cox*

...DALLA PARTE DI SOTTO DELL'ISTESSA PALLA VI È L'ARMA FRANGIPANI...: LA PALA D'ARGENTO DELLA CATTEDRALE DI VEGLIA*

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Nell'articolo si presenta la ben nota, tuttavia finora alquanto poco accuratamente analizzata, la pala d'argento della cattedrale di Veglia. Trattasi di una pala d'argento placcata in oro che nel 1477 realizzò il maestro Paulus Koler per l'altare maggiore della cattedrale, dove la pala rimase fino all'inizio del XIX secolo. La pala fu una donazione, precisamente donazione testamentaria del conte Giovanni VII (?, 1434 – Zákány, 1486), ma è stata realizzata nel mentre il conte era ancora in vita e rappresenta una delle poche donazioni documentate degli arredi liturgici dei membri della famiglia Frangipane conservate fino ad oggi. La pala presenta due registri con una serie di raffigurazioni di santi ed era protetta da una pala feriale dipinta, indubbiamente seguendo l'esempio della rinomata pala della cappella del Doge. Particolare attenzione è stata dedicata all'analisi del programma iconografico, finora mai pubblicato, il quale è stato esaminato principalmente nel contesto delle complesse relazioni familiari, e nella cui creazione il ruolo chiave è stato probabilmente svolto dall'allora vescovo di Veglia, il francescano Nicola III (1457 – 1484).

Parole chiave: *Veglia (Krk), Paulus Koler, Giovanni VII Frangipane (Ivan VII. Frankapan), Quattrocento, pala d'argento*

Durante il pieno e il basso Medioevo una serie di altari, per lo più nelle chiese più significative, era dotata di raffigurazioni dei santi eseguite in metalli preziosi. Nel bacino dell'Adriatico sono state conservate interamente o in frammenti dodici pale d'argento, e negli archivi sono state documentate altre ventuno che non sono state conservate fino ad oggi.¹ Sono state completamente conservate

* Questa ricerca è stata cofinanziata dalla Fondazione croata per la scienza mediante il progetto IP-2016-06-1265 *ET TIBI DABO: naručitelji i donatori umjetnina u Istri, Hrvatskom primorju i sjevernoj Dalmaciji od 1300. do 1800. godine*. Questo articolo si basa sull'ancora inedita tesi di laurea dal titolo *Srebrna pozlaćena pala iz krčke katedrale*, redatta con la relatrice prof. Nina Kudiš, e discussa nel 2011 all'Università degli studi di Fiume. I miei più sentiti ringraziamenti per il prezioso aiuto e suggerimenti durante la ricerca vanno al Marijan Bradanović, Irma Huić, Nikola Jakšić, Mateja Jerman, Marijana Kovačević (†), Nina Kudiš, Zuleika Murat, Jadranka Neralić, Ana Šitina, Damir Tulić, Franjo Velčić e in particolare a Ivan Matejčić.

¹ Nel Tesoro di San Marco si conserva il paliotto d'argento eseguito nel primo quarto del XIV secolo, che qui non è stato incluso, come neanche i paliotti d'argento risalenti nel periodo barocco, come quello di Angelo Scarabello (Este, 1711 – Padova, 1795) dalla chiesa parrocchiale di Sant' Eufemia a Rovigno o l'altare d'argento nell'abside settentrionale della cattedrale di San Trifone a Cattaro. Va notato che la pala d'argento di Cividale fu originariamente eseguita come paliotto tra il 1194 e il 1204, ma venne convertita in pala poco prima della metà del XVI secolo, ed è quindi inclusa in questa serie di pale d'argento del bacino adriatico. Bisogna inoltre menzionare il paliotto della Chiesa di Santa Maria della Celestia a Venezia che è ben documentato, ma sono stati conservati solo frammenti. Per il paliotto d'argento nel Tesoro di San Marco, vedere: W. D. Wixom, 40. *Altar-frontal of St Mark*, in D. Buckton et al. (dir.), *The Treasury of San Marco Venice*, Milan, 1985, p. 278-281; H. FILLITZ, 41. *Paliotto di San Marco*, in H. Fillitz et al. (dir.), *Omaggio a San Marco – Tesori dall'Europa*, Milano, 1994, p. 138-139. Per il paliotto d'argento, oggi giorno la pala di Cividale, vedere: M. MASON, 28. *Antependio di Pellegrino II*, in L. Mor (dir.), *Il Crocifisso di Cividale e la scultura lignea nel Patriarcato di Aquileia al tempo di Pellegrino II (secoli XII-XIII)*, Torino, 2014, p. 236.

le pale d'argento dalle chiese veneziane di San Marco, di San Pietro di Castello e di San Salvador, dell'ex cattedrale di Santo Stefano Protomartire di Caorle, della basilica patriarcale di Sant'Eufemia di Grado, del duomo di Santa Maria Assunta di Cividale del Friuli, della basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo (Poreč), della cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta di Veglia (Krk) e della cattedrale di San Trifone di Cattaro (Kotor), mentre sono stati conservati i frammenti delle pale d'argento della basilica patriarcale di Santa Maria Assunta di Torcello, la pala d'argento dall'altare di San Doimo della cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta di Spalato (Split) e della chiesa di San Biagio di Ragusa (Dubrovnik).² Sulla base dei dati d'archivio finora reperibili è stato confermato che le pale d'argento erano presenti anche sugli altari delle chiese veneziane dei Santi Apostoli, di San Cassiano, di San Fantino, di San Geremia, di San Luca, di San Marcuola, di Santa Maria Formosa, di Santa Maria Mater Domini, di San Pantalon e di San Polo, della chiesa dei SS. Maria e Donato a Murano, della chiesa di San Pietro di Mazzorbo, della chiesa sul Lio Grando, della cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta di Chioggia, della basilica patriarcale di Santa Maria Assunta di Aquileia, della cattedrale di San Lorenzo di Traù (Trogir), sull'altare maggiore della cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta di Spalato e sugli altari delle tre chiese di Ragusa, della cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta, della chiesa france-

² Tra i molti studi sulle pale d'argento, si distinguono le seguenti pubblicazioni: G. CUSCITO, *La pala d'argento in S. Eufemia di Grado*, in *Aquileia Nostra* A. XXXVII, Padova, 1966, p. 27-80; A. NIERO, *La pala d'argento di Torcello*, in *Bollettino dei Musei civici Veneziani* A. XVI N. 3/4, Venezia, 1971, p. 26-44; A. NIERO, *Precisazioni d'archivio e iconografiche sulla „Pala d'oro“ di Torcello*, in *Arte Veneta* Vol. XXIX, Venezia, 1976, p. 88-92; G. MARIACHER, *Nuove note sul restauro della „Pala d'oro“ di Torcello*, in *Arte Veneta* Vol. XXIX, Venezia, 1976, p. 83-87; M. MILOŠEVIĆ, *Tragovi prve srebrne pale kotorske katedrale iz XIV stoljeća*, in *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* Vol. 21 No. 1, Split, 1980, p. 215-224; G. CUSCITO, *Le pale d'argento di Cividale, Caorle e Grado*, in G. Bergamini (dir.), *Ori e Tesori d'Europa: Mille anni dioreficeria nel Friuli-Venezia-Giulia*, Milano, 1992, p. 98-107; I. PETRICIOLI, *Arhivske bilješke o zlatarstvu XIV. st. u Splitu i u Zadru*, in *Peristil* Vol. 35/36 N. 1, Zagreb, 1993, p. 47-54; H. R. Hahnloser et al. (dir.), *La Pala d'oro*, Venezia, 1994; E. DE CECCO, *La „Pala“ in argento dorato della basilica di Sant'Eufemia a Grado*, in *Aquileia Nostra* A. LXVI, Padova, 1995, p. 169-178; R. POLACCO, *L'eredità della Pala d'Oro nelle Pale d'Argento di Venezia e della laguna*, in P. Pazzi (dir.), *Contributi per la storia dell'oreficeria, argenteria e gioielleria* Vol. I, Venezia, 1996, p. 47; E. RONCONI, *La Pala d'Argento della chiesa di San Salvador di Venezia*, in P. Pazzi (dir.), *Contributi per la storia dell'oreficeria, argenteria e gioielleria* Vol. I, Venezia, 1996, p. 94-95; R. POLACCO, *La Pala d'oro di San Marco dalla sua edizione bizantina a quella gotica*, in R. Polacco (dir.), *Storia dell'arte marciana: sculture, tesoro, arazzi*, Venezia, 1997, p. 368-379; G. D. FILIPPI, *La Pala d'oro di Caorle. Il recente restauro e la tecnica di esecuzione*, in *Scienza e tecnica del restauro della Basilica di San Marco* Vol. II, Padova, 1999, p. 1035-1043; I. FISKOVIĆ, *39. Pala d'argento (Spalato)*, in J. Belamarić (dir.), *Tesori della Croazia restaurati da Venetian Heritage Inc.*, Venezia, 2001, p. 117-118; G. D. FILIPPI, *2. Pala d'oro (Caorle)*, in C. Dal Porto et al. (dir.), *Oreficeria sacra in Veneto (secoli VI – XV)* Vol. I, Cittadella, 2004, p. 85-86; E. MERKEL, *Antependi e pale d'argento in area veneziana e adriatica*, in L. Caselli et al. (dir.), *Oreficeria sacra a Venezia e nel Veneto: Un dialogo tra le arti figurative*, Treviso, 2007, p. 103-129; V. B. LUPIS, *O srebrnoj pali i srebrnom reljefu sv. Vlaha*, in *Peristil* 51, Zagreb, 2008, p. 119-130; A. SGAMBATI, *La „pala“ di Pellegrino II nel duomo di Cividale: nuove considerazioni*, in *FORUM IULII – Annuario del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cividale del Friuli* 35, Cividale del Friuli, 2011, p. 85-105; R. Donadoni et al. (dir.), *San Salvador – La pala d'argento dorato restaurata da Venetian Heritage*, Venezia, 2011; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Srebrna oltarna pala u Kotoru*, in *Ars Adriatica* 3, Zadar, 2013, p. 53-66; I. MATEJČIĆ, *Antependio argenteo dell'altare maggiore della cattedrale di Parenzo*, in C. Blondeau et al. (dir.), *„Ars auro gemmisque prior“. Mélanges en hommage à Jean-Pierre Caillet*, Turnhout, 2013, p. 395-405; D. COOPER, *„The silver there is very good“: Pilgrim Narratives as Sources for Sacred Art in Dubrovnik and a New Proposal for Lovro Dobričević*, in I. B. Latin et al. (dir.), *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, Zagreb, 2014, p. 331-358; S. FILIPPINI, *La Pala d'oro nella Basilica di San Marco tra incisione e fotografia*, in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 40, Venezia, 2016, p. 240-259; D. CIKOVIĆ, *New Documents Concerning the „Pala d'argento“ of the Euphrasian Basilica*, in T. Bradara (dir.), *Istria in the Modern Period (Monographs and Catalogues, 30)*, Zagreb, 2017, p. 65-79.

scana e della chiesa dominicana.³ Infine, vi è da aggiungere anche l'altare d'argento dalla basilica di San Nicola di Bari, donazione del re serbo Stefano Uroš II Milutin (1253 – 1321) del 1319, che non è stato conservato nella sua forma originale, ma è stato invece colato e modellato in stile barocco nella seconda metà del XVII secolo.⁴

Le circostanze materiali avverse in cui le singole chiese si trovarono e il valore di mercato dei materiali con cui le pale sono state realizzate, le riforme liturgiche e i cambiamenti degli stili artistici sono le ragioni più comuni della sparizione delle pale d'argento. L'altare d'argento di Bari non è affatto l'unico che è stato colato. La pala d'argento dalla chiesa veneziana di San Luca, ad esempio, fu inadatta per l'altare rinascimentale ed all'inizio del XVII secolo fu utilizzata per la riparazione dei oggetti liturgici danneggiati.⁵ Un destino simile toccò anche alla vecchia pala d'argento della cattedrale di Parenzo. Sulla base della decisione del consiglio comunale del 1452 la vecchia pala d'argento, insieme ad altri oggetti d'argento non utilizzati, è stata venduta con l'obiettivo di raccogliere denaro per farne una nuova.⁶ La nuova pala d'argento, tuttavia, che fu eseguita non più tardi del 1454, è ancora oggi in gran parte conservata, ma fu oggetto di furto per ben due volte (nel 1699 e nel 1974), e conviene altresì ricordare che le pietre preziose che caddero dalla pala molto tempo prima della prima rapina, non furono mai state rimesse sulla pala, ma le utilizzò il vescovo di Parenzo, Giambattista del Giudice (1644 – 1666), per decorare il suo nuovo mitra.⁷

Nel corso dei secoli, una serie di pale d'argento cambiò forma, più precisamente furono riassemblate e completate, cambiarono ubicazione e lo scopo liturgico. È ben noto che alcune pale d'argento furono posizionate come paliotti, ma anche viceversa. Uno degli esempi del genere meglio documentati è la pala d'argento dall'ex cattedrale veneziana di San Pietro di Castello, che intorno al 1408 fu donata alla chiesa da Papa Gregorio XII, precedentemente vescovo di Castello Angelo Correr (Venezia, 1335 ca. – Recanati, 1417).⁸ A causa dell'innalzamento del nuovo altare tra il 1665-1666 progettato da Baldassare Longhena (Venezia, 1598 – Venezia, 1682), la pala d'argento fu tolta dall'altare maggiore e per oltre cento cinquant'anni s'aggirò per la chiesa, cambiando ubicazione e scopo liturgico.⁹ In occasione della visita pastorale nel 1690 la pala d'argento fu segnalata dal patriarca Giovanni Badoer

³ È interessante notare che non è stata documentata alcuna pala d'argento in una delle più importanti città dell'Adriatico – Zara, ma è noto che il 26 luglio 1386 l'abate Toma de Rosa ricevette dai rappresentanti del comune di Zara 574 fiorini che egli si impegnò a spendere per realizzare la pala d'argento per la chiesa di San Crisogono. N. JAKŠIĆ, *Zlatarstvo u zadarskoj nadbiskupiji do XX. stoljeća*, in N. JAKŠIĆ, R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština zadarske nadbiskupije – zlatarstvo*, Zadar, 2004, p. 16; M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Umjetnička obrada plemenitih metala u 14. stoljeću u Zadru*, tesi di dottorato, Zagreb, 2010, p. 471, 532-533. Per le pale d'argento a Spalato, Dubrovnik, Aquileia e Trau vedere: K. PRIJATELJ, *Srebrne pale splitske stolne crkve*, in *Anal. Historijskog instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku* 1, Dubrovnik, 1952, p. 247-254; V. B. LUPIS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 123-124; M. MASON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 240; I. Č. RAKIĆ, *Ponzonijevih deset slika u svodu glavnog oltara splitske katedrale: razmatranja o stilsko-oblikovnim svojstvima, izvornoj funkciji i ikonografsko-ikonološkom aspektu*, in *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 42, Zagreb, 2018, p. 127. Per le altre pale d'argento elencate, vedere: A. NIERO, *Notizie di archivio sulle pale di argento delle lagune venete*, in *Studi veneziani* N. S. II, Pisa, 1978, p. 257-291; R. POLACCO, *op. cit.* (n. 2).

⁴ V. A. MELCHIORRE, *L'altare d'argento di S. Nicola nei protocolli dei notai baresi*, in *Nicolaus studi storici* A. IV F. 1, Bari, 1993, p. 149; A. SIMONETTI, *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Nicola: gli argenti*, in G. Cioffari et al. (dir.), *Il Tesoro della Basilica di San Nicola di Bari*, Roma, 2005, p. 110.

⁵ A. NIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 272-273.

⁶ I. MATEJČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 396.

⁷ D. CIKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 73.

⁸ E. MERKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 118.

⁹ Per l'altare del beato Lorenzo Giustiniani, vedere: F. BENUZZI, *Scultura seicentesca in San Pietro di Castello*, in G. Guidarelli et al. (dir.), *La chiesa di San Pietro di Castello e la nascita del patriarcato di Venezia (Chiese di Venezia, 5)*, Venezia, 2018, p. 231-240.



Fig. 1. PAULUS KOLER, Pala d'argento, 1477, Veglia, Chiesa di San Quirino (foto: D. Tulić, 2012)

(1688 – 1706) all'altare di San Carlo della cappella Contarini, e nel 1760 il patriarca Giovanni Bragadin (1759 – 1775) la descrisse all'altare di San Girolamo e della Madonna della Salute.¹⁰ Solo pochi anni dopo lo stesso patriarca fece rimettere la pala d'argento all'altare maggiore, ma questa volta come paliotto, fino al 1807 quando fu trasferita nella nuova cattedrale veneziana, la basilica di San Marco, dove in occasione delle festività viene collocata sempre come paliotto.¹¹

Come accennato in precedenza, fino ad oggi sulla costa orientale dell'Adriatico sono per lo più conservate integralmente le pale argento nelle cattedrali di Parenzo, Veglia e Cattaro, mentre sono rimasti i frammenti delle pale d'altare di San Doimo della cattedrale di Spalato e della chiesa di San Biagio a Ragusa. La pala d'argento, oggi paliotto, della basilica Eufrasiana fu commissionata a Venezia e fu realizzata tra il 1452 e 1454.¹² Sulla base dei documenti è noto che la commissione della nuova pala fu finanziata in maniera proporzionale dal vescovo di Parenzo Giovanni (Ivan) VI e dal comune della città e che molto probabilmente costò 400, non più di 600 ducati.¹³ Osservando il linguaggio artistico del tutto contemporaneo usato per il modellamento della pala in un'ottica artistica veneziana tipica del Quattrocento, Ivan Matejčić ha recentemente paragonato la pala di Parenzo, tra l'altro, alle opere rinascimentali a Padova – i bassorilievi di Donatello per l'altare maggiore della Basilica di Sant'Antonio di Padova (1446 – 1453) e gli affreschi di Mantegna nella Cappella Ovetari (1448 – 1457), e ancora con la Pala di San Zeno (1456 – 1459) realizzata poco più tardi, sottolineando il ruolo cruciale che il vescovo Giovanni VI ebbe nella realizzazione di questa preziosa, anche se oggi notevolmente danneggiata, opera d'arte.¹⁴

La pala d'argento della cattedrale di Cattaro è invece un'opera d'arte orafa complessa che fu costruita in diverse fasi nel periodo tra il XIV e il XVII secolo, ma soprattutto nella prima metà del XV secolo grazie all'impulso del vescovo Martino Contarini (1430 – 1453).¹⁵ Sono noti i nomi dei tre maestri: Giovanni di Basilea, la cui opera iniziò lentamente, ma in maniera convincente, ad assume-

¹⁰ A. NIERO, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 262-263.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 263.

¹² I. MATEJČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 403.

¹³ D. CIKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 70.

¹⁴ I. MATEJČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 403-404.

¹⁵ N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 58.

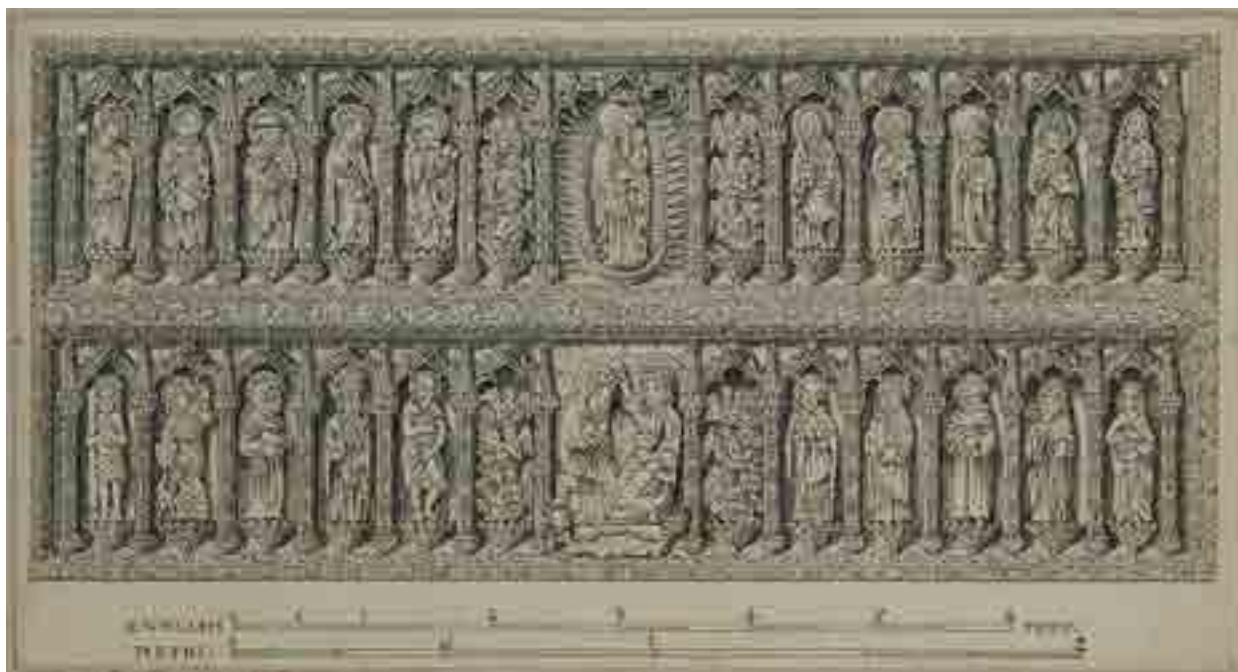


Fig. 2. THOMAS GRAHAM JACKSON, Pala d'argento, 1885 (foto: Ž. Bačić, 2006)

re un profilo più marcato, Marin Adamov di Cattaro, che probabilmente fu artisticamente formato in qualche centro d'arte orafa più sviluppato e fuori dai confini della propria patria, e Venturino da Venezia.¹⁶ Grazie alla recente ricerca di Nikola Jakšić, delle tre pale menzionate, rinvenute sulla costa orientale dell'Adriatico, la pala d'argento di Cattaro è stata valorizzata in maniera più completa dal punto di vista storico-artistico, mentre quella della cattedrale di Veglia è la meno analizzata.

La pala d'argento della cattedrale di Veglia (Fig. 1) è stata oggetto di ricerche in una serie di occasioni, ma nonostante si tratti di un'opera d'arte ben nota, finora non è mai stata oggetto di analisi monografica. La storia della ricerca inizia nel 1875 quando Giambattista Cubich, scrivendo della famiglia Frangipane nella sintesi della storia dell'isola, collocò la pala d'argento nell'abside dietro l'altare maggiore, commentando che essa rappresenta *...una magnifica memoria del Conte Giovanni...* e che è simile alla pala del doge di San Marco.¹⁷ La prima descrizione riassuntiva e l'analisi, nonché due disegni della pala furono pubblicati da Thomas Graham Jackson nel 1887 (Fig. 2, 4).¹⁸ Durante la visita alla cattedrale due anni prima, la pala d'argento fu posizionata sull'altare laterale. Il famoso architetto britannico afferma che la pala d'argento parzialmente placcata in oro fu una donazione da uno degli ultimi membri della famiglia Frangipane e fu senza dubbio collocata sull'altare maggiore. Jackson notò la differenza di esecuzione delle figure grottesche dei santi e della cornice, che secondo le sue affermazioni erano di manifattura molto bella, mentre per l'ornamento frondoso che forma una serie di baldacchini ritenette avesse carattere veneziano. La pala fu correttamente datata nel XV secolo, ma siccome nella trascrizione dell'iscrizione omise la lettera *L*, ovvero il numero cinquanta,

¹⁶ Oltre allo studio già citato, Nikola Jakšić menzionò la pala d'argento di Cattaro in: N. JAKŠIĆ, 54. *Zlatna pala Sv. Tripuna*, in R. Tomić (dir), *Zagovori svetom Tripunu*, Zagreb, 2009, p. 151-153; N. JAKŠIĆ, *La pala aurea di Cattaro*, in R. Alcoy et al. (dir), *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2012, p. 237-243; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Oreficeria sacra nella Cattaro medievale*, Zagreb-Motovun, 2019, p. 79-112. A proposito dell'orefice Giovanni di Basilea, vedere anche: N. JAKŠIĆ, *Raspeće-relikvijar kod Male braće u Dubrovniku*, in *Ars Adriatica* 2, Zadar, 2012, p. 109-118.

¹⁷ G. CUBICH, *Notizie naturali e storiche sull'isola di Veglia*, Trieste, 1874, p. 108.

¹⁸ T. G. JACKSON, *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria with Cettigne in Montenegro and the island of Grado* Vol. III, Oxford, 1887, p. 146-147.



Fig. 3. PAULUS KOLER, Pala d'argento – dettaglio con San Giorgio, 1477, Veglia, Chiesa di San Quirino (foto: D. Tulić, 2012)



Fig. 4. THOMAS GRAHAM JACKSON, Pala d'argento – dettaglio con San Giorgio, 1885 (foto: Ž. Bačić, 2006)

ne risultò che il cartiglio barocco con l'iscrizione fu erroneamente datato nel 1712. Oltre alle rappresentazioni centrali della Madonna con il Bambino e dell'Incoronazione della Vergine, entrambe affiancate da angeli adoranti, Jackson identificò i seguenti santi: San Pietro, San Paolo, San Girolamo, San Giovanni Battista, San Giorgio (Fig. 4) e San Nicola.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.



Fig. 5. Pala d'argento sull'altare di Santa Croce, Veglia, *Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta*
(Fonte: H. FOLNESICS, L. PLANISCIG, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmale des Küstenlandes*, Wien, 1916, T 117.)

Il soprintendente austriaco Wilhelm Anton Neumann scrisse della pala d'argento di Veglia nei rapporti pubblicati nel 1898 e 1900. Nel primo rapporto, Neumann afferma che le figure non sono particolarmente raffinate e sono più vecchie rispetto alla cornice, che presuppone abbia sostituito l'originale cornice rubata, e presume inoltre che in origine si trattasse di un trittico all'epoca posizionato sull'altare maggiore.²⁰ La pala di Veglia fu paragonata a quella della cattedrale di Cattaro e furono individuate le seguenti raffigurazioni e i santi: L'incoronazione della Vergine, la Madonna con il Bambino, gli angeli adoranti, San Pietro, San Paolo, San Giovanni Battista e San Nicola.²¹ Nel secondo rapporto ha pubblicato la trascrizione completa dell'iscrizione dal cartiglio barocco, concludendo erroneamente che il restauro barocco della pala dovrebbe essere messo in relazione con il suo trasferimento dall'altare maggiore all'altare laterale, questa volta indicando la possibile ubicazione originale della pala sull'altare della cappella gotica.²²

Dopo Thomas Graham Jackson, un altro scrittore di viaggi descrisse la pala d'argento sull'altare laterale di Santa Croce. Si tratta di Frederick Hamilton Jackson, che nel 1908 notò che l'allora parroco sostituì la vecchia e pesante struttura della cornice in legno con una più leggera e che la pala originariamente aveva la forma di trittico.²³ Sostenne che l'esecuzione del rilievo dei santi fosse grossolano, le teste dei personaggi troppo grandi, mentre affermò che la cornice fosse molto bella. Circa la data e lo stile conclude *...the style suggests the fifteenth century, and would agree quite well with the date 1405, when one of the Frangipani is recorded to have established the chapel of S. Vito in the cathedral.*²⁴ Otto anni dopo Hans Folnesics e Leo Planiscig pubblicarono per la prima volta una foto della pala (Fig. 5) commentando che si tratta di un'opera provinciale della fine del XIV o dall'inizio del XV secolo.²⁵

²⁰ W. A. NEUMANN, *Aus einem Berichte des Profess Dr. W. Neumann an die k. k. Central – Commission ddo. 7. October 1897.* – Veglia, in *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central – Commission*, Wien, 1898, p. 164.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² W. A. NEUMANN, *Bericht über die im Jahre 1899 ausgeführte Reise in Dalmatien.* – Veglia, in *Mittheilungen der K. K. Central – Commission*, Wien, 1900, p. 195.

²³ F. H. JACKSON, *The shores of the Adriatic, the Austrian side: the Küstenlande, Istria, and Dalmatia*, London, 1908, p. 173.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 174.

²⁵ H. FOLNESICS, L. PLANISCIG, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmale des Küstenlandes*, Wien, 1916, T 117.

Nel 1924 Joseph Braun in una delle sue sintesi fondamentali sull'arredo liturgico dell'altare, aggregò la pala d'argento di Veglia a una serie di opere d'arte simili.²⁶ Braun definì l'opera d'arte un paliotto che fu probabilmente collocato sull'altare maggiore. Egli notò inoltre un livello inferiore di esecuzione dei rilievi dei santi rispetto all'elegante fregio con ornamento a viticcio. Identificò solo le raffigurazioni centrali della Madonna con il Bambino e l'Incoronazione della Vergine affiancata dagli angeli adoranti, mentre concluse che la datazione dell'opera risaliva intorno al 1400.²⁷

Il contributo più significativo alla ricerca arrivò nel 1929 dalla penna di Dragutin Kniewald in un articolo relativamente breve il quale rappresenta il primo studio della pala d'argento, e allo stesso tempo del paliotto eseguito secondo il disegno di Paolo Veneziano.²⁸ Sulla base dei documenti d'archivio, precisamente dei dati provenienti dal manoscritto della visita pastorale del vescovo Stefano David (1685), Kniewald pubblicò per la prima volta la trascrizione dell'iscrizione sul cartiglio originale il quale citava il donatore conte Giovanni (Ivan) VII, il maestro Paulus Koler e l'anno di esecuzione – 1477.²⁹ Egli concluse giustamente che non si trattava di un paliotto, ma di una pala d'altare originariamente realizzata per l'altare maggiore della cattedrale, e fece altresì l'analisi iconografica fin allora più esauriente mai pubblicata, anche se incompleta e in parte imprecisa. In seguito all'analisi comparativa con la pala d'argento dalla basilica patriarcale a Grado, ha concluso che la pala gradese è più raffinata, mentre circa l'attribuzione della pala di Veglia afferma quanto segue: *La pala ha notevole valore artistico e iconografico, ancor di più, se non è fatta a Venezia, ma è di manifattura locale.*³⁰

Durante la prima documentazione sistematica delle opere d'arte sull'isola di Veglia nel 1933 Đuro Griesbach fotografò la pala, mentre Artur Schneider scrisse concisamente *la famosa pala d'argento del XIV secolo.*³¹ Un anno dopo, lo storico locale Giuseppe Vassilich pubblicò il disegno da Thomas Graham Jackson con il commento che la pala fu realizzata da Paolo Colerio nel 1477 mentre la targa originale fu sostituita dallo Provveditore Angelo Priuli nel 1742.³²

In una specie di catalogo di paliotti medievali e di dossali (retrotabule) d'altare in metalli preziosi, Angelo Lipinsky nel 1960 definì la pala di Veglia come paliotto.³³ Lipinsky dubita circa l'origine del maestro, se proveniente da Venezia o da Veglia, e crede che il maestro si chiamasse Paolo Colerio, e nel caso in cui fosse Schiavone – Kolerj. L'espressione stilistica della pala fu definita tardo gotica, i volti dei santi furono descritti come goffi, mentre afferma che l'ornamento è caratteristico per l'Italia verso la fine del Medioevo. È stato l'unico finora a notare la somiglianza compositiva della pala d'argento di Veglia con quella dell'ex cattedrale veneziana di San Pietro di Castello. Lipinsky ha sottolineato il carattere provinciale delle vecchie forme, ma crede che si tratti molto più probabilmente di un'importazione da Venezia e non di un'opera di un artigiano locale.³⁴

Lo storico ecclesiastico locale Ivan Žic-Rokov nell'opera fondamentale sull'complesso della cattedrale, pubblicato nel 1971, ha menzionato brevemente la pala d'argento.³⁵ Sulla base della ricerca

²⁶ J. BRAUN, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* Vol. II, München, 1924, p. 105.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ D. KNIEWALD, *Antependij i pala stolne crkve u Krku*, in *Godišnjak Sveučilišta Kraljevine Jugoslavije u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, 1924/25 – 1928/29, p. 49-52.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 51.

³¹ A. SCHNEIDER, *Izveštaj o pručavanju i snimanju umjetničkih spomenika na otoku Krku 1933*, in *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti za godinu 1932/33* 46, Zagreb, 1934, p. 127.

³² G. VASSILI, *La storia della città di Veglia nei suoi momenti principali*, in *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* A. 8-9 Vol. 15-17 Fasc. 93-95, 97, Roma, 1933/1934, p. 504.

³³ A. LIPINSKY, *Goldene und silberne Antependien und Retabeln des Mittelalters in Italien – Letzte Folge*, in *Das Münster* 3/4, München, 1960, p. 100-102.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

³⁵ I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *Kompleks katedrala – Sv. Kvirin u Krku*, in *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 360, Zagreb, 1971, p. 139.

archivistica è stato determinato che dal 1477 fino al 1826 o al 1827 la pala si trovava sull'altare maggiore e che fu commissionata dal conte Giovanni Frangipane a Venezia dal maestro Paolo Kalorije. Žic aggiunge che nel 1685 sopra la pala d'argento c'era un dipinto raffigurante Santa Maria Assunta, commissionato dal vescovo di Veglia Francesco Marchi (1660 – 1667).³⁶

Nel 1972 la pala è stata restaurata nel laboratorio dell'Istituto croato di restauro. In quell'occasione, Anđelko Badurina scrisse l'unica analisi iconografica completa delle raffigurazioni dei santi, il manoscritto che costituisce parte integrante dello studio dei lavori di restauro.³⁷ Anche se l'analisi di Badurina non è mai stata pubblicata, a causa del suo alto valore è indicata nel presente articolo. Tre anni dopo, un altro storico ecclesiastico locale ha fatto un passo avanti nella ricerca sul tema. Trattasi di Mihovil Bolonić che per primo notò che la pala fu donazione testamentaria del conte Giovanni VII e specifica inoltre le informazioni provenienti dal testamento, ovvero cento ducati che il conte lascia a titolo di contributo per la realizzazione della pala per l'altare maggiore della cattedrale.³⁸

Nel 1991 Ivo Lentić scrisse una scheda di catalogo riassuntiva sulla pala d'argento nel catalogo della mostra *Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture*.³⁹ Lentić citò con precisione il nome del donatore e del maestro e l'anno di realizzazione, probabilmente riproponendo i dati di Badurina, come fonte da cui venne trascritta l'iscrizione del cartiglio cita erroneamente il manoscritto della visita del vescovo Giorgio (Juraj) Georgiceo (1659), invece del manoscritto del vescovo Stefano David (1685). Per i rilievi con le raffigurazioni dei santi afferma che appartengono allo stile tardo gotico, *tarchiate e di forma pesante, con teste grandi e massicce*, ed è importante sottolineare che fu il primo a indicare la possibile provenienza settentrionale del maestro, o della opera d'arte stessa.⁴⁰

La pala d'argento viene menzionata nella sintesi dell'arte rinascimentale in Croazia nel 2007 da Milan Pelc. Anche se in maniera concisa, egli nota correttamente che la pala rappresenta *un'opera plastica d'artigianato orafo complesso con caratteristiche dominanti di stile tardo gotico, ma senza particolare raffinatezza nella realizzazione dei dettagli*.⁴¹ L'opera d'arte è stata definita un *altare d'argento placcato in oro*, mentre la realizzazione è stata attribuita al maestro Paolo Koler.⁴² Nello stesso anno, Ettore Merkel cita l'opera scrivendo delle pale d'argento nel bacino dell'Adriatico. Merkel osserva che, fatta eccezione per la pala di Veglia, l'orafo Paolo Colerio rimane un maestro sconosciuto e conclude che in senso compositivo, la pala di Veglia è simile ad altre pale d'argento nell'Adriatico.⁴³ L'ultimo, e il più recente, a menzionare la pala d'argento di Veglia, è Nikola Jakšić nel opera dedicata alla pala d'argento di Cattaro, nella quale pubblicò uno dei due disegni di Jackson.⁴⁴

La pala d'argento della cattedrale di Veglia è stata menzionata per la prima volta nei documenti d'archivio il 2 marzo 1453 nel testamento del giovane conte Giovanni VII Frangipane (n. 1434 – Zákány, 1486) che lasciò 100 ducati come contributo per la realizzazione della pala per l'altare maggiore.

*...Item ordinavit et legavit, quod in adiutorio pale altaris maioris fiende in dicta cathedrali ecclesia dentur per suos intrascriptos commissarios ducati centum auri boni vel bone monete...*⁴⁵

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ A. BADURINA, *Ikongrafija srebrne pale iz krčke katedrale*, in *Dokumentacija Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske, Prijedlog za restauratorski zahvat na objektu: srebrna pala iz katedrale u Krku*, 27. ožujka 1972.

³⁸ M. BOLONIĆ, *Ekonomsko i socijalno stanje krčkih glagoljaša*, in *Bogoslovska smotra* Vol. 45 No. 1, Zagreb, 1975, p. 102.

³⁹ I. LENTIĆ, 42. *Srebrna oltarska pala*, in I. Fisković (dir.), *Tisuću godina hrvatske skulpture*, Zagreb, 1991, p. 121.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ M. PELC, *Renesansa*, Zagreb, 2007, p. 415.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ E. MERKEL, *op. cit* (n. 2), p. 125.

⁴⁴ N. JAKŠIĆ, *Oreficeria sacra... op. cit* (n. 16), p. 79-80.

⁴⁵ Š. LJUBIĆ, *Commissions et relations Venetae* 1, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium* 6, Zagreb, 1876, p. 98; M. BOLONIĆ, *op. cit* (n. 38), 102.



Fig. 6. Trascrizione dell'iscrizione dal cartiglio originale sulla pala d'argento nel manoscritto della visita pastorale del vescovo Stefano David, 1685, Veglia, Archivio diocesano (foto: D. Ciković, 2011)

La menzione successiva della pala d'argento venne dalla penna del vescovo di Verona e del visitatore apostolico Agostino Valier (Venezia, 1531 – Roma, 1606). Valier fece visita alla diocesi di Veglia durante la prima visita apostolica alle diocesi della Dalmazia, e nella visita alla cattedrale, ovvero all'altare maggiore, il 16 giugno 1579 fece la seguente breve ma chiara annotazione:

(...Altaria) Magnus consecratum sub titulo Beatae Mariae Virginis habet palam argenteam onorificentissimam...⁴⁶

La pala sull'altare maggiore è stata menzionata anche dal secondo visitatore apostolico, vescovo di Vicenza Michele Priuli (Venezia, 1547 – Venezia, 1603). Priuli visitò la cattedrale di Veglia l'8 giugno 1603 e fu un più eloquente del suo predecessore, annotando quanto segue:

...In aedem altari fuit repertum Iconium confecium 24 Imaginibus Sanctorum ex argento inauratis, et in media in duabus lineis una supra aliam prout extant Imagines una Coronationis Beatae Mariae Virginis inferior, altera celio Assumptionis eiusdem superior...⁴⁷

Le descrizioni più esaustive, e al contempo più preziose, della pala d'argento sull'altare maggiore, tuttavia, provengono dalle scritture dei vescovi di Veglia nella seconda metà del XVII secolo. Trattasi delle annotazioni delle visite pastorali dei vescovi Giorgio Georgiceo del 1659 (Appendice 1) e di Stefano David del 1685 (Appendice 2).⁴⁸ Basandosi sulla trascrizione del testo del cartiglio originale effettuata da David, si apprende che la pala d'argento fu donata da conte Giovanni VII, e che fu opera del maestro Paulus Koler 1477, quindi prima della morte del conte, ovvero prima che egli abbandonò l'isola nel 1480 (Fig. 6).⁴⁹ Si apprende anche che la pala d'argento era protetta dalla *pala feriale* dipinta, decorata con una serie di raffigurazioni, mentre sopra la pala d'argento era posizionato un dipinto dell'Assunta, che commissionò il vescovo Francesco Marchi (1660-1667). Tutto quanto sopra indica che la pala d'argento fu originariamente realizzata per l'altare maggiore dove fu probabilmente collocata tra i pilastri del ciborio, proprio come tutta la serie di pale d'argento, seguendo l'esempio della pala della cappella del Doge.⁵⁰ Con la progettazione dell'altare rinascimentale, molto probabilmente intorno al 1530, la pala d'argento, tuttavia, non cambiò la funzione o l'ubicazione, ma fu incorpo-

⁴⁶ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Congr. vescovi e regolari, *Visita ap.* 80 (d. Veglensis), f. 21v; I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 139; D. CIKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 71.

⁴⁷ Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Miscelanea, Arm. VII, 101, *Visita ap.* (d. Veglensis), f. 372v; I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 139.

⁴⁸ Le descrizioni della pala d'argento da queste due annotazioni delle visite pastorali furono pubblicate per la prima volta da Dragutin Kniewald. Vedere: D. KNIEWALD, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 49-50.

⁴⁹ V. KLAJČ, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, Zagreb, 1901, p. 4.

⁵⁰ La presenza del ciborio nella cattedrale di Veglia è un dato che è stato evidenziato recentemente da Marijan Bradanović e Ivan Braut. Vedere: M. BRADANOVIĆ, I. BRAUT, *La cappella Frangipane della cattedrale di Veglia*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 21, Zagreb-Motovun, 2015, p. 423, n. 16.



Fig. 7. Altare di Santa Croce, Veglia, Cattedrale di Santa Maria Assunta (Fonte: Fototeca della Soprintendenza dei Beni storici, artistici ed etnoantropologici di Fiume, foto: D. Kniewald, 1930 ca.)



Fig. 8. Pala d'argento – dettaglio della cornice con ornamento vegetale, Veglia, Chiesa di San Quirino (foto: D. Tulić, 2012)

rata nel nuovo altare, proprio come la pala nella chiesa veneziana di San Salvador.⁵¹ Su questo altare essa si trovava fino al 1826-1827 quando l'altare rinascimentale fu smantellato, e la pala fu posta nell'apside dietro l'altare barocco, qui arrivato dalla Cappella della Madonna del Rosario.⁵² La pala fu spostata sull'altare laterale di Santa Croce dopo la descrizione di Cubich nel 1875, e prima della visita di Jackson nel 1885 (Fig. 7).⁵³ Infine, fu spostata nella chiesa di San Quirino a metà degli anni '90 del

⁵¹ Per l'altare maggiore rinascimentale nella cattedrale di Veglia, vedere: D. CIKOVIĆ, *Liturgijska oprema kaptolskih crkava otoka Krka u zapisniku pastoralne vizitacije biskupa Stefana Davida iz 1685. godine*, tesi di dottorato, Zadar, 2018, p. 95-96. Per la pala d'argento e l'altare maggiore nella Chiesa di San Salvador a Venezia, vedere: L. RICCATO, *La pala d'oro di San Salvador: status quaestionis*, in G. Guidarelli (dir.), *La chiesa di San Salvador a Venezia: Storia, Arte, Teologia*, Padova-Venezia, 2009, p. 116.

⁵² I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 142.

⁵³ G. CUBICH, *op. cit.* (n. 17); T. G. JACKSON, *op. cit.* (n. 18).



Fig. 9. PAULUS KOLER, Pala d'argento – dettaglio con le raffigurazioni di San Nicola, San Giovanni Evangelista, Sant'Antonio di Padova, Sant'Agostino e Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria, 1477, Veglia, Chiesa di San Quirino (foto: D. Tulić, 2012)

XX secolo, dove ancora oggi si trova posizionata sulla parete orientale. Sulla base della storia degli spostamenti di cui sopra è possibile concludere che la pala d'argento dalla cattedrale di Veglia non è mai stata utilizzata come paliotto, tranne poche volte nella storia più recente, alla fine del XX secolo.

Le dimensioni della pala sono 127 x 280 cm ed è composta da una serie di elementi di argento e foglia dorata fissati sulla base di legno con chiodi. Gli elementi metallici sono realizzati e decorati con le tecniche di colata, sbalzo, incisione e punzonatura. La pala è incorniciata e divisa in due registri da una cornice poligonale profilata, che a sua volta è composta da una serie di placche decorate con il motivo delle viti (Fig. 8). I registri sono divisi in tredici campi, ovvero nicchie, da semicolonne piramidate che imitano l'architettura gotica. Nella zona superiore le semicolonne sono collegate da archi trilobati e nella parte inferiore da console piramidali a cinque lati. Gli archi e le console sono decorati con motivi vegetali. Le raffigurazioni dei santi sono sproporzionate e con grandi teste tipizzate. I rilievi dei santi, e molto probabilmente anche le colonne con i rispettivi archi e le console, possono essere definiti come la fase originale della pala opera del maestro Paulus Koler, mentre la questione della datazione e attribuzione delle placche più abilmente decorate sulla cornice rimane per ora ancora aperta.⁵⁴

In entrambe le file ci sono tredici rilievi con le raffigurazioni dei santi. Al centro della fila superiore si trova una rappresentazione di Maria con il Bambino tra le braccia basata sulla visione di Giovanni dal Libro della Rivelazione *...una donna vestita di sole, con la luna sotto i suoi piedi...*⁵⁵ Sulla destra, si susseguono le seguenti raffigurazioni: angeli adoranti, San Paolo, Santa Scolastica, Sant'Ambrogio, San Gregorio e San Michele Arcangelo. A sinistra sono raffigurati: angeli adoranti, San Pietro, Santa Caterina di Alessandria, San Girolamo, San Benedetto e Sant'Orsola. Al centro del registro inferiore è

⁵⁴ Secondo la documentazione inerente sui lavori di restauro effettuati, più precisamente, secondo le ricerche all'epoca eseguite, una serie di placche d'argento di cui è composta la cornice non è stata eseguita usando lo stampo. *Izvjestaj o radovima u 1972. godini*, in *Dokumentacija Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske*, op. cit (n. 37), p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Libro della Rivelazione* 12, 1. L'analisi iconografica si basa sul manoscritto inedito di Anđelko Badurina allegato alla documentazione sui lavori di restauro. A. BADURINA, op. cit (n. 37).

raffigurata l'Incoronazione della Vergine affiancata dalle raffigurazioni dei tre angeli adoranti. A destra del motivo centrale, cioè, la raffigurazione degli angeli, troviamo: San Nicola, San Giovanni Evangelista, Sant'Antonio di Padova, Sant'Agostino e Santa Elisabetta d'Ungheria (Fig. 9). Al lato opposto troviamo: San Giovanni Battista, San Quirino di Siscia, San Francesco d'Assisi, San Giorgio e San Sebastiano.⁵⁶ Sotto la rappresentazione dell'Incoronazione della Vergine c'è un cartiglio d'argento con l'iscrizione che nel 1742 sostituì l'iscrizione originale.⁵⁷ Il cartiglio barocco riporta i nomi degli allora reggitori – il Doge Pietro Grimani (Venezia, 1677 – Venezia, 1752) e il provveditore di Veglia Angelo Priuli (1741 – 1743).⁵⁸ Sulla sinistra sopra il cartiglio, si trova lo stemma del suddetto Doge Grimani, mentre sul lato opposto si trova lo stemma del provveditore Priuli.⁵⁹ L'iscrizione sul cartiglio recita:

AD MAIOREM DEI GLORIAM
SERENISSIMO DIVINIS DOMINUS PETRO GRIMANI VENETIARUM DUCE IMPERANTE
SUB REGIMINE VIRI NOBILIS ANGELI PRIOLO VEGLE
PROVISORIS INSTAURATUM FUT ANNO DOMINI MDCCXLII.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ Il collocamento del nuovo cartiglio in argento nel 1742 dovrebbe essere messo in relazione con la ristrutturazione della cattedrale su larga scala nel periodo dell'episcopato del vescovo Pietro Antonio Zuccheri (1739 – 1778), di cui ne è testimone l'iscrizione sulla dedicazione della chiesa risalente al 1743 che originariamente si trovava murato nelle vicinanze dell'altare maggiore. La lastra di marmo invece è decorata con una decorazione preromanica molto abilmente scolpita che fu originariamente parte di un pluteo più grande. Per l'iscrizione della dedicazione, vedere: M. SKOBLAR, *Prilog proučavanju ranosrednjovjekovne skulpture na otoku Krku*, in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* III/33, Split, 2006, p. 69-70, 87.

