'SERMONS IN STONE': ELEVENTH-CENTURY FIGURAL SCULPTURES FROM CROATIA

TWO VOLUMES
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines eleventh-century figural sculptures from Croatia by focusing on their iconography and potential symbolical significance. It consists of a detailed analysis of seventeen well-preserved carvings and an accompanying catalogue with six additional pieces, which are too damaged and fragmentary to be analyzed. These figural sculptures have been studied together on only two occasions, more than fifty years ago, and these publications focused on the manner of their carving and their dating. This stylistic approach has dominated the Croatian scholarship, and the investigation of the meaning of figural sculptures has been mostly sporadic and unsystematic. As such, it has created a vacuum in which the sculptures exist as catalogue entries in neat stylistic categories. In contrast, this thesis examines the figural sculptures by applying an iconographic analysis. This methodological approach investigates the visual sources for the schemes depicted, followed by the exploration of their iconographic significance, at the basis of which are the exegetical writings of early Christian and early medieval theologians. Thus, this thesis examines the figural sculptures in their contexts (architectural, religious and social) the results of which provide a deeper understanding of and more information about the culture and society which had produced them. Following from this, the chapters are grouped according to the current amount of information about their original architectural setting. Chapters 1 and 2 focus on the sculptures from the churches of Holy Dominica (reconstructed) and St Lawrence (still extant) at Zadar, which provide an excellent architectural context. Chapter 3 deals with three different sites where the churches have been preserved only in their foundations (St Mary's, Biskupija; SS Peter and Moses, Solin; St Michael's, Koločep). Finally, Chapter 4 analyzes the sculptures existing or discovered outside their original architectural setting.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and the result of my four-year long research. All the information obtained from the works of others is indicated as such and referenced. The material contained in this study is new and has never been presented before.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCCM   Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Medievalis (Turnhout, 1966 –).

CCSL   Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout, 1953 –).

CSEL   Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna, 1864 –).

GCS   Die griechischen christlichen Striftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (Berlin, 1891-1945).

MGH   Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Munich, 1826 –).

OED   Oxford English Dictionary (London, 1884 –).

PL   Patrologia cursus completus, series latina, J. P. Migne (ed.), 221 vols (Paris, 1844-1855).

Ado of Vienne, *Vet. rom. mar.* = *Vetus romanum martyrologium*, PL 123, 201-420A.

Alcuin, *Versus. Cruc*. = *Versus de sancta Cruce ad Carolum*, in E. Dümmler (ed.), *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, *MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1964).

Alcuin, *Sequen. Mich*. = *Sequentia de sancto Michaele, quam Alcuinus composuit Karolo Imperatori*, in E. Dümmler (ed.), *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, *MGH Poetae Latini Medii Aevi* vol. 1 (Berlin, 1964).

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Ambrose*, De inst. virgin*. = *De institutione virginis et Sanctae Mariae virginitate perpetua ad Eusebium*, PL 16, 305-334B.

Ambrose, *De myst*. = *De mysteriis*, in O. Faller (ed.), CSEL 73 (Vienna, 1955), 89-116.

Ambrose, *De sacram*. = *De sacramentis libri sex*, PL 16, 417-462A.

Ambrose*, De spir. sanc.* = *De spiritu sancto libri tres*, in O. Faller (ed.), CSEL 79 (Vienna, 1964), 5-222.

Ambrose, *De virgin*. = *De Virginibus*, PL 16, 187-232B.

Ambrose, *Expos. Luc*. = *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam*, in M. Adriaen (ed.), CCSL 14 (Turnhout, 1957).

Ambrose, *Expos. psal.* = *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII,* in M. Petschenig and M. Zelzer (eds), CSEL 62 (Vienna, 1999).

Ambrose, *Hexam.* = *Hexaemeron libri sex*, PL 14, 123A-274A.

Ambrose, *Hymn. IV* = *Hymnus IV*, in *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Hymni*, PL 16, 1409-1412.

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Augustine, *De Nupt.* = *De nuptiis et concupiscentia,* in C. F. Vrba and J. Zycha (eds), CSEL 42 (Vienna, 1902), 211-319.

Augustine, *De sca. virg.* = *De sancta virginitate*, in J. Zycha (ed.), CSEL 41 (Vienna, 1900), 235-302.

Augustine, *Epist.* 147 = *Epistula* 147, in A. Goldbacher (ed.), *Epistulae* 124-184, CSEL 44 (Vienna, 1895-1898).

Augustine, *Iohan. tract.* = *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus* CXXIV, in R. Willems (ed.), CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954).

Augustine, *Sermo* 186 = *In Natali Domini*, *Sermones Classis II. De Tempore*, PL 38, 995-1248.

Augustine, *Sermo* 204 = *In Epiphania Domini*, *Sermones Classis II. De Tempore*, PL 38, 995-1248.

Augustine, *Sermo* 218 = *Sermo de passione Domini*, in R. Etaix, *Augustinianum* 34 (1994), 364-369.

Augustine, *Sermo* 261 = *In die quadragesimo Ascensionis Domini*, *Sermones Classis II. De Tempore*, PL 38, 995-1248.

Augustine, *Sermo* 264 = *De Ascensione Domini*, *Sermones Classis II. De Tempore*, PL 38, 995-1248.

Augustine, *Sermo* 69, in P. P. Verbraken et al. (eds), *Sermones in Matthaeum* I, CCSL 41 Aa (Turnhout, 2008), 455-464.

Autpertus, *Sermo de adsum.* = *Sermo de adsumptione sanctae Mariae*, in R. Weber (ed.), *Ambrosius Autpertus Opera III*, CCCM 27 B (Turnhout, 1979), 1025-1036.

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Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De. cer.* = *De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*, in J. J. Reiske (ed.), *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, (Bonn, 1829).

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Gregory the Great, *Lib. Antiph.* = *Liber Antiphonarius ordinatus per circulum annis*, PL 78, 641-724A.

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Jerome, *Adv. Helv.* = *De Perpetua Virginitate B. Mariae, Adversus Helvidium, Liber Unus*, PL 23, 193-216.

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Paulinus of Nola, *Carm. 27 = Carmen 27*, in G. De Hartel (ed.), *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Carmina*, CSEL 30 (Vienna, 1999), 262-291.

Paulinus of Nola, *Epist. 32 = Epistula 32*, in G. De Hartel (ed.), *Sancti Pontii Meropii Paulini Nolani Epistulae*, CSEL 29 (Vienna, 1999), 275-301.

Peter Damian, *Epist. 1, 17* and *81 =* in K. Reindel (ed.), *Epistulae CLXXX : Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani, MGH - Die Briefe des deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 4 vols (Munich, 1983 - 1993).

Photius, *Homily 10*, in C. Mango (ed.), *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 184-190.

Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist. = Naturalis Historia*, http://penelope.uchicago.edu.

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224. Nativity, ivory casket, ninth-tenth century, Braunschweig, Germany (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 45, Fig. 96c).
225. Koimesis, left: ivory plaque, 975-999, Munich, Germany; right: ivory plaque, late tenth century, Cologne, Germany (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Figs 587-588).
226. Dormition of the Virgin, *Farfa Casket*, 1070-1075, Farfa, Italy (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 593).
227. Dormition of the Virgin, *Benedictional of Aethelwold*, 975-980, London, UK (Deshman, 1995: Pl. 34).
228. Christ announcing the Death to the Virgin, *Santa Maria Egiziaca*, fresco, 872-882, Rome, Italy (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 657).

INTRODUCTION

1. ESTABLISHING THE FRAMEWORK

In his 1981 book, *Romanesque Sculpture: The Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, which received mostly negative reviews,[1] Hearn identified Dalmatia together with England and the Pyrenees as areas in which 'there was a resurgence of stone sculpture' in the early eleventh century.[2] He associated this resurgence with earlier 'provincial survivals of the late antique tradition' in the same areas, and outlined how 'this sculpture has often been interpreted as significant of a new beginning, especially since the major works were all examples of architectural decoration.'[3] He went on to explain that:

> In all these early reliefs, either the subject matter or the format (or both) is borrowed from other media represented in the Carolingian tradition. However, in figural style and technique these sculptures are completely separated from the cultural mainstream. There was no subsequent development of these experiments in any of those areas; the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 brought Anglo-Saxon sculptural practice to a sudden end; Dalmatia never produced any Romanesque sculpture, and the Roussillon lay dormant until the revival of monumental stone sculpture was in full flower.[4]

The critical reviews of Hearn's book argued that the work lacked research into the archaeological, cultural and historical context of these sculptures, as well as failing to explore issues of patronage and workshop production, or those related to potential sources of inspiration from Byzantine and Carolingian art.[5] It is certainly the case that Hearn did not thoroughly study eleventh-century stone sculptures from Dalmatia, but even if he had wanted to his research would have been impeded by the language barrier; most secondary sources since the Second World War have been written in Croatian.

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[1] Williamson, 1982: 765-766; Sauerländer, 1984: 520-522; Christofides, 1985: 155-156.
[2] Hearn, 1981: 26.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid. 30-31.
[5] Christofides, 1985: 156; Williamson, 1982: 765.

This goes some way to explaining Hearn's sweeping and unsubstantiated statement that the major works of the eleventh-century Dalmatian Romanesque belong to architectural decoration, and his even more startling assertion that 'Dalmatia never produced any Romanesque sculpture'.[6]

Furthermore, Hearn mentioned only the sculptures from Zadar and thus his use of the term 'Dalmatia' seems to be limited to the coastal towns in this region of Croatia.[7] Indeed, more than thirty percent of the figural sculptures are to be found in these towns. In addition, his terminology was obviously inspired by the long-standing custom of discussing Romanesque sculptures according to regions rather than countries because, as Sauerländer put it, 'Romanesque sculpture functioned as a ''regional'' craftsmanship.'[8] However, even as a regional geographic term, 'Dalmatia' is ambiguous, as its definition varies depending on the period under discussion. While in the early middle ages it denoted only the former Roman municipal towns on the littoral which constituted the second-century Roman province of Dalmatia, from the fifteenth century onwards it included the hinterland of these towns and the smaller settlements between them.

Nevertheless, Hearn's articulations do announce three important aspects of the study of eleventh-century stone sculpture from Croatia. First, the sculptures of that date have been considered early Romanesque; second, they have been interpreted as products of local stone-cutting workshops; and third, these sculptures have been discovered in the Croatian littoral region of Dalmatia. This thesis addresses the general lack of knowledge about these 'early reliefs', concentrating primarily on those which are figural, and which were defined by Hearn as 'Romanesque' and 'monumental.'[9] By focusing on their iconography, and their architectural and cultural context, this thesis aims to provide a deeper understanding of these eleventh-century sculptures.

Before examining the sculptures in detail, however, it is necessary to outline a number of issues which, as is evident from Hearn's book, need to be addressed in any study of the eleventh-century figural sculpture from Croatia. The first is that of terminology: is it more appropriate to refer to this sculpture stylistically as early

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[6] Hearn, 1981: 30
[7] Ibid.
[8] Sauerländer, 2004: iv; e. g. Burgundy (Armi, 1983, 2: *passim*); Aquitaine (Tcherikover, 1997: *passim*).
[9] Hearn, 1981: 30-31.

Romanesque, historically as early medieval, or purely chronologically as pertaining to this particular century?

1a. Terminology

The term 'Romanesque' was first used in 1818 by a French antiquarian, Charles de Gerville, who applied it to the architecture produced between the ninth and twelfth centuries, the style of which was perceived as being derived from Roman architecture.[10] However, its origins were difficult to trace and although the initial application of the term included the ninth century, by the early twentieth century it had become customary to fix the appearance of the Romanesque style in the last decades of the eleventh century.[11] But, because the signs of the new 'style' had emerged in various locations before this point, the eleventh century was seen as the time of 'premier art roman' or early Romanesque.[12]

As for the relationship between Romanesque as a period style and the historical differentiation of the middle ages into early, high and late, the boundaries are also blurred. While Beckwith includes a chapter on Romanesque art in his book entitled *Early Medieval Art*,[13] Holländer considered that early medieval art and architecture ended with the beginning of the Romanesque.[14] Zarnecki, on the other hand, stated that 'the chronological limits of the Romanesque period cannot be clearly defined' and that they 'vary from country to country'.[15] He noted that 'the Romanesque style is not easy to define and its beginnings, especially, are imperceptible, so that it is often impossible to state categorically that any given work is already Romanesque.'[16] However, he offered a general estimation that 'by the middle of the eleventh century, the Romanesque style was already firmly established, after a preliminary period of about

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[10] Durliat, 1982: 29.
[11] Ibid. 54.
[12] Puig i Cadafalch, 1928; Focillon, 1931.
[13] According to Beckwith (1974: 153), Ottonian 'imperial architecture in the eleventh century was more than a gateway to the new style' as the 'Romanesque style in Germany was born' at Limburg in 1042.
[14] Holländer (1990: 5) considered the term 'early medieval' to cover 'a long period of time that lacks unifying characteristics', that ended in the early eleventh century, when 'an itensified exchange of ideas and techniques brought about a florescence and a continuous development of regional styles'.
[15] Zarnecki, 1989: 5.
[16] Ibid.

fifty years, during which the style had gradually evolved.'[17] Thus, in terms of style, all three art historians seem to agree that the shift towards the Romanesque began in the early eleventh century, when, as Rudolfus Glaber put it in the frequently cited phrase: the whole world was 'cladding itself everywhere in a white mantle of churches.'[18]

From this it is obvious that 'Romanesque' is a stylistic term that has not been unanimously applied to the eleventh century, and that the term itself is 'a worn out notion', as Sauerländer recently put it.[19] Therefore, as the title of this thesis indicates, preference has been given to the chronological denominator – the eleventh century – in order to avoid the relative nature of the terms 'Romanesque' and 'early medieval'; this reflects the fact that, on the one hand, not all figural sculptures from the same century can be said to be of the same style,[20] and, on the other, that socio-economic changes associated with the transition from the early into high middle ages differ from one country to another. While the eleventh century in Croatia has been perceived as early medieval, in France and Germany this period ends with the year 1000.[21]

1b. Geography

The second issue to be addressed is that of geography: should the geographical framework correspond to the eleventh-century situation, or to modern-day borders? The Croatian border as it is today was established in 1945 when it became one of the federal republics of Yugoslavia. It covers the territory of the historic regions of Istria, Dalmatia and Dubrovnik on the coast, Lika and Croatia further inland towards the north, and Slavonia to the east (Fig. 1). The current border thus differs from that of the political entity known as Croatia in the eleventh century (Fig. 2): for example, it encompasses Istria which had never been part of Croatia before 1945, although this region has been inhabited by Croatian-speaking Slavs since the early middle ages.[22] On the other hand, it

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Rodulfus Glaber, *Hist. Lib.* 3.4.13: 117.
[19] Sauerländer, 2008: 40-56.
[20] Prijatelj, 1954: 87.
[21] Collins (1999: xx) and Nees (2002: 14) also place the end of the early middle ages *c.* 1000.
[22] In 600, Gregory the Great had expressed concern about the Slavs in Istria, in his letter to the Bishop of Salona, Maximus (*Reg. Epist*. 10.15: 842). In 804, the inhabitants of Istrian towns complained to Charlemagne that the Frankish governor, Duke John, was settling the Slavs onto their lands; the issue was discussed at the public hearing, *placitus*, of Risano (Bertelli, 2001: 488).

excludes a part of modern-day Bosnia and Herzegovina which had been one of the duchies of early medieval Croatia.

Furthermore, in the eleventh century, Croatia and Dalmatia did not overlap as they do today. There was a clear distinction between the two and while the latter consisted of a string of coastal towns which had once been part of the Roman Empire and then Byzantium,[23] Croatia corresponded to the land of the Slavic-speaking settlers who arrived in the eighth century and settled in the hinterland and between these coastal towns. In the first half of the eleventh century Dalmatia was still connected to the Byzantine Empire, albeit only nominally, for in 1000, Doge Pietro II Orseolo set sail with his fleet on Ascension day along the Dalmatian coast and one by one, the northern towns of Krk, Osor, Rab, Zadar and Split acknowledged the rule of Venice.[24] Having received the oaths of allegiance from the towns' bishops and *priors* (mayors),[25] he assumed the title '*dux Dalmacianorum*',[26] and, upon returning home, introduced the famous annual ceremony of *sposalizio del mar* to commemorate the day when the Republic gained complete control over the Adriatic Sea.

Nonetheless, the situation changed quickly: by the 1030s the Dalmatian towns of Zadar and Split were ruled by the Madii family (from Zadar), and in the 1060s they were incorporated into the kingdom of Croatia along with Trogir, Rab, Cres and Krk. This kingdom had grown out of a small principality formed in the ninth century in the hinterland of the Byzantine towns. Exactly when their ruler proclaimed himself 'king' is a matter of dispute; the title was used in the tenth century for Tomislav and Stjepan Držislav, but real power seems to have been obtained only in the eleventh century with a papal blessing and Byzantine approval.[27]

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[23] The towns Krk, Osor, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor are listed as those possessed by the 'Romani' (i.e. Byzantines) by Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century (*DAI* 29.50-52: 124-125).

[24] Iohannes Diaconus, *Cron. Ven.*: 157-158.

[25] *Prior* as a title of the town mayor is unique to Dalmatian coastal towns, not found elsewhere in the Adriatic. A *prior* is at the head of the council, elected by the inhabitants from the ranks of the nobility (Lučić (1997: 112-114).

[26] Iohannes Diaconus, *Cron. Ven.*: 158.

[27] Tomislav was the first to proclaim himself king (prince: 910-925; king: 925-928). Although Pope John X (914-928) addresses Tomislav as 'rex' in a letter in the same year, it seems this was not an official recognition and Tomislav continued to use the title of prince rather than that of king. His successors, however, referred to themselves as kings – the tenth-century slab with the epitaph of Queen Jelena, who died in 976, mentions that she was the wife of King Michael and mother of King Stephen: VXOR

Despite the Croatian control over the Dalmatian towns, they still retained a separate identity at this time, as is clearly indicated in the 1096 account of Raymond d'Aguiliers, Chaplain to the Count of Toulouse, Raymond de Saint Gilles, who, accompanying the army on their way to Jerusalem during the First Crusade, passed through Croatia, which he referred to as 'Sclavonia' – a country inhabited by Slavs – rather than Dalmatia. The latter was the term that had been used by the Byzantine author, Kekaumenos, in 1078 when explaining where the towns of Zadar and Split were located.[28]

Raymond d'Aguiliers also described the country as 'such a desert and so pathless and mountainous that we saw in it neither wild animals, nor birds for three weeks' and being inhabited with people 'so boorish and rude that they were unwilling to trade with us, or to furnish us guidance, but instead fled from their villages and their castles.'[29] Had the French Crusaders decided to change their route and stop at one of the Dalmatian towns, Raymond's impressions might have been more pleasant as by that time they were again under Venetian control.

The Croatian kingdom, however, was in turmoil because of the unresolved dynastic issue concerning the right of succession. The problem lay in the fact that King Zvonimir, who had married a Hungarian princess, Helen the Beautiful (Jelena Lepa), died without issue in 1089 and was succeeded by Stephen II, the last in the royal line of the house of Trpimirović, who also died without an heir in 1091. This prompted Zvonimir's widow and her brother, King Ladislas of Hungary, to claim the Croatian throne against the wishes of a number of Croatian noblemen, who elected Petar Svačić as their king in 1093. This opposition was suppressed by force when Ladislas' successor, King Colomanus, undertook a military campaign against Croatia in 1097 and killed Petar in battle at Mount Gvozd. However, due to internal struggles in Hungary, he was unable to exert control over Croatia for some five years, at which point, the heads of the twelve Croatian tribes signed the *Pacta Conventa* with Colomanus, acknowledging

MICHAELI REGI MATERQ STEFANI R... (Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 99-100). The only king who was recorded as having been crowned by a papal legate was Zvonimir in 1076 (Curta, 2006: 196, 262).

[28] Kekaumenos, *Strategicon*: 77-78; tal. trans. Spadaro, 1998: 237. See also Nikolić, 2005:12; Jakšić, 2007: 137-138.

[29] *Hist. Franc*. 1: 16-17.

him as the King of Croatia and Dalmatia; the pact which was confirmed by his coronation in Biograd in 1102.[30]

Against this complex set of events which makes up the history of the region in the eleventh century, Hearn's limited use of 'Dalmatia' is understandable – it denotes the 'Byzantine' towns. Nevertheless, due to the fact that in the eleventh century Croatian kings effectively ruled some or all of Dalmatia at various periods, and that the modern-day region of Dalmatia encompasses the territory of the Croatian kingdom, it seems more appropriate to refer to the eleventh-century sculptures analysed in this study as 'Croatian' in order to avoid any confusion which might arise from their classification into different geographic categories, which shifted frequently throughout this century. In addition, since no figural sculptures have been found in Herzegovina, there is no need to use the eleventh-century term 'Croatia'.

2. HISTORIOGRAPHIC APPROACHES

Turning now to consider how this eleventh-century Croatian material has been approached in the scholarship, Hearn's book also stands as one of the rare international publications that mention it.[31] After the Second World War, scholarly study of the eleventh-century sculpture of the region has been largely limited to Croatian scholarship, where it was invoked to conclude overviews of the early medieval art and architecture, or to introduce discussions of the Romanesque sculpture, often in exhibition catalogues.[32] In these contexts, the eleventh-century sculpture is regarded as representing a shift in subject matter: introducing figural subject matter to the well-known repertoire of interlace patterns, vegetal ornaments and animals that were used throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus, the presence of figural decoration among the repertoire of familiar early medieval ornament has been understood to indicate the early Romanesque nature of a number of stone carvings dated to the eleventh century.

Having said this, it has to be admitted that this area of study (early medieval eleventh-century figural sculpture) has also been subject to changing frames of

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[30] Klaić, 1971: 513; Curta, 2006: 267.
[31] It was discussed as 'Lombardic' sculpture in Eitelberger, 1884: 134-135; Stückelberg, 1896: 76 and Gabelentz, 1903: 106.
[32] Jurković, 1992: 35-43, 101-117; Belamarić, 1991: 27; Belamarić, 1997: 43-93.

reference. Relying largely on Porphyrogenitus' tenth-century account of the settlement of the Croats, nineteenth-century Croatian scholarship deemed them to have arrived in the region during the seventh century, and applied the name 'early Croatian' to the five centuries between the seventh and the early-twelfth centuries. This unfortunate term determined which monuments were to be studied, and, moreover, led to certain early medieval forms and motifs, most notably interlace, present in other European countries, to be interpreted as symbols of the early Croatian state and culture.

As a result, despite its widespread distribution throughout Europe during this period, this material has been used and abused for political and patriotic purposes over the last 140 years, since the accidental discovery at Muć Gornji near Split in 1871 of an architrave, decorated with interlace and inscribed with the name of Prince Branimir and bearing the date 888 (Fig. 3).[33]

The fact that Croatia was not an independent state between 1102 and 1991 contributed to the scholarly construction of the early medieval period as a glorious age of national sovereign rulers acknowledged by their European counterparts. Set against the subsequent historical situation which saw the territory divided between various powers with aspirations in the region – the Venetian Republic, the Hungarian kingdom, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Italy, and the ill-fated union with the neighbouring South Slavic countries, first into a monarchy ruled by the Serbian royal dynasty, and then into the Republic of Yugoslavia – the early medieval period seemed prosperous and relatively untroubled.

By the mid-nineteenth century the Croatian intelligentsia were eager to establish a national identity in the face of Italian and Austro-Hungarian influence in Dalmatia and northern Croatia respectively. It was integral to this programme that the sculptures were invoked. Thus, in 1855, Kukuljević Sakcinski praised the panels from Holy Dominica at Zadar (Figs 12-13, cat. no. 20a-b) as being worthy 'to adorn any museum', and argued vehemently that the panel from the Baptistery at Split (Fig. 173, cat. no. 17) depicted King Tomislav wearing the original crown of Croatia.[34] The discovery of Branimir's architrave at Muć further inspired Marun to found the Croatian Antiquarian

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[33] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: V-VI, 94.
[34] Kukuljević-Sakcinski, 1855: 6; 1873: 53; 1881: 47.

Society in 1887 at Knin, with the sole purpose of investigating and studying the early medieval monuments (Fig. 4).[35] The antiquarians grouped around him conducted archaeological field inspections and excavations of the early medieval sites in the hinterland between Zadar and Split, funded by individual donations. However, in this period when archaeology was only beginning to emerge as a profession,[36] most of the members were gentleman 'archaeologists' and antiquarians: Marun and Jelić were priests, while Radić was a school teacher. Radić was appointed editor of the Society's journal *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* (*Old Croatian Journal*) which first appeared in 1895. In fact, the only 'professional' archaeologist among the largely antiquarian group was Bulić who received a degree in classical archaeology from from the University of Vienna, but he left the Society together with Jelić in 1894 and founded the *Bihać* society.[37]

Thus, the early excavations undertaken by Marun's Society were conducted without the supervision of trained archaeologists, and as a result were not adequately documented. For that reason it is extremely difficult to establish exactly what was unearthed where, and in what conditions. This was certainly the case in 1886 when Marun and his team started excavating the site of Crkvina at Biskupija, a campaign that would take more than ten years to finish and which yielded two significant eleventh-century figural sculptures (Figs 121, 127, cat. nos 1-2) which were only published by Radić in 1895.[38]

In stark contrast to the vested interests of the Croatian antiquaries, foreign scholars saw the early medieval reliefs, whether figural or non-figural, in a negative light because of their apparently un-classical features. Eitelberger and Jackson thus referred to the Holy Dominica panels and the one from the Split Baptistery, so lauded by

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[35] Marun founded the *Committee for the Exploration of Croatian Antiquities in the Knin Area* in 1885, and started excavating his first site, at Kapitul near Knin, when the extension of the railway line from Siverić to Knin cut across the site. He discovered an early medieval church and fragments of its liturgical furnishings which formed the basis of the collection of the *Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments*, opened at Knin in 1894.

[36] Archaeology grew out of the nineteenth-century antiquarians' interests in objects from the past and it became an academic discipline taught at universities only in the second half of that century (Muckle, 2006: 26-35).

[37] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: IX.

[38] Radić, 1895a: 7-9; 1895c: 122; 1896e: 211-216.

Kukuljević Sakcinski, as 'barbarous' and 'grotesque'.[39] On the other hand, several Italian scholars of the inter-war years, when Dalmatia was under Italian control, revealed certain ideological prejudices when writing about the region and its antiquities; Dudan, for instance, accused Eitelberger of implementing the Austrian policy of emphasizing the Slavic element in Croatia so as to eliminate Italian irredentism, and commented on the interlace carvings collected in the Museum of Croatian Antiquities at Knin as works 'ove la mano barbarica ne ridusse tutta la grazia latina ad una mostruosità.'[40]

These concerns, while influencing perceptions of the sculpture, also influenced theories about its date and origins. During the second half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, the figural sculptures from Zadar and Split were considered to be of an eighth- or ninth-century date, based on comparisons with Lombardic figural carvings from northern Italy.[41] Alternatively, they were classified as 'Italo-Byzantine' and dated between the ninth and eleventh century. Only the jambs of the portal from St Lawrence's at Zadar, the gable from Sustipan, and the marble plaque from Rab Cathedral have always been regarded as eleventh-century and early Romanesque, on the basis of their vegetal ornaments (Figs 64, 195, 204, cat. nos 21, 18, 12).[42]

From the 1920s, however, other figural sculptures started to be interpreted as early Romanesque by Vasić, Abramić and Karaman.[43] Karaman saw the re-appearance of figural decoration as a sign of the Romanesque rebirth of sculptural interest in the human form which he considered to have been discontinued after late antiquity.[44] Nonetheless, because he maintained the practice of studying the art and architecture of the 'early Croatian' period together, he discussed the examples of this phenomenon in the same book in which he evaluated Croatian pre-Romanesque art and architecture of the eighth and ninth centuries.[45] Karaman's opinion about the genesis of interlace

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[39] Eitelberger, 1861: 53; Jackson, 1887, 2: 68.
[40] 'where the barbaric hand reduced all the Latin grace to a monstrosity' (Dudan, 1921: 1, 78); he also considered Dalmatian society and art to have always been exclusively Latin and Italian (Ibid. vi).
[41] Eitelberger, 1884: 134-135; Smirich, 1894: 17-19; Gabelentz, 1903: 106.
[42] Jackson, 1887, 1: 265; Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26; 1884: 73-74.
[43] Vasić, 1922: 58, 61, 169; Abramić, 1932: 326-328; Karaman, 1930: 113-115.
[44] Karaman, 1930: 113.
[45] E.g. Chapter 3: 'Interlace sculptures from Old Croatian liturgical furnishings' in Karaman, 1930: 73-117.

sculpture in Croatia was that these motifs originated during the eighth century in northern and central Italy, rather than being indigenous.[46]

'Early Croatian' sculpture was thus seen as dominated by a 'pre-Romanesque' style, the most prominent characteristic of which was the lack of figure sculpture, signifying a decline in carving techniques and a loss of interest in the anatomy of the human form in the region and elsewhere.[47] In contrast, a number of eleventh-century sculptures were identified as displaying signs of the new 'early Romanesque' style since their interlace ornament was subordinated to decoration which revealed a re-awakened interest in classical forms such as human figures, the cymation motif or a characteristic vegetal scroll which Jakšić described as 'intermittent', and deemed 'Romanesque' because of its plasticity.[48]

Since, as Holländer put it, the early middle ages did not produce a 'period style',[49] the sculptures from this period were frequently identified with the early medieval culture that produced them – hence the Visigothic, Carolingian or Lombardic nomenclature. And, being mostly non-figural, they did not lend themselves to the study of their subject matter. Apart from generalizations about the mystical qualities of closed-circuit ornamentation as a symbol of infinity,[50] not much was left to say about the individual pieces apart from the analyses of their formal characteristics. Non-figural sculpture was analyzed and interpreted with the aim of identifying regional schools or workshops and an approximate date of their production. Attempting to establish similarities in the manner of carving and motifs, in other words, their style, has become the accepted practice since the mid 1950s, and has proven to be long-standing among Croatian scholars.

The method, however, was far from new. Stylistic analysis was introduced into art historical studies by Morelli who applied it to Italian Renaissance painting in the

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[46] Karaman, 1930: 86.

[47] Karaman (Ibid. 87-88) noted that the disappearance of the human figure and increased stylization of ornament were evident throughout Europe before the eighth century.

[48] Jakšić, 1981: 30. When Jackson (1887, 1: 264) identified the St Lawrence jambs as Romanesque, and Eitelberger (1861: 25-26; and 1884: 74) did the same with the Sustipan gable, it was on the basis of the stylistic qualities of the vegetal scroll.

[49] Holländer, 1990: 5, 7. He elaborated that 'the idea of style, insofar as it refers to the continual creative output of an era, can only be used here in its most general sense – within narrow limits and in individual cases.'

