

**SANCTO GRISOGONO QUO GAUDET IADRA PATRONO:
THE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF ST CHRYSOGONUS AND THE TRADITION
OF MARTYR'S *TRANSLATIO***

Trpimir Vedriš

T. Vedriš
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Odsjek za povijest
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb
E-mail: tvedris@ffzg.hr

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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, Židno 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 Petricioli, 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 quereret 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<anci> Grisogoni in eius ecclesia*). Cf. Ponte, *Catalogus episcoporum*, fol. 32 (in Z. STRIKA, *Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jaderinae* 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 sarcofago 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, ivit 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 sarcofago 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. ... *sancti 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.

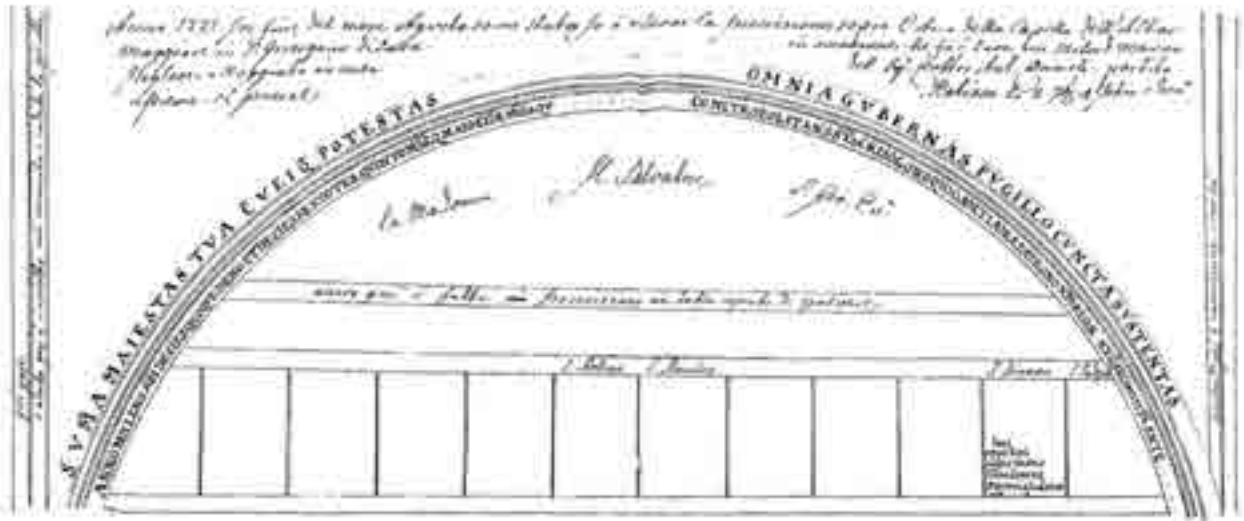


Fig. 1. Inscriptions in the apse of the church of St Chrysogonus

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. KLAIĆ – 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 angustiorem 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. KLAIĆ – 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)/= caeliqueξ/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 FUIT 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(vinqueξ) 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 jadransis: (1371-1408)*, *Vjestnik 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 Iadertine 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 Zaratín 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)*