⁵⁸ Per il Doge Grimani, vedere: C. RENDINA, *I dogi. Storia e segreti*, Roma, 2007, p. 426-430. Per il provveditore Priuli, vedere: G. NETTO, *I reggitori veneti in Istria (1526-1797)*, in *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* n. s. 43, Trieste, 1995, (è stata usata la versione online senza la numerazione delle pagine: ±, sito visitato l'8 dicembre 2019.)

⁵⁹ Per gli stemmi delle famiglie Grimani e Priuli, vedere: N. Orsini De Marzo (dir.), *Stemmario Veneziano Orsini De Marzo*, Milano, 2007, p. 111, 272 e 296.

⁶⁰ È difficile non notare che i rappresentanti del governo veneziano, i provveditori, ma anche i vescovi, per 261 anni non hanno mai toccato la targa originale con l'emblema della famiglia Frangipane e con l'iscrizione che cita esplicitamente *Giovanni Frangipane, il conte della città e dell'isola di Veglia, Segna e Modruš*. Ciò è particolarmente curioso per il periodo poco dopo la partenza del conte Giovanni VII dall'isola nel 1480. Fu allora che il primo provveditore di Veglia, Antonio Vinciguerra (Venezia, 1440 ca. – Padova, 1502) ridisegnò la città, ed è noto che nel documento del 1489 *quasi demagogicamente, ma ampiamente elaborato, critica il comportamento di Giovanni VII*, come nota Marijan Bradanović. Tuttavia, va notato che secondo la volontà del conte in caso di sua morte senza un successore, la Repubblica veneziana fu designata quale successore dei reggitori dell'isola. Se fosse stato rimosso il simbolo del reggitore precedente, in questo caso Frangipane che ne fu anche il donatore, che fu collocato in un luogo di primo piano, e l'altare maggiore della cattedrale lo è indubbiamente, il governo veneziano indirettamente avrebbe messo in discussione la propria legittimità. Il caso di Veglia è in qualche modo paragonabile a quello molto meglio noto della chiesa di San Simeone a Zara. Sulla base dell'ordine del provveditore generale della Dalmazia e dell'Albania, Leonardo Foscolo (1645 – 1652), l'artista veneziano Francesco Cavrioli (Serravalle, 1600 ca. – Venezia, 1670) ha fatto colare nel 1648 due angeli di bronzo utilizzando i cannoni turchi sequestrati, che sono stati posti poi sull'altare di marmo poco prima eretto per sorreggere lo scrigno con le sacre reliquie. Lo scrigno in argento e placcato in oro è l'ex voto di Elisabetta (Bobovac o Srebrenik, 1340 – Novigrad, 1387), coniuge del re croato ed ungherese Lodovico I (Visegrad, 1326 – Trnava, 1382), realizzata tra il 1377 e il 1380, con prominenti simboli della dinastia reale Anjou. Il provveditore generale riteneva che fosse obbligato a prendersi cura dello scrigno sottolineando così il legittimo trasferimento di potere. È facile credere che questo modello è stato seguito dai provveditori di Veglia a lui subordinati, quindi anche nel caso di Veglia, i simboli dei reggitori precedenti non sono stati rimossi. Nel secondo quarto del XVIII secolo il governo veneziano sull'isola di Veglia fu già a lungo legittimo e intangibile, il ricordo dei Frangipane oramai svanito, e il graduale, ma costante declino economico e politico della *Serenissima* ha causato un'intensa enfattizzazione del mito della Repubblica. V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 290; R. TOMIĆ, *Barokni oltari i skulptura u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb, 1995, p. 42; M. BRADANOVIĆ, *Prvi krčki renesansni klesari*, in P. Marković et al. (dir.), *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*, Zagreb, 2008, p. 178 n. 6; N. JAKŠIĆ, *Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska „arca d'oro“*, in *Ars Adriatica* 4, Zadar, 2014, p. 95-124.

Sulla base dei dati finora noti, non è possibile determinare in modo affidabile se la disposizione della raffigurazione dei santi è cambiata prima del 1885, anno in cui Thomas Graham Jackson li registrò nelle stesse posizioni di oggi, anche se ciò non sembra, almeno non in modo significativo. L'analisi della disposizione della raffigurazione dei santi ci indica che è possibile concludere che i santi di particolare valore devozionale per la comunità locale dell'epoca si trovano collocati nel registro inferiore, mentre il registro superiore della pala raffigura una serie di santi principalmente di importanza generale. Proprio per questo alla sinistra della raffigurazione l'Incoronazione della Vergine troviamo San Giovanni Battista, patrono celeste del donatore, conte Giovanni VII. Di fronte a lui al lato destro vediamo San Nicola, il patrono celeste del figlio del conte, Nicola (Nikola) (registrato nel 1480) e del padre Nicola IV (1360 ca. – 1432), ma anche dell'allora vescovo di Veglia Nicola III (1457 – 1484).⁶¹ Accanto ad esso troviamo raffigurato San Giovanni Evangelista, probabilmente simbolo del patrono celeste del figlio del conte, Giovanni (†1465) che sembra essere morto in età fanciulla, e va ricordato che il nonno del conte, il padre di Nicola IV, si chiamava anch'esso Giovanni (Giovanni V, 1358 – 1393).⁶² Il secondo santo sulla sinistra è San Quirino di Siscia, protettore della città e della diocesi. Nella quarta nicchia da entrambe le parti sono raffigurati i più importanti santi francescani - San Francesco d'Assisi a sinistra e Sant'Antonio di Padova a destra, e qui è importante sottolineare che l'allora vescovo di Veglia, Nicola III, era francescano, così come il suo predecessore Francesco (Franjo) I (1444 – 1456).⁶³ Il quarto santo sul lato sinistro è San Giorgio, l'omonimo del fratello del conte, Giorgio (Juraj) (registrato nel 1416) che sembra essere morto in età infantile.⁶⁴ Agostino, il quarto santo a destra, in quel momento non ha un omonimo tra i membri della famiglia Frangipane, come nemmeno Sebastiano, il quinto santo a sinistra. L'ultima santa nel registro inferiore, posta all'estremo, quinto posto a destra, è Elisabetta d'Ungheria, una delle sante francescane più significative, ma in questo contesto è raffigurata principalmente come il protettore celeste della moglie del conte, Elisabetta Morosini (†1484).⁶⁵

Dalla serie di santi raffigurati nel registro superiore solamente Santa Caterina d'Alessandria può essere collegata ad alcuni dei membri della famiglia Frangipane, precisamente con la figlia del conte, Caterina (Katarina) (†1520), ma anche alla sorella Caterina che sembra essere morta in infanzia, come il loro già citato fratello Giorgio, registrata nel 1416.⁶⁶ I campioni apostoli, i Santi Pietro e Paolo sulle opere d'arte simili fiancheggiano quasi di norma la raffigurazione centrale (pale dalle chiese di San Marco, San Pietro di Castello, Parenzo, Cattaro). Quarto a sinistra San Benedetto fa la coppia con la sorella Santa Scolastica, seconda destra, ed entrambi rappresentano importanti santi benedettini, un ordine che segnò fortemente anche l'area sotto il dominio dei Frangipane, e i cui monasteri in numerosi casi furono presi dai francescani (Veglia, Cassione, Arbe).⁶⁷ Dopo la raffigurazione del santo patrono della città, San Quirino nella parte inferiore, nel registro superiore si trova raffigurato anche il santo patrono della regione della Dalmazia, San Girolamo. Di fronte a lui, un altro padre della chiesa, San Ambrogio, e subito accanto il quarto, San Gregorio. La serie di santi nella fila superiore completamente a sinistra inizia con Sant'Or-

⁶¹ V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), T I; M. BOLONIĆ, I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *Otok Krk kroz vjekove*, Zagreb, 1977, p. 109.

⁶² V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), T I.

⁶³ M. BOLONIĆ, I. ŽIC-ROKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 108.

⁶⁴ V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), T I.

⁶⁵ V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 238.

⁶⁶ V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), T I.

⁶⁷ D. MLACOVIC, *Gradani plemići: pad i uspon rapskoga plemstva*, Zagreb, 2008, p. 183; M. BRADANOVIĆ, D. CIKOVIĆ, *The Church of St Lawrence Outside the Town Walls of Krk*, in *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 19, Zagreb-Motovun, 2013, p. 183-185; M. BRADANOVIĆ, *Otok Krk u srednjem vijeku*, Split, 2016, p. 6-7; M. BRADANOVIĆ, *Grad Krk u srednjem vijeku*, Split, 2016, p. 23-25.

sola, una santa molto venerata, anche nella zona sotto il dominio dei Frangipane, e conclude la fila San Michele Arcangelo completamente a destra.⁶⁸

Da un'analisi più attenta risulta che tra ben venti santi presenti sulla pala d'argento, mancano le raffigurazioni dei santi molto venerati sull'isola di Veglia, ma anche oltre, San Stefano, Martino e Bartolo, e i santi meno popolari Doimo e Sigismondo, omonimi e patroni celesti dei fratelli del conte con cui Giovanni VII si scontrò sull'eredità del padre.⁶⁹ Si presume che questo non sia un caso, come non è probabilmente casuale che sia stata omessa la raffigurazione di San Marco Evangelista, patrono di Venezia. La selezione dei santi raffigurati dovrebbe essere vista nell'allora contesto devozionale locale, ma anche in un contesto stratificato della ricerca dell'equilibrio pluriennale del conte tra i due potenti Stati i cui interessi si sovrapponevano proprio nel territorio dell'Adriatico settentrionale – del Regno Ungherese-Croato e della Repubblica di Venezia, in cui contesto la politica di Giovanni sarebbe da caratterizzare a favore della *Serenissima*.⁷⁰

Vedendo, in conclusione, il programma iconografico della pala d'argenteo, ma anche gli cambiamenti che il complesso della cattedrale ha poi subito nel suo insieme, sembra che il ruolo chiave nella realizzazione abbia avuto il vescovo Nicola III.⁷¹ Le future ricerche dovrebbero quindi essere rivolte all'interpretazione della pala d'argento di Veglia, che rappresenta una delle poche donazioni dell'arredo liturgico dei membri della famiglia Frangipane documentate e conservate fino ad oggi, nel contesto della devozione francescana nella seconda metà del XV secolo.⁷² Considerando ciò, è particolarmente interessante confrontare le due raffigurazioni centrali che furono indubbiamente create nello stesso momento. La rappresentazione dell'Incoronazione della Vergine è quasi l'immagine emblematica dell'arte veneziana del XIV secolo e probabilmente fu creata secondo una rappresentazione simile presente sul paliotto ricamato della stessa chiesa, il quale è conservato al Victoria and Albert Museum.⁷³ Mentre la presente rappresentazione dell'Incoronazione della Vergine in quel periodo fu già arcaica, la rappresentazione di Maria, basata sulla visione di Giovanni dal Libro della Rivelazione, indica il desiderio potenzialmente esplicito dell'immacolatista teologicamente informato e potrebbe non essere stata creata casualmente proprio nel 1477, anno in cui il culto dell'Immacolata Concezione della Beata Vergine Maria venne pienamente confermato dal Papa Sixto IV, il francescano Francesco della Rovere (Pecorile, 1414 – Roma, 1484).⁷⁴

Traduzione dal croato: Maja Lazarević Branišelj

⁶⁸ A proposito del culto di Sant'Orsola e le reliquie con i resti di questa santa nella zona sotto il dominio dei Frangipane, vedere: M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Nekoliko priloga gotičkom zlatarstvu vinodolskoga kraja*, in *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 29, Zagreb, 2005, p. 23-25; S. B. MONTGOMERY, *St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne: Relics, Reliquaries and the Visual Culture of Group Sanctity in Late Medieval Europe*, Bern, 2010; M. JERMAN, *Liturgijski predmeti od plemenitih metala na području Vinodola*, in N. Kudiš (dir.), *Czriquenicza 1412: život i umjetnost u doba pavlina*, Crikvenica, 2012, p. 117-119.

⁶⁹ V. KLAJČ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), 233-235, T I.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁷¹ Per i cambiamenti avvenuti nel complesso della cattedrale nella seconda metà del XV secolo, con i riferimenti alla letteratura più antica, vedere: D. CIKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 137-149.

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 141-146.

⁷³ Il paliotto di Veglia è stato citato recentemente da Silvija Banić nell'analisi del paliotto dalla chiesa benedettina di San Crisogono a Zara. Vedere: S. BANIĆ, *Zadarski gotički vezeni antependij u Budimpešti*, in *Ars Adriatica* 4, Zadar, 2014, p. 80-81, 83-85, 90 n. 10.

⁷⁴ D. CIKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 142. Tra la letteratura esistente su questo tema si rimanda all'articolo di Sanja Cvetnić. Vedere: S. CVETNIĆ, *Božidarevićev „Triptih obitelji Bundića” i ikonografija Marije u Suncu*, in *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 31, Zagreb, 2007, 73-79.

APPENDICE 1

Adi 3 Marzo 1659

...Visitò l'Altare Maggiore intitolato la Madonna Assunta, che trovò decentemente tenuto. Si della Mensa tutta di Pietra come di pala con imagine d'Argento indorate numero vintisette, cioè pezzi con vinti colonelle d'Argento dorate, che le separano, e sopra ogni figura vi è la Corona pur d'Argento indorata; la qual Pala hà le cornici d'Argento lavorato, e si piega in forma di libro; aprendosi li giorni solenni, e restando serata li feriali, con la mostra di fuori di pittura dell'Imagine di Nostro Signore Gesù Christo e della Santissima Vergine, et altre diverse rappresentanti li Misterij della Vergine come Natività, Presentazione. Di dentro le statue, over figure d'Argento; nella parte superiore rapresenta la Beata Vergine col Bambino in braccio amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite Corona, tutto d'Argento indorato. Nella parte inferiore mostra la Coronatione di essa Vergine imponendoli la Corona in Capo Nostro Signore. L'Altre poi sono di alcuni Apostoli, e diversi altri santi, tutte d'ugual grandezza.

Archivio diocesano di Veglia, Vecchio archivio della diocesi di Veglia, Visite pastorali II (volume 25), *Manoscritto della visita pastorale del vescovo Giorgio Georgiceo*, senza impaginazione.

APPENDICE 2

Adi 20 Marzo 1685

...visitò l'Altare Maggiore intitolato la Madonna dell'Assunta, che trovò decentemente tenuto. La Palla con figure d'argento, che si apre, e sera con le sue Seradure alle bande senza chiave, ordinò, che fussero fatte Le Chiavi, e tenuta serata; in detta Palla vi sono vinti otto colonne d'argento piramidate indorate con figure vinti sette de Santi pure d'argento indorate con le sue corone di sopra; dalla parte di sotto dell'istessa Palla vi è l'Arma Frangipani con la seguente inscrizione.

Hoc opus fecit fieri Iulius T. R. I. S., et Potens Dominus Dominus Ioannes de Frangipanibus Veglae, et Insulae Dominus, Segniae, Modrusiaeque Comes. Per Manus Magistri Pauli Kolerij, factum fuit anno Domini 1477.

Sopra detta Palla vi è un Quadro grande, sopra il quale vi è dipinta la Beatissima Vergine con una corona d'argento in capo nell'atto della sua Assontione, et con li Apostoli intorno al suo Sepolcro, pittura mediocre fatta fare, per quello dicono li Signori Canonici sudetti da Monsignor Marchi Vescovo Precedente con condanne.

Archivio diocesano di Veglia, Vecchio archivio della diocesi di Veglia, Visite pastorali II (volume 25), *Manoscritto della visita pastorale del vescovo Stefano David*, f. 7r.

...dalla parte di sotto dell'istessa Palla vi è l'Arma Frangipani...: Srebrna pala krčke katedrale

U radu se predstavlja dobro poznata, no dosad nedovoljno pažljivo analizirana srebrna pala krčke katedrale. Riječ je o srebrnoj i pozlaćenju pali koju je 1477. godine izradio majstor Paulus Koler za glavni oltar katedrale, na kojemu se pala nalazila do početka 19. stoljeća. Pala je donacija, štoviše oporučna donacija kneza Ivana VII. (?, 1434. – Zákány, 1486.), ali je realizirana još za kneževa života te predstavlja jednu od rijetkih dokumentiranih donacija liturgijske opreme nekog od članova obitelji Frankapan sačuvanih do danas. Pala je izvedena u dva registra s nizom prikaza svetaca te je bila zaštićena oslikanom *palom feriale*, zasigurno po uzoru na one znatno poznatije u duždevoj kapeli i venecijanskoj katedrali. Posebna je pažnja posvećena do sada neobjavljenoj analizi ikonografskog programa koji je sagledan prvenstveno u kontekstu složenih obiteljskih odnosa, a pri čijem sastavljanju je vrlo vjerojatno ključnu ulogu odigrao tadašnji krčki biskup, franjevac Nikola III. (1457.-1484.).

Ključne riječi: *Krk, Paulus Koler, Ivan VII. Frankapan, 15. stoljeće, srebrna pala*

TRA VENEZIA E ZARA - CONTRIBUTI DEL QUARNERO ALLA SCULTURA DEL TRECENTO PER IL PROFESSOR NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ*

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Nella prima parte del presente lavoro, con nuovi argomenti viene sottolineata la precedente attribuzione dell'Annunciazione di Veglia al gruppo di monumenti scultorei in pietra della bottega di Aquileia e Capodistria. Tra le opere scultoree del Trecento veneziano si possono trovare equivalenti pure di un rilievo proveniente da Cherso. La seconda parte del lavoro è dedicata alla produzione della bottega del maestro Paolo da Sulmona. La produzione relativamente eterogenea di quest'ultimo comprende monumenti a Segna e nella città di Veglia, nonché quelli del monastero francescano a Campora sull'isola di Arbe.

Parole chiave: Quarnero, Venezia, Zara, scultura gotica

ANCORA SUI FRAMMENTI CONSERVATI DELLA PRODUZIONE DELLE BOTTEGHE DEL TRECENTO VENEZIANO NEL QUARNERO

Le isole della Dalmazia settentrionale, ovvero del Quarnero, e la città di Segna, che vi può essere tranquillamente inclusa in termini di cultura materiale medievale, nel Trecento e agli inizi del Quattrocento accoglievano le sculture non solo dei maestri veneziani ma anche di quelli zaratini.¹ Ho pubblicato già nel 2004 un piccolo contributo sulla del tutto attesa influenza veneziana nel Quarnero. In quell'occasione ho menzionato il rilievo di una santa applicato in un secondo momento sulla facciata laterale settentrionale del monastero benedettino femminile nella città di Cherso (fig. 1). L'ho attribuito provvisoriamente al Trecento veneziano, associandolo a una serie di rilievi simili oggi conservati a Vienna (*Kunsthistorisches Museum*) e pubblicati da W. Wolters.² Allora ho contestualizzato il gruppo dell'Annunciazione di Veglia come parte di un complesso più grande, sarcofago o taber-

* Il presente lavoro è stato cofinanziato dalla Fondazione croata per la scienza (Hrvatska zaklada za znanost) tramite il progetto *Globalni Humanizmi: Novi Pogledi na Srednji Vijek (300-1600)* (*Umanesimi globali: nuove prospettive sul Medioevo (300-1600)* PZS-2019-02-1624, e dall'Università degli studi di Fiume tramite il progetto *Kulturni krajolik sjevernog Jadrana – popunjavanje lakuna* (*Colmare le lacune di conoscenza sul paesaggio culturale dell'Adriatico settentrionale*), uniri-human-18-245.

¹ Dedico il presente lavoro al professor emerito Nikola Jakšić. Abbiamo parlato molte volte di questo e di argomenti simili relativi al Nord Adriatico durante le sue frequenti visite alle isole del Quarnero. Insieme al professor I. Petricoli, era il mio professore di arte medievale alla Facoltà di lettere e filosofia di Zara. Inoltre, in un periodo della Guerra di indipendenza croata, dal 1992 al 1994, Jakšić è stato il mio superiore in qualità di assistente del ministro della cultura, dell'istruzione e dello sport della Repubblica di Croazia, responsabile della gestione del servizio nazionale di protezione del patrimonio culturale. Ho presentato una parte delle attribuzioni qui pubblicate con il collega Ivan Braut al 20° Colloquio internazionale del Centro di ricerca internazionale per la tarda Antichità e il Medioevo, a Parenzo nel 2013.

² W. WOLTERS, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, Alfieri, 1976, cat. n. 76, p. 188, figg. 291-293.



Fig. 1. Il rilievo di una santa, convento benedettino femminile a Cherso (foto: D. Krizmanić)



Fig. 2. L'Annunciazione di Veglia (foto: D. Krizmanić)

nacolo, andato perduto, e l'ho attribuito con cautela alla bottega scultorea di Aquileia e Capodistria (fig. 2).³ Si tratta certamente di una commissione che sarebbe logico associare ai principi di Veglia. Su questa attribuzione ha recentemente convenuto, durante una discussione amichevole, il collega Edvilijo Gardina, decano dei curatori del Museo regionale di Capodistria. In quell'occasione mi ha informato di una recente acquisizione del museo capodistriano.⁴ Simile a molti rilievi capodistriani attribuiti a questa bottega è pure uno che si trovava fino a poco tempo fa in una collezione privata. Si tratta del rilievo di San Filippo, che ora fa parte della mostra permanente del Museo di Capodistria ed è rappresentato pure sul sito web dell'istituzione. Qui sottolineo il legame tra le sculture di Veglia e di Capodistria confrontando in parallelo anche il rilievo del profeta presente nel lapidario del Museo regionale di Capodistria (fig. 3).

A PROPOSITO DI UN GRUPPO DI MONUMENTI CORRELATI CON L'ATTIVITÀ DEL MAESTRO PAOLO DA SULMONA

Il prossimo gruppo di monumenti che vorrei collegare segue le tracce del lavoro del professor I. Petricioli sulla valorizzazione dell'intera attività, non solo quella svolta nell'isola di Pago, del maestro

³ M. BRADANOVIĆ, Quelques exemples de sculptures Vénitiennes du XIV siècle (Trecento) dans le Kvarner, *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 10, Zagreb - Motovun, 2004, pp. 247-252.

⁴ In merito alla scultura di questa bottega cfr. W. WOLTERS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), vol. I, cat. n. 109, pp. 200-201; G. TIGLER, La scultura del Trecento, u: *Dioecesis Justinopolitana – l'arte gotica nel territorio della diocesi di Capodistria*, (ed.) Samo Štefanac, Capodistria, 2000, pp. 140-143, cat. n. 32, 33, 35, 37A, 37B; M. TOMASI, Sculture gotiche nella basilica di Aquileia, u: *La basilica di Aquileia – storia, archeologia ed arte*, (ed.) Giuseppe Cuscito, Tomas Lehmann (*Antichità Altoadriatiche*, LXIX – II), Trieste, 2010, pp. 445-453.



Fig. 3. Il profeta, lapidario del Museo regionale di Capodistria (foto: E. Gardina)



Fig. 4. Un frammento di un rilievo esposto nella parte rinascimentale della collezione di monumenti in pietra del Museo cittadino di Segna (foto: D. Krizmanić)

Paolo Vanuzzi da Sulmona.⁵ E. Hilje ha arricchito i risultati di Petricioli con l'attribuzione, in questo contesto straordinariamente significativa, del sarcofago del vescovo de Cardinalibus conservato nel presbiterio della cattedrale di Segna⁶ e con la recente rivalutazione completa dell'opera del maestro zaratino.⁷ Non ripeterò qui le precise ed estese valorizza-

zioni dell'opera di Paolo scritte dai professori I. Petricioli ed E. Hilje, ma sottolineerò alcuni contributi personali a questo argomento, importante per la ricezione della scultura del Trecento nel Quarnero.

Nella parte rinascimentale del lapidario del Museo cittadino di Segna ho notato un frammento di un fregio ornamentale, nella progettazione più simile al procedimento seguito da Paolo da Sulmona rispetto a qualsiasi altra parte, soprattutto ornamentale, del sarcofago della cattedrale di Segna (fig. 4). Non sono conosciute le circostanze della sua scoperta. Si dovrebbe certamente tenere conto del modo in cui sono state create le collezioni del Museo cittadino di Segna. Il professor Ante Glavičić ha raccolto molti frammenti nel dopoguerra, nelle rovine della città gravemente danneggiata. La decorazione in rilievo di questo frammento è particolarmente vicina a quella della famosa lapide dell'arcivescovo Nikola Matafar della cattedrale di Zara, oggi esposta al Museo popolare di Zara (fig. 5).⁸ Il collega I. Braut ha notato, inoltre, nel deposito del Museo cittadino di Segna un altro frammento, sul quale è stata letteralmente replicata una parte dell'ornamento della lapide di Nikola Matafar (fig. 6). Questo caratteristico orna-

⁵ I. PETRICIOLI, *Tragom kipara „Paulusa de Sulmona, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 21, Split, 1980, pp. 252-266.

⁶ E. HILJE, *Još jedno djelo kipara Pavla iz Sulmone, Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 21, Zagreb, 2003, pp. 35-41.

⁷ E. HILJE, *Zadarski kipar i graditelj Pavao Vanucijev iz Sulmone*, Zadar, 2016, con la bibliografia completa sul maestro Paolo. Ringrazio il prof. Hilje per le conversazioni in cui già da anni disquisiamo di questo argomento.

⁸ Il rilievo è stato pubblicato nel catalogo del museo locale. Cfr. B. LJUBOVIĆ, *Senj u prapovijesti, antichi i ranom srednjem vijeku*, Senj, 2000, p. 93.



Fig. 5. La lapide dell'arcivescovo Nikola Matafar, particolare di un fregio, Museo popolare di Zara (foto: I. Braut)



Fig. 6. Un frammento di un rilievo proveniente dal deposito del Museo cittadino di Segna (foto: I. Braut)

mento a forma di foglie di quercia fregia la croce sul petto del vescovo nella cattedrale di Segna (fig. 7).⁹ Neppure osservando il secondo frammento del museo risulta facile trarre conclusioni sulla sua posizione originale. La collega B. Ljubović l'ha trovato tra i rifiuti da costruzione prodotti durante i lavori eseguiti sul famoso monumento rinascimentale di Segna – Lavljí dvor (la Corte del leone). Tra i resti delle chiese di Segna finora conosciuti gli sono più vicini quelli della chiesa di San Francesco, costruita a metà del Cinquecento e distrutta nella Seconda guerra mondiale. La chiesa era nota per i frammenti dell'antecedente scultura medievale secondariamente inseriti nelle sue mura. Rimane aperta pure la questione dell'ubicazione della precedente chiesa medievale di San Pietro, utilizzata dai francescani di Segna prima di essere demolita, a metà del Cinquecento, durante i tentativi di organizzazione della difesa contro l'imminente minaccia degli Ottomani. La chiesa di San Pietro era stata, fino all'conquista di Segna da parte di Mattia Corvino, il principale mausoleo dei principi di Veglia.¹⁰ Occorre, comunque, ricordare che il frammento potrebbe anche provenire dalla chiesa domenicana che si trovava vicino alla porta cittadina costiera, nonché dalla cattedrale stessa. Già E. Hilje aveva sottolineato che il sarcofago di Segna non si trovava nella sua posizione originale e che le sue parti furono ricomposte. Nel contesto dei frammenti del Museo cittadino di Segna, di cui mi occupo in questa sede, si può ipotizzare che fosse esistita un'altra composizione scultorea simile. Va anche detto che la corrispondente iscrizione sulla lapide fa menzione di due vescovi della famiglia De Cardinalibus.¹¹

E. Hilje attribuì provvisoriamente alle opere di Paolo da Sulmona lo stemma della famiglia Fanfogna, conservato nel Museo popolare di Zara. Molto simile al suo stile è quello dello stemma posto sopra il portale del monastero francescano nella città di Veglia. A Veglia, l'interno dello scudo fu dotato probabilmente appena nel Settecento di un emblema francescano di produzione rustica, ma il rilievo esterno allo scudo, bordato oggi con denti alternati parzialmente intonacati, è un tipi-

⁹ Ringrazio la collega Blaženka Ljubović, direttrice del Museo cittadino di Segna, per tutte le informazioni. Ringrazio pure Richard Pavlić, parroco di Segna nonché mio collega docente al corso di laurea in Teologia a Fiume, per il suo aiuto nell'organizzazione della ricerca.

¹⁰ Cfr. M. BRADANOVIĆ, Franjevačka graditeljska aktivnost na Kvarneru, u Hrvatskom primorju i njegovu zaleđu tijekom 15. i 16. stoljeća, u: *Nastanak zapadnohrvatske franjevačke pokrajine Bosne-Hrvatske prije 500 godina*, (ed.) Emanuel Hoško, Rijeka, 2015, pp. 77-90 (con un'analisi della vasta bibliografia precedente sulla scultura proveniente dalla facciata della chiesa di san Francesco a Segna).

¹¹ E. HILJE, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), p. 52.



Fig. 7. Il sarcofago del vescovo de *Cardinalibus*, cattedrale di Segna, un dettaglio (foto: D. Krizmanić)



Fig. 8. Il rilievo con l'emblema francescano successivamente scolpito sull'ingresso nel monastero francescano nella città di Veglia (foto: D. Krizmanić)

co prodotto trecentesco. Si tratta, naturalmente, di schemi universali, dei quali si possono trovare esempi simili ovunque nell'Adriatico. Uno di questi è rappresentato pure dall'esemplare modificato similmente, presente nel lapidario del museo capodistriano. Va, tuttavia, sottolineata la vicinanza del rilievo di Veglia al già nominato stemma della famiglia Fanfogna. Si corrispondono soprattutto gli angeli in abiti antichizzati, che benedicono con la mano destra, mentre nella sinistra tengono una mela sulla quale è scolpita una croce, la loro fisionomia e la modellatura delle loro ali (fig. 8).¹² Numerosi altri monumenti sparsi nel Quarnero possono essere attribuiti alle attività dei maestri associati all'opera di Paolo da Sulmona. Alcuni di questi si sono probabilmente stabiliti nell'area quarnerina dopo la costruzione della nuova facciata della chiesa collegiata a Pago (l'odierna Pago Vecchia), continuando la loro attività anche agli inizi del Quattrocento. Ad esempio, E. Hilje ha evidenziato il caso di Niccolò di Giovanni di Segna, che alla fine del Trecento fu attivo a Zara e Segna.¹³ Ho già scritto del maestro di Castelmuschio, Sinoga, poco abile nel modellare gli elementi scultorei figurativi, nonché del fatto che questi sicuramente prese ispirazione dalla modellazione della facciata della chiesa collegiata a Pago, nell'odierna Pago Vecchia.¹⁴ Si tratta, però, di un esem-

¹² Cfr. E. HILJE, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), p. 62.

¹³ E. HILJE, *op. cit.*, (n. 6), p. 41.

¹⁴ M. BRADANOVIĆ, *Nekoliko primjera baštine kasnog srednjovjekovlja Rijeke i Kvarnera za profesora Vežića, Ars Adriatica*, 7, Zadar, 2017, pp. 113-128.



Fig. 9. Il cosiddetto sarcofago di Manda Budrišić, collezione francescana a Campora sull'isola di Arbe (foto: D. Krizmanić)

pio estremo di qualità molto bassa. Di un maestro locale attivo nell'ambiente glagolitico di uno dei castelli di Veglia.

Vorrei concludere con una delle sculture più famose, scolpita nello spirito del Trecento veneziano nel Quarnero. Si tratta del cosiddetto sarcofago di Manda Budrišić presente nel chiostro del monastero francescano a Campora sull'isola di Arbe (fig 9). Sebbene la tradizione francescana locale lo associ alla donatrice che visse nel Cinquecento, questo sarcofago è stato da tempo individuato come una scultura antecedente al periodo, soprattutto nel lavoro di Igor Fisković. Questi, nella sua nota recensione del libro di Wolters, lo ha datato verso la fine del Trecento, sottolineando la sua contemporaneità con il sarcofago di Cardinalibus custodito a Segna. Ha ricordato il suo ricorso non soltanto alle esperienze artistiche del tardo Trecento, ma anche ad altre, forse più vicine alla Toscana.¹⁵ Si tratta certamente di una scultura di alta qualità che va di pari passo con le migliori opere dell'eterogenea produzione scultorea di Pao-



Fig. 10. La lapide di N. Matafar, Zara (foto: I. Braut)

¹⁵ W. WOLTERS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 163-164, cat. n. 32. Questi la menziona di sfuggita e indirettamente, comparando il motivo degli angeli posti angolarmente con l'esemplare veneziano del 1339-1340 e sottolineando il fatto che il sarcofago di Arbe è più recente. I. FISKOVIĆ, *Uz knjigu W. Woltersa „La scultura veneziana gotica 1300-1460, Peristil*, 20/1, Zagreb, 1977, pp. 153, 158. M. Domijan lo fa datare all'inizio della seconda metà del Quattrocento. Cfr. M. DOMIJAN, *Rab – grad umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2001, p. 223.



Fig. 11. La Vergine con il Bambino sul portale della chiesa di san Michele a Zara (foto: Ž. Bačić)

lo da Sulmona. Vorrei qui mettere in evidenza gli abiti all'antica dei personaggi del sarcofago di Arbe e le pieghe ammorbidite del panneggio che seguono l'anatomia delle estremità e le piegate gambe parallele delle sculture sedute. L'abile imitazione dei modelli antichi del rapporto tra il busto e il panneggio è caratteristica delle opere di più alta qualità di Paolo da Sulmona. Sono particolarmente riconoscibili pure le mani sovradimensionate rappresentate con pugni socchiusi, dorsi rotondi e dita molto grandi e poco modellate. Oltre al dettaglio della Vergine con il Bambino del sarcofago di Campora, riporto pure la comparazione di elementi similmente modellati, ovvero delle ginocchia e braccia piegate di uno dei canonici seduti, rappresentati sulla lapide dell'arcivescovo Matafar (fig. 10). La Vergine con il Bambino sul portale della chiesa di san Michele a Zara è un rilievo di dimensioni minori, che può essere collegato al nostro esemplare di Arbe per quel che concerne l'impostazione e il modo in cui la mano destra della Vergine esce dal mantello (fig. 11). Vi è una grande somiglianza della decorazione ornamentale che fiancheggia i rilievi della Vergine con il Bambino di Campora e quella del portale zaratino di san Michele (fig. 12). La varietà di motivi usati può essere interpretata anche considerando la circostanza



Fig. 12. Il cosiddetto sarcofago di Manda Budrišić, collezione francescana a Campora sull'isola di Arbe, il dettaglio della Vergine con il Bambino (foto: D. Krizmanić)

comprovata dal materiale archivistico, secondo la quale il maestro ha realizzato almeno l'opera scultorea più ambiziosa dal punto di vista della concettualizzazione e dell'esecuzione seguendo il disegno di qualcun altro, ma comunque rappresentativo.¹⁶

I frammenti pubblicati in questa sede, disseminati a Segna e sulle isole quarnerine, sono caratteristici resti della cultura materiale dell'Adriatico settentrionale, in particolar modo del Quarnero, risalenti alla seconda metà del Trecento e agli inizi del Quattrocento. Questi illustrano bene il gusto artistico delle città quarnerine, indicano Venezia e Zara quali centri culturali dai quali provenivano le varie influenze, e fanno scoprire le attività dei maestri itineranti. Queste attività hanno, poi, influenzato una parte dei loro seguaci, stabilitesi nell'area quarnerina. Dirò di questi ultimi e della loro espressione più modesta, che si diffuse capillarmente nei borghi del Quarnero, ben collegati dalle rotte marittime, in un'altra occasione, meno solenne.

Između Venecije i Zadra - kvarnerski prinosi skulpturi trećenta za profesora Nikolu Jakšića

U radu koji se bavi primjerima kamene skulpture s područja kvarnerskih otoka i iz grada Senja uspoređuju se karakteristični dotoci mletačkoga trećenta, s onima za koje je moguće utvrditi da su se odvijali preko Zadra. U prvom su dijelu rada odabrana dva slučaja fragmenata neke veće kompozicije oltara, sarkofaga ili tabernakula iz grada Cresa i grada Krka. Preciznije je u okviru mletačkoga trećenta atribuiran primjer grupe Navještenja iz Krka pripisan koparsko-akvilejskoj radionici dekorativne kamene plastike. Drugi dio rada bavi se primjerima skulpture koja se može tumačiti u okvirima djelatnosti radionice zadarskoga majstora Pavla iz Sulmone. Bez ponavljanja opsežnih dosadašnjih valorizacija profesora I. Petricolija i E. Hilje donose se nepoznati fragmenti skulpture iz Gradskog muzeja u Senju koje se direktno može povezati s nadgrobni spomenikom nadbiskupa Nikole Matafara iz zadarske katedrale, naravno i s dijelom ornamentalnog repertoara grobnog spomenika biskupa de Cardinalibusa iz senjske katedrale. Zatim se zadarski reljef grba obitelji Fanfogna povezuje s reljefom nad portalom franjevačkog samostana u gradu Krku. Ukratko se spominju primjeri drugih, slabijih i naknadnih odjeka rada Pavla iz Sulmone na Kvarneru. Oni će se zasebno objaviti na drugom mjestu u nekoj manje svečanoj prigodi. Završni akcent pridaje se tzv. sarkofagu Mande Budrišić iz klaustura franjevačkog samostana u Kamporu na Rabu. Njega se nastoji pridružiti najkvalitetnijem dijelu opusa Pavla iz Sulmone. Osobito se pritom uspoređuje lik Bogorodice s Djetetom sa skulpturom zadarskog grobnog spomenika nadbiskupa Nikole Matafara. Ističu se antikizirajući elementi položaja nogu i načina kako ih obavija draperija te način oblikovanja šaka. Sličnosti se nalaze i s malim reljefom Bogorodice s Djetetom s portala crkve Sv. Mihovila u Zadru. Ornamentalni dijelovi rapskoga reljefa posebno se uspoređuju s onima na portalu crkve Sv. Mihovila u Zadru. Odabrani primjeri zorno svjedoče o likovnom ukusu kvarnerske sredine i pravcima dotoka iz Venecije i Zadra, izraženima u razdoblju kasnog 14. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: *Kvarner, Venecija, Zadar, gotička skulptura*

¹⁶ E. HILJE, *op. cit.*, (n. 7), p. 20.

DUE CONTRIBUTI SULLA SCULTURA LIGNEA PER IL PROF. JAKŠIĆ

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The statue of angel candleholder is exhibited in the collection of the parish church of St. Blaise in Vodnjan. It originates from the church of St. Michael built in 1456 on the locality Banjole, between Vodnjan (Dignano) and Batvač (Valmadorso). It shows characteristics of the late Gothic Venetian art from the first half of 15th century. For almost 40 years Venetian woodcarver and sculptor Paolo Campsa (first mentioned in 1495, died in Venice 1541) managed a very productive workshop that delivered dozens of altars with reliefs and sculptures. Some of these artworks are in Croatia and a few of them have been presented only recently. Samo Štefanac wrote that reliefs of Virgin with a Child from Bale (Valle) and Štinjan (Stignano) were Campsa's work, while I. Matejčić had a different opinion. The important detail for this wood carving workshop has been revealed on an inscription on the base of the central statue of a big altar in Mutvoran that is now completely visible. It states not only the name of the author, but also the year 1533. The altarpiece is in the process of restoration that has brought to light authentic polychromy of high quality. Some 40 years ago central statues from the main altar in the church Della Bastia in Isola della Scala were stolen, but with help of preserved photographs and remaining parts on the altar it is possible to recognize the work of the Campsa Bottega. Small reliefs with scenes from Christ's childhood on predella explicitly resemble those from Motovun (Montona), Jelsa and Quinto di Treviso. New contributions and comparisons open possibilities for further assumptions about the role different carvers had while the Bottega worked on big altarpieces.

Key words: Gothic – Renaissance sculpture; woodcarving, Paolo Campsa, Venice, Vodnjan (Dignano), Mutvoran (Momorano), Bale (Valle), Isola della Scala, Jelsa

ANGELO REGGI TORCIA DI DIGNANO

Nel secondo tomo della collana "Il patrimonio artistico della chiesa istriana", il capitolo riguardante la scultura gotica è stato trattato da Predrag Marković¹, che all'uopo ha elaborato una bella collezione di sculture istriane datate dal XIII al XV secolo. Io mi sono occupato dell'analisi di alcuni esempi di scultura lignea tardogotica della cerchia veneziana. Ero indeciso se proporre o meno al professore di inserire nel volume un'opera custodita nella Collezione della chiesa parrocchiale di San Biagio di Dignano (fig. 1). La piccola scultura lignea policroma, alta appena 59 centimetri, non era ancora stata studiata e in un vecchio catalogo della Collezione non figurava nemmeno². In precedenza l'avevo inserita nel compendio

¹ P. MARKOVIĆ, Gotičko kiparstvo / La scultura gotica, in: P. MARKOVIĆ – I. MATEJČIĆ – D. TULIĆ, *Umjetnička baština istarske crkve 2 / Il patrimonio artistico della chiesa istriana 2 - Kiparstvo od 14. do 18. stoljeća / Scultura dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Pula / Pola, 2017.

² *Zbirka sakralne umjetnosti župne crkve svetog Blaža u Vodnjani*, (ed.) Vesna Girardi-Jurkić, Pula, 1984.



Fig. 1. *Angelo reggi torcia della Collezione d'arte sacra della Chiesa parrocchiale di Dignano (foto: I. Puniš)*



Fig. 2. *Nicolò da Venezia (?), sculture di angeli reggi torcia, Oratorio dei Boccalotti a Vicenza*

della storia della scultura a Dignano e nel Dignanese³, per le sue evidenti caratteristiche stilistiche fondamentali - postura fragile, aggraziata, leggermente inclinata, ricco panneggio con volute ondulanti, un bel volto idealizzato con occhi grandi e acconciatura tipica dell'epoca. Sono peculiarità, queste, che si evidenziano in numerosi quadri di pittori veneti tardogotici della prima metà del XV secolo; dalla melodiosità pittorica di Gentile da Fabriano e Jacobello del Fiore, agli eccessi calligrafici di Giambone, ai volti ingenui

e gli occhi sgranati di Zanino di Pietro o del più vecchio dei Bellini – Jacopo: mi riferisco, naturalmente alla coppia di Santi della Galleria di Berlino. Quello che aveva destato qualche perplessità nella formulazione di un'efficace identificazione stilistica e cronologica era la tipologia iconografica. Il nostro angelo regge un candelabro decorato, è quindi un reggi torcia. Mi sono note decine di sculture appartenenti alla tipologia, esposte su altari e tabernacoli, laterali all'elemento centrale che "illuminano". Ma si tratta di opere risalenti al Rinascimento o al Barocco. Le conoscenze gotiche erano riferite a dipinti o rilievi. Sebbene le figure in ceramica dei reggi torcia dei musei del Castello Sforzesco di Milano, datate al 1466 e attribuite a Francesco Solari, abbiano con la nostra scultura alcuni aspetti in comune, soprattutto la posizione delle mani, non mi era sembrato appropriato né produttivo il confronto con queste, viste le loro caratteristiche riconducibili al primo Rinascimento. È logico però il confronto all'interno dell'arte

³I. MATEJČIĆ, Kiparstvo / Scultura, in: *Vodnjan – grad priča / Dignano – città da raccontare*, (ed.) Sandro Manzin, Vodnjan / Dignano, 2017, p. 220.

veneziana, cui grosso modo corrisponde l'esempio che riporto (fig. 2). Il complesso scultoreo in pietra dipinta della Madonna con angeli reggi torcia dell'Oratorio di Santa Maria dei Battuti Bianchi, detto dei Boccalotti, a Vicenza, del 1414, è probabilmente opera di Nicolò da Venezia⁴. La postura e la posizione delle mani dei reggi torcia sono sorprendentemente simili a quelle del Nostro; mi sembrano inoltre indicativi la somiglianza dell'acconciatura a corona con diadema al centro e il colletto d'epoca. Decisamente si



Fig. 3. Schizzo per la ricostruzione della pala d'altare della chiesa parrocchiale di Valle (disegno: I. Matejčić, foto: I. Puniš)

tratta di una tipologia comune, adottata dai maestri nella produzione figuristica devozionale. Le analogie, però, si esauriscono a livello tipologico e iconografico: l'angelo dignanese è più elegante ed espressivo; nella modellazione dei dettagli fors'anche più ambizioso di quelli vicentini. Per l'angelo di Dignano il corpo funge da base sulla quale si sviluppano armoniche volute calligrafiche, e questo lo colloca negli ambiti delle forme in movimento, tipiche della fine del tardo gotico.

Stando ai dati forniti dal parroco di Dignano, la scultura proviene dalla chiesetta di San Michele, sita in località Bagnole, tra Peroi e Valmadorso (Batvači). Una trentina di anni fa la chiesetta è stata abbandonata e devastata: il parroco ha salvato la piccola scultura, resto, l'ultimo, degli arredi d'altare. La chiesetta gotica è stata costruita nel 1456, come testimoniato dalla data riportata sull'architrave⁵, per cui ne deriva che anche l'Angelo reggi torcia potrebbe risalire all'epoca. Nella metà del XV secolo l'arte veneta si arricchisce di una nuova declinazione artistica – il Rinascimento. Un'espressione artistica arcaica, all'alba di una nuova moda espressiva all'antica: è mai possibile? Indubbiamente, sì: i protagonisti dell'arte scultorea lignea gotica sono ancora in attività. Tra questi, riportando l'esempio a noi più vicino, Jacopo Morozzone (morto nel 1467), dalla cui bottega in Istria sono uscite almeno due pregevoli opere lignee ad intaglio. Vorrei sottolineare che, per ora, non è possibile attribuire con certezza la piccola scultura dignanese a un determinato maestro o a una bottega di Venezia e del Veneto: nel caso, la cosa migliore è ascriverla a un maestro veneto degli inizi della seconda metà del XV secolo.

IPOTESI E CONTRIBUTI SULL'INSTANCABILE PAOLO CAMPSA

La storia della scultura rinascimentale veneziana è stata raccolta in un ampio e ben documentato compendio, frutto del lavoro di una vita di Anne Markham Schulz, che alcuni anni prima aveva pubblicato una voluminosa opera sulla scultura lignea e l'intaglio della stessa epoca⁶. Non sorprende,

⁴ M. NEGRI, Dopo il restauro: il Maestro dei Boccalotti trova la sua identità, in: *La Madonna dell'Oratorio dei Boccalotti a Vicenza. Studi, indagini, restauro*, (ed.) Renzo Fontana, Barbara D'Incau, Padova, 2017, pp.24-29; M. NEGRI, Rileggendo la scultura vicentina di primo Quattrocento: novità per Nicolò da Venezia, Antonio da Mestre e il Maestro dei Boccalotti, *Arte Veneta*, 73, Venezia, 2016, pp. 37-81; T. FRANCO, Nicolò da Venezia tra Vicenza e il cantiere del duomo di Milano, in: *Medioevo, arte lombarda: atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 26-29 settembre 2001 (I convegni di Parma, 4)*, (ed.) Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, Milano, 2004, pp. 298-314; R. PADOVANI, L'ancona quattrocentesca del duomo di Vicenza: un riesame, *Arte Veneta*, 55, Venezia, 1999, pp. 90-103.

⁵ S. MUSTAČ, *Crkva svetog Mihovila u Banjolama kraj Peroja*, Split - Pula, 2017, p. 24.

⁶ A. MARKHAM SCHULZ, *The History of Venetian Renaissance Sculpture, ca. 1410-1530*, London - Turnhout, 2017; A. MARKHAM SCHULZ, *Woodcarving and Woodcarvers in Venice, 1350-1550*, Firenze, 2011. Nelle opere è citata la ricca bibliografia e in esse si trovano ottime riproduzioni dei lavori più importanti legati alla produzione di Paolo Campsa.