[50] Pejaković (1996: 135) interpreted it as symbolizing the unity of the Trinity.

second half of the nineteenth century,[51] and it subsequently came 'to be conducted chiefly to produce the enormous compendia that characterized art historical scholarship from the 1920s through the 1950s.'[52] Morelli's method of examining how specific details such as ears and hands were rendered by different Renaissance painters so as to distinguish between their oeuvres and schools was orientated towards connoisseurship and, although controversial from the beginning, it was embraced by archaeologists and art historians interested in classification, and grouping objects according to their chronology.[53]

Thus, when Prijatelj published the one and only study of all figural sculptures from the 'early Croatian' period in 1954, he analysed them exclusively according to 'style'.[54] The same method was applied to all eleventh-century sculptures from Dalmatia by Petricioli in 1960. By comparing the carvings which display similar formal characteristics such as the shape of the mouth, nose and eyes, Petricioli identified two workshops which produced two stylistically different early Romanesque groups of reliefs.[55] He treated the figural and non-figural decoration the same, subjecting both to what he called an 'autopsy': measuring the depth of relief and comparing the animal heads to the human heads.[56] According to him, one workshop was responsible for the carving of the reliefs from three churches in Zadar (Cathedral of St Anastasia, St Thomas and Holy Dominica), and Split and Solin; the other produced the furnishings for St Lawrence's at Zadar and St Mary's at Biskupija.[57] Having established these workshops he proceeded to the issue of dating with caution and fixed the date of the Zadar-Split group to the 1030s on the basis of the inscription on a *ciborium* decorated with animals and interlace from Zadar Cathedral (Fig. 5); the local governor, *Proconsul* Gregory, mentioned in the dedication, also appears in the eleventh-century sources.[58] Although Petricioli did not venture to propose a year or decade for the Zadar-Knin

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[51] Morelli, 1900, 1: 35, 75.
[52] Davis and Quinn, 1996: 15.
[53] For discussions of style see e.g. Schapiro, 1953: 287-290; Gombrich, 1968: 356-360; Sohm, 2001: 1-9.
[54] Prijatelj, 1954: 66-68.
[55] Petricioli, 1960: 7-12.
[56] Ibid. 7-8, 53.
[57] Ibid. 7-11.
[58] Ibid. 7, 17-18.

group, he implied that these reliefs were of a later date, due to their plasticity.[59] His method reveals a tendency to interpret these sculptures in Winckelmannian terms of linear progress and the development of a style from its early phase to its decline.[60]

Petricioli's book had a profound impact on the study of early medieval sculpture in Croatia. First, it created a hiatus; for the next twenty years there was no significant publication on the subject and his own attention shifted towards later medieval art. Second, when the next generation of art historians, such as Jakšić and Jurković, started publishing their studies on early medieval sculptures in the 1980s, it was by applying stylistic analysis to the ninth-century sculpture as well.[61] To date, both authors have identified more workshops and dated their work, following the method of Petricioli which has been deemed successful because it apparently offers a neat chronological and geographical classification of early medieval sculpture.[62]

This approach created a research atmosphere in which only the study of sculptures which could be analysed stylistically to produce results in terms of workshop attribution and date was encouraged and deemed worthy of attention. Because of this, on the one hand, there are large gaps in our understanding of some carvings or even regions while, on the other hand, the most 'famous' sculptures appear in literature accompanied by texts and captions which present their attribution, date and overall interpretation as correct and final.[63] As a consequence, the lack of interest in sculptures that cannot be analysed stylistically means there has been no desire to produce a corpus of early medieval sculpture in Croatia which would serve as a basis for research; meanwhile the lack of critical reading of the published secondary sources has prevented Croatian

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[59] Ibid. 11.

[60] In this line of development, Petricioli (1960: 6) places the early Romanesque sculptures from Dalmatia between the traditionally ornamental interlace carvings and early Romanesque Italian examples, noting that this 'developmental step' was skipped in Italian sculpture. Winckelmann (1969, 3-4: 404) had seen the development of style as 'the progress of art in its transition from the ancient stiff and contrained style to the severe and broad, and then to the powerful, grand and lofty style, we see the artists acquiring more technical dexeterity, and a greater power over their materials,'

[61] Jakšić, 1980, 97-110; 1981: 27-33; 1984: 243-252; Jurković, 1983: 165-184; 1989: 209-215.

[62] Jakšić, 1995: 141-150; 2003: 271-289; 2004: 265-286; Jurković, 2002: 349-360.

[63] E.g. the Quarnero region with the islands of Krk, Cres and Rab tend to be ignored, except by Ćus-Rukonić (1991: *passim*), Skoblar (2006: 59-89) and Jarak (2009: 379-391), while carvings such as those from the Zadar-Solin and Zadar-Knin workshops identified by Petricioli (1960: 6-12) or from the 'Benedictine workshop of prince Branimir', and the 'oeuvre' of the Master of the Koljani panel, both identified by Jakšić (1995: 141-150; 1984: 243-252), appear in exhibitions and publications under these headings. The same occurrs when a new 'hand' is established, for example that of the Master of the Bale capitals identified by Jurković (2002: 349-360).

scholarship from following the major international trends over the last thirty years which have focussed on situating the art in various contexts (for example patronage, gender-roles, socio-economical, or cultural) rather than analysing style.[64]

The longevity of stylistic analysis in the Croatian scholarship can only be understood if it is borne in mind how early medieval art and architecture is studied and taught in Croatia. The first department of History of Art was established in 1878 at the University of Zagreb; this followed the German model of a research university, firmly rooted in the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the time.[65] Until recently, there was no opportunity to study the history of art as a single subject and most specialists in the art of the early medieval period had studied it together with archaeology. Petricioli himself was one of these, and following him, the current professors at the universities of Zagreb and Zadar enjoyed the same academic profile, and so teach modules on early medieval sculpture with an emphasis on stylistic analysis.[66]

Thus, the methodology which originated in nineteenth-century scholarship is still used today in Croatia to analyse both the majority of non-figural and the minority of figural carvings. Since this approach attends only to style, it neglects other aspects of these sculptures, most notably their contextual and symbolic significances which, together with their architectural setting, form the 'sermon in stone.'[67] However, these aspects of Croatian eleventh-century figural sculpture warrant the same attention given by modern scholarship to early medieval sculpture elsewhere, if only because of their rich and complex modes of signification. This study represents a first attempt to redress this situation.

3. SCULPTURES AND METHODOLOGY

3a. Sculptures

There are around thirty figural sculptures from Croatia that have been either plausibly ascribed to the eleventh century or merely perceived as being of that date. They do not form an homogeneous corpus and could be divided into various groups according to

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[64] D'Alleva, 2005: 46; Fernie, 1995: 18-21.
[65] Consisting of faculties and presided over by an academic senate (Clark, 2006: 28-29, 452).
[66] E.g. Igor Fisković, Jurković and Jakšić.
[67] Sauerländer, 2004: iv-v.

their material, state of preservation, geographical provenance, manner of carving, subject or function. The sculptures in question are made of two kinds of stone: limestone and marble; they are almost always damaged, either by being worn or broken into pieces. Today, however, most have been reconstructed and are displayed as such in collections and museums.[68]

All of these sculptures were found in coastal Croatia: approximately ten in Istria and twenty in Dalmatia. Their formal characteristics retain the shallow relief and chip-carving technique used in previous centuries, and are characterized by three-strand interlace patterns, display of animals and vegetal scrolls, alongside stylized figures with disproportionately large heads. In the majority of cases, the subject matter depicted in this manner is Christian: figures of Christ and the Virgin, the evangelists and angels, in narrative scenes or as isolated images. As for their intended function, they fall into two standard early medieval categories: either liturgical furnishings, such as altar chancel screens and ambos, or architectural decoration such as lintels, jambs or capitals.

Not all of these thirty carvings are included in this study, however. First, the reliefs from Istria, such as the ambo from the Church of St Michael at Banjole depicting scenes of Christ's Nativity, the Flight into Egypt and the Resurrection (Fig. 6),[69] the angel from Sveti Lovreč (Fig. 7), and the evangelists from Loborika (Fig. 8),[70] have been excluded, because that region was unrelated to Croatia in the eleventh century. Istria was in fact split between the Dukes of Carinthia and Bavaria and the Patriarch of Aquileia at this time. Second, three figural fragments from Dalmatia – two frieze fragments with human figures from Osor, and a fragment with a head from Ston – have also been omitted from the discussion as their fragmentary state and lack of context

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[68] The reconstruction of fragmented sculptures is affected by arbitrariness in placing the fragments which do not have a shared line of fracture with the adjoining one(s). For example, while the reconstructed *transenna* from St Mary's, Biskupija (Fig. 127) and the reconstructed panel from St Lawrence's, Zadar (Fig. 66) on the one hand consist of logically assembled fragments, they also include ones which were not necessarily originally placed where they now have been fixed.

[69] Mustač, 2009: 411-416.

[70] See also the head from the Church of St Foška at Batvači, and the capital with two figures from the Church of St George the Old, Plomin, both ascribed to the eleventh century. There is some dispute whether three other carvings are of the same date or from the twelfth century: the capital with angels from the Church of St Thomas at Pula, the panel with the figures of St Peter and that with the figure of an orant, both found at Vodnjan.

renders them unsuited to detailed analysis. They are, however, included in the catalogue (cat. nos. 10-11, 19; Figs 9-11).

3b. Methodology

Therefore, the material which has been researched and analysed in this study consists of twenty-two stone sculptures found in ten locations (Fig. 1). Their analysis will be pursued in four chapters organised according to the degree of their preservation and the knowledge of their architectural context. First to be considered, in Chapter 1, are the two screen panels from the Church of Holy Dominica at Zadar (Figs 12-13), which provide an opportunity to establish, as a case study, the methodology which has been applied to the material here. Both panels are almost completely preserved and the church where they originally stood, although demolished, was meticulously documented and has even been reconstructed in its original size (Figs 15-17, 21).[71] Moreover, a number of other, non-figural sculptures were retrieved from the church and taken to the Archaeological Museum, thereby allowing an informed insight into what the interior may have looked like in the eleventh century.

Following this, further figural sculptures with known contexts have been examined: in Chapter 2, the screen panel, capital and portal from the still extant Church of St Lawrence (Figs 64-66) are considered in the light of their relationship with the preserved non-figural sculptures from the site, and their position in relation to the church's interior and exterior. The figural carvings from three other sites are discussed in Chapter 3: the screen gable, window *transenna* and smaller fragments from the Church of St Mary at Biskupija (Figs 121, 127, 140); the screen gable and panel from the Church of St Michael at Koločep (Figs 164, 168); and four fragments from the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin (Figs 152-155). These carvings are grouped together because their architectural setting has been preserved only at the level of the foundations which have been revealed by excavation. Our knowledge of their context is thus affected by the amount of information that can be gained from these excavations and further speculation derived from it. Finally, the sculptures which have no known

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[71] As part of the Permanent Display of Ecclesiastical Art housed at the Benedictine convent of St Mary at Zadar.

architectural or archaeological context because they were discovered re-used in various contexts are examined in Chapter 4: those re-used in later buildings such as the screen gable from Sustipan cemetery at Split (Fig. 204), the panel from Rab (Fig. 195) and the jamb from Knin (Fig. 210), or those re-used in later monuments, such as the panel from the baptismal font in the Cathedral Baptistery at Split (Fig. 173).

As has been noted, the interest of this study lies in the analysis and interpretation of the 'meaning' of the figural sculptures, the case-study of which is presented in Chapter 1. What has been understood as 'meaning' is 'that which is indicated or expressed by a symbol or symbolic action.'[72] As is widely accepted in art historical circles, this question of meaning was at the core of Panofsky's iconographic approach, outlined in 1939 as being concerned with 'the subject matter or meaning of works of art, as opposed to their form.'[73] Following Warburg's school of thought and influenced by Cassirer's notion of 'symbolische Prägnanz',[74] Panofsky developed a methodology which analyzed the content of a work of art at three consecutive levels: that of a straightforward description, followed by an analytical level dealing with the identification of specific sources, and culminating in the final level of 'the meaning which inheres in the overall character of work.'[75] For him, the second level constituted the iconographic and the third the iconological level, which he summarized as an interpretation of 'symbolical values.'[76]

The iconological level, further elaborated by Panofsky as focusing on the 'underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion – qualified by one personality and condensed into one work',[77] has received much criticism because it has been perceived as being too general and leading to 'loose generalizations', to which Panofsky responded by defining the iconological level as the 'iconographical interpretation in a wider sense.'[78] Nonetheless, when in 1983 Alpers re-assessed Panofsky's method as cutting an

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[72] OED: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/115465?rskey=Qvx0vi&result=2&isAdvanced=false#/ (accessed 7 February 2011).
[73] Panofsky, 1982: 26.
[74] Lofts, 2000: 31.
[75] Fernie, 1995: 345.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Panofsky, 1982: 30.
[78] Fernie, 1995: 345; van Straten, 1994: 18.

'iconographic straitjacket for his followers', she criticized it for establishing a practice of searching for meaning in the stories instead of in the pictorial representation itself.[79]

In recent times, the development of the iconographic approach has taken a new turn and, although retaining the search for the visual sources and the relationship between text and image, it has moved on to examine 'the iconography of significances' in a particular geographic context to explain why certain motifs and images were chosen, and by doing that to shed more light on the 'social, cultural and intellectual milieu' in which they were created.[80] It has been used with success in the field of Anglo-Saxon art in England and early Christian Ireland in the last thirty years, most significantly in the works of Ó Carragáin, O'Reilly and Hawkes.[81]

The methodology used in this study is based on Panofsky's iconographic approach of determining the visual and textual sources, and interpreting their potential 'symbolical value' or significance. It includes the research of the sources from the preceding periods, and of the cultural milieu which determined the function and 'meaning' of the sculptures. However, the aim of this study is to reconstruct the context of production in which the eleventh-century Croatian figural sculptures were made, rather than offer a vague generalization which might express 'the essential tendencies of the human mind (....) by specific themes and concepts',[82] and in this respect it is akin to the contextualization applied by Ó Carragáin and Hawkes.

The research undertaken for this thesis into eleventh-century Croatian figural carvings was concerned with the issues of their architectural, social and historical context, and was inspired by questions concerning the possible patrons and intended functions of the carvings. Who would have been able to see them and how do they relate to non-figural sculptures in the same space? What do the results of this research tell us about the society which created and used them? Thus, at the core of the overall analysis lies the investigation of the symbolic significance within three main areas of context: architectural setting, visual and textual sources, and their place in contemporary Croatia. The results also provide more insight into the reasons why and the manner in which the

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[79] Fernie, 1995: 345; Alpers, 1983: 31-42.
[80] Hawkes, 2003: 16, 25.
[81] Ó Carragáin, 1978: 131-147; 1986: 37-43; 2005: *passim*; O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94; Hawkes, 1993, 254-260; 1995: 246-289; 2002: *passim*, especially 128-148; 2010: 1-15.
[82] Panofsky, 1982: 41.

eleventh-century carvings in Croatia represented one of those three areas in which brief flashes of the early Romanesque appeared.

This analysis of the figural sculptures is structured in three stages. The first consists of a critical reading of the scholarly literature in order to examine the data about the evidence of discovery and the existing interpretations of the sculptures. The second focuses on the identification of the visual sources which provide evidence about the appearance of particular motifs or scenes. At this stage, the analysis covers early Christian and early medieval examples alike. The reason for this lies in the fact that eleventh-century artistic production frequently drew upon various sources from preceding periods, such as those from Carolingian and Ottonian art which themselves consciously emulated early Christian and Byzantine examples.[83]

How these sources, models and templates were known or obtained is an issue which is open to speculation in the absence of primary sources informing us about it.[84] This is the case for eleventh-century Croatia and it can be assumed that the channels through which the visual ideas reached the region were either portable objects (such as ivories, reliquaries and manuscripts), produced locally or imported,[85] or examples of monumental art (such as mosaic, fresco or stucco decoration in the churches), seen during travels. Another important consideration which has to be taken into account is the option of hiring craftsmen from abroad, as was the case in Monte Cassino, for instance.[86] For these reasons, the comparative material used for this analysis consists mainly of portable objects and, to a lesser degree, of monumental mosaic or fresco decorations which had exerted a wide-ranging influence on the arts of the period in general.

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[83] Henderson, 1994: 248-273; Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 74, 209.

[84] Fortunatus of Grado purchased golden reliquaries in Constantinople, and sent a chalice to be repaired in Francia, see his will from *c*. 825 in Cessi, 1940, 1: 75-78. The remodelling of Monte Cassino in 1066 by abbot Desiderius (1058-1087) is known from Leo of Ostia's chronicle written before 1099 (*Chron. Cas.* 3.18.26-32: 395-405; trans. in Davis-Weyer, 1986: 135-141).

[85] Desiderius sent one of his monks to Constantinople with the mission to place an order for golden and enamelled liturgical furnishings with the imperial 'facilities', followed by a written order for a pair of bronze doors (*Chron. Cas.* 3.32: 403; trans. in Ibid. 139, 141). Nelly Ciggaar, 1996: 257; Newton, 1999: 254, 312.

[86] Desiderius 'sent envoys to Constantinople to hire artists who were experts in the art of laying mosaics and pavements (*Chron. Cas.* 3.27: 396; trans. in Ibid. 137). Nelly Ciggaar, 1996: 257-258.

The third stage revolves around the potential meaning or symbolical significance of the sculptures. The starting point for the analysis of this aspect of figural decoration has been the study of the exegetical writings of the early Christian and early medieval theologians. The choice of a particular subject or detail decorating the liturgical furnishings in the churches is understood to reflect the desire of the ecclesiastical patron to communicate a specific message to the faithful. As Gregory the Great explained in his often-cited letter to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles, 'what Scripture is to the educated, images are to the ignorant, who see through them what they must accept; they read in them what they cannot read in books.'[87]

It is highly unlikely that these visual instructions were designed by the masons themselves and it seems logical to assume that the persons responsible were the educated members of the clergy,[88] as can be deduced from the letters and poems of Paulinus of Nola in the fourth century.[89] Equally so, the iconographic programme in the fifth-century basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, which depended on the new theological proclamation of the Virgin as the Mother of God at the Council of Ephesus in 435, must have been designed by an ecclesiastical figure familiar with the implications of the newly established doctrine.

How do we know that the eleventh-century clergy in Croatia had access to the writings of the Church Fathers and the early medieval theologians? While the writings of Bede, Rabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus draw on the exegetical works of Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose, showing that they were known in Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian France, Croatia does not seem to have had a single early medieval theologian of the same calibre.[90] In addition, early medieval copies of those

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[87] *Reg. Epist.* 10.9: 874, 'Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa ignorantes vident quod sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt; unde praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.' See also Markus, 1999: 176.

[88] Abbot Desiderius also selected 'the most eager artists' from his monks, and had them trained 'in all the arts which employ silver, bronze, iron, glass, ivory, wood, alabaster, and stone' (*Chron. Cas.* 3.27: 396; trans. in Davis-Weyer, 1986: 138).

[89] *Epist.* 32.10-17: 285-293; *Carm.* 27.512-595: 285-288; trans. in Davis-Weyer, 1986: 17-23. See also Trout, 1999: 151-152.

[90] Gottschalk of Orbais, a monk from Fulda, fled to Croatia from Frankish persecutors who charged him with heresy for his belief in the doctrine of predestination, and stayed at the court of Prince Trpimir from 846-848 (Curta, 2006: 139).

early Christian writers are a rarity in Croatian ecclesiastical archives,[91] possibly due to the country's turbulent history. Nonetheless, written records do confirm that such manuscripts existed; in 1042, the *protospatarius* Stephen is recorded as having donated, among other books, '*tres omelie*' and '*imnaria duo*' to the Monastery of St Chrysognus at Zadar.[92]

Furthermore, three eleventh-century copies of Gregory the Great's *Moralia, sive Expositio in Job* have been preserved in the National and University Library at Zagreb,[93] the Dominican Monastery at Dubrovnik, and the Benedictine Convent of St Mary at Zadar.[94] An excerpt from Jerome's tractate on Psalm 119 was part of *Liber Psalmorum*, now inserted in a later manuscript, which Deacon Maio had written for the Archbishop of Split, Paul (1015-1030).[95] The popularity of Gregory's works continued in the twelfth century, with a copy of his *Excerptiones moralium*, now at the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb, while a copy of Origen's third-century *Super Exodum*, also made in the twelfth century, has been preserved in the Cathedral Treasury at Split.[96]

A similar practice of the circulation of early Christian texts is further reflected in the late eleventh-century Glagolitic manuscript from Krk, *Glagolita Clozianus*, which includes the homilies for Maundy Tuesday and Good Friday written by the Greek Church fathers: John Chrysostom, Athanasius of Alexandria and Epiphanius, translated from Greek into Old Church Slavonic.[97] The reason why the north Dalmatian town of Krk might possess copies of the works of eastern Church Fathers is suggested by the fact that the bishopric of Krk resisted the Church reforms propagated by the Pope and successfully implemented in the rest of Dalmatia, especially Zadar and Split, which fought to eradicate the use of Slavic language in the liturgy introduced to Dalmatia at some point before the tenth century.[98] The Slavic liturgy and books written in the

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[91] Katičić, 1999: 348.
[92] Badurina, 1999: 546; Rački, 1877: 47.
[93] Zagreb, National and University Library, R 4107.
[94] Badurina, 1999: 557, 552.
[95] Zagreb, Metropolitan Library, MR 164A (Katičić, 1999: 352).
[96] Split, Cathedral Treasury, MS 626 (Badurina, 1999: 557).
[97] Fourteen folia are in Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, ms 2476, and two are in Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum, B I/6 (Kopitar, 1834: VIII; Miklošič, 1860: 4; Hercigonja, 1999: 387).
[98] In 925 and 928, the use of the Slavic language in the liturgy was the topic of the two Church synods held at Split in the presence of the bishops of Dalmatia and Croatia, and King Tomislav. They were

Glagolitic script were disseminated by the disciples of Cyril and Methodius who themselves proselytized to the Slavic-speaking kingdoms under the aegis of the patriarch of Constantinople.[99] Thus, it is not surprising that the anti-reformist diocese of Krk would have used translated homilies of Greek theologians rather than Latin authors.

This evidence indicates that eleventh-century Croatian clergy were familiar with early Christian exegetical works. Throughout the early middle ages, ecclesiastical patrons exchanged information and requests about artists and craftsmen, and even obtained craftsmen from abroad.[100] This is a custom that might well have existed between the Dalmatian and Croatian clergy who met on at least three occasions at local synods in the eleventh century.[101]

4. SUMMARY

This represents the context in which the eleventh-century figural sculptures from Croatia have been examined in this study. The appearance of figural decoration in a number of churches at this time sets these buildings apart from a larger number of those which continued to be provided with liturgical furnishings and architectural decoration ornamented with interlace and other non-figural motifs, as was customary in the two previous centuries. The results of this analysis thereby restore to these reliefs a deeper understanding of their contemporary meaning which has been overlooked by the over-simple classifications of traditional methodologies.

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convened by the papal emissary who urged them to discontinue the use of the vernacular language and books in the liturgy (Klaić, 1971: 294; Hercigonja, 1999: 376; Curta, 2006: 197). However, the Slavic liturgy continued throughout the eleventh century and the so-called Glagolitic priests rebelled against the reforms of the Gregorian church in 1064, which was suppressed only in the late eleventh century (Luscombe and Riley-Smith, 2004: 272; Klaić, 1971: 366-374).

[99] Pope John X wrote to King Tomislav that it was not proper to celebrate 'the mass in Barbaric or Slavic language' and that he was dissatisfied that 'the teaching of Methodius' had spread in Dalmatia (Šanjek, 1999: 222; Katičić, 1999: 346).

[100] Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, also brought builders and glaziers from Francia in the seventh century (Bede, *Hist. Abb.* 5: 368. Fortunatus, Patriarch of Grado, employed 'master builders from Francia' in the early ninth century (McCormick, 2001: 256).

[101] Held at Split in 1060, 1069 and 1075, and concerned with the use of the Slavic language in the litugy (Luscombe and Riley-Smith, 2004: 272).

CHAPTER 1

CHANCEL SCREEN PANELS FROM THE CHURCH OF HOLY DOMINICA (ST JOHN THE BAPTIST) AT ZADAR

1.1. INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL SETTING AND DISCOVERY

The first of the figural sculptures to be examined in this study are the carvings on two limestone screen panels from the Church of Holy Dominica in Zadar, today displayed in the local Archaeological Museum.[102] The panels have been dated to the eleventh century and the arguments for such a date are discussed below.[103] Both panels depict scenes that can be identified as relating to the Infancy of Christ: the Annunciation, Nativity and Adoration of the Magi on Panel 1 (Fig. 12), and the Massacre of the Innocents, Flight into Egypt and, possibly, part of a Baptism scene on Panel 2 (Fig. 13).[104]

The Church of Holy Dominica was located within the medieval city walls in the southern part of Zadar peninsula, close to one of the minor gates (Fig. 14). Although demolished in 1890, the church is well documented thanks to the architectural drawings by Hauser, Errard and Smirich, who carefully measured and recorded its crypt, ground-plan, cross-sections and exterior while it was still standing (Figs 15-17).[105] Errard's drawings show the north wall with the entrance to the church, while Smirich made drawings of the south wall with the bell-tower.[106] Smirich also had the decorative stone elements transported to the Museum.[107]

The ground-plans reveal that the Church of Holy Dominica was a rather short, aisled basilica with two rows of columns, and an eastern end which consisted of a square central and two semicircular side apses, not visible from the exterior (Fig. 16). The intercolumnation between the columns was not uniform; that between the first and

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[102] See cat. no. 20a-b in the Appendix.
[103] Section 1.2 and 1.5.
[104] Petricioli, 1960: 20; Karaman, 1957: 197-207.
[105] Vežić, 1999: 7; Hauser, 1895: 155-157; Errard and Gayet, 1890, 4: Pl. 19; Brunelli, 1913: 252-253, Figs 98-100. Hauser recorded the ground-plans of the church and crypt, and cross-section of the church in 1879.
[106] Errard and Gayet (1890, 4: Pl. 19) also made two cross-sections.
[107] Vežić, 1999: 9, n. 17.

second column from the east was the widest, which might indicate the position of a central dome, since the vaulting above this bay recorded by Errard and Hauser was not original.[108] Apart from this, the rest of the interior was vaulted with groin-vaults. Hauser also documented the cross-shaped plan of the crypt below the church (Fig. 17).[109] Because this was not fully underground, the floor of the church had to be raised above the level of the medieval street.[110] It seems that the builders did not continue excavating once they reached the level of the Roman street and its pavement, which Bianchi saw in the crypt.[111] Since the difference in height between the Roman and medieval street levels was only 150 cm, the upper part of the crypt had to be above ground.[112] Hauser's ground-plan shows a flight of steps leading from the street to the raised terrace along the north wall with the entrance to the church, and the bell-tower attached to the south wall (Fig. 16).[113] The exterior walls were articulated with pilaster strips and arched corbel tables below the roofs of the aisles.[114]

These architectural features are commonly associated with the early Romanesque style,[115] which in Croatia is deemed to have been particularly fruitful and reflected in two morphologically different groups dated to the eleventh century. One is that of 'the international basilican architecture' characterized by longitudinal aisled basilicas with three semicircular apses, mainly monastic and associated with the reformed Benedictines.[116] The other group, which includes the Church of Holy Dominica, evolved from apparently local Byzantine-inspired traditions.[117] Because of the perceived dependence of this group on previous local building, authors such as

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[108] Marasović (1978: 93) suggested the dome might have originally been there and Vežić (1999: 10) agreed.
[109] Hauser, 1895: 156, Fig. 7; Vežić, 1999: 10.
[110] Vežić, 1999: 9.
[111] Ibid.; Bianchi, 1877: 414.
[112] Vežić, 1999: 9.
[113] Hauser, 1895: Fig. 6.
[114] Errard and Smirich made drawings of the north and south wall respectively (Vežić, 1999: 9).
[115] Conant, 1978: 107-120; Vasić, 1922: 60; Karaman, 1930: 56; Petricioli, 1990: 42; Marasović, 1994: 92; Jurković, 2000: 87; Goss, 1987a: 137-140.
[116] Such as St Peter at Supetarska draga on the island of Rab, and St John at Biograd (Karaman, 1930: 62-69; Jurković, 1992: 39-41; 2000: 85-86, Fig. 1).
[117] E.g. SS Peter and Moses at Solin, St Lawrence at Zadar and St Nicholas at Split (Vežić, 1999: 13; Jurković, 2000: 87-88).

Marasović and Petricioli prefer to see it as pre-Romanesque while also being aware of its early Romanesque features.[118]

Vežić suggested the basilica might have been three bays longer (Fig. 18), arguing that the west wall drawn by Hauser and Errard was too thin to represent the original façade.[119] He also noted that the crypt has been preserved to date, albeit still unexcavated and unresearched, and, following Brunelli, that it might have had tomb chambers located in the corners between the barrel-vaulted arms of the cross.[120]

Apart from these studies of the church's morphology and style, there has been no consideration of its original function, perhaps due to the fact that there are no archival records about the establishment or building of the church. Nonetheless, the results of the analysis of the figural sculptures from Holy Dominica in relation to the socio-political circumstances in the eleventh-century Zadar will show an interesting connection between the church and the Madiis, the most prominent family of the time, which may suggest that this family may have originally endowed the church.[121]

Although the church is first mentioned only in the fourteenth-century documents from the local archives, a local tradition recorded in the late nineteenth century by Bianchi placed the origin of the church in 390 under Bishop Sabinianus, and identified it as a depository for a number of relics that were deposited during the barbaric invasions of the seventh century.[122] Brunelli also held that an older, Roman building underlay the medieval church but he did not suggest that the building in question was an early Christian church.[123] However, an early Christian impost block was found re-used as a spolia in the Church of Holy Dominica, which may point to the existence of an earlier church on the site.[124]

Moreover, these fourteenth-century documents record the original dedicatee of the church as St John the Baptist,[125] which also indicates a possible early Christian

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[118] Marasović, 1994: 92, 199; Petricioli, 1990: 42; Petricioli, 1975: 111-117. For discussion of the 'Romanesque' see section 1a.
[119] Vežić, 1999: 10-11.
[120] Brunelli, 1913: 256; Vežić, 1999: 9.
[121] Goss (1987a: 139) hinted at the connection. See also below, section 1.5.
[122] Bianchi, 1883: 390; 1877, 1: 414.
[123] Brunelli, 1913: 256.
[124] Vežić, 1999: 9.
[125] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413; Jackson 1887, 1: 265; Brunelli, 1913: 258. The church is also mentioned as *S. Iohannis de Pusterla*, *S. Ioannis ad scalas lapideas* after the name of the nearby gate (Pusterla), the stone

origin, as the Baptist was one of the most popular titular saints of Dalmatian churches in the fifth and sixth centuries.[126] This original dedication was confirmed in 1302, when two wealthy Zadar families, the Grisogono-Bortolazzi and the Soppe-Papali, established a benefit which was paid to the chaplain to say mass and vespers in the church on the Feast of St John the Baptist.[127] In the early fifteenth century, the church acquired a new function as the seat of the blacksmiths' and tinkers' guild and although this had an altar to its patron saint, Eligius, installed there, the original dedication was retained.[128] In fact, the dedication to Holy Dominica, a local abbreviated form of 'Mater Domini' or 'Dominica mater', originated only in the sixteenth century when an icon of the Virgin and Child was transferred here from the demolished Church of St Mary of Varoš, outside the city walls.[129] By the late nineteenth century, the church was deconsecrated and had become the private property of a local noble family who had it demolished to make way for a house.[130]

The catalogue of the medieval monuments in the Archaeological Museum, published by Smirich in 1894, records that the proprietor had donated six columns with capitals and imposts, as well as all the sculpted fragments found built into the exterior walls or re-used as building material.[131] Elements of the architectural decoration were also sent to the Museum, including fourteen complete impost-blocks extracted from the walls, where they had supported the weight of the vaults, and the lintel and jambs of the main portal, all of which are decorated with interlace patterns (Fig. 19).[132] The panel with the Nativity, Shepherds and Magi, brought into the Museum in 1887, had been

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steps of the church and the blacksmiths' guild which was still using the church in the eighteenth century (Vežić, 1999: 7, n. 1).

