

# 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 perimeter<sup>1</sup> 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-

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<sup>1</sup>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.*<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> These Christian processions have recently been amply discussed in international scholarly publications,<sup>4</sup> while in Croatian historiography such research is still in its beginnings.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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”).<sup>9</sup> There is no such rich historiography about other cities, but it is known that urban

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<sup>2</sup> G. DIX, *The Shape of Liturgy*, Glasgow, 1949, pp. 398-399.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> A. MIŠKOVIĆ, *Liturgijski ambijenti i instalacije ranokršćanskog razdoblja na zadarskom području*, PhD diss., Zagreb, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> A. MIŠKOVIĆ, Prostor i funkcije sakristije u ranokršćanskom razdoblju na primjeru zadarskog episkopalnog sklopa, *Ars Adriatica*, 3, Zadar, 2013, pp. 7-20.

<sup>7</sup> J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 36-37; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 230; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> 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,<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> The main streets of major urban centres were often covered – by porches, as the examples from Jerusalem and Constantinople show.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

## 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.<sup>14</sup> 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),<sup>15</sup> a sarcophagus front with the

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<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 234-235.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> J. BALDOVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 118-141; S. DE BLAAUW, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 150-161.

<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup>

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),<sup>18</sup> 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.<sup>19</sup> 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).<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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

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<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> D. MILINOVIĆ, *Nova post vetera coepit. Ikonografija prve kršćanske umjetnosti*, Zagreb, 2016, pp. 310-311, fig. 131.

<sup>18</sup> T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 156-157.

<sup>19</sup> 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.

<sup>20</sup> T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), pp. 132-135, fig. 102.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> 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](http://www.omnia.ie); <https://cmc.byzart.eu/items/show/4996/>)



Fig. 2. Ivory reliquary from Samagher (N. Cambi, 2002)

<sup>23</sup> The reliquary is kept at the Museo Archeologico di Venezia. Cf. N. CAMBI, *Antika*, Zagreb, 2002, pp. 304-306, fig. 480.

<sup>24</sup> *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](http://www.christianiconography.info))

child in a hexagonal baptistry. 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.<sup>25</sup>

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 (Figg. 3, 4).<sup>26</sup> 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).<sup>27</sup> 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

<sup>25</sup> About processional crosses: A. MIŠKOVIĆ, Motiv krizmona i Kalvarije na ranokršćanskim plutejima sa zadarskog područja, *Bogoslovska smotra*, 83, Zagreb, 2013, pp. 859-876.

<sup>26</sup> T. F. MATHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 1, 1999), p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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-*

<sup>28</sup> 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](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).<sup>29</sup> 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!<sup>30</sup> 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

<sup>29</sup> 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.

<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup> 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.<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> 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

<sup>31</sup> C. D. SHEPPARD, Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs, *The Art Bulletin*, 51, I, 1969, pp. 65-71, 66, n. 9.

<sup>32</sup> 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.

<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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 concurrat 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.*<sup>35</sup> 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[eati] Petri, ubi praesulis erat et nunc est sedes, perduxerunt...*<sup>36</sup> The welcome by Zadar's

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.



Fig. 7. Reliquary from Novalja with the Traditio legis motif (N. Cambi, 2002)

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

<sup>36</sup> 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.<sup>37</sup> *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.*<sup>38</sup> 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-

<sup>37</sup> 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 Petricioli, 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.

<sup>38</sup> 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.*<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> It is also related to some objects from Zadar's Benedictine monastery, such as the Pax of St Pope Gregory.<sup>41</sup>

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).<sup>42</sup> 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

<sup>39</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 47, cat. no. 002.

<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>41</sup> I. PETRICIOLI, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 343.

<sup>42</sup> 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).<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.

<sup>43</sup> C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), pp. 155-156; V. de PONTE, *Historia Ecclesiae Iadrensis, Rivista dalmatica*, IV/1,2 and V/1, Zara, 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.

<sup>44</sup> 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).<sup>45</sup> 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

<sup>45</sup> 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*.<sup>46</sup>

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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

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.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 86.

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 102.

<sup>49</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja sv. Šimuna, zadarska arca d'oro, *Ars adriatica*, 4, Zadar, 2014, 95-124.

<sup>50</sup> 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).<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>



Fig. 13. Reception of King Louis the Great in the Zadar harbor / *collocatio corporis* (N. Jakšić – R. Tomić, 2004, p. 104)

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.

<sup>51</sup> 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.

<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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 crenellations 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.<sup>54</sup>

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.*<sup>55</sup>

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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup> 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.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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

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<sup>53</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 95-124.

<sup>54</sup> N. JAKŠIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 49), pp. 95-124.

<sup>55</sup> C. HAHN, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 148.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> V. de PONTE, *op. cit.* (n. 43), pp. 226-229.

<sup>58</sup> 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.

<sup>59</sup> C. F. BIANCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 298.

<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup>

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.<sup>63</sup> 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,<sup>64</sup> 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).<sup>65</sup>

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 ecettuata, 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.*<sup>66</sup> 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

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<sup>61</sup> J. KOLANOVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 80.

<sup>62</sup> V. BRUNELLI, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 213.

<sup>63</sup> M. KOVAČEVIĆ, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 709.

<sup>64</sup> P. VEŽIĆ, Klesarska radionica u kasnoantičkome Zadru, *Biogradski zbornik*, 1, Zadar, 1990, pp. 248-262.

<sup>65</sup> 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.

<sup>66</sup> 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.*<sup>67</sup> 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.*<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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.*<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Manuscript of Zadar's canon dr. I. M. FERRARI, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> 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.

<sup>70</sup> 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 širem 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 plohamu svjedoče o vlastitoj mobilnoj naravi. Scene na Samagerskom relikvijaru ili na ploči relikvijara iz Trieru 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 Trieru govore o procesijama po urbanom tkivu koje započinju od nekoga važnog ili prepoznatljivog gradskog simbola (arhitekture ili spomenika), a na ploči iz Trieru 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*