Fig. 4. Paolo Campsa e bottega, pala dell'altare maggiore della chiesa parrocchiale di Momorano (da I. MATEJČIĆ, *op. cit.* /n. 11/)



Fig. 5. Intagliatore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, rilievo sulla predella rappresentante la Fuga in Egitto, durante i lavori di restauro, dopo la rimozione della ridipintura

quindi, se la scultura lignea compare anche nella più recente sintesi, corredata da precise conclusioni sulle specificità e livelli valutativi. In entrambe le opere è stata data dovuta rilevanza all'attività dello scultore e altareista Paolo Campsa, che attraverso vari documenti seguiamo dal 1495 alla morte, avvenuta nel 1541. Indubbiamente, la bottega di Campsa è stata per oltre tre decenni il maggiore produttore di altari a Venezia, tanto che molte sue pale o suoi elementi sono ancor oggi presenti nel Veneto come pure lungo entrambe le coste dell'Adriatico. I documenti pubblicati da A. Markham Schulz fanno luce su vari aspetti dell'attività, ma in primo luogo su quelli economici e privati del maestro⁷. Le opere conservate testimoniano una particolare espressione della cultura artistica, le preferenze e le scelte dei committenti nell'intento di dotare le chiese di opere d'arte rappresentative e rilevanti. L'analisi di queste complesse opere d'altare, impegnative nella loro realizzazione, apre a molti quesiti; primo fra tutti quello dell'organizzazione del lavoro all'interno della bottega, nei cui ambiti va definito il contributo individuale di ogni singolo artigiano al processo produttivo. Già da tempo si discute sul contributo artistico, scultoreo, dello stesso maestro Paolo. Si sa che è lui a negoziare i lavori, a gestire la bottega e a firmare alcune opere, ma non è possibile andare oltre, anche se in un certo qual senso è sottinteso che Campsa, quale ideatore dell'ancona, abbia fatto di propria mano o rifinito alcune sculture, forse le migliori, laddove quelle di qualità esecutiva inferiore e gli elementi architettonici e ornamentali sono opera di collaboratori. Sono domande, queste, alle quali bisognerà rispondere per addivenire ad attribuzioni certe, perché, presumibilmente, qualche collaboratore avrà realizzato opere anche individuali, oppure, in quelle frutto di lavoro d'insieme avrà contribuito con maggiore autonomia se non addirittura con maggiore creatività.

L'evoluzione e i vari stili sviluppati in decenni di attività della bottega, consentono di distinguere due fasi. Dal 1497 (anno al quale risale la prima opera conosciuta, Madonna con Bambino, di Buie) al 1514

⁷ A. MARKHAM SCHULZ, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2011), pp. 160-164.



Fig. 6. Scritta sulla base della scultura della Madonna con Bambino dell'altare della chiesa parrocchiale di Momorano

(trittico di Bescanuova) Paolo Campsa collabora ancora con il cognato Giovanni: in tre rilievi dell'epoca sono ravvisabili caratteristiche del primo rinascimento veneziano con la pronunciata presenza di elementi tradizionali, gotici, per cui per questo gruppo scultoreo a volte si affianca il termine "fase quattrocentesca". L'altra serie di opere conservate e datate – si va dal 1526 (due pale d'altare per la cattedrale di Torcello) al 1534 (Madonna con Bambino, collezione privata) – presenta caratteristiche formali totalmente diverse, sviluppatesi in armonia con lo stile rinascimentale veneziano di inizio del XVI secolo.

Grazie alla scoperta di lavori firmati e documentati, ai quali poi vanno convogliati quelli attribuiti in base ad analogie stilistiche, il catalogo delle opere di Campsa è vasto, ma certo è ben lungi dal potersi ritenere definitivo. Con maggiore o minore successo, infatti, al maestro vengono di continuo attribuiti nuovi manufatti. Alcuni sono conservati anche nell'Adriatico settentrionale, in Istria e Dalmazia. Hanno fondamento le proposte di attribuzione formulate da Gordana Sobota Matejčić per le sculture del convento di San Francesco di Veglia (la statua della Madonna è paradigmatica per Campsa)⁸ e da Bojan Goja per la scultura di San Nicola della chiesa di Terravecchia di Pago⁹. Le sculture sono analoghe a molti lavori sicuramente prodotti nella bottega di Campsa nel terzo e quarto decennio di attività. Samo Štefanac ha cercato di completare il catalogo delle opere della fase quattrocentesca: ritiene, Štefanac, che le sculture della Madonna con Bambino della chiesa parrocchiale di Valle e quella, quasi identica, della chiesetta della Madonna delle Grazie (Sveta Marija od Munta) di Stignano, condividano molte analogie con il medesimo soggetto rappresentato sui rilievi di Buie (1492), Monopoli (1502) e Bescanuova (1514), ragione per cui si possono attribuire a Campsa¹⁰. La ben motivata proposta di Štefanac collide con la proposta di attribuzione che, sulla scia dell'intuizione di Vanda Ekl, ho recentemente cercato di formulare¹¹. Continuo a ritenere che le sculture di Valle e Stignano vadano considerate parte di un gruppo di lavori della stessa bottega che ha prodotto il trittico di San Lorenzo ed altre opere. Le analogie stilistiche delle sculture di Valle e Stignano con le opere di Campsa e collaboratori sono evidenti, pur tuttavia si individuano delle differenze, non da ultimo una diversità nell'abilità scultorea. Va specificato che queste sculture sono state abbondantemente ridipinte, il che rende difficile la comparazione. Nella stessa sede ho esposto la tesi per cui il rilievo della Madonna con Bambino di Valle e il gruppo di tre rilievi di Santi con la formella della predella con

⁸ G. SOBOTA MATEJČIĆ, Krčki kipovi majstora iz Campsine radionice, *Ars Adriatica*, 2, Zadar, 2012, pp. 167-176.

⁹ B. GOJA, Statua di San Nicola di Bari a Terravecchia di Pago: un'aggiunta alla bottega di Paolo Campsa, *Ricche minere*, 7, Verona, 2017, pp. 23-31.

¹⁰ S. ŠTEFANAC, Un'altra opera di Paolo Campsa e Giovanni da Malines in Istria, *Ars Adriatica*, 7, Zadar, 2017, pp. 157-166.

¹¹ I. MATEJČIĆ, Renesansno kiparstvo / La scultura rinascimentale, in: P. MARKOVIĆ – I. MATEJČIĆ – D. TULIĆ, *Umjetnička baština istarske crkve 2 / Il patrimonio artistico della chiesa istriana 2 - Kiparstvo od 14. do 18. stoljeća / Scultura dal XIV al XVIII secolo*, Pula / Pola, 2017, pp. 174, 180-184.



Fig. 7. Paolo Campsa e bottega, pala d'altare nel santuario della Bastia a Isola della Scala



Fig. 8. Fotografia dell'altare del santuario della Bastia a Isola della Scala prima del furto delle sculture principali (da B. CHIAPPA, op. cit. /n. 16/)

intagliata l'Adorazione dei Magi, originariamente erano parte di un polittico¹². Štefanac si è espresso con molta cautela su questa tesi, che in linea di principio supporta la sua attribuzione alla cerchia di Campsa, all'interno della quale sono stati prodotti molti polittici con predelle figurate¹³. Le diverse condizioni di conservazione di questi rilievi (quello che rappresenta la Madonna è stato radicalmente ridipinto; gli altri sono fortemente degradati per l'attacco dei tarli) riducono la qualità della comparazione, per cui, a conforto della fondatezza delle mie supposizioni, allego le foto del rilievo di Valle, in scala, all'interno dello schizzo relativo alla proposta di ricostruzione (fig. 3).

Probabilmente, un domani sarà data la possibilità di aggiungere altri argomenti alla discussione. Tali "possibilità" si presentano in primo luogo allorché nuovi contributi ampliano il corpus, quando si scoprono nuovi documenti o nel caso in cui su opere note si scoprono dettagli fino ad allora sconosciuti.

Alla luce di ciò, sarà forse buona e utile cosa riproporre per intero l'iscrizione che compare sulla base della scultura della Madonna con Bambino, al centro del polittico della chiesa parrocchiale di Momorano, di recente leggibile nella totalità. Al Convegno internazionale di studi (Udine-Tolmezzo, 1997) avevo segnalato che l'altare di Momorano era stato prodotto dalla bottega di Paolo Campsa e nell'occasione avevo sottolineato le rispondenze con gli altari di Torcello e di Quinto di Treviso. La relazione in parola è stata pubblicata nel 1999; alcuni mesi più tardi avevo riproposto la tesi a una lezione svolta a Fiume, i cui lavori sono stati pubblicati nel 1999¹⁴. In un secondo momento, Mario Braun, dell'Istituto croato per il restauro, mi aveva comunicato che dietro il tabernacolo, posto successivamente, è parzialmente visibile una scritta nella quale compare il nome *Polo Camp...*

¹² I. MATEJČIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 182.

¹³ S. ŠTEFANAC, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 165.

¹⁴ I. MATEJČIĆ, Qualche paragone e nuovi esempi della scultura lignea rinascimentale in Istria, in: *La scultura lignea nell'arco alpino 1450-1550: storia, stili e tecniche*, (ed.) Giuseppina Perusini, Udine, 1999, pp. 247, 254-255; I. MATEJČIĆ, Dell'arte dell'intaglio rinascimentale, *La Battana. Atti dei convegni*, Numero speciale 5, Rijeka / Fiume, 1999, pp. 168-172.



Fig. 9. Intagliatore e pittore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, lunetta con il rilievo del Padreterno e immagine dello Spirito Santo dell'altare della chiesa della Bastia a Isola della Scala



Fig. 10. Intagliatore e pittore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, rilievo della predella d'altare nella chiesa della Bastia a Isola della Scala raffigurante l'Adorazione dei pastori

Tre anni fa l'ancona di Momorano è stata in parte smontata per un restauro e quindi dall'Istituto croato per il restauro ho avuto le foto (fig. 6) della scritta completa, che scorre su tre lati della base della scultura e recita: *Ave Ma(ria) / gr(a)cia plena / MDXXXIII / Polo Camp/sa fecit a d/i(e) XX ma(r)zo*. Nello stesso anno, il 1533, è nata la scultura raffigurante Cristo Risorto di Soave - Verona e un anno dopo quella della Madonna con Bambino – collezione privata. Entrambe le opere sono datate e firmate alla base con simili caratteri dorati¹⁵.

Alcune novità sul fenomeno Campsa sono date dai dettagli sull'ancona, dall'impaginato architettonico di un trittico, di Isola della Scala, a una ventina di chilometri da Verona (fig. 7). La pala mi era stata indicata da restauratori veneziani e, per quanto ne so, l'opera non compare nella letteratura professionale né è stata fatta una proposta di attribuzione. Si trova sull'altare maggiore di una chiesetta romanica detta della Bastia, ai margini dell'abitato, in mezzo alle risaie. Purtroppo, negli anni '80 del secolo scorso dalla chiesa sono state trafugate le sculture principali: la Madonna con Bambi-



Fig. 11. Intagliatore e pittore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, rilievo della predella dell'altare del santuario della Bastia a Isola della Scala raffigurante la Circoncisione

¹⁵ G. FOSSALUZZA, Problemi di scultura lignea veneziana del Rinascimento: Paolo Campsa e Giovanni di Malines, *Arte Veneta*, 52, Venezia, 1998, pp. 28, 34-35.



Fig. 12. Paolo Campsa e bottega, rilievi dell'altare della chiesa parrocchiale di Jelsa (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

no al centro, affiancata dagli apostoli Simone e Giuda. Nella nicchia centrale era stata quindi posta la Madonna con Bambino che fino ad allora era sita in un altro punto della chiesa. Dell'ancona originaria ci sono rimaste le foto, dalle quali è chiaramente ravvisabile trattarsi di prodotti tipici della bottega di Campsa¹⁶. Lo si evince in primo luogo dalla posizione dinamica delle gambe della Madonna, dall'energico movimento della testa, ma soprattutto è paradigmatico il movimento del Bambino, rappresentato quasi in procinto di staccarsi con un salto dal grembo materno. Sono soluzioni, queste, che incontreremo nelle sculture della Madonna di Montona e Veglia, nonché in quelle datate e firmate di Momorano e di collezione privata. La composizione dell'ancona, con nicchie quadrangolari dei "soffitti" a cassettoni, separate da colonne ornate divise in sezioni orizzontali e una serie di rilievi figurati sulla predella, compare praticamente in tutte le pale conservate e riconducibili alla bottega di Campsa. L'iconografia e la composizione dell'attico con il rilievo del Padreterno con gli angeli (fig. 9) hanno il pendant nella pala d'altare di Montona. È necessario però segnalare pure alcune specificità. In primo luogo i campi che riportano immagini non in rilievo, bensì dipinte. Gli angeli raffigurati attorno alla lunetta del timpano sono certamente stati aggiunti in un secondo momento, mentre i tre dipinti della cimasa forse sono coevi dell'altare. In questa posizione, l'altare di San Cassiano di Quinto di Treviso riporta rilievi narrativi, quello di Montona i comuni rilievi ornamentali. Purtroppo, non ho potuto studiare più dettagliatamente i dipinti per cui lascio aperta la questione della loro stratigrafia. Stupisce l'arcaicità, la superficialità dell'esecuzione e, si può ben dire, la scarsa qualità del rilievo del Padreterno con gli angeli nella lunetta: i volti sono inespressivi e i dettagli modellati con scarsa profondità (fig. 9). Rammentano i volti e le barbe dei Santi disposti in coppie accanto alla Madonna nel trittico di Bescanuova del 1515. È il caso di chiedersi se questo confronto non apra forse a un'eventuale datazione anteriore, più verso il secondo decennio, quando nei lavori della bottega è

¹⁶ Qui riporto la riproduzione della foto dell'altare prima del furto delle statue, dalla brochure: B. CHIAPPA, *La chiesa della Bastia – cenni storici e artistici*, Isola della Scala, 1977, p. 9. Ringrazio il restauratore Stefano Trecanelli di Pordenone per l'aiuto nell'organizzazione della visita del santuario della Bastia nel settembre del 2016.



Fig. 13. Intagliatore e pittore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, rilievo della predella dell'altare della chiesa della Bastia a Isola della Scala raffigurante l'Adorazione dei Magi



Fig. 14. Intagliatore e pittore della bottega di Paolo Campsa, rilievo della predella dell'altare della chiesa parrocchiale di Jelsa raffigurante l'Adorazione dei Magi (foto: Z. Alajbeg)

lecito trovare forme caratteristiche della fase quattrocentesca? È difficile dirlo con certezza, poiché in tutte le pale di questo contesto interamente conservate compaiono figure e rilievi di diversa qualità di esecuzione. Nell'ambito di una produzione di massa, quasi seriale, non è escluso che nell'ancona venissero inseriti intagli fatti da maestri e intagliatori meno abili o stilisticamente non aggiornati. E non è escluso infine che nella produzione si facesse ricorso a giacenze.

Il restauro della pala effettuato una decina di anni fa (dopo il furto delle sculture!) ha portato alla luce resti della doratura e della policromia originarie, come pure dettagli della lavorazione. Sorprendono i colori vivaci dell'architettura e del cielo, sullo sfondo della rappresentazione in rilievo dell'Adorazione dei Magi, dei pastori e della Circoncisione (immagini 10, 11 e 13). L'architettura come sfondo, con blocchi di pietra disegnati, compare pure sui rilievi della predella della grande ancona di Jelsa (Isola di Lesina), che a suo tempo ho attribuito alla bottega di Campsa (fig. 14)¹⁷. Collimano anche altri elementi ed è quasi identica, però speculare, la rappresentazione dell'Adorazione dei Magi (immagini 13-14). Senza ombra di dubbio la mano è la stessa dei rilievi della predella di Montona. Va inoltre sottolineato che il rilievo dell'Adorazione dei pastori dell'altare di San Cassiano di Quinto di Treviso è identico, fin nei più piccoli dettagli, a quello di Jelsa; come è ad esempio per la piccola figura aneddotica del pastore che si leva il cappello per salutare l'angelo. Piccoli rilievi, scarsamente profondi sono elementi imprescindibili di alcuni altari della bottega di Campsa e, nonostante piccole diversità, di norma li possiamo ritenere opera dello stesso intagliatore. Ritengo trattarsi di opere fatte dalla stessa mano, oltre a quelle citate di Isola della Scala, Jelsa, Montona, Quinto di Treviso, cui vanno aggiunte quelle trafugate e comparse in un secondo momento sul mercato dell'antiquariato, di cui ha scritto G. Fussaluzza¹⁸. Sono simili, per tecnica e composizione, i rilievi dell'altare di San Liberale della cattedrale di Torcello. G. Fossaluzza è però dell'opinione che quelli che fanno da pendant (sull'altare di Sant'Elidoro) nella stessa chiesa, sono forse opera di altri maestri¹⁹. Un gruppo a parte di rilievi è composto da quelli dell'altare di Momorano, di maggiore oggetto, ma che per composizione e dettagli, come ad esempio il naso dritto, si avvicinano a quelli citati in precedenza. È proprio i piccoli rilievi di Momorano, a restauro concluso e tolti gli strati di vernice, si sono rivelati la sorpresa più piacevole. Lo prova la formella sulla quale è rappresentata la Fuga in Egitto: già dopo la prima fase di rimozione della vernice ci si trova davanti a una vera miniatura in rilievo, con figure vive e un cielo e un albero sapientemente dipinti sullo sfondo (fig. 5).

¹⁷ I. MATEJČIĆ, *Venecijanska renesansna drvena skulptura u našim krajevima – kratka rekapitulacija i prinosi katalogu, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 40, Split, 2003-2004., pp. 203-205.

¹⁸ G. FOSSALUZZA, *Un'integrazione a margine del problema Paolo Campsa*, in: *La scultura lignea nell'arco alpino 1450-1550: storia, stili e tecniche*, (ed.) Giuseppina Perusini, Udine, 1999, pp. 247-256.

¹⁹ G. FOSSALUZZA, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 255.

Pure la pala di Jelsa rappresenta per certi versi una novità (fig. 12): dalla mia attribuzione dell'opera a Campsa, questa è stata restaurata; ritengo però che alla superficie del rilievo non sia stato restituito l'aspetto originario. Si nota ancor sempre la mancanza della cornice primaria e che le tavole dei rilievi sono state incernierate e costrette in nuovo insieme, con una nuova cornice, barocca. Diversamente dall'usuale pieno volume, le tre grandi figure sono rilievi a basso aggetto. I rilievi più piccoli dell'altare di Jelsa, specialmente quelli della predella, sono certamente opera di un intagliatore della bottega di Campsa, il che ci esorta a guardare con maggiore attenzione le opere in cui tutti gli elementi dell'altare sono in rilievo. La somiglianza delle figure di San Rocco dell'altare di Jelsa e del trittico della chiesa di Santa Maria di Medolino mi autorizzano a credere che l'autore della pala di Medolino vada individuato tra gli



Fig. 15. Paolo Campsa, statua di Santa Caterina dell'altare della chiesa parrocchiale di Momorano (foto: I. Puniš)



Fig. 16. Paolo Campsa, Statua di San Liberale dell'altare di San Liberale nella cattedrale di Santa Maria di Torcello (da A. Markham Schulz, op. cit. /n. 6, 2011/)

intagliatori in contatto con Campsa²⁰. Ribadisco quanto formulato molto tempo addietro per cui colloco con maggiore fermezza nella sfera di Campsa pure i bellissimi intagli di due scomparti laterali dell'altare, un tempo nella chiesa parrocchiale di Spresiano vicino Treviso. Purtroppo, questi due grandi artefatti, ognuno dei quali riportava 14 rilievi figurativi minori e due grandi figure di Santi, sono andati perduti; ne trattiamo unicamente in base alle foto conservate, riprodotte negli scritti di Fossaluzza (fig. 17). Questo comunque ci consente di evincere che i piccoli rilievi con rappresentazioni di Santi non si discostano molto da quelli dell'altare di Momorano. Mi sembra particolarmente indicativo il ripetersi della figura di Sant' Eustachio di Spresiano, che a Torcello è diventato San Liberale (fig. 16): il ripetersi della bella soluzione del corpo leggermente ruotato, il movimento della testa retta da un collo possente (presente anche nelle figure delle Sante a Momorano), la posizione delle mani, la contrapposizione di pieghe trasversali semilunari e verticali rimandano al medesimo intagliatore, non estraneo a mutuare spunti o all'uso degli stessi modelli. G. Fossaluzza ha notato la vicinanza stilistica dei rilievi di Spresiano e di Torcello, ma ad analisi ultimate ritiene trattarsi di opere di autori diversi²¹. Credo che ci si debba impegnare oltre e chiarire, nella definizione delle caratteristiche della produzione della bottega di Paolo Campsa, il ruolo dell'intagliatore dell'altare di Spresiano: il classicismo delle grandi figure di Spresiano e Momorano è forse una novità che l'intagliatore fa sua in età matura. Dico tanto a future riflessioni, che certamente ci saranno.

²⁰ I. MATEJČIĆ, op. cit. (n. 17), pp. 197-199.

²¹ G. FOSSALUZZA, Botteghe di scultura lignea del Rinascimento fra Venezia, Treviso e l'Istria. Una precisazione per Paolo Campsa e identificazione del Maestro dell'altare di Spresiano e di Benedetto da Ulm, addenda su Giovanni Martini, *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 37, Zagreb, 2007, pp. 43-72.



Fig. 17. Fotografia del pannello della perduta pala d'altare di Spresiano (da G. FOSSALUZZA, *op. cit.* /n. 15/)

La quantità di opere lignee a intaglio pubblicate dalla bottega di Campsa è davvero imponente: stando ai documenti e alle opere conservate, si tratta di diverse decine di insieme con oltre un centinaio di sculture e rilievi individuali. Con l'aggiornamento del catalogo, in futuro sarà necessario raccogliere e selezionare tutte le proposte di attribuzione (ma forse già ora è possibile riconoscere quelle per così dire azzardate), in quanto il nome di Campsa è ormai diventato una sorta di ritornello, troppo spesso ripetuto nei tentativi di identificazione di opere d'intaglio con parvenza di caratteristiche rinascimentali. Di certo bisognerà affrontare un ulteriore compito, delicato e difficile, che fa riferimento a un tema artistico gravato da un determinato contesto tipologico. Nei documenti pubblicati si fa menzione, una volta soltanto, del fatto che Campsa, oltre alle pale, fornisse anche altre opere: nel 1526 assunse l'obbligo di intagliare e dorare un candelieri da processione²². Non è documentato che la sua bottega avesse prodotto alcun Crocifisso, al tempo l'oggetto figurativo più richiesto tra gli arredi liturgici. Tra le decine se non centinaia di Crocifissi lignei rinascimentali conservati nelle chiese del Veneto, di tutto il bacino dell'Adriatico e oltre, per ora distinguiamo a malapena quelli d'inizio del XVI secolo da quelli nati in decenni successivi. Con il tempo, forse anche in questo catalogo sarà possibile individuare le opere di Campsa e dei suoi intagliatori. Ad oggi, il candidato più adatto mi sembra essere il Crocifisso della navata meridionale della chiesa di Veglia: il modellato

del volto, la fattura della barba e baffi e soprattutto le lunghe, voluminose e arricciate ciocche di capelli che ricadono sulle spalle, combaciano con quelle di alcune figure maschili degli altari di produzione della bottega (Cristo Risorto della chiesa di Treville di Castelfranco, San Giacomo del trittico di Montona). Altri esempi, confortati dalle stesse motivazioni, mi vengono dal piccolo Crocifisso della chiesa di San Simeone Piccolo a Venezia, che mi era stato segnalato dalla restauratrice Giovanna Menegazzi, ma per ora non dispongo di tutti i dati necessari a una pubblicazione.

Dvije crtice o drvenoj skulpturi za profesora Jakšića

Prvi se puta objavljuje kip anđela lučonoše koji je pohranjen u Zbirci župne crkve Sv. Blaža u Vodnjanu. Potječe iz crkve Sv. Mihovila na lokalitetu Banjole između Vodnjana i Batvača, sagrađene 1456. godine. Oblikovanje kipa pokazuje osobine kasnogotičke umjetnosti Venecije i Veneta u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća. Predložene usporedbe s parom *reggitorcia* iz Oratorio dei Bocalotti u Vicenzi (1414. godina) više su tipološke i ikonografske prirode te pokazuju kako su određene oblikovne sheme bile dugo prihvaćene.

Venecijanski rezbar Paolo Campsa (prvi spomen 1495., a umire u Veneciji 1541. godine) vodio je skoro četrdeset godina produktivnu radionicu koja je proizvodila drvorezbarene pozlaćene oltare. Na osnovi dokumenata i sačuvanih radova ta je manufaktura izradila nekoliko desetaka oltarnih cjelina

²² A. MARKHAM SCHULZ, *op. cit.* (n. 6, 2011), p. 162.

sa znatno više kipova i figuralnih reljefa. Katalog djela Campsine radionice kontinuirano se povećava novim nalazima i atribucijama, pa tako i primjerima iz Hrvatske. Uz potpuno utemeljene atributivne prijedloge Gordane Sobota Matejčić i Bojana Goje, pažnju zaslužuju oni Sama Štefanca koji predlaže da se ranijoj fazi djelatnosti Campsine *botteghe*, onoj iz prijelaza stoljeća, pripišu kipovi Bogorodice s Djetetom iz Bala i Ližnjana. Ivan Matejčić je svojevremeno predložio drugačije atribucijsko rješenje, na što ukazuje stil reljefa triju svetaca i prikaza *Poklonstva kraljeva* za koje smatra da su izvorno bili cjelina na poliptihu s Bogorodicom iz Bala.

Veliki rezbareni retabl s dvadesetak kipova i figuralnih reljefa, na osnovi stilskih podudarnosti, Matejčić je, također, krajem prošlog stoljeća pripisao Paolu Campsi. Nakon toga je djelomično pročitao natpis (*Ave Maria / Polo Camp...*) na podanku Bogorodičina kipa, sakriven iza kasnije postavljene tabernakula. Prije nekoliko godina retabl je djelomično demontiran te je započeta restauracija u Hrvatskom restauratorskom zavodu. Sada se natpis vidi u cijelosti zajedno sa zabilježenom godinom izrade (1533.), što predstavlja važan podatak za uspostavu kronologije, ali i osobina stilske razvoja te *botteghe*.

U niz oltara nastalih u Campsinoj radionici treba uvrstiti i onaj koji se nalazi u crkvi della Bastia u mjestu Isola della Scala kraj Verone. Prije četrdesetak godina s njega su ukradeni glavni kipovi, ali se po sačuvanim fotografijama i preostalim dijelovima jasno uočava da se radi o tipičnom proizvodu ove najveće venecijanske manufakture drvenih oltara u prvoj trećini 16. stoljeća. Do sada taj rad nije bio objavljen u stručnoj literaturi. Tipološku osobitost, ukoliko se ne radi o kasnijoj intervenciji, predstavljaju naslikani dijelovi na glavnom vijencu, mjestu gdje su na drugim radovima ove radionice postavljeni figuralni reljefi. Dobro sačuvani reljefi na predeli identično su oblikovani kao oni na oltarima u Motovunu, Quintu di Treviso i drugdje, te se mogu smatrati radom istoga rezbara. Pojednostavljene forme reljefa Boga Oca s anđelima unutar lunete podsjećaju na detalje svetaca na triptihu iz Baške koji su izradili Paolo Campsa i njegov šurjak Giovanni da Meleines 1514. godine.

Glavne figure na djelomično sačuvanom i prerađenom oltaru iz župne crkve u Jelsi nisu izrađene u punom volumenu već u dosta plitkom reljefu. Da se radi o proizvodu Campsinih rezbara izneseno je već 2003. godine na osnovi izrazite sličnosti detalja, posebno malenih reljefa, s onima na drugim poznatim djelima. Reljef s prikazom *Poklonstva pastira* po svemu je identičan onome na oltaru Svetog Kasijana u Quintu di Treviso što govori o „serijskom” načinu rada unutar manufakture. Likovi izrađeni u plitkom reljefu na oltaru iz Jelse navode da se pažnja nanovo usmjeri prema, nažalost nestalim, velikim reljefnim panelima iz crkve u Spresianu kraj Trevisa, poznatima samo po fotografijama. Stav i detalji lika Sv. Eustahija iz Spresiana i onoga Sv. Liberala na Torcellu su toliko podudarni da je potrebno aktivirati hipotezu o istom autoru ili pretpostaviti bitnu međuovisnost, tj. korištenje istoga osnovnog crteža.

U brojnim objavljenim dokumentima nema spomena da je Campsina radionica izrađivala i kipove raspeta Krista – Raspeća, iako se radi o najzastupljenijim devocionalnim figuralnim predmetima, u pravilu izvedenima u tehnici obojanoga rezbarenog drva. Detalji Raspeća iz krčke katedrale, posebno način obrade voluminozne kose, pokazuju sličnosti s kipom Krista iz Trevillea i s onim Sv. Jakova s triptiha iz Motovuna.

Ključne riječi: gotičko-renesansno kiparstvo, drvorezbarstvo, Paolo Campsa, Venecija, Vodnjan, Muroran, Bale, Štinjan, Jelsa, Isola della Scala

UNA NOTA SUI PORTALI DI BONINO DI GIACOMO IN DALMAZIA

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In his paper the author emphasizes the building capabilities of Bonino di Giacomo (Bonino di Jacopo) by summarizing the extant knowledge and data about his activities in Korčula, Dubrovnik, Split and Šibenik from 1408 to 1428. Indeed, in Croatian historiography he is regarded as a capable sculptor, known for his work in distinguishable Gothic style. Moreover, in all of the publications regarding Dalmatian art, including lexicons, he is regularly classified as a "sculptor" with recognizable Lombard characteristics, which is considered a novelty in this region. However, from an overview of the archival sources mentioning his name, as well as from the analysis of building works with monumental portals attributed to him, it can be noted that he was an experienced architect and a planner as well. This can be corroborated by newly detected similarities between the plans of the cathedrals in Korčula and Šibenik, as well as the assumption that he was participating in a series of building activities on the communal buildings in Split. Moreover, in Dubrovnik and Šibenik he is titled as "protomagister ecclesiae S. Blasii" and "primus magister ecclesiae nuove S. Jacobi". All of these conclusions are supplemented with the new and improved results of the iconographic analysis, which is why this short study can be regarded as a starting point for the new and more complete elaboration of the problem of the integral opus of Bonino di Giacomo on the Croatian coast.

Key words: *Bonino di Giacomo (Bonino di Jacopo) da Milano, sculptor, architect*

Le conoscenze sulla produzione dalmata dello scultore Bonino di Giacomo da Milano oggi si presentano come delle linee guida del pensiero e della pratica delle arti visive in questa periferia dell'Europa nel corso del primo terzo del Quattrocento. Le sue opere, di chiaro stampo individuale, si distinguono a livello regionale sia per il loro numero consistente, mai raggiunto da nessun altro scultore-lapicida dello stesso periodo, ma soprattutto per le loro qualità, che si differenziano anche per il loro essere un veicolo dell'affermazione dello stile gotico in versione elaborata nell'Italia settentrionale. Tutti i tentativi, però, di trovare a Milano le puntuali origini di un'artista certamente maturo al momento della sua comparsa in Dalmazia, condussero solo a un generico riconoscimento di un' carattere chiaramente lombardo della sua espressione.¹ Per questo Bonino veniva giudicato un fenomeno isolato, anche dal punto di vista delle grandi linee dell'evoluzione artistica alla fine del Medio Evo nell'Adriatico orientale, dove fu attivo a lungo.

La sua opera è stata giudicata determinante per l'abbandono delle tradizioni del romanico, ancora covanti nel Trecento, e per l'accettazione delle novità basate sulle premesse della creazione appen-

¹ La storiografia inizialmente riconosceva Bonino di Giacomo come Bonino di Campione, attivo nell'ultimo quarto del Trecento a Bergamo, Cremona, Verona e Milano (cfr. A. G. Meyer, H. Folnesics, D. Frey et al.), ma Lj. Karaman dimostrò quest'idea incompatibile con le disponibili informazioni cronologiche e con il linguaggio formale dell'artista, si veda Lj. KARAMAN, *Umjetnost u Dalmaciji XV / XVI vijeka*, Zagreb, 1933, pp. 40-41.



Fig. 1. Portale della cattedrale di San Marco, Curzola
(foto: Ž. Bažić)

ninica, ma senza gli intrecci con le correnti parallele del gotico veneziano, certamente più vitali nello spazio adriatico. Considerando queste posizioni accettabili in linea di principio – almeno fino al ritrovamento di prove contrarie – considero importante concentrarsi sui portali ecclesiastici attribuiti al produttivo Milanese.² Discutendoli, intendo esporre alcune osservazioni che indicano che l'autore non solo fu uno scultore prestigioso, come veniva definito finora, ma anche un costruttore ugualmente abile: una constatazione completamente trascurata dalla critica.

Certamente, per dimostrarlo, bisogna ripassare la cronologia delle esigue prove archivistiche in cui appare il nome dell'artista: dalla prima, scritta a Curzola nel 1407,³ via Dubrovnik e Spalato fino a Sebenico, dove morì nel 1428.⁴ All'interno di questo ben determinato lasso di tempo, lui fu il primo artista itinerante lungo la costa croata, che unì e modernizzò la traiettoria della creazione artistica regionale. Inoltre, si pone anche la questione se lui semplicemente si mise a disposizione degli ambienti sociali in cui fu

accolto come un semplice *lapicida*, oppure mosso da un grado superiore della autocoscienza creativa, fu coinvolto nella traiettoria del progresso intellettuale generale nella regione. La risposta, come

² A Bonino sono attribuiti in modo plausibile i tre portali monumentali, un caso unico e notevole oltre i confini della Dalmazia. Il maestro lombardo lavorò anche – in linea con la prassi tardomedievale – sui monumenti sepolcrali, ma di questi sopravvisse solo un numero esiguo, senza elementi tipologici e morfologici autoctoni, che invece caratterizzano i suoi portali ecclesiastici.

³ Rimane la questione dell'informazione riportata da N. KAPOR – I. ZAFFRON, *Gazetta di Zara*, 1843, p. 431, della presenza di Bonino nel cantiere della cattedrale di Curzola già nel 1408, dato che non era possibile rintracciare nel relativo documento d'archivio, probabilmente disperso nel tempo.

⁴ La sua attività a Sebenico è documentata dall'aprile del 1428, si veda A. G. FOSCO, *La cattedrale di Sebenico ed i suo architetto Giorgio Dalmatico*, Zara, 1873, p. 13, mentre verso la fine di maggio è stato menzionato come defunto, si veda P. KOLENDIĆ, *Šibenska katedrala pre dolaska Orsinija*, *Narodna starina*, VIII / 1924. Tra la quantità dei lavori attribuitigli e il contenuto dei documenti d'archivio esistono delle notevoli divergenze, ovvero delle questioni aperte. In effetti, è difficile credere che solo in un paio di mesi lui avrebbe creato tutto quello che gli si attribuisca a Sebenico. A Spalato, la sua attività si presenta molto più cospicua ma non corroborata finora dai documenti originali, mentre a Dubrovnik le notizie d'archivio riportano molti più lavori di quelli oggi visibili, e finalmente a Curzola esistono alcune opere e solo due citazioni archivistiche in cui è menzionato di passaggio. Per queste ragioni alcuni ritengono che venne a Sebenico per la costruzione della chiesetta di Santa Barbara, a cui fu molto legato come testimonia il suo lascito di 104 ducati e l'intenzione di sistemarci la propria tomba, di cui oggi non vi sono tracce. Chiaramente sull'iter di Bonino rimangono diverse lacune, anche se si intuisce che era molto dinamico, ovvero probabilmente soggiornava a lungo nelle quattro città in cui è documentato, spostandosi dall'una all'altra, ma certamente anche altrove. Questo, però, fino alla scoperta di notizie più certe, non riguarda il problema qui affrontato.

sempre, sarà nel mezzo,⁵ ma rimane chiara l'intesa tra Bonino e i suoi committenti, come anche l'importanza di questa tappa dello sviluppo artistico delle città costiere. In linea di massima, in tutti i centri urbani i committenti accettavano l'espressione di Bonino pur essendo le sue abilità considerate un lavoro artigianale, come del resto succedeva a livello europeo.

Un problema ovvio è anche il fatto che la sua presenza nella storiografia veniva rilevata dall'esame critico delle opere esistenti, mentre diversi suoi lavori, menzionati nei documenti d'archivio, sono spariti senza traccia, tralasciando solo d'intuire le molte lacune e confermando la consapevolezza dello stato molto frammentario delle conoscenze degli *opus* medievali.

In ogni caso, è sicuro che Bonino apparve per la prima volta sulla scena storica a Curzola con i lavori per il portale della cattedrale di San Marco,⁶ e che perì nell'epidemia di peste mentre scolpiva il portale della cattedrale di San Giacomo a Sebenico.⁷ La sua parte nelle composizioni citate è chiaramente leggibile attraverso uno stile molto personale, inoltre riconoscibile sulla cornice del portale della chiesa di San Domenico a Dubrovnik, anche se morfologicamente i due portali sono molto diversi.⁸ Inoltre, sulla celebre colonna di Orlando (lo stendardo portabandiera della città stato dell'adriatico meridionale), sebbene la sua espressione formale fosse condizionata dal conte-



Fig. 2. Portale della chiesa di San Domenico, Dubrovnik (foto: B. Djukić)

⁵ Rimane il fatto che all'epoca in cui il lavoro dello scultore era ancora considerato un'attività artigianale, Bonino ebbe in Dalmazia dei compiti sempre ben complessi, il che indica che lui s'introdusse nelle zone estadiatiche verso l'apice della propria carriera e che su di lui circolavano voci favorevoli. Inoltre, data la vasta misura di questi lavori questo *magister* doveva servirsi di diversi aiuti – i tagliapietre completamente subordinatigli, anche se nei documenti vengono menzionati solo tre. Inoltre, non vi sono citazioni di una bottega, e si intuisce che fossero sempre i grandi cantieri regionali a compirne il ruolo.

⁶ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Korčulanska katedrala*, Zagreb, 1939, pp. 73-74. Il documento annota che *magister* Bonino nel 1412 diede le misure per un arco ad un lapicida locale. Altrimenti, il primo contratto per questa costruzione fu stipulato nel 1406 con il più noto *magistro* Hranić Dragošević, che sembra fosse stato una persona vicina a Bonino (si vedano n. 28, 33.) e forse anche un suo collaboratore. Bonino vi venne espressamente menzionato solo in un'istanza nel 1408, si veda B. BANIČEVIĆ, *Korčulanska biskupija*, 2003, p. 71, così è possibile concludere che lo straniero più preparato lo sostituì. Su entrambi gli artisti si veda *Dizionario biografico croato - Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, ma le informazioni sono scarse, essendo i citati volumi risalenti al 1993 (vol. 2 e 3).

⁷ P. KOLENDIĆ, *Je li Bonin iz Milana radio na šibenskoj katedrali?*, in: *Sirena Buliciana*, Zagreb, 1921, pp. 467-470. La stessa incertezza si riscontra da K. STOŠIĆ, *Katedrala u Šibeniku*, 1926.

⁸ Si tratta dell'arco monumentale *a carena di nave* su due colonne con i capitelli e le fiale in cima, eseguito come la cornice del portale trecentesco della chiesa costruita dai primi anni del Trecento. La detta addizione rivela l'inclinazione del suo autore verso il pensiero costruttivo più forte di un mero istinto scultoreo. Tale inclinazione si ritrova anche su tutti i portali, e specialmente sulle suppellettili ecclesiastiche e sulle altre opere consimili di Bonino nei centri della Croazia meridionale.

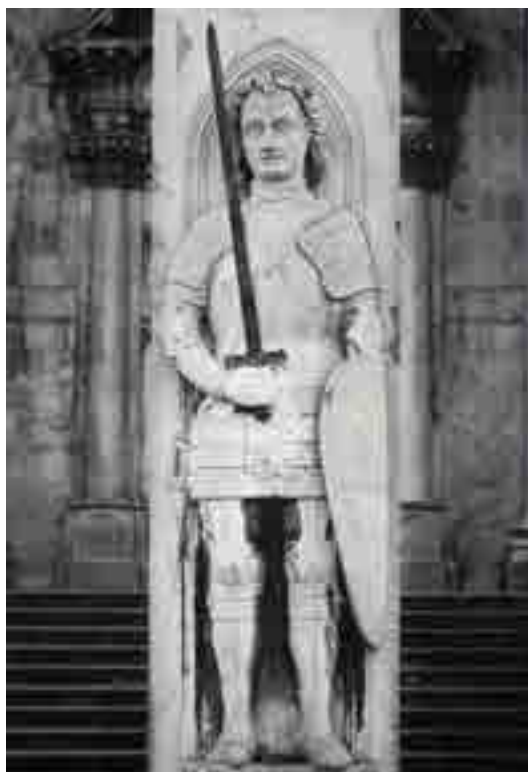


Fig. 3. Colonna d'Orlando, Dubrovnik
(foto: K. Tadić)

nuto specifico, è percepibile la sua sensibilità per i principi architettonici.⁹ La stessa capacità si intuisce nelle sue attività documentate in qualità di protomagistro della chiesa collegiata di San Biagio,¹⁰ oggi completamente ricostruita, come pure in alcune lastre tombali che realizzò nelle altre chiese. Quando gli fu commissionato dal Governo della Repubblica un grande *cimerius* su un palazzo importante, nel documento fu chiaramente precisato che si sarebbe dovuto scolpire secondo un disegno fatto di sua mano.¹¹ Tutto questo permette di percepire il largo spettro creativo di Bonino nel ventaglio delle sue opere di gusto lombardesco, il quale entrò nella scena dalmata proprio grazie a lui.

Usando questa chiave stilistica a Spalato, al Milanese furono attribuiti diversi lavori tipologicamente diversi: un leone marciano tridimensionale, poi delle lastre tombali e degli stemmi degli arcivescovi a lui contemporanei, fino alla plastica decorativa del campanile della cattedrale e di alcuni edifici pubblici.¹² L'unica firma di Bonino fu trovata su un'opera gotico internazionale di prima qualità, ovvero nella cappella memoriale di San Doimo nella cattedrale, con il sarcofago e il *gisant* del protettore della città, sotto un ciborio decorato con una decina di statue e rilievi delle figure dei santi.¹³ A Sebenico era possibile riconoscere le formule della mano Bonino solo sul traforo di una finestra della chiesetta di Santa Barbara,¹⁴ mentre

un documento d'archivio rivelò che vi fu sepolto prima dell'inizio del lavoro sulle fondazioni della cattedrale. In effetti, anche se già nel 1415 iniziarono i preparativi per questa realizzazione, che tra alcuni decenni sarebbe cresciuta nella cattedrale più monumentale della Dalmazia, diverse difficoltà impedirono l'inizio della sua costruzione per una quindicina d'anni.¹⁵ In questo intervallo ricade anche la tarda notizia della morte di Bonino datata al 1429; un documento di quell'anno ci informa che lui, vita durante, era *primus magister ecclesiae nove sancti Jacobi*.

⁹ Si veda I. FISKOVIĆ, *Orlandov stup u dubrovačkom kiparstvu*, catalogo della mostra *Orlandov stup*, Dubrovnik, 2019, anche qui ho sottolineato la forte inclinazione di Bonino verso l'architettura.

¹⁰ Si tratta di un complesso recinto presbiteriale ora sparito di cui ci è nota una parte che portava una decina di figure dei santi ed era il modello per quello eseguito da Pietro di Martino nella cattedrale, si veda A. MARINKOVIĆ, *Kasnosrednjovjekovna crkva sv. Vlaha, Zborna crkva Sv. Vlaha*, Dubrovnik, 2018.

¹¹ N. GRUJIĆ – D. ZELIĆ, *Palača Sandalja Hranića*, in *Anali...* 2010, per cui scolpì un grande *cimerius* sulla facciata.

¹² C. FISKOVIĆ, *Novi nalazi u splitskoj katedrali*, *Bulletin zavoda za likovne umjetnosti JAZU*, 2 -VI /1958. Qui viene citata anche l'iscrizione sulla lastra d'altare: "Mo BONINUS DE MILANO FECIT ISTAM CAPELLAM ...": forse secondaria. Sono recenti le riconoscenze dei suoi importanti meriti nella formazione del complesso degli edifici relativi al governo del comune veneziano, con i quali è stata formulata la nuova fisionomia della piazza principale ad ovest del Palazzo di Diocleziano, si veda R. BUŽANČIĆ, *Bonino Milanac i splitski gradski projekti s početka 15. stoljeća, Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo*, 2018, pp. 13-27.

¹³ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Neobjavljeni radovi Bonina Milanca u Splitu*, *Zbornik za likovne umjetnosti*, Novi sad, 3 /1967.

¹⁴ Probabilmente fu invitato per la sua costruzione, ma rimane solo una finestra "a carena di nave" con gli acroteri e il traforo espressi dal maestro, mentre il rilievo del santo secondo me rimane sporadico, si veda M. PRELOG, *Dalmatinski opus Bonina da Milano, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* (in seguito PPUD), 13 / 1961.

¹⁵ Si veda P. MARKOVIĆ, *Katedrala sv. Jakova u Šibeniku u prvih 105 godina*, Zagreb, 2010, con diverse novità importanti e un riesame dettagliato di tutti i documenti e gli studi pubblicati in precedenza.

Certamente dalle opere elencate e dalle notizie certe si legge a stento nella biografia dell'artista che Bonino venne nel litorale slavo cercando il guadagno, ma non ci è dato a sapere dove e cosa fece in precedenza e in quale cerchia si formò precisamente. Si affermò a Curzola, e seguendo l'esporto della pietra si spostò a Dubrovnik, per essere accettato nel servizio permanente della città-stato, mentre risalendo la costa sotto il dominio della Serenissima fu ricercato in occasioni d'imprese ambiziose. L'opera di Bonino, quindi, si giudica più semplicemente in base alla decorazione plastica delle chiese monumentali, dove sono più chiaramente leggibili la portata e la gamma della sua maniera nella creazione dei motivi decorativi e figurati. A parte il citato caso spalatino, i suoi sforzi in questo senso si concentrarono sulla creazione dei portali come uno dei più importanti compiti dell'epoca, ma la loro attrattività visiva mise in secondo piano gli aspetti architettonici delle singole soluzioni. È importante notare che i due portali con cui il Milanese iniziò e finì la propria carriera dalmata fossero entrambi concepiti per le cattedrali appena avviate: quella curzolana la trovò con il campanile parzialmente costruito inglobato nella facciata occidentale, mentre quella di Sebenico dovette ancora essere iniziata, anche se con la posizione già decisa.¹⁶ Bisogna inoltre rilevare che Bonino non fu documentato nella stessa maniera in questi due cantieri; a Curzola il suo nome appare a singhiozzi, come in un lavoro già avviato, mentre a Sebenico fu direttamente nominato come protomagistro, senza citare i compiti iniziati e conclusi.¹⁷

Questo silenzio della storiografia e delle irrisolvibili lacune dei dati positivistici si ricompensano con un'attenta analisi delle opere visibili e tangibili. Collegando le sue opere al livello formale prima di tutto fu individuata l'uniformità stilistica di numerosi motivi e in seguito fu data una definizione dell'espressione scultorea individuale di Bonino, e su tutto si cristallizzarono delle opinioni abbastanza decise. Mentre concordo con esse senza maggiori dissensi, qui mi preme sottolineare alcuni fatti intriganti che sostanzialmente dimostrano le caratteristiche comuni *in nuce* dell'architettura di questa coppia delle chiese.

Tutte e due le chiese sono basiliche longitudinali a tre navate, una tipologia che già dal primo romano prevaleva in tutto l'areale adriatico. Le loro facciate occidentali presentano un portale rappresentativo nel centro e un sistema simmetrico delle finestre. Entrambi i portali sono composti secondo la costruzione geometrica tipica dell'epoca gotica, che non si discosta dalle tradizioni regionali.¹⁸ Si tratta del portale di "tipo architettonico" che segue uno schema consolidatosi in tutta Europa dal XI secolo: la formula monumentale consiste dell'entrata scavata nella massa muraria della facciata attraverso un'apertura ad arco, possibilmente articolata con dei rilievi.¹⁹ Questa forma, che organica-

¹⁶ Le loro biografie erano legate con lo sviluppo dei centri urbani in cui si trovavano, e sono particolarmente complesse ma anche dettagliatamente analizzate dalla letteratura. Qui bisogna sommarle per i momenti chiave del problema preso in esame: la cattedrale di San Marco era stata eretta nel centro di Curzola dai primi decenni del Quattrocento per corrispondere ai bisogni della diocesi di Curzola-Stagno formata nel 1307. La costruzione dell'attuale cattedrale di San Giacomo a Sebenico fu iniziata nel 1431 con la decisione di erigere una chiesa degna della diocesi, divisasi da quella traurina già nel 1298.