[126] Chevalier, 1995, 1: 39.

[127] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413; Brunelli, 1913: 259.

[128] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 414; Brunelli (1913: 256, 264, n. 55) stated that the guild met in the hall added to the west of the church. The blacksmiths used the church until the eighteenth century, and it was sometimes recorded as *S. Ioannis fabrorum* (Vežić, 1999: 7, n. 1).

[129] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413; Brunelli, 1913: 258; Vežić, 1999: 7.

[130] The church belonged to the Stermich di Valcrociata family (Smirich, 1894: 17). Jackson (1887, 1: 266) recorded the crypt serving as a basement and the church as a 'hayloft'. Hauser (1895: 158) and Brunelli (1913: 259) mention it being used as a carpenter's workshop.

[131] Smirich, 1894: 17, cat. nos. 3-16, including two impost-blocks from double-lighted windows and various fragments of decorated friezes, slabs, window and colonette.

[132] Ibid.

built in the exterior of the church.[133] According to Bianchi, it was in the south wall, and although it is not seen on the drawings made by Errard and Hauser, it may be the case that the panel was not visible from the angles they chose for their drawings.[134] In the Museum, the panel joined that with the scenes of the Massacre and Flight, which had been acquired in 1880.[135] While Smirich and Hauser had identified Holy Dominica as the provenance for this latter fragment, Petricioli stated that it had been found during the demolition of a house, the location of which was not recorded.[136] The Annunciation fragment was discovered during the demolition of the church itself in 1890.[137]

In 1954, Petricioli reconstructed Panel 1 from the Nativity and Annunciation fragments. As he noted, their dimensions, shape and the workmanship of the edges are consistent with the usual form of chancel screen panels.[138] The right edge of Panel 1 and the left edge of Panel 2 both have vertical tenons by means of which they had been inserted into the mortises of the screen pillars. One of these, decorated with interlace ornaments, now at the local Archaeological Museum, was found in the Church of Holy Dominica and Petricioli proposed it might have been the pillar that linked the right end of Panel 2 to the south wall of the church.[139] On this assumption, he published a reconstruction of the chancel screen and placed it immediately in front of the first pair of columns (Fig. 20).[140]

The interior of the church with its decoration in the form of casts, including those of the two panels, was reconstructed as part of the Permanent Display of Religious Art housed in the Benedictine Convent of St Mary in 1971 (Fig. 21).

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[133] See report in *Mittheilungen* 13 (1887: CLXXV); Smirich, 1894: 17, cat. no. 2; Hauser, 1895: 158; Jackson, 1887, 1: 265.

[134] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413; Errard and Gayet, 1890, 4: Pl. 19; Hauser, 1895: 156-157, Figs 6-8; Brunelli, 1913: 253-259, Figs 98-100; Vežić, 1999: 9-10.

[135] See reports in *Mittheilungen* 6 and 7 (1880: LXXX; 1881: XIV); Smirich, 1894: 17, cat. no. 1.

[136] Petricioli, 1960: 18. The information is taken from *Mittheilungen* 6 (1880: LXXX).

[137] Petricioli, 1960: 18. First published by Smirich, 1894: 18, cat. no. 14 as: 'Frammento di bassorilievo rapp. due figure divise da colonnine e sottostante fregio simile a quello sub. n.o 1 e 2.'

[138] Smirich, 1894: 18.

[139] Ibid. 22, 24. The pillar has a vertical mortice on the left, while its right edge was left rough, implying that it was not exposed. The only position which corresponds to this arrangement of the pillar with a panel to its left and an unexposed right end is the position next to the south wall. The right-hand side pillar of Panel 1 would have had a polished right end because its position at the opening of the screen would make it visible. Petricioli ascribed a damaged fragment with interlace decoration found in the church to this pillar, and proposed the same for two other fragmentary pillars of unknown provenance but with similar decoration.

[140] Ibid. 27, Fig. 5.

1.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND DATING

Being so highly decorated with figural ornament, and so comparatively well preserved, the Dominica panels have attracted considerable scholarly attention, focusing mostly on the issue of dating, since the second half of the nineteenth century. Until 1880, only the fragment with the scenes of the Visitation, Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi was known, being visible in the south exterior wall where Bianchi saw it.[141] The use of *spolia* might imply that, as stated by Brunelli, this section of the church was remodelled in the early eighteenth century when the blacksmiths' confraternity purchased a house to the south of the church and linked it to the south aisle, while also adding a sacristy to the north.[142]

However, if Kukuljević-Sakcinski saw the large fragment of Panel 1 in 1854 when he visited the church, he did not mention it, referring only to broken and scattered fragments, which he believed to be of a tenth or eleventh century date, inside the church.[143] It is difficult to imagine which fragments these were, since no other visitor mentions them and all the fragments transferred to the Archaeological Museum after the demolition of the church were recorded as having been extracted from the walls.[144] Thus, it was Eitelberger who first described the Nativity fragment built in the façade.[145] Although Panel 2 had been discovered in 1880, it was not linked to the Nativity fragment, until Jackson identified the panels as belonging to the same monument: 'the front or back of the same altar'.[146] Eitelberger had published Panel 2 as the side of a sarcophagus, which was accepted by Bulić.[147] The initial confusion as to whether the panels belonged together and what type of monument they formed was resolved when the Nativity fragment was extracted and brought to the Museum.[148]

[141] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413.
[142] Brunelli, 1913: 256. The window visible in the north wall on Hauser's cross-section and on Smirich's drawing is not original and seems to be Baroque in style; the same can be said about the openings in the ante-room in front of the church and the crypt, which support Vežić's idea (1999: 9-10) that the church was subsequently shortened.
[143] Kukuljević, 1855: 6.
[144] Smirich, 1894: 17.
[145] Eitelberger, 1861: 53.
[146] Eitelberger, 1884: 134-135; Jackson, 1887, 1: 265.
[147] Eitelberger, 1884: 134-135; Bulić, 1888: 37.
[148] The report in *Mittheilungen* 13 (1887: CLXXV).

The scholarship on the panels can thus be roughly grouped into three periods. The first dates from their discovery in the late nineteenth century to the 1920s. This is the time when they were dated early, mostly to the eighth or ninth century, and even considered to be Lombardic. The second period commenced in the 1920s when ideas about their later, eleventh-century date and early Romanesque features were expressed. The third, which centred on analysis of their style, began in the mid-1950s and gained momentum after 1960 when Petricioli published his book on the early Romanesque sculpture in Dalmatia.

1.2i. From Eitelberger to Brunelli (1861 – 1913)

Since Zadar was included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire during this period, the protection and conservation of its monuments was supervised by the *Kaiserlich-königlich Central-Kommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*; many publications on the Dominica panels were either directly dependent on the actions taken by this institution or simply associated with Austria due to the fact that they were found within its political boundaries.[149] Thus, Eitelberger associated Panel 1 with Lombardic reliefs from Cividale and proposed an eighth- or ninth-century date.[150] His early date was accepted in subsequent scholarship: Radić and Kehrer, for example, compared Panel 1 to the eighth-century Ratchis altar from Cividale,[151] while Radić, Bianchi and Bulić also agreed with the early date.[152] Smirich, in his 1894 catalogue of the medieval monuments in the Museum, dated them to the ninth century, which was repeated by de Waal, Gabelentz and Brunelli.[153] Jackson, however, extended the possible date to the tenth century.[154]

In these publications dating was suggested by perceived stylistic comparisons and the iconography of the panels received less attention than the issue of style.

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[149] E.g. Eitelberger's study trip to Dalmatia in 1859, Hauser's documentation of the Church of the Holy Dominica and the purchase of Panel 2 for the Archaeological Museum at Zadar were all funded by the *Centralkommission* and the reports and communications were published in its official bulletin, *Mittheilungen*.
[150] Eitelberger, 1884: 134.
[151] Radić, 1895e: 191; Kehrer, 1909: 100-101.
[152] Bianchi 1877, 1: 413; Bulić, 1888: 37.
[153] Smirich, 1894: 17; De Waal, 1894: 6; Gabelentz, 1903: 106; Brunelli, 1913, 257.
[154] Jackson, 1887, 1: 265; tenth-century date also proposed in Kowalczyk and Gurlitt, 1910, 2: 68.

Generally speaking, Kehrer and Strzygowski considered the iconography to be early and 'Syro-Palestinian'.[155] More specifically, Radić attempted to focus on the Nativity scene and interpreted the chalice-shaped tub as a cradle, the woman attending to the bath as St John the Baptist, and the reclining Mary as the angel announcing the birth to the shepherds.[156] Compared with Panel 1, the iconography of Panel 2 inspired more comment due to the fact that when it was first published the Massacre scene was thought to illustrate the Judgement of Solomon, an interpretation surprisingly tenable even today.[157] A different interpretation was given by Baum, who argued that it depicted the Magi before Herod.[158] Finally, the figure in the last arch on this panel was not universally considered to be St John the Baptist: Rački considered it to be a servant guiding the Holy Family on their way to Egypt, while de Waal suggested it might represent Moses.[159] Nevertheless, despite such discussions, the earlier scholarship on the panels focused on the question of their date and it was this concern that was picked up by subsequent studies.

1.2ii. Towards the Romanesque (1922-1952)

The shift in the administration of Zadar and Dalmatia from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was defeated in the First World War, to Italy in 1920, was reflected in Italian publications on the sculptures between the two wars.[160] Then, after the Second World War and the fall of fascist Italy, when Zadar and Croatia as a whole became part of socialist Yugoslavia, the change is further reflected in Croatian and Serbian publications.

Reflecting such political shifts, during this thirty-year period the Dominica panels were no longer regarded exclusively as early or Lombardic carvings. Although Panel 2 had already been labelled as potentially Romanesque in 1880, without being

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[155] Kehrer, 1909: 101; Strzygowski, 1929: 206-205.

[156] Radić, 1890a: 35.

[157] First in the report in *Mittheilungen* 6 (1880: LXXX); Bulić, 1888: 37; Radić, 1890a: 34; Hauser, 1895: 158; Jakšić, 2006b: 100-101.

[158] Baum, 1930: 29, Fig. 24.

[159] Rački, 1893: 213; De Waal, 1894: 6.

[160] E.g. Dudan (1921, 1: vi, 78) saw Dalmatian art as being exclusively dependent on Italy. He did not date the Dominica panels precisely but vaguely alluded to the subject by considering them later than the sculptures from the Church of St Lawrence, also at Zadar, which he saw as the precursors of the portals of the Romanesque basilicas in Zadar and Trogir. See further below, section 2.2i.

linked to Panel 1,[161] the early dating for the pieces was abandoned in the 1920s, with Vasić (in 1922) being the first to reconsider the dating and argue for an eleventh-century date, while also observing their striking similarity with a panel from the Split Baptistery depicting a crowned ruler.[162] Karaman took the process a step further in 1930, supporting the eleventh-century date and considering them to be a local version of a contemporary artistic trend in the West: that of early Romanesque sculptural narrative cycles.[163] Although he was the first to express the idea that the panels belong to the early Romanesque sculpture of the eleventh-century, Karaman did not fail to notice that the new task of rendering a human figure in relief was undertaken by using the 'old' chip-carving technique which had been popular in the previous centuries as the ideal means of presenting interlace sculpture.[164] Karaman's opinions on the date of the panels subsequently oscillated; he next dated them to 1100 before returning to an eleventh-century date, seeing them as the products of two master carvers.[165] The eleventh-century date was also accepted by Bersa and also Cecchelli who found a parallel for the Dominica panels in a relief from Aquileia.[166]

Not everyone agreed with this date, however; Strzygowski and Šeper still sought analogies with Lombardic sculpture from Cividale, while Baum included the panels in his book on figural sculpture from the Merovingian period.[167] Toesca compared the panels to the silver cover of the Vercelli Gospels and to the Rambona diptych, now at the Vatican, and so dated them to the tenth century.[168] The same date is attributed in Valenti's museum guide of 1932 and in subsequent French publications by Vezin and Malraux.[169] Focillon and Jullian, on the other hand, did not date the panels specifically but nevertheless considered them Romanesque.[170] A later, twelfth or thirteenth-century

[161] In *Mittheilungen* 6, 1880: LXXX.
[162] Vasić (1922: 61, 166-168) explained the dating to the second half of the eleventh or early twelfth century as a result of the revival of figure sculpture in Dalmatian arts, particularly in relation to goldsmithing.
[163] Karaman, 1930: 110, 113-114.
[164] Ibid. 113; Hearn, 1981: 30.
[165] Karaman, 1942: 60; 1943: 80-83; 1952: 100.
[166] Both authors attribute them to the early eleventh century: Bersa, 1926: 132-133; 1927: 179-180; Cecchelli, 1932: 187-188, 198.
[167] Strzygowski, 1927: 198-205; 1929: 205-206; Šeper, 1943: 644; Baum, 1937: Pl. 70.
[168] Toesca, 1927, 1: 433-435.
[169] Valenti, 1932: 12; Vezin, 1950: 44-45; Malraux, 1954, Pl. 47.
[170] Focillon, 1931: 52; Jullian, 1945: 17, Pl. 3, Fig. 1.

date was argued by Garašanin and Kovačević and by Radojčić who saw similarities with the thirteenth-century Prizren gospels.[171]

With attention focusing on the date of the panels according to the style of their carving, interpretation of their iconography was not deemed to be particularly illuminating in this period. Valenti, for instance, did not recognize John the Baptist on Panel 2, while Vezin thought the shepherds next to the Nativity on Panel 1 represented the Magi.[172]

1.2iii. Stylistic Analysis (1954-2008)

Following the incorporation of Croatia within Yugoslavia, the second half of the twentieth century saw most studies on the panels being written primarily by Croatian scholars, with discussion on them being limited to less than a dozen writers, with only occasional contributions from Serbian scholars who were inclined to propose a late Romanesque date for the panels. With few exceptions, the focus was again directed towards establishing the date of the sculptures by analyzing the style of their carving. This methodological approach, commonly known as stylistic analysis, was concerned with the purely formal characteristics of the panels in order to compare them to other sculptures with similar characteristics, and establish their provenance, workshop or date.

In 1954 Prijatelj undertook the first systematic stylistic analysis of the panels and dated them to the first half of the eleventh century.[173] He did not analyze the panels in much detail, nor did he seek to establish a workshop. Instead, he compared them to each other and reached the same conclusion as Karaman, namely that the panels had been produced by two hands.[174] Prijatelj even believed the carvers represented two different

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[171] Destroyed in the 1941 German bombing of Belgrade, where they were kept in the National Library (Garašanin and Kovačević, 1950: 181, 216; Radojčić, 1950: 30).

[172] Valenti, 1932: 12; Vezin, 1950: 44-45.

[173] Prijatelj (1954: 85-88) addressed the divergent opinions on the date of the panels in the earlier scholarship, noting that the panels were attributed to the eighth or ninth century because of their supposedly early Syro-Palestinian iconography, and because of horizontal frieze with a double-strand plait with central pellets, thought to have been characteristic of the early interlace. He correctly argued that these pellets re-appear in the early Romanesque, before pointing out that the argument for a twelfth-century date relied on the 'style' of the upper horizontal border of Panel 2, and the mature character of the interlace itself.

[174] Prijatelj, 1954: 67, 87.

styles overlapping in the same period.[175] According to him, the carver of Panel 1 was more advanced and opened the door to the new Romanesque style, because the figures on that panel seemed more individualised and endowed with more movement, breaking the frame of the arches, as opposed to the figures on Panel 2 which coincide with the opening of the arcade.[176] The carver of this second panel, according to Prijatelj, was conservative and subordinated human figure to the spirit of interlace ornament, typical of the so called pre-Romanesque style.[177] This controversial idea about two 'styles' was soon questioned and dismissed by Petricioli and Karaman, although the latter did not renounce his hypothesis about the two carvers.[178]

However, it was Petricioli who published the first comprehensive study of the panels, conducting a thorough stylistic analysis in his 1960 book; he grouped the early Romanesque sculpture in Dalmatia into several schools on the basis of style, and analyzed the Dominica panels in great detail, arguing again that they were produced by a single carver.[179] He also dated them to the 1030s, when Zadar was governed by *Proconsul* Grgur (Gregory), who commissioned the *ciborium* for Zadar Cathedral with which, according to Petricioli, the panels shared many stylistic characteristics (Fig. 5).[180]

In a truly Morellian fashion, Petricioli identified details, such as almond-shaped eyes, and incised mouths and ears attached to the heads, as belonging to all figures, while observing that the animals and ornaments also share many common features such as the obtuse muzzles and lidless eyes, and double-strand plait otherwise hardly known in Dalmatian interlace sculpture.[181] After examining the sculptures with these similar stylistic characteristics Petricioli grouped them together in a workshop he limited to Split and Zadar, which, apart from the mentioned *ciborium* of Gregory and the Dominica panels, included the *ciborium* from the Church of St Thomas at Zadar, the panel from the Split Baptistery and the fragments from Solin (Figs 152-154).[182]

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[175] For the problem of style and period see Introduction, 1a and 2.
[176] Prijatelj, 1954: 87.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Petricioli, 1955: 73, n. 51; Karaman, 1957: 197-207.
[179] Petricioli, 1960: 18-28, Pls 3-6, Figs 1-2.
[180] Ibid. 7.
[181] Ibid. 7-8.
[182] Ibid. 7. See Introduction, 2.

The date proposed by Petricioli has been widely accepted and this aspect of their study has ceased to provoke scholarly debate. However, his analysis did inspire interest in other issues such as visual sources and iconographic details in the years following its publication. Maksimović drew attention to an undated, 'Italo-Byzantine', ivory panel from a private collection in London (Fig. 22), the authenticity of which she did not question, arguing that it might have served as a direct model for Panel 2.[183] Considering the double-strand plait on the Dominica panels an ornament of Coptic origin, she sought eastern influences for it.[184] Karaman disagreed with her suggestion that the ivory was the model for Panel 2, arguing conversely that the absence of the figure of St John the Baptist on the ivory suggests that it must have been produced after Panel 2 had already been shortened, and that the panel served as a model for the ivory.[185]

Petricioli has published his ideas repeatedly since 1960, articulating them in almost identical words and, after the debate with Karaman and Prijatelj on the issue of two carvers and two 'styles' subsided, most other authors have done the same.[186] Since Petricioli's dating of the panels, they have not been subjects of an individual study. Indeed, the canonical status of his book is responsible for the fact that the results of his research are still being more or less repeated in the catalogues of every major exhibition which has displayed the Dominica panels in the last twenty years. The same can be said about the general overviews published with quality reproductions by Gunjača and Jelovina.[187] The essays and papers by Jakšić, Jurković and Vežić alike also rely on Petricioli's dating, assessing and reading of the panels, making them cornerstones of their own work, around which they construct their own ideas.[188]

The stylistic qualities of the Dominica panels outlined by Petricioli such as round faces of figures and animals alike, disproportionately large heads with small ears and incised mouths, together with the manner of carving such as the shallow relief and

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[183] Maksimović, 1961: 88. The ivory was published by C. B. (1937: 104-105) as an 'Italo-Byzantine panel' purchased by the owner from a dealer in antiques in Perugia.
[184] According to Maksimović (1961: 68, 90) early medieval sculpture in the Mediterranean represents an amalgamation of the traditions of Antiquity, local variants and eastern influences.
[185] Karaman, 1962: 130.
[186] Petricioli 1983: 12-16; 1967: 160-162; 1990: 57; 1999: 482-483; Montani, 1966: 18-19; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 48-49, 103-104; Jelovina, 1989: 56-57; Lukšić, 1990: 148, 309; I. Fisković, 1991: 27, 41; Jurković, 1992: 106, 108-109; Belamarić, 1996: 361; Petricioli, 1999: 475-491; Jakšić, 2006b: 98-103.
[187] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 102-103; Jelovina, 1989: 56-57.
[188] Jurković, 1992: 38-39; Vežić, 1999: 11; 2001: 7, 12, 16; Jakšić, 2008, 1: 134, 136, 146, 148-149.

stylized vertical folds of the figures' clothes, were responsible for comparisons with a number of eleventh-century sculptures from Italy, France and Spain. These include the panels with Christ's miracles from Aquileia (Fig. 23), the reliefs from Saint-Génis-des-Fontaines (Fig. 24) and Saint-André-de-Sòrede, as well as the non-figural fragments from Venice, Torcello and Ravenna, and façade sculpture from Pomposa in particular (Fig. 25).[189] As mentioned, Hearn also noticed the early re-appearance of figure sculpture in Dalmatia and the stylistic similarities with the Roussillon carvings but he interpreted them as isolated early Romanesque experiments of unrelated provincial carvers.[190]

Apart from the stylistic analysis, Petricioli's book also outlined the iconographic importance of the panels and his explanation of this aspect of the carved scenes has also been accepted by later scholars. He attributed most iconographic details to Eastern schemes, especially Syrian, such as the standing Virgin in the Annunciation;[191] the Visitation scene with Mary and Elizabeth embracing;[192] and the Nativity with the Virgin reclining on a stylized bed.[193] Petricioli noted the unusual position of the angel belonging to the bathing episode below the Nativity scene and explained that this may have been inspired by a Baptism scene where angels hold Christ's clothes, which may have served as a model for the Nativity on Panel 1.[194] In addition, he recognized the Massacre scene, with the soldier ready to dash the child to the ground rather than stabbing it with a sword, as an iconographic rarity and cited a late fifth-century ivory relief from Milan depicting the same scene as comparative material.[195] However, he did not do the same with the scene of the Flight into Egypt because apart from identifying

[189] Petricioli, 1960: 9.
[190] Hearn, 1981: 26-27.
[191] Petricioli, 1960: 19, 22, quoting Millet, 1916: 67-92. He also noted the spiral fluting of the columns framing this scene, suggesting that they emphasize the architecture in which the event is taking place.
[192] Petricoli, 1960: 19, quoting Mâle: 1953, 58-59. He identified the taller woman with a veil as Elizabeth, and the slightly shorter, long-haired, figure as Mary. It seems more plausible to argue that the veiled woman is the Virgin Mary, since the veil is a standard part of her costume and present in other Dominica scenes e.g. the Adoration of the Magi and Flight into Egypt.
[193] Petricoli (1960: 19) did not consider her to be wearing a veil, but rather saw her crowned with a tiara.
[194] Ibid. Petricioli substantiates his argument by considering the angel to hold clothing.
[195] Petricioli, 1960: 20, quoting Datzel, 1894: 233, Fig. 102.

the tree behind the donkey as a palm tree, he did not explain the scene any further or link it to any specific iconographic tradition.[196]

Thus, although Petricioli's study has been deemed to provide a plausible date for the panels, through a broad-based stylistic and iconographic analysis, much of the iconographic history of the images, their symbolic significances and the iconographic role of the panels within the church still remain unexplored.

1.3. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

1.3.1. PANEL 1

1.3.1i. The Annunciation

Turning to consider these aspects of the scenes on Panel 1, the Annunciation scene can be regarded as one of the most important in the Christological cycle as it signifies the moment of Christ's conception and therefore the incarnation of the Word. As such it has a well established tradition, reflected in the wide variety of iconographic types which depict different postures, settings, gestures and details.[197] The Annunciation scene on the Dominica panel (Fig. 26), which features the Virgin standing on the right and Gabriel approaching her from the left (which Petricioli regarded as Syrian iconographic traits) can be seen in the sixth-century eastern examples such as the Rabbula Gospels from Mesopotamia,[198] and on the Palestinian oil flasks, today at Monza (Fig. 27).[199] More specifically, however, Schiller argues that such examples reflect Constantinopolitan models, stating that the standing figures of the Virgin and Gabriel, although no longer surviving, are recorded as having featured in the sixth-century mosaics of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the imperial mausoleum, at Constantinople.[200] Furthermore, the scheme proved to be popular in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art, especially in Constantinopolitan art of the ninth century, such as the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary,[201] and

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[196] Ibid.

[197] In the earliest scenes the angel approached the seated Virgin from the right; in the sixth century, they exchange places and the angel is on the left (Schiller, 1971, 1: 36; Millet 1916, 67-69).

[198] Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I, 56, fol. 4r; Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 70.

[199] Schiller, 1981, 1: 47; Grabar, 1958: Pl. 5.

[200] Ibid. The mosaic was described in the twelfth century by Nikolaos Mesarites: 'she has just now risen from the little pallet ... her whole posture is erect as when one is about to listen to royal commands' (Downey, 1957: 877).

[201] Opinions differ as to the date of this reliquary. Schiller's (1981, 1: 47, Fig. 156, n. 31) seventh- or eighth-century date relied on Rosenberg (1924: 65, 67) and Lucchesi Palli (1962: 250-267). However,

the two reliquary crosses from Pliska and Vicopisano closely related to it (Figs 28-29).[202]

In these examples, because the Virgin was understood to have been occupied with weaving when the angel arrived, she is shown holding a spindle in one hand while the basket with the wool lies nearby.[203] In many cases, however, she holds the spindle in one hand without the thread even extending from the basket, suggesting the spindle functions as an attribute, rather than a sign of her occupation.[204] An early exception to such depictions can be found in the Annunciation on the front right column of the *ciborium* in St Mark's in Venice, believed to be of the fifth- or sixth-century date and also of Constantinopolitan provenance.[205] Here, both figures stand empty-handed and each of them occupies a separate arched niche.[206]

Interestingly, with the adoption of the standing Annunciation Virgin in Carolingian and Ottonian art of the West,[207] she is also frequently depicted empty-handed and extending her hands towards the angel in the gesture of greeting.[208] This pose of the Annunciation Virgin was particularly favoured in Ottonian manuscripts and sculpture; it features already in the tenth-century examples such as the Gospels of Otto III,[209] and was adopted widely in the eleventh-century, as can be seen in the *Codex Aureus* of Echternach of 1031 (Fig. 30).[210]

Kartsonis (1986: 117, 123, Fig. 24) convincingly dated it to the ninth century, which has been accepted in the recent publications (Evans and Wixom, 1997: 74, 331-332; Vassilaki, 2000: 42; Thunø, 2002: 20, Pl. 6, Fig. 5). Dontcheva-Petkova (1976: 59) was the first to argue for a later date, when she published the Pliska cross.

[202] These crosses have the Virgin on the left-hand side; their date is discussed in Kartsonis, 1986: 109, 117, 120, Figs 25-26.

[203] Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 68, 71-75.

[204] In the eleventh-century Prüm Gospel, Manchester, John Rylands library, Cod. 7, fol. 137v (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 80). Earlier examples include the eighth-century Genoels-Elderen ivory and the tenth-century ivory from John Rylands library, Manchester (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 9, 18-19, Pls 2, 14, Fig. 27).

[205] See Weigel, 1997: 305, 91, for contemporary research and historiography. The date and provenance of the columns have caused much dispute. They were regarded as having all been produced in the thirteenth century, or, that only the rear two were carved then to match the two front late antique columns, thought to have been brought to Venice after the 1204 sack of Constantinople. The columns depict the lives of Mary (left) and Christ (right) in a series of superimposed arches.

[206] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1924, 1/2: 2259, Fig. 763.

[207] Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 425.

[208] Schiller, 1971, 1: 38.

[209] Ibid. Fig. 82. Also, tenth-century Reichenau ivory (Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 428-429, Fig. 2).

[210] In it, she is on the right (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: Fig. 126). See also eleventh-century Fulda sacramentary, where she stands empty-handed on the left (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: Fig. 92)

Turning to the figure of Gabriel, in early Christian and early medieval art he is usually depicted carrying a staff in one hand and holding up the other in the orator's gesture to announce the incarnation to Mary.[211] Gabriel is always shown as a young beardless man. In the earliest depictions in the catacombs he does not have wings or a nimbus, but he is seldom depicted without them in the later periods.[212] Gabriel's attire always consisted of a long tunic and over-garment, while he can sometimes wear a band or a diadem in his hair to signify his status as an archangel.[213] He can be shown either alighting, with a bent knee, or on his tiptoes;[214] or standing still with both feet on the ground as on the Dominica panel (Fig. 30). The staff the angel holds in his hand, as an attribute of the messenger, can be plain or terminate with a lily flower or a cross.[215]

While Gabriel usually makes a speaking gesture with one arm extended towards the Virgin, her gestures can vary. Depending on the reaction of the Virgin – she usually expresses astonishment, submission or confusion – her hand can be placed flat across her chest or with the palm out-turned. In the early middle ages, examples of the spinning Virgin show her free hand extended towards the angel in the act of greeting or beckoning or also with the palm out-turned as a sign of her awe.[216] Alternatively, as noted, some Ottonian Annunciations show the empty-handed Virgin greeting the angel with both hands.[217] According to Schiller, the variety of the Virgin's gestures from the ninth to the eleventh century focuses on the greeting while after the eleventh century attention gradually moves towards the conversation between the Virgin and the angel.[218]

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[211] The orator's gesture was depicted from the fourth century onwards in frescoes in the catacombs of Priscilla and Santi Marcellino e Pietro, Rome (Schiller, 1981, 1: 45).
[212] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 75.
[213] Ibid.; Schiller, 1981, 1: 50.
[214] Schiller (1981, 1: 46, 49) saw these two poses as representing the angel walking or hurrying towards the Virgin and noted that 'the striding gait is retained in Byzantine art and occurs widely, although not always so markedly, in western images too.'
[215] Gabriel holds a staff with a cross in Carolingian art, while later the staff can have a lily terminal (Schiller, 1981, 1: 49). However, there are examples when he does not have one, e.g. the tenth-century Gereon sacramentary, or the eleventh-century ivory portable altar in the Munich (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 83; Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 47, Pl. 44, Fig. 153a).
[216] Schiller, 1971, 1: 38.
[217] Ibid. 38.
[218] Ibid. 38-39.

An architectural setting is also very common in Annunciation scenes given the textual accounts of the event which place it in the house of Mary[219] and thus the settings vary from simple stylized pediments on columns[220] and canopies,[221] to depictions of the house[222] or even basilican structures.[223] And, as Kirschbaum has demonstrated, Carolingian and Ottonian depictions always show some form of stylized architecture, whether it is an aedicule, palace or entire town.[224] Ottonian Annunciations, however, frequently take place in an exterior setting, surrounded by elaborate architectural features which represent basilica as well as town walls and turrets.[225] The architectural structures were depicted as seen from the outside and indeed, as Maguire recently observed, the iconography of the Annunciation Virgin already shows her before a building in the sixth-century, a feature that becomes standard in medieval Byzantine art.[226]

These iconographic sources show that the standing figures in the Annunciation scenes and the placement of the Virgin on the right originated in sixth-century eastern art and gained popularity in Ottonian art. While the angel usually makes the gesture of speech with his hands, variations in his posture being expressed through the movement of his legs, the Virgin can gesticulate in a number of ways depending on which of her reactions it was required to illustrate. The presence or the absence of a spindle also contributes to the modulation of her role as a handmaiden or the surprised Virgin who would become the Mother of God. The architectural features in the Annunciation scenes proliferate in Carolingian and Ottonian art and depict the setting: Mary's house or the entire town of Nazareth.