¹⁷ Su questo problema si veda l'analisi dei documenti di K. STOŠIĆ, *Je li Bonin iz Milana radio na šibenskoj katedrali?*, in: *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 52, Split, 1949. Infine, per le più recenti risoluzioni della questione, in base soprattutto ad un'attenta analisi del monumento, si veda P. MARKOVIĆ, *Bonino da Milano – primus magiste ecclesie nove sancti Jacobi*, *PPUD* 39 / 2002.

¹⁸ Una soluzione a misura d'arte provinciale presenta il portale della cattedrale di Sant'Anastasia a Zara del XII - XIII secolo, a cui si collega la parte originale del portale meridionale della chiesa di San Domenico a Dubrovnik, eseguito a metà del Trecento da maestranze zaratine. Simile soluzione in cui si riconosce il sistema romano di addizione si trova anche sul portale della chiesa traurina di San Giovanni, come anche in alcuni esempi alquanto semplici dei presbiteri dei monasteri benedettini dello stesso periodo.

¹⁹ Tutti i portali di Bonino qui analizzati sono delle composizioni ben ponderate sulle formule arcaiche e anche se visti singolarmente corrispondono alle tendenze contemporanee in Italia. Malgrado una certa aritmia delle realizzazioni, per le loro caratteristiche stilistiche ed esecutive, si tratta sempre di quelle migliori nella regione.



Fig. 4. Pianta della cappella di San Doimo, cattedrale di Spalato

mente si riduce verso l'interno, evidentemente invita fisicamente le persone ad entrare nello spazio sacro che mediante la preghiera e i rituali liturgici simbolicamente porta all'ascensione verso il Cielo. Allo stesso tempo i portali, ricordando gli archi trionfali degli imperatori romani con il loro significato di "porta della vittoria", sono strutturalmente definiti da pilastri e da altri elementi scolpiti individualmente che tengono conto delle corrette proporzioni. Quest'armonia generale è nobilitata e visivamente rafforzata dal trattamento scultoreo dei numerosi motivi decorativi e simbolico-narrativi che suggeriscono l'incontro tra il carattere passeggero della vita esterna con l'eternità del sacro all'interno del luogo di culto.²⁰ Ovviamente, una tale affermazione teoricamente ben generalizzante non affronta l'insieme delle peculiarità dei portali scolpiti da Bonino, sui quali le figure espongono programmi iconograficamente chiari, ma difficilmente vanno oltre le entità dell'ornamento.

Queste tensioni a Curzola sono rappresentate da una coppia di figure leonine poste su alte mensole laterali; quest'ultime sul lato anteriore presentano anche le figurine di Adamo ed Eva, mentre il traforo della lunetta è dominato dal motivo di vescica natatoria di chiara provenienza lombarda. Una sensibilità visiva analoga presentano sia la figura di San Marco sul trono nel centro dell'architrave, sia il rilievo di San Giacomo nella lunetta della porta minore nel settore meridionale della facciata, come anche il rilievo del busto di San Pietro sulla chiesa eponima nelle vicinanze della cattedrale.²¹ Tutte queste opere dimostrano un'abilità scultorea sopra la media e un'inclinazione al naturalismo con tracce dell'idealismo tipico dello "stile morbido" dell'epoca, che certamente in tutta la Dalmazia non trovava pari.

L'elevato numero di committenze del maestro lombardo certamente richiedeva degli aiuti, come conferma anche un documento del 1412 in cui *magister Bonino lapicidi Tomasu Subovich pro ecclesia S. Marci* diede le misure

per l'esecuzione di *unum arcum*.²² Sarebbe razionale supporre che si trattasse dell'arco a rilievo sopra il portale, un'idea che ispirò l'ipotesi di attribuire a Bonino anche il progetto della chiesa.²³ Focaliz-

²⁰ È superfluo ripetere che ogni chiesa in senso teologico rappresentava "il corpo di Cristo", e che secondo il Vangelo (Giov - 10, 7-10) lo stesso Cristo dice: "Io sono la porta ... chi passa per me, si salverà".

²¹ I. FISKOVIĆ, Boninov reljef sv. Petra u Korčuli, *Peristil*, 12-13/1970. Per quanto finora noto, la sua presenza in questa città potrebbe essere stata abbastanza lunga per eseguire tutti i lavori a lui attribuiti su base formale.

²² C. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 6). Inoltre, si veda G. NIKŠIĆ, Marko Andrijić i korčulanska katedrala, in "Godišnjak Muzeja grada Korčule", 3/1998.

²³ I. FISKOVIĆ, Korčula grad biskupija i starija njegova likovna baština, in: *700 godina korčulanske biskupije*, 2005. Da allora tra i ricercatori dell'arte del primo Quattrocento vi furono certe sovrapposizioni d'idee, ma mancò un confronto diretto che forse avrebbe portato a chiare e argomentate posizioni.



Fig. 5. Cappella di San Doimo, cattedrale di Spalato
(foto: K. Stuhler)



Fig. 6. Cappella di San Doimo dopo il restauro,
cattedrale di Spalato (foto: R. Bužančić)

zandoci di nuovo sul portale, nelle sue armonie non è difficile costatare una serie di elementi in linea con il linguaggio settentrionale del tardo medio evo che in Dalmazia non si riscontra prima degli albori del Quattrocento.²⁴

Il culmine di questo stile Bonino lo raggiunse con le sue opere nella cattedrale di Spalato, dove però il tema del portale non venne affrontato. Il programma didattico che istruiva gli uomini del periodo nell'atto di entrare nei santuari a misurarsi con le forze spirituali dei poteri sovranaturali della celebrazione celeste, invece fu particolarmente ben espresso nel portale di Sebenico, preparato dal Milanese in ruolo di "primus magister ecclesiae novae S. Jacobi" nel corso di pochi anni prima della sua improvvisa morte. In effetti, sebbene i consigli cittadini e il capitolo ancora discutevano sulla posizione di questa nuova chiesa, nello stesso tempo venivano procurati i materiali per la costruzione. Come spesso accadeva, una serie di circostanze posponeva la posa della prima pietra della cattedrale e la costruzione iniziò solo nel 1431. Poco dopo, diverse maestranze condotte appositamente da Venezia, guidarono l'impresa²⁵ e gli elementi scolpiti da Bonino furono inglobati in due portali: oltre a quello

²⁴ I. FISKOVIĆ, Sui contatti della Dalmazia con l'Italia gotica, in: *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen âge en hommage 24 a Xavier Barral I Altet*, Paris, 2012, pp. 252-257.

²⁵ Un'ipotesi plausibile sarebbe che questo fu voluto dalla Serenissima, che – secondo alcune tesi altrimenti non argomentate – allo stesso cantiere dieci anni più tardi avrebbe inviato anche Giorgio Dalmata, cfr. M. MURARO, La Venezia della Ca d'oro, Giorgio da Sebenico..., in: *Juraj Matejev Dalmatinac* (Radovi IPU, 3 – 6, Zagreb 1979. – 1982). Bisogna però essere cauti, dato che i dati d'archivio su tutte queste maestranze e la cronologia delle opere non sono ancora sincronizzati.



Fig. 7. Portale della cattedrale di Sebenico, le figure degli apostoli temporaneamente spostate (foto: Ž. Bačić)

principale sulla facciata occidentale, si costruì anche quello laterale verso la piazza comunale.²⁶ In seguito a questa mia ormai lontana costatazione, in generale accettata dalla critica, si creò una certa confusione sulla paternità artistica delle varie sculture e degli altri elementi di sostegno, ma questo problema non rientra nella presente discussione.²⁷ Vorrei però sottolineare che nel programma del portale principale con i dodici apostoli posti nell'ordine verticale dei baldacchini laterali, insieme ai due busti, quello più grande di Cristo sulla chiave della lunetta e quello minore di San Giacomo sull'architrave,²⁸ vedo la rappresentazione della "Porta del Paradiso", e non un "Giudizio universale" come spesso ripetuto nella storiografia. Considero questa visione universale dell'ingresso al Cielo indicata dal motivo delle foglie d'acanto come rappresentazione della pianta dell'immortalità intorno all'apertura della porta della chiesa, ma soprattutto dalla lettura iconografica della coppia di figure umane nude sotto gli stipiti della porta. I loro corpi attorcigliati sono mossi verso l'alto e verso l'interno,²⁹ suggerendo una corrispondenza con le anime desiderose della Resurrezione, annunciata da una coppia di suonatori di trombe situati negli angoli della lunetta. In supporto al tema circoscritto della Chiesa vi sono altri motivi provenienti dal gruppo originario di Bonino in seguito inseriti nel portale laterale: la "Porta dei leoni" con le figure di Adamo ed Eva disposte simmetricamente sopra quelle di leoni alquanto grandi.³⁰



Fig. 8. Statua di Cristo, il portale principale della cattedrale di Sebenico

²⁶ I. FISKOVIĆ, Uz proširenje djelatnosti Jurja Dalmatinca u Šibeniku, *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 13, Novi Sad, 1977, pp. 83-86. Ricordo che il consiglio comunale nel 1441 incolpò i maestri precedenti di "aver speso di più sull'ornamento che sulla costruzione della cattedrale", e che qui il genio di Giorgio Dalmata fu più forte nel campo architettonico che in quello scultoreo.

²⁷ Rimango sulle posizioni già espresse (vedi nota 25), tralasciando le analisi più dettagliate ad un'altra occasione.

²⁸ Nella letteratura sono stati interpretati diversamente, ma il tema della "Salvezza dell'umanità" la considero la più plausibile, dato che le due figure di Cristo all'interno della stessa opera non sarebbero possibili e che quella inferiore non ha l'obbligatoria aureola con la croce. L'identificazione di questa figura come il titolare della chiesa, San Giacomo, è corroborata dal fatto che tutti gli apostoli sono anche senza le aureole. Questa figura barbata probabilmente nella mano destra aveva il suo attributo, il bastone, ora disperso.

²⁹ La soluzione si ritrova nell'opera di Hranić Dragošević, si veda I. FISKOVIĆ, Nove spoznaje o gradnjama i oblicima crkve franjevac na Otoku kod Korčule, *PPUD* 43 / 2016, - ipoteticamente confermando un suo incontro precoce con Bonino a Curzola, e forse anche un'immagine più chiara sul ruolo di questo maestro nell'arte della Dalmazia meridionale.

³⁰ Anche se non è stato possibile stabilire un loro posto in un sistema ancora tutto da ricostruire, ovvero sull'unico portale di Bonino, si potrebbe pensare ad un ricordo di Traù, dalla cui giurisdizione ecclesiastica Sebenico si emancipò creando una nuova diocesi, la più giovane della Dalmazia, e con questo diventò una città in pieno senso della parola.



Fig. 9. Statua di San Giacomo, il portale principale della cattedrale di Sebenico

Tuttavia, la vera ispirazione per questo articolo è stata la constatazione della coincidenza della disposizione architettonica delle due chiese pensate nel momento in cui il milanese Bonino convalidava il proprio ruolo di proto con la creazione dei portali: prima quello curzolano e poi quello di Sebenico. A parte il variare sempre la stessa simbologia teologico-religiosa, le piante della zona anteriore di questi due edifici coincidono in larghezza e nella disposizione delle colonne tra le navate, come dimostra il rilievo che riporto.³¹ Queste coincidenze secondo la mia opinione non sono per niente casuali, ma sono legate al fatto che l'idea di qualsiasi portale non possa essere creata senza una visione del progetto più o meno completo della chiesa su cui si sarebbe trovato.³² Di regola, le pareti e il portale venivano costruiti assieme, in quanto gli strati orizzontali dei blocchi di pietra dovevano essere incastrati con gli elementi verticali del portale scolpito, creando un'unica parete stabile che richiedeva una certa esperienza. In parole povere, l'autore di questi due portali logicamente doveva essere il progettista della chiesa: colui che probabilmente già nel 1408 stipulò la costruzione della cattedrale di San Marco con il vescovo di Curzola e Stagno, e che a Sebenico nel 1429 – già morto – fu nominato "il primo magistro" – in realtà il protomagistro della cattedrale dedicata a San Giaco-

³¹ Ringrazio l'arch. Ivica Tenšek, che lo eseguì per la mia relazione al convegno *Gradnja Arsenala – gradnja katedrale*, Lesina, 1998, organizzato dal Dipartimento di storia dell'arte di Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Zagabria, rimasta inedita.

³² In entrambe le chiese sopra la navata centrale furono previsti i soffitti lignei, la cui larghezza doveva corrispondere alla lunghezza delle travi, come in una serie di chiese d'epoca, ma gli intercolunni identici delle arcature sono una caratteristica che ritengo più che indicativa. Certamente, si dovrebbero fare dei rilievi più precisi della costruzione geometrica del progetto, e poi calcolare tutte le proporzioni per una sua possibile ricostruzione ecc. Fino al compimento di una tale analisi, indico che tra le poche basiliche a tre navate realizzate lungo la costa orientale dell'Adriatico, la collegiata di Pago – un'opera delle maestranze curzolane della metà Quattrocento – ha la stessa larghezza della navata principale, ma gli intercolunni molto più stretti, data la sua altezza, risultando in rapporti e in armonie diverse.

mo. La storia consecutiva dei cantieri di queste chiese causò alcune differenze da una loro comune planimetria ideale,³³ ma non trasformò l'idea generale del loro primo nucleo, così che nemmeno in seguito la loro crescita in altezza annullò l'iniziale modesto aspetto di basilichette sul livello di una tipologia ben radicata sul Mediterraneo.

Considerando Bonino di Milano l'autore delle planimetrie in questione, come anche di una buona parte della prima fase della loro costruzione che di regola includevano anche la realizzazione dei portali, è possibile capire quanto e come in linea di massima siano conformi agli ormai anacronistici modelli lombardi.³⁴ Inoltre, su entrambi rimangono assenti dei forti riferimenti all'arte francese, mai presenti in misura consistente nell'area adriatica, ma in Dalmazia alcune soluzioni formali e stilistiche penetrarono proprio grazie a Bonino. Infatti, entrambi i suoi portali sono caratterizzati da un alto arco in rilievo a varia altezza, sconosciuto nelle altre parti della regione.³⁵ A Curzola esso è molto sporgente, reca delle modanature piuttosto semplici ed è appoggiato sulle mensole con i leoni, mentre a Sebenico esso è definito dalle foglie d'acanto stilizzate sulle cornici delle porte e della lunetta. In una composizione che oggi appare completamente stravolta, le verticali sono definite dalle paraste con i cibori e le fiale, tutto molto ornato ma senza leoni, spostati dai costruttori successivi sul portale settentrionale, anch'esso integrato nell'edificio come quello primario.³⁶

La formula costituita da un grande arco simile ad un arco trionfale si ritrova anche sopra il portale più antico della chiesa dominicana di Dubrovnik, sicuramente della mano di Bonino, e ci spinge all'ipotesi che si trattasse di un motivo specificamente suo, ripetuto sui tre monumenti, a cui diede un significato magistrale secondo un suo concetto architettonico. In una certa misura un simile concetto d'autore sarebbe presente anche sulla colonna monumentale del standardo raguseo, mentre la cappella memoriale di san Doimo a Spalato, con il suo grande ciborio decorato, fu pensata dallo stesso maestro, senz'altro ben in possesso dell'arte architettonica.³⁷ In ogni caso, tutte queste opere ci stimolano a riesaminare l'opus dell'artista milanese per poter definire con più precisione il suo ruolo nell'Adriatico sud-orientale come autore degli importanti monumenti lapidei risalenti ai primi tre decenni del Quattrocento – e in questo è rintracciabile lo scopo del presente saggio.

Fu decisivo per la storia dell'architettura della Dalmazia, seppur il rinnovo stilistico del periodo non aveva cambiato i sistemi costruttivi e spaziali delle chiese,³⁸ ma fu determinante per il linguaggio

³³ La cattedrale di Curzola fu allargata verso nord nel corso del Cinquecento con l'aggiunta della grande cappella della confraternita di San Rocco. Questo implicò la sostituzione dell'ex muro perimetrale con le arcate sotto le volte, senza però coinvolgere le tre absidi quattrocentesche. A Sebenico, dalla metà del Quattrocento la cattedrale fu allungata con la costruzione di un profondo presbiterio con il pseudo transetto e le tre absidi.

³⁴ Per la Lombardia dal Duecento si veda almeno: A. M. ROMANINI, *L'architettura gotica in Lombardia*, I – II, Milano, 1964, - fino ad adesso senza modelli più vicini, ma con la differenza importante sui materiali, mattone in Lombardia, pietra in Dalmazia.

³⁵ Questo schema in Dalmazia non esiste altrove, mentre potrebbe essere significativo l'esempio della cattedrale di Como, sempre nella regione di provenienza di Bonino. Certamente, si potrebbero trovare altri esempi nel contesto dell'architettura sacra ma anche quella profana di quell'area dalla fine del Duecento: si notano alcune analogie generiche con il repertorio di Bonino nella Certosa di Pavia o a Castiglione d'Olna e altrove.

³⁶ Su loro eressero le sculture di Adamo ed Eva, mimando il sistema del portale di Traù, dove sono firmate nel 1240 da "Raduanus haec arte preclarum" – dalla cui diocesi quella di Sebenico si divise alla vigilia della costruzione della cattedrale, ma il programma per le comprensibili ragioni etico-simboliche rimase lo stesso, anche se su questo portale fu disturbata l'armonia proporzionale tipica di Bonino.

³⁷ A Spalato gli si attribuiscono gli interventi nel consolidamento statico del campanile romanico della cattedrale, si veda C. FISKVIĆ, *op. cit.*, (n. 13), – che presuppongono una buona preparazione a livello costruttivo, mentre i tipici inserti figurativi rimangono su un livello medio della plastica del periodo, e quindi analoghi alle altre opere di Bonino. Le riflessioni seguenti degli altri ricercatori sulle opere in questione richiedono un ulteriore esame.

³⁸ Mentre loro rimasero statiche nelle proprie tradizioni, nella decorazione corrisposero alle esigenze provinciali della simbiosi tipica tra il vecchio e il nuovo, si veda I. FISKVIĆ, *Secundum morem patriae – identitet crkava propovjedničkih redova u jadranskoj Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 2016.

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|| KATEDRALE U KORČULI I ŠIBENIKU

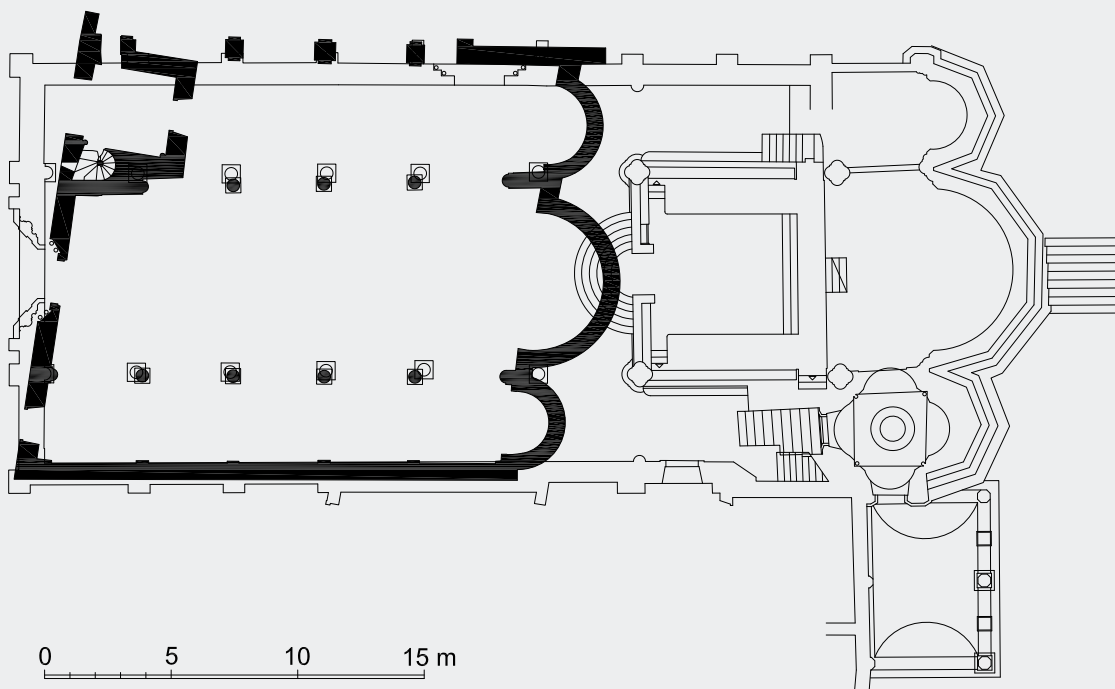


Fig. 10. Confronto tra le piante della cattedrale di Sebenico e della cattedrale di Curzola

decorativo delle parti scultoree ed ornamentali rappresentative. L'ornato lapideo si dimostra il portatore principale delle tendenze moderne che espulsero i retaggi del romanico insieme alla dominazione del linguaggio del Trecento veneziano, e nella sostanza sono in armonia con gli esiti dei centri artistici della profonda terraferma appenninica. Qui Bonino si distinse come un artista che dimostrava il proprio sapere costruttivo seguendo le matrici tradizionali dell'architettura sacra dalmata, e nello stesso tempo allargava il registro delle forme della plastica lapidea che portò dalla patria.³⁹ Con lo scopo di chiarire la complessità di questa affermazione bisogna sottolineare come, a parte questa modesta ondata di soluzioni condizionalmente definibili come francesi, anche se di una morfologia impoverita,⁴⁰ la costa occidentale dei Balcani accettava lo stile internazionale filtrato attraverso il

³⁹ In quale misura lui traesse ispirazione dal suo paese d'origine rimane una questione aperta fino ad un completo riesame di tutti i documenti e le opere rilevanti, anche se il suo vocabolario personale poteva arricchirlo viaggiando in diverse parti d'Italia prima di arrivare a Curzola. Inoltre, per una serie di esempi – iniziando con l'attività del maestro Eustasio di Trani dal 1199 sulla cattedrale di Dubrovnik – è chiaro che, come diversi proti, costruendo le chiese fosse responsabile di persona per la maggioranza delle sculture, senza dover ricorrere alle committenze separate per ogni singolo elemento.

⁴⁰ Cfr. G. CARBONARA, Considerazioni su alcuni impieghi del «crochet» e della «contre courbe» nell'Italia Centrale, Quaderni «La Sapienza» - Saggi in onore G. de Angelis d'Ossat, Roma 1987 e gli studi simili. Qui è importante sottolineare che proprio questi motivi sono presenti sui lavori attribuiti a Bonino: la sagoma "a carena di nave" sul portale di Curzola, le foglie d'acanto stilizzate a lumaca sul pseudoportale a Dubrovnik e sul ciborio a Spalato ecc.

setaccio italiano, così che nello scambio delle maestranze e delle esperienze nell'areale adriatico fu creata una certa "lingua franca",⁴¹ sempre "mediterraneamente" astenuta verso tutti gli esiti del gusto settentrionale alquanto esotico.

Fu questo lo spirito della maggioranza delle creazioni del litorale dalmata dopo che Bonino di Giacomo aveva finito la propria missione coi risultati che dimostrano come egli fu in possesso di un lessico di origini lontane composto con una sintassi ben corretta,⁴² mentre l'analisi critica qui non fu condotta nel dettaglio, ma in funzione dell'ipotesi di riconoscere l'artista anche come costruttore almeno in misura tale di come sia stato valorizzato come scultore. Insisto su questo punto dato che lui usava i rari aiuti per i compiti minori,⁴³ mentre non ebbe né la concorrenza dei collaboratori stretti e di lunga durata, come nemmeno dei veri seguaci in quanto nel suo ritmo della circolazione tra le varie città non riuscì a stabilire una bottega stabile.⁴⁴ Per ogni committenza si appoggiava alle maestranze locali con le quali singolarmente, di persona o attraverso il committente, stipulava i contratti a breve termine e con compiti precisi sotto il suo controllo. Una tale integrità dell'opera, identificabile sia delle sculture eseguite personalmente sia dalla scelta dei motivi decorativi, necessariamente intendeva anche una regia nella progettazione architettonica,⁴⁵ formalmente leggibile nelle armonie stilistiche e tecniche della serie di elementi costituenti la costruzione le quali testimoniano come Bonino di Giacomo facesse parte della pleiade dei maestri più efficienti della produzione lapidea del primo Quattrocento dalmata.

⁴¹ In esteso si veda I. FISKOVIĆ, Putovi i vidovi umjetničke razmjene među obalama Jadrana, in: *Pontes Adriatici*, Zagreb, 2017. Idem, I. FISKOVIĆ, Traversando il mare: l'arte tra Duecento e Rinascimento, in: *L'arte per mare*, Milano, 2007.

⁴² In questo campo rimane da sottolineare la sensibilità di Bonino per la materia e la sua grande abilità scultorea, in cui bisogna vedere l'esperienza generale degli abilissimi lapicidi campionesi che tradussero in pietra le idee originali. Dai dati citati è chiaro che lui, insieme all'obbligatorio scalpello, certamente usava anche il compasso come l'attrezzo primario del costruttore.

⁴³ La letteratura cita diversi documenti d'archivio, ma senza precisare i compiti di questi collaboratori di Bonino, il che risulta in un linguaggio unico e indistinto. Essi quindi rimangono a livello artigianale e nessuno di loro raggiunse un livello di emancipazione tale da poter essere riconosciuto per nome in un altro luogo.

⁴⁴ Sull'esistenza delle botteghe in Dalmazia, cfr. I. FISKOVIĆ, Majstori i majstorske radionice: *Nikola Firentinac i Andrija Aleši, Majstori i majstorske radionice u umjetničkoj baštini Hrvatske*, Zbornik Dani Cvita Fiskovića V., Zagreb, 2014, pp. 63-83, ma il problema rimane tuttora aperto.

⁴⁵ Lo dimostra meglio il lavoro di Bonino nella chiesa ragusea di San Biagio del 1424, di cui si conoscono i due contratti con i committenti che menzionano i disegni e i modelli in gesso, ovvero gli strumenti di un costruttore ben preparato, si veda C. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 13) e A. MARINKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 10). Inoltre, rimane il fatto che venne da Milano, dove intorno al 1400 il proto francese della cattedrale Jean Mignot creò il motto: "Ars sine scientia nihil est", che rimase un'indicazione metodologica per tutti i lavoratori del settore di questa generazione.

Bilješka o portalima Bonina Jakovljeva u Dalmaciji

Sumirajući znanja i podatke o radu Bonina Jakovljeva iz Milana u Korčuli, Dubrovniku, Splitu i Šibeniku od 1408. do 1428. godine, autor stavlja naglasak na njegovu djelatnost u svojstvu vrsnoga graditelja. Naime, u našoj su se literaturi poglavito cijenila majstorova kiparska umijeća i u svezi s time vrjednovao niz skulpturalnih ostvarenja prepoznatljivo gotičkog izričaja. Dapače je u svim pregledima dalmatinske umjetnosti, pa i leksikonima, on redovito bio zaveden kao "kipar" izrazito lombardskih karakteristika, koje su u regiji značile novinu.

Međutim, kako čitanjem arhivskih dokumenata s njegovim spomenom, tako i analizom gradnji na kojima se ističu njemu razložito pripisani monumentalni portali, utvrđuje se da se u navedenim sredinama iskazao i kao vrlo iskusan arhitekt, pače i prestižan projektant. Tomu zaključku upućuju novouočene podudarnosti između tlocrta korčulanske i šibenske katedrale, te pretpostavka da je u Splitu sudjelovao pri oblikovanju raznih komunalnih zdanja, a napose činjenica da je u Dubrovniku i Šibeniku bio naslovljen kao *protomagister ecclesiae S. Blasii*, odnosno *primus magister ecclesiae nuove S. Jacobi*.

Sva su ta razmatranja dopunjena ikonografskim spoznajama koje su drukčije od dosadašnjih, te se ova kratka studija može smatrati polazištem za potpuniju razradu problema integralnog Boninova opusa na hrvatskoj obali.

Ključne riječi: *Bonino Jakovljević iz Milana, skulptor, arhitekt*

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This paper examines illuminated manuscripts produced by or linked to important female religious houses in Ferrara and the Este territories, to argue for the strong rapport between court and monastic or conventual patronage, especially during the reigns of Borso d'Este and Ercole I (1450-1505). A central role was played by sisters of the convent of the Clarissan Franciscans of Corpus Domini in Ferrara, where Caterina Vigri, a scribe and later founder of Corpus Domini in Bologna, lived. Other important centers included the Benedictine Monastery of Sant'Antonio in Polesine, and the Convent of Santa Caterina (Dominican Tertiaries), founded by Lucia Broccadelli da Narni, counselor to Duke Ercole. The surviving manuscripts allow for examination of how their images and texts reflect the devotional intensity promoted in these religious houses. A new analysis of well-known manuscripts will be joined by the presentation of a previously unstudied Rule of Saint Augustine for a female congregation painted in Ferrarese style, whose origin is still unknown.

Key words: illuminated manuscripts, religious women, Este court, Caterina Vigri, Lucia Broccadelli, Ferrara

L'intervento presenta alcuni manoscritti miniati a Ferrara nel XV secolo realizzati per la corte o per monasteri femminili nei quali le immagini, soprattutto nelle scelte iconografiche, suggeriscono rapporti con la spiritualità dell'osservanza francescana e domenicana femminile.¹ Come dimostrato dagli studi di Gabriella Zarri, il culto delle sante viventi rappresentò uno degli elementi con cui i Principi del Rinascimento tentarono di rivitalizzare la vita religiosa sostituendo ai culti tradizionali le devozioni incentrate sul patrocinio della corte.² Il carattere sacro e l'investitura del potere politico, a differenza di quanto accadde nei secoli precedenti dove era il re ad essere santo, vennero ricercati all'esterno, in figure carismatiche taumaturgiche e profetiche. Per Ferrara furono la clarissa Caterina Vegri, nota come Vigri, e la terziaria domenicana Lucia Broccadelli da Narni.³ Le clarisse nobili e istruite, autrici di opere di interesse spirituale, rappresentano la punta più elevata della presenza femminile nella vita religiosa, ma, e questo in particolare per Ferrara, ebbero ampio spazio anche le

¹ Per l'arte dei domenicani e francescani nell'Italia del Rinascimento: *Sanctity Pictured. The Art of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders in Renaissance Italy*, (ed.) Trinita Kennedy, Nashville, 2014 e, in particolare, il saggio di H. FLORA, *Order, gender, and image: art for Dominican and Franciscan women*, pp. 63-76.

² G. ZARRI, *Le sante vive. Cultura e religiosità femminile nella prima età moderna*, Torino, 1990. Per il concetto espresso si veda l'introduzione e in particolare p. 14.

³ Studi fondamentali per comprendere il rapporto tra la corte estense e Caterina Vegri e Lucia Broccadelli sono: G. ZARRI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), capitoli 1 e 2, pp. 21-85; *Santa Caterina Vegri, Le sette armi spirituali*, (ed.) Cecilia Foletti, Padova, 1985; K. G. ARTHUR, *Women Art and Observant Franciscan Piety. Caterina Vigri and the Poor Clares in Early Modern Ferrara*, Amsterdam, 2018 e, per Lucia Broccadelli: T. HERZIG, *Le donne di Savonarola. Spiritualità e devozione nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Prefazione di G. ZARRI, Firenze, 2014 (edizione originale: *Savonarola's Women. Visions and Reform in Renaissance Italy*, Chicago, 2008).

domenicane influenzate dal pensiero di Savonarola che come è noto per le sue origini ferraresi ebbe, almeno in una prima fase, il forte appoggio della corte nella persona di Ercole I d'Este.

Il periodo cui ci riferiamo è quello del ducato di Borso ed Ercole I d'Este che si succedettero al potere dal 1450 al 1471 e dal 1471 al 1505. Erano entrambi figli di Nicolò III; il primo non prese mai moglie, mentre il secondo sposò Eleonora d'Aragona, da cui nacque Alfonso d'Este. Come è noto entrambi perseguirono politiche culturali nelle quali l'arte e la magnificenza, ebbero un ruolo centrale. Evochiamo come esempi il ciclo figurato della Sala dei mesi di Schifanoia e le addizioni urbanistiche che entrambi fecero nella città, ultima in ordine di tempo l'Addizione Erculea con i bei palazzi di Corso Ercole d'Este. L'intera corte si uniformò al gusto dei signori, facendo di Ferrara uno dei centri artistici del Rinascimento italiano.⁴

Per entrambi i duchi la religiosità fu elemento importante della vita politica e del rapporto con la città e il popolo. Nel loro agire, testimoniato da numerose fonti, ma pure in alcuni loro ritratti anche dipinti nei manoscritti, vennero enfatizzati, atteggiamenti di fervore religioso e di pietas. Un esempio è quello del *Trattato del modo di ben governare* scritto dal Domenicano Tommaso dai Liuti, nell'esemplare di dedica per Borso d'Este della Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano (Cod. 86) realizzato dopo il 1452 e prima del 1462.⁵ Se nella prima pagina la scena di dedica mostra l'autore inginocchiato dinnanzi a Borso, affiancato dall'allegoria della Giustizia, nell'iniziale di f. 23r, il duca è dipinto nell'atto di adorare il Crocifisso (Fig. 1) indicando, in piena coerenza con il testo di Tommaso dai Liuti, come religiosità e devozione, in quanto mezzi di elevazione spirituale, fossero virtù essenziali al buon Principe. Il duca Borso, dipinto nell'iniziale, ha lasciato le vesti ufficiali e in abiti da camera, nell'intimità dello studio o della camera, instaura un dialogo interiore meditando sul sacrificio di Cristo, un'iconografia che ritroveremo usata anche nelle immagini delle beate. Per Ercole è di interesse la scena di dedica nel manoscritto contenente la *Vita Beati Joannis a Tauxignano episcopi Ferrariae* (Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. Cl. I, 306).⁶ L'opera narra la vita del gesuite Giovanni Tavelli, nato a Tossignano, vescovo di Ferrara dal 1432 al 1446, profondo rinnovatore della chiesa ferrarese, e venerato come beato poco dopo la sua morte. A Giovanni Tavelli fu particolarmente devota Caterina Vigri. Nella vignetta di apertura del manoscritto, Ercole, ormai anziano, il codice è databile tra il 1502 e il 1505, è ritratto

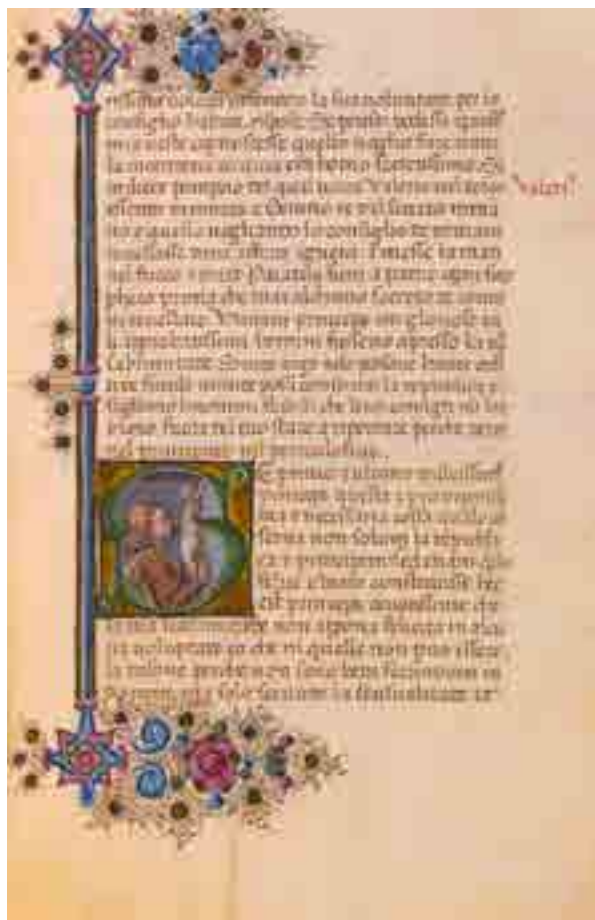


Fig. 1. Taddeo Crivelli, Tommaso dai Liuti, *Trattato del modo di ben governare*, Milano, Biblioteca Trivulziana, Cod. 86, f. 23r, Borso d'Este in adorazione del crocifisso

⁴ W. L. GUNDERSHEIMER, *Ferrara Estense. Lo stile del potere*, Modena, 1988 (ed.) originale Ferrara. *The Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton, 1973.

⁵ *Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milano*, Firenze, 1995, pp. 116-117, scheda di Federica Toniolo.

⁶ *La miniatura a Ferrara. Dal tempo di Cosmè Tura all'eredità di Ercole de' Roberti*, catalogo della mostra, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, 1 Marzo - 31 Maggio 1998, (ed.) Federica Toniolo, Modena, 1998, pp. 314-318 (Lilian Armstrong, cat. n. 75 con illustrazione).

nell'atto di ricevere il libro da un membro della Congregazione dei Gesuati, mentre al suo fianco tra un gruppo di astanti vi è il giovane Alfonso. Entrambi per la sacralità della scena vestono abiti neri di broccato. Ercole si sorregge su un bastone a causa dell'infermità conseguente alla battaglia.

Ma veniamo alle sante viventi. Prima in ordine di tempo è Caterina Vigri.⁷ Nata nel 1413 a Bologna e presto con la famiglia spostatasi a Ferrara dove fu damigella di Margherita d'Este, figlia di Nicolò III. Già a 13 anni nel 1426 entrò nel monastero del Corpus Domini, allora una comunità di pie donne laiche penitenti, da quando era stata fondata nel 1407 da Bernardina Sedazzari. La casa venne trasformata in una comunità di monache osservanti francescane nel 1431 per volontà della nobile donna Verde Pio da Carpi, sorella di Taddea Pio da Carpi che aveva da poco fondato la casa di Mantova sempre intitolata al Corpus Domini.⁸ Il monastero ancora oggi esistente godette di una continua attenzione da parte della famiglia estense, durata fino al XVI secolo. Fu Eleonora d'Aragona a volere che Biagio Rossetti, l'architetto dell'Addizione Erculea, si occupasse del rinnovamento edilizio del convento dopo che il nobile Giovanni Romei aveva lasciato la sua casa in eredità alle monache.⁹ Non solo Eleonora d'Aragona volle esservi sepolta, in abito da clarissa, ma tra chiesa e convento furono seppelliti almeno 21 membri della casa d'Este a cominciare da Nicolò III, seppellito nel 1441 fino a Alfonso II, ultimo duca di Ferrara morto nel 1597. Caterina che prese i voti come francescana alla presenza del vescovo Tavelli, visse nella casa ferrarese fino al 1456, quando fu chiamata a Bologna su iniziativa degli osservanti francescani per fondarvi il monastero del Corpus Domini di cui divenne badessa.

Il 9 marzo del 1463 morì a Bologna e se già in vita aveva dimostrato di possedere doni profetici, accompagnati da eventi prestigiosi, fu dopo morta che dimostrò la sua santità. Il suo corpo fu trovato incorrotto dalle consorelle che, guidate da un profumo di fiori, lo disseppellirono; il corpo è ancora oggi venerato nel monastero bolognese. Caterina fu canonizzata nel 1712.

Il prototipo della sua iconografia ufficiale è testimoniato da una xilografia dell'edizione del libro devoto di Giovanni Antonio Benedetti edito a Bologna nel 1500 dove il suo corpo incorrotto è mostrato assiso in maestà secondo la sistemazione che aveva ricevuto all'interno di un tabernacolo mobile costruito per facilitare il trasporto da parte delle monache, oppure già nella cappella in muratura che venne realizzata in un secondo momento.¹⁰ Il volto di Caterina così come doveva apparire alla finestrella posta fra la clausura e la chiesa pubblica del Corpus Domini, ha permesso di identificare il soggetto della bella tavola del Courtauld Institute di Londra, databile intorno al 1510, del Maestro dei Ritratti Baroncelli (Fig. 2) in cui Caterina è ritratta insieme a tre donatori riconosciuti membri della famiglia bolognese dei Loiani: Giacomo, il committente, è ritratto assieme alla seconda moglie Elisabetta Calderini e alla prima moglie di cui era rimasto vedovo, tale Maria fiamminga.¹¹ Caterina appare al centro con un libro in mano, presumibilmente *Le Sette armi spirituali*, opera da lei scritta ancora a Ferrara,¹² il crocifisso, la corona sul capo, donatale *post mortem* da

⁷ Il nome corretto della santa è Caterina Vegri, sebbene essa sia nota con il cognome Vigri, per questo e per le vicende biografiche si veda *Santa Caterina Vegri, Le sette armi...*, op. cit. (n.3), pp. 16-76; K. G. ARTHUR, op. cit. (n. 3).

⁸ M. M. McLAUGHLIN, *Creating and Recreating Communities of Women: The Case of Corpus Domini, Ferrara, 1406-1452*, Signs, 14, (1989), pp. 293-320; K. G. ARTHUR, op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 23-40.

⁹ V. RUBBI, L'architettura del monastero femminile: exempla, in: *Vita artistica nel monastero femminile. Exempla*, (ed.) Vera Fortunati, Bologna, 2002, pp. 77-97, per il Corpus Domini di Ferrara, pp. 89-94.

¹⁰ Per l'iconografia della santa nell'arte bolognese si veda: I. GRAZIANI, L'iconografia di Caterina Vigri: dalla clausura alla città, in: *Vita artistica nel monastero femminile. Exempla*, (ed.) Vera Fortunati, Bologna, 2002, pp. 221-243, con bibliografia precedente.

¹¹ F. WORMALD, A saint identified in a Lee picture, *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes*, 23 (1962), pp. 129-130, pl. 24; M. KOSTER, Reconsidering St. Catherine of Bologna with three donors by the Baroncelli Master of Bruges, *Simiolus. Netherlands quarterly for the history of art*, 26 (1998), 1/2, pp. 5-17.

¹² L'edizione delle *Sette armi spirituali* è in *Santa Caterina Vegri, Le sette armi spirituali*, op. cit. pp. 115-177. Si veda anche K. G. ARTHUR, op. cit. (n. 3), pp. 67-86.



Fig. 2. Maestro dei Ritratti Baroncelli (attr.), London, The Courtauld Institute of Art, Santa Caterina Vigri con tre donatori



Fig. 3. Miniature bolognese, Caterina Vigri, *Le sette armi spirituali*, Bologna, Monastero del Corpus Domini, Cappella della Santa, f. 51r, Caterina Vigri in adorazione del Crocifisso

Isabella d'Aragona, o da Ippolita Sforza, e vestita da un abito in broccato che il vescovo di Bologna offrì per vestire degnamente il corpo incorrotto. Il volto del corpo incorrotto di Caterina appare anche al di là di un'apertura della parete a destra in coincidenza con la testimonianza delle fonti. Da una finestra i pellegrini, senza entrare negli spazi di clausura potevano adorarla. Sembra così significativo che la figura di San Giacomo, riconoscibile per il bastone e la conchiglia, nel piccolo polittico appeso sulla stessa parete possa essere non solo un dettaglio realistico, ma anche una indicazione di come anche il convento bolognese fosse luogo di pellegrinaggio. Va notato come a fianco del polittico vi sia una tenda appesa a un supporto mobile dove appare lo stemma della famiglia committente. Queste cortine per i polittici erano utilizzate con valore simbolico ma anche per proteggere le opere d'arte. Nell'Ordinario della Cattedrale di Padova del XIII secolo si legge che un'immagine con la Vergine e il Bambino veniva svelata nella liturgia della vigilia del Natale.¹³ Numerose sono le testimonianze del XV secolo riguar-

danti l'uso delle cortine in particolari cerimonie liturgiche, ad esempio il Maestro di Saint Giles che mostra l'interno della chiesa di Saint Denis nella pala oggi a Londra (National Gallery), ma anche Beato Angelico nella pala per l'altare maggiore di San Marco.¹⁴ Nel caso della tavola del Courtauld, la posizione della tenda mobile lascia aperta la possibilità che la cortina fosse funzionale a svelare o velare il volto della santa.

Il rapporto fortissimo che si era creato tra Caterina Vigri e l'ambiente di corte, dovuto all'ingresso sia nel monastero di Ferrara che in quello di Bologna, di nobildonne appartenenti alle famiglie di spicco delle due città, è testimoniato anche dall'opera *Ginevra delle clare donne*, scritta nel 1472 da Giovanni Sabatino degli Arienti e dedicata a Ginevra Bentivoglio moglie di Sante Bentivoglio signore di Bologna. Tra le biografie di donne famose, l'unica religiosa la cui vita è inclusa nel volume è quella di Caterina, presa a rappresentanza dell'elogio della religione. In conformità con quanto lei stessa scrisse nelle *Sette armi spirituali*, Giovanni Sabatino degli Arienti, mette in evidenza le sue virtù: la preghiera e la meditazione soprattutto sulla passione e morte di Cristo. In adorazione del Crocifisso è ritratta Caterina in un manoscritto delle *Sette armi spirituali* conservato a Bologna nel monastero del Corpus Domini (Fig. 3)¹⁵, la cui miniatura peraltro è stata anche attribuita alla

¹³ Il "Liber Ordinarius" della Chiesa Padovana. Padova, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. E 57, sec. XIII, a cura di G. Cattin, A. Vildera, Padova, 2002 (Fonti e Ricerche di Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, XXVII), p. 51.

¹⁴ Per le opere citate e per altre considerazioni sulle cortine si veda A. DE MARCHI, *La pala d'altare. Dal paliotto al polittico gotico. Dispense del corso tenuto nell'anno accademico 2008-2009*, Firenze, 2009, pp. 180-184.

¹⁵ K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 83, fig. 3.5.

santa stessa che, stando alla vita che di lei scrisse la consorella Illuminata Bembo, era stata anche pittrice e ricamatrice.¹⁶

Anche a Ferrara il culto della santa è testimoniato e in particolare da due manoscritti miniati che mostrano iconografie, originali e non ancora uniformate a quelle bolognesi.

Il primo è una copia delle *Sette armi spirituali* conservata alla Biblioteca Ariostea di Ferrara (ms. Cl. I, n. 354)¹⁷ (Fig. 4). Al f. 1r entro un fregio a filigrana di penna con foglie fiori e bottoni dorati, tipico della scuola ferrarese, è inclusa l'iniziale C (*Cum*) dove una miniatura purtroppo non finita ritrae l'episodio della visione che Caterina ebbe in una notte di Natale narrata nel testo: ancora monaca a Ferrara, Caterina recatasi in chiesa a pregare vide la Vergine che sportasi verso di lei le porgeva il bambino Gesù. Caterina narra come avvicinato il suo volto a quello dell'infante sentì il soave odore della purissima carne di Cristo. Il codice potrebbe essere datato attorno alla data di morte di Caterina, quando in tutti i conventi si produssero manoscritti dell'opera scritta dalla santa.

L'altro manoscritto ferrarese di particolare interesse è il libro d'ore Gualenghi d'Este, oggi conservato al Getty Museum di Los Angeles (MS Ludwig IX. 13).¹⁸ Fu eseguito su commissione di Andrea Gualengo e Orsina d'Este nel 1469 circa dai miniatori



Fig. 4. Miniature ferrarese, Caterina Vigri, Le sette armi spirituali, Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, ms. Classe I, n. 354, f. 1r, Caterina Vigri dinanzi alla Vergine con il Bambino

¹⁶ L'unica opera che realisticamente può essere attribuita alla mano di Caterina è il Breviario conservato come reliquia nel monastero del Corpus Domini a Bologna. Per il codice si veda *Pregare con le immagini. Il Breviario di Caterina Vigri*, (ed.) Vera Fortunati, Claudio Leonardi, Firenze - Bologna, 2004; K. G. ARTHUR, *Il Breviario di Santa Caterina da Bologna e l'arte povera clarissa*, in: *I monasteri femminili come centri di cultura tra Rinascimento e Barocco (Atti del Convegno internazionale Bologna 8-10 dicembre 2000)*, Roma, 2005, pp. 93-122; K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 83, 87-118, fig. 3.5. Si vedano, all'opposto, l'estensivo catalogo attribuito a Caterina Vigri in J. M. WOOD, *Women, Art and Spirituality. The Poor Clares of Early Modern Italy*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 121-144 e, invece, in una più realistica prospettiva: S. BIANCANI, *La leggenda di un'artista monaca: Caterina Vigri*, in: *Vita artistica nel monastero femminile. Exempla*, (ed.) Vera Fortunati, Bologna, 2002, pp. 203-219.

¹⁷ Per il manoscritto dell'Ariostea si veda H. J. H. HERMANN, *La miniatura estense*, (ed.) Federica Toniolo, Modena, 1994, p. 135, 145, n. 162. Nella stessa biblioteca è conservato anche un altro esemplare della stessa opera di Caterina, Classe I n. 356, databile post 1463, dove Caterina è ritratta all'interno dell'iniziale, vedi *Ibidem*, p. 146, n. 163. I due manoscritti sono pubblicati anche in K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 122, 124, fig. 5, 5.3, il primo con erronea attribuzione a Taddeo Crivelli e Guglielmo Giraldis e il secondo come di mano di una monaca.

¹⁸ K. BARSTOW, *The Gualenghi-d'Este Hours. Art and devotion in Renaissance Ferrara*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2000. Nel volume oltre a una analisi del manoscritto e delle sue miniature che porta alla datazione e alla attribuzione, viene precisamente affrontato il contesto devozionale dell'opera con precisi affondi sulla figura di Caterina Vigri e sul vescovo di Ferrara, Giovanni Tavelli: in *paric.* alle pp. 95-116. Si veda anche K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 127, fig. 5.6.

Taddeo Crivelli e Guglielmo Giraldi, artisti alla corte Estense negli anni di Borso, responsabili delle miniature della famosa Bibbia del duca. Al foglio 199v i committenti appaiono assieme ai figli dinanzi a San Bellino, un vescovo di Padova del XII secolo, patrono di Rovigo, la cui presenza si spiega perché il suo corpo è sepolto in una località del Polesine a lui intitolata e dove i Gualenghi avevano proprietà terriere. Anche la scelta dei santi raffigurati nella sezione dedicata ai Suffragi evidenzia precisi significati legati alle simpatie dei committenti per l'osservanza francescana. Tra i santi effigiati quattro sono francescani: San Francesco, ritratto nell'atto di ricevere le stimmate (f. 193v), Sant'Antonio da Padova, evocato attraverso il miracolo della Mula e dell'ostia (f. 201v), San Bernardino da Siena (f. 195v) e la beata Caterina da Bologna (f. 185v) (Fig. 5). La presenza di Bernardino e Caterina, è conseguenza della volontà della committenza di rivolgere preghiere a personaggi vicini nel tempo e legati a Ferrara, indicando connessioni tra la spiritualità laica e francescana, peraltro tipiche di molte delle raffigurazioni della tipologia libraria del libro d'ore. Nel caso specifico Orsina d'Este sorella di Margherita, doveva bene conoscere la vita e le opere di Caterina, frutto anche del modello predicato da San Bernardino. Una delle visioni della Vigri, narrate anche da Sabatino degli Arienti, vede Caterina trasportata a Roma dove assiste alla canonizzazione di Bernardino di cui poi incontra l'anima. Nella miniatura del libro d'ore Gualenghi, Caterina indossa l'abito di Clarissa e ha l'aureola raggiata dei beati. Il titolo di beata non ancora riconosciuto ufficialmente appare dichiarato anche nella scritta del cartiglio in alto.

Se queste sono testimonianze di effigi di Caterina, la spiritualità pauperistica dell'osservanza francescana maschile e femminile è bene documentata in un gruppo di miniature staccate appartenenti a una serie di Corali, eseguite nei primi anni sessanta del XV secolo per un convento francescano ferrarese che per Kanter potrebbe essere proprio il Corpus Domini.¹⁹ Tra questi cutting vi sono l'iniziale con la *Natività della Vergine* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, n. 4493) e quella relativa alla festa di Tutti i santi (New York, The Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, 1911; 11.50.2) (Fig. 6) per le quali, data l'altezza qualitativa, è stato fatto il nome del pittore di corte Cosmè Tura. Proprio l'iniziale con *Tutti i Santi* di New York mostra quattro santi, due figure maschili e due femminili, che potrebbero essere identificati con osservanti francescani. In particolare il santo a sinistra dovrebbe essere San Giovanni



Fig. 5. Guglielmo Giraldi, *Libro d'ore*, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX. 13, f. 185v, Beata Caterina Vigri

¹⁹ *La miniatura a Ferrara...*, op. cit. (n. 6), pp. 148-156 (Laurence B. Kanter, cat. n. 20a-e). Vedi anche B. ALAI, *Le miniature italiane del Kupferstichkabinett di Berlino*, Firenze, 2019, pp. 213-215, n. 51.



Fig. 6. Cosmè Tura, New York, The Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, 1911; 11.50.2, Iniziale staccata da Antifonario, Tutti i Santi

da Capestrano che viene di solito raffigurato come qui con una croce rossa sul saio.²⁰ La croce sarebbe ricordo della partecipazione di Giovanni alla crociata contro i Turchi conclusasi con una vittoria nella battaglia di Belgrado. Giovanni da Capestrano fu nel 1450 a Ferrara in occasione del giubileo e della canonizzazione di San Bernardino, dove visitò il monastero del Corpus Domini, incontrando le clarisse, allora nel numero di 85 e dunque anche Caterina Vigri.²¹ Non è invece possibile dare un'identità alle sante donne presenti nell'iniziale, ma l'enfasi visionaria con cui sono ritratte è in sintonia con la

²⁰ G. MARIANI CANOVA, Cosmè Tura e il libro miniato al tempo di Borso, in: *La miniatura a Ferrara. Dal tempo di Cosmè Tura all'eredità di Ercole de' Roberti*, catalogo della mostra, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, 1 Marzo - 31 Maggio 1998, (ed.) Federica Toniolo, Modena, 1998, pp. 134-135.

²¹ Per il culto di San Giovanni da Capistrano e San Bernardino a Ferrara K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 119-152.

religiosità delle clarisse. Un rimando alla carità si manifesta nell'atteggiamento della mendicante anziana dipinta sulla destra, nell'atto di appoggiarsi al braccio della santa più giovane. La mendicante anziana ha una borsa legata in vita pronta alla questua per i poveri. Non può non venire alla mente come nelle note riguardanti abiti, vestimenti e oggetti presenti negli appartamenti ducali del Castello estense venga citata "una bursa de raso negro ricamata da cordoncini de seda nera, per portare in maschera per dare dinari per l'amore d'Iddio", che testimonia la pratica dei duchi di fare elemosina durante le pubbliche manifestazioni.²² La santa più giovane invece reca nella mano sinistra una legatura a sacchetto, in francese chiamata *reliure à l'aumônière* entro la quale si può ipotizzare sia contenuto un libro d'ore o un breviario. La presenza di questo attributo, visibile in numerose raffigurazioni di libri d'ore è di nuovo, per il lettore del tempo, un rimando alla moda degli ambienti di corte.

Altra santa vivente fu Lucia Broccadelli da Narni, nata nel 1476 e morta nel 1544, riconosciuta ufficialmente come beata solo nel 1710, il cui corpo incorrotto è oggi conservato nella sua città natale.²³ Quando nel 1497 Ercole d'Este venne a sapere che una giovane terziaria domenicana residente a Viterbo aveva miracolosamente ricevuto il dono delle stigmate, sebbene avvertito della possibile infondatezza di tale evento, la invitò a Ferrara. Lucia, fervente seguace della riforma di Savonarola e anche per questo particolarmente amata da Ercole e da quella parte della popolazione ferrarese ancora sensibile all'insegnamento del riformatore domenicano, arrivò nella città estense nel 1499. Come aveva promesso, Ercole fondò per lei una casa di terziarie domenicane intitolata a Santa Caterina da Siena, oggi non più esistente, nella quale le monache entrarono nell'agosto del 1501.²⁴ Nell'atto di donazione redatto nel 1502 da Bartolomeo Gogio notaio e letterato alla corte estense, Ercole viene elogiato per essere principe "Sapiens, magnanimus, clemens, iustus" e "religiosus", nonché per avere eretto nell'Addizione Erculeale dieci nuovi monasteri e avere condotto a Ferrara una vergine che "divae Catherinae vestigia imitata" portava le stigmate impresse sul suo corpo.²⁵ Nonostante dal 1498 il capitolo generale



Fig. 7. Pittore ferrarese XVI secolo, Ferrara, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Inv. 243, *Santa Caterina da Siena incoronata da Dio padre tra le nubi con papa Pio II, Ercole I, alcune monache e Alfonso I d'Este*

²² La notizia tratta dagli inventari estensi è pubblicata in L. N. CITTADELLA, *Il Castello di Ferrara. Descrizione Storico Artistica con Appendici*, Ferrara, Stabilimento tipografico di D. Taddei e Figli, 1875, p. 87, alla data 1547.

²³ E. A. MATTER - G. ZARRI, *Una mistica contestata: la Vita di Lucia da Narni (1476-1544) tra agiografia e autobiografia*. Con l'edizione del testo di Beata Lucia (pp. 1-255), Roma, 2011.

²⁴ A. SAMARITANI, *Lucia da Narni ed Ercole I d'Este a Ferrara tra Caterina da Siena, Girolamo Savonarola e i Piagnoni*, Ferrara, 2006.

²⁵ Sull'atto di donazione del 1502 e su Bartolomeo Gogio si veda G. ZARRI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 51.



Fig. 8. Matteo da Milano, Zagabria, Strossmayerova Galerija, Foglio staccato dal Breviario di Ercole I d'Este, SG 338, Il Paradiso

dell'ordine domenicano avesse decretato che le monache che conducevano vita comune fossero esenti dall'obbligo di osservare la clausura, fu dietro richiesta della Broccadelli che venne stabilito, anche in un breve papale di Alessandro VI, che le sorelle di Ferrara vivessero *sub perpetua clausura*. Uniche eccezioni non desiderate da Lucia, ma imposte dal duca, che così perseguiva obiettivi politici di riconoscimento di prestigio e potere presso il popolo e le altre corti, furono i numerosi privilegi ufficiali che permettevano alla futura beata di recarsi a palazzo ducale e di ricevere laici di alto rango nella casa dedicata a Santa Caterina da Siena. Visite mirate a diffondere la fama di santità della mistica al di fuori del ducato. Su richiesta del duca la comunità di Broccadelli ricevette anche l'esenzione dalle tasse secolari e ecclesiastiche, della quale godevano i monasteri femminili domenicani ma non le case di terziarie. Furono inoltre i frati osservanti di Santa Maria degli Angeli, convento adiacente a quello di Santa Caterina, di cui Ercole era devoto benefattore, ad avere il compito della cura e della direzione spirituale della comunità femminile.²⁶ Un dipinto, oggi alla Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara (Inv. 243) (Fig. 7), forse copia di un'ancona di Nicolò Pisano di primo Cinquecento, mostra come a Ferrara ancora nel tardo XVI secolo fosse persistente la memoria del rapporto che in vita vi fu tra Ercole I d'Este e Lucia da Narni. Al centro è Caterina da Siena incoronata da Dio Padre tra le nubi;



Fig. 9. Matteo da Milano, *Breviario di Ercole I d'Este*, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, ms. V.G.11 = Lat. CCCCXXIV, F. 214r, *Santa Caterina nell'atto di ricevere le stigmate*

sotto di lei quattro terziarie domenicane mentre ai lati sono dipinti Pio II, che canonizzò la santa nel 1461, proprio in ragione delle stigmate, e Ercole I d'Este con il figlio Alfonso. Il dipinto eseguito ben oltre la morte di Ercole, è strettamente connesso alla memoria della beata e al culto del suo corpo incorrotto: fonti documentarie infatti attestano che nella chiesa di Santa Caterina da Siena l'ancona si trovava di fronte alla teca con le reliquie, e quando, in seguito alla soppressione della chiesa nel 1796, la pala fu spostata in duomo, anche la teca fu trasferita in quella sede.²⁷

²⁶ T. HERZIG, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

²⁷ *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Ferrara. Catalogo generale*, (ed.) Jadranka Bentini, Bologna, 1992, pp. 178-180 (Alessandra Pattanaro, cat. n. 212, Pittore ferrarese XVI secolo); E. SAMBO, *Niccolò Pisano Pittore (1470- post 1536). Catalogo generale (Il Vello d'oro, 8)*, Faenza – Rimini, 1995, pp. 155-156: “No. 5 Rifiutati. Santa Caterina da Siena incoronata da Dio padre tra le nubi con papa Pio II Ercole I alcune monache e Alfonso I d'Este. Tavola cm 220x143 Ferrara Pinacoteca Nazionale inv. 243 Prov. Ferrara chiesa di Santa Caterina da Siena; duomo (coro) entrata in Pinacoteca nel 1935”.



Fig. 10. Miniature Ferrarese, Regola delle suore di Sant'Agostino, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Ms. Ital. 1181 = alfa.T.7.29, f. 1r, Sant'Agostino e Santa Monica con le sorelle

Dal punto di vista della miniatura mancano purtroppo attestazioni altrettanto evidenti di un rapporto tra Ercole I d'Este e Lucia. Vorrei però segnalare come nel Breviario di Ercole I d'Este (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria Lat. CCCCXXIV = ms. V.G.11)²⁸ opera realizzata per volontà del duca a partire dal 1502, appaiano alcuni elementi che possono indicare quanto la spiritualità del duca fosse influenzata dalla presenza in Ferrara di monasteri di terziarie francescane e domenicane. Si tratta di un codice lussuosissimo, di oltre 400 fogli miniati sul recto e sul verso, dove al principio delle tre sezioni del Proprio del Tempo, del Proprio dei Santi e del Comune, il libro aperto mostrava a sinistra miniature a piena pagina, oggi staccate dal volume,²⁹ e, a destra, il testo con iniziali figurate e fregi con decorazioni a candelabre, perle e cammei e inserti naturalistici. Nel foglio raffigurante il Paradiso, oggi conservato a Zagabria (Strossmayerova Galerija, SG 338)³⁰ (Fig. 8) attribuibile al grande miniatore Matteo da Milano,³¹ entro la cinta muraria sorvegliata da un angelo posto sulla architrave della porta, sono dipinti tutti i santi tra i quali figurano, nella seconda fila a sinistra, sia Santa Chiara che Santa Caterina da Siena, riconoscibili per gli abiti e gli attributi, l'ostensorio con il corpo di Cristo, per la francescana, e il cuore di Gesù per la domenicana. Se in questo caso non possiamo parlare di specifici legami con devozioni importate a Ferrara da Lucia da Narni, credo che le adorazioni care alla beata viterbese possano spiegare alcune scelte iconografiche nelle vignette poste nel Breviario a illustrare la Commemorazione dei Santi. In particolare si tratta delle vignette con il *Martirio di San Pietro Martire* (f. 211r), cui la Narni era particolarmente devota, ma soprattutto quella con *Santa Caterina da Siena* (f. 214r) ritratta nell'atto di ricevere le stigmate (Fig. 9). La festa di Santa Caterina, in precedenza celebrata solo nelle case domenicane dell'Italia centrale, fu adottata anche in quella di Ferrara proprio dal 1502. Ercole su forte insistenza di Lucia riuscì a procurare per il monastero ferrarese, oltre che la reliquia di un frammento del dito di San Pietro martire anche quella di un osso di Santa Caterina da Siena. Inoltre come sappiamo dai documenti la Narni volle che nel convento vi fossero immagini di santa Caterina con i segni visibili delle stigmate, nonostante vi fossero state bolle papali di Sisto IV tra il 1472 e il 1478 che impedivano tali raffigurazioni, confermate anche da Innocenzo VIII nel 1490. Il duca dovette servirsi delle personali entrate nella cura romana per ottenere una speciale dispensa a esporre quei dipinti anche in pubblico. E' così possibile pensare che proprio in memoria di Lucia Broccadelli, il duca abbia voluto anche nel suo Breviario una raffigurazione di Santa Caterina con le stigmate.

Rimanendo in ambito di conventi femminili è di interesse un manoscritto contenente la Regola delle sorelle di penitenza dell'ordine eremitano dell'osservanza di sant'Agostino, certamente eseguito per un convento femminile di Ferrara o dei territori estensi (Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, (alfa.T.7.29 = Ital. 1181).³² Nell'iniziale del f. 1r (Fig. 10) è dipinto sant'Agostino intento a leggere e scrivere, mentre nel margine inferiore appare Santa Monica, nell'atto di accogliere sotto il mantello misericordioso le suore, vestite di nero con velo bianco. Purtroppo non sappiamo l'origine del codice, appartenuto all'antico fondo estense. Come si vede lo stile delle raffigurazioni, ma soprattutto le scelte d'ornato della cornice con cornucopie perle e cammei sono imitativi dei codici di corte, anche del Breviario di Ercole I d'Este, sopra citato.

²⁸ Ancora fondamentale per il Breviario di Ercole I d'Este è H. J. H. HERMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), pp. 166-178, 198-199. Si veda inoltre *Breviario di Ercole I d'Este, Edizione in Facsimile*, commentario a cura di E. MILANO, Castel Guelfo (Bologna), 2010.

²⁹ Per lo smembramento del Breviario di Ercole I d'Este: F. TONIOLO, A proposito del Libro d'ore di Alfonso I, *Miniatura*, 2, 1993, pp. 149-151.

³⁰ I fogli del Breviario oggi alla Strossmayerova galerija sono schedati in: *La miniatura a Ferrara...*, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 298-303 (Jonathan James Graham Alexander, cat. n. 70 a-d).

³¹ J. J. G. ALEXANDER, *Matteo da Milano, Illuminator*, Pantheon, L, 1992, pp. 32-45.

³² D. FAVA - M. SALMI, *I manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena*, Firenze, 1950, pp. 204-205, no. 94.

Sono queste solo delle prime osservazioni.³³ Come direbbe Nikola Jakšić, tenace ricercatore e generoso collega, cui l'intervento è dedicato, l'indagine dovrà proseguire e certamente porterà alla luce altre testimonianze di libri delle religiose realizzati a Ferrara e nel territorio nel XV secolo che aiuteranno a meglio comprendere quanto il cortocircuito devozionale tra la corte e i monasteri fosse vivace e coinvolgesse scelte iconografiche e formali.

Knjige religioznih žena: Ferrara u XV. stoljeću

U ovome radu predstavljaju se oslikani rukopisi nastali za najvažnije ženske samostane u Ferrari i na prostoru vojvodstva d'Este, ali i oni s njima povezani, ukazujući na tijesnu vezu dvorskih narudžbi i samostanskih zajednica u vrijeme vladavine Borsoa d'Este i Ercolea I. d'Este (1450-1505). Ključnu ulogu imao je u tom smislu samostan klarisa *Corpus Domini* u kojem je živjela redovnica i spisateljica Caterina Vigri, a koja je potom utemeljila *Corpus Domini* i u Bologni. Ostala važna središta bijahu tada još postojeća opatija Sant'Antonio u Polesineu i samostan dominikanskih trećoretkinja Sv. Katarine (nažalost porušen u 19. stoljeću), a koji je utemeljila savjetnica vojvode Ercolea, blažena Lucia Broccadelli iz Narnija.

Iako od knjižne građe nije mnogo sačuvano, namjera je upozoriti na to u kojoj mjeri iluminacije i sami tekstovi ukazuju na naglašenu pobožnost promicanu u ovim središtima, kao i na povezanost odabranih prikaza s dvorom d'Este. Predstavljaju se oslikani rukopisi koji se čuvaju u Biblioteci Trivulziana u Milanu, Biblioteci Ariostea u Ferrari i Sveučilišnoj biblioteci Este u Modeni gdje se nalazi i brevijar Ercolea I. d'Este, čije se pojedine stranice, među kojima i ona s prikazom raja, čuvaju u Zagrebu. U Modeni je sačuvan neobjavljeni pravilnik redovnica pustinjakinja Sv. Augustina koji je također predstavljen u radu. Duhovnost franjevačkih opservantica samostana *Corpus Domini* zrcali se u inicijalima izrezanima iz nekih koralnih kodeksa pripisanih Cosmèu Turi te u *Libro d'ore*, koji se danas čuva u Los Angelesu (The Getty Museum), a pripadao je obitelji Gualenghi d'Este. Konačno, u rad su uključene i dvije slike na dasci s prikazima Caterine Vigri i Lucije Broccadelli iz Narnija.

Ključne riječi: *iluminirani rukopisi, religiozne žene, dvor Este, Caterina Vigri, Lucia Broccadelli, Ferrara*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Antonia Čosić

³³ Le prime ricerche su questo argomento dei libri di e per Religiose a Ferrara risalgono a un intervento presentato al Convegno *Lo spazio nei monasteri femminili medievali. Società, cultura arte e liturgia*, Padova, 20-21 ottobre 2017; ho poi avuto la possibilità di ripresentarlo alla RSA Annual Meeting New Orleans USA, 22-24 March 2018 nella sessione dedicata a *The Illumination of Manuscripts for Religious Women in Italy: New Discoveries and Analyses*. In questa sede è stato aggiornato includendo i riferimenti all'importante monografia di K. G. ARTHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA NOTION ET L'EXISTENCE D'UN ART DU ROYAUME DE MAJORQUE AUX XIII^e ET XIV^e SIÈCLES : RÉALITÉ MÉDIÉVALE OU CONSTRUCTION POLITIQUE DU XX^e SIÈCLE ?

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The Kingdom of Majorca is an entity created by the testament of James I the Conqueror, written in 1262. James divided his possessions among his sons: Peter got the County of Barcelona and the Kingdoms of Aragon and Valence. James II received the Kingdom of Majorca and the Counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. This political construction existed between 1276 and 1344-1349. The doctoral thesis of art historian, professor at the University of Toulouse, Marcel Durliat, was published in 1962. He argued that the fourteenth-century art of the Kingdom of Majorque was independent of that of Catalonia. In this article, the author discusses this historiographical point of view.

Key words: Kingdom of Majorque, Gothic art, fourteenth century, nationalisms, historiography, Barcelona, Roussillon, Perpignan, Marcel Durliat, Georges Gaillard

L'expression « Royaume de Majorque »¹ désigne la construction politique née du testament rédigé en 1262 par Jacques I^{er} dit le Conquérant (1213-1276)² par lequel il divisait ses possessions parmi ses enfants vivants : l'aîné, l'infant Pierre, dit plus tard le Grand (1240-1285), recevait le comté de Barcelone avec les royaumes d'Aragon et de Valence, et Jacques II, qui se fit appeler par la suite et que nous devrions appeler toujours Jacques I^{er} de Majorque (1243-1311), reçut le Royaume de Majorque, les comtés de Roussillon et de Cerdagne et la seigneurie de Montpellier (Fig. 1). Cette construction politique fut effective à la mort du Conquérant, en 1276 et dura moins d'un siècle, jusqu'en 1344-1349, lorsque ces possessions réintégrèrent la Couronne d'Aragon³.

Majorque était considérée par les chroniqueurs comme l'« une des plus belles terres, sur laquelle repose la plus belle ville du monde (Palma) ». Perpignan devint la capitale et Jacques y développa la construction du palais des rois de Majorque (Fig. 2). A Majorque il entreprit la construction du châ-

¹ Une version orale, partielle, non publiée, de ce texte que je dédie à mon ami Nikola Jakšić, fut présentée le 12 mai 2017, dans le cadre d'une journée d'études sur un sujet qui avait été peu abordé par le passé de manière critique, sous le titre « Un aperçu de la production artistique dans le royaume de Majorque, nouveaux apports, nouveaux regards », organisée par Anne Leturque et le Centre d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montpellier, avec la contribution de Géraldine Mallet. Cette recherche se situe dans le cadre du projet GLOHUM – Global humanisms: New Perspectives on the Middle Ages (300-1600), financé par la Croatian Science Foundation et le European Social Fund.

² *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, (ed.) Maria Teresa Ferrer, Barcelone, 2011 (Memòries de la Secció Històrico-arqueològica, XCI).

³ *The Crown of Aragon. A Singular Mediterranean Empire*, (ed.) Flocel Sabaté, Leyde-Boston, 2017.



Fig. 1. Jacques II de Catalogne, Ier de Majorque figuré dans une miniature du Livre des privilèges (vers 1334, Arxiu històric municipal de Palma de Majorque)

teau de Bellver (Fig. 3-4). Bernat Desclot, l'auteur d'une des quatre grandes chroniques médiévales catalanes a décrit la vie de cette cour éphémère mais magnifique⁴.

L'histoire est bien connue⁵. Mais l'historiographie sur cette période a généré de fortes polémiques, plus parmi les historiens que chez les historiens de l'art. La conquête par Jacques I^{er} le Conquérant fut prestigieuse et totale, mais très violente. Au cours du XX^e siècle, l'incorporation de Majorque à la Catalogne par Jacques I^{er} le Conquérant a été saluée par certains et critiquée par d'autres. La division du royaume et des possessions catalanes par Jacques I^{er} a fait l'objet de fortes



Fig. 2. Perpignan, palais des rois de Majorque, vue d'ensemble

analyses négatives⁶. La création du Royaume de Majorque a été vue par les historiens des Baléares comme le début de la nation insulaire alors que pour d'autres historiens il s'agirait d'une fragmentation fort artificielle⁷ que l'historien Ferran Soldevila qualifiait d' « antinacional, insensata, ridícula »⁸.

La définition des caractéristiques d'un art propre au Royaume de Majorque pendant la première période gothique est due à Marcel Durliat (1917-2006)⁹. Durliat avait été professeur au Lycée François Arago de Perpignan et conservateur du Mobilier historique des Pyrénées-Orientales avant de devenir d'abord chargé d'enseignement puis professeur d'Histoire de l'art médiéval à l'Université de Toulouse. Il avait publié sa thèse de doctorat sur l'art dans le Royaume de Majorque, en 1962 (Fig. 5). La Catalogne, la Méditerranée, toute la Péninsule ibérique et l'Europe méridionale ont constitué la géographie de prédilection de cet historien de l'art médiéval. En tant que savant,

⁴ F. SOLDEVILA, *Les quatre grans Cròniques. II, Crònica de Bernat Desclot*, Barcelone, 2008, pp. 265-326 (Memòries de la Secció històrico-arqueològica, LXXX).

⁵ D. A. ABULAFIA, *A Mediterranean Emporium. The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca*, Cambridge, 1994 ; traduction : *Un emporio mediterráneo. El reino catalan de Mallorca*, Barcelone, 1996.

⁶ Par exemple, F. SOLDEVILA, *Història de Catalunya*, 2^e éd., Barcelona, Alpha, 1962, pp. 344, 463 et 465 ; *Història de Mallorca*, (ed.) Jaume Alzina, Palma de Majorque, 1982 (2^e éd., 1990), p. 184.

⁷ A. RIERA I MELIS, El regne de Mallorca a la baixa Edat Mitjana: noves aportacions bibliogràfiques, *Butlletí de la Societat catalana d'estudis històrics*, 10, 1999, pp. 33-51.

⁸ F. SOLDEVILA, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 464.

⁹ Sur Marcel Durliat : *Amicale des anciens d'Arago. Promotion Marcel Durliat*, Perpignan, septembre 2010. Un volume de mélanges lui fut offert en 1992 : *De la création à la restauration, travaux offerts à Marcel Durliat*, Toulouse, 1992. Voir également, parmi les notices nécrologiques celles de H. PRADALIER dans *Bulletin monumental*, 165/2, 2007, pp. 139-141 ; M. PRADALIER-SCHLUMBERGER dans *Le Monde*, 18 janvier 2007 ; X. BARRAL I ALTET, Marcel Durliat : historien de l'art médiéval, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 38, 2007, pp. 237-239 ; A. PLADEVALL I FONT, El professor Marcel Durliat, gran estudiós de l'art català, *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi*, 22, 2008, pp. 183-185 ; X. BARRAL I ALTET, Marcel Durliat, *Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Memòria d'activitats 2006-2007*, Barcelone, 2009, pp. 166-168. Voir également diverses contributions dans *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, L, 2019 et, notamment, le supplément CD-clé USB *Les grandes figures des Journées romanes et l'histoire de l'art roman depuis 1969 dans les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, qui réunit les contributions à la table ronde du 13 juillet 2018.



Fig. 3. Palma de Majorque, château de Bellver dans son contexte géographique

Durliat a été une référence pour les études d'histoire de l'art médiéval de la France méridionale et de la Péninsule ibérique et un des principaux introducteurs de l'art catalan dans la bibliographie internationale. Ses études sur l'art roussillonnais font autorité, et plus particulièrement le classement qu'il fit du patrimoine du Roussillon, notamment dans un ouvrage sur la peinture, publié en 1954, accompagné d'une série de volumes sur la sculpture romane du Roussillon (1948-1954), auxquels vint s'ajouter celui sur la Cerdagne en 1957. De ces travaux naquit en 1958 un livre devenu un véritable manuel sur l'art

roman du Roussillon, publié, avec des photographies de Jean Dieuzaide, dans le cadre de la prestigieuse collection *Zodiaque* éditée par l'abbaye bourguignonne de La Pierre-qui-Vire (*Roussillon roman*, 4^e édition, 1986). Les éditions de l'Abbaye de Montserrat en publièrent en 1973 une traduction de la deuxième édition de 1964, avec des photographies de Pau Barceló.

Ces quelques lignes étaient nécessaires pour évoquer la personnalité de Marcel Durliat, sur laquelle je reviendrai. Le défenseur du patrimoine roussillonnais et l'érudit médiéviste était cependant un français à l'esprit très jacobin. Ainsi, il a parfois été critiqué dans les milieux culturels et universitaires de la Catalogne, en raison de l'arrière-plan ségrégationniste par rapport à l'unité mé-



Fig. 4. Palma de Majorque, château de Bellver, vue de la galerie supérieure de la cour d'honneur

diterranéenne de l'art catalan qui apparaissait en trame de fond de sa thèse sur l'art du Royaume de Majorque, dont un sous-titre évocateur précisait *Les débuts de l'art gothique en Roussillon, en Cerdagne et aux Baléares*. Il faut bien dire qu'il s'agissait d'une thèse importante, fort documentée de première main et pleine de nouveautés, dédiée au maître de Durliat, Élie Lambert (1888-1961). La thèse, préparée dans le cadre du CNRS, fut publiée en 1962 chez Privat à Toulouse, dans la collection « Art et histoire » (Fig. 5) et traduite très rapidement en catalan (Fig. 6), à Palma de Majorque (l'éditeur Moll en fit encore une réédition en 1989). À la page 9 de son avant-propos, Durliat définissait le Roussillon comme une « province catalane dont le destin a toujours été plus ou moins lié à celui de la France » ; un point de vue que le célèbre historien de l'art développa la même année à la page 48 d'une petite *Histoire du Roussillon*, numéro 1020 de la collection « Que sais-je ? ». Par ailleurs, Durliat, en vrai amoureux de la Catalogne, donna à sa terre d'adoption de nombreuses études, dont un bel essai – *L'art catalan* – qui encore aujourd'hui est un livre recherché¹⁰, relayé par un deuxième volume sur les régions septentrionales méditerranéennes, Languedoc et Roussillon.

Depuis le XIX^e siècle, l'étude de l'art médiéval a régulièrement servi certaines idéologies politiques nationalistes. La conséquence en a été la mise en place de notions sur l'art médiéval qui sont encore considérées comme constitutives de cette époque artistique, mais qui en fait reposent essentiellement sur des idées arbitrairement créées pour servir des ambitions purement politiques¹¹. La redécouverte de l'art roman au début du XIX^e siècle avait déjà été fortement associée à l'émergence des nationalismes ; ainsi, pour appuyer leurs théories, les chercheurs essayaient de démontrer que la propre région ou nation possédait un art différent de celui des régions ou des pays voisins. De là sont nées les théories sur les « écoles régionales », système qui avait pour but d'affirmer les particularités locales, mais aussi, de manière plus extrême et peu objective, de tenter de prouver l'antériorité d'une certaine forme d'art ou d'architecture locale par rapport à une autre¹².

Les idéologies nationalistes sont à l'origine, par exemple, des théories sur l'art des routes de pèlerinage qui ont animé l'Histoire de l'art, et plus particulièrement celle de la France et de la Péninsule ibérique au début du XX^e siècle. Rapidement, le débat s'est orienté vers la prétention de savoir si l'art français des chemins de Saint-Jacques était antérieur à l'art hispanique du Nord de la Péninsule ibérique ou bien si c'était le contraire. L'étude des nationalismes devrait s'avérer déterminante en Histoire de l'art pour essayer de mieux comprendre le pourquoi de chaque théorie. Et les raisons se situent bien souvent fort loin de l'Histoire de l'art proprement dite. Au cours du XX^e siècle, de fortes personnalités ont contribué au développement de ces écoles que j'appelle clairement nationalistes. La théorie du premier art roman, élaborée par Josep Puig i Cadafalch (1867-1956), en constitue un bon témoignage¹³. Adolfo Venturi (1856-1941) en Italie ou Émile Mâle (1862-1954) en France en sont d'éloquents exemples¹⁴.

Ces quelques lignes évoquant les engagements idéologiques de certains historiens de l'art médiéval, voudraient simplement attirer l'attention sur le fait qu'il ne peut y avoir d'Histoire de l'art objective comme il n'y a pas d'Histoire objective ; toute interprétation est subjective et dérive directement de

¹⁰ Voir le compte-rendu par F. SALET dans *Bulletin monumental*, 121, 1963, pp. 302-303.

¹¹ X. BARRAL I ALTET, Art roman et politique. Engagements et pratiques théoriques, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, 17, 1986, pp. 237-246 ; version en allemand de A. Brunet-Sohns et D. Kimpel : Romanische Kunst und Politik Engagements und theoretischen Praktiken, *Kritische Berichte*, 15, 1987, 1, pp. 33-40 ; version en catalan : L'art romànic a França : erudits compromesos i posicions teòriques, *Revista de Catalunya*, 38, février 1990, pp. 79-91.

¹² X. BARRAL I ALTET, *Contre l'art roman et Essai sur un passé réinventé*, Paris, Fayard, 2006, pp. 15-58 ; édition en croate : X. BARRAL I ALTET, *Protiv romanike i Esej o pronađenju prošlosti*, Zagreb, 2009, pp. 7-53.

¹³ X. BARRAL I ALTET, Puig i Cadafalch : le premier art roman entre idéologie et politique, *Medioevo : arte lombarda*, actes du colloque (Parme, 26-29 septembre 2001), Milan, 2004, pp. 33-41.

¹⁴ X. BARRAL I ALTET, Adolfo Venturi : l'arte romanica e i nazionalismi del primo Novecento europeo, *Adolfo Venturi e la storia dell'arte oggi*, (ed.) Mario D'Onofrio, Modène, 2008, pp. 133-140.

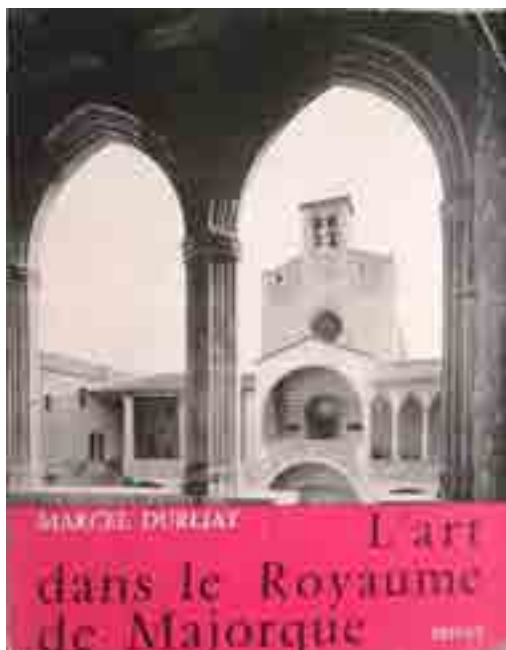


Fig. 5. Marcel Durliat, *L'art dans le Royaume de Majorque*, Privat, Toulouse, 1962



Fig. 6. Marcel Durliat, *L'art en el Regne de Mallorca*, Palma de Majorque, Moll, 2^e édition, 1989 (1^e: 1964)

la culture et des moyens intellectuels de chaque chercheur, de ses propres méthodes d'approche ainsi que de ses convictions personnelles plus ou moins publiquement avouées. Cela fut le cas, selon moi, de Marcel Durliat par rapport à la notion d'art du Royaume de Majorque (Fig. 5-6).

Politique, géographie et art médiéval ont encadré des positions tranchées dans des zones périphériques ou de frontière au sein desquelles la réalité actuelle est fortement différente de la géographie médiévale. Des exemples de cette problématique frontalière pourraient être, en France, ceux de l'Alsace, des régions proches de la Belgique actuelle ou des territoires catalans situés au Nord des Pyrénées. Les travaux de Marcel Durliat concernant le Roussillon illustrent, en général, une manière de voir l'histoire et les réalités sociales de ces contrées au Moyen Âge qui reflète une certaine idée, la sienne, de la France contemporaine. L'approche de l'histoire artistique médiévale des régions septentrionales de l'ancienne Catalogne, diffère suivant les auteurs. Celle élaborée par les historiens de l'art catalans qui se situent dans la lignée des positions de Josep Puig i Cadafalch, aboutit à des conclusions fondamentalement différentes de celles établies par les historiens de l'art français et particulièrement par Marcel Durliat. Même l'approche et les commentaires des sources écrites font l'objet d'interprétations différentes, souvent opposées, en raison des positions personnelles de chaque historien.

Dans le cas particulier de l'art du Royaume de Majorque, on devrait d'abord étudier les commanditaires et leur volonté politique et nous centrer plus particulièrement sur la personnalité de Jacques I^{er} de Majorque. Avait-il la volonté réelle d'unifier par le biais de l'art une série de territoires petits, éloignés les uns des autres, mais stratégiques, en les détachant culturellement de l'unité géographique et politique dans laquelle ils se trouvaient sous Jacques I^{er} le Conquérant ? Les historiens s'interrogent toujours sur les raisons profondes de cette étrange division territoriale¹⁵. Car on ne connaît pas complètement toutes les circonstances personnelles et politiques qui conditionnèrent la séparation des deux comtés nord-pyrénéens. Ceux-ci étaient des territoires traditionnellement fortement associés à la Catalogne et profondément féodalisés. Pourquoi donc les unir à un territoire de conquête récente, en voie de structuration ? Puis l'histoire s'accéléra. En 1279, Pierre le Grand,

supérieur militairement, obligea Jacques I^{er} de Majorque à devenir son vassal, ce qui rapprocha ce dernier des ennemis de la couronne catalane-aragonaise, les royaumes de France et de Naples ainsi que le Saint-Siège. L'histoire est connue : le Royaume de Majorque perdit alors progressivement son indépendance jusqu'à son intégration définitive à la réalité catalane moins d'un siècle après sa création.

¹⁵ P. CATEURA, *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, Palma de Majorque, 1997.



Fig. 7. Perpignan, palais des rois de Majorque, cour d'honneur et escalier d'accès

Sur le plan architectural et artistique, la personnalité de Jacques II de Catalogne-Aragon, I^{er} de Majorque, contraste fortement avec celle de son père, Jacques I^{er}, connu comme le Conquérant. Celui-ci, qui était seigneur de Montpellier et d'autres fiefs d'Occitanie depuis 1219, occupa Majorque et la dirigea de 1229 à 1276. Ce grand conquérant fut un roi essentiellement militaire dont les faits et gestes sont connus par les chroniques, bien que celles-ci ne nous renseignent jamais sur ses éventuelles intentions de colonisation architecturale. Il semble, en effet, que Jacques I^{er} le Conquérant et ses principaux conseillers n'aient pas assimilé la création architecturale à l'affirmation de l'identité, à l'introduction d'artistes et d'architectes catalans dans les terres colonisées et à la nécessité d'exportation d'une image collective monumentale.

Ailleurs, d'autres conquérants contemporains avaient décidé, soit la substitution des monuments autochtones par ceux de la métropole ou leur réutilisation en en changeant parfois l'usage, soit encore le pillage monumental comme moyen de suppression de l'identité du vaincu. Jacques I^{er} ne semble pas avoir eu cette volonté politique. Cette absence d'une architecture de conquête nous est confirmée, dans le cas de Jacques I^{er}, par la lecture du célèbre *Llibre dels fets*¹⁶. Pourtant, en Méditerranée, les exemples de politique artistique de conquête étaient nombreux. L'arrivée normande en Sicile, d'abord, qui rapidement se concrétisa par la transformation du paysage monumental. La chapelle palatine de Palerme, par exemple, montrait bien la volonté de combiner les aspirations architecturales

¹⁶ F. SOLDEVILA, *Les quatre grans cròniques. I, Llibre dels fets del rei Jaume*, Barcelone, 2007.

et décoratives de claire matrice byzantine avec des détails d'origine islamique qui de cette manière se trouvaient intégrés au sein de la culture normande des rois de Sicile. Un peu plus tard, Frédéric II (1197-1250) offrit un second témoignage, dans ce cas d'exportation de l'art de la métropole vers les terres conquises comme symbole et image publique d'implantation du nouveau pouvoir. On ne peut trouver un plus grand contraste de politique monumentale que celui qui sépare Jacques I^{er} de Catalogne-Aragon de Frédéric II. Un troisième cas d'étude est certainement constitué par l'arrivée de Charles I^{er} d'Anjou au trône de Naples en 1266 et qui correspond chronologiquement pendant dix ans avec le règne du Conquérant¹⁷.

Jacques I^{er} de Majorque, à la différence de son père, semble bien avoir eu une politique architecturale propre, non plus de conquête mais d'affirmation monumentale. Prenons l'exemple de l'architecture militaire. Frédéric II avait probablement décidé d'occuper le sol des territoires conquis avec des architectures imposantes de prestige et d'impact visuel monumental. Ainsi, pendant les trois décennies de son gouvernement (1220-1250), il a fortement promu l'architecture militaire de qualité, châteaux, forteresses et palais, qui nous sont connus par les sources et les vestiges conservés. Généralement, chaque architecture est toujours le résultat des propres conditionnements topographiques, géographiques ou climatologiques, mais surtout de la volonté politique et des possibilités financières des commanditaires, ainsi que du choix des réalisateurs. Castel del Monte, par exemple, achevé probablement vers 1240, ne répond pas à une logique stricte et unitaire car son architecture s'est adaptée aux décisions prises pendant l'avancement des travaux¹⁸. Différent est l'exemple des réalisations de Charles d'Anjou dont la postérité dérive grandement de la monumentalité du château qu'il fit bâtir à partir de 1279 dans sa nouvelle capitale, Naples. Dans ce cas, Charles fit venir des maîtres-d'œuvre de France, principalement Pierre de Chaules, originaire de Picardie¹⁹.

Le château des rois de Majorque de Perpignan, un ouvrage des années 1276-1280, est presque contemporain de celui de Naples, mais correspond à une réalité fort différente (Fig. 2, 7-9). Une certaine historiographie a voulu parfois en faire le paradigme d'un nouveau royaume, un exemple de la différente personnalité monumentale du royaume de Majorque. Mais la réalité est bien différente. Jacques I^{er} de Majorque voulait à Perpignan un palais, une cour et une ville le plus semblables possible à celles de Barcelone. Déjà sous Jacques I^{er} le Conquérant et donc pendant l'enfance de Jacques II, Barcelone était une ville moderne. Une ville romane qui avait pris le chemin du gothique avec ses palais et ses églises. Il s'agissait pour Jacques de Majorque de faire mieux, non de faire différent. Barcelone possédait des architectures nouvelles de prestige, la cathédrale avait été commencée en 1296, le célèbre salon du Conseil des Cent avait été inauguré dans l'Hôtel de Ville en 1273, et les nouveaux ordres conventuels bâtissaient des belles et spacieuses architectures gothiques (Fig. 10)²⁰.

A Perpignan, le palais des rois de Majorque a longtemps été appelé le château de Perpignan et il n'a trouvé son nom actuel qu'au cours du XIX^e siècle²¹. Il s'élève sur une colline au sud de la ville et

¹⁷ Sur ces aspects : X. BARRAL I ALTET, *Arquitectura i art de conquesta al Mediterrani : el contraexemple de Jaume I (1208-1276) i el silenci del Llibre dels feits, Jaume I*, cité dans la note 2, pp. 783-809.

¹⁸ *Castel del Monte. Inedite indagini scientifiche. Atti del primo convegno interdisciplinare su Castel del Monte*, (eds.) Giuseppe Fallacara, Ubaldo Occhinegro, 18-19 juin 2015, Rome, 2015 ; M. AMBRUOSO, *Castel del Monte: la storia e il mito*, Bari, 2018.

¹⁹ F. ACETO, *Das 'Castrum novum' der Anjou Könige in Neapel*, in : *Die Baukunst im Mittelalter*, (ed.) Roberto Cassanelli, Milan, 1995, pp. 249-265 ; S. PALMIERI, *Il Castelnuovo di Napoli: reggia e fortezza angioina*, *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, n.s., 47, 1998, pp. 501-519.

²⁰ *L'art gotic a Catalunya. Arquitectura*, 3 vol., (ed.) Antoni Pladevall i Font, Barcelone, 2003-2004 ; X. BARRAL I ALTET, *A Gothic Mediterranean Catalan Art*, in : *The Crown of Aragon. A singular Mediterranean Empire*, (Brill's Companions to European History, 12), (ed.) Flocel Sabaté, Leyde, Boston, 2017, pp. 411-430.

²¹ Sur le palais des rois de Majorque existent aujourd'hui deux volumes collectifs remarquables, publiés à la suite d'un colloque tenu à Perpignan du 20 au 22 mai 2014, l'un sur le palais, l'autre sur la ville à l'époque du palais : *Un palais dans la ville, I, Le palais des rois de Majorque à Perpignan, II, Perpignan des rois de Majorque*, (eds.) Aymat



Fig. 8. Perpignan, palais des rois de Majorque, chapelle basse

fut construit en un quart de siècle (Fig. 2). Il fut achevé en 1309, mais la famille royale y avait déjà emménagé en juillet 1283. Son architecture est organisée autour de trois cours de 60 mètres de côté (Fig. 7). Après la tour des hommages, face à l'entrée, la chapelle à deux niveaux ou mieux les chapelles superposées constituent l'un des traits caractéristiques du raffinement gothique de la construction (Fig. 8-9). Le palais constitue, sans aucun doute, le monument central du débat que je propose ici et pour lequel il convient de rappeler que l'initiative de la construction du palais ne revient pas – contrairement à la croyance populaire la plus répandue – à Jacques de Majorque, mais à la volonté de son père, le Conquérant. En effet, c'est bien lui qui expropria des terrains pour la construction du château et chargea de la direction des travaux un maître-d'œuvre perpignanais, tandis que le « batlle » (maire) de Perpignan avait la charge de pourvoir aux dépenses du chantier²².

Je disais que le palais de Perpignan est un exemple emblématique des débats que je propose car il a souvent été utilisé sur le plan historiographique pour justifier des orientations de recherche personnelles de certains chercheurs et même, encore aujourd'hui, de positions historiques tranchées. Les deux chapelles palatines du palais des rois de Majorque (Fig. 8-9) ont servi d'appui à la thèse de la

Catafau, Olivier Passarius, Canet, 2014 ; on y trouvera toute la bibliographie. Auparavant, G. KERSCHER, *Architektur als Repräsentation. Spätmittelalterliche Palastbaukunst zwischen Pracht und zeremoniellen Voraussetzungen. Avignon, Mallorca, Kirchenstaat, Tübingen*, 2000.