[219] Luke 1: 26-38; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 185. Also Protoevangelium of James 11; Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 9 on: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08/Page_363.html; http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.v.x.html (both accessed on 29 September 2008).

[220] Sixth-century *cathedra* of Maximianus (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 71); the aedicule on the late ninth-century ivory casket in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 35, Pl. 27, Fig. 67a).

[221] Tenth-century ivory casket in the Louvre (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 74); ninth- or tenth-century ivory in the Herzogliches Museum, Braunschweig (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 53, Pl. 45, Fig. 96d).

[222] Sixth-century Rabbula Gospels (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 70).

[223] Sixth-century mosaic from Poreč cathedral and the eighth-century Genoels-Elderen diptych (Ibid. Figs 72, 75).

[224] Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 425-426.

[225] E.g. late tenth-century Gereon Sacramentary and the Saxony Gospels; the early eleventh-century bronze doors of Hildesheim Cathedral, and the eleventh-century Prüm Gospel (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 80, 81, 83; Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 428-429, Fig. 3). Elaborate architecture in these Annunciation scenes represents Nazareth.

[226] Maguire, 2006: 390, quoting Millet, 67-92. He also noted that the Virgin was rarely shown indoors.

On the Dominica panel, the Annunciation clearly shows the angel approaching the Virgin from the left. His right foot is on the ground and depicted frontally, while his left foot is in profile, indicating that he is walking towards the Virgin, therefore both his feet are on the ground (Fig. 26). The angel is empty-handed but is gesturing towards the Virgin, who is not gesturing in speech, and is most likely expressing her initial amazement at his arrival and message. Damage to the panel means the exact position of her hands cannot be discerned, but the preservation of her right elbow, however, indicates that her right hand was placed across her chest and not extended towards the angel as is the case with the greeting Ottonian types. Although it cannot be determined if she held a spindle in one of her hands, which could have symbolized her maidenhood and humility, she certainly did not extend her arms towards the angel in a self-assured manner of greeting the bearer of the news she will confidently accept. Her arms were pressed to or placed against her body, while her right palm may or may not have been out-turned in the gesture of refusal.[227]

Either way, the Virgin's posture and gestures have more in common with the humble handmaiden of the Lord, usually depicted weaving, than with the regal and intellectual Virgin who converses with the angel or has just been interrupted while reading.[228] Similar eleventh-century examples can be found on the bronze doors from Hildesheim (Fig. 98) and on the mosaics from Daphni, where she was provided with a throne (Fig. 31). The contemporary, eleventh-century Annunciations in the east and west, therefore, furnish evidence that the standing Virgin was equally present in both contexts and that the scene on the Dominica panel does not depart from these models.

In the west, however, Ottonian art was not the only possible source of inspiration for the Dominica Annunciation. Eleventh-century art from Italy has been cited on numerous occasions as influencing and furnishing models for Croatian art of the

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[227] Réau mentions these gestures as belonging to Byzantine art under the type of the spinning Virgin. Her out-turned palm symbolizes refusal; if placed across her chest, it symbolizes acceptance.

[228] Schiller, 1981, 1: 52. In Byzantine Annunciations, the empty-handed Virgin was depicted either with both arms spread and extended towards the angel, discussing his mission with him, sometimes even making the orator's gesture; or raising one of her hands across her chest with the out-turned palm gesturing refusal. Millet (1916: 68) links these types with the homilies which present the Virgin as Athena, the goddess of wisdom, or as considering herself unworthy of the charge and initially reacting with refusal. The out-turned palm, however, was combined with the spindle in most examples. The standing Virgin with the spindle proved to be the dominant type in the Middle Byzantine art (Schiller, 1981, 1: 47).

period.[229] And, indeed, in the late eleventh-century Gospels of Countess Matilda, the Annunciation scene has the angel approaching the standing Virgin with one palm out-turned and the other hand placed close to her body (Fig. 32).[230]

As noted by Petricioli, the twisting pilasters of the arch framing the Dominica Virgin are extremely distinctive within the context of the Annunciation scene. An architectural setting in itself is not unusual in these contexts and the textual sources allow for two such settings: the house of Mary and the apocryphal scene at the well, where Mary was first approached by the angel.[231] This implies that the pillars with the spiral fluting, as suggested by Petricioli, were intended to symbolize a specific architectural setting.[232] In a passing comment on this scene, Jurković suggested the pillars represented a temple.[233] He might have been led to suggest this setting because of the twisted nature of the columns, which could allude to those presented to St Peter's in Rome by the Emperor Constantine, in the mistaken belief that they had originally come from the Temple of Jerusalem.[234]

If Jurković did indeed intend to refer to the Temple of Jerusalem, and this remains unclear since he was not explicit on this issue, it would be a very rare instance of the Annunciation set in a space different from those mentioned in the biblical and apocryphal sources. In addition, it might also be disputed because as early as the fourth century, artists knew how to depict Constantinian twisted columns, as evidenced by the Samagher reliquary from Istria,[235] and columns with spiral fluting which were common in late antique, early Christian and Romanesque architecture.[236] Nonetheless, as Fernie noted, spiral columns were frequently 'used to flank important personages' on eleventh-century English panels, and important doorways such as that to Paradise in the eleventh-

[229] Jakšić, 1982: 188-190; 2007: 142-143.
[230] Warner, 1917: 20, Pl. 17; New York, John Pierpont Morgan library, MS M. 492, fol. 58b.
[231] Schiller, 1981, 1: 45.
[232] Petricioli, 1960: 22. The Virgin in the Annunciation scene appeared almost exclusively in front of a building or an architectural structure intended to symbolize a building (Maguire, 2006: 390).
[233] Jurković, 1998: 66. He did not elaborate nor reference this idea.
[234] Ward-Perkins, 1952: 21-33.
[235] Now at the Museo Archeologico, Venice (Cabrol and Leclercq, 1939, 14/1: 1343, Fig. 10429; Longhi, 2006: *passim*; Guarducci, 1978: *passim*).
[236] Fernie, 1980: 49-53; for early Christian columns see Cabrol and Leclercq, 1948, 3/1: 2259, Figs 3150-3151.

century Bernward Gospels at Hildesheim.[237] He concluded that spiral columns represent 'one way (...) of singling out a sanctified or otherwise distinguished area.'[238]

Furthermore, Ousterhout observed that such columns are also found in the sixth-century representations of the aedicule of the rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre, and in Jewish depictions of the Torah shrine.[239] The connection between the Annunciation and the Temple might have been inspired by the Virgin's task to spin purple and scarlet wool for the Temple curtain, which was later torn in two at the moment of Christ's death on the cross.[240] It is this wool that the Virgin was spinning when the angel surprised her at the Annunciation.[241] In that sense, the Temple as the setting would have been purely symbolic, and may have been intended as an expression of the Virgin's worthiness and as a reference to Christ as God Incarnate whose body was regarded as the Temple and which he promised to raise in three days, alluding to his resurrection.[242]

1.3.1ii. The Visitation

Unlike the Annunciation, the Visitation tended not to be depicted individually before the later middle ages, but was always paired with the Annunciation as part of the Infancy cycle.[243] As mentioned previously, Petricioli claimed that the embracing women featured on the Dominica panel (Fig. 26) represented the Syrian type of the Visitation and Réau argued that indeed the type is ultimately of Syrian origin, citing the examples of the Monza flasks (Fig. 27).[244] Kirschbaum also argued for an eastern origin for the type, demonstrating that the oldest known example of the embracing women is a mosaic from the sixth-century Church of St Sergius in Gaza, an image known only from Choricius' sixth-century description of Gaza.[245] Schiller, however, argued that both

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[237] Fernie, 1980: 51.

[238] Ibid. 56.

[239] E.g. the pilgrims' flasks and the undated Capharnaum synagogue (Ousterhout, 1990: 48).

[240] Matthew 27: 51; Mark 15: 38; Luke 23: 45.

[241] Protoevangelium of James, 11: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.iv.html/; Gospel of Pseudo Matthew, 9: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.v.x.html (both accessed on 23 September 2008).

[242] John 2: 19.

[243] Rare exceptions include the eleventh-century Salerno altar front from Salerno and the ivory casket at Munich dated to the tenth or eleventh century (Goldschmidt, 1975, 4: 36; 1969, 1: 54, Pl. 47, 99b).

[244] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 198; Grabar, 1958: Pl. 5.

[245] Elizabeth 'falls on the maiden's breast' (Choricius in Mango, 2004: 64; Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 230). Eastern provenance (Alexandrian) has been proposed for the sixth-century *cathedra* of Maximianus at Ravenna which displays the same type (Mundell Mango, 2009: 358; Baldwin-Smith, 1917: 22-37).

types originated in the West,[246] and indeed, both types are used in Carolingian and Ottonian art.

However, more recently, Thunø has noted that the embracing version represents the type of Visitation most frequently depicted, giving Roman eighth-century examples of the close embrace where Mary and Elizabeth hold each other so that their stomachs touch: namely, the lost mosaic from the oratory of John VII, known from the early seventeenth-century drawings (Fig. 33), and the fresco in the vestibule of the catacomb San Valentino (Fig. 34), which Osborne dated to the first decade of the ninth century.[247] These Roman examples display contemporary influences of the eastern current in Roman art produced under John VII. The close embrace in the Visitation scene on the on the ninth-century silver *Sancta Sanctorum* reliquary (Fig. 35) demonstrates the same tendency.

Outside Rome, the close embrace can be seen on the late eighth-century Genoels-Elderen ivory possibly from Northumbria,[248] while a looser version of embrace is depicted in the late eighth- or ninth-century fresco at Castelseprio, which may display eastern influences.[249] As with the standing Virgin in the Annunciation scenes, the embracing type of the Visitation is frequent in Ottonian art: for example in the tenth-century ivories now at Munich and Berlin,[250] and the manuscripts of the Reichenau school such as the eleventh-century Echternach *Codex Aureus* (Figs 30, 36).[251]

It is clear that the close and loose types of the embrace were employed to depict the Visitation scene from the eighth to the eleventh century in western European art. While the close embrace featured on the Dominica panel may result from the confines of the arch containing them, it certainly conforms to iconographic models circulating in the West during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the embrace itself confirms the

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[246] Schiller, 1981, 1: 65-66.

[247] The basis for such a date is the similarities between the San Valentino frescoes and Pope John VII's frescoes at Sta Maria Antiqua and mosaics in his oratory (Osborne, 1981: 90, Pl. 15; Thunø, 2002: 72, Figs 12, 14). The drawings of the lost mosaic from the oratory of John VII are in the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Barb. lat. 2732, fols. 76v-77; for drawing from the San Valentino catacomb see Bosio, 1632: 576-83.

[248] Webster and Backhouse, 1991: 180-183, Fig. 141.

[249] Weitzmann, 1951: 47, Fig. 8.

[250] Goldschmidt, 1972, 3: Pl. 60, Fig. 303; 1969, 1: Pl. 23, Fig. 52.

[251] Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24, fol. 10v; Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS. 156142, fol. 18v (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: Fig. 126).

message of the Annunciation which preceded it, while also expressing the bond between the mothers of Christ and John the Baptist, the titular saint of the church for which the panels were carved.

1.3.1iii. The Nativity

The Nativity scene which follows the Annunciation and Visitation depicts a reduced version of the complex early medieval version of the scene, inspired by Byzantine art (Fig. 37). The main elements are the Child in the manger with the ox and ass; the Virgin reclining on a mattress; the bathing of the Christ Child; and the shepherds in the adjoining arch. Omitted are the figure of Joseph, the Magi and the architectural setting. The adoration of the manger with the Christ Child by the two animals was the quintessential element of the Nativity and, as an isolated scene, formed the earliest type of Nativity in western art in the fourth century.[252] The manger itself was often depicted as an altar, due to the fourth-century theological interpretations,[253] but it is unclear if this was the case on the Dominica panel: the box-like structure with its triple horizontal bands bears more resemblance to a wooden manger than a stylized altar.

The central figure of the reclining Virgin is a Byzantine motif which originated in sixth-century Palestine where Mary was shown resting from the labours of birth.[254] She is already shown turning away from the manger in early Byzantine examples,[255] and continues to do so when the Nativity includes the bathing of Christ in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, and even when it does not in

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[252] At this early stage, the scene was sufficient to signify the Nativity and neither Mary nor Joseph had to be included. There is also no sign of the actual setting but the stable does appear in the west in the fourth century, and the cave in the East in the sixth century (Schiller, 1981, 1: 70, 72; Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 91). The animals flanking the manger, although not mentioned in the gospels, were included from the fourth century onwards. Réau (1957, 2/2: 228) identifies the sources of the legend: Gospel of Pseudo Matthew and the reference to Isaiah 1: 3 'The ox knows his master, the donkey his owner's manger.' The animals are also prefigurations of the two thieves crucified with Christ. For Gregory Nazianzen, the ox is a Jew tied to the Law and the ass is a gentile (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 228-229; Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 92; Schiller, 1981, 1: 71).

[253] Jerome interpreted 'Bethlehem' as the Hebrew for 'house of bread' and, as Christ referred to himself as the living bread, the manger came to be associated with the altar as the place where the eucharistic bread becomes the body of Christ, the manger thus acquiring a sacramental meaning which proved to be popular in the West and East alike (Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 92, 102, 104; Schiller, 1981, 1: 74).

[254] Schiller, 1981, 1: 72. Réau (1957, 2/2: 219) mentions this as a Byzantine motif but does not specifiy the regions.

[255] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 92.

Ottonian art of the late tenth and early eleventh century.[256] Very few depictions of the bathing scene survive in pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art; those that do are associated mostly with Syria and Egypt, although the exact date of these examples, varying from the seventh to eighth centuries, is a matter of some dispute.[257]

Although no early Christian or Byzantine written sources survive which furnish a textual basis for the bathing episode, pilgrims' accounts of the holy sites in Palestine in the seventh century tell of the stone font in the grotto/cave below the Nativity church at Bethlehem.[258] Certainly, the bathing becomes the standard element of the Nativity scene in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art: in the ninth-century Khludov Psalter (Fig. 38), and the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II, for example, but also in large-scale art such as the eleventh-century mosaics in the Church of Hosios Lukas (Fig. 39).[259]

In the West, the bathing of Christ is a scene that was rarely included in the Nativity prior to the twelfth century,[260] although an early example is found in the already mentioned mosaics of Pope John VII's oratory in St Peter's from 702-705 (Fig. 33).[261] Again, as was the case for the first two Dominica scenes, further parallels can be found in the same Roman examples: the eighth-century frescoes from the catacomb of San Valentino (Fig. 34),[262] which reveal papal predilection for Byzantine iconography, and two early ninth-century reliquaries in the *Sancta Sanctorum* which also have eastern connections.[263] Outside Rome, the bathing scene featured in the ninth-century frescoes of the Nativity at the crypt of abbot Epiphanius at San Vicenzo al Volturno (Fig. 40) and

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[256] Schiller, 1981, 1: 80, 76.

[257] Kirschbaum (1970, 2: 100) mentioned the fifth-century Syrian relief from the Church of San Giovanni Elemosinario in Venice, a damaged carving of uncertain date. Schiller (1981, 1: 75) mentioned a fourth-century relief in Cairo but did illustrate it. Another example mentioned by both is the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary, which they believed to be of a seventh- or eighth-date but which is today considered to be a ninth-century work. As such they belong to the iconoclastic century and show that the bathing scene had entered the Byzantine art by that time; however, Kitzinger (1963: 101) argues convincingly that at that time the bathing scene was 'not yet a normal element in the iconography of the scene.'

[258] Kirschbaum (1970, 2: 100) mentions the bathing in the tenth-century legend by Symeon Metaphrastes, but Kitzinger (1963: 104, n. 40) disputed this, realizing that most authors borrowed the reference from Didron (1845: 158) who did not provide reference to any work by Metaphrastes.

[259] Schiller, 1981, 1: 76, Fig. 157; Demus, 1947: Figs 11A-B.

[260] A twelfth-century example is the bronze doors of the Pisa Cathedral by Bonanus of Pisa.

[261] Andaloro, 1989: 169-177. Only two images of the bathing of Christ from the *Princeton Index of Christian Art* pre-date the eighth century: fragment of a Coptic textile and a gem from Paris (taken from Lawrence, 1961, 1: 329-330).

[262] Osborne, 1981: 82-90.

[263] Thunø, 2002: 30.

Castelseprio,[264] while the only Carolingian bathing scenes are those in the ninth-century Utrecht psalter (Fig. 41) and Drogo sacramentary.[265]

These western examples are unlikely to have drawn upon monumental Byzantine iconographic models, since the only contemporary Byzantine bathing scenes are those on small-scale objects such as the reliquaries from the Fieschi group (Figs 28-29). On the other hand, these works of art, for example frescoes from Castelseprio and the Utrecht psalter, are thought to be based on eastern prototypes or even produced by eastern artists, and so possibly provide a missing link between pre- and post-iconoclastic art of the East and thus support the idea that the motif of the first bath of the Child was borrowed from the East as Kitzinger and Van Dijck both argued.[266]

By the eleventh century, however, the bathing scene had become an essential element in Byzantine Nativities,[267] and had started to permeate western, mostly Italian art: the late eleventh-century gospels of Countess Matilda of Tuscany provide one Italian example of the bathing scene (Fig. 42).[268] Furthermore, the bathing scene on the Dominica panel is not the only Croatian example; the bathing of the Child is depicted on the contemporary panel from the Church of St Lawrence at Zadar (Fig. 100).

However, the Dominica version depicts Christ being bathed by one woman and not two as was customary, although the presence of only one woman was not uncommon in Nativity scenes found on middle Byzantine metalwork objects and manuscripts,[269] where a reduced version was used due to the limitations of space. The two women who usually feature in the bathing scene are identified with the midwives,

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[264] Schapiro (1952: 154) linked the Castelseprio fresco to the mosaic from the oratory of Pope John VII, while Weitzmann (1951: 50) sought a Byzantine model for it. Carbon-dating places the church in the period between late eighth and mid-tenth century (Leveto-Jabr, 1987: 18), although the same author settled for a ninth-century date (Leveto, 1990: 393-394. See also Thunø, 2002: 29-30. For the San Vincenzo al Volturno crypt see Mitchell, 1993: 75-114.

[265] Thunø, 2002: 29-30; Nordhagen, 1961: 333-337. Utrecht psalter illustrates the Nativity three times, all of which exclude the manger and the animals but retain the bathing scene: Psalms 73; 86 (87); Canticle of Zacharias (Utrecht University Library, Ms. 32, fols 42r, 50v, 88v; http://psalter.library.uu.nl/default.asp (accessed on 29 September 2008).

[266] Kitzinger, 1963: 103; presumably Egypt and Syria (Van Dijk, 1995, 52-58, 146-153, cited in Thunø, 2002: 29, n. 56)

[267] Menologion of Basil II, eleventh-century wall mosaics in the churches of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni and Daphni.

[268] Warner, 1917: 20, Pl. 18.

[269] In the eleventh-century Menologion of Basil II; on the ninth-century reliquaries of Byzantine inspiration, e.g. the Fieschi-Morgan, Vicopisano and the *Sancta Sanctorum* it the Vatican (Thunø, 2002: Figs 5, 37; Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 54, 158).

Salome and Zelomi, but in the scene with only one woman, she is believed to be Salome.[270] Limitations of space, however, was not a concern with the Dominica panel as the second woman has been replaced by an angel with covered hands, to the left of Salome and the Child. Even more unusual is the fact that this place was usually occupied by Joseph, seated in contemplation to the left of the bathing scene. The inclusion of the angel is thus extremely unusual. Indeed, its presence indicates that the angel was considered more important to those responsible for the panel than both the second midwife and Joseph.

Although prior to the ninth century the angel is rarely found in Nativity scenes,[271] one or more angels do appear in the complex Nativity scenes as the heavenly host announcing the birth of Christ to the shepherds, but then they are usually depicted above the manger or directly above the shepherds (Figs 43-45).[272] Since there was no space for the angel above the manger on the Dominica panel, and since the Virgin could not have been depicted reclining had the angel been placed in the upper half of the second arch, where his position might have been expected given the direction of the shepherds' gazes and gestures, the angel could have been moved from the upper register and placed next to the bathing scene.

Alternatively, the model which inspired the Dominica panel could have had scenes in vertical registers, where the Annunciation to the shepherds was depicted below the Nativity, as is the case in the eleventh-century Pericopes of Henry II (Fig. 45) and

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[270] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 96; Schiller, 1981, 1: 74. Salome is mentioned in the two apocryphal sources which were popular in the East in the fifth and sixth century: in the Protoevangelium of James, she is not a midwife herself but a woman to whom Mary's midwife reported the virgin birth, who, doubting it, examined Mary, and whose hand shrivelled as punishment; in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the story is different and features two midwives, Salome and Zelomi. Zelomi examined the Virgin, after which she acknowledged the miraculous birth. Salome, on the other hand, did not believe this and wanted to examine the Virgin herself. As a punishment for her lack of faith, her hand dried up. See http://www.gnosis.org/library/psudomat.htm, and http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0847.htm (accessed 1 July 2011).

[271] According to Schiller (1981, 1: 75) only on the sixth- or seventh-century pyx in Berlin and in the frescoes from the monastery of St. Apollo at Bawit.

[272] The angels both above and below the manger are in the St Gereon Sacramentary from Cologne (c. 1000), Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms lat. 817, fol. 13 (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: 123, Fig. 77). One or more angels can be seen on several ninth- and tenth-century ivories of the Ada school: in the Harrach collection, Hradek Castle; Museo Cristiano, the Vatican; John Rylands library in Manchester, which have been compared to the *Codex Egberti* Nativity (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 15, 18-19, Pls 10, Fig. 18; 13, Fig. 26; 14, Fig. 27). Eleventh-century examples include an ivory from Berlin's Bode Museum and a portable altar from Bamberg, Munich Staatsbibliothek (Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 28, 47, Pls 17, Fig. 52; 44, Fig. 153b).

those from Reichenau.[273] Nonetheless, Mayr-Harting points out that these Nativities do not conform to the usual Reichenau iconography, given the prominent role of the angels.[274]

However, the fact that the angel's hands are covered, while every other single figure (except the swaddled Christ) has their hands uncovered, speaks in favour of a conscious choice. Depictions of angels with covered hands, a gesture of respect in Byzantine art and ceremonials, are found in Byzantine art, but rarely in the Nativity scenes; one example is found in the early ninth-century Utrecht psalter (Fig. 46), whose images are based on early pre-iconoclastic eastern models.[275] Regardless of the nature of the model lying behind the angel in the scene, the fact remains that it was deemed essential to include it in the scene. As noted, Petricioli suggested that the angel's covered hands indicated it was borrowed from a scene depicting the Baptism of Christ in which an angel carried Christ's clothes.[276] However, he did not extend his hypothesis to include the partially preserved Baptism scene at the end of Panel 2.

1.3.1iv. The Annunciation to the Shepherds

The scene in the adjoining arch, that of the Annunciation to the shepherds (Fig. 37), forms a natural sequel to the Nativity scene and, as suggested, could have been intended as a part of it.[277] One or more shepherds were included in the Nativity scene from the fourth century onwards, even when Mary was omitted, but it remains unclear if that represented the actual Annunciation or the advance to the manger, led by the angel.[278]

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[273] The angel is below the manger (but also above) in the Pericopes of Henry II (1002-1012), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452, fol. 9 (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 191, Fig. 113). A group of angels is on the ground below the manger because the Annunciation to the shepherds is in the register immediately below in the Reichenau Pericopes, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 84.5 Aug. 2º, fol. 63v (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 192, Fig. 114).
[274] Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 187.
[275] Utrecht University Library, Ms. 32, fol. 88v (http://psalter.library.uu.nl (accessed on 29 September 2008); van der Horst et al., 1996: 5573-76; Dufrenne, 1978: 219; Benson, 1931: 75; Tselos 1967, 344).
[276] Petricioli, 1960: 19.
[277] Carolingian artists always linked the two scenes and in Byzantine art the Annunciation was part of the Nativity. Schiller (1981, 1: 95) allows the possibility of an isolated scene in post iconoclastic Byzantine art, based on a twelfth-century western copy in *Hortus Deliciarum*.
[278] Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 422; Schiller, 1981, 1: 95. In the fourth century they wear typically Roman shepherd's clothes: short garment with a belt and have a staff. They were not part of the Nativty in the fifth century (Schiller, 1981, 1: 70-71)

Nevertheless, the moment of the angelic Annunciation to the shepherds[279] is recorded at an early date in the mosaics of the sixth-century Church of St Sergius at Gaza.[280]

Certainly, the shepherds' agitated gestures, pointing to the upper left, imply that the model lying behind this scene must have included the angel announcing the birth of Christ. However, it is impossible to determine whether the angel, in the model, stood on the hill (Fig. 48) or on the ground (Fig. 47) as is the case in some Ottonian ivories and manuscripts, or whether he appeared to them in the air as he does in a number of Carolingian, Ottonian and Byzantine ivories (Fig. 49).[281] It can only be assumed that since all three shepherds are receiving the news, and not one only as was the case in Byzantine depictions,[282] the model is likely to have been western in origin.

The number of the shepherds could vary from two to five, but three became the usual number from the Carolingian period onwards, possibly to parallel the number of the Magi,[283] and this seems to have been the case on the Dominica panel where three shepherds are depicted as in the Ottonian versions, seen in the tenth-century *Codex Egberti* (Fig. 50) and the eleventh-century bronze doors of St. Mary in Kapitol at Köln.[284] Another analogy between the Magi and the shepherds is reflected in the individualization of the three shepherds when they are portrayed as being of different ages.[285] It is notable that the third and the shortest shepherd on the Dominica slab is clean-shaven, while the other two are bearded, which echoes the situation in the Adoration of the Magi where the third Magus is also beardless unlike the other two. They also wear different garments but neither the long under-garment of the first shepherd nor the short one of the second, along with their cloaks, resemble early Christian prototypes.

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[279] Luke, 2: 11. The account is not found in other gospels.
[280] Choricius in Mango, 2004: 65; Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 422; Schiller, 1981, 1: 95; Mango, 2004: 65.
[281] Ninth-century ivory now at Frankfurt, Stadtbibliothek (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 42, Pl. 31, Fig. 75); eleventh-century examples are: the Farfa ivory casket (Schiller, 1981, 1: 327, Fig. 216) and the ivory from the Bode Museum, Berlin (Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 28, 44, Pl. 17, Fig. 52). For Farfa casket see also Bergman, 1980: 128-130, Fig. 155.
[282] Schiller, 1981, 1: 95.
[283] Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 422; Schiller, 1981, 1: 96.
[284] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 232-233.
[285] This became more customary in the late middle ages (Schiller, 1981, 1: 96).

1.3.1v. The Adoration of the Magi

The last scene on Panel 1 spreads across the three arches to show the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 51). It belongs to the oldest iconographic variant of this episode, which depicts the Virgin with the Child seated in profile, while the three Magi approach them in single file from either left or right.[286] This arrangement was inspired by late antique depictions of conquered barbarian rulers bringing gifts to Roman emperors.[287] Early medieval examples in the West and in middle Byzantine art also adhered to this type, but in post-iconoclastic Byzantine scenes the Adoration was paired with the Arrival of the Magi and added to the Nativity scene.

According to Schiller, when the Virgin does not assume any particular pose, but simply holds the Child on her lap, she is not given particular prominence within the scene; it is the Child who is the focus of the attention, as in the tenth-century *Codex Egberti* (Fig. 52).[288] This is the case on the Dominica panel and seems to be confirmed by the fact that the Virgin is sitting on a cross-legged stool and not on a throne. The divinity of the Child is also accentuated by depicting him as enlarged, with a cruciform halo and raising his hand in blessing, as can be seen in Byzantine, Carolingian and Ottonian depictions alike, for example in the eleventh-century Pericopes of Henry II (Fig. 53).[289]

The number of the Magi is not mentioned in any of the biblical texts, but because three gifts were listed as being presented to the Christ Child – myrrh, gold and frankincense – it became customary to depict the Magi as three in number.[290] Apart from their number, the Magi on the Dominica panel also conform to another iconographic standard: their costumes are associated with their eastern provenance as

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[286] It was already depicted in the third century, in the catacombs of Priscilla and Domitilla, Rome, and is found on many western fourth-century sarcophagi (Schiller, 1981, 1: 110). The second variant was the symmetrical type with the frontally-enthroned Virgin and Child, flanked by the three Magi and an angel. This type originated in Rome in the fourth century but gained popularity in the east in the fifth century (Ibid. 112) While Schiller calls this type the sarcophagus type, Kirschbaum (1968, 1: 541) refers to it as the Hellenistic type.

[287] Schiller, 1981, 1: 110; Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 542.

[288] Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 265.

[289] Ibid. 115, Fig. 267. Here, however, the Virgin is larger than the Magi, welcoming them with her hand, which achieves the opposite effect from the example in the *Codex Egberti* and the Dominica panel. See also the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter and the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II (Ibid. Figs 264, 268)

[290] Schiller, 1981, 1: 106. Six Magi can be seen on medieval frescoes in Cappadocian cave churches from the tenth to the fourteenth century (Ibid.).

they all wear identical combinations of short under-garments and pointed Phrygian caps, which were regarded as Persian.[291] Indeed, the fact that they wear this distinctive head-dress not only points to an ultimately eastern prototype lying behind the figures, but also to its early date.

Although Tertullian first mentioned them as kings in the second century, it was not until the eleventh century that they began to be depicted wearing crowns rather that the Phrygian caps.[292] However, the difference in the age between the last Magus who is clean-shaven and therefore the youngest, and the first two who are bearded, and can be considered older, also accords with eleventh-century Ottonian and Byzantine art where the Magus nearest to the Virgin and Child is generally depicted as the oldest of the three (Figs 54-55).[293] Nevertheless, their different ages and the corresponding arrangement of the three can be traced to the fifth and sixth century Byzantine art, where the first Magus was the eldest and therefore bearded, while the last one was often, though not always, the youngest.[294] In the fifth-century mosaic in the Church of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, for example, the central Magus is the youngest (Fig. 54).

The gifts carried by the Magi on the Dominica panel are depicted as vessels resembling cups. These, like everything else on the Panels, are very stylized and it is difficult to identify what the three triangular shapes emerging from the cups might represent.[295] The Magi were depicted as carrying bowls of various shapes from the fifth century onwards,[296] but cups do feature on two eleventh-century portable altars today at Melk and Munich (Fig. 55).[297]

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[291] The Magi were depicted in Persian costumes from the earliest Christian depictions onwards; being of eastern origin, they were identified with the Persian magi. The knee-length under-garments and slightly longer cloaks clasped at the neck as well as the high Phrygian cap were their standard attributes until the late tenth century, when they began to be depicted wearing crowns and western clothing. The association of the Magi and kings also owes its origin to Persian priest-kings (Schiller, 1981, 1: 106).

[292] In the eleventh century, Cesarius of Arles promoted this view (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 237).

[293] If the middle Magus is also bearded, the first Magus is differentiated from him by a slightly longer or white beard e.g. in the ninth-century Stuttgart Psalter, and the *Codex Egberti* and the Menologion of Basil II, both from the tenth century (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 264, 265, 268). This might suggest that although the first two bearded Magi on the Dominica seem to be of the same age, they were probably not meant to be. The sculptor of the Dominica panels resorts to repetitive stylized formulae and any subtle change in the beard length might have been lost on him.

[294] Schiller, 1971, 1: 101.

[295] It would be logical to expect that they were meant to represent the gifts or the lids of the cups.

[296] Schiller, 1981, 1: 110. In the fourth century they offered wreaths.

[297] Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 40, 47, Pl. 34 (Fig. 104a) and Pl. 44 (Fig. 153d). The suggested provenance for the portable altar from Munich has been the monastery of St Michael at Bamberg.

1.3.2. PANEL 2

The early Christological cycle of Panel 1 continues on Panel 2 (Fig. 13), where the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents chronologically follows the Adoration of the Magi as the last scene on Panel 1. This second panel from the Church of Holy Dominica is, however, better preserved than the first one and the disposition of the scenes is conspicuously different. While each of the seventeen figures and two animals in Panel 1 were adapted to fit the nine arched niches, here, each figure was allocated one niche, while the Virgin on the donkey in the scene of the Flight into Egypt was given two, so that the same number of arches contains (the last arch with one figure is missing) only three scenes featuring ten figures and one animal. Nevertheless, the carving is equally stylized and this suggests that the stylization was not caused by space limitation but by the sculptor's manner of carving.

1.3.2i. The Massacre of the Innocents

The Massacre of the Innocents in the first four arches (Fig. 56) displays King Herod ordering his soldiers to kill all the male infants in Bethlehem under the age of two. Although not commonly depicted, due to the lack of a fixed compositional layout, the earliest scenes of the massacre date from the fifth century,[298] by which time two different methods of murdering the children had clearly been established: the stabbing version involving a sword, and the smashing type.[299] The Dominica scene belongs to this second variant, which was less frequently depicted than the stabbing.[300] It has been suggested that it may have originated in Provence, where it appeared on early Christian sarcophagi,[301] but in the fifth century the smashing type was also illustrated on ivories,

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[298] The number of the figures varies, but the scene always had three main groups: Herod issuing the order, soldiers murdering the children or displaying the bodies before him, and mothers either attempting to protect their children or lamenting their death (Schiller, 1981, 1: 125-126; Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 509).
[299] Schiller, 1981, 1: 125.
[300] The stabbing type is found in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels, the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen, the ninth-century Drogo Sacramentary, and the tenth-century *Codex Egberti* and Gospels of Otto III (Schiller, 1981, 1: 126, Figs 299, 300, 304).
[301] On the sarcophagus from Saint-Maximin Herod even sits on a cross-legged stool. Réau (1957, 2/2: 269) even calls the smashing version the Provancal type; Baldwin Smith (1918: 59-68) and (Cabrol-Leclercq, 1926, 7/1: 615, Figs 5860-5862) also point to the Provancal connection.

the most famous being the diptych from Milan (Fig. 57),[302] which was cited by Petricioli.[303]

Carolingian ivories also occasionally borrowed this type for the Massacre scene (Fig. 58) and Schiller suggested these might have been inspired by early Christian examples from Gaul.[304] The short tunic worn by the soldier is common in the late antique examples of this version, but this was also depicted in most scenes prior to the twelfth century.[305] Herod's crown, on the other hand, points to a medieval prototype, since in the early Christian examples he is not usually crowned.[306]

1.3.2ii. The Flight into Egypt

The next scene on Panel 2 is that of the Flight to Egypt (Fig. 59) and it belongs to a commonly used type that originated in the sixth and seventh centuries, in which Mary and Child face the spectator, while the donkey is led by Joseph, progressing from left to right, as is the case on the seventh-century encolpion from Adana (Fig. 60).[307] Joseph is always present in the scene and even though here he does not have a nimbus as is often the case (eleventh-century examples in which Joseph is nimbed can be seen on the bronze doors from Hildesheim or in a Byzantine Gospels now in Paris),[308] this is not

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[302] See also a fifth-century ivory from Berlin, both in Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 302, 53.

[303] Petricioli, 1960: 20.

[304] Ninth-century ivory from the Ada school, now in Oxford and the tenth-century ivory from the school of Metz, now in Paris (Schiller, 1981, 1: 125, Figs 427, 303). Goldschmidt dated the Paris ivory to the mid-ninth century, while another example of the smashing type can be seen on the late ninth-century ivory from Munich (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 36, 40, Pls 27, Fig. 67b; 29, Fig. 72. See also the eleventh-century ivory now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 32, Pl. 22, Fig. 65).

[305] Schiller, 1981, 1: 126.

[306] Herod wearing a crown is on a ninth-century Paris ivory, on the eleventh-century Salerno altar front, and on the eleventh-century fresco in Lambach, Austria. In these examples his crown is depicted as a ring with three peaks (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 42; Legner, 1982: 158, Fig.117). The crown worn by Herod on Panel 2 thus does not have any real parallels. In the late middle ages, however, his crown did include a pointed cap topped with a devil's head (Skey, 1977: 274).

[307] Schiller, 1981, 1: 128, 132, Fig. 56. According to Schiller, when the Virgin sits in a high saddle and has a footstool, the mother and Child are depicted as enthroned. On panel 2, there is no saddle nor blanket and the frontal position results from the fact that the Virgin is riding side-saddle as medieval women did. In the eastern iconography Joseph can also be shown walking behind the donkey while a young male servant or his son leads the animal and carries the staff on his shoulder. Kirschbaum (1970, 2: 44) also mentions the varying position of Joseph but not in relation to eastern images.

[308] The Gospels is in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cod. Gr. 74 (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 312, 315).

without precedent and it is highly unlikely that the figure leading the donkey is a young servant or his son, since these figures were never depicted as bearded.[309]

The small object suspended on the staff probably represents a skin containing water, referred to in the apocryphal accounts of the Flight,[310] while the tree behind the donkey may allude to the miracle of the palm tree, which bent its branches to allow the Virgin to pick the fruit and then moved its roots so that water could spring up and Joseph could fill the empty skins.[311] Despite this detail given in the apocryphal accounts, the tree was not always shown as having fruit, or even as a realistic palm tree, in visual representations of the Flight.[312] More importantly, the miracle of the palm was represented only in western art, where the earliest examples date from the twelfth century.[313]

Although the tree in the Flight scene on the Dominica panel does not have fruit and does not bend, its miraculous presence in the desert indicates that it could have been intended to refer to the mentioned miracle. The same can be said about two other examples which pre-date the developed twelfth-century iconography: a single tree with no fruit appears in the Flight scene on the eighth-century Ruthwell cross in Dumfriesshire (Fig. 61), while two trees flank the Holy Family on their way to Egypt on the seventh-century encolpion from Adana (Fig. 60).[314]

1.3.2iii. The Baptism of Christ

In the eighth arch is the left-hand part of the last scene on Panel 2. As mentioned above, the bearded and nimbed figure stepping up towards the right, while raising his right hand, has been identified with St John the Baptist in the scene of the Baptism of Christ

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[309] They were depicted as young (Schiller, 1971, 1: 120).

[310] Gospel of Pseudo Matthew 20: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.v.xxi.html (accessed on 29 September 2008); Réau, 1957, 2/2: 275; Schiller, 1981, 1: 128, 130.

[311] Gospel of Pseudo Matthew 20: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.v.xxi.html (accessed on 29 September 2008); Schiller, 1981, 1: 128.

[312] E.g. the Adana *encolpion* which obviously predates the twelfth century and was not produced in the west; Schiller (1981, 1: 128) suggested the tree might have been added for compositional reasons, to surround the Virgin and the Child.

[313] Ibid. 131, 129. Byzantine art does not depict this miracle and in its post-iconoclastic phase, the Arrival into Egypt proved to be more popular than the Flight scene. Twelfth-century examples include the bronze doors from Pisa and the capital from Autun which has a palm tree with fruit but it does not bow, nor does Mary pick the fruit (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 325, 326).

[314] Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 56.

(Fig. 59). The physiognomy, posture and the attire of the bearded figure certainly speak for this identification, as does the fact that the Baptism scene fits well in the cycle of Christ's early life and marks the beginning of his public life. Although St John the Baptist was only six months older than Christ, he is often shown as an old man with a long beard (Figs 62-63), as is the case on the Dominica Panel 2.[315]

In the Baptism scenes, he is usually shown standing on the bank of the river and laying his right hand on Christ's head.[316] However, he can be shown stepping up towards Christ and also holding one end of his robe in his left hand, as he does on the Dominica panel (Figs 62-63).[317] The Baptist's classical attire was common in Byzantine art, but also in the eleventh-century western art, where it was favoured rather than the animal skins or hair shirt which were depicted in some Carolingian examples.[318] The three fingers below John's raised hand must have belonged to the blessing Christ standing in the water, as on the mosaic from the eleventh-century Church of Hosios Loukas,[319] or on the contemporary antependium from Salerno (Figs. 62).[320] As with the damaged Annunciation scene on Panel 1, it is impossible to ascertain how the sculptor depicted Christ.

1.3.3. SUMMARY

The model types apparently lying behind the scenes on Panel 1 originated in the eastern art of the pre-iconoclastic period, which is why Petricioli pointed to a possible Byzantine influence on the Dominica panels. However, these ultimately eastern models were also widespread in the later, early medieval art of the West. The standing figures in the Annunciation scene and the arrangement of the angel on the left and Virgin on the right, although introduced in the sixth-century art of Constantinople and Palestine, are frequently found in Carolingian, Ottonian and eleventh-century art in the West. The

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[315] In the second and third century he was depicted as a young clean-shaven man (Schiller, 1981, 1: 142).

[316] By the third century the Baptist lays the hand on Christ as a sign of baptism (Ibid.)

[317] John the Baptist stepping up can be seen in the Rabbula Gospels and on the sixth-century ivories, both eastern and western (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 356, 358, 360). He holds the end of his robe with one hand and lays his other hand on the head of Christ on tenth-century ivory from Lotharingia and on an eleventh-century mosaic in Hosios Loukas (Schiller, 1981, 1: Figs 367, 362).

[318] Ibid. 147, Fig. 366.

[319] Ibid. Fig. 362.

[320] Goldschmidt, 1975, 4: 36-39, Pl. 46, Fig. 31.

Visitation scene with the embracing figures of the Virgin and Elizabeth was equally popular and even predominant in the West, even though it first appeared in the East. The reclining Virgin and the bathing of the Child in the Nativity scene on Panel 1 also belong to Byzantine and eastern pictorial innovations, but had been adopted in the West by the eighth century and were considered standard in the eleventh-century art of Italy and Dalmatia. The three Magi in the Adoration scene with their different ages also correspond to the pre-iconoclastic Byzantine models but these were equally common in the Ottonian and eleventh-century art. As for the scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds, it also seems that it was inspired by contemporary western models which did not depend on eastern prototypes in which only one shepherd receives the news, unlike the situation on Panel 1 where all three shepherds pointing to the sky.

Analysis of the possible iconographic sources of the Dominica panels therefore suggests that the eastern models argued for in the scholarly literature might have been mediated by western art, rather than being directly borrowed from Byzantine art. Due to the fact that Italy in particular has always provided fertile ground for the artistic traditions of Byzantium and that the connections between Zadar and Venice and Monte Cassino (both centres emanating Byzantine influences) were strong in the eleventh century, it is plausible to assume that the model or models for Panel 1 came from Italy, possibly in the form of a manuscript or ivory.

The three scenes on Panel 2 reveal the same western iconographic model types as those used for Panel 1. If the Byzantine influence can be seen in the classical attire of John the Baptist, it might have also been an indirect one, since it also featured in the eleventh-century West. The Massacre scene, on the other hand, belongs to the purely western iconographic type which originated in early Christian art of Provence and spread to northern Italy. Although the Flight to Egypt conforms to the usual eastern and western iconographic types, if the tree in the background was meant to allude to the miracle of the palm, the inspiration was again borrowed from western art.

1.4. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PANELS

All the scenes on the Dominica panels belong to the Infancy cycle and they narrate the story from Christ's conception to the beginning of his ministry. However, the eight

episodes depicted were chosen from a larger number often included in the Infancy cycles. The scenes such as the Magi at the court of Herod, the Dream of Joseph or the arrival of the Holy Family into Egypt, all of which appear in the early medieval art, are omitted from the Dominica panels. On the other hand, the scenes that are depicted on the panels represent specific iconographic types and thus indicate that particular aspects of any given scene were being deliberately selected. Thus, it is worth exploring what iconographic significance the chosen scenes and their iconographic variations might have had with regard to the panels and their original setting.

As noted, the two panels do not have the same number of scenes, nor do they have the same relationship between the figures and arches. Nevertheless, the sequence of events which were depicted flows naturally from one panel to the other, demonstrating that they were seen as a whole. Even the inversion of the Flight and Massacre scenes, used by Maksimović as an argument for the Cappadocian influence, was not uncommon and thus does not depart from established models in the pictorial narration of the Infancy of Christ.[321] According to Petricioli, the panels belonged to a low chancel screen consisting of two panels and four pillars (Fig. 20). The inner sides of the panels were inserted in pillars of the same height and stood on either side of the central opening, leading to the sanctuary area. The outer sides were similarly inserted in pillars attached to the walls. Since Panel 2 is 52 cm shorter than Panel 1, and since the last scene is not entirely preserved, it seems plausible to assume that they were of identical width and that Panel 2 originally must have had two more arches.[322] This view was expressed by Pejaković, who also suggested that the last arch on Panel 2 contained the figure of Archangel Michael witnessing the Baptism of Christ.[323]

The reason why these physical issues should be borne in mind before discussing the potential significance of the panels is that they also appear to have played a role in the grouping and choice of the scenes. Placed on the boundary between the sanctuary area and the space for the laymen, the panels were decorated with scenes that seem to address either symbolical thresholds, such as that between the divine and human nature

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[321] Maksimović, 1961: 87; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 267.

[322] Panel 1 has nine arches, each approximately 26 cm wide, while Panel 2 currently has eight arches, 22.8 cm wide. Originally, when it was 52 cm longer, Panel 2 could have had two more 22.8 cm-wide arches in the Baptism scene.

[323] Pejaković, 1996: 309, 324.

of Christ or the virginity and motherhood of Mary, or more specific thresholds: for example the Incarnation of the Word at the Annunciation, the actual birth of the Saviour and the beginning of Christ's ministry marked by his Baptism. Some thresholds are even literal: the crossing of the boundary in the Flight to Egypt or that between the good ruler in the Adoration of the Magi scene and the evil ruler in the Massacre scene, which are separated by the central opening of the screen.

By crossing the boundary between heaven and earth, the angel came to Virgin Mary in the privacy of her house and announced the miraculous birth of the divine Child.[324] He stands with both feet firmly on the ground and his wings are still spread but not raised, all of which point to the slightly later moment of the actual delivery of the message. As Ambrose imagined it, the Virgin was disturbed and trembled at hearing his message, with modest ears and bashful eyes, before finally obeying God's wish.[325] It is this virginal humility and bashfulness that are implied by Mary's posture on the Dominica panel – she has responded to the angel's message by rising in surprise, expressing her purity and disbelief in considering herself unworthy at being so selected. Her hands, probably placed across her chest, as can be deduced from the fact that they are not extended towards the angel, suggest that she is in the attitude of humble acceptance, rather than that of conversation or reading. Her attitude thus expresses the surprise and obedience recounted in Luke and praised by Ambrose who described her humility at the Annunciation in Book 2 of his *De virginibus*.[326]

Ambrose considered virginity superior to marriage and widowhood, and praised Mary as the perfect examplar.[327] By being a virgin, Mary was considered to be worthy of becoming the mother of the Lord,[328] and thus reflected his divinity. However, being

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[324] It corresponds to the moment of Christ's conception and as such was celebrated in the East from the early fifth century. The *Conceptio Domini* was considered a Christological Feast and only later it became a Feast of the Virgin. It was introduced to Rome in the seventh century. From the outset, the date of the Feast was established as the 25 March, considered to be the same date as Christ's death, and associated with the memory of Adam. This coincidence of events indicates that the Annunciation as the event marking the Incarnation, the beginning of the Redemption of humanity, was closely linked both to Christ's death as the final act of that Redemption and to the Fall of Man, the primary cause necessitating Redemption (Schiller, 1981, 1: 44; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 174, n. 3, 190; Ó Carragáin, 2005: 83-84).
[325] *De virgin.* 2.2: 210B.
[326] Ibid. 210B-C; trans. Perry, 2006: 157-158.
[327] Perry, 2006: 156.
[328] Ambrose uses this term more than the 'Mother of God' (Perry, 2006: 155).

Christ's mother, Ambrose also saw her as the mother of Christ's humanity.[329] With relation to Mary's virginity of particular importance was the view held by the early Church Fathers that she remained a virgin during and after giving birth.[330] Her perpetual virginity was discussed in the light of Ezekiel's reference to the outer gate of the sanctuary which must remain shut (Ezekiel 44: 2): 'It must not be opened; no one may enter through it. It is to remain shut because the Lord, the God of Israel, has entered through it.'[331] Jerome's interpretation of the Virgin as a shut gate is perhaps the most illustrative: the Virgin is the east gate mentioned by Ezekiel, 'always shut and always shining, and either concealing or revealing the holy of holies.'[332]

With this in mind, it is important to mention that Mango used the same interpretation to comment on the position of the Virgin above the entrance in the ninth-century Chrysotriklinos at Constantinople,[333] and this connection might also be the reason why Annunciation figures often appear near doors and openings.[334] The reference was not lost in the eleventh century: Peter Damian (1007-1072) addressed the Virgin as 'gate of Heaven, window of Paradise'.[335] This close link between Mary's virginity as the gateway to salvation and Ezekiel's shut gate of the sanctuary has found its visual expression in the Dominica Annunciation. The figure of Mary, framed by the arch and columns with spiral fluting obviously symbolizes the gate,[336] while at the same time, appearing on the chancel screen, she also represents the gate of the sanctuary.[337] The

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[329] As such, his humanity is her humanity (*De incarnat.* 9: 274-275; trans. Perry, 2006: 155).

[330] Ambrose, *De inst. virgin.* 8.52: 320B-C; Augustine, *Sermo 186*: 999; trans. Perry, 2006: 159, 161, 165.

[331] Ambrose, *De inst. virgin.* 8.53-57: 320; Jerome, *Ad Pamm.* 48: 510; Peter Damian, *Epist. 1*: vol 1, 93, 29; trans. Perry, 2006: 180.

[332] *Ad Pamm.* 48: 510; trans. Perry, 2006: 163. Jerome also established the connection between the virginal womb and Christ's tomb since in neither of them was there anyone before or after him, and since in both instances he emerged through a closed door.

[333] This post-iconoclastic mosaic had the Virgin represented above the entrance 'as divine gate and guardian' (Mango, 2004: 184).

[334] E.g. they are placed in separate spandrels of the triumphal arches in Middle Byzantine churches (Schiller, 1981, 1: 47). In Torcello Cathedral they are on the triumphal arch framing the apse (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 174).

[335] Peter Damian, *Epist. 17*: vol. 1, 166, 29; trans. Perry, 2006: 182.

[336] Standing for both the door of her house and her as the 'gate of the Lord'. The architectural motifs in the Annunciation scenes were usually thought to represent the house of Mary or the basilica of the Annunciation at Nazareth (Schiller, 1981, 1: 48; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 185-186).

[337] Jerome (*Adv. Pelag.* 2.4: 57-58) even makes it clear in his comment on the virgin birth and the shut door, that the priest goes through the eastern door: 'Magisque ad specialem nativitatem Salvatoris, quam ad omnium hominum reterri potest hoc quod dicitur, *Qui, aperit vulvam, sanctus vocabitur Domino. Solus*

fact that the spiral fluting alludes to the twisted columns that were believed to have stood in the Temple of Jerusalem, whose sanctuary was closed off with the shut gate mentioned by Ezekiel, might have also been inspired by Ambrose for whom Mary was the temple of God.[338]

The humility embodied in the Virgin mother and the dual nature of Christ, underlying the Dominica Annunciation, also reverberate in other scenes. Ambrose sees an example of Mary's humility in her visit to Elizabeth, since, as superior, she comes to meet the inferior, and he finds the same humility in Christ coming to John to be baptized.[339] Indeed, the Dominica Visitation is depicted as the close embrace between the two pregnant women, which both emphasizes Mary's humility in greeting her cousin with affection, and honours Elizabeth as being worthy of such an embrace from the Mother of God.

Given the original dedication of the church to John the Baptist, the selection of the close embrace variant of the Visitation, over the conversing type, not only emphasizes Elizabeth and her recognition of the Virgin as the Mother of God,[340] but it also honours John who rejoiced in his mother's womb as he recognized the Lord in Mary's unborn Son, an element emphasized by the manner in which the mothers' pregnant stomachs touch each other. It is John's recognition, leaping with joy in Elizabeth's womb when she heard Mary's greeting (Luke 1: 41-45), and inspiration from the Holy Spirit that enabled her to be the first to recognize Christ as the forthcoming Messiah (Luke 1: 43).[341]

Equally, thirty years later, it was John's recognition of Christ at his baptism that marked the crossing of the symbolical threshold between his private and public life. On

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enim Christus clausas portas vulvae virginatis aperuit, quae tamen clausae jugiter permanserunt. Haec est porta orientalis clausa, per quam solus Pontifex ingreditur et egreditur, et nihilominus semper clausa est.'

[338] *De spir. sanc*. 3.11: 183; trans. Perry, 2006: 156. Ambrose also refers to her and her virgin womb as 'the royal hall of chastitiy' ('pudoris aula regia', *Hymn*. 4: 1411) and sees her as a figure of the Church ('ecclesiae typus', *Expos. Luc*. 2.7: 33), see also Schiller, 1981, 1: 47.

[339] *Expos. Luc*. 2.22: 40.

[340] Réau (1957, 2/2: 198) applies to it a late phrase, from a fifteenth-century hymn on the Visitation 'sacri junguntur uteri'. He also explains that the the Greek word *aspasmos* (salutation) was understood to mean a greeting embrace.

[341] Schiller, 1981, 1: 65. Elizabeth's recognition of Mary as blessed among the women and of the blessed fruit of her womb, was deemed so important that it was included in the *Hail Mary* in the middle of the eleventh century (Catholic Encyclopaedia: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07110b.htm (accessed on 29 September 2008)).

the other hand, by receiving baptism from John, Christ though without sin and thus in no need of repentance and forgiveness, demonstrated the humility described by Ambrose. Although humble in his humanity, Christ was also considered divine in being chosen by the Godhead in the form of the voice from the heavens declaring Christ to be his Son,[342] while the theophany was completed by the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of the dove, expanding the revelation to include the Trinity.[343] The prefiguration of the voice calling Christ his beloved son in Psalm 2: 7 'Thou art my son; this day I have begotten thee', had become established already by Paul, who used it as the example of Christ's divinity on three occasions.[344] Psalm 2 also established the link between Baptism and Nativity.[345] This line was used in Christmas contexts; in Jerusalem and Constantinople, as well as in the Mozarabic rite it was part of the liturgy,[346] while in Rome it was included in the antiphon sung on Christmas night and during the vigil of the Epiphany.[347]

The Baptism scene was the last scene on the Dominica panels and, as already noted, it has not been preserved in its entirety. However, if Christ had been in the arch next to John the Baptist, the second missing arch could have only been occupied by the angel holding Christ's clothes and witnessing the event.[348] A similar figure appears in the Nativity scene, witnessing the bathing of the Child. Although the bathing was not mentioned by the doctors of the Church,[349] it was understood to have been performed by the two midwives known from the apocrypha and it generally emphasized the humanity

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[342] However, Schiller (1981, 1: 137) sees this as a separate event.

[343] This was recognized and celebrated in the association of the Baptism of Christ with the Adoration of the Magi at the Feast of the Epiphany in the East whereas in the West the Adoration took precedence. Schiller (1981, 1: 136-138) mentions that the water for the rite of baptism was consecrated during Epiphany. This correspondence might have also been achieved by placing the two theophanies at the ends of the panels.

[344] Acts 13: 32-33; Hebrews 1: 15 and 5: 5. Ambrose uses it to emphasize the famous relationship between baptism and resurrection (*De sacram*. 2.7: 431C, 432A), while Peter Damian borrows it from St Paul as an example of the divine nature of Christ (*Epist. 81*: vol. 2, 428, 35).

[345] Also to conform to Isaiah 42 and 53 (Schiller, 1981, 1: 137).

[346] Gallagher et al., 2003: 69.

[347] Gregory the Great, *Lib. Antiph.*: 646A, 649C. It also featured in the Christmas homilies of Pope Leo the Great (*Sermo* 29.3: 229B).

[348] The angel might not have been Michael, as Pejaković (1996: 317, 324) claimed.

[349] Schiller, 1981, 1: 75. In the fifth- or sixth-century Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour (Ch. 17), probably of Syrian origin, the only mention of the Christ Child being washed is in relation to the Holy Family's progress through Egypt. In one of the cities, a woman whom Christ Child had cured, washed him with 'scented water' and by pouring the same water over a girl with leprosy, cured her: http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0806.htm (accessed on 29 September 2008); also Elliott, 2005: 100.

of the Child.[350] Since Christ was born of the Virgin pure of any sin, being miraculously conceived, and did not need to be washed, Réau argues that theologians did not interpret the bathing scene as the Child being washed, but as Christ purifying the water, seen as a prefiguration of his Baptism.[351] In that sense, the bathing tub was identified with the baptismal font and would sometimes assume the shape of the chalice.[352] Schiller also discusses the link between the bathing and the Baptism but unlike Réau, she grounds the prefiguration on Christ's submission to 'the human order', since in both scenes he underwent a washing procedure not because he needed it, but to demonstrate the acceptance of his human nature. Thus, the deliberate decision to place the angel holding the clothes in a scene where it had no place to be and where it was never depicted, reveals the desire to convey the same message as the Baptism scene – that the Divine was made human and that the humility of the Son of God was witnessed by an angel.

Christ's divine nature, on the other hand, was also symbolized by the star and the adoration of the animals at the manger. The animals were not mentioned in the Gospels' account of the Nativity (Matthew 1: 18-25 and Luke 2: 1-20) which point to the humble circumstances of his birth, as well as to the status of the newly born Christ as the legitimate king of the Jews, fulfilling the Old Testament prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah.[353] Part of those prophecies was the inclusion of the ox and ass.[354] Since, according to Schiller 'the character of the earliest pictorial formulae' was not determined by the biblical stories but by the artists' attempts 'to give visual expression to the manifestation of God in the world and to the recognition by the Jews and the heathen of the new divine ruler',[355] the ox and ass were interpreted as symbols of such a universal recognition. Their association with the manger probably derives from Origen's application of Isaiah's words: 'The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his

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[350] Schiller, 1981, 1: 75.
[351] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 223.
[352] Ibid.; Schiller, 1981, 1: 76.
[353] They mention Joseph's place in the line of David and the birth in Bethlehem, the town of David. The tradition was also inspired by Micah 5: 2 'But you, Bethlehem Ephrathah, though you are small among the clans of Judah, out of you will come for me one who will be ruler over Israel, whose origins are from of old, from ancient times' (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 213). The same passage was quoted by the scribes in reply to Herod's question about the birth of the king, after the Magi's visit (Schiller, 1981, 1: 105, 108).
[354] Schiller, 1981, 1: 71. The manger was the main point of the veneration in the basilica of the Nativity; Constantine's mother Helena even donated a silver manger to the church, which attracted the pilgrims as much as the gemmed cross at Golgotha (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 215).
[355] Schiller, 1971, 1: 60.

master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider', where the ox was interpreted as a pure and the ass as an impure beast.[356] In the fourth century this idea was expanded by Ambrose and Augustine who regarded the ox as the symbol of the Jews and ass as a symbol of the Gentiles, both of which adore the Divine Child.[357] By the eighth century the association of these animals with the manger had led to their inclusion in the Latin text of the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.[358] Another symbol of the divine origin of Christ is the star depicted above the manger. The effect of situating the star over the manger is to invoke the divine light which, according to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 'ceases neither by day nor by night.'[359]

The iconographic scheme of the Nativity scene thus manages to present the dual nature of Christ, the divine symbolized by the manger and the human implied by the bathing motif, both of which are unified in the figure of the Virgin as the means of the divine becoming human, who links the two theological points in her person. The divinity of Christ was rooted in Mary's virginity and according to Ambrose and Augustine, she remained a virgin *in partu* and *post partu* as she was in the Annunciation.[360] Even the absence of Joseph in the Dominica Nativity seems to correspond to this idea. Joseph is present only in the scene of the Flight, where he is shown without a nimbus and leading the donkey, all of which might allude to his role as identified by Jerome: that of a guardian, rather than husband. Jerome even mentions the journey to Egypt as an example of the fact that Mary remained a virgin and that her marriage with Joseph was not consumated.[361]

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[356] Origen, *Homilia* 13: 82: Schiller, 1981, 1: 71.

[357] Augustine, *Sermo* 204: 1038; Ambrose, *Expos. Luc.* 2.43: 50; see also Schiller, 1981, 1: 71. Gregory Nazianzen described the ox as yoked to the law and the ass loaded with the sins of idolatry; but between them lies the Son of God who brings freedom from both burdens (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 228-229).

[358] Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 14: 1: 'and the ox and the ass adored Him':
http://www.gnosis.org/library/psudomat.htm (accessed 23 September 2006). The text mentions the animals from Isaiah but also from the Old Latin Habakkuk 3: 2 as it appears in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint translation: 'in the midst of the two beasts wilt thou be known'. The animals are absent from the Protoevangelium of James, the sources for Pseudo-Matthew (Schiller, 1981, 1: 72; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 228).

[359] Schiller, 1981, 1: 73, 80. According to Schiller, this may well refer to the light that illuminated the cave at Christ's birth, which is mentioned in the apocryphal texts, rather than the star of the Magi from the Gospel of Matthew. The miraculous light is mentioned in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (Ch. 13) as the star which shines from evening to morning, 'from the beginning of the world no star of such magnitude has yet been seen': http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.v.xiv.html (accessed 22 April 2011).

[360] See n. 331.

[361] *Adv. Helv.* 4: 187B; trans. Perry, 2006: 164.

The motherhood of Mary, on the other hand, and consequently Christ's humanity, are implied by her reclining position in the Nativity scene, a widespread Byzantine motif of Syrian origins, which sprang from those theological interpretations which claimed that the Virgin suffered during birth and therefore had to rest afterwards.[362] By crossing the threshold of the shut door and coming into the world as a begotten Son of God, Christ had thus also become the Son of Man.[363]

Christ's Flight into Egypt, however, was also a sign of his human nature and as such was used by Peter Damian.[364] For Schiller, the Flight represented the first suffering of Christ, while also referring to Egypt as the country from which Moses led the Israelites into the Promised Land and from which the Messiah will return.[365] This again juxtaposes the dual nature of Christ whose divinity is here obvious from Matthew's connection between the Flight and the return of the Messiah, established by his quoting of Hosea: 'I called my son out of Egypt' (Matthew 2: 15; Hosea 11: 1). The Flight scene presented in the context of the Dominica panels, especially with relation to the role of Joseph, however, refers to Mary's virginity as a symbol of the divine nature of her child. Her virginity is thus emphasized every time she is depicted on the Dominica panels.