²² R. TRETON, Du palais à la forteresse, les mutations du château royal de Perpignan (XIII^e-XV^e s.), in : *Un palais dans la ville, I, Le palais des rois de Majorque à Perpignan*, (eds.) Aymat Catafau, Olivier Passarius, Canet, 2014, pp. 25-26 et notes 6-8 avec la transcription des documents justificatifs.



Fig. 9. Perpignan, palais des rois de Majorque, chapelle haute

pénétration de l'art français en Roussillon : Marcel Durliat les considérait comme l'exemple le plus méridional d'une formule française²³. Cependant, la supposée volonté de Jacques de Majorque d'en faire un emblème distinctif de son royaume choque avec le fait que c'est bien son père qui en voulut la construction dans un contexte local et catalan.

Revenons à Marcel Durliat. Celui-ci, dans sa thèse, n'hésitait pas à écrire que le Royaume de Majorque ne fut qu'un accident : « Les rêves d'un grand État méridional dont il aurait pu constituer le noyau, qui avaient quelque temps en Languedoc enflammé les imaginations de quelques attardés de l'indépendance ou de nostalgiques partisans d'une impossible union avec la Catalogne s'éteignirent donc à tout jamais avec lui »²⁴. En vérité, Durliat cherchait à démontrer que, au moins dans la première moitié du XIV^e siècle, l'art des trois régions (Roussillon, Cerdagne et Majorque) prospérait indépendamment de la Catalogne, qu'il n'y avait aucune unité artistique, aucune formule originale qui unissait les trois provinces et ceci pour aucune forme d'art. Selon Durliat, après 1350, en revanche, après le retour dans « l'unité aragonaise », l'art catalan se serait retrouvé à Palma et à Perpignan.

La publication du livre de Durliat fut saluée comme une contribution importante à l'histoire de l'art médiéval²⁵.

Mais sa construction artificielle d'un art cohérent, correspondant à un court moment politique, fut dénoncée en Catalogne comme une tentative ségrégationniste pour briser l'unité artistique de la Catalogne comprise dans le sens plus large de Pays catalans et qui donnait un protagonisme particulier à une partie du territoire située en France. Certaines critiques du côté français dénoncèrent également l'idéologie qui sous-tendait la thèse de Durliat. J'en ai retrouvé plusieurs. Tout d'abord, un fin connaisseur des problématiques de l'art catalan médiéval, Georges Gaillard (1900-1967), glissait des réserves sur la thèse générale de Durliat à propos de cas concrets. Par exemple, concernant l'étude de l'architecture des ordres mendiants que faisant Durliat, Gaillard écrivait : «

²³ Une vision fort équilibrée est proposée par D. SANDRON, Chapelles palatines : succès d'un type architectural (XIII^e-XIV^e s.), in : *Un palais dans la ville, I, Le palais des rois de Majorque à Perpignan*, (eds.) Aymat Catafau, Olivier Passarrius, Canet, pp. 249-258.

²⁴ Voir également, M. DURLIAT, L'art dans le Royaume de Majorque, *L'information d'histoire de l'art*, 7, 1962, pp. 143-150 ; M. DURLIAT, Maiorca, Regno di, *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, 8, Rome, 1997, *ad vocem*.

²⁵ Voir, par exemple, le compte rendu de Marcel Aubert dans *Bulletin monumental*, 120, 2, 1962, pp. 227-228.

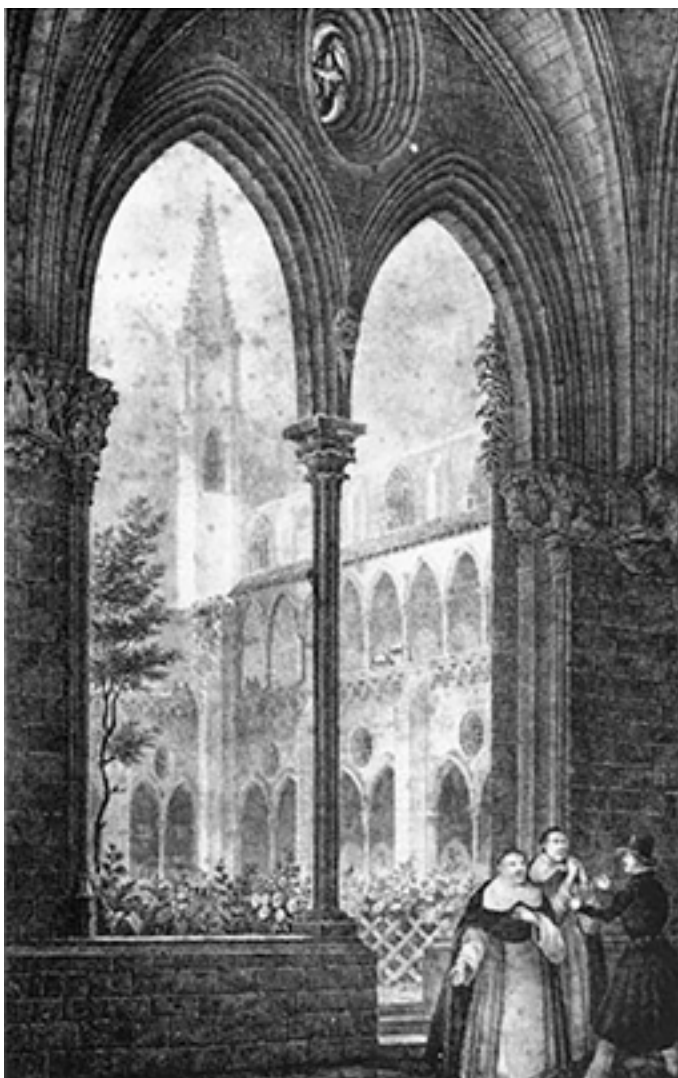


Fig. 10. Barcelone, cloître et église de Sainte-Catherine, d'après une gravure publiée en 1839 par F. J. Parcerisa

Quant aux origines, M. Durliat s'oppose à la thèse 'catalaniste' de M. Pierre Lavedan (*L'architecture gothique religieuse en Catalogne, Valence et Baléares*, 1935) et revient à la thèse traditionnelle qui faisait dériver ce type d'églises de la France méridionale [...]. Les éléments qui ont servi à constituer ce type doivent-ils être cherchés au Nord ou au Sud des Pyrénées ? La question paraît mal posée : c'est un anachronisme de séparer Languedoc et Catalogne ; on ne peut à cette époque compartimenter la vaste région méridionale et méditerranéenne [...]. Il ne faut pas séparer la Catalogne du Languedoc, mais les influences qui s'y sont exercées sont multiples. Et les premiers monuments complets du gothique méridional sont à Barcelone [...]. En achevant la lecture de ce livre admirablement documenté, à la fois précis et exhaustif, dense et bien composé, on peut se demander s'il existe un *art du Royaume de Majorque* [...]. Le Royaume de Majorque manquait d'unité ; son art a peu d'originalité et dépend surtout de Barcelone » (Fig. 10-11)²⁶. Plus radical, Robert Mesuret (1908-1972), qui était un historien de l'art « occitaniste »²⁷, écrivait : « Et de ce royaume des Pyrénées, qui aurait uni Languedoc et Catalogne et qu'il a tort de croire 'impossible' (p. 22), M. Durliat fournit avec sa loyauté coutumière les raisons d'être en manifestant les affinités esthétiques qui, de Bellver à Aigues-Mortes, de Palma à Limoux, Bayonne et Bazas, semblent refléter

la communauté du langage et de la civilisation. Provence et Languedoc ne formaient pas encore le 'Midi de la France', et, en dépit de ce néologisme qu'il emploie trop souvent, M. Durliat sait bien que le Languedoc n'était rattaché à la couronne que par l'union dynastique : Philippe III était comte de Toulouse comme Edouard Ier était duc de Guienne. Et on aurait étonné Jaume de Faveran ou Simon de Béziers en les qualifiant d'artisans français. Cette erreur de langage qui pourrait laisser croire que notre territoire était déjà administré par des sous-préfets, est le seul défaut de ce bel ouvrage »²⁸. En revanche, dans un bien plus long compte-rendu, l'historien de l'art moderniste François-Georges Pariset (1904-1980) détecta la volonté de Durliat de séparer Majorque du Roussillon et de marquer l'influence de l'art français et se rangea, surtout à propos de ce dernier point, dans

²⁶ G. Gaillard, compte rendu de l'ouvrage de Marcel Durliat dans *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 41, 2, 1963, pp. 615-617, ici pp. 616-617.

²⁷ Voyez son article très revendicatif : R. MESURET, La peinture murale occitane avant 1200, *Annales de l'Institut d'études occitanes*, actes du colloque de Toulouse, 9-11 septembre 1963, 1962-1963, pp. 95-102.

²⁸ R. MESURET, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 60, 1962, p. 508.

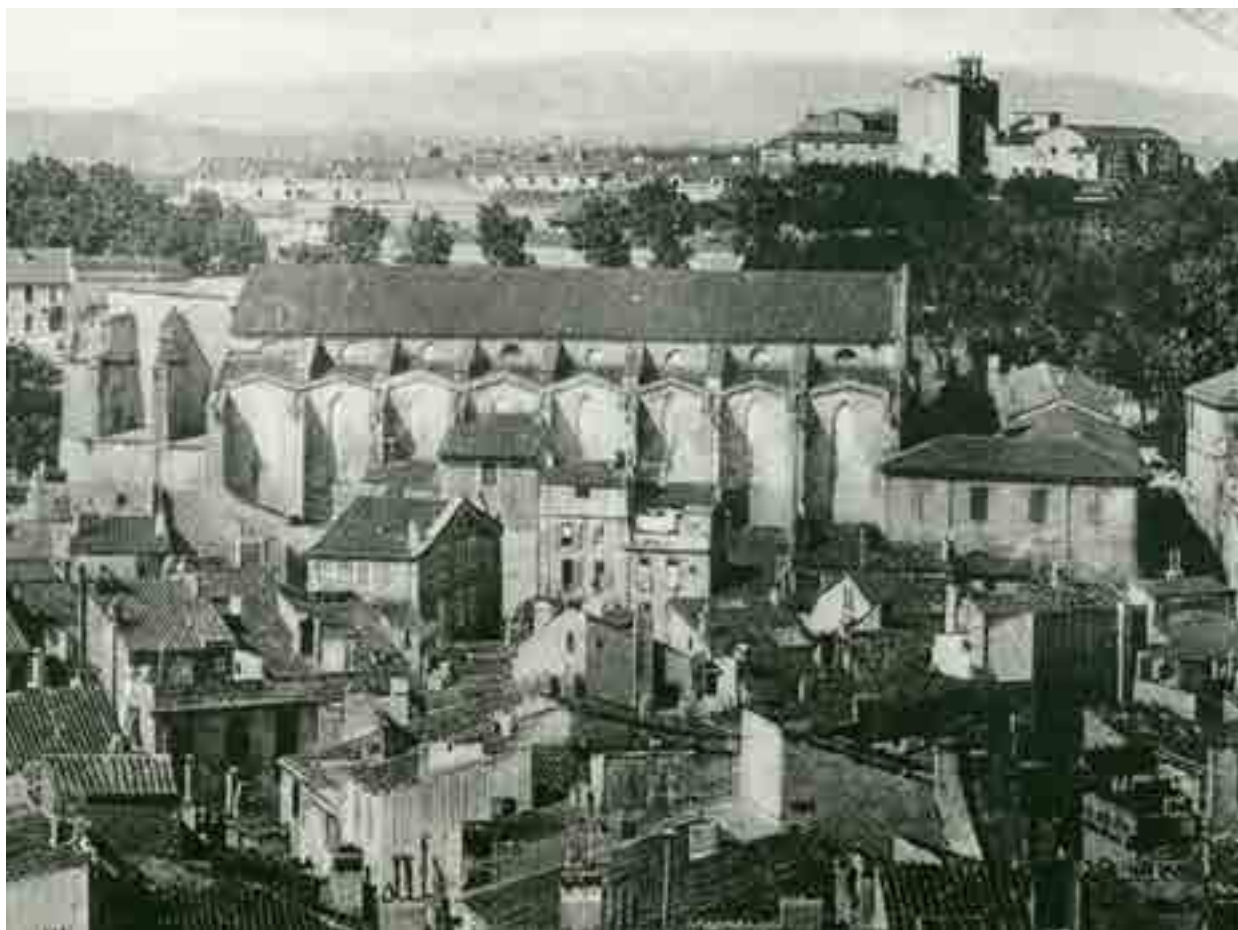


Fig. 11. Perpignan, église Saint-Jacques, d'après une carte postale, début XXe siècle

le camp de Durliat en écrivant : « Les échanges artistiques trop divers et trop riches ont peut-être empêché l'éclosion d'un style majorquin. L'auteur a débrouillé avec dextérité composantes d'un art à l'autre, d'une période à l'autre. Les souvenirs et les apports de l'Islam ou de la Catalogne ont-ils été trop réduits ? L'influence italienne devrait-elle être affirmée davantage ? Celle du gothique français est indéniable, et elle est exercée par l'intermédiaire du 'Midi' et parce que ce 'Midi' était déjà francisé. L'expansion de l'art français est parfois considérée de nos jours comme une légende sans consistance. Grâce à son étude, le livre de M. Durliat apporte une contribution d'autant plus précieuse que l'auteur a travaillé en toute bonne foi »²⁹. On le voit, même en France, le livre de Durliat a suscité un intéressant débat et des controverses.

Le noyau de la question serait d'essayer de comprendre, à travers l'architecture, s'il y avait eu volonté de la part de Jacques de Majorque d'afficher une politique monumentale destinée à laisser clairement apparaître des choix fondamentalement différents de ceux de l'art catalan de l'époque ou de celui immédiatement antérieur. Ce que nous ne constatons, selon moi, ni dans les commandes, ni dans le choix des architectes ou des artistes, ni dans le résultat des productions artistiques. On ne le constate même pas dans le souci de postérité du monarque. Dans son testament, en 1306, Jacques, prévoyait simplement deux possibilités pour ses funérailles suivant le lieu de sa mort, Saint-Jean de

²⁹ F.-G. PARISET, Languedoc, Catalogne et Majorque : Durliat (Marcel), *L'Art dans le Royaume de Majorque*, Toulouse, Privat, 1962, *Annales du Midi*, 75, 1963, pp. 105-113.

Perpignan³⁰ ou la cathédrale de Palma³¹. En 1311, le roi mourait dans l'île de Majorque et son corps fut logé pour la postérité devant l'autel majeur de la cathédrale. Le monument qui en résulta ne semble en rien pouvoir contribuer à clarifier la question d'un positionnement du roi au sujet de sa propre politique artistique³².

La question du Royaume de Majorque, de son originalité ou de ses caractéristiques propres, a toujours été au centre d'un débat chez les historiens – moins chez les historiens de l'art- qui dépasse de loin la répercussion réelle au Moyen Âge de ce règne de courte durée. Je me permets de transcrire ici, à ce sujet, quelques lignes du grand historien catalan, Ferran Soldevila (1894-1971), un médiéviste qui dans ses écrits n'a jamais hésité à prendre position³³ : « Decididament, malgrat llur essencial catalanitat, els reis del Casal de Barcelona no havien arribat –no van arribar mai- a tenir el sentit de l'estructuració estatal a base de la unitat catalana i de la successiva catalanització dels altres territoris. Jaume I el Conqueridor havia semblat veritablement tenir-lo i va desmentir-ho llastimosament.

Val a dir que els catalans, en conjunt, tampoc no van donar mai proves de sentir gaire profundament el deler d'aconseguir totes les prerrogatives inherents a la seva hegemonia de fet i d'imposar-se de mica en mica als altres països de la Corona. L'esperit assimilista no formava part aleshores – com no n'ha format mai- de l'esperit català. I mentre veiem els aragonesos enforçar-se gelosament i tenaçment a conservar les preeminències, àdhuc nominals, del títol de reialesa unit a llur territori, i lluitar contra Jaume I, que divideix els regnes i que els arreba una llenca de terra reivindicada per ells com a llur, i maldar perquè el regne de València, tot i poblat en la seva major part de catalans, no sigui sinó una prolongació del reialme aragonès, els catalans mostren una mena d'indiferència, de fluixedat, en aquesta contesa que tant hauria hagut d'apassionar-los, i la delimitació de Jaume II rectificat els límits establerts pel seu avi, i la separació de Fraga en temps de Pere III, si susciten la protesta de les Corts i no aconsegueixen el reconeixement per part dels poders catalans, no provoquen l'abrandament que semblaven reclamar »³⁴.

Au-delà des positions personnelles et politiques de chacun, désormais la question posée dans cette réflexion est pour les historiens de l'art aussi un problème de terminologie. Peut-être faudrait-il parler, plutôt que de l'art du/dans Royaume de Majorque, de l'art de certaines régions pendant la période des rois de Majorque. En ce qui me concerne, il me plaît d'envisager cette période et cette géographie artistique au sein des réalités catalanes et méditerranéennes de l'époque³⁵. Plus que de l'art d'un royaume, géographiquement et politiquement parlant, il s'agit, selon moi, de l'art sous les rois de Majorque, de la création artistique au cours d'un moment chronologique déterminé, qui, d'ailleurs, avec continuité, vient d'avant et se poursuit après. Car dans l'histoire de l'art catalan, l'art de cette période n'est qu'un chapitre de l'évolution générale; le cas de Montpellier mis à part.

³⁰ Sur la cathédrale de Perpignan, voir le volume collectif : *L'ensemble cathédral Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Perpignan, Etudes roussillonnaises*, XIX, 2002, (Actes du colloque, 20 mai 2000, Palais des Congrès de Perpignan).

³¹ J. DOMENGE I MESQUIDA, *La catedral de Mallorca: reflexiones sobre la concepción y cronología de sus naves*, in : *Gotische Architektur in Spanien*, (ed.) Christian Freigang, Frankfurt, 1999, pp. 159-187 ; *La catedral de Mallorca*, (ed.) Aina Pascual, Palma de Majorque, 1995.

³² A. PONS CORTÉS, *La tomba de Jaume II a la Seu de Mallorca i el seu ceremonial de la festivitat del Dia dels Morts*, in : *XXVIII Jornades d'estudis històrics locals, La ciutat de Mallorca i els segles del gòtic*, (eds.) Tina Sabater, Eduardo Carrero Santamaría, Palma 3-5 novembre 2009, Palma, 2010, pp. 245-266.

³³ Sur Ferran Soldevila : E. PUJOL, *Ferran Soldevila. Els fonaments de la historiografia catalana contemporània*, Barcelona, 1995 ; E. PUJOL, *Tres imprescindibles : F. Soldevila, J. Vicens Vives i P. Vilar. Elements per a un canó historiogràfic català*, Barcelone, 2015 ; E. PUJOL – J. CLARA, *Cartes de Ferran Soldevila (1912-1970)*, Barcelona, 2017.

³⁴ F. SOLDEVILA, *op. cit.* (n. 6), pp. 457-458.

³⁵ *Els catalans a la Mediterrània medieval. Noves fonts, recerques i perspectives*, (eds.) Lluís Cifuentes I Comamala, Roser Salicrú I Lluch, Maria Mercè Viladrich I Grau, Rome, 2015.

Razmišljanja o poimanju i postojanju umjetnosti Kraljevstva Mallorce u 13. i 14. stoljeću: srednjovjekovna stvarnost ili politički konstrukt 20. stoljeća?

Kraljevstvo Mallorce rođeno je oporukom koju je 1262. godine dao sastaviti Jakov I. Aragonski (1213.-1276.), poznat i kao Jakov Osvajač. Njome je podijelio posjede među svojim sinovima: prvorođenom sinu Petru, kasnije prozvanom Veliki (1240.-1285.), ostavio je Grofoviju Barcelonu s Kraljevstvom Aragona i Valencije, dok je Jakovu II. (Jakov II. od Mallorce; 1243.-1311.) pripalo Kraljevstvo Mallorce, grofovije Roussillon i Cerdagne te Montpellier. Takva politička podjela vrijedila je sve do smrti Jakova Osvajača 1276., a ukupno je trajala manje od jednog stoljeća, do 1344.-1349., kada su spomenuti posjedi vraćeni aragonskoj kruni.

U historiografiji se generirao čitav niz katkad oštih polemika, i to više među povjesničarima nego povjesničarima umjetnosti. Definiciju jedne posebne umjetnosti Kraljevstva Mallorce u vrijeme prvoga gotičkog razdoblja iznio je Marcel Durliat (1917.-2006.) u svom doktoratu iz 1962. godine. Durliat je nastojao dokazati da se umjetnost triju regija (Roussillon, Cerdagne i Mallorca), barem u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća, razvijala posve neovisno od Katalonije, tj. da nije postojalo nikakvo umjetničko jedinstvo niti u jednoj likovnoj vrsti.

Ključno je pitanje pokušati kroz analizu arhitekture shvatiti je li Jakov II. od Mallorce želio promovirati jednu politiku u monumentalnim umjetnostima, kojom bi se jasno naglasila ona njezina svojstva koja je bitno razlikuju od katalonske umjetnosti tog vremena ili onog prethodećeg. Osim rasprave o osobnim i političkim stavovima, pitanje postavljeno u ovom radu traži i raspravu o još jednom problemu – terminologiji. Trebalo bi, naime, možda umjesto o umjetnosti Kraljevstva Mallorce govoriti o umjetnosti određenih regija tijekom razdoblja vladavine kraljeva Mallorce nad njima. Što se mene osobno tiče, sviđa mi se promatrati i zamišljati to razdoblje i tu „umjetničku geografiju” unutar konteksta katalonske i mediteranske stvarnosti toga doba.

Key words: *Kraljevstvo Mallorca, gotička umjetnost, 14. stoljeće, nacionalizmi, historiografija, Barcelona, Roussillon, Perpignan, Marcel Durliat, Georges Gaillard*

Prijevod s francuskog: Ana Šalinović

Nakon renesanse
Après la Renaissance
After the Renaissance

GIULIO CLOVIO E IL TEMA DELLA RESURREZIONE

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Having recently appeared on the market, the Resurrection of Christ painted on a copper oval has been traced back to a subject by Giulio Clovio, around 1569. There is the hypothesis that the painter is the same famous miniaturist, who in old age, in the service of Alessandro Farnese, met with the Flemish and Nordic, and therefore Roman, use of copper painting.

Key words: Giulio Clovio, illumination, miniature, painting on copper, Rome, Resurrection of Christ

La presente scheda, redatta in omaggio all'opera di Nikola Jakšić, informatissimo sull'arte italiana e sugli artisti che coniugano esperienze slave e italiane, propone un ovale di rame di piccole dimensioni (mm 132 x 98) finemente dipinto (Fig. 1). Comparso a una recente vendita Stadion di Trieste come *Cristo risorto* di Maestro del XVI secolo,¹ si trova ora in collezione privata. Il soggetto, la maniera, la cromia e i tratti riportano esplicitamente alla stagione tarda dell'artista Giulio Clovio, nativo di Grizane oggi croata, se non fosse che le pennellate non sono quelle minutissime che riconosciamo nell'opera tipica del miniatore, e dato che sinora – a quanto posso vedere – non sono stati riferiti all'artista lavori su supporto metallico. Anche il ritratto tondo degli Uffizi è eseguito, a quanto detta la letteratura, su pergamena applicata al rame.²

L'ovale dipinto presenta la figura centrale del Cristo risorto, dal perizoma svolazzante, portante il vessillo, mentre in basso intorno al sarcofago compaiono il profilo di un armigero barbuto e sulla destra il corpo di un soldato scorciato e avvitato 'alla maniera', e sullo sfondo sono raffigurate due ulteriori guardie con alabarde. Corrisponde, con varianti d'autore, al disegno su carta che porge il medesimo soggetto entro ovale, conservato nella sezione di grafica della Biblioteca nazionale e universitaria di Zagabria (GZAH 9007 Klo 1) e attribuito dapprima alla cerchia dell'artista e poi convincentemente allo stesso Clovio (Fig. 2).³ Il disegno eseguito a inchiostro monocromo differisce dal dipinto in alcuni dettagli, tanto che possiamo considerare le due realizzazioni come varianti d'autore, ma coincide per stilemi e tratti disegnativi. La freschezza stilistica e la ricchezza di particolari offerte dal piccolo dipinto ci fanno considerare come termine ante quem, e comunque indicazione puntuale, quella

¹ Stadion Casa d'Aste, asta del 19.06.2020, lotto 177, <http://www.stadionaste.it/index.php?page=asta&asta=141> (consultato il 20 luglio 2020).

² V. MACAN LUKAVEČKI, Self-Portrait of Giulio Clovio, in: *Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance – Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse*, exhibition, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, november 8 2012 - January 20 2013, Zagreb, 2012, cat. 12, pp. 144-145.

³ M. PELC, The Resurrection of Christ, in: *Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance – Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse*, exhibition, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, november 8 2012 - January 20 2013, Zagreb, 2012, cat. 35, pp. 206-208. Il disegno misura mm 142x108.



Fig. 1. Giulio Clovio (?), La Resurrezione di Cristo, Venezia, collezione privata

fornita dalla stampa di traduzione di Cornelis Cort e riferita a invenzione di Giulio Clovio, che porta inscritta nel basso la data "1569".⁴ L'olandese Cornelis Cort collaborò a lungo con il miniatore maggiore di più di trent'anni, e in particolare lungo il suo soggiorno romano dopo la metà degli anni sessanta e fino alla morte (1578), per quell'attività tipica del periodo costituita dalla traduzione delle opere d'arte e dei disegni in incisione e della diffusione dei soggetti attraverso le stampe.⁵ L'incisione a bulino si riferisce al disegno nella delineazione della maestà del Cristo, mentre si sovrappone al dipinto ovale in altri particolari, quali l'alone radiante che circonda il Cristo risorgente. Il soggetto iconografico è poi replicato e ripercorso più volte nel tardo manierismo.⁶

Si tratta di una raffigurazione specifica, che richiama solo lontanamente la stupefacente miniatura a piena pagina, con la *Resurrezione* dalla resa lenticolare e sfumata sulla pergamena, del *Lezionario Towneley* (New York, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and



Fig. 2. Giulio Clovio, *Resurrezione*, Sezione di grafica della Biblioteca nazionale e universitaria di Zagabria, GZAH 9007 Klo 1 (© Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu)

⁴ Sono noti due stati, stampati da Lafrery. *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52: *Netherlandish artists: Cornelis Cort*, (eds.) Walter L. Strauss, Tomoko Shimura, New York, 1986, n. 95-I, p. 114, esemplare dell'Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum di Brunswick. *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700: Cornelis Cort 1-3*, (eds.) Manfred Sellink, Huigen Leeftang, Rotterdam, 2000. Un esemplare è presente a Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense, 20 B.I.76 65; mm 295x210, <http://scaffalidigitali.casanatense.it/identifier/RML0212797> (consultato il 20 luglio 2020).

⁵ E. BOREA, Roma 1565-1578: intorno a Cornelis Cort, in: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Atti del convegno internazionale, Bruxelles, 24-25 febbraio 1995*, (ed.) Nicole Dacos, *Bollettino d'arte*, 100 (Supplemento), Roma, 1997, pp. 215-230.

⁶ Ad esempio, riferita a Taddeo Zuccari, la *Resurrezione* di collezione privata fiorentina pubblicata in *La bella maniera in Toscana. Dipinti dalla collezione Luzzetti e altre raccolte private*, catalogo della mostra, Museo archeologico e d'arte della Maremma, Grosseto, 31 maggio - 30 settembre 2008, (eds.) Federico Berti, Gianfranco Luzzetti, Firenze, 2008, 70-73 (Fabrizio Baldassari, cat. 10). Stampa da Michael Coxie in *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52, 96-II, p. 115. Altra replica incisa: Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist, cat. 40 alle pp. 220-221.

Manuscripts Division, ms 91, f. 16v). Il manoscritto realizzato per il cardinale Alessandro Farnese, scritto a Roma verosimilmente nel sesto decennio, è variamente datato, e alle pagine miniate, ma non a quella con la *Resurrezione*, contribuirono altre mani, e in particolare l'allievo Claudio Massarelli dopo la morte del nostro miniatore (3 gennaio 1578)⁷, nell'ipotesi di Jonathan Alexander.⁸

Nella corrispondenza tra disegno, soggetto pittorico e stampa riconosciamo un processo in qualche modo analogo a quello del gioco di rinvii che lega il soggetto di *Giuditta che taglia il capo di Oloferne*, realizzato in quadretto dal miniatore croato per Margherita d'Austria, moglie di Ottavio Farnese e governatrice dei Paesi Bassi, a favore del fratello Filippo II – come riferisce Vasari nella Vita del pittore croato⁹ – al disegno conservato a Zagabria (Accademia croata di Scienze ed Arti, Dipartimento delle stampe e disegni, C-II-2, inv. 1),¹⁰ e all'incisione eseguita da Philippe de Soye, legato a Cornelis Cort e attivo a Roma sulla metà degli anni sessanta.¹¹ Come in altri casi, la serie non è chiaramente leggibile, dal momento che la miniatura risulta pervenuta all'Escorial e poi perduta, e l'incisione è realizzata in controparte. Si tratta comunque di una sequenza di repliche e rifacimenti, di copie reciproche, tipica dell'attività artistica manieristica e del metodo di lavoro dello stesso Giulio Clovio.

Preziosi erano per lui i modelli che teneva nella propria abitazione, come testimonia l'elenco dei numerosi beni allegato al suo testamento, dove compaiono disegni di Michelangelo e Raffaello, sue copie dagli stessi, e quegli artisti fiamminghi e nordici con cui venne a contatto in particolare nel corso del soggiorno parmense dalla fine degli anni cinquanta e poi a Roma, nel circolo dei Farnese.¹² Questo "Inventario delle miniature appartenenti al Clovio" – come lo denomina lo studioso Antonio Bertolotti che lo trascrisse e pubblicò nel 1882 quando il miniatore croato manteneva la vasta fama internazionale conferitagli da Vasari – mostra ritornante il soggetto del Cristo risorto, un tema che dovette essere presente a al miniatore negli anni della vecchiaia.¹³ Questo primo Inventario fu redatto per volontà e in presenza del medesimo Giulio Clovio, a corredo del testamento stilato il 27 dicembre 1577, pochi giorni prima che venisse a morte quasi ottantenne e infermo. Fra la numerosissima serie di disegni, almeno quattro voci sono relative al soggetto che ci interessa, e precisamente:

⁷ N. HEGENER, "Diligentia in minimis maxima". Testament und Nachlass des "kleinen Michelangelo" Don Giulio Clovio, in: *Der Künstler und sein Tod. Testamente europäischer Künstler vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, (eds.) Nicole Hegener, Kerstin Schwedes, Würzburg, 2012, p. 188.

⁸ J. J. G. ALEXANDER, Giulio Clovio "pictor nulli secundus", in: *Il Lezionario Farnese, commentario al codice*, (ed.) Jonathan J. G. Alexander, Modena, 2008, pp. 36-40.

⁹ G. VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, Firenze, 1568 (Istituto Geografico de Agostini, Novara, 1967), p. 447.

¹⁰ M. PELC, Iudith and Holofernes, in: *Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance – Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse*, exhibition, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, november 8 2012 - January 20 2013, Zagreb, 2012, cat. 33 alle pp. 200-202, ne indica una datazione intorno al 1561 o più presto.

¹¹ B. W. MEIJER, *Parma e Bruxelles, committenza e collezionismo farnesiani alle due corti*, Parma, 1988, pp. 129-130; S. ONOFRI, *La cerchia di Giulio Clovio: gli incontri, i viaggi, le amicizie di un artista europeo*, Tesi, Dottorato di ricerca in Storia dell'arte presso l'Università di Bologna, relatore Angela Ghirardi, a. 2013, riproduzione dell'esemplare degli Uffizi alla fig. 53.

¹² Sui rapporti di Giulio Clovio con Pieter Breughel il vecchio, Bartholomeus Spranger, Domenico Lampsonio, Cornelis Cort, Jan Soens e gli altri nordici artisti fiamminghi: S. ONOFRI, *op. cit.* (n. 11), passim. Della presenza fiamminga a Roma e sull'influenza che ebbero nell'ambiente artistico della città: B. W. MEIJER, "Fiamminghi a Roma", on the Years after 1550, in: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Atti del convegno internazionale, Bruxelles, 24-25 febbraio 1995*, (ed.) Nicole Dacos, *Bollettino d'arte*, 100 (Supplemento), Roma, 1997, pp. 117-132.

¹³ Roma, Archivio di Stato, Collegio dei Notai Capitolini, notaio Livio Prata, vol. 1335, ff. 353r-405v. Pubblicato da A. BERTOLOTTI, Don Giulio Clovio. Principe dei miniatori, *Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie dell'Emilia*, n. s. VII, Modena, 1882, pp. 259-279; e da M. PELC, *Fontes Clovianae: Julije Klović u dokumentima svoga doba*, Zagreb, 1998, pp. 213-234. Cfr. N. HEGENER, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

“Tre resurectioni inventione di M.o Michelangiolo fatte da Don Giulio”,
 “Una resurectione con otto figure imperfetta inventione fatta da Don Giulio”,
 “Una resurectione idem idem [fatta da Don Giulio]”,
 “La resurrettione dell’Evangelistario”.¹⁴

Dunque, l’ovale in esame, che, come abbiamo detto, conviene collocare intorno al 1569, è coerente per tema, iconografia e stile con le opere della cerchia del nostro miniatore. Tuttavia, la presenza degli stilemi e dei tratti tipici al Clovio anziano ci fa almeno suggerire l’ipotesi che lui stesso possa essere l’autore del “quadretto”. Il modo di precisare i capelli del Cristo si può confrontare con il più precoce disegno con la *Deposizione* michelangiolesca (Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, 11444).¹⁵ Suo tratto caratteristico sono le mani tozze dalle dita a raggiera, come quelle della mano dell’armigero in basso a sinistra. Il segno di contorno filante, come si evidenzia nella delineazione delle gambe del Cristo, compare nei disegni dei suoi ultimi anni, e nello stesso disegno del *Risorto* di Zagabria, quando la malattia e i problemi agli occhi dovettero suggerire al miniatore una maggiore sobrietà e velocità nei tratti.

Complice la presenza dei fiamminghi, a Roma era appena entrata nell’uso corrente la tecnica della pittura su rame. Non vi mancano cenni nel secondo dei due elenchi allegati al testamento, quell’“Inventario delle suppellettili del Clovio” presenti nell’appartamento che il miniatore aveva a disposizione all’interno della dimora di Palazzo Farnese e nella stessa sua camera, che fu redatto il giorno successivo alla morte:

“Un quadro di rame principiato di miniature de Marte e Venere” che pare riprendere la voce dell’elenco precedente che recita “Un quadro imperfetto con il suo disegno di Marte e Venere di miniatura fatto dal sopradetto Don Giulio”.¹⁶ E ancora: “Un pezzo di rame schizzato di chiaro oscuro di mano di Bartholomeo con certi schizzi in carta di mano di Don Giulio”.¹⁷ Si tratta con tutta probabilità di Bartolomeo Spranger, il pittore e incisore di Anversa che giunse a Roma nel 1566 ed entrò nella cerchia di don Giulio.¹⁸ Emblematico del rapporto tra i due è il rame di medie dimensioni (cm 40 x 55) con la *Conversione di San Paolo* (Milano, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana) che porta l’iscrizione “Don Iulio invenit Bartolomeus Sprangers pinxit”.¹⁹ Quest’ultimo rame corrisponde al disegno di Clovio a Londra (British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1946-7-13-322)²⁰ e parzialmente all’incisione in controparte datata 1576, firmata da Cornelis Cort su invenzione di Clovio.²¹

¹⁴ A. BERTOLOTI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 268, 271.

¹⁵ M. CIONINI VISANI – G. GAMULIN, *Giorgio Clovio*, Zagabria, 1993, pp. 98-99.

¹⁶ A. BERTOLOTI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), pp. 268, 275. Sulla nuova considerazione che nel corso del Cinquecento ebbero i quadretti di piccole dimensioni, e le miniature singole, destinati agli studioli: W. SMITH, Giulio Clovio and the “Maniera di Figure Piccole”, *The Art Bulletin*, 46/3, New York, 1964, pp. 395-401.

¹⁷ A. BERTOLOTI, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 275.

¹⁸ S. ONOFRI, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 85-89.

¹⁹ K. OBERHUBER, La conversione di san Paolo, in: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artisti dei Paesi Bassi e del Principato di Liegi a Roma durante il Rinascimento*, catalogo della mostra, Bruxelles - Roma, 1995, Milano, 1995, cat. 195 alla p. 271; B. W. MEIJER, Conversione di Saulo, in: *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana*, II, Milano, 2006, cat. 302 alle pp. 242-246.

²⁰ C. MONBEIG GOGUEL, Conversione di San Paolo, in: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artisti dei Paesi Bassi e del Principato di Liegi a Roma durante il Rinascimento*, cat. 56 alle pp. 124-125; V. MACAN LUKAVEČKI, The Conversion of St Paul, in: *Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance – Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse*, exhibition, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, november 8 2012 - January 20 2013, Zagreb, 2012, cat. 26 alle pp. 184-186.

²¹ Stampatore Lorenzo Vaccari. *The illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52, nn. 103-I, 103-II, pp. 123-124. M. SELLINK, La conversione di san Paolo, in: *Fiamminghi a Roma 1508-1608. Artisti dei Paesi Bassi e del Principato di Liegi a Roma durante il Rinascimento*, catalogo della mostra, Bruxelles - Roma, 1995, Milano, 1995, cat. 57 alla p. 125. Un esemplare conservato a Zagabria è riprodotto da M. PELC, The Conversion of St Paul, in: *Giulio Clovio the greatest miniaturist of the Renaissance – Julije Klović najveći minijaturist renesanse*, exhibition, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb, november 8 2012 - January 20 2013, Zagreb, 2012, cat. 39 alle pp. 218-219.

Che uno degli artisti nella cerchia di Palazzo Farnese possa essere stato talmente imitativo da riprendere nel nostro ovale dipinto anche i tratti disegnativi propri al celebre miniatore resta un'ipotesi aperta, accanto a quella più suggestiva che vedrebbe Clovio sperimentatore della nuova tecnica nella fase tarda della propria produzione, svolta a contatto con i pittori nordici e in ambito romano, quando appunto si affermò l'abitudine alla pittura su rame per soggetti piccoli da collezione.²²

Julije Klović i tema Uskrsnuća Kristova

Predstavljeno djelo, objavljeno u čast stvaralaštva Nikole Jakšića, dobro upućena u talijansku umjetnost kao i u djelovanje hrvatskih i talijanskih umjetnika, prikazuje ovalnu, fino oslikanu sliku na bakrenoj podlozi, malih dimenzija (132 x 98 mm), sačuvanu u jednoj privatnoj kolekciji (Fig 1.). Predmet, način, boja i obilježja jasno nas navode na razdoblje kasnog djelovanja umjetnika Julija Klovića, rodom iz hrvatskog mjesta Grižane, ali istančani potezi kistom nisu onakvi kakve prepoznajemo u tipičnim djelima toga minijaturista, s obzirom da do danas – koliko znam – umjetniku nisu pripisana djela na metalnoj podlozi.

U središtu ovalne slike nalazi se prikaz uskrslog Krista stjegonoše obavijena lepršavom perizomom. U dnu slike, oko sarkofaga, pojavljuje se profil jednoga bradatog vojnika, zatim drugog vojnika u odori s desne strane, dok su u pozadini prikazana još dva čuvara s helebardama. Uz neznatne autorske inačice, naša je slika usporediva s crtežom na papiru iste teme unutar ovala, koji se čuva u grafičkoj zbirci Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu (GZAH 9007 Klo 1). Navedeni crtež u početku je pripisivan Klovićevu umjetničkom krugu, a poslije, uvjerljivo, i samome Kloviću. Ovaj crtež tintom, razlikuje se od naše slike u nekoliko detalja, tako da oba ostvarenja možemo smatrati autorskim inačicama koje se podudaraju u stilskim i oblikovnim obilježjima. Stilska svježina i bogatstvo pojedinosti vidljivih na slici upućuju nas na to da kao ključni dokaz i *terminus ante quem* njezina nastanka uzmemo godinu 1569., zabilježenu u dnu stranice, kada je tiskan prijevod Cornelisa Corta, a koji spominje Klovićeve inovacije.

Inače, obilježje manirističkih umjetnika, pa tako i samog Julija Klovića, bila je izrada kopija i niza replika već postojećih slika.

Treba također reći kako ostaje otvorena mogućnost da je jedan od umjetnika iz kruga oko rimske *Palazzo Farnese* mogao biti toliko spretan u imitiranju da na ovoj slici primijeni slikarska obilježja poznatog minijaturista, ali je još uvijek prihvatljivija opcija koja vidi samog Klovića kao onoga koji u svojoj kasnoj stvaralačkoj fazi istražuje novu tehniku. Ona se, pak, očito razvila u doticaju sa sjevernjačkim slikarima i u rimskom okruženju, kada se uvriježio običaj slikanja malih formata na bakru, namijenjenih uglavnom kolekcionarima.

Ključne riječi: *Julije Klović, iluminacija, minijatura, slikanje na bakru, Rim, Uskrsnuće Kristovo*

Prijevod s talijanskog: Dorotea Dundov

²² M. G. TERENZI – F. FERRUCCI – M. L. AMADORI, *Dipinti su rame: storia, tecnica, fenomeni di degrado, diagnostica, indicazioni per la conservazione e il restauro*, Saonara, 2006.

LE OPERE DEGLI ARGENTIERI MILANESI TOMMASO PANIZZA E FRANCESCO CEPPI NELLA TESORERIA DELLA CATTEDRALE DI ZARA

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Il vasellame sacro e gli oggetti liturgici di argento importati in Dalmazia durante il XIX secolo sono ancora insufficientemente studiati e conosciuti. Nel presente testo, in base ai marchi di territorio, di garanzia del titolo e di autore, si analizzano gli oggetti liturgici nella tesoreria della cattedrale di Sant'Anastasia a Zara i cui autori sono gli argentieri milanesi del XIX secolo Tommaso Panizza e Francesco Ceppi. Gli stessi oggetti sono una conferma sia della costante necessità di rinnovare l'inventario ecclesiastico e di renderlo moderno con nuova argenteria liturgica, sia degli sforzi continui investiti a tal proposito. Allo stesso tempo, essi confermano le buone relazioni culturali che intercorrevano tra Zara e Milano durante il XIX secolo.

Parole chiave: Milano, Zara, XIX secolo, argenteria liturgica, Tommaso Panizza, Francesco Ceppi

Negli inventari delle chiese e dei conventi di Zara è conservato un gran numero di vasi sacri e oggetti liturgici realizzati ad arte, con l'impiego di metalli preziosi prodotti durante il medioevo e nel corso dei secoli successivi, per lo più nelle oreficerie veneziane e zaratine. A dedicare buona parte della sua carriera scientifica allo stesso materiale è stato pure Nikola Jakšić. Osservando alcuni degli oggetti d'arte medievali da nuovi e diversi punti di vista, egli li ha strappati dall'ambiente locale valorizzandoli, da conoscitore, nel contesto della produzione di oreficeria di un territorio più vasto della zona dell'Adriatico e dell'Italia settentrionale, inserendoli così pure nel patrimonio artistico europeo, il che le stesse opere meritano.¹ Va detto che numerosi orafi e argentieri, conosciuti e meno conosciuti, hanno arricchito le nostre raccolte, innanzitutto quelle di arte sacra, pure nei secoli successivi. Ne parleremo nel presente lavoro che dedico al mio stimato professore e caro collega, Nikola Jakšić.

¹ N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije – Zlatarstvo*, Zadar, 2004; N. JAKŠIĆ, Un gruppo dei reliquiari trecenteschi da Cattaro a Venezia e Chioggia, in: *Književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana: zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa*, Zadar-Nin, 3.-4. studenoga 2006. / *Letteratura, arte, cultura tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico: atti delle giornate di studio*, Zara-Nona, 3-4 novembre 2006, (ed.) Guido Baldassarri, Nikola Jakšić, Živko Nižić, Zadar, 2008, pp. 219-237; N. JAKŠIĆ, Rapporti veneto – dalmati nell'oreficeria trecentesca, in: *Književnost, umjetnost, kultura između dviju obala Jadrana: zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa*, Zadar, 25. rujna 2008. / *Letteratura, arte, cultura tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico: atti della giornata di studio*, Zara, 25 settembre 2008, (ed.) Nedjeljka Balić-Nižić, Nikola Jakšić, Živko Nižić, Zadar, 2010, pp. 299-326; N. JAKŠIĆ, Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, *zadarska arca d'oro*, *Ars Adriatica*, 4, 2014, pp. 125-154; N. JAKŠIĆ, Croce triestina di Alda Zuliani e le sue "sorelle zaratine", in: *SCRIPTA IN HONOREM IGOR FISKOVIC – zbornik povodom sedamdesetog rođendana*, (ed.) Miljenko Jurković, Predrag Marković, Zagreb - Motovun, 2015, pp. 143-152; N. JAKŠIĆ, Gotički križ u Novigradu u sklopu zadarske zlatarske produkcije s kraja 14. stoljeća, in: *Novigrad nekad i sad*, (ed.) Slobodan Kaštela, Zadar, 2017, pp. 322-329.

Tra la fine del XVIII e i primi decenni del XIX secolo, grazie ai molteplici cambiamenti delle circostanze geopolitiche e con l'inclusione della Dalmazia in uno Stato nuovo, iniziano a ramificarsi le vie di acquisto dell'argenteria liturgica necessaria per i servizi liturgici e per l'attrezzatura degli spazi sacri. Per questo motivo, i committenti locali, i quali in precedenza erano quasi esclusivamente orientati verso le botteghe veneziane e zaratine, iniziano a recarsi sempre più spesso pure negli altri importanti centri artistici europei. Ciò è una conferma che, nonostante i cambiamenti sociali e lo scioglimento degli stati cui il territorio croato nell'Adriatico orientale nel suo passato era spesso esposto, esisteva una costante necessità e un costante sforzo dei committenti di attrezzare i loro spazi sacri e profani, pubblici o privati, con opere nuove ed eseguite in stile moderno, quali sculture, quadri, paramenti liturgici e argenteria liturgica. Uno dei ruoli principali in questo processo era svolto da Milano, città in cui all'epoca erano attive molte botteghe ben organizzate e numerosi maestri argentieri, i quali fornivano a un mercato grande ed esigente una vasta gamma di oggetti realizzati ad arte, dall'argenteria liturgica ai vari oggetti decorativi e di uso per la casa. Questo non era il caso solo a Zara, dove ciò era logico aspettarsi, essendo stata questa città, nel periodo austriaco, la capitale del Regno di Dalmazia e la sede dell'arcidiocesi eretta nel 1828 in sede metropolitana. Pure in alcune delle città e località circostanti, quali Nona o Novegradi, erano già state riscontrate e analizzate le opere dei noti argentieri milanesi del XIX secolo: Francesco Ceppi, Cristoforo Corbella ed Emanuele Caber.² Nel presente lavoro l'elenco dei cognomi eminenti sarà completato con gli oggetti liturgici realizzati dall'argentiere milanese Tommaso Panizza e conservati nella tesoreria della cattedrale di Sant'Anastasia a Zara. Sarà, inoltre, analizzato un calice dell'argentiere milanese Francesco Ceppi custodito nella stessa tesoreria, del quale non si è scritto ancora.

Gli oggetti in questione sono un'altra conferma delle buone relazioni culturali tra Zara e Milano nel XIX secolo, già registrate in precedenza. L'orientamento dei committenti zaratini verso i maestri argentieri milanesi si deve, senza dubbio, pure al fatto che entrambe le città nella buona parte del XIX secolo, allo stesso tempo, appartenevano alla corona asburgica. Quella che può essere interpretata come una vivacità nell'acquisto dell'argenteria liturgica riscontrata durante il XIX secolo era, ne siamo certi, strettamente legata alla riforma austriaca dell'organizzazione ecclesiastica nel momento in cui Zara diventa pure il centro religioso della Dalmazia austriaca, oltre a essere la sede politica. Il vasellame sacro e gli oggetti liturgici vengono, da quel momento in poi, acquistati e regalati da numerosi rappresentanti di spicco della Chiesa locale, ma anche dalle massime autorità statali ed ecclesiastiche. In cima a questa piramide di donatori vi è l'imperatore d'Austria e re della Dalmazia Francesco Giuseppe I, il quale alla cattedrale di Sant'Anastasia regala un ostensorio monumentale, come pure il papa Pio IX, il quale le regala un calice, come confermano in entrambi i casi le iscrizioni su questi preziosi oggetti.³

Durante tutto il XIX secolo Milano era un importante centro dell'arte orafa, continuando così a portare avanti la ricca tradizione della produzione degli oggetti realizzati ad arte con i metalli preziosi che, organizzata tramite la confraternita degli orafi, in questa città esisteva già nel medioevo. Nel febbraio 1812 a Milano operarono 95 officine, fino al 1822 il loro numero raggiunse 119 e la stessa situazione fu registrata pure nel 1845. Gli oggetti di argento realizzati nelle botteghe milanesi durante questo periodo sono caratterizzati da tipici marchi di territorio, di controllo e di autore. Il loro utilizzo risale al periodo dopo le conquiste di Napoleone nel territorio dell'Italia settentrionale, quando nel neofondato Regno d'Italia (1805 – 1814), con Napoleone Bonaparte come re ed Eugène de Beauharnais come viceré, nel 1810 fu approvato il nuovo regolamento sulla produzione e sul commercio di oggetti di argento e oro, con il quale era regolato pure il modo in cui essi dovevano essere segnati. Lo stesso regolamento fu in uso dal 1812 fino al 1872/1873, nel periodo più lungo nel Regno Lombardo-Veneto sotto il dominio dell'Austria. Verso la fine dello stesso periodo, a partire dal 1861, fu utilizzato pure nel già unito Regno d'Italia. Con lo stesso regolamento furono definiti nuovi marchi di territorio, di garanzia del titolo e di

² B. GOJA, *Nekoliko rimskih, milanskih i engleskih predmeta od srebra iz razdoblja 18. i 19. stoljeća u sjevernoj Dalmaciji*, *Peristil*, 61, Zagreb, 2018, pp. 145-160.

³ C. F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, I, Zara, 1877, pp. 252, 254.



Fig. 1. Tommaso Panizza, calice (foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 2. Tommaso Panizza, calice, particolare (foto: B. Goja)

di profilo con il timone a destra (bollo territoriale dell'Ufficio di Garanzia di Milano). Il marchio in cui era raffigurato un veliero con remi e il numero 1, in forma esagonale allungata orizzontalmente, veniva usato per i grossi lavori appartenenti alla bontà del 1° titolo, millesimi 950, mentre con il marchio *Globo con lo Zodiaco e i sette trioni* contenente un numero aggiuntivo 2, in forma ettagonale, venivano segnati i grossi lavori appartenenti alla bontà del 2° titolo, millesimi 800. Il marchio a forma di grappolo d'uva veniva utilizzato per segnare i lavori minuti appartenenti alla bontà del 1° titolo, millesimi 950, mentre il marchio a forma di incudine si usava come marchio di garanzia del titolo per i lavori minuti appartenenti alla bontà del 2° titolo, millesimi 800. Conformemente al nuovo regolamento, ogni oggetto in questo sistema tripunzonale doveva recare tre marchi: quelli di territorio, di autore e di garanzia del titolo. Allo stesso modo, i lavori minuti e alcune delle parti integranti dei lavori grossi nella prassi potevano essere segnati solo con il marchio di purezza, senza il marchio di territorio.⁴

⁴ V. DONAVER – R. DABBENE, *Punzoni degli argentieri milanesi dell'800*, San Gottardo, Milano, 1986, pp. 7-26; V. DONAVER – R. DABBENE, *Argenti italiani del '800*, Vol. 1, *Punzoni di garanzia degli Stati Italiani*, Edizioni San Gottardo, Milano, 1987, pp. 71-72; G. SAMBONET, *Gli argenti milanesi: maestri, botteghe e punzoni dal XIV al XIX secolo*, Longanesi & C., Milano, 1987, pp. 11-47; P. PAZZI, *I punzoni dell'argenteria e oreficeria veneta ovvero breve compendio di bolli e marche dell'argenteria e oreficeria veneta e alcune notizie al loro riguardo...*, Venezia e Dogado, Tomo I, Rovinj – Treviso, 1992, pp. 179-181; R. DABBENE – V. DONAVER, *Argenti italiani del '700 e '800*, Editoriale Giorgio Mondadori, Milano, 1998, p. 16; U. DONATI, *I marchi dell'argenteria italiana: oltre 1000 marchi territoriali e di garanzia dal XIII secolo a oggi*, De Agostini, Novara, 1999, pp. 69, 105-108, 164-168.



Fig. 3. Tommaso Panizza, candelieri
(foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 4. Tommaso Panizza, candelieri, particolare
(foto: B. Goja)

Tommaso Panizza è considerato uno dei più significativi argentieri milanesi di questo periodo. Era nato nell'abitato di Lierna, sulla costa del lago di Como, il 7 dicembre 1805. Si trasferì a Milano, dove visse all'indirizzo Contrada degli Orefici 3199. Insieme con il fratello Ambrogio apprese l'arte orafa e presto diventò un maestro molto abile nella lavorazione dei metalli preziosi. Dopo lo scioglimento della collaborazione con il fratello nel 1835 aprì un'officina sotto il segno di Sant'Antonio Abate. All'epoca scelse per il suo marchio di autore l'immagine dello stesso santo e le iniziali del proprio nome e cognome "TP". Utilizzò il marchio per soltanto due anni: esso fu ritirato dall'uso già il 23 novembre 1837. Lo stesso giorno Tommaso Panizza registrò una nuova bottega e mise in circolazione un nuovo marchio con l'immagine di una capra che allatta un capretto di profilo e con le proprie iniziali "TP" in cerchietto. Gestì l'officina

all'indirizzo di casa sua, Contrada degli Orefici 3199. L'argenteria di Tommaso Panizza è tra i più bei prodotti milanesi della metà del XIX secolo. Era un maestro eccezionale in diverse tecniche di lavorazione dell'argento, molto abile nel taglio e con un approccio raffinato nella modellazione del materiale con un'accentuata sensibilità per la proporzione e la decorazione. Nella sua officina furono realizzati i numerosi pezzi di argenteria liturgica elegante, i diversi oggetti di uso e decorativi per la casa e il servizio da tavola che ancor oggi si conservano nelle raccolte di arte sacra, in quelle museali e nelle raccolte private. Particolarmente apprezzati erano, grazie alla loro eleganza, i suoi candelieri a tre fiamme. Molto lodato durante la sua vita, Tommaso Panizza morì nel 1868, anno in cui pure la sua famosa bottega milanese operante sotto il segno di una capra che allatta chiuse i battenti.⁵

⁵ V. DONAVER – R. DABBENE, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 1986), marchio n. 91, pp. 87-88; O. ZASTROW, *Due argenti milanesi del secolo XIX donati alle Civiche Raccolte di Arte Applicata*, Rassegna di studie e di notizie, Raccolta delle Stampe A. Bertarelli; Raccolte di Arte Applicata; Museo degli Strumenti Musicali, Vol. XIII – Anno XIII, Castello Sforzesco, Settore cultura, Comune di Milano, Milano, 1986., pp. 830-835; G. SAMBONET, *op. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 80, 98-99, 236; O. ZASTROW, *Museo d'arti applicate. Oreficerie*, Electa, Milano, 1993., pp. 261-263; P. VENTURELLI, *Argentieri e orefici a Milano e in Lombardia dal tardo Settecento agli anni Trenta*, in: *Le arti decorative in Lombardia nell'età moderna 1780-1940*, (ed.) Valerio Terraroli, Skira, Milano, 1998., pp. 296-297.



Fig. 5. Tommaso Panizza, brocca
(foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 6. Tommaso Panizza, brocca, particolare
(foto: B. Goja)

Nella tesoreria della cattedrale zaratina vi sono custodite ben quattro opere di Tommaso Panizza: un calice, un candeliero, come pure il suo servizio da lavabo composto da brocca e bacile. Tutti e quattro gli oggetti recano i seguenti marchi: il marchio di garanzia del 2° titolo *Globo con lo Zodiaco e i sette trioni*, il marchio di territorio di Milano a forma di aratro di profilo e il marchio di autore di Tommaso Panizza con l'immagine di una capra che allatta un capretto di profilo e con le sue iniziali "TP" in cerchietto, utilizzato dal 23 novembre 1837. Sulla coppa del calice e sul piattello del candeliero fu inciso pure il marchio a forma di incudine.

Il calice (26,8 cm; base Ø 14 cm; coppa Ø 10,4 cm) presenta un piede con profilatura inflessa e ondulata (Fig. 1). La superficie del piede ha profilature multiple e si assottiglia salendo verso l'alto. Verticalmente è lavorata a costoloni e in tal modo divisa in spicchi più e meno larghi. Nello stesso modo sono decorati il nodo, che assomiglia a un vaso a forma di pera, e la sottocoppa. La coppa è allungata e presenta un bordo inflesso. Sul bordo esterno del piede è incisa la seguente iscrizione: "EX DONO CAN. VINCENTII IVCEVICH PAROCHI S. ANASTASIAE ANNO MDCCCLXIV". Dunque, il ca-



Fig. 7. Tommaso Panizza, bacile
(foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 8. Tommaso Panizza, bacile, particolare
(foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 9. Francesco Ceppi, calice
(foto: B. Goja)



Fig. 10. Francesco Ceppi, calice, particolare
(foto: B. Goja)

lice, come conferma l'iscrizione, fu regalato alla cattedrale di Sant'Anastasia dal canonico e parroco della cattedrale Vinko Ivčević nel 1864. Secondo il canonico e storico della Chiesa Carlo Federico Bianchi, il calice è un'opera veronese, affermazione confutata in modo chiaro dai marchi incisi descritti (Fig. 2).⁶

Il candeliere elegante (27,5 cm; base Ø 12,4 cm), da superfici lisce, ha un piede largo rialzato e circolare con profilature (Figg. 3, 4). Il fusto a forma di colonna è decorato alla sua base con anelli profilati, mentre verso l'alto si assottiglia e termina con una cornice profilata prominente. In cima del calice vi si uniscono il bocciolo e il piattello inflesso.

La lista delle opere di Panizza nella tesoreria della cattedrale si conclude con una brocca (figg. 5, 6) e un bacile (Figg. 7, 8), che insieme formano il servizio di

lavabo. La brocca (27,7 cm; base Ø 8,5 cm) ha un piede circolare, circondato sull'orlo da ovali, che si assottiglia gradualmente e finisce con un anello. In cima il corpo allungato e oviforme della brocca continua con un collo stretto circondato da due anelli stretti riempiti con motivi degli ovali e un intreccio con perle. Il becco inflesso per il versamento è dotato di un coperchio in cima al quale si trova un piccolo manico applicato a forma di voluta con foglie completato con una testa di pesce. Il manico a forma di voluta nella parte superiore della brocca prosegue con una sottocoppa a forma di fiore, mentre nella parte inferiore, dove si unisce al corpo della brocca, vi è raffigurato un volto a rilievo *en face* con capelli lunghi di ispirazione classicheggiante. Le superfici del piede, del corpo, del collo e del becco sono decorate a costoloni verticali poco profondi. Il lavabo è di forma allungata e ovale (6,4 x 35,9 x 25,8 cm). Il suo bordo esterno inflesso è decorato con un nastro poco largo con il motivo dell'ovale. Il fondo è liscio, mentre la parte rialzata è decorata a costoloni poco profondi come quelli utilizzati per la decorazione della brocca.

Un'opera milanese del XIX secolo è pure il calice in stile neobarocco (26,7 cm; base Ø 14,7 cm; coppa Ø 9,5 cm) caratterizzato da una plasticità pronunciata (Fig. 9) e custodito nello stesso luogo. Sul lato inferiore del piede del calice si trova una piccola targa su cui è incisa un'iscrizione in cui si menzionano il donatore del calice, il canonico del capitolo zaratino e tesoriere Ivan Mandić: "Ioan.

⁶ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 253.

Mandich Iadren. Can. Thesaurarius donauit a MDCCCLX".⁷ Il piede ovale, con un contorno leggermente ondulato, è decorato sull'orlo esterno dotato di profilature con conchiglie e foglie. La parte centrale del piede è rialzata, dal profilo ingrossato ed è divisa in costoloni profilati – decorati con foglie di vite e volute completate – in quattro campi uguali. Ciascun campo ha all'interno del cartiglio formato dalle volute un medaglione con una testina di angelo alato scolpita ad altorilievo. Sopra ogni testina si trova una pietra decorativa variopinta, mentre il resto della superficie è decorato con una rete romboidale. Il nodo in forma di una piramide allungata capovolta è decorato con coppie di volute, nastri intrecciati e foglie, ai quali sui bordi si aggiungono figure di angeli e una fila di perle. La coppa alta con un bordo inflesso è inserita all'interno della sottocoppa perforata decorata con volute, foglie, conchiglie, pietre decorative e cartigli all'interno dei quali sono inserite quattro testine di angeli scolpite ad altorilievo. La coppa è dorata, come lo sono alcuni dettagli sul piede, sul nodo e sulla sottocoppa, e ciò, assieme alle parti figurali e decorative del calice realizzate abilmente, contribuisce alla qualità del lavoro. Tramite la combinazione di motivi figurali e decorativi realizzati in argento con superfici dorate su questo calice sono ottenuti degli effetti luminosi eccezionali.

Sulla coppa del calice è impresso il marchio in forma di incudine utilizzato per la marcatura dei lavori minuti dal titolo millesimi 800, mentre sul lato inferiore del piede sono impressi: il marchio di autore, che dentro cerchietto ha l'immagine di una capra che cammina raffigurata di profilo sinistro accanto alla quale sono state aggiunte le iniziali "FC", il marchio territoriale di Milano in forma di aratro di profilo e il marchio *Globo con lo Zodiaco e i sette trioni* per i lavori grossi appartenenti alla bontà del 2° titolo, millesimi 800 (Fig. 10). Per quanto riguarda il marchio di autore appena descritto, nelle fonti bibliografiche italiane si presume che esso sia stato utilizzato dall'argentiere, stampatore e tornitore milanese Francesco Ceppi. Egli nacque il 3 settembre 1820 nell'abitato di Lentate sul Seveso, in provincia di Monza e Brianza in Lombardia. L'appartenenza di questo marchio a Francesco Ceppi non è stata confermata da alcun documento. Tuttavia, avendo avuto egli la sua officina in via Profumieri 3215, in cui prima operava l'orafo Luca Franceschini, il quale utilizzava lo stesso marchio con l'immagine di capra, ma con aggiunte le iniziali "LF", si è diffusa l'opinione secondo la quale Francesco Ceppi, oltre alla bottega di Franceschini, avrebbe adottato e continuato a utilizzare pure il motivo presente nel marchio del gestore precedente sostituendo le iniziali di quest'ultimo con le prime lettere del proprio nome e cognome. Secondo le fonti storiche, gli inizi dell'attività dell'orafo Francesco Ceppi a Milano risalgono al 1855, mentre gli oggetti di argento recanti questo marchio sono molto numerosi e registrati in una serie di chiese e raccolte private dell'Italia settentrionale, il che induce alla conclusione secondo la quale egli probabilmente gestì un'officina ben organizzata con un certo numero di lavoratori e assistenti.⁸ Francesco Ceppi era, a quanto pare, un artigiano molto ricercato dai committenti di un territorio zaratino più vasto e lo dimostra pure il fatto che l'argenteria con il suo marchio di autore è stata già rinvenuta a Zara, Nona, Novegradi e Pago.⁹ A dimostrare quanto ampia era la cerchia dei suoi committenti è la pisside custodita nella chiesa di San Giacomo a Trieste, recante, anch'essa, il suo marchio di autore.¹⁰ Nella forma e nella decorazione del piede e del nodo la pisside triestina dimostra di essere affine alle opere di Ceppi analizzate e presenti nella regione zaratina.

La piuttosto grande quantità di oggetti provenienti dalle officine degli argentieri milanesi del XIX secolo nelle raccolte di arte sacra su un territorio zaratino più vasto è, a un livello più generale, una

⁷ C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 252.

⁸ V. DONAVER – R. DABBENE, *op. cit.* (n. 4, 1986), marchio n. 37, p. 65; G. SAMBONET, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 98.

⁹ B. GOJA, Liturgijsko srebro od 16. do 20. stoljeća u samostanu sv. Margarite u Pagu, in: *Umjetnička baština paških benediktinki – zbornik radova povodom 700. obljetnice osnutka samostana benediktinki sv. Margarite u Pagu*, (ed.) Miroslav Granić, Pag, 2018, pp. 181-235; B. GOJA, *op. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 147-150.

¹⁰ G. CIUSCITO, Argenteria liturgica in diocesi di Trieste, in: *Ori e tesori d'Europa. Atti del Convegno di Studio, Castello di Udine 3-4-5 dicembre 1991*, (ed.) Giuseppe Bergamini, Paolo Goi, Udine, 1992, pp. 146-147.

conferma della costante presenza della necessità di rinnovare e rendere moderno l'inventario delle chiese meno recente con nuova argenteria liturgica, ma anche degli sforzi compiuti a questo proposito. Il fatto che si tratta delle opere i cui autori sono gli argentieri milanesi Emanuele Caber, Cristoforo Corbella, Francesco Ceppi e Tommaso Panizza dimostra che i committenti del territorio, nel momento della scelta dei maestri artigiani e delle officine, conoscevano molto bene la qualità del loro lavoro, come pure la rinomanza e la reputazione di cui i maestri selezionati godevano tra i loro contemporanei.

Traduzione dal croato: Tanja Škopac

Radovi milanskih srebrara Tommasa Panizze i Francesca Ceppija u riznici zadarske katedrale

U radu se na temelju utisnutih teritorijalnih, autorskih i žigova za čistoću srebra analiziraju liturgijski predmeti iz milanskih radionica koji se čuvaju u riznici zadarske katedrale. Tijekom 19. stoljeća Milano je bio značajan centar umjetničke obrade srebra u kojem su djelovale mnogobrojne dobro organizirane radionice i cijenjeni majstori srebrari. Jedan od njih, Tommaso Panizza, ubraja se među najznačajnije milanske srebrare toga razdoblja. U riznici zadarske katedrale čuvaju se četiri njegova djela: kalež, svijećnjak te pribor za pranje ruku koji se sastoji od vrča i umivaonika. Sva četiri predmeta označena su sljedećim žigovima: autorskim žigom Tommasa Panizze s likom koze koja doji kozlića u profilu i inicijalima »TP« pod njim u kružnom okviru, teritorijalnim žigom Milana u obliku pluga i žigom za čistoću srebra *Globo con lo Zodiaco e i sette trioni* s brojem 2, u formi sedmerokuta. Na čaši kaleža i na tanjuriću svijećnjaka udaren je i žig u obliku nakovnja. Na vanjskom rubu podnožja kaleža ugraviran je natpis: »EX DONO CAN. VINCENTII IVCEVICH PAROCHI S. ANASTASIAE ANNO MDCCCLXIV« koji svjedoči da je kalež 1864. godine darovao kanonik i katedralni župnik Vinko Ivčević.

U riznici se čuva i kalež također vrlo cijenjenog milanskog srebrara Francesca Ceppija. S donje strane podnožja kaleža pričvršćena je pločica s ugraviranim natpisom u kojem se bilježi godina i darovatelj kaleža, kanonik zadarskog kaptola i *tezorijer* Ivan Mandić: »Ioan. Mandich Iadren. Can. Thesaurarius donavit a MDCCCLX«. Na čaši kaleža udaren je žig u obliku nakovnja, a s donje strane podnožja otisnuti su: autorski žig Francesca Ceppija koji u kružnom okviru ima lik koze koja korača prikazana u lijevom profilu uz koju su dodani inicijali »FC«, teritorijalni žig Milana u obliku pluga i žig za čistoću srebra *Globo con lo Zodiaco e i sette trioni* s brojem 2, u formi sedmerokuta.

Znatna zastupljenost predmeta iz milanskih radionica u sakralnim zbirkama na širem zadarskom prostoru ukazuje na dobre kulturne veze tih dvaju gradova tijekom 19. stoljeća te na upućenost domaćih naručitelja u rad i kvalitetu milanskih srebrara. Istovremeno ti predmeti svjedoče i o stalnim potrebama i nastojanjima da se crkveni inventari obnavljaju i osuvremenjuju novom liturgijskom srebrninom.

Ključne riječi: *Milano, Zadar, 19. stoljeće, liturgijsko srebro, Tommaso Panizza, Francesco Ceppi*

LE BOCHE DI CATTARO NEI DIPINTI DI JOHANN HÖGELMÜLLER

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Johann Högel Müller è conosciuto come autore dell'album di litografie „Ricordi di Dalmazia“ (Erinnerung an Dalmatien). Ne realizzò le litografie, secondo i disegni di Högel Müller, V. X. Sandmann, e le stampò intorno all'anno 1847 L. T. Neumann a Vienna. La raccolta contiene 24 litografie con vedute e motivi della Dalmazia da Zara alle Bocche di Cattaro. Dell'autore si sa poco. Secondo i dati di cui si dispone finora era un ufficiale austriaco, giunto in servizio in Dalmazia, e visse – sembra – a Spalato e a Cattaro – dove morì, secondo la scritta sull'Autoritratto che viene qui pubblicato. In Dalmazia visse prima dell'anno 1847 disegnando gli ambienti dai quali a Vienna sarebbero nate le litografie. L'autore di questo studio pubblica quattro dipinti (olio su cartone) di Högel Müller finora inediti. Uno è il suo autoritratto, mentre gli altri tre rappresentano motivi delle Bocche di Cattaro (Kotor, Prčanj, Dobrota). L'autoritratto, secondo la scritta successivamente aggiunta sul retro, risale all'anno 1850, mentre la Veduta di Prčanj è firmata e datata 1857, testimoniando che allora Högel Müller viveva alle Bocche, probabilmente a Cattaro, importante città militare e marittima all'estremo sud della Dalmazia.

Parole chiave: Johann Högel Müller, ottocento, veduta, Bocche di Cattaro

Nel corso del XIX secolo la Dalmazia, le sue bellezze naturali e storico-artistiche, in primo luogo le sue città e i paesi sulla costa e sulle isole, divenne un paese cui giungevano spinti dalla curiosità molti cittadini delle diverse regioni e stati europei. Pare che il primato spettasse proprio agli Austriaci che scoprirono la regione entrata nella compagine dell'immenso impero nell'anno 1815 suscitando interesse con i suoi monumenti, le sue città e la sua storia non solo negli scrittori di viaggio e nei letterati, ma anche tra gli studiosi di etnografia e gli storici dell'arte. Tra loro giunsero sulla costa adriatica, per breve tempo o più a lungo, anche i pittori che trovarono nel Mediterraneo motivi autentici e significativi. Le loro opere mostrano le caratteristiche del romanticismo tardivo, del biedermeier e del realismo (accademismo), mentre la qualità artistica oscilla dai lavori di dilettanti e amatori alle opere rispettabili di autori stimati che con la loro arte avevano raggiunto fama e influenza nella Monarchia.

Per tali pittori, normalmente di modesta formazione e cultura artistica, erano interessanti anche le Bocche di Cattaro con i loro motivi e le montagne erte e selvagge e le città e i centri storici in cui si rispecchiava e leggeva la vita urbana e marittima del suo passato mediterraneo. Tra questi v'era anche Johann Högel Müller. Questo tenente austriaco è noto al pubblico degli studiosi croati per la sua raccolta di litografie rappresentanti diversi monumenti e città della Dalmazia. L'album è noto sotto il nome di Erinnerung an Dalmatien (Ricordi di Dalmazia) e fu stampato a Vienna intorno all'anno 1847.¹ L'album (37 x 46 cm) contiene 24 litografie con le seguenti raffigurazioni delle città e monu-

¹ Il titolo originale dell'album è: Erinnerung an Dalmatien. Allen K. K. Oesterreichischen Militärs und Kunstfreunden hochachtungsvoll gewidmet von Joh. Högel Müller, Lieutenant im 5. Jäger-Bataillon. Lith. V. X. Sandmann. Wien, Bei L. T. Neumann. Gedr. Bei. Joh. Rauh. Kohlmarkt No. 257. Eigentum des Verlegers.

menti dalmati: Zara, Knin, Sinj, Kaštel Lastva (Lastva di Budva, oggi Petrovac na Moru), Obrovac, Sebenico, Spalato 1 (Le rovine del Palazzo di Diocleciano), Drniš, Traù, Ragusa, Grab, Cavtat, Peristilio del Palazzo di Diocleziano, Spalato 2, Lesina, Imotski, Sveti Stefan, Omiš, Cattaro, Stagnjević in Albania, Ragusa 2 (Zur Zeit des Erdbebens 1843, Al tempo del terremoto 1843), La chiesa di Dobrota alle Bocche di Cattaro (chiesa parrocchiale di San Matteo), la fortezza di San Nicola (sv. Nikola) a Sebenico, La costa tra Budva e Sveti Stefan. Secondo i suoi disegni dedicati ad amici dell'esercito austriaco e ad amici dell'arte, le litografie furono eseguite da V. X. Sandmann, e le stampò L. T. Neumann a Vienna, intorno all'anno 1847.²

Che la stampa dell'album risalga a poco prima dell'anno 1847 si deduce dal fatto che in quello stesso anno C. F. Weidmann ne pubblicò una recensione nella rivista *Danica – hrvatsko – slavonsko – dalmatinska*.³ Ma, fino ad oggi su Johann Högel Müller si sa poco. La ragione principale è il fatto che si tratta di un membro dell'esercito, di un tenente e non di un pittore di formazione, ed è per questo difficile procurarsi notizie rilevanti. Apparteneva a un gruppo di amatori che per la curiosità imposta dalla moda del tempo giungevano sulla costa dell'Adriatico a dipingere vedute e panorami, rovine di antichi conventi e chiese, resti archeologici di epoche lontane e bellezze naturali. Si dice che nell'anno 1843 Johann Högel Müller, al comando del quinto Corpo dei Cacciatori, giunse a Spalato e vi soggiornò circa due anni visitando la Dalmazia da Zara a Budva.⁴

Abbiamo ora l'opportunità di ampliare almeno un po' le conoscenze su questo pittore amatore austriaco. A Bologna, presso una famiglia che era in relazione di parentela con il pittore, si conservano quattro sue opere eseguite a olio su cartone.⁵ Una è l'autoritratto del pittore e tre rappresentano motivi delle Bocche di Cattaro. L'autoritratto a mezzo busto raffigura un uomo in età matura in abiti



Fig. 1. Johann Högel Müller, Autoritratto, olio su cartone, anno 1850, Bologna, proprietà privata

² D. KEČKEMET, Vedute dalmatinskih gradova Johanna Högel Müllera iz sredine prošlog stoljeća, *Radovi Zavoda Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 32, Zadar, 1990, pp. 169-178; *Erinnerung an Dalmatien / Sjećanje na Dalmaciju* (stampa facsimile), (ed.) Dražen Budiša, Joško Zaninović, Zagreb, 2009.

³ C. F. WEIDMANN, Zanimljivo kamenorēzno dēlo o Dalmaciji u nēmačkom jeziku, *Danica hrvatsko - slavonsko - dalmatinska*, 52, Zagreb, 1847, pp. 207-208.

⁴ D. BUDIŠA – J. ZANINOVIĆ, Postfazione, u: *Erinnerung an Dalmatien / Sjećanje na Dalmaciju* (stampa facsimile), (ed.) Dražen Budiša, Joško Zaninović, Zagreb, 2009.

⁵ Ringrazio la proprietaria, signora Luisa Raffaelli e la sua famiglia dei dati sui dipinti e sulla loro provenienza. I proprietari hanno inviato le fotografie delle opere di loro proprietà e ne hanno autorizzato la pubblicazione per questo articolo.



Fig. 2. Johan Högel Müller, *Perzagno (Prčanj)*, olio su cartone, anno 1857, Bologna, proprietà privata

borghesi, dai capelli neri e i baffi marroni, dai grandi occhi vivaci che spiccano sul viso pallido dalla pelle liscia. La semplicità elementare, quasi riduttiva della raffigurazione non ne sminuisce la particolare imponenza con cui il pittore sorridendo benevolmente si rivolge allo spettatore. Sul retro del cartone è stato successivamente scritto a inchiostro: *Jean Högel Müller / autoritratto 1850 / (brat Jozefine Pust r. Högel Müller) / Pokopan u Kotoru (Jean Högel Müller / autoritratto 1850 / (fratello di Jozefina Pust nata Högel Müller) / Sepolto a Cattaro)*. La scritta attesta che come militare fu in servizio anche alle Bocche di Cattaro, dove evidentemente visse e fu anche sepolto.⁶

L'altro dipinto, che rappresenta Prčanj, è firmato dal pittore e reca come datazione l'anno 1857 (*Högel Müller 1857*), il che dimostra che era in servizio e viveva alle Bocche 10 anni dopo la stampa dell'album con le vedute dalmate e il soggiorno a Spalato. Il dipinto rappresenta la parte di quella località marittima con le case dei capitani che si susseguono lungo la stretta strada davanti al mare con i moli. Inizia con la facciata ovest della casa a due piani dei Luković. Adiacente ad essa è la casa di Lovrijenac Sbutega che ha al primo piano un balcone ad angolo con balaustre in pietra e una mansarda con finestre ovali sul lato est.⁷ Segue la casa a due piani e il magazzino del capitano Henrik Sbutega (poi del capitano Božo Paparela), dietro di essa si trova la casa a due piani con attico della famiglia Sbutega (poi Luković, quindi Gjurović e Baldić), di seguito la casa a due piani con balcone al primo e secondo piano della famiglia Luković (più tardi Sbutega, e poi Terzetta). Adiacente a quest'ultima

⁶ Non si è potuto controllare i dati.

⁷ La casa apparteneva originariamente a una famiglia ignota di Cattaro. Ringrazio Željko Brguljan dell'identificazione delle case.



Fig. 3. Johan Högel Müller, *Perzagno*, particolare

è il muro di cinta del cortile del palazzo di Andrija e Filip Luković (poi Žeželić, quindi Grandis e Gjurović), probabilmente di famiglia nobile originaria di Cattaro, con stemma sul portale. Accanto sorge la casa Marassi. Si susseguono le case a un solo piano della famiglia Milina e il palazzo monumentale a due piani di Adam Verona, e dietro di esso la casa Zerman (più tardi Milina e poi Giunio). Sullo sfondo si riconoscono il convento francescano e la chiesa di San Nicola (sv. Nikola) con il campanile, i frontoni del Comune d'un tempo, la casa Petkić (oggi Sbutega), il palazzo Bescucchia (Beskuća) e sullo sfondo i contorni delle numerose case della famiglia Verona. Al di sopra delle case

s'alzano ripidi orti, oliveti e giardini, molto in alto verso la vecchia chiesa parrocchiale della Natività di Maria (Rođenje Marijino) con campanile e presbiterio ottagonale. È raffigurata anche la chiesa nuova ancora in costruzione, senza tetto e con solo un torso in pietra sulla facciata monumentale. Anche i dettagli sono interessanti. Sul muro di un molo è seduto un uomo in abito borghese che fuma una pipa dal lungo bocchino. Sul fianco del muro è scritta la data 1857, quella di realizzazione del dipinto. In strada stanno due fanciulle nei costumi popolari, e più in profondità parlano due donne in abiti borghesi, e più oltre una donna con un fardello sulle spalle. Vi sono naturalmente anche le imbarcazioni: barche con marinai (tutti fumano!) e due velieri. Un dettaglio pittoresco è il fumo che



Fig. 4. Johan Högel Müller, *Veduta su Dobrota e Cattaro da Perzagno*, olio su cartone, Bologna, proprietà privata



Fig. 5. Johann Högel Müller, *Veduta sul Golfo di Cattaro da Scagliari (Škaljari)*, olio su cartone, Bologna, proprietà privata

s'alza da un camino, ciò significa che il dipinto nacque nei giorni soleggiati dell'inverno. Come conferma del resto l'abbigliamento dei personaggi rappresentati.

Il terzo dipinto potrebbe intitolarsi „Veduta su Dobrota e Cattaro da Prčanj” ed è firmato dal pittore (Högel Müller). L'artista ha posto il cavalletto accanto al palazzo gotico Tri sestre (Tre sorelle) a Prčanj da dove si vede la parte est di Dobrota, dalla chiesa parrocchiale di San Matteo (sv. Matija, sv. Matej) fino a Cattaro. Dominano il bastione eretto nell'anno 1745 da Ivan Škarpa e la chiesa di San Matteo con il frontone articolato, la cappella laterale con cupola e il campanile. Accanto alla chiesa si trova la casa sede dell'ex scuola nautica e della scuola elementare e quindi seguono una serie di case e palazzi in località Ilijaševići fino a palazzo Radoničić e alla chiesa di Sant'Elia (sv. Ilija) sulla penisola di Plagenti. Uno a fianco all'altro si riconoscono il più monumentale palazzo Milošević ad ovest e i due palazzi Radoničić ad est e la serie di case sopra la chiesa di San Matteo. A motivo della distanza l'artista non ha rappresentato fedelmente le case in questa parte di Dobrota costruite nel corso del XVIII e nella prima metà del XIX secolo. In questo paese dai capitani si trovano anche i palazzi e le case delle famiglie Milošević, Andrić, Petričević, Dobrilović, Pasinović, Oparenović, Radimir, Matović, Dabčević, Sablić e Radoničić, ma sul dipinto non è possibile identificarle tutte. Allo stesso modo manca la (non ultimata) chiesa settecentesca di Ognissanti, e l'edificio della Sala di lettura slava fondata il 4 maggio dell'anno 1862, essendo stata ultimata il 1 gennaio 1903.⁸ In secondo piano s'intravede Cattaro con la sua cinta

⁸ M. MILOŠEVIĆ, „Slavjanska čitaonica” u Dobroti i preporodna kulturno-politička strujanja (I), *Zadarska revija*, 1, Zadar, 1963, pp. 1-19; M. MILOŠEVIĆ, „Slavjanska čitaonica” u Dobroti i preporodna kulturno-politička strujanja (II), *Zadarska revija*, 2, Zadar, 1963, pp. 159-165. Ringrazio Slavko Dabinović dei dati sui proprietari delle case. Alcune di esse cambiarono proprietario nel XIX e XX secolo, ma si trattò di cambiamenti che rimasero nell'ambito di Dobrota, Boka e Konavle, mentre i proprietari odierni sono stranieri.



Fig. 6. Johann Högel Müller (attribuito), *Veduta sul Golfo di Cattaro da Santa Trinità*, olio su tela, Spalato, proprietà privata

muraria che s'alza oltre le rupi e le montagne fino alla fortezza di San Giovanni (sv. Ivan). La città e i pendii dei monti sono in parte avvolti dalla nebbia che proprio nelle giornate invernali o all'inizio della primavera scende su tutto il golfo. In fondo si vede il paese di Škaljari verso Santa Trinità (sv. Trojica). Si riconoscono anche la cappella cimiteriale, la vecchia chiesa della Madonna della Neve (Gospa Snježna), e dei casali sparsi. Oltre a ciò, si vedono anche parti del paese di Muo con la chiesa di San Cosma e Damiano (sv. Kuzma i Damjan), mentre dinanzi al palazzo Tre sorelle „posano” due uomini e una donna nei costumi popolari.

Il quarto dipinto si può intitolare „Veduta sul Golfo di Cattaro da Škaljari”.

A Škaljari è dipinta la strada con il ponte sul torrente Zvjerinjak, il cimitero con la chiesa ortodossa e la cupola centrale, ma senza il campanile a bulbo, e una serie di case sparse. In primo piano s'apre il Golfo di Cattaro tra le mura e più oltre Muo e Dobrota con la chiesa di San Matteo sul promontorio, e il paese di Orahovac sotto le montagne in parte illuminate dal sole invernale.

Ad Högel Müller si può attribuire un altro dipinto „Veduta sul Golfo di Cattaro da Santa Trinità” che si conserva a Spalato e apparteneva a una importante famiglia di capitani marittimi di Dobrota. Il dipinto, ripete la composizione precedente e la scelta dei motivi, ma il punto di vista è più alto cosicché si possono vedere ancora più chiaramente tutto il golfo con Cattaro e Dobrota verso Orahovac e con le montagne sopra Perasto. Ai margini del golfo, chiuso come un anfiteatro, sono sorti i paesi al cui centro è Cattaro, e ai lati Muo, Prčanj e Dobrota di cui il pittore ha dipinto dei frammenti.

L'ultima veduta aveva forse un modello più datato o un prototipo. Lo si può forse intravedere nel dipinto „Bocche di Cattaro” di Heinrich Louis Theodor Gurlitt (1812 – 1897) che risale al suo soggiorno in Dalmazia, dopo l'anno 1851.⁹ Allora Gurlitt dipinse anche due vedute di Ragusa, dimostrandovi come sul dipinto delle Bocche le sue doti non solo nella rappresentazione del tessuto urbano, ma in primo luogo del paesaggio e della vegetazione con le palme incurvate dalle chiome mosse, le agavi e i pini e gli scogli che scendono fino alla superficie liscia del mare. Alla piacevolezza dell'atmosfera contribuisce la luce giallastra, forse la luce del pomeriggio estivo che avvolge le montagne delle Bocche e di Ragusa sotto il monte Srđ, nella conca che sale verso ovest.

Nell'album di Högel Müller „Ricordi di Dalmazia” due tavole sono dedicate alle Bocche. Su una è rappresentato Cattaro e sull'altra la chiesa di Dobrota alle Bocche di Cattaro (*Die kirche von Dobrota in der Boche di Cattaro*), su quest'ultima è resa convincentemente „la romantica atmosfera” della chiesa di San Matteo sul promontorio cinto da mura e fortificato nella parte est di questa località marittima un tempo famosa. Accanto alla chiesa con le cupole sulle cappelle laterali s'erge anche il campanile e sullo sfondo la casa parrocchiale. Sui colli accanto alla chiesa, protetti dal mare con un muro, crescono olivi e cipressi. Dall'altra parte del golfo, sotto il monte Vrmac si vedono le case sparse di Muo, abitato di pescatori, con la vecchia chiesa parrocchiale di San Cosma e Damiano, e quattro barche sul mare immobile come di ghiaccio. Dinanzi alla chiesa e lungo la riva vi sono gruppi di passanti,

⁹ Il dipinto si conserva nel Castello Miramare vicino a Trieste. Cfr. CHARLES YRIARTE, *Regno di Dalmazia*, Franco Maria Ricci, Milano, 2001, pp. 32-33.

uomini e donne, che alludono forse a una domenica o a un giorno festivo quando intorno alla chiesa si ritrovano i fedeli dei luoghi vicini abitati dai capitani.

Che si tratti di un motivo amato e ispirativo per gli artisti lo dimostra anche il dipinto „Veduta da Dobrota su Muo nei pressi di Cattaro” (acquarello, anno 1841) del molto più noto Rudolf von Alt (Vienna, 1812 – 1905) che si conserva al Museo Albertina di Vienna. Le vedute di Alt e di Högelmlüller non sono identiche ma molto simili. Nel dipinto di Alt in primo piano vi è una barca con un uomo e una donna nel costume tradizionale di Dobrota, intorno alla chiesa di San Matteo vi sono meno persone, mentre i pendii del monte Vrmac sono illuminati dal sole mattutino, probabilmente invernale che mette in risalto il massiccio calcareo con i suoi sentieri e le sue gole.¹⁰ Non si dovrebbe dubitare del fatto che Högelmlüller conoscesse e avesse visto le opere di Rudolf von Alt trattandosi di un pittore dalla reputazione invidiabile nei circoli artistici e culturali viennesi. Alt visitò numerosi paesi europei, tra cui anche quelli mediterranei come la Lombardia e la Sicilia e la Dalmazia dipingendo i motivi delle loro città d'arte: Zara, Sebenico, Spalato, Ragusa e Cattaro. In ogni modo la sua rappresentazione di Dobrota con la chiesa di San Matteo che risale all'anno 1841, dunque più di un decennio prima della ripresa dello stesso tema da parte di Högelmlüller, poté essere per quel pittore dilettante un ottimo prototipo e modello che copiò interamente, riconoscendo la bellezza del motivo in cui si alternano la grazia degli orti coltivati, dell'architettura barocca e delle rupi spoglie che come un anfiteatro chiudono il golfo.

Se dai documenti cerchiamo di avvicinarci ai dipinti, sarà difficile riconoscere creatività alle sue opere. Högelmlüller è un vero esempio di amatore che come tenente disegna e dipinge i paesaggi del paese dove è giunto in servizio. Indubbiamente è stato attratto dal paesaggio meridionale e dall'atmosfera del tutto diversa da quella da cui è giunto. E dov'era giunto, da Zara a Cattaro, non v'erano in quegli anni, alla metà del XIX secolo, artisti che sfruttavano il paesaggio e le vedute come un motivo creativo. Anche Antun Barač, Petar Zečević e Franjo Bratanić sono ugualmente poco dotati



Fig. 7. Johann Högelmlüller, *Chiesa di Dobrota alle Bocche di Cattaro* (Die kirche von Dobrota in der Boche di Cattaro), litografia dall'album „Ricordi di Dalmazia“, ca. anno 1847



Fig. 8. Rudolf von Alt, *Veduta da Dobrota su Mulla (Muo) nei pressi di Cattaro*, acquarello, anno 1841

¹⁰ [http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=\[22572\]&showtype=record](http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?query=Inventarnummer=[22572]&showtype=record)

e con grandi sforzi portano a termine opere molto più impegnative.¹¹ Solamente Ivan Skvarčina e Francesco Salghetti Drioli per formazione e talento superarono quei dilettanti che dalla prospettiva odierna ci appaiono ingenui e innocenti, così come la società dalmata del tempo era incorrotta, innocente e impreparata di fronte alle moderne turbolenze politiche, al tempo in cui dalle comunità locali e regionali nascevano stati e nazioni.

Traduzione dal croato: Nicoletta Rusotti Babić

Boka kotorska na slikama Johanna Hogemüllera

Johann Högel Müller poznat je kao autor mape litografija „Sjećanje na Dalmaciju” (*Erinnerung an Dalmatien*). U njoj je, prema Högel Müllerovim crtežima, litografije izradio V. X. Sandmann, a otisnuo ih oko 1847. godine L. T. Neumann u Beču. Mapa sadržava 24 litografije s vedutama i motivima iz Dalmacije od Zadra do Boke kotorske.

O autoru je malo što poznato. Prema dosadašnjim podacima bio je austrijski časnik, koji je u Dalmaciju stigao na službu, a živio je – čini se – u Splitu i Kotoru, u kojemu je, prema zapisu na Autoportretu koji se ovom prigodom publicira – i umro. U Dalmaciji je boravio prije 1847. godine crtajući ambijente prema kojima će potom u Beču nastati litografije.

Autor publicira četiri do sada nepoznate Högel Müllerove slike (ulje na kartonu). Na jednom je njegov autoportret dok su na tri druge prikazani motivi iz Boke kotorske (Kotor, Prčanj, Dobrota). Autoportret je, prema naknadnom zapisu na poleđini nastao 1850., dok je Veduta Prčanja potpisana i datirana 1857. godinom, što znači da je u to vrijeme Högel Müller živio u Boki, vjerojatno u Kotoru, važnom vojnom i pomorskom gradu na krajnjem jugu Dalmacije. Istovremeno se Högel Mülleru pripisuje i slika „Pogled na Kotorski zaljev sa Sv. Trojice” (Split, privatno vlasništvo) podrijetlom iz Dobrote. Utvrđuje se da je slikar posjedovao skromne likovne sposobnosti te da se u svom radu oslanjao na djela istaknutijih austrijskih umjetnika koji su boravili u Dalmaciji slikajući njezine gradove i krajolike (Heinrich Louis Gurlitt i Rudolf von Alt).

Ključne riječi: *Johann Högel Müller, 19. stoljeće, veduta, Boka kotorska*

¹¹ K. PRIJATELJ, *Slikarstvo u Dalmaciji 1784 – 1884*, Split, 1989; I. PETRICIOLI, *Franjo Salghetti Drioli*, Zadar, 2003.

JEAN BAPTISTE VAN MOER (1819-1884), IMAGES OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE

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Jean Baptiste van Moer was a respected Belgian painter of architecture, interiors, and landscapes. Until recently, the only Van Moer oil painting depicting Split that we knew of was the view of the Peristyle with the sphinx in focus – oil on panel, today in the Archaeological Museum in Split. At several recent auctions, at which Van Moer's paintings frequently appear, the author noticed a number of paintings for which there are preparatory drawings kept in the National Library in Zagreb. Among them, two oil paintings stand out for their artistic and documentary value. They depict previously unknown details of the northern side of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace. The veduta of the south-eastern part of the Peristyle (painted in 1860) is particularly important because it is the only one to show the polychromatic effect on the remarkable bell tower of the Cathedral of St Domnius. This important original effect was stripped away entirely during the reconstruction works in 1885-1908.

Key words: Jean Baptiste van Moer (1819-1884), Diocletian's Palace in Split, the bell tower of Split's cathedral, Rudolf von Alt (1812-1905), Ivan Buratti (the district governor of Split)

Jean Baptiste van Moer was a respected Belgian painter of architecture, interiors and landscapes. He was known especially for his vedute of the old Brussels (which had disappeared before his very eyes), painted in the 1870s, which are today displayed in the Hôtel de Ville and in the Musée de la Ville de Bruxelles.

Two large collections of drawings and sketches are of particular importance for Croatian art history. The majority of these images are records of the artist's travels, which he created in 1858, mainly in Split and its surrounds. They are kept in the Split Ethnographic Museum's holdings, and in the National and University Library in Zagreb.¹

JEAN BAPTISTE VAN MOER – A “JEUNE ARTISTE BIEN ORGANISÉ”

The beginnings of Van Moer's career as an artist are documented by his entries in the Brussels Triennial Art Exhibition. As early as 1842, he had distinguished himself at the Exhibition with a veduta of the ruins of the Cistercian abbey of Villers-en-Brabant. He received the triennial prize for his painting of the procession around the Gothic basilica of St Martin in the Flemish Brabant city of Halle (1845, Museum Halle). This image contains all of the significant characteristics of Van Moer's brush, which was focused on recording details in a photographically precise way. With such extremely

¹ D. KEČKEMET, Crteži Splita i okolice Jana Baptista van Moera iz 1858., *Kulturna baština*, 15, Split, 1984, pp. 102-111; B. VOJNOVIĆ-TRAŽIVUK, *Skice Jana Baptista van Moera u Etnografskom muzeju Split (katalog izložbe)*, Split, 2002.



Fig. 1. Jean Baptiste van Moer, *Môle et restes du palais de Dioclétien à Spalato; effet de matin, 1870. sign. 'B. Van Moer' (lower right). Oil on canvas, 66 x 121.9 cm (private coll.)*

reliable documentary vedute and landscapes, Van Moer quickly rose to prominence.² The precision of his realism, which enhances every detail of the subject, viewing it from the most picturesque angle and in the best light, is illustrated well by the beautiful painting of Split's Riva, which was based on a drawing or drawings made in 1858.³ The veduta, with its slightly dramatized perspective, reminds us that J. B. van Moer was a diligent student of François Bossuet, who from 1832 all the way up to 1876 taught perspective at the Brussels Academy, and who was himself well-known for the carefully constructed perspective in his own paintings. In order to achieve an enchanting, peaceful dream-like effect, as well as the sense of airiness and the depth of the landscape, Van Moer manipulates the veduta by excluding a part of the massive, indistinct lazaretto, which should be visible in the foreground, to the left. The minutely described details of the architecture are amalgamated with imaginary elements, creating an enchanting *capriccio*. In focus, in the centre of the image, he placed the Port Health Authority building, but he depicted it as a kind of loggia and smaller in volume, while behind it he imagined a picturesque three-storey building which, however, bears some of the characteristic elements of the Port Health Authority (erected in 1824 based on a design by Vicko Andrić, and demolished in April 1875). The method behind his *capricci* will be discussed later in this article.