That the miracle of the Divine made human had to be witnessed is another message that the scenes seem to communicate. Elizabeth and John the Baptist are witnesses as are the animals in the manger, the angel and the midwife in the bathing episode, and the supposed angel in the Baptism scene. The same role is shared by the shepherds and the Magi, both groups being three in number as was often the case.[366] As with the ox and ass of the Nativity, the shepherds were understood to symbolize the Jews and Magi the Gentiles.[367] The reason for this correspondence lies in the fact that the Magi were seen as Gentiles, heathen wise men who had come to adore the Son of God, while the shepherds, being Jews, provided the obvious parallel to the Gentile

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[362] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 219.

[363] Since Christ existed before he was born according to the trinitarian dogma, the nativity in Bethlehem was his temporal nativity, or as Agustine puts it in his Christmas homily: 'De Patre natus sine temporis die, de matre natus hoc die.' (*Sermo* 186: 1000).

[364] Peter Damian, *Epist. 81*: vol. 2, 428, 31.

[365] Schiller, 1981, 1: 127.

[366] Schiller, 1971, 1: 84-85; Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 421; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 234. An intended correspondence between the shepherds and the Magi on the Dominica panel also seems to be reflected in their facial features.

[367] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 234.

recognition, so that the Nativity cycle comprises the universal recognition of the presence of the Divine, and by extension, the universal nature of the future salvation.

The fact that the shepherds on the Dominica panel seem to point to the star above the manger as a sign of the divine birth also supports their role as witnesses, being the first to pay their respects to the Christ Child.[368] The second set of witnesses was that of the Magi bearing three gifts for 'the king of the Jews.'[369] These gifts, known to have been gold, frankincense and myrrh – deemed appropriate for the king of the Jews as implied by the Gospel story – subsequently gained a wider symbolical significance. Both Schiller and Réau describe how gold was intended for Christ as king and frankincense for Christ as God.[370] His divinity is already made prominent by his unnaturally long hand raised in blessing and the nimbus. [371] On the other hand, Christ's humanity is implied by the fact that he is seated on his mother who is still in the role of the humble 'handmaid of the Lord' already alluded to in the Annunciation scene, judging by the fact that she is not actively involved in communicating with the Magi. The gift of myrrh, associated with burial, also symbolizes Christ as Man, whose death was therefore imminent.[372] Thus the symbolism of these gifts serves to elaborate on the dual nature of the new-born ruler, while the recognition itself remains unquestioned.

Positioned at the end of Panel 1, the Adoration scene with its theophany reflects the theophany of Baptism as the last scene on Panel 2, while a more subtle allusion establishes an interesting relationship with the Massacre of the Innocents as the first scene on Panel 2. The fact that the Virgin is sitting on a cushioned cross-legged stool adds an imperial overtone to the Adoration scene, which could also be understood as the

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[368] The angel who announced the birth of Christ but also the angelic host singing *Gloria* are absent from this scene, making it clear that the shepherds and not the angels were being emphasized, unlike the Reichenau examples where they figure prominently (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 187)

[369] Their adoration of the divine child is the event honoured by the Feast of the Epiphany, as the manifestation of God in Jesus Christ to the Gentiles. This was a Western interpretation, following the introduction of the Epiphany Feast to the West in the late fourth century, where it was celebrated on 6 January. Before that, in the mid-fourth century the Adoration of the Magi was celebrated with the Nativity on 25 December. The Eastern church saw the Epiphany as the manifestation of the God to the entire world, which implies the Jews as well as the Gentiles. In the third century it was celebrated together with the Nativity and Baptism of Christ on 6 January. After the Council of Ephesus in 351, the Eastern church accepted the Roman custom of celebrating the Nativity on 25 December, while Epiphany and the Baptism continued to be celebrated on 6 January as theophanies of the Divine incarnate in Christ (Schiller, 1981, 1: 105; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 239).

[370] Schiller, 1981, 1: 106; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 241.

[371] Schiller, 1971, 1: 101.

[372] Ibid. Réau (1957, 2/2: 241) mentions only that myrrh symbolizes Christ's burial.

throne of Christ. This stool is identical to that of Herod in the Massacre scene, which makes it plausible that it is indeed the *sella curulis* of the Roman emperors and high dignitaries.[373] Although Matthews argues that Christ was never depicted seated on a cross-legged stool but enthroned on a high-backed and armless throne so as to demonstrate his divinity rather than his imperial nature,[374] it seems that on the Dominica panel the cross-legged stool of the Virgin who is holding the divine Child serves equally as his seat and hers.

The reason for this allusion could lie in the fact that Christ as the true king in the Adoration scene is juxtaposed to Herod as the false king in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents.[375] In their original position in the church, these two scenes flanked the opening leading to the sanctuary and their symbolical significance seems to have been affected by this spatial arrangement, since the opening literally separates the true from the false king, both of whom are depicted seated in profile, turning in the same direction and making visually similar gestures with their right hands, while sitting on the folding stools of the Roman emperors; the only difference being in the fact that the Christ Child is supported both literally and metaphorically by the Virgin Mary, and was thus also depicted enthroned in his humanity.

Both scenes are also given a large amount of space on each panel. The Adoration scene fills three arches on a panel that omits the figure of Joseph in the Nativity, while the Massacre spreads over as many as four arches, the largest number of arches to be occupied by a single scene on both panels. Strictly speaking, the slaughter itself is not depicted, as the soldier only prepares to dash a child to the ground and the slaughtered children are missing from the scene. Rather, the grief and desperation of the mothers is highlighted.[376] There are two of them, although only one child appears in the scene.[377]

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[373] Matthews, 2003: 104-105.

[374] Ibid. However, a tenth-century ivory from the Magdeburg antependium, now at Liverpool, shows Christ sitting on a cross-legged stool in the scene with the adulteress (Gibson, 1994: 32-35, Pl. 13; Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: Pl. 5, Fig. 13).

[375] Schiller, 1971, 1: 97, 114-115.

[376] Matthew (2: 18) commented on the Massacre as the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy that Rachel will weep for her lost children (Réau, 1957, 2/2: 268; Schiller, 1981, 1: 124).

[377] This is why nineteenth-century scholars saw it as the scene of the Judgement of Solomon (see section 1.2) although the soldier holding the child obviously does not have a sword and both women have bared their breasts – a symbol of grieving – which could not have been the case in the Judgement scene, since it was the different reaction of women that enabled Solomon to reach his decision. With this in mind, it is

This emphasis obviously contrasts with the serene nature of the Adoration scene, and illustrates the desperation caused by Herod, who ordered the massacre; it is he, the unjust and cruel ruler, who is given equal attention to the mothers with his elaborate crown and imperial cross-legged stool.[378] The reason why the mothers are so prominent might have been the same desire to have witnesses to the events depicted on the panels. As the Magi had come to witness the birth of the good ruler, who promises future salvation, the mothers are witnesses of the horrible act of the wicked ruler.

The only ones who escaped the massacre were Christ and John the Baptist, who both appeared in the last scene in the Dominica sequence, as those who performed baptism with Spirit and water by which Christian salvation is obtained.[379] This salvation is the reward for the Innocents considered to be the first martyrs who suffered on Christ's account,[380] and have been further associated with the 144,000 'servants of our God' bearing the seal in Revelation.[381]

1.5. CONCLUSIONS

From this discussion, it seems that the choice of the scenes was determined in part by the Advent and Christmas liturgies. In the western church, Ember days in Advent, the Wednesday and Friday after the third Sunday of Advent, commemorated the Annunciation and Visitation respectively.[382] The massacre of the children was celebrated two days after Christmas, on the 28 December, while the Adoration of the Magi and the Baptism of Christ were celebrated at the Feast of the Epiphany on 6 January. Since the Baptism commemorates St John the Baptist, to whom the church was

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even more surprising that this comparison has persisted in the scholarship (Maksimović 1961: 87; Jakšić, 2006b: 100-101).

[378] That the emphasis might have been placed on the wickedness of Herod rather than the martyrdom of the Innocents is highlighted in John Chrysostom's homily on Matthew 2: 16, where he asserts that 'Christ was not the cause of their slaughter, but the king's cruelty', *Hom.* 9: vol. 1, 111.

[379] Both Schiller (1981, 1: 124) and Réau (1957, 2/2: 268-269) mention their baptism with blood, which can be understood as equivalent to the baptism with water.

[380] Schiller, 1981, 1: 124; Réau, 1957, 2/2: 268.

[381] Ibid. 124-125; Ibid. 267; Revelation 7: 1-4. The mosaic in Sta Maria Maggiore, Rome, clearly shows the parallel: one child has the seal in the form of the cross on its forehead.

[382] The Feast of the Visitation was established only in the late fourteenth century; during the early middle ages its only mention is on Ember Friday in the western liturgy (R. J. Kelly, 2003: 186; Chupungco, 1997: 292; Ó Carragáin, 2005: 85).

originally dedicated, the choice of these scenes and their liturgical implications are more than appropriate.

The infancy cycle also focuses on the miracle of the incarnation and reveals a preference for this event rather than those from Christ's ministry or those showing him as a suffering redeemer. These early episodes also indirectly point to the joyful stages of the two men's lives: both Christ and the Baptist were born through divine intervention and both escaped Herod's massacre. Only after the Baptism of Christ did John the Baptist begin to diminish as Christ increased, having fulfilled his role as a 'witness to the light.'[383] This witnessing role of John the Baptist might have contributed to the strong emphasis on witnesses in almost every scene. And, since the Infancy cycle as such lends itself particularly well to the representations of humanity and humility, the scenes on the Dominica panels also focus on these aspects of the narrative. The miracle of the incarnation and the early days of Christ's life, on the other hand, underline his dual nature and this dogmatic point is reiterated in every scene. Special attention was also given to Mary's virginity in a way that suggests that she was regarded as the ultimate symbol of Christ's humanity and divinity as well as her and his humility.

The possible references to local government might also have been intended. In the early eleventh century, at least until 1028,[384] religious, temporal and military power lay in the hands of the three brothers of the Madii family: Bishop Prestantius, *Prior* Madius and Tribune Dabro.[385] This family ruled Zadar from the late tenth to the late eleventh century and had pretentions of expanding their rule to include all of Dalmatia.[386] Two second-generation members, brothers Gregory and Dobrona, continued the tradition in the 1030s: Gregory was the proconsul who commissioned the Cathedral *ciborium* (Fig. 5) which Petricioli used to date the Dominica panels on the basis of their stylistic similarity, and it is known that Dobrona visited the imperial court at Constantinople on three occasions.[387]

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[383] John 1: 8.
[384] Bishop Prestantius was first mentioned in 1018 and last mentioned in 1028 (Strika, 2006; 143).
[385] Nikolić, 2005: 3, 23.
[386] Ibid. 4, 15.
[387] *Strategicon*: 77-78; tal. trans. Spadaro, 1998: 236-237. Kekaumenos narrates how Dobrona, *Archon* of Dalmatia, visited Emperor Romanos Argiros, prostrated himself before him and received many gifts before returning home. He repeated the ritual on another occasion and obtained more gifts. By the time he returned to visit the new emperor, Michael Paphlagon, he was considered a frequent visitor and not well

Since the scenes of the Adoration and Massacre on either side of the sanctuary opening seem to allude to the contrast between good and bad government, it is perhaps not unlikely that the clergy who commissioned the panels wanted to ingratiate themselves with the ruling family or even that the church might have been endowed by the Madii. If the Dominica panels and the *ciborium* of Proconsul Gregory were indeed products of the same stone-cutting workshop, it is possible that other family members or Gregory himself commissioned the panels, if not the whole church. As noted, several pieces of evidence suggest that the Church of St John the Baptist was completely rebuilt in the eleventh century as a private foundation. Its dedication and the raised level of the church floor, together with the aforementioned early Christian impost block re-used in its walls, indicate that there may have been an earlier church, the traces of which do not exist because of the extensive rebuilding in the eleventh century. The fact that the church was provided with the only crypt in Zadar at that time and that the crypt has an unusual cruciform plan with compartmentalised spaces ideal for burial chambers as noted by Brunelli,[388] also implies a private funerary function.

Since the power of the Madii family was at its peak until 1036, when Byzantium put an end to their regional pretensions,[389] the church might have been erected and furnished with the panels during this period. It could have been used and maintained throughout the eleventh century since the family did not lose any importance in Zadar itself and they maintained close connections with Croatian kings until the late eleventh century when other families rose to prominence.[390] In this case, it is likely that the diminishment of the family's power thus probably resulted in the loss of the Church of St John the Baptist and its subsequent remodelling and shortening, the transformation of the church into the shrine for a local icon and the seat of the blacksmiths' guild; its final passage into the hands of a nineteenth-century noble family as a disused building probably resulted from the fact that the church had already lost its importance by the fourteenth century.

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received. He was denied permission to leave and imprisoned together with his wife and son, where he died (Nikolić, 2005:12; Jakšić, 2007: 137-138). Since the sources from 1033, 1034 and 1036 mention a certain Gregory as the prior and proconsul of Zadar, and as the *protospatharius* and *strategus* of Dalmatia, it has been argued that they are the same person (Ferluga, 1978: 205).
[388] Brunelli, 1913: 256; Vežić, 1999: 9.
[389] Nikolić, 2005: 15.
[390] Ibid. 23.

CHAPTER 2

SCULPTURES FROM THE CHURCH OF ST LAWRENCE AT ZADAR

2.1. INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL SETTING AND DISCOVERY

Figural decoration appears on three pieces of stone sculpture from the Church of St Lawrence at Zadar: its portal, now in the Archaeological Museum at Zadar;[391] one of its chancel screen panels, and one of its column capitals, still inside the church. The capital belongs to the right hand column of the western pair, next to the original entrance, and is decorated with the figure of an orant (Fig. 65).[392]

The portal, originally from the north wall (technically north-east wall) of the church is crowned with a pedimented lintel which features the figure of the seated Christ supported by two angels (Fig. 75), and was originally coloured.[393] It rests on two clumsily attached jambs featuring two human figures appearing in the vegetal scroll half-way along the length of each jamb (Fig. 84). The threshold of the portal was formed from an earlier piece of sculpture decorated with an interlace pattern, which was re-used with the decoration placed face-downwards.[394]

The chancel screen panel, which was reconstructed by Petricioli in 1954 on the occasion of the relocation of the Archaeological Museum from the Church of St Donatus to its current building,[395] is decorated, like the Dominica panels, with the scenes that can be identified as events from Christ's infancy: the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity and Journey of the Magi (Fig. 66). These are accompanied by Latin inscriptions placed on the upper and side borders.[396] Apart from this panel, only two other pieces, found in the vicinity of the church, are also thought to have belonged to the church: a horizontal frieze arguably from a second screen panel (Fig. 67), and a gable depicting two birds drinking from a chalice (Fig. 68).

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[391] See cat. no. 21. For details of the removal of the portal in 1886 see Smirich, 1894: 18; Hauser, 1895: 153, and further below, section 2.2i.

[392] See cat. no. 22. Access to the church is currently gained through the east end.

[393] Traces of the brown and red pigmentation were noted by Petricioli (1960: 54-56).

[394] Smirich, 1894: 18, no. 29; Petricioli, 1960: 56-57.

[395] Petricioli, 1955: 61, 65, Fig. 1.

[396] See cat. no. 23.

The church itself is situated on the main square of Zadar peninsula, within the medieval city walls (Figs 69-70). Although it is completely surrounded by neighbouring buildings, one of which is the city hall, it is well preserved; only the eastern apse, the central dome and the axial bell-tower have been demolished.[397] The first research and conservation works were undertaken in 1942 by Crema.[398] After the Second World War the works were continued by Oštrić and Suić, and then by Petricioli from 1956 to 1968.[399] The final protection works, with particular attention to the vaults, were carried out by the Conservation Office at Zadar in 1983.[400]

The church consists of a three-bay nave separated from 'aisles' only 60 cm wide by means of two columns in each row (Figs 71-72). The columns have capitals from different periods: those of the eastern pair are late antique Corinthian; the western are early Romanesqe modifications of Corinthian type. The church is entirely vaulted and at the springing of the vaults there are impost-blocks on the same vertical axis of the columns with four carved figures of birds on them (Fig. 73). The only extant parallel for this decoration in the round occurs in the eleventh-century Church of St Nicholas at Split, where statues of lions are set in the same position, while the church itself has been deemed to be of the same architectural type as St Lawrence's.[401]

Although the apse has not been preserved, Petricioli's excavations in 1956 revealed the foundations of a square eastern projection with two L-shaped recesses in the lateral walls.[402] To the west, a tri-partite vaulted structure leads into the nave through an opening flanked by two columns. This structure, which has three deep niches in the

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[397] The church was incorporated in the house for the Venetian military commander, built in 1594. The owners of the neighbouring house, the Pellegrini family, used the church as their own chapel from 1733 to 1804 when the archbishopric decided to secularize the church and let it to the Austrian general, while the Pellegrinis kept the narthex. The sixteenth-century house of the military commander was demolished to make way for the new town hall built during the Italian occupation in 1935 (Bianchi, 1877, 1: 447; Brunelli, 1913: 246, 252-253; Petricioli, 1987: 60; Vežić, 1996: 339, 340, 353).
[398] Petricioli, 1987: 60. Crema had the eastern wall demolished and exposed the arch of the apse vault where he had found another eagle statue.
[399] Ibid. 60-64. Oštrić and Suić unearthed the column bases and established that the chancel floor was one step higher than the rest of the church and reached up to the eastern pair of columns. They also had the door leading to the narthex re-opened. Petricioli's works included the discovery of the apse and excavations in the narthex, gallery and bell-tower. Conservation works supervised by Domijan and Vežić clarified the vaulting construction and proved the existence of the dome above the central bay.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Marasović, 2008: 341, Fig. 369a.
[402] Petricioli, 1987: 61-62.

western wall and an upper floor with a window opening into the nave, is considered to be a late variant of a westwork in Croatian scholarship.[403]

Since this is the only church dedicated to St Lawrence in Zadar, it has been identified with a Church of St Lawrence mentioned in the will of *prior* Andrew, the first recorded mayor of Zadar, in 918 or 919.[404] Opinions differ as to whether the document is genuine or a twelfth-century forgery.[405] However, the church also appears in later archival records: in the fourteenth century, for example, when it is mentioned as '*ecclesia comunis Iadre.*'[406] Bianchi mentions the names of the priests in charge of the fourteenth-century church in his account of 1877, and tombstones of the same date which still existed when he visited the church in the 1870s.[407]

Although Bianchi was the first to describe the church,[408] the first ground-plan and drawing of the interior were made by Jackson in 1887.[409] At that time the narthex door had been walled up and the apse had disappeared. However, the narthex was included in the ground-plans and cross-sections made by Hauser and Errard also in the late nineteenth century.[410] Hauser did not date the church, but commenting on its unusual vaults, heterogeneous capitals and sculpted decoration, he noted 'Byzantine influence.'[411]

After the initial publication of the descriptions and ground-plans, the scholarly debate concentrated mostly on the date of the construction of the church. In 1901 Rivoira was the first to propose the eleventh-century date for the church and all of its decoration based on the style of the western pair of capitals,[412] and thus demonstrating that interpretation of the church was influenced by the date of the sculptures. There were two approaches to this problem: either the church and sculpted decoration were dated to

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[403] Petricioli, 1990: 34; Marasović, 1994: 208-209; Marasović, 2008: 203, 274. See also sections 2.5; 3.1.1; 3.1.5.
[404] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 447. On the title *prior* see above, n. 25.
[405] Budak, 1994: 154; Nikolić, 2005: 3; Klaić, 1971, 5-6.
[406] In the notary acts of Petrus de Sarcana (Vežić, 1996: 357).
[407] Bianchi, 1877, 1: 447.
[408] Ibid.
[409] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264.
[410] Hauser, 1895: 150, 152, Figs 1, 3; Errard and Gayet, 1901-1911: Pl. 22. Hauser's plan was reproduced in: Monneret de Villard, 1910: 61-65; Gerber, 1912: 109, Fig. 136 and Brunelli, 1913: 246. The latter two include Smirich's additions to Hauser's plans (Petricioli, 1987: 58).
[411] Hauser, 1895: 153.
[412] Rivoira, 1901: 311-313.

the same period – in which case the date of the church depended on the date of decoration; or the church and its decoration were dated differently, implying that the church might have had two phases of construction.

Taking this latter line of argument, Gerber, Brunelli and Vasić deemed the church to be of ninth-century date, with Gerber and Vasić arguing that the portal was added in the eleventh century; but even they disagreed about the date of the capitals.[413] The situation was reversed in Karaman's works; he considered the portal to be older than the church and dated it to the eighth century, while accepting an eleventh-century date for the church.[414] Bersa, however, argued for the tenth century as the date of the church, determined by the date of the will of *prior* Andrew, but suggested a later date for the 'Romanesque' eagles above the columns.[415]

Nevertheless, Petricioli's excavations in the church and studies of its sculpture in the 1950s demonstrated that both were produced at the same time, in the eleventh century, the only other phase of activity being represented in the addition of the nathex and bell-tower soon after the construction of the church.[416] From 1960 onwards, his interpretation and dating of the church have not been disputed.[417]

2.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND DATING

2.2i. The Portal

Given the association of the carvings with the church in attempts to date the church, the portal's pedimented lintel and jambs have attracted much scholarly attention which, of course, has focused almost exclusively on its date and relationship with the church. When the portal first appeared in late nineteenth-century publications, it was usually dated to the eighth,[418] or ninth century.[419] Eitelberger and Rački considered it 'post-

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[413] Gerber, 1912: 110; Brunelli, 1913: 235; Vasić, 1922: 59. According to Gerber the capitals are also of the ninth-century date, while Vasić dated them together with the portal to the eleventh century.
[414] Karaman, 1930: 12, Fig. 11; 1952: 100. Karaman (1964: 536) then published the idea that the imposts are *spolia* from the early Christian church that stood on the site and were re-used in the late eleventh century when the new church was built.
[415] Bersa, 1926: 85; 1927: 179-180.
[416] Petricioli, 1958: 52-56; 1987: 53-73; 1990: 34.
[417] Subotić, 1963: 25; Marasović, 1978: 90-91; Jurković 1992: 39, 107; Marasović, 1994: 196; Vežić, 1996: 341; Marasović, 2008: 193, 197.
[418] Smirich, 1894: 18, cat. no. 25; Radić, 1895e: 191; Reisch, 1912: 69.
[419] Bulić, 1888: 37.

Carolingian' while Hauser thought it and the other St Lawrence sculptures were pre-medieval.[420] Only Jackson, as early as 1887, observed the Romanesque character of the portal jambs, nevertheless, comparing the pediment with a similar lintel from Pula with an inscribed date of 850.[421]

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, scholarly opinions have shifted towards the early Romanesque and the eleventh-century date.[422] Gerber in particular refuted the dating based solely on the similarity with the pedimented lintel from Pula.[423] Nevertheless, the ninth-century date was still deemed appropriate by Bersa and Brunelli, while Cecchelli opted for the early eleventh century.[424] This was reversed during the 1940s and 1950s when arguments for the eleventh-century date were rejected in favour of the early researchers' conclusions that the portal was carved in the eighth century. Karaman's main argument was again the pedimented shape of the lintel which is shared with the ninth-century lintel from Pula, and an eighth-century pediment from Brescia, as well as the figures' pear-shaped heads (which he compared to those on the eighth-century altar of Ratchis in Cividale), and the presence of griffins and an astragal.[425] Prijatelj supported Karaman's arguments and agreed on the date, mentioning the portal as an example of the decorative and linear rendering of human figures.[426]

Petricioli likewise accepted that the portal was carved in the eighth century,[427] but initially implied that it was similar to the chancel screen panel and the orant capital which he grouped together and dated to the period between the late tenth and early eleventh century.[428] Later, he came to attribute the portal and the capitals to one workshop, and the panel to another, but considered them all to have been produced in

[420] Eitelberger, 1884: 133-134, Figs 25-26; Hauser, 1895: 153.

[421] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264-265.

[422] Gerber, 1912: 112; Dudan, 1921: 78. Vasić (1922: 58-59) dated it to the eleventh century on his understanding that, although the motif of the Tree of Life flanked with griffins was imported from the East into Italian art in the eighth century, the sculptor of portal subordinated it to the central scene, implying that it was produced in a later period. Toesca (1927, 1: 789) interpreted the portal as an early Romanesque product of local workshop which stood outside the sphere of the influences from Lombardy.

[423] Gerber, 1912: 112.

[424] Bersa, 1926: 136; Bersa, 1927: 179-180 (his argument was the use of astragal which he compared to that on the ninth-century arch above the eastern side door in the Church of Holy Donatus at Zadar); Brunelli, 1913: 246; Cecchelli, 1932: 190.

[425] Karaman, 1943: 99-101; 1952: 100.

[426] Prijatelj, 1954: 82.

[427] Petricioli, 1954: 5.

[428] Petricioli, 1955: 78.

the same period,[429] dating the portal to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, while considering the panel a slighly earlier work because of its interlace motifs.[430] In 1987, Petricioli moved the date to the 1040s, before eventually settling on a more general date of the second half of the eleventh century.[431]

2.2ii. The Orant Capital

As noted, the eastern and western pairs of columns were recognized as having capitals from different periods by Jackson, Gerber and Bersa.[432] The eastern capitals are Corinthian late antique spolia, the one on the left dating from the fourth century and the one on the right from the sixth,[433] while the western pair, next to the entrance, are both early medieval and of identical shape, with the one on the right having the orant carved on one side. Petricioli categorized them as early Romanesque, but did not attempt to identify them as Corinthian or palmette, mentioning only stylized leaves, volutes and twisted colonettes.[434] Cecchelli, Jakšić and Jurković, on the other hand, considered them to be palmette capitals.[435] Dudan saw them as medieval Corinthian, while Prijatelj implied that they are Composite by mentioning their 'degenerate' acanthus leaves with rudimentary volutes.[436]

This confusion can be explained by the fact that while the morphology of the capital is Corinthian, the leaves do not represent the acanthus but resemble palmettes. Buchwald has called this hybrid type 'Corinthian-palmette' and noted that it is a characteristic of eleventh-century building activity in the Adriatic basin, first used in Aquileia during the remodelling of the Carolingian cathedral under Patriarch Poppo around 1030.[437]

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[429] Petricioli, 1983: 45; 1987: 72.

[430] Petricioli, 1960: 59-60.

[431] Petricioli, 1987: 71. This date is accepted in the scholarship (Jakšić, 2006b: 95; 2008: 35, 147-152).

[432] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264; Gerber, 1912: 110; Bersa, 1926: 84.

[433] Jakšić, 1983: 213. Jackson (1887, 1: 264) distinguished the eastern pair stylistically as classical and Byzantine.

[434] Petricioli, 1960: 57; 1987: 70-72.

[435] Cecchelli, 1932: 172; Jakšić, 1983: 214; Jurković, 1992: 39, 111.

[436] Dudan, 1921: 78; Prijatelj, 1954: 82.

[437] Buchwald, 1966: 147-148, 153. Other examples are found in St Lawrence's at Lovreč in Istria, S. Nicolo on the Lido at Venice, S. Giusto at Venice, Caorle Cathedral and S. Pietro at Padua.

As part of this discussion of the capital types, the orant has received some attention, but the first and only attempt to identify it was made by Jackson who suggested it represented 'the figure of a saint, perhaps S. Lorenzo', and dated it to the ninth or tenth century.[438] Hauser only noted the head and arms, not the body which he considered to be a leaf, as can be seen on his drawing.[439] Rivoira was the first to propose the eleventh-century date for it and the other capitals, seeing them as part of the same sculptural group as the figures on the portal, and on that basis dated the church to the same time.[440] After him, the majority of scholars accepted the eleventh-century date for the orant capital, although not necessarily for the church.[441] An opposing view, that the orant capital belonged to an earlier, eighth- or ninth-century date, was held by Gerber, Bersa and Prijatelj.[442]

Although Petricioli had also initially supported the earlier date, after supervising the works on the Church of St Lawrence in 1956, he argued strongly for the eleventh-century date and has maintained that opinion, pointing out that orants frequently appear on early Romanesque capitals, particularly in Tuscany.[443]

2.2iii. The Chancel Screen Panel

The screen panel from St Lawrence's consists of eight fragments that were brought to the Museum on three separate occasions over a period of sixty years (Fig. 74). In 1886, two fragments of the frieze (a-b) were found in the Church of St. Lawrence,[444] while the fragment on the upper left (d) was also brought to the Museum, then housed in the Church of St Donatus, built into its wall.[445] Several years later, in 1891, four more fragments, mostly from the right-hand side of panel (e-h) were discovered near the Land Gate during construction works: the large fragment (g) was found by Smirich and

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[438] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264.
[439] Hauser, 1895: 153-154, Fig. 4.
[440] Rivoira, 1901: 311-313.
[441] Monneret de Villard, 1910: 61-62. Vasić (1922: 58-59) believed the church was built in the ninth century and re-modelled in the eleventh century when it was provided with sculpted decoration.
[442] Gerber, 1912: 110-113; Bersa, 1927: 180; Prijatelj, 1954: 82.
[443] Early date in Petricioli, 1954: 5; later date in Petricioli, 1955: 78; 1960: 59-60; 1987: 71-73.
[444] Petricioli (1955: 59, n. 1) references provenance and date from the Museum inventory from Smirich, 1894: 18, cat. nos. 26-27.
[445] Museum inventory records it too was brought in 1886, but not the provenance. It was not displayed with the other fragments (Petricioli, 1955: 60-61; Smirich, 1894: 18, cat. no. 28; Reisch, 1912: 45; Bersa, 1926: 134, cat. no. 90).

brought to the Museum, and three smaller fragments (e-f, h) were found by the conservation officer, Glavinić, in the sea just off the Land Gate.[446] The last fragment to reach the museum was the one from the far left of the screen (c), found in the Church of St Lawrence during conservation works lead by Crema in 1942.[447]

The Infancy scenes that can be identified on these various pieces, as reconstructed by Petricioli in 1955, include: the partial remains of an Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity and, below, the Journey of the Magi (Fig. 66). The first three are also inscribed with identifying 'titles' that can be seen on respective horizontal and vertical borders.[448] The remains of the single figure of a soldier with a shield, to the left of the Magi, were interpreted by Petricioli as part of a scene depicting the Magi at Herod's court.[449] However, before Petricioli's reconstruction, the eight fragments were not considered to belong to the same monument, and discussion thus centred on the largest fragment (g), depicting the Nativity and the Journey of the Magi.

Radić was the first to mention this fragment, in 1890, although he failed to recognize the scenes;[450] soon after however, in 1894, Smirich was able to both identify and date them to the ninth century.[451] Discussion regarding the date continued in the first half of the twentieth century: Bersa dated it to the tenth century,[452] while Cecchelli allowed a wider time span, between the tenth and early eleventh centuries.[453] In 1943 Šeper proposed an eighth or early ninth-century date based on the fact that eighth-century figural sculptures existed in Italy, citing the examples from Cividale, Ferentillo and Capua.[454] His opinion was accepted by Karaman,[455] Prijatelj,[456] and by Petricioli before he reconstructed the panel in 1955.[457] Their main points of comparison, based on Šeper's observations, were a number of details found in sculptures they considered to be

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[446] Petricioli, 1955: 60. Smirich brought the Nativity-Magi fragment but records the provenance as unknown; he lists two fragments found by Glavinić (Smirich, 1894: 18, cat. nos. 17, 21, 67).
[447] Petricioli, 1983: 29.
[448] See cat. no. 23.
[449] Petricioli, 1955: 68; 1960: 40.
[450] Radić, 1890a: 36.
[451] Smirich, 1894: 18. Radić (1895e: 254-255) followed suit and even suggested an earlier, eighth- or early ninth-century date; the ninth century is also implied in Reisch, 1912: 60-63.
[452] Bersa, 1926: 135, cat. no. 95.
[453] Cecchelli, 1932: 196.
[454] Šeper, 1943: 647.
[455] Karaman, 1952: 98.
[456] Prijatelj, 1954: 84.
[457] Petricioli, 1954: 5, cat. no. 8, Pl. 1; Suić, 1954: 15.

of an eighth- or ninth-century date: capital volutes, chalice-shaped tubs and plaits with central pellets.[458]

Until then fragment (d), having been built in the wall of the Museum Church of St Donatus, remained unrecognized as part of the same panel. Indeed, Reisch's museum guide mistook it for a fragment of Dominica panel 1, but did not date it.[459] Bersa also mentioned it, without reference to its provenance, and dated it more firmly to the tenth century.[460]

With the removal of the pieces to the new museum, Petricioli published his reconstruction in 1955 and reiterated his conclusions in all subsequent publications, the most important being his 1960 book.[461] Here he described the fragments in detail, analysed them stylistically and noted certain iconographic peculiarities. As part of his discussion he refuted Šeper's arguments for an early date and argued for the eleventh-century date on the grounds of the re-appearance of human figures and narrative scenes in eleventh-century western sculpture.[462] He supported this by pointing to similarities between the St Lawrence panel and those from Holy Dominica, which Karaman had previously dated to the eleventh-century,[463] noting that one of the Magi is depicted wearing a crown, an iconographic detail which tends not to predate the late tenth century.[464]

Petricioli's analysis also included discussion of the art-historical sources of the iconographic details of the scenes. Accordingly, as with the Dominica panels, he identified the close embrace in the Visitation and the Nativity with the reclining Virgin as belonging to Syrian iconographic types.[465] As for the motif of the Christ Child in the bathing scene, holding a scroll and blessing, it reminded Petricioli of the way the Child

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[458] Šeper (1943: 647-650) found a parallel for the volutes in the the font of Višeslav, and for the chalice-tubs on two reliefs from Kotor, while the plait with central pellets he considered a feature of early interlace sculpture although he was aware that the same motif occurred in later phases.
[459] Reisch, 1912: 66.
[460] Bersa, 1926: 134, cat. no. 90.
[461] Petricioli, 1955: 59-78, Figs 1-6; largely repeated in Petricioli, 1960: 37-43; 1983: 28-34. See also Petricioli, 1967: 162; 1987: 54, 60, 71-72, Pl. 10a; 1990: 58, 61, Fig. 34; 1999: 484.
[462] Petricioli (1955: 70-72, 74) references Mâle, 1953: Chapter 1.
[463] Karaman, 1930: 113; Petricioli (1955: 72-73) dated the St Lawrence panel as contemporary with the Dominica panels: the 1030s or 1040s.
[464] Petricioli, 1955:73-74.
[465] Ibid. 65, n. 10 (quoting Mâle, 1953: 58-59), 67.

was depicted on his mother's lap in Byzantine iconographic traditions.[466] He further identified the fragmentary Latin inscription framing the Nativity scene as coming from Isaiah I: 3 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider.'[467]

In the scene of the Journey of the Magi, immediately below the Nativity, Petricioli noted the Magi's different head-dresses worn by the figures: in addition to the distinctive crown, one has a Phrygian cap and the other a mitre.[468] In his reconstruction, Petricioli placed the small fragment with the soldier (h) to the left of the Magi, believing it to be the remains of the Magi before king Herod, and considered the small diagonal form preserved next to the soldier to be a leg from Herod's cross-legged stool.[469] He also speculated which scene might have been depicted below the Annunciation and, after considering a possible sequence of scenes in an Infancy cycle, came to the conclusion that it was likely to have been the Adoration of the Magi.[470]

Since his reconstruction and 1960 publication, Petricioli's conclusions have been almost universally accepted in the scholarship. The reconstructed panel is usually described and discussed according to his analysis, even to the extent of recalling his wording, in exhibition catalogues,[471] and articles and books on early Romanesque sculpture.[472]

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[466] Ibid. 67.
[467] Ibid. 'Cognovit bos possessorem suum et asinus presepe domini sui.'
[468] Ibid. 73-74. He lists the well known example of the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. gr. 1613,) and the Benedictional of Aethelwold (London, British Library, Add. MS 49598).
[469] Ibid. 68.
[470] See further below, section 2.3.3iv.
[471] Montani, 1966: 19; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 101-102, cat. no. 31, Figs 46-47; Lukšić, 1990: 150, 309; I. Fisković, 1991: 41, cat. no. 5Ro; Jurković, 1992: 39; Belamarić, 1997: 47-48; Jakšić, 2006b: 94-95.
[472] Jurković, 1998: 67, Fig. 4; Vežić, 2001: 10; I. Fisković, 2002: 311.

2.3. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

2.3.1. THE PORTAL

2.3.1i. Figures on the Lintel

Petricioli was the first to propose that the decoration on the gable of the portal represents Christ in Majesty.[473] This, however, might not be the only interpretation since Christ is depicted in a similar manner in the scenes of his Ascension, or in those in which he features as an enthroned ruler. That is why before proceeding to the analysis of potential iconographic sources, it is reasonable to clarify what constitutes the iconographic schemes of Christ in Majesty and the Ascension.

According to Kirschbaum, the term *Maiestas Domini* should be applied only to those scenes in which Christ seated within a mandorla is surrounded by the four living creatures from the Apocalypse.[474] The same view was recently re-enforced by Poilpré who pointed out that this image enjoyed its own evolution, while the representations of the enthroned Christ without the four creatures do not belong to a homogeneous group.[475]

Nevertheless, while Kirschbaum and Poilpré have advised against the flexible use of the term, Schiller included examples of Christ accompanied by cherubim or angels in her discussion of the *Maiestas Domini*.[476] According to her, these Majesty scenes, which appeared in the early seventh century on the pilgrims' oil flasks, derive from pre-iconoclastic Byzantine depictions of the Ascension in which the angels carry the mandorla.[477]

Reasons for the apparently arbitrary use of terminology in the discussions of the iconography of the *Maiestas Domini* lie in the fact that the main sources for the scene were the visions of God as described by the Old Testament prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah, and John in the Book of Revelation in the New Testament.[478] These accounts share the image of the deity as the Lord seated on a throne elevated in the heavens and accompanied by creatures praising him. The creatures are not always identical. For

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[473] Petricioli, 1960: 54.
[474] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 136.
[475] Poilpré, 2005: 13.
[476] Schiller, 1986, 3: 238.
[477] Ibid. 235, Fig. 666.
[478] Ibid. 233-234; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 136, 139.

example, six-winged seraphim feature in Isaiah's vision (6: 2), while four creatures with human bodies, four wings and four faces (of a man, lion, ox and eagle) are found in Ezekiel's first vision (1: 1-10); and in his second, cherubim with four wings and four faces, this time that of a man, lion, cherub and eagle are identified (Ezekiel 10). John identified the attendant creatures as four beasts, studded with eyes and having six wings, three of which resembled a lion, calf and eagle respectively, while one had the face of a man (Revelation 4). Since Isaiah's seraphim and Ezekiel's cherubim were considered to be the two highest angelic ranks by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in the sixth century, and propagated by Gregory the Great, it is not surprising that the multi-winged or even regular angels were seen as appropriate attendants in the Majesty scene.[479]

The depictions of Christ's Ascension also borrowed from these biblical descriptions and Schiller even noted that these two scenes merged in western medieval art.[480] Christ ascending into heaven in a mandorla was only one of the possible representations of this event, chosen to give more prominence to the heavenly setting as opposed to other representations which show him stepping up or disappearing into a cloud. But, unlike the *Majestas* scenes, the Ascension is usually accompanied by the figures of the Virgin and the Apostles who witness the miraculous event on the Mount of Olives. The attending angels were also not uncommon, supporting the mandorla or standing on the ground next to the Apostles.

Turning to the scene on the St Lawrence lintel, it can be seen that it certainly shares some of the features with both the *Majestas* and Ascension scenes without fully conforming to either of them (Fig. 75). For example, the rainbow on which Christ is seated, and the book in his left hand are attributes associated with a *Majestas* scene.[481] His clean-shaven face also harks back to the earliest examples of this scheme when it was popular to depict a youthful Christ.[482] On the other hand, a frontally-placed Christ within a mandorla supported by angels is a feature of Byzantine Ascensions and can be traced to the pre-iconoclastic period, when it already appears on the seventh-century oil

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[479] Dionysius the Areopagite, *Cel. Hier*. 7: 161-165; Gregory the Great, *Homilia* 34.7: 305; Kitzinger, 1954: 137-138.
[480] Schiller, 1986, 3: 239.
[481] Ibid. 233.
[482] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 139. The earliest *Majestas* is the fifth-century fresco from the Church of Hosios David in Salonica which shows a clean-shaven Christ (Schiller, 1986, 3: 235, Fig. 662).

flasks from Palestine, now at Monza and Bobbio (Fig. 76).[483] This scheme was embraced by western art in the ninth century and was particularly favoured by Ottonian artists.[484] An eleventh-century example in stone relief survives in a panel from St Génis-des-Fontaines (Fig. 24), demonstrating the continued popularity of the scheme in that century.[485]

Nevertheless, objections to the interpretation of the Lawrence lintel as a *Majestas* scene can be made, as the lintel lacks three main characteristics of such schemes: the evangelist symbols; the cross of victory in Christ's right hand; and his blessing gesture.[486] Instead, he is surrounded by angels, trees and griffins, while in his right hand he holds a sceptre.[487] On the other hand, if the angels supporting the mandorla might be deemed to signal the scene an Ascension, the presence of the trees and griffins, but mostly the absence of the Virgin and the Apostles, are inconsistent with this interpretation.

These iconographic peculiarities, however, together with the sceptre and the inscription in the book, can shed more light on the identity of the scene. The sceptre that Christ holds is topped by a sphere, as opposed to the cross-terminal sceptres that he sometime holds in *Majestas* scenes where they replace the more frequent blessing gesture.[488] Sphere-topped sceptres derived from Roman imperial and consular models and were used by the temporal rulers in Anglo-Saxon England, the Avar state conquered by Charlemagne (Fig. 77), and Kievan Russia, between the seventh and ninth

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[483] Grabar, 1958: Pls 5, 17, 19; Schiller, 1986, 3: 148, 153, Fig. 666; Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 269. Post-iconoclastic examples include the ninth-century Khludov Psalter and a ninth- or tenth-century ivory from Stuttgart (Ibid. Figs 462-463).
[484] Ninth-century frescoes in the lower Church of San Clemente, Rome; eleventh-century ivory from Bamberg now at Munich (Schiller, 1986, 3: 153, Figs 467, 490).
[485] Schiller, 1986, 3: Fig. 506.
[486] In the early *Majestas* scenes Christ's right hand is raised in blessing. In the Ottonian art, he begins to be depicted with a cross of victory in his right hand as was customary in the Ascension scenes since in this period the two scenes became more interdependent (Schiller, 1986, 3: 153, 233, 245; 1986, 2: 13).
[487] This is very unusual for a *Majestas* scene. When Schiller (1986, 3: 241, 245) uses the word 'sceptre' it always denotes a cross-sceptre.
[488] The ninth-century *Pala d'Oro* from Milan (Schiller, 1986, 3: 241, Fig. 689).

centuries.[489] This tradition was continued in twelfth-century Hungary where the coronation sceptre of Hungarian kings adopted the same form.[490]

In visual representations, a similar sceptre is held by King Herod on an ivory casket in the Louvre dated to the ninth or tenth century (Fig. 79).[491] More importantly, however, the seated Christ in the Majestas scene on the early eleventh-century *Pala d'Oro* from Aachen, donated to the Cathedral by Emperor Henry II, is depicted holding a 'temporal' sceptre (Fig. 78).[492] The use of this type of the sceptre on the St Lawrence lintel thus strongly implies that Christ was being represented as an enthroned ruler but not in his more specific role of Apocalyptic Majesty.

A similar conclusion can be reached after analysis of the inscription IHS XPS in the open book held by Christ. According to Schiller, the open books in the *Majestas* scenes were usually inscribed by phrases such as 'I am the word' or simply 'ΑΩ'.[493] The abbreviation IHS XPS, as one of the Latin monograms of Christ's name in Greek (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΣΡΙΣΤΟΣ) first appeared in the eighth century.[494] It can be seen in the eighth-century Godescalc Gospels in the representation of the enthroned Christ (Fig. 80).[495] The same abbreviation also occurs on Byzantine coins – on the ninth-century solidus of Basil I, for example, where it also accompanies an image of the enthroned Christ blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left (Fig. 81).[496] The entire inscription here reads IHS XPS REX REGNANTIUM.[497]

The trees and griffins are also inconsistent with the interpretation of the central scene as that of Christ in Majesty since they occupy the sides of the pediment where the sculptor could have easily placed the symbols of the evangelists as the usual attendants of a Majesty scene. Furthermore, while trees can occur in some depictions of the

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[489] Bruce-Mitford, 1975, 2: 352, 355-356, Figs 260-261. The seventh-century Sutton Hoo sceptre belongs to this category as does the reconstructed Avar sceptre from St Maurice d'Agaune, and the eighth- or ninth-century sceptre from Taganča near Kiev.

[490] http://www.historicaltextarchive.com/hungary/jewels.html; http://www.katolikus.hu/hungariae/katal2-eng.html (both accessed 23 November 2009).

[491] Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 52, Pl. 42e.

[492] Schiller, 1972, 2: Fig. 13.

[493] Schiller, 1986, 3: 233.

[494] Ibid. 169, 171, n. 5, Fig. 639.

[495] Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms. nouv. aq. lat. 1203, fol 3r (Schiller, 1986, 3: Fig. 639). Another example is on the eighth-century Ruthwell cross, Scotland, where it identifies Christ as the judge of equity 'ihS XPS IVDEX AEQVITATIS' (Ó Carragáin, 2005: xxviii-xxix).

[496] Breckenridge, 1980-81: 256, Fig. 7. Grierson and Bellinger, 1993: 487, Pl. 30, 2a-2c.

[497] Ibid.

Ascension, since the Acts of the Apostles (1: 9-12) situated the event on the Mount of Olives,[498] the same cannot be said for griffins. Nevertheless, griffins do appear next to trees outside the context of the Ascension in early medieval art: on an seventh-century sarcophagus from Charenton, and an eighth-century panel from Cividale.[499] Moreover, griffins were sometimes depicted among the animals of Paradise, inspired by the account in Genesis 2, as on a ninth-century ivory from Tours (Fig. 82).[500] Cabrol and Leclercq thus identified the setting of the griffins and trees on the sarcophagus from Charenton as Paradise.[501] This suggests that the two griffins on the Lawrence lintel together with the fruit-laden trees could be understood as indicators of a scene set in the heavenly Paradise. It seems plausible therefore to suggest that the scene on the lintel represents a unique depiction of Christ who is simultaneously both the ascended Christ and the enthroned ruler in his heavenly kingdom.

2.3.1ii. Figures on the Jambs

Although the figures on the jambs are difficult to identify, they were initially identified by Prijatelj as two angels,[502] and confirmed as such by Petricioli.[503] However, in 1987 he proposed that the figure on the left jamb could be identified as Gabriel and that on the right as the Virgin Mary, together forming an Annunciation.[504] Nevertheless, doubt over this identification remains: while Belamarić seems to agree with Petricioli,[505] Jurković cautiously mentions it only as a possibility.[506]

Although the figure on the left jamb can be identified as an angel because he is winged (Fig. 84), there is one important detail which argues against the idea that he was the Annunciation angel. Rather than having one of his hands extended in a gesture of

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[498] E.g. the ninth-century Khludov Psalter and the tenth-century Stuttgart ivory (Schiller, 1986, 3, Figs 462-463).
[499] The sarcophagus in Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, 1969: 350; Nees, 1998: 52. The panel in Schiller, 1986, 3: Fig. 552.
[500] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 202-204.
[501] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1925, 6/2: 1814.
[502] Prijatelj, 1954: 81.
[503] Petricioli, 1960: 56.
[504] Petricioli, 1987: 71.
[505] Belamarić, 1991: 41.
[506] Jurković, 1992: 107.

speech, which was the norm,[507] the angel holds both hands against his body, and grasps a small cross in his right. Although Gabriel was depicted holding a cross in his left hand in Carolingian art,[508] this formed the terminal of his long staff and was not the short cross depicted on the St Lawrence jamb.[509] The short cross, however, did feature in the hands of various saints and the Virgin, such as on the sixth-century Sinai icon (Fig. 86), and the eighth-century Gellone Sacramentary (Fig. 87);[510] it also occurs in in the hands of angels, for example on the tenth-century ivory from London (Fig. 85).[511] Admittedly, the angel does lean towards the right as if to suggest communication with the winged figure on the right jamb, but this figure does not reciprocate the posture; rather it faces forwards with its over-garment sweeping out on either side to reveal both feet below the hem-line (Fig. 84) and, while it also holds a small cross in its left hand, its right is placed across the chest. Furthermore, although both figures are nimbed and have long hair, the forwards-facing figure on the right is differentiated by a large cross set directly over its head.

According to Schapiro, the cross over the head of a figure was not uncommon in imperial and early Christian art and he gives examples of small crosses above emperors' heads on Byzantine coins from the period between the fifth and tenth centuries.[512] By contrast, only two examples of crosses above the heads of secular figures have been identified by Nordenfalk and although of early Christian production are difficult to date with precision.[513] Schapiro also noted that crosses appeared above the heads of Christian

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[507] Gabriel makes the gesture with his right hand but there are instances when he uses his left hand: e.g. the Annunciation to the shepherds in the tenth-century Corvey Gospels (Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 215).

[508] Schiller, 1981, 1: 38.

[509] The seventh-century ivory from Bologna (Goldschmidt, 1975, 4: Pl. 41, Fig. 125), the tenth-century *Codex Egberti* (Jantzen, 1947: Fig. 40), and the eleventh-century *Codex Aureus* from Echternach (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: Fig. 126). The only example of Gabriel holding a short cross-topped wand in his left hand can be seen in the Annunciation on the ivory casket from Braunschweig from the ninth or tenth century, but his right hand is extended in blessing towards the Virgin (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 53, Pl. 45d).

[510] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 414; Lafitte and Denoël, 2007: 79.

[511] Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 162.

[512] Schapiro (1973: 502, n. 37) quoted Grabar's examples of Byzantine coins from the late sixth to late ninth century in which the Emperors have small crosses above their crowns (Grabar, 1957: Pls 6, 10, 11, 14, 17-19). However, these might represent the actual crosses attached to the crowns, such as those worn by an unidentified ninth-century Emperor (perhaps Leo VI) and Constantine IX Monomachos on the ninth-century mosaic in the narthex, and the eleventh-century mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, respectively (Mango, 2002: 203, 182). The same crown appears even on Constantine in a Carolingian depiction of the Council of Nicaea (Mango, 2002: 104).

[513] Nordenfalk, 1968: 129, Figs 6-7. These are: a funeral slab in the catacombs of Domitilla, Rome, and a gilded glass medallion from Egypt. Nordenfalk considered both examples to be of third-century date, and

figures, as early as the fourth and fifth centuries, when they sometimes feature above Christ's un-nimbed head.[514]

A later, ninth-century, example survives in the Stuttgart Psalter (Fig. 88).[515] Here however, the male figure with the cross over his head, holding another cross in his left hand and a spear in his right, might not be Christ;[516] in the Stuttgart Psalter Christ is never depicted in medieval costume and without a nimbus. Indeed, Heinzer argues that this is the figure of David, depicted as a heroic warrior, who in this context also represents the 'blessed man' from the opening line of Psalm 1, which it illustrates.[517] Nevertheless, he admits that here David is also the *Typus Christi* which successfully reconciles his with the traditional interpretations.[518]

Examples of angels and the Virgin with crosses over their heads are difficult to find. The small crosses carved above the heads of the two angels on the eighth-century altar of Ratchis, where they support Christ's mandorla, might represent stars (Fig. 89),[519] while the cross set over the Virgin on the eleventh-century gable from Biskupija (Fig. 121) could have been intended to mark the pinnacle of the gable.[520] However, in other instances, the Virgin could be depicted with a small cross on her forehead, as is the case in the Visitation and Adoration of the Magi scenes, also on the altar of Ratchis (Fig. 90).[521] This positioning of the cross could be explained by the fact that the Virgin's veil, the *maphorion*, was decorated with crosses, one of them always at the centre of the veil

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the medallion figure to be Christ. Schapiro (1973: 503) dismissed this identification and argued that the date of Nordenfalk's examples is uncertain.

[514] Examples are from Krücke, 1905: 84-85.

[515] Schapiro, 1973: 503, n. 39. Stuttgart Psalter in De Wald, 1930.

[516] Stuttgart, Würtemburgische Landesbibliothek, Cod. bibl. 2° 23, fol. 2r:
http://www.wlb-stuttgart.de/index.php?id=3547&set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.wlb-stuttgart.de%2Fdigitalisate%2Fcod.bibl.fol.23%2Fmets.xml&set[image]=3&set[zoom]=min&set[style (accessed on 28 March 2009).

[517] Heinzer (2005: 18) sees David as a prefiguration of Christ and of a *beatus vir*, carrying a spear and a *crux hastata*. He argues that below him is a scene of the teaching of the Law, which illustrates verse 2 of this psalm. To the right is the Crucifixion.

[518] Ibid. The figure is identified as Christ by De Wald (1930: 6) and Mütherich (1968, 2: 59). The fusion of the two figures can be seen in the Durham Cassiodorus' commentary on the psalms (Durham, Cathedral Library, B.II.30, fols 81v, 172v), Bailey, 1978: 10-11.

[519] Buora, 1988, 1: 218, Fig. 12.

[520] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 19.

[521] Haseloff, 1930: Pl. 45.

over her forehead.[522] This is certainly the case on the eleventh-century window *transenna* also from Biskupija (Fig. 127).[523]

The rare use of the distinguishing cross, set above the head of a figure in Christian art of the early middle ages does, however, indicate that it tended to feature as an attribute of Christ or angels. Its use for the Virgin at the Annunciation (as is suggested at St Lawrence's) would thus be without precedent and so suggests it is unlikely that the two figures should be interpreted as forming this particular scene. Such an explanation would, at least, have to account for the disappearance of the maphorion and the removal of the residual cross on the veil to a position above the Virgin's head. While this might be accepted as a possibility, a close examination of the figure shows that the 'frame' surrounding it is nothing more than two atrophied, highly stylized wings spread out and raised behind it. This suggests that both figures, as initially suggested by Prijatelj, can be identified as angels,

The unusual position of the wings of the right-hand angel is that sometimes assumed by the angels in Ascension scenes who, standing on the ground to announce the event to the Virgin and Apostles, prophecy the Second Coming when Christ, 'who has been taken from you into heaven, will come back in the same way you have seen him go into heaven.'[524] The angels figure prominently in the eleventh-century Ottonian manuscripts of the so-called Reichenau school, for example (Fig. 91).[525] However, although the angels in these scenes do not hold crosses but point to the sky or make a speaking gesture, the angels themselves hold such crosses in scenes other than the Ascension, for example on the tenth-century London ivory (Fig. 85).[526] Furthermore, both the position of the wings and the x-shaped detail which Petricioli mistook for a folding stool[527] can also be explained as a consequence of copying a visual source

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[522] The Virgin's *maphorion* was decorated with a cross on the front from the fifth century onwards, with two additional crosses added in the sixth century (Galavaris, 1967-1968: 364, cited by Rakić, 2006: 64, n. 37). Rakić also outlines how the three crosses became standard in middle Byzantine depictions of the Virgin, and that displaying a cross on the forehead was an early Christian custom, apparently stemming from Syria and Alexandria.

[523] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 33.

[524] Schiller, 1986, 3: 142; Acts 1: 11.

[525] The Reichenau Pericopes of Henry II, the Echternach Gospels and the St Gallen Gospels (Schiller, 1986, 3: Figs 485-487). Also the tenth-century ivory from Karlsruhe (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 21, Pl. 16).

[526] Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 162.

[527] Petricioli, 1976: 140.

depicting a six-winged seraph, whose wings are often shown crossed in a similar fashion across their bodies, for example on the ninth-century ivory diptych from Rome (Fig. 93).[528]

Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that the two angels on the St Lawrence jambs were part of the scene on the lintel – the Ascension merged with the image of the enthroned Christ – and to suggest that they represent the angels announcing Christ's Ascension and future return at the Second Coming, rather than Gabriel announcing his Incarnation to Mary. The model sources were obviously modified to evoke the postures and attributes of the saints known from the icons and manuscripts, through the addition of crosses in the angels' hands and a cross above the angel on the right jamb.[529]

2.3.2. THE ORANT CAPITAL

The image of an orant – a standing figure with raised and outstretched arms in the posture of prayer – is one of the earliest Christian motifs, appearing in catacomb frescoes as early as early as the third century.[530] This praying posture, however, was not exclusive to Christians and was also used by pagans throughout antiquity, appearing even on coins as a symbol of the emperor's piety.[531] Depictions of praying figures continued to be used throughout the middle ages.[532] As McClendon noted, in the early middle ages, the orant motif was even enriched by a variant which depicts the figures holding their out-turned palms in front of their bodies, but the most frequent type was still the early Christian pose with upraised arms.[533] As such, they can be seen on the seventh-century sarcophagus of Bishop Agilbert in the crypt of the abbey at Jouarre, where they appear in the scene of the Last Judgement.[534] Orants are also included on

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[528] Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 84b.

[529] The two saints flanking the Virgin in the sixth-century from Sinai icon hold similar crosses (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 414) while head crosses, although rare, can be found in the ninth century, e.g. the Stuttgart psalter, see above, n. 517.

[530] In the catacombs of Priscilla and Callixtus (and its crypt of Lucina), Cabrol and Leclercq, 1936, 12/2: Figs 9079-9080.

[531] Jensen, 2002: 35.

[532] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1936, 12/2: 2292; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353.

[533] McClendon, 1983: 16.

[534] Hubert and Volbach and Porcher, 1969: 72, Fig. 84.

capitals, such as the eleventh-century capitals in the rotunda of St Bénigne at Dijon (Fig. 94).[535]

Turning to the issue of who the orants actually represent, or what they might symbolize, interpretations vary. Early Christian orants appearing in sepulchral contexts, such as sarcophagi and catacomb frescoes, have frequently been considered as symbolic depictions of the soul of the deceased.[536] Other interpretations argue that orants might have been personifications of the Church,[537] or images of the saints acting as intercessors.[538] Furthermore, although the connection between the orant posture and that of the crucified Christ does not seem particularly strong from a strictly visual point of view, it had nevertheless been established by Church fathers, for example Tertullian, by the late second and early third century.[539]

Orants could also be used to represent Old Testament figures who had prayed for divine deliverance, such as Jonah, Noah, Susannah or Daniel.[540] In the second half of the fourth century, however, the orant posture was adopted more widely for the representation of saints, martyrs and the Virgin, and only occasionally for Christ.[541] Jensen has summed up the development of the orant image as progressing from 'the purely symbolic personification of a virtue, to the portrait of a specific but ordinary individual, and finally to the conventional type of the Virgin or a saint in intercessory prayer.'[542] Indeed, saints depicted in intercessory prayers as orants proved to be equally popular in both western and eastern early medieval art: in the tenth-century Egbert Psalter, for example, or the eleventh-century mosaics in Hosios Loukas (Figs 95-96).[543]

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[535] Atroshenko and Collins, 1985: 155, Fig. 101.
[536] More nuanced meanings are: the soul of the deceased who is now in heaven, praying for the living (Cabrol and Leclercq, 1936, 12/2: 2299; Lowrie, 1901: 200, 201; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353) or giving thanks for their salvation (Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353; Jensen, 2002: 36)
[537] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353; Jensen, 2002: 35.
[538] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353.
[539] Jensen, 2002: 36; Cabrol and Leclercq, 1936, 12/2: 2293 (with references to the works by Ambrose, Pseudo-Ambrose and Augustine); Lowrie, 1901: 201.
[540] Jensen; 2002: 36; Lowrie, 1901: 201.
[541] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353. His examples of martyrs as orants are those in the late fourth-century mosaics of the dome in the Church of St George at Salonica and in the sixth-century apse mosaic in Sant' Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna. Interestingly, in this early stage the Virgin adopts the orant posture mostly in the scenes of the Ascension of Christ, such as in the fifth- or sixth-century frescoes in Chapel 17 at Bawit and in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels.
[542] Jensen, 2002: 36.
[543] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3, 353. The Psalter is in Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ms. 136, fol. 41v. Byzantine pectoral crosses from the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries, as objects of

By the ninth century, the trend of depicting the Virgin as orant in the Ascension scenes reached the West, and even spread to the scenes of her Assumption.[544] Since the orant on the capital from St Lawrence's at Zadar is an isolated figure, it is unlikely that it represents the Virgin, as images of her in the orant pose depict her in the company of other figures. Rather, it is more likely to represent a saint or martyr, perhaps even St Lawrence, as already suggested by Jackson and Karaman.[545]

2.3.3. THE CHANCEL SCREEN PANEL

2.3.3i. The Annunciation (fragment c)

In addition to the remains of the angel, an inscription on the border of this part of the St Lawrence screen scene, reconstructed by Petricioli as 'ANGELUS NUNCIAT MARIAE' clearly identifies the scene as an Annunciation.[546] What remains of the angel can thus be understood as Gabriel, on the right, standing on a slightly raised ground (Fig. 97). He holds the foliate staff of the heavenly messenger in his left hand, implying that he was addressing the Virgin with his right. The nimbus visible around his head and his classical attire reveal that a standard model, reproduced universally in early medieval art for the representation of angels, was followed.

The position of the angel approaching the Virgin from the right has its origins in the earliest depictions of the Annunciation in which Mary sits on the left-hand side, as in the fourth-century fresco in the Catacombs of Priscilla in Rome.[547] Despite the fact that another compositional scheme appeared in the sixth century, depicting the standing or seated Virgin on the right,[548] it co-existed with the earlier variant which continued to be reproduced well into the eighth century.[549] In some later Ottonian examples, the Virgin is depicted standing but the angel still remains on the left-hand side, as on the early

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devotion worn by individuals, also have praying saints such as SS George, John, Peter, Stephen and archangel Michael, Pitarakis, 2005: 155.

[544] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353.

[545] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264; Karaman, 1930: 113.

[546] Petricioli, 1955: 60; see cat. no. 23

[547] Schiller, 1981, 1: Fig. 69.

[548] See the discussion on the Dominica Panel 1, section 1.3.1i.

[549] The sixth-century Maximian's throne at Ravenna, and a contemporary processional cross at Dumbarton Oaks (Schiller, 1981, 1: 36, Fig. 71; Cotsonis, 1994: 90, Fig. 33a, 92). The Annunciation with the Virgin on the right in became standard in Byzantine art only after iconoclasm.

eleventh-century Hildesheim doors (Fig. 98).[550] There, as on the St Lawrence Annunciation, the angel stands on tiptoe on the ground. Likewise, the foliate staff held by the St Lawrence angel, although possibly inspired by late Carolingian or Ottonian models,[551] features in the eleventh-century gospels of Matilda (Fig. 32).[552] Thus the iconographic details of the St Lawrence scene identify it clearly as an Annunciation scene and suggest it can well be dated to the eleventh century.