² Nevertheless, an 1854 painting showing him in his atelier (on display at the Hermitage museum in St Petersburg) suggests that he was at that time painting primarily marinas and ships in storms. He set up this first atelier in the attic of the house belonging to his father, who was a woodworker. Two later paintings of Van Moer's atelier – one from 1855, and particularly the one from 1880 – show him as an established artist, who had been decorated with a range of awards and medals. In the third image, we see him in his spacious studio, surrounded by a kind of illustrated journal – the vedute he painted based on the studies he made on his many travels, or which he created in his hometown.

³ The image is signed, but not dated. As we shall see later, Van Moer displayed it in Antwerp in 1870, and kept it in his studio until his death. It was sold for £ 33,600 at Bonhams in London, at an auction on September 26, 2007. My attempt to convince the city administration at the time to buy it was fruitless, despite the fact that it was a particularly fitting time for such a purchase, as works were underway to reshape the Split waterfront. (Prior to this auction, the painting was last put up for sale in 1959, by the Galerie Wimmer in Munich.)



Fig. 2. Jean Baptiste van Moer, View of the Riva degli Schiavoni and the Doge's Palace Venice



Fig. 3. Jean Baptiste van Moer, Drawing showing the houses along the southern side of Diocletian's Palace in Split, with the lazaretto on the other side. One of the studies for the painting of the Split waterfront (1870)



Fig. 4. A photograph of the same motif (c. 1905)⁴

By painting this motif, Van Moer practiced a perspective scheme that he also used on several other occasions, for instance while painting the beautiful veduta of the Riva degli Schiavoni and the Doge's Palace. The method of drawing a perspective grid that Van Moer clearly used regularly can be seen in several drawings from the National Library. It can also be seen in the preparatory drawing for the painting of Split's Riva.

At the 1848 exhibition he drew attention as a "jeune artiste bien organisé". He was praised by the Belgian ambassador in Paris, Lehon, whose home was adorned with works by Van Moer. At the

⁴G. BORČIĆ, *Povijest pisana svjetlom I*, Split 2013, p. 395.

1855 *Exposition universelle*, which was held at the Jardins des Champs-Élysées in Paris, his landscapes caught the attention of the Belgian king Leopold II, and the British queen Victoria. Leopold would later commission a monumental vedute of Venice for the Palais Royal de Bruxelles (1867–1868), that is for the Château de Ciergnon (1875). Queen Victoria, meanwhile, promptly ordered several watercolours, such as the two paintings that she had made to document the appearance of the living room and bedroom at the Château of Saint-Cloud west of Paris.⁵

Van Moer, who has remained a bachelor for his entire life, retained a lasting emotional connection with Brussels up until his death on December 6, 1884. He also travelled constantly – to France (in particular to Normandy, the Rhine and Moselle lowlands, the Ardennes, Burgundy and the Pyrenees), Italy (he always returned to Venice), Dalmatia, Germany, Egypt, Syria, Spain and Portugal.⁶

Van Moer's drawings in the collections of the Split Ethnographic Museum and the National Library in Zagreb were largely conceived of as studies for oil-on-canvas paintings, which he planned to paint in his atelier in Brussels. Of the twenty-one drawings in the National Library, eight depict scenes connected with Diocletian's Palace, seven of which are of relatively large dimensions (c. 45x60 cm). They are drawn in pencil on brown paper (DE CANSON FRÈRES),⁷ with sepia shading, and some of them are watercolours. As we shall see, most (possibly all) of them served as studies for oil on canvas paintings of the same motifs. The small sketches were probably a kind of didaskalia of those images, created in the atelier, where there was greater peace and concentration. In the majority of these images we find smaller or more significant objections that for the most part relate to the colours of certain parts of the image. Van Moer's detailed approach to the recording and painting of his motifs was in keeping with his equally detailed studies of the area itself, which was also understood to include the right time of day. In other words, J.-B. Van Moer was not like so many of the travellers of his time who enjoyed the benefits of the Austrian Lloyd ships that – as his contemporary John Mason Neale said – “run with such extreme regularity between Trieste and Cattaro, and usually stay during such a very convenient time at the principal cities *en route*, that nothing is more agreeable than to avail oneself of their system.”⁸

Judging by the number of drawings he made in Split and its surrounds, Van Moer must have spent part of the spring and the beginning of the summer of 1858 here (certainly May and June). It is interesting, however, that the oil-on-canvas paintings depicting scenes from Split – and we have seen five so far – are dated from 1860 to 1878. We cannot know the reasons behind this. Perhaps *un rappel sentimental* that came in waves? A response to some external challenge, such as the appearance of paintings by other artists depicting scenes from Split and Diocletian's Palace? In those years, around 1873, for instance, two Danish painters, Christian Frederik Emil Eckardt and Johan Peter Kornbeck, stayed in Split. We do not know whether they were here together or came separately, but they clearly took with them enough artistic observations to produce a range of paintings over the years. Eck-

⁵ Queen Victoria and Prince Albert's state visit to Paris was meant to celebrate the military alliance between France and Britain during the Crimean War. The chambers belonging to Empress Eugénie and Emperor Napoleon III, located in this castle, had been specially furnished for this visit, under the supervision and according to the eclectic taste of Empress Eugénie. The castle was later destroyed in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, and Van Moer's watercolours are thus valuable records of the appearance of its interiors. More: <https://www.rct.uk/collection/themes/exhibitions/queen-victoria-in-paris/compton-verney/queen-victorias-sitting-room-at-saint-cloud>

⁶ *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*, s.v.

⁷ A famous French royal manufacturer of paper, established in 1557. Ingres, Maillol, Degas, Matisse, Léger, Chagall and Picasso used their paper, and in some cases artists could request paper made to recipes that suited their particular needs.

⁸ JOHN MASON NEALE, *Notes, Ecclesiastical and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a visit to Montenegro*, London, 1861, p. 112. A few years earlier, William Frederick Wingfield (WILLIAM FREDERICK WINGFIELD, *A Tour in Dalmatia, Albania, and Montenegro*, London, 1859, p. 87) writes: *Amongst the advantages to the tourist of making the voyage of Dalmatia in Lloyd's boats is that, passing over the same ground twice in going and returning, he pays a double visit to the towns of most interest, and can thus reserve what he has not time to see properly for his return.*

ardt, as far as we have been able to determine for the moment, produced them in a period ranging from 1873 and 1874 to 1893, and Kornbeck from 1873 to 1876.⁹

THE PAINTING OF THE SPHINX ON THE PERISTYLE, A GIFT FOR COUNT BURATTI

Until recently, the only Van Moer oil painting depicting Split that we knew of was of the Peristyle with the sphinx in focus – oil on panel, today in the Archaeological Museum in Split. In 1873, Van Moer dedicated the picture to Count Ivan Buratti, the district administrator in Split at the time that the artist was staying in the city (he later moved to Zagreb). Buratti proudly had “this excellent piece by the esteemed Belgian Van Moer Jean Baptiste from Brussels” publicly displayed at the National Museum in Zagreb at the end of that year, that is the beginning of 1874.¹⁰ As a “man of the world” (whose wife held a famous salon in a palace in Zagreb; he travelled with her, and met, for instance, Franz Liszt in Rome and formed a close relationship), Buratti must have been a friendly host during our artist’s stay in Split, if Van Moer repaid him with such a beautiful painting.¹¹



Fig. 5. Jean Baptiste van Moer, *The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split*, 1873. *Signature and dedication bottom right: M.r le C. te Buratti / JB. Van Moer / 1873. Oil on panel, 59 x 47.6 cm. The Archaeological Museum in Split*

⁹ An exhibition dedicated J. P. Kornbeck will be held in the winter of 2020 at the Split City Museum, a project I am working on with Anne Hansen Haslund from the National Museum in Copenhagen.

¹⁰ The news was conveyed by the *Narodni list* (Zadar, 7. 1. 1874, year XIII, no. 2, p. 2), and *Vienac* (Zagreb, 21. 3. 1874, no. 12, p. 191). According to Kečkemet (D. KEČKEMET, *op. cit.* /n. 1/, p. 104.), Dr. Buratti left the painting to the Archaeological Museum in his will. It was collected on December 20, 1920 by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb from Buratti's heir, Oskar Berger Waldenegg. See: A. DUPLANČIĆ - R. TOMIĆ, *Zbirka slika Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, Split, 2004, pp. 17-18, 118.

¹¹ On the interesting figure of Count Buratti Sokčić (Imotski, 1825 – Vienna, 1918), the Viennese doctor of law, see the article by Anđelka Stipčević-Despotović in HBL, as well as: Ž. IVANJEK, *Obitelj Vranyczany, parobrod kulturne povijesti i umjetnosti*, in: *Veličanstveni Vranyczanyjevi (Exhibition Catalogue)*, (ed.) Marina Bagarić, Zagreb, 2016, pp. 299-312. As a high school student in Zadar, Buratti collected folk proverbs, translated folk poems into Italian for Niccolò Tommaseo. The writer thanked him in the book *Canti popolari ilirici*, noting: “the enthusiastic young man, fifteen years of age, contributed greatly, and with thoughtful attention to this work”. In 1854 he was appointed district administrator in Split, and in 1860 the government placed him at the head of the Dalmatian politicians who were negotiating the question of the unification of Dalmatia and Croatia. When the Viennese court subsequently gave way to the Autonomists, the almighty mayor of Split Antonio Bajamonti, a passionate Autonomist, replaced Buratti in 1861. He was transferred to Trieste. Dissatisfied with the position of an advisor to the governor, he retired that same year. He was married to Countess Klotilda, born “Baroness” Vranyczany-Dobrinović (who eventually separated from him “as in any case I have ceased to maintain a marital union with him over the years”). In Zadar in earlier years he had been a patron to the young painters Josip Voltolini and Ivan Skvarčina, the sculptor Ivan Rendić, and he supported a range of public institutions and foundations with his own money. From 1856 to 1859 he led the research into the routes of ancient water systems and the archaeological dig around the Golden Gate, donating his own funds to the cause. The restoration of the Golden Gate of Diocletian's Palace was an extremely important archaeological, as well as an archaeological-urbanistic undertaking. More: D. KEČKEMET, *Vicko Andrić – arhitekt i konzervator 1793-1866*, Split, 1993; J. VRANDEČIĆ, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću*, Zagreb, 2002, p. 106.



Fig. 6. Caricature of Jean Baptiste van Moer, in a lithograph by F. V. J. Rops. *Uylenspiegel*, no. 13, 26 April 1857. Los Angeles County Museum of Art



Fig. 7. *Ivan Skvarčina*, Portrait of Count Ivan Buratti, in a lithograph by Eduard Kaiser

The motif attracted numerous artists both before and after Van Moer. The sphinx of Tuthmosis III in the corner of the Peristyle, in front of Diocletian's mausoleum, was an important part of the local imagery. It was also a powerful literary motif in the works of numerous travel writers, a distinctive "trigger" in the kaleidoscope of metaphorical images conjured by meditations on the fate of the authoritarian Roman architecture eroded through the growth of the mediaeval city. In the majority of depictions, below the sphinx of the Peristyle, picturesque figures of Morlachs can be seen (for instance, in paintings by Ch.-L. Clérissseau, L-F. Cassas, A. Barač, Van Moer...) sleeping, smoking or working, with their mundane tasks in stark contrast to its supposedly eternal nature.

The three manuscripts that Van Moer brought back from his trip to Egypt and Syria in 1880, along with drawings and watercolours, reveal the manner in which he travelled and recorded his impressions, day after day.¹² In these manuscripts, he describes his experiences, anthropological and natural history observations and colourful anecdotes, which contain hints at his homoerotic tendencies.

¹² They are kept at the Royal Library (Albertina) in Brussels under the title *Voyage en Orient*. He left Brussels for Egypt in mid-December 1880 in the company of two young men, Prince Henri de Mérode de Westerloo and Count Auguste d'Ursel, at the invitation of Henri's father. (Upon his return, Van Moer would present the Count with a painting, and the Countess an Egyptian statue, as an expression of gratitude.) They were granted a private audience with Pope Leo XIII on Christmas Day, and they then set sail for Alexandria from Naples. In Luxor they were joined by two friends of Archduke Rudolf of Austria, F. de Lobkowitz and F. Czernin. After studying several locations in Egypt, Van Moer left his companions, probably due to his fragile health. The group continued to Baalbek without him. Van Moer left the Levant on the 10th of May, returning home via Marseille. Of his paintings, only a few are in public collections. Thus far, not one of the nine pictures showing the ruins of the pharaohs, nor the veduta of Jerusalem, which are mentioned in his will, have been found. A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Palmen en Tempels. Fotografie in Egypte in de XIXe eeuw / La Photographie en Egypte au XIXe siècle / 19th-century Photography in Egypt*, Leuven, 1994. Chapter: *Voyages on Orient 1880-1881. An unknown travelstory by Jean-Baptiste van Moer*, p. 256.



Fig. 8. Jean Baptiste van Moer, The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split, dated 1860, oil on panel, 32,5 x 43 cm (private coll.)

THE VEDUTE OF THE NORTHERN SIDE OF THE PERISTYLE

In his seminal article on Van Moer, Duško Kečkemet writes that, given the number of drawings Van Moer made of Split, it would be unusual if Van Moer hadn't created an oil painting, proposing that "even today, there is some painting of Split by Van Moer in Belgium, drawn in 1858, and later reproduced in oil on canvas".¹³ And indeed, at several recent auctions, at which Van Moer's paintings frequently appear, we noticed a number of paintings which share clear similarities to the preserved drawings. Among them, two oil paintings stand out for their artistic and documentary value. They depict a previously unknown corner of the northern side of the Peristyle, which shall be discussed later in this article. The paintings are significant because they show this space – the *sancta sanctorum* of Diocletian's Palace – prior to the rage for purification that began in the second half of the 19th century. The veduta of the south-eastern part of the Peristyle – painted in 1860 – is particularly important because it is the only one to show the polychromatic effect on the renowned bell tower of the Cathedral of St Domnius.¹⁴

Of course, the architectural changes that took place on the Peristyle were documented in a range of earlier paintings, watercolours, drawings and *capricci*, for instance in the work of Clérissieu (dated 1757, at the time of R. Adam's research trip to Split), or Cassas (1782), or R. Von Alt (1841), and

¹³ D. KEČKEMET, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 105.

¹⁴ The painting was purchased at auction in the Dorotheum in Vienna, on the 16th of April 2008.



Fig. 9. *Rudolf von Alt, The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace – Cathedral Square in Split, 1841.*
The Albertina, Vienna

so on. Let us compare, for instance, the placing of the figures in the paintings of the Peristyle by Rudolf von Alt (the “Canaletto of Vienna”) and Van Moer (the “Canaletto of Brussels”). Von Alt divides the surface of the Peristyle into zones with precision: the Biedermeieresque figures in front of the café are standing as if in contrast to the figures wearing the costumes of the common folk. Van Moer is drawn to scenes of the everyday life of the street, groups of people wearing folk costumes, and immediately sketching a fleeting motif. The entire Peristyle is, to him, a stage on which people pose in folk costumes, as though they are frozen in a long-exposure photograph. The association is not coincidental. The Musée de la Ville in Brussels recently purchased a number of daguerreotypes featuring images of Luxor, Cairo and Venice, which once belonged to Van Moer.¹⁵ Of course, many 19th-century painters readily used photographs while preparing their paintings. It is not at all unusual in the case of J.-B. Van Moer, given his efforts to record the details of the motifs he intended to paint as precisely as possible. We might postulate – very cautiously – that he took the photographs himself, although it is more likely that he purchased daguerreotypes wherever they were available. However, this would in no way decrease the aesthetic pleasure this painting, with its soft colours, offers us. The contours of the architecture are softened by the ultramarine of the sky, upon which

¹⁵ A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Palmen en Tempels. Fotografie in Egypte in de XIXe eeuw / La Photographie en Egypte au XIXe siècle / 19th-century Photography in Egypt*, Leuven, 1994. Chapter: Voyages on Orient 1880-1881. An unknown travelstory by Jean-Baptiste van Moer.

the rays of the afternoon sun will soon chase away the last of the small clouds. It is as though there is purple in every colour on the entire colour scale, from the white above the portal to the Church of St Barbara in the foreground, to the silky grey in the Protiron's pediment. The contrasts in the light and the coloured shadows create an atmosphere of almost spiritual airiness, which was attained without idealisation. We must understand that his contemporaries saw the Peristyle in exactly the same way as Van Moer. Everything – to paraphrase the general evaluation of his paintings made by a contemporary critic – *is created in a manner equally faithful, and which entirely agrees, not with some manner chosen by the painter, but with nature itself, and the exceptional variety of the views that he aimed to depict*.¹⁶ For us today, already accustomed to the recently cleaned white Peristyle, following the recent restoration work, this image seems like a work of magical Biedermeier realism.

But we are describing the painting because of the bell tower it depicts. The bell tower of the cathedral in Split emerged out of an unusual dialogue between pagan antiquity and the Christian medieval Split, rising above the fluid arcades of the Peristyle. Incorporated into medieval houses, these arcades were better preserved than any other part of the Palace, perpetuating the exceptional regularity of the space, which over the course of centuries became a picturesque cathedral square.

The bell tower in Split is unique among the cathedral bell towers of Dalmatia because of its stylistic coherence, without the dissonant elements that we might expect from a structure built over the course of three hundred years.

Today it is almost unbelievable that this bell tower was constructed in a city that had never had a population greater than 5000 inhabitants. In comparison to the pride of the locals, which was to be expected, foreign writers generally expressed ambivalence to the bell tower. On the one hand, they appreciated the originality of its architectural concept, with the bell tower rising up between the Peristyle and the Emperor's mausoleum. On the other hand, they also saw it as an alien structure that had been forcibly placed in the heart of the ancient Palace. Nevertheless, they all felt that its vocabulary, syntax, and grammar emulated the most characteristic forms of the Peristyle and Golden Gate, pairing well, in a paradoxical manner, with the Roman architecture.

The bell tower of Split's cathedral underwent radical restoration (in fact, it would be more accurate to say that it was reconstructed) around the turn of the 20th century. The designs for the restoration of the bell tower were drawn up by the Viennese architect Alois Hauser, and after his death Emil Förster oversaw the project. The loggia at the top of the bell tower underwent a significant change at this time: instead of the six-sided Renaissance loggia, a Neo-Romanesque one was created – in keeping with the idea of stylistic unity of the entire structure. In this reconstruction the stone of the original bell tower was largely replaced. Instead of blocks of Brač limestone, "collected" from the ruins of the Palace itself, walls dotted with marble and porphyry, and hundreds of spolia, stone from a quarry on Korčula (*Oskorušica*, near Žrnovo) was used for the reconstruction. This quarry was famous for its beautiful white limestone, which was malleable, had a high shine, was extremely resistant to the elements, and was easy to work with. In any event, during the reconstruction – which went on for twenty six years (1882-1908) – in addition to the spolia, the larger part of the blocks of marble and porphyry (red and green) was removed. These were the elements that created, based on all the evidence, the deliberate colourist play on the bell tower.¹⁷

¹⁶ Alphonse Wauters in: *Biographie Nationale*, which was published by the Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, vol. 15, Brussels, 1899. s.v.

¹⁷ I have written several works on the significance of Split's cathedral, the most original medieval structure in Dalmatia. In particular, I discussed the effect of its original polychromatic appearance in: J. Belamarić, Tracking Colour. The polychrome stone sculpture of 13th century in Trogir and Split, in: *Polychrome Steinskulptur des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur Tagung des Naumburg Kollegs vom 13. bis 15. Oktober 2011 in Naumburg/Saale, Hrsg. Von Thomas Danzl, Christoph Herm und Annemarie Huhn, Verlag Gunter Oettel – Gorlitz und Zittau, 2012, pp. 21-30.

On the first floor, where for reasons of statics the nucleus of the wall has to be solid, the pillars and firm corner pylons with the deep arcades create a powerful shadow, enhanced by the vividness of colour of the columns as against the patina taken on by the nucleus of the wall behind them. The ground floor preserves only part of the original colour effect achieved with glowing breccias, marble and limestone. In fact, of the possible logic with which this marble – mainly reutilised spolia – was incorporated, probably according to certain patterns of decorative sculpting, we cannot know anything more than is given to us by this oil painting of Van Moer. In all of the arches on the first floor of the bell tower there was, for instance, symmetrical alternation of red and green marble stones. I think we can indeed trust Van Moer's depiction, given the well-known scrupulosity with which this painter approached the preparation of details concerning the colouristic narrative in the marking of such paintings. The columns in various colours also provided an interesting and clearly desired colouristic effect. The aforementioned painting by Von Alt is, in this respect, less detailed, although it too depicts the face of the bell tower with precision. We can but regret the fact that both paintings are framed in such a way that they omit the upper parts of the bell tower.¹⁸

Van Moer also painted a veduta of the north-eastern part of the Peristyle, featuring the same colonnade as in the previous painting, but now on the opposite side, seen from the Protiron. The centre of the image once more features the cathedral's ground floor and the first floors of the bell tower, with additional information about its condition in 1858. This painting confirms the veracity of everything in the previous image in terms of colourist effects on the bell tower. Despite everything, we must maintain a certain level of caution, and keep in mind Van Moer's inclination towards highlighting and enhancing the picturesque aspects of his motifs. For instance, in the painting of the south-eastern side of the Peristyle, the facades of the two churches in the foreground are depicted more vividly, in a colourist sense, than they were in reality. Photographs from the period show that they were both derelict and covered in layers of grime, so it is not unusual that Van Moer "reanimated" them with a rosy patina that was supposed to represent the atmosphere of an early May evening on the dilapidated cathedral square. The portals (which were made of Brač limestone) are depicted as though they were made of Florentine *pietra serena*. But it would be possible to put together an entire *chrestomatia* of historical descriptions of the Peristyle and the surrounding buildings, from the Renaissance to the end of the 19th century, in order to see the extent to which the local limestone was frequently and enthusiastically perceived as marble of varying provenance. Nevertheless, in

¹⁸ Both local and foreign writers were most often ambivalent towards the bell tower of the cathedral. They understood the boldness and genius of its architectural concept, rising up between the Peristyle and the Emperor's mausoleum. On the other hand, they also note its disparity with the original space in the heart of Diocletian's Palace. To mention just a few of Van Moer's contemporaries, we will draw attention to the words of Archibald Paton: *The campanile, which is at the same time a sort of propylon to the edifice, is (maugre some lions and griffins in the lowest taste of the Lower Empire), the lightest and airiest thing imagination can conceive, and transcends in elegance every other similar edifice in Italy ... an admirable effort of native ingenuity, but interferes with the classic character of the vicinity (Highlands And Islands Of The Adriatic: Including Dalmatia, Croatia, And The Southern Provinces Of The Austrian Empire, London 1849, pp. 239-240).* – Or, a few years after, John Mason Neale: *... its campanile, of 173 feet in height, is one of the noblest erections of the kind that I ever yet saw ... : square, of five stages, with a later octagonal head; the tradition is that the latter supplied the place of two stages overthrown in a storm. No words can give an idea of the exquisite system of panel-shafting from apex to lowest stage; the shafts, usually speaking, circular, with square baser and Corinthianising caps. The lower stage, which I do not reckon in the six, is of solid masonry, only pierced by the ascent to the door. (Ecclesiastical and Picturesque, on Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, Styria, with a visit to Montenegro, London 1861, p. 150)* – Or, a little later, Edward Freeman, who visited Split in 1875 and then again a few more times, and his reflection on Diocletian's mausoleum, converted into a church – *which must always have been nearly the smallest, and quite the darkest, metropolitan church in Christendom; but that it is so is part of the wonder of the place [... and ...] the vast bell-tower rising to the sky, as if to mock the art of those whose mightiest works might still seem only to grovel upon earth. (Sketches from the Subject and Neighbour Lands of Venice, London 1881).*



Fig. 10. Jean Baptiste Van Moer, The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split, dated 1878, oil on panel, 86 x 122 cm (private coll.)

looking at the information that Van Moer offers us for an ideal reconstruction of the original polychromatic scheme of the first floor of the Gothic bell tower (which probably dates to the 1280s), we have confidence in him. This is confirmed by the consistency in the two paintings, created eighteen years apart; the comparison with Von Alt's earlier painting; and finally, the remains of the colourist play with fragments of marble that we can still see on the ground floor of the bell tower.

Although both paintings once more show that those who argued that, given their factographic scrupulousness, Van Moer's paintings could be used to reconstruct all of the architecture they depict, the difference in their interior atmosphere reflects the lapse of time between their creation. While the light in the first is characteristic, unified Biedermeier light, pierced by the glow of each architectural element and the folk costumes – which are first-rate ethnographic records – in the second, painted 18 years later, the light (although it is morning light) became more like an agent that would



Fig. 11. Ćiril Metod Iveković: The Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace. Photomechanical reproduction of photograph in platinotype. Published in the atlas: Dalmatiens Architektur und Plastik, Vienna 1910–1914, vol. VI–VIII

be used to dramatize the depth of the perspective; the Peristyle had aged even more. Our artist, described by his biographer Alphonse Wauters as *d'un caractère très réservé et taciturne*, doubtlessly changed just as much.¹⁹

In contrast to the previous image, which was painted in 1860 (for which we have not, unfortunately, found the original sketch), this image was painted in 1878, twenty years after Van Moer's stay in Split. The preparatory drawing has been preserved, and shows just how much diligence Van Moer employed when studying every detail of his subject, noting the plasticity of the architecture and the depth of the space with his skilful drawing.

Nowhere is the "Al Tempio" café, which was built into the colonnade of the Peristyle, documented in such detail as in Van Moer's painting, not even in the photographs taken after the 1860s; particularly not from this angle, with the winding exterior staircases which led from the southern side to the upper storey, and with the little fence and sunshade made from wooden beams and curtains on the ground floor.²⁰ The churches of St Barbara (demolished in 1922) and St Roch are depicted using the foreshortening technique.²¹ Beyond them, in the right corner of the square we can see a house that was fully renovated at the end of the 19th century. It seems that J. B. van Moer was the only witness who shows us how this corner of the Peristyle looked prior to the renovation of that house, which was destroyed during the Allied bombing of Split in 1944.²²

On the left side, we can see a house which was purchased by the Brajević family in 1889. Soon after, they added onto the house and changed its appearance. It seems that, once again, this might be the only image depicting this part of the Peristyle. From 1833 to 1886, the ground floor was occupied by the Volpi pharmacy.

Of the figures that can be seen on the preparatory drawing for this painting, the man sleeping on the stone bench in front of the Protiron is particularly interesting, as well as the two beggars resting on the steps of the cathedral. On a block of stone in front of the Protiron are the words: SPALATO, 18th May 1858.

We can mention two drawings only in passing: *The Mausoleum and the Cathedral Bell Tower*, in a somewhat forced perspective view from the garden of the old bishop's palace, and the drawing *The Gates of the Vestibule* which, based on the evidence, was likewise meant as a study for a painting.

THE PAINTINGS OF SPLIT BY J. B. VAN MOER THAT HAVE YET TO BE FOUND

The *Catalogue des tableaux, études, aquarelles, croquis, délaissés par feu J.-B. Van Moer* (Brussels, 1885) has been preserved. It contains an exhaustive list of all the artworks that, exactly one year after the artist's death, ended up at an exhibition held on the 7th and 8th of December 1885, and immediately after this at auction.²³ Van Moer's friend Alphonse Wauters created the list. We thus learn that the

¹⁹ He never married, and left behind only nephews and nieces. He lived alone and dined at a restaurant, after which he spent the majority of the day working. He communicated with a limited number of people. He was good, helpful, and he was always reliable in his work. At the beginning of his career he encountered hardships that brought him sorrow, and pushed him further towards a life of isolation. He frequently showed himself to be more sensitive than necessary, his dignity wounded, which writers and artists frequently come across in their careers. This pain deepened towards the end of his life, due to the loneliness that he eventually shut himself up in. A. WAUTERS, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 1899. s.v.

²⁰ The café opened in 1805. It closed in 1880, when it was demolished prior to work starting on the restoration of the cathedral's bell tower.

²¹ More about these churches: J. Belamarić, Transformacije splitskog Peristila tijekom 13. stoljeća, u: J. BELAMARIĆ, Transformacije splitskog Peristila tijekom 13. stoljeća, u: *Mapping urban changes = Mapiranje urbanih promjena: [Collected Papers from the International Conference held in Dubrovnik, Croatia, 20-22 September 2017]*, (ed.) Ana Plosnić Škarić, Zagreb, 2017, p. 100.

²² A modern building was constructed in its place, with work beginning in 1961.

²³ Van Moer's friend, doctor Casse, the founder of thalassotherapy in Middelkerke, had a grave with an obelisk made for him at the Cimetière d'Ixelles in Brussels.

aforementioned painting of the Riva (the full title of which is *Môle et restes du palais de Dioclétien à Spalato; effet de matin*) was exhibited in Antwerp in 1870. The atmosphere, the blue opal glow of a Dalmatian May morning, seems to make this one of Van Moer's most beautiful paintings, so it is not surprising that it is the only one of so many that received a kind of description in its title.

He exhibited *Place du temple à Spalato* (the painting of the Peristyle looking southeast that we have described here) in Brussels in 1860, together with another painting that showed the Venetian lazaretto on the city waterfront (*Caravane au marché de Spalato*).²⁴

He also exhibited the Peristyle (*Arcades de la place du temple à Spalato*) at an exhibition in Antwerp in 1861. Given that the painting of the north-eastern side of the Peristyle is dated 1878, it is clear that this should be some earlier version.

The preserved drawings might perhaps allow us to hazard a guess as to what the painting *Ruines romaines à Spalato*, exhibited in 1866 in Brussels, might have represented. But it would be of particular significance were we to find the veduta of Split (*Vue de Spalato en Dalmatie*) that he exhibited in 1871 in Ghent, for which we can find no match among the preserved drawings.

This same catalogue mentions a whole 35 views of Split (AQUARELLES DESSINS & CROQUIS EN FEUILLES) – *Monuments de Spalato, en Dalmatie, et sites de Spalato et des environs*, of which there are – 5 grandes feuilles avec une foule de croquis. In addition, there is mention of 50 drawings, largely watercolours showing figures and Dalmatian folk costumes (*personnages et costumes de Dalmatie*).

In one section of the Catalogue, there is also a list of framed watercolours, which originated, based on all the evidence, in Split itself. Another view of the Peristyle is mentioned, and from the long list of completed paintings and studies, we learn that there were another nine pictures of Split. Some of the titles are truly intriguing: there were another two Peristyles (*Place du Temple à Spalato*, of which one is dated 1878, which could indeed refer to the painting of the north-eastern side of the Peristyle described above). Judging by the preserved drawings and pictures of the Peristyle – to which we should add several lost pictures of this space, as we shall see later – Van Moer clearly studied it in detail. But it would be of particular interest to us to one day uncover *La même vue avec une procession religieuse*, a painting of the cathedral square enlivened by a religious procession.

The title *Marché aux grains à Spalato* might perhaps refer to an oil painting depicting the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace and the houses that were built along it, above the Silver Gate, which was opened up later, and the Dominican monastery on the opposite side. The painting appeared on the market about twenty years ago, and we also have a detailed drawing made for it (now in the National and University Library in Zagreb), which allows us to learn something more of the method that Van Moer used to construct his paintings in his atelier on the basis of the observations he made on site. The sombre building that housed the first Archaeological Museum, up against the eastern wall of the Palace, in the foreground of the drawing, was not picturesque enough for Van Moer, and so he removed it, and in its place "pushed in" a set of ordinary houses that he had discovered by the north-eastern tower of the Palace.²⁵

The elements of *capriccio* can be seen, particularly in the view of the gate façade, where he added a monumental portal with a slightly pointed arch (perhaps reminiscent of Van Moer's paintings of Seville and the Alhambra).

The other paintings listed are *Portique et restes d'un monument romain à Spalato* (1867) and *Ruines du palais de Dioclétien à Spalato*. The title *Le Sphinx sur la place du Temple à Spalato*, meanwhile, might suggest that Van Moer created a version of the picture that he presented to Ivan Buratti in 1873 for himself, as painters often do.

²⁴ More drawings showing the lazaretto, its exterior and courtyards, might suggest what kind of picture this might have been.

²⁵ It is interesting that of the numerous photographs documenting the appearance of the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace, not one was taken from the angle that Van Moer chose for his painting.



Fig. 12. Jean Baptiste van Moer, *The Houses Along the Eastern Wall of Diocletian's Palace in Split*, Oil on Canvas, 69.8 x 101 cm

Finally, given the changes that the interior of Split's cathedral underwent after the restorations/reconstructions post-1875, it would be wonderful if we were to one day find the two pictures that the Catalogue of Van Moer's posthumous exhibition/auction lists under the titles *Intérieur du temple à Spalato* and *Intérieur de la sacristie du temple à Spalato*.

All in all, if we have here succeeded in expanding the list of known paintings of Split by Van Moer to five oils on canvas and panel,²⁶ this Catalogue points to the fact that in the artist's atelier alone there would have been sixteen pictures. To this we should also add the unconfirmed number of Dalmatian (largely of Split) motifs among the remaining 118 "studies in oil" (*Cent dix-huit études à l'huile: vues de Belgique, France, Prusse. Venise, Dalmatie, Orient et quelques fantaisies*).

From this entire collection of paintings put up for auction in early January 1885, the mayor M. Buls purchased the watercolours and drawings depicting old Brussels for the Brussels City Museum. J. B. van Moer earned particular fame for them. Buls' famous predecessor, the mayor Jules Anspach, who (as a kind of Haussmann of Brussels) undertook a substantial modernisation programme for the city, entrusted Van Moer with the task of documenting those parts of Brussels that were fated to be removed, and with painting 15 large paintings for his office at the City Hall. He could not have found a better artist for this task. Not only did Van Moer undertake this task with enthusiasm, he also constructed a model in his atelier (which took up an entire floor of his house at the edge of Leopold Park) of the mayor's foyer at a 1:1 scale, so that the paintings and their perspective effects could be as harmonious as possible with the entirety of that interior.

Moer's friend Alphonse Wauters delivered a general, but by no means exaggerated evaluation of all the paintings exhibited at the Galerie Saint-Luc (Rue de la finance 10-12) in Brussels, at what was a kind of posthumous retrospective with 332 works on display. *We can say that Van Moer was a*

²⁶ All three paintings of the Peristyle that have been preserved were oil on panel.



Fig. 13. Jean Baptiste van Moer, Drawing showing the houses along the eastern wall of Diocletian's Palace in Split

*true, purebred Fleming. Even at first glance, his neat compositions offer pleasure, and his skilfully dispersed colours are warm and harmonious. Time, which is so deadly for hasty and disorderly works, only improves his, softening the masterly tonality of the colours.*²⁷

THE SPLIT LEGACY OF THE FLEMISH PAINTER J.-B. VAN MOER

The goal of this short discussion was to highlight several unknown aspects of the Peristyle's appearance in the mid-19th century, a space that over the course of two centuries in many respects lost part of its original historical stratigraphy.

His painterly observations, recorded in numerous drawings and watercolours during his stay in Split in the spring and early summer of 1858, to which he returned during the next twenty years in the solitude of his atelier in Brussels, are an induction into the small constellation of European researchers, who with a great deal of knowledge and sensibility studied and described Dalmatian monuments, geography, customs, and costumes of this province on the edge of European civilisation. It was precisely in this period that Dalmatia ceased, little by little, to be the European *terra incognita*, uncovering new perspectives within the Habsburg Commonwealth, as well as hinting at its future development. Van Moer's opus is not yet well-known enough. This short essay has, we hope, highlighted the value of his paintings, and not only in terms of their documentary value for understanding the environments that he depicted, and which have in the meantime been inexorably transformed. It has also opened up a hope, we are certain, that in the near future some works from the range of paintings of Split, the titles of which we now know, will be uncovered. We can assume that some of these paintings can be found in private collections even today, and that they will eventually resurface, either in a broader overview of Van Moer's work, or at some exhibition or auction.

²⁷ *Catalogue des tableaux, études, aquarelles, croquis, délaissés par feu J.-B. Van Moer*, Bruxelles, 1885.

Jean Baptiste van Moer (1819.-1884.) – slike Peristila Dioklecijanove palače

Jean Baptiste van Moer bio je cijenjeni belgijski slikar arhitekture, krajolika i enterijera, poznat osobito po vedutama starog (pred njegovim očima iščezloga) Bruxellesa naslikanih 1870-ih, koje su danas izložene u Hôtel de ville i u zbirkama Musée de la ville de Bruxelles. Premda je ostao trajno afektivno vezan za Bruxelles sve do smrti 6. prosinca 1884. godine, ostavši najpouzdanijim slikarskim kroničarem toga doba, nalazimo ga stalno i na putovanjima u Francusku (posebno u Normandiju, dolinu Rajne, Moselle, Ardene, Burgundiju i Pireneje), Italiju (uvijek ponovno u Veneciju), Dalmaciju, Njemačku, Egipat, Siriju, Španjolsku i Portugal. Za hrvatsku povijest umjetnosti važne su dvije zamašne zbirke crteža i skica, većinom putopisnog karaktera, koje je izradio 1858. godine, mahom u Splitu i okolici. Čuvaju se u fondovima splitskoga Etnografskog muzeja i u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici (NSK) u Zagrebu.

Vedutama i krajolicima izrazite dokumentarne pouzdanosti brzo je izašao na glas. Precioznost kojom tetoši svaku podrobnost motiva, obuhvaćenog pogledom iz najslikovitijeg kuta i pod najboljim svjetlom, lijepo pokazuje krasna slika splitske Rive koja je nastala prema crtežu, ili crtežima, načinjenim 1858. godine. Veduta pomalo dramatizirane perspektive podsjeća nas da je Van Moer bio odličan učenik François Bossueta, koji je od 1832. sve do 1876. godine podučavao perspektivu na Akademiji u Bruxellesu, a i sâm bio prepoznat po izvrsnosti u prikazivanju perspektive na svojim slikama. Da postigne draž i spokoj sanjarenja, te dojam prozračnosti i dubinu krajolika, Van Moer manipulira vedutom tako što ne slika dio golemog bloka lazareta, bezličnog izgleda, koji bi se morao vidjeti s lijeve strane u prednjem planu. Podrobno opisani detalji konkretne arhitekture amalgamiraju se s domišljenim elementima stvarajući privlačan *capriccio*.

Van Moerovi crteži u zbirkama splitskoga Etnografskog muzeja i u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu većinom su bili zamišljeni kao preparativne studije za ulja na platnu koja je planirao naslikati u svom ateljeu u Bruxellesu. Od dvadeset i jednog crteža u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici osam ih sadrži prikaze vezane uz Dioklecijanovu palaču, od kojih je sedam relativno većih dimenzija. Poslužili su (možda svi) za izvedbu slika istoga motiva u ulju na platnu. Na većini nalazimo manje ili opsežnije primjedbe koje se ponajviše odnose na boje za pojedine dijelove slike.

Donedavna nam je od Van Moerovih ulja s prikazom splitskih motiva bio poznat tek Peristil sa sfingom u fokusu – danas u splitskom Arheološkom muzeju. Na nekoliko recentnih aukcija, na kojima se Van Moerove slike regularno pojavljuju, uočili smo pak nekoliko slika za koje nalazimo izravne paralele u sačuvanim crtežima. Među njima se slikarskom i dokumentarnom vrijednošću ističu dva ulja koja pokazuju dosad dijelom nepoznate kuteve prikazivanja sjeverne strane Peristila – prije purifikatorskog bijesa započetog u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća.

Osobito je važna veduta jugoistočnog dijela Peristila, naslikana 1860. godine (odnedavna u privatnoj zbirci u Zagrebu), jer jedina pokazuje polikromiju glasovita zvonika katedrale Sv. Dujma. Zvonik splitske katedrale radikalno je restauriran (bilo bi zapravo ispravnije reći da je rekonstruiran) na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća. U toj rekonstrukciji najvećim dijelom je zamijenjena i kamena građa zvonika. Umjesto blokova i kvadera bračkoga vapnenca, "ubranog" iz ruševina same Palače, zidova prošaranih mramorom i porfirom i stotinama spolija, u rekonstrukciji se koristio kamen iz jednoga korčulanskog kamenoloma (Oskorušica blizu Žrnova), poznatog po mekom vapnencu krasne bjeline, visoka sjaja, a izuzetne otpornosti na atmosferilije, te osobito podatnog za klesarsku obradu. Bilo kako bilo, tijekom rekonstrukcije – koja je trajala dvadeset i šest godina (1882.-1908.) – zajedno sa svim spolijima uklonjen je najveći dio mramornih te porfirnih (crvenih i zelenih) blokova koji su tvorili, po svemu sudeći, promišljenu kolorističku igru. Sudeći po Van Moerovoj slici, u svim lukovima prvog kata zvonika bili su, na primjer, simetrično pravilno ugrađeni mramorni kameno-vi crvene boje. Zanimljiv i očito promišljen koloristički efekt pružali su i stupovi različitih boja.

Van Moer je naslikao i vedutu sjeveroistočne strane Peristila, dakle iste kolonade koju smo vidjeli na prethodnoj slici, ali sada sa suprotne strane, iz protirona. U jezgri slike opet je prizemlje i prvi kat

zvonika katedrale, s nadopunom podataka o njegovu stanju 1858. godine. Sačuvan je preparativni crtež koji pokazuje s kolikom je pomnjom Van Moer proučavao svaku pojedinost svojih motiva, vještini crtežom naznačujući plasticitet arhitekture i dubinu prostora.

Samo usputno možemo spomenuti i crteže *Mauzoleja i zvonika katedrale*, u ponešto forsiranom perspektivnom pogledu iz vrta stare biskupije, te crtež *Vrata Vestibula* koji je, po svemu sudeći, trebao također poslužiti za izradu slike.

Međutim, sačuvao nam se *Catalogue des tableaux, études, aquarelles, croquis, délaissés par feu J.-B. Van Moer* (Bruxelles, 1885.) s iscrpnim popisom umjetnina koje su točno godinu dana po slikarevoj smrti završile na izložbi održanoj 7. i 8. prosinca 1885. godine, te odmah potom na dražbi. Doznajemo tako da je slika Rive (zacijelo se na nju odnosi naslov *Môle et restes du palais de Dioclétien à Spalato; effet de matin*) bila izložena 1870. godine u Antwerpenu.

Place du temple à Spalato (ovdje opisana slika Peristila u pogledu prema jugoistoku) izlagao je 1860. godine u Bruxellesu, zajedno s jednom drugom slikom koja je prikazivala mletački lazaret na gradskoj obali (*Caravane au marché de Spalato*).

Motiv Peristila (*Arcades de la place du temple à Spalato*) izložio je i na izložbi u Antwerpenu 1861. godine. Budući da je slika sjeveroistočne strane Peristila datirana s 1878. godinom, očito je da bi ova trebala biti neka ranija varijanta.

Sačuvani crteži pomažu nam naslutiti što je mogla predstavljati slika *Ruines romaines à Spalato*, izložena 1866. u Bruxellesu. Ali, osobito bi bilo značajno jednom pronaći vedutu Splita (*Vue de Spalato en Dalmatie*) koju je izlagao 1871. godine u Gandu, za koju ne nalazimo korelat među sačuvanim crtežima.

Isti Katalog spominje čak trideset i pet prikaza sa splitskim motivima – *Monuments de Spalato, en Dalmatie, et sites de Spalato et des environs* – od čega pet *grandes feuilles avec une foule de croquis*. Povrh toga se navodi i pedeset crteža, ponajviše akvarela s prikazima osoba i dalmatinskih nošnji (*personnages et costumes de Dalmatie*).

U zasebnoj rubrici Kataloga navode se i uokvireni akvareli, nastali po svemu sudeći u samom Splitu. Spominje se tu još jedan prikaz Peristila, a iz dugog popisa dovršenih slika i studija doznajemo da je postojalo još devet slika s motivima Splita. Posebno bi nam bilo zanimljivo jednom otkriti *La même vue avec une procession religieuse*, dakle sliku katedralnog trga animiranog svečanom vjerskom procesijom.

Naslov *Marché aux grains à Spalato* bi se možda mogao odnositi na ulje s prikazom istočnog zida Dioklecijanove palače s prislonjenim kućama, poviše kasnije otvorenih Srebrnih vrata i dominikanskog samostana preko puta. Slika se prije dvadesetak godina pojavila na tržištu, a za nju imamo i podrobno razrađen crtež (u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu) koji omogućava da doznamo nešto više o metodi kojom je Van Moer gradio slike u atelijeru temeljem terenskih opservacija. Sumorna prizemna zgrada prvog Arheološkog muzeja, prislonjena na istočni zid Palače, u prednjem planu crteža, nije mu izgledala dovoljno slikovito, pa ju je uklonio, a na njezino mjesto "dogurao" sklop pučkih kuća koji nalazi prigraden zidinama uz sjeveroistočnu kulu Palače. Elementi *capriccia* uočavaju se posebno u pogledu kule s monumentalnim portalom blago zašiljena luka (možda kao reminiscencija na Van Moerove slike Sevilje i Alhambre).

Navode se još *Portique et restes d'un monument romain à Spalato* (iz 1867. godine) i *Ruines du palais de Dioclétien à Spalato*. Naslov *Le Sphinx sur la place du Temple à Spalato* mogao bi pak sugerirati da je Van Moer napravio za sebe inačicu slike koju je 1873. godine poklonio Ivanu Burattiju.

Konačno, s obzirom na izmjene koje je interijer splitske katedrale doživio nakon restauracije/rekonstrukcije iz 1875. godine, bilo bi divno kada bismo jednom mogli pronaći dvije slike koje Katalog posthumne izložbe/dražbe navodi pod naslovima *Intérieur du temple à Spalato*, te *Intérieur de la sacristie du temple à Spalato*.

Sve u svemu, ako smo ovdje popis Van Moerovih danas poznatih slika s motivima Splita mogli proširiti na pet ulja na platnu i drvu, ovaj Katalog upozorava da ih je bilo šesnaest samo u slikarevu

ateljjeru. A tomu treba pribrojiti i neutvrđeni broj dalmatinskih (zacijelo pretežno splitskih) motiva između sto i osamnaest preostalih “studija u ulju” (*Cent dix-huit études à l’huile: vues de Belgique, France, Prusse. Venise, Dalmatie, Orient et quelques fantaisies*).

Ova rasprava imala je za cilj pokazati nekoliko nepoznatih aspekata izgleda Peristila sredinom 1800-ih godina, prostora koji je tijekom protekla dva stoljeća u mnogome izgubio dio izvorne povijesne stratigrafije. Njegove slikarske opservacije zabilježene brojnim crtežima i akvarelima tijekom boravka u Splitu u proljeće i rano ljeto 1858. godine, a kojima se vraćao tijekom sljedećih dvadesetak godina u samoći svog atelijera u Bruxellesu, uvrštavaju ga u malu galaksiju europskih istraživača koji su s mnogo znanja i senzibiliteta istraživali i opisivali dalmatinske spomenike, geografiju, običaje i nošnje te provincije na rubu europske civilizacije. Ona je baš u to doba, malo po malo, prestajala biti europska *terra incognita*, otkrivajući nove perspektive unutar habsburškog *Commonwealth*a, kao i slutnje svoga budućeg razvoja. Van Moerov opus još je nedovoljno poznat. Ovaj kratki esej ukazao je, nadamo se, na vrijednosti koje njegove slike imaju, i to ne samo u pogledu njihova dokumentarnog značaja za poznavanje ambijenata koje je prikazivao, a koji su u međuvremenu neumitno transformirani. Možemo pretpostaviti da se neke od tih slika, kojima sada znamo i naslove, i danas nalaze u privatnim zbirkama, te da će se eventualno jednom pojaviti ili u nekom širem osvrtu na Van Moerovo djelo, ili na nekoj prigodnoj izložbi ili dražbi.

Ključne riječi: Jean Baptiste van Moer (1819.-1884.), Dioklecijanova palača u Splitu, zvonik splitske katedrale, Rudolf von Alt (1812.-1905.), Ivan Buratti (splitski okružni upravitelj)



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