2.3.3ii. The Visitation (fragment d)

As on the Dominica panel, the Visitation scene on the panel from the Church of St Lawrence depicts Mary and Elizabeth in a close embrace (Fig. 97). There is no attempt to individualise the figure of the Virgin; the only difference between the two figures lies in the decoration of their overgarments. Unlike the Dominica panel, however, here the women are placed in an architectural frame consisting of a domed structure resting on columns.[553] On either side, a curtain suspended from the top of the dome is twisted around the column, as can be seen on the eleventh-century portable altar from Melk (Fig. 99).[554] As noted, this architectural setting was probably intended to represent the house of Zechariah and Elizabeth where, according to Luke 1: 56, Mary came to see her cousin and in which she remained for three months.[555]

The close embrace, as mentioned in the discussion of the Dominica panel, is more frequently depicted in Western art between the eighth and eleventh century than the conversing type of Visitation.[556] Unlike the Dominica Visitation, that depicted on the St Lawrence panel does not suffer from lack of space, but the two women are still almost fused into a single form; this cannot have resulted from necessity but indicates deliberate choice, implying that this Visitation belongs to the standard model of a close embrace, widespread during the eleventh century.

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[550] Also on a tenth-century ivory from Reichenau, both in Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 427-429, Figs 2-3.
[551] Schiller (1981, 1: 38) only mentions that Carolingian artists later showed the angel holding a lily-sceptre.
[552] New York, Pierpont Morgan library, MS M.492. fol. 58b (Warner, 1917: Pl. 17).
[553] Petricioli (1955: 66; 1960: 38) noticed the difference in the shape of the roofs.
[554] Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 40, Pl. 34, Fig. 104c. Earlier, ninth-century examples are ivories now at Frankfurt and Paris (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 42-43, 52, Pl. 31, Fig. 75, Pl. 43, Fig. 95i).
[555] See above, section 1.31ii.
[556] Ibid.

2.3.3iii. The Nativity (fragments f-g)

The Nativity scene on the St Lawrence panel (Fig. 100) consisted of the ox and ass in the upper register together with a star and angel. Oddly enough, there is no manger with the figure of the Christ Child. Instead, the figure of the reclining Virgin appears below the two animals. Her extended hand forms a link with the lower register where the bathing of the Christ Child takes place. The Child stands in a chalice-shaped water receptacle and is attended by two women, one seated and the other pouring water from the jug. Joseph is also present, standing on the right. Consisting of these details, the Nativity, with the two animals, the star and the reclining Virgin turning towards the bathing scene represents an early medieval version of the event, already seen on the Dominica panel, which drew on Byzantine models but which was not uncommon in eleventh-century Italian art.[557]

The omission of the Child in the manger with the ox and ass, however, is unorthodox and unparalleled in any version of the Nativity in early Christian and early medieval art. The reason for his absence might, nevertheless, lie in the fact that the Child appears in the bathing episode immediately below, which would, as on the Dominica panel, place more emphasis on the bathing episode than on his placement in a manger. The ox and ass therefore, would remind the viewer of the child lying in a manger, while allowing the focus to rest on the bathing scene. Supporting this explanation, the bathing episode is extremely elaborate in its articulation.

Two women bathe the Child, as was the norm. However, he is immersed up to his waist rather than neck, leaving his hands exposed and, as noted by Petricioli raises his right hand in a gesture of blessing while holding a scroll in his left. This latter attribute is difficult to discern due to the damaged surface of the panel, but these details make him notably similar to the Child seated on his mother's lap in other Infancy scenes, such as the Adoration of the Magi. The similarity is further emphasized when the Child is compared to other early medieval bathing scenes where he is depicted

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[557] See discussion in section 1.3.1iii.

balancing clumsily while being immersed (Fig. 101);[558] or simply standing in the tub (Figs 33-34) as in the Roman examples of the eighth and ninth centuries.[559]

Also distinguishing the Nativity on the St Lawrence panel are the two figures of Joseph and an angel squeezed into the same square field with the Nativity.[560] The figure of a pensive Joseph with his head resting on one hand is a standard motif in the Nativity scenes from the fifth century onwards; in most cases, he sits next to the Virgin who is also seated or reclining.[561] Nevertheless, although late tenth- and eleventh-century Ottonian manuscripts of the Reichenau school depict both Joseph and Mary standing on either side of the manger,[562] it is unsual to find Joseph standing while the Virgin reclines (Fig. 102).[563]

In his analysis of the panel, Petricioli thus examined the possibility that Joseph and the angel might belong to the scene depicting the Second Dream of Joseph in which the angel urges him to flee to Egypt with Mary and the Child and thus escape the impending massacre.[564] He dismissed the idea by arguing that this episode was depicted later in the Infancy cycle, after the departure of the Magi and never next to the Nativity scene.[565] This could be further supported by the fact that Joseph is always shown reclining in his bed when visited by the angel, and not seated or standing as on the St Lawrence panel. Nevertheless, Jakšić has recently suggested that the Dream of Joseph is a likely explanation given the way his palm is raised to his head, perhaps depicting Joseph as resting his head while sleeping.[566]

Although there are arguments in favour of both interpretations, the fact that Joseph and the angel swooping down towards him are the only two figures in this scene

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[558] As on on the Byzantine ivories from the Vatican and London dated between the ninth and eleventh century (Cutler, 1994: Figs 105, 213).

[559] As in the Italian examples from the eighth and ninth centuries: in Rome, the oratory of Pope John VII (705-707), the reliquaries from the Sancta Sanctorum, and the catacomb of San Valentino, and outside Rome at San Vicenzo al Volturno (Deshman, 1989: Figs 3-5, 11, 17). The same posture is seen in middle Byzantine ivories from St Petersburg, London and Baltimore (Cutler, 1994: Figs 20, 31, 42)

[560] Although the inscription IOSEF to the left of the standing figure identifies him clearly as Joseph, Šeper (1943: 644) identified him as a shepherd pointing to the star; this was repeated by Prijatelj (1954: 83). According to Petricioli's (1955: 67) reading of Šeper's essay, Šeper interpreted the nimbed head as the star and did not recognize the angel.

[561] Schiller, 1981, 1: 60, 62.

[562] Nativity in the *Codex Egberti* and the Reichenau Book of Pericopes (Ibid. 69, Figs 166-167)

[563] The sixth-century Maximian's throne at Ravenna is an example of this arrangement (Ibid. Fig. 152).

[564] Petricioli, 1955: 67; 1960: 40.

[565] Ibid.

[566] Jakšić, 2006b: 94.

labelled with inscriptions (ANGELUS and IOSEF) suggests that they should be regarded as belonging to a separate episode; thus any potential confusion arising from an apparent association with the Nativity is resolved. Supporting this suggestion is the fact that Joseph is partially surrounded by a frame with parallel lines which resemble those on the reclining Virgin's cover indicating he too was originally depicted reclining. Another similarity between the two can be seen in the way that the feet of both figures are hidden, again implying that Joseph was also portrayed under a cover.

These details strongly suggest that, as suggested by Jakšić, it is likely the figures depict Joseph's dream. Nevertheless, as outlined by Petricioli, this is unlikely to be the second dream. Rather, the scene is perhaps best understood to portray Joseph's first dream when the angel urged him not to send Mary away; as Schiller has pointed out this episode was sometimes depicted accompanying the Nativity scene.[567]

2.3.3iv. The Journey of the Magi (g)

On the St Lawrence panel, the episode depicting the Journey of the Magi (Fig. 103) has been frequently reproduced and attention has focused on the arrangement and clothes of the Magi, with reference to similarities in the costume of a figure on the eleventh-century window *transenna* from Biskupija (Fig. 127).[568] Šeper considered all three Magi to be depicted wearing Phrygian caps,[569] but when Petricioli reconstructed the panel and examined the scene more closely, he saw them as having different head-gears: according to him, while the left-hand Magus does wear a Phrygian cap, the one in the middle has a head-dress resembling a mitre and the one on the right wears a crown with three peaks.[570] This identification proved significant for the dating of the panel for, as already noted, the representation of the Magi as kings, wearing crowns, does not predate the late tenth-century.[571]

The Journey of the Magi can occur three times in depictions of the Infancy cycle: en-route to Jerusalem, to Bethlehem, and returning home. The account in Matthew 2: 1-12 narrates how the Magi arrived in Jerusalem after following the star, how they

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[567] Schiller, 1971, 1: 57, Figs 169, 177. E.g. when illustrating the Gospel of Matthew.
[568] Šeper, 1943: 650; Prijatelj, 1954: 84
[569] Šeper, 1943: 645.
[570] Petricioli, 1955: 67.
[571] Ibid. 74; Schiller, 1971, 1: 96. See above, section 2.2iii.

enquired of Herod about the new-born king of the Jews before proceeding to Bethlehem, still led by the star, to present gifts to Christ. Warned in a dream by an angel not to report to Herod where they found the Child, they return 'to their country by another route.'[572] Based on this narrative, a sequence of scenes was developed in early medieval art which represented the progress of the Magi: their meeting with Herod in Jerusalem, the journey to Bethlehem led by the star, the dream of the Magi, and their return journey.[573]

Acknowledging this, Petricioli deliberated whether the scene of the journey on the St Lawrence panel represented the arrival or departure of the Magi and suggested that, since there is no angel leading the Magi away, as was customary in the scenes of their homeward-bound journey, the scene in question is that of their journey to Jerusalem.[574] Taking into consideration other early medieval examples of the Magi episodes, he thus argued that the scene to the left of the Journey was that of the Magi before Herod and speculated that the missing scene below the Annunciation might have been that of the Adoration of the Magi.[575]

He based the identification of these scenes on the usual sequence in what he referred to vaguely as the 'early period', stating that the only pre-Gothic example of the Journey being placed between the scene at Herod's court and the Adoration known to him is that in a Bible in the British Library, while this arrangement was frequent in Gothic art.[576] However, Petricioli did not take into account a more likely explanation that in all of these cases, the journey scene might be that of the Magi leaving Herod's court at Jerusalem and riding to Bethlehem. Equally, he made no notice of the fact that the Magi are in fact depicted riding to the right and thus away from the adjacent scene to the left.

The fact that the scenes Petricioli identified as the Magi before Herod and the missing scene of the Adoration precede the scene of the Journey to Jerusalem, rather than follow it as they normally do, did not deter him and he resolved the inconsistency

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[572] Matthew 2: 12.
[573] Schiller, 1971, 1: 98-100; Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 548.
[574] Petricioli, 1955: 68.
[575] Ibid.
[576] Ibid. The 'Bible' in question (Additional MS 37472r) has since been identified as a Psalter from Canterbury (Rickert, 1965: 67, Pl. 67a).

by claiming the sequence of the scenes in this row was reversed to flow from right to left.[577] In brief, he proposed that the scenes in the upper row of the St Lawrence panel were arranged traditionally, left to right, while those in the lower row continued from right to left (Fig. 104).

Before turning to assess this proposal, it is perhaps relevant to examine the St Lawrence scene in detail, and clarify its position in relation to the other scenes in the narrative cycle on the panel. As far as the Magi themselves are concerned, their presence on horseback is a detail that first appears in ninth-century Carolingian and Byzantine art, usually in scenes on their way to Bethlehem (Fig. 106, left).[578] Sometimes they are shown seeing the star while they journey, and Kirschbaum considered these episodes to be connected.[579] The first examples of the homeward-bound Magi can also be dated to the ninth-century in western and Byzantine art alike (Fig. 105).[580] The motif of the guiding angel, while originating in Byzanine art, had spread to the west by the twelfth century.[581]

The different head-gear worn by the Magi on the St Lawrence panel, first observed by Petricioli, may be explained in part by he fact that their heads are viewed from different angles: the left-hand Magus is in full profile while the other two are seen facing forwards. Thus, while the first Magus is seen clearly wearing a cap, the central one might be wearing a crown like that worn by the right-hand Magus, the damaged surface of the stone explaining Petricioli's identification of it as a mitre. He supports his identification of the mitre-wearing Magus by reference to the late tenth-century Gradual from Prüm, and the twelfth-century jamb from the portal of Nonantola Abbey (Fig. 108).[582]

However, on the Nonantola portal the head-gear of the Magi seems to be nothing other than stylised representations of Phrygian caps, rather than mitres, and the same can

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[577] Petricioli, 1955: 68.
[578] Schiller, 1971, 1: 99.
[579] Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 548; Schiller, 1971, 1: 99.
[580] Ninth-century ivory book cover now at Lyon (Schiller, 1971, 1: Fig. 263); ninth-century fresco at the monastery of St John at Müstair (Schiller, 1981, 1: 109). For the Müstair frescoes see more in Davis-Weyer, 1988: 202-237.
[581] Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 548; Schiller, 1971, 1: 99. The angel guids the Magi in the twelfth-century Psalter of Melisande (London, British Library, MS Egerton No. 1139), see Schiller, 1971, 1: Fig. 270.
[582] Petricioli, 1955: 74, quoting Vezin, 1950: Pl. 16a and Venturi, 1903, 3: 167, Fig. 146.

be said for the Prüm Gradual.[583] Furthermore, another obstacle to Petricioli's claim lies in the fact that an eleventh-century mitre did not resemble the form familiar today which he implied; rather, it was a high cone-like hat such as that in the contemporary *Exultet* roll from Bari (Fig. 107).[584] In addition, Réau has demonstrated that the Magi wearing mitres occur only rarely in Christian art, giving the single example of an eleventh-century crozier, although he failes to identify its location and provenance, and does not reference it.[585] Kirschbaum's single example is even later: a fourteenth-century altar from Cologne Cathedral.[586]

Overall, it thus seems unlikely that the central Magus at St Lawrence was originally depicted wearing a mitre. However, it remains the case that the left- and right-hand Magi sport different head-dresses: the former a Phrygian cap, the latter a crown. Petricioli gives several examples of only one Magus with a crown, while the other two wear caps: including the late tenth-century Menologion of Basil II, and the twelfth-century ivory from the Le Roy collection in Paris (Fig. 109).[587] Another twelfth-century example can be seen on the tympanum of the portal of the Church of San Pedro el Viejo at Huesca, where the first Magus wears a cap and the other two sport crowns (Fig. 110).[588] Thus, while the Magi began to be depicted as kings, wearing crowns from the late tenth century onwards, they continued to wear Phrygian caps, in the company of the crowned Magi, as is the case at St Lawrence's, throughout the eleventh century.[589]

Moving on to consider the fragment with the soldier, Petricioli's identification of it as part of the scene of the Magi before Herod can be supported. Guards with shields are a feature of this scene from an early date and they were maintained throughout the early middle ages.[590] In the eleventh-century *Codex Aureus* from Echternach, the two

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[583] Vezin (1950: 69) even uses the Prüm Gradual as an example of the Magi wearing traditional, eastern costume even in the eleventh century.
[584] Bari, Archivio della cattedrale, MS. 1, fol. 5. http://oce.catholic.com/index.php?title=Mitre (accessed 21 March 2011).
[585] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 241: 'Exceptionnellement la mitre épiscopale remplace la couronne royale (Crosse du XIe siècle).' In this case the mitres are not surprising since the crozier is also part of bishop's vestment.
[586] Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 541.
[587] Petricioli, 1955: 74, quoting Vezin, 1950: 71. His invocation of the tenth-century Benedictional of Aethelwold cannot be accepted as here all three Magi are depicted wearing crowns.
[588] www.artstor.org (accessed 22 March 2009).
[589] Vezin, 1950: 69.
[590] Schiller, 1971, 1: 346, Fig. 261, for example on the tenth-century ivory casket from the Louvre.

soldiers standing to the right of the seated Herod are depicted in chain-mail armour and holding shields similar to that held by the Lawrence guard (Fig. 111).[591]

Since his position on the panel implies that Herod must have been depicted next to him, it is logical to assume that the Magi stood on the left of the scene. If that was so, the preceding scene in the narrative, that of the Magi's journey to Herod's court in Jerusalem, would have depicted them riding towards it, moving to the left. Thus, if Petricioli's hypothesis, that the first scene in this row depicted the Adoration of the Magi, can be accepted, the journeying of the Magi away from these two events does not seem to support his argument that the extant scene illustrated the Journey to Jerusalem.

The problem lies in the fact that not only does Petricioli's inverted sequence in the lower register (Fig. 104) represent a highly unlikely reconstruction of the layout on the first out of two chancel screen panels, but the direction in which the Magi travel also undermines his identification. It seems that Petricioli did not consider the above mentioned possibility that the scene might be that of the Magi riding to Bethlehem after visiting Herod. The fact that the right-facing direction of the Magi's cavalcade, away from the scene of at Herod's court is more consistent with this explanation and it allows for the same, logical, sequence of the scenes from left to right, as in the upper register (Fig. 112). It further follows that the missing scene in the bottow row could not have been an Adoration, as the scene in question preceded those of the Magi before Herod and their journey to Bethlehem. Rather, it is more likely to have depicted an event such as the Adoration of the Shepherds, a natural sequel to the Nativity as seen on the Dominica Panel 1.

Unfortunately, since the Lawrence panel has been reconstructed and is not integral to its original ecclesiastical setting, and since it is the only surviving panel from a chancel screen which must have had other panels, there is no firm basis on which a logical order for the scenes can be established. The inscriptions along the border on the right indicate that the panel was originally set on the left-hand side of an opening. They would not have been placed in this position if (as the right-hand panel) it had been

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[591] Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 156142/KG1138, fol. 19v (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 2: 196, Fig. 126).

inserted into the adjoining pilaster or wall. This presupposes the existence of another panel to the right of the central opening in the altar screen.

Only one fragment, decorated with two birds and a flower (Fig. 67) and held in the Archaeological Museum since 1945, has been clearly identified, by Petricioli, as a part of the horizontal frieze of this second panel.[592] Nevertheless, a further fragment from the Museum, depicting a nimbed figure (Fig. 223), was also identified as part of this second, right-hand panel by Prijatelj and Petricioli, due to perceived stylistic similarities with the fragments from first, left-hand panel.[593] However, this fragment was not recorded as having been found in Zadar but in Nin,[594] a small town some 14 km north-west of Zadar. Indeed, the nimbed saint, the bed or chair on which they are seated, and the canopy supported by a twisted column with an Ionic capital are all details that closely resemble those in the scenes of the Visitation and Nativity on the St Lawrence panel. The plain border on the right-hand side of the fragment, consistent with the probable workmanship of the right side of the lost panel that stood at the right end of the altar screen in St Lawrence's, must have contributed to its identification as the second panel by Prijatelj and Petricioli. Prijatelj even suggested this fragment belonged to the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, identifying the seated nimbed figure as the Virgin Mary.[595] Petricioli was more cautious and did not attempt to identify the scene, considering the nimbed figure to be a generic seated veiled female saint.[596]

There is, however, no proof that this fragment, attributed to the second panel from St Lawrence's, but recorded to have been found in Nin, actually belonged to this second panel. Jakšić nevertheless interprets it as the seated Virgin in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi.[597] But, as argued further below, it is more likely that the figure is

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[592] Petricioli, 1983: 42.
[593] Prijatelj, 1954: 83; Petricioli, 1983: 42-43. He was at first hesitant to consider this fragment part of the second St Lawrence panel, stating that he could not link it in the first panel and that it probably belonged to a different church in Nin (Petricioli, 1955: 74-75; 1960: 43-44).
[594] Smirich, 1894: 19, cat. no. 34. According to Smirich the fragment was found by Teodor Čalginj in Nin, who donated it to the Museum in 1883. Čalginj was a Russian architect and archaeologist who spent some time in Dalmatia studying its monuments. He excavated the Church of St Mary 'Stomorica' at Zadar in 1883 (Eitelberger, 1884: 132, 135-136). See below, section, 4.5.1.
[595] Prijatelj, 1954: 83.
[596] Petricioli, 1983: 42.
[597] Jakšić, 2008: 35.

depicted reclining on a bed rather than seated on a chair.[598] Since the Adoration scenes never depict the Virgin reclining on a bed while holding the Child before the Magi, it is reasonable to assume that this fragment may have belonged to a different scene with or without the Virgin.[599]

Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect that the second St Lawrence panel, like the first, also had narrative scenes distributed in two rows. The problems posed by the apparently unusual sequence of events in the second row on the left-hand panel, as suggested by Petricioli (Adoration, Magi before Herod, the Journey to Jerusalem), might therefore be solved if the Journey depicts the Magi on their way to Bethlehem to form the sequence of Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity in the first row of the left-hand panel; continued in the second row with the missing scene, followed by the Magi before Herod, and the Journey to Bethlehem (fig. 112).

2.3.4. SUMMARY

Examination of the portal from St Lawrence's and its visual sources has demonstrated that the inspiration for its carved decoration was sought in the early medieval western versions of Byzantine Ascension scenes which gained popularity in the eleventh-century manuscripts and relief sculpture. However, further western additions such as the sceptre in Christ's hand, and the griffins and trees, were included to modify the scene in order to depict the ascended Christ as the heavenly ruler. Inside the church, the orant capital also reveals a contemporary practice in the eleventh-century Burgundian churches, and may have been intended to represent St Lawrence, as argued by Jackson. As for the chancel screen panel, overall it can be seen that the models lying behind most of its Infancy scenes conformed to the iconographic schemes of early medieval art, although the lack of details and the spatially confining pictorial frames do not offer many clues as to whether the models were decidedly western or eastern. Nevertheless, the costumes worn by of the figures, such as the mail-armour of the soldier, the Magi's clothes and type of crown worn by one of them, all point to western models. Furthermore, the Nativity with the reclining Virgin and bathing of the Child, although originating in pre-iconoclastic

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[598] Discussion in section 4.5.2.
[599] Schiller (1981, 1:100-107) cites no examples of the Virgin reclining on a bed while holding the Child.

Byzantine/Eastern art, were established in the West by the eleventh-century. The Visitation with a close embrace of the two women was also found with equal frequency in both spheres of influence, while the Journey of the Magi and the Magi before Herod also formed part of the Infancy cycles in Carolingian art, such as ivories, and in ninth-century Byzantine manuscripts alike. These scenes preserved on the chancel screen panel from the Church of St Lawrence at Zadar are thus more likely to have drawn on the available contemporary or Carolingian models and not on early Christian ones as seems to be the case on the Dominica panels.

2.4. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

2.4.1. THE PORTAL

From the discussion of the art-historical sources, it can be seen that the figures on the lintel and jambs were intended as part of the same iconographic programme, focusing on Christ's Ascension to heaven where he will sit to the right of God and share his power and glory.[600] According to Schiller, from the early Christian period onwards, such images communicated three main ideas: the exaltation of Christ's humanity; the recognition of his divinity as the son of God; and the cosmic power of Christ as the judge who will return to earth at the end of times.[601] On the St Lawrence lintel the emphasis is placed on Christ's divine aspect as the heavenly ruler. It thus represents the divinity of Christ in heaven, and announces the Second Coming (*Parousia*).[602] The model chosen for the lintel, a widespread depiction of eastern origin in which Christ is seated in his glory and taken up by the angels, rather than actively ascending on his own by stepping up into the cloud (a western early Christian tradition), focuses more on the theophany of the event and on the subsequent exaltation of Christ as the Son of God.[603]

Although the Ascension could also symbolize the exaltation of Christ's humanity, an allusion to which was already found in Paul's letter to the Philippians (2: 6-11), and further elaborated by Irenaeus of Lyon in the second century and Leo the

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[600] Schiller, 1986, 3: 141. See Mark 6: 19; Luke 24: 50-52; Acts 1: 9-12.
[601] Ibid. 142.
[602] See above, section 2.3.1i.
[603] Schiller, 1986, 3: 147.

Great in the fifth,[604] the depiction on the Zadar lintel has more in common with the ideas expressed by Origen and Augustine.[605] Origen opposed the human Christ to the exalted Christ and argued that Christ's divinity became 'more resplendent' after the resurrection.[606] Likewise, and more prominently, Augustine and other theologians of the fourth and fifth century, when the feast of the Ascension was included in the liturgical calendar,[607] also emphasized Christ's divinity at the Ascension. In one of his sermons on the subject, Augustine explains how, by withdrawing himself from the Apostles' view, Christ would feature in their thoughts predominantly as God, and that by removing himself from them 'outwardly', Christ was implying that 'it is better that you should not see this flesh, and should turn your thoughts to my divinity.'[608]

The details of the representation of the exalted Christ on the Lawrence lintel, such as the sceptre, rainbow, trees and griffins all serve to emphasize this aspect of the Ascension, focusing on the vision of Christ as God rather than Man. The sceptre, for instance, is referred to in the Epistle to the Hebrews (1: 8) where the unknown author, narrating how God spoke through Christ during his last days, describes how God had glorified Christ: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of the kingdom.'[609] This articulates the same ideas found in Revelation where John calls Christ 'prince of the kings of the earth' (Revelation 1: 5) and 'Lord of lords, and King of kings.' (Revelation 17: 14). The rainbow is also a motif that appears in Revelation (4: 3) which, 'resembling an emerald, encircled the throne' of God in John's vision of him surrounded by the four creatures. The fruit-laden trees also appear in John's description of the heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21: 18): 'On each side of the river stood the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every

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[604] Irenaeus often accentuated that Christ, the God-Man, was glorified through his Resurrection and Ascension (Unger, 1992: 186, n. 15). He also stressed the Ascension in the flesh and that Christ descended and ascended for the salvation of men: 'Ipse est enim qui descendit, et ascendit propter salutem hominum', Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.6.2: 23. Leo the Great saw the Ascension Day as the day when Christ's humility was raised to sit with God the Father (*Sermo 74*.1: 397C).
[605] According to Farrow (1999: 106, 129, *passim*), Origen and Augustine emphasized Christ's divinity at the expense of his humanity propagated by Irenaeus, although see Widdicombe, 2002: 176.
[606] Farrow, 1999: 98. Origen, *Κατα Κελσου* 2, 65: vol. 1, 187: 'λαμπροτέρα γαρ την οιχουμίαυ τέλέσαυτος ή θειότης ήυ αύτου'.
[607] It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when this occurred but certainly after the Edict of Milan of 313, most probably in the second half of the fourth century (Davies, 1958: 113).
[608] 'sed melius est ut istam carnem non videatis, et divinitatem cogitetis', *Sermo* 264: 1216; trans. Hill and Rotelle, 1993: 227.
[609] Originally in Psalm 45: 6-7.

month.' These trees on the St Lawrence gable might therefore be regarded as representing the two Trees of Life from Revelation, which bear fruit all year round, having as they do six pieces of fruit each.

Within this context, the symbolic significance of the griffins can be seen to unify several layers of meaning. They can be understood as guardians, particularly in a sepulchral context; and as symbols of the dual nature of Christ (due to their physical appearance as half-lions, half-eagles); as well as symbols of immortality and Christ's Resurrection and Ascension;[610] their presence can also, as already noted, imply a heavenly setting since griffins could be depicted among the animals of Paradise.[611] Thus, in some instances the griffin as a creature of Paradise associated with the Sun and light, but also as a guardian, seems to have been considered a substitute for a cherub, a winged angelic guardian of the gates to Paradise as well as the Ark of the Covenant.[612] Finally, since griffins as guardians became apotropaic figures,[613] they were often placed near doors and openings and thus would have been especially appropriate motifs for a decorated church portal.

Consideration of the significance of the portal is not complete, however, without the figures, identified as angels, decorating the jambs supporting the lintel. As the demonstrated, these may well represent the two angels who joined the Apostles at the moment of Christ's ascension, proclaiming his return 'in the like manner.'[614] Their potential relationship with the scene above is highlighted in the exegetical tradition in the works of Irenaeus and Leo the Great,[615] where the angels are explained as emphasizing Christ's glory, in the context of his Ascension and enthronement as the Son

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[610] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 202-203.

[611] This was inspired by Genesis 2, illustrated on the ninth-century ivory from Tours (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 70). In the context of Christian art, griffins are mentioned in the Byzantine version of the *Physiologus* as birds of heaven, and appear in early medieval art often guarding the Tree of Life or source, one of the earliest examples being a seventh-century sarcophagus from Charenton-du-Cher (Kirschbaum, 2, 1970: 202; Cabrol and Leclercq (1925, 6/2: 1814) interpreted the setting as Paradise.

[612] After the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, God 'placed on the east side of the Garden of Eden cherubim...to guard the way to the tree of life.' Genesis 3, 24. From this it is clear that the guardians were at least two in number, cherub*im* being the plural. Pairman Brown (2001, 3: 291) pointed out that the Greek word for Griffin, 'grips' (γρύφ< γρύπ) shares a common stem with the semitic words 'kuribu' and 'kəruwb' from which the word cherub is derived. Nevertheless, he is aware that the etymologists are divided. Also, Wild, 1963: 9.

[613] Kazhdan, 1991, 2: 884.

[614] Acts 1: 10-11.

[615] Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 5.36.3: 429; Leo the Great, *Sermo* 74.1: 397B.

of God who passed beyond the ranks of angels in accordance with Hebrews 1: 4-5 'Being made so much better than the angels, as he hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they. For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee?'[616]

2.4.2. THE ORANT CAPITAL

The reasons lying behind choosing to carve a small figure of an orant on one of the capitals are not easy to establish, particularly if considered in isolation, since orants could represent a number of figures in early medieval art, ranging from martyrs, saints and the Virgin in intercessory prayers, to the souls of the deceased;[617] without the inscription it is impossible to determine who the Lawrence orant was intended to be and what potential symbolic significance it had, being placed on one of the faces of the capital. However, wider analysis of all the sculptures in the church, and their relationship to each other, may well throw further light on the issue.[618]

2.4.3. THE CHANCEL SCREEN PANEL

Before turning to consider the significance of the wider setting of the sculptures, however, it is necessary to outline the potential iconographic significance of the chancel screen panel from St Lawrence's. The fact that Infancy scenes appear on this panel and those from the Church of Holy Dominica at Zadar points to certain similarities between the type of monument and the early stage of Christ's life chosen to adorn them. However, several significant differences also have to be taken into account. As noted, the extant fragments from the St Lawrence screen, unlike that from Holy Dominica, do not include the second panel, nor is the first panel particularly well preserved. Moreover, a close study of the St Lawrence panel challenges the established perception of it based on Petricioli's reconstruction. Analysis of its potential symbolic significance, therefore, cannot be expanded to include the entire chancel screen; however, it can be viewed in

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[616] 'Tanto melior angelis effectus quanto differentius prae illis nomen heredavit; cui enim dixit aliquando angelorum Filius meus es tu ego hodie genui te.'
[617] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 353. See also above, section 2.3.2.
[618] See below, section 2.5.

connection with other figural decoration in the church because, unlike Holy Dominica, the figural decoration from St Lawrence's is not limited to the screen.

Inside the church, an orant figure is preserved on the capital of the first of the two northern columns, while statues of four eagles stand high above the four impost blocks of the columns. The exterior was also decorated with figural carving – originally set in the north wall was the portal with the scene of Christ's Majesty on its lintel, and two angelic figures located in the vegetal scroll on the jambs.

While the Infancy scenes on the Dominica panels centred around the physical threshold of the chancel and the symbolic thresholds focusing on the dual nature of Christ and the importance of bearing witness, those depicted on the Lawrence panel seem to be more concerned with the divine aspect of the Christ Child and the importance of the Holy Spirit. Here, the Annunciation and Visitation scenes display certain iconographic details which accentuate the Incarnation of the Word in these two events dependent on the power of the Holy Spirit.[619] The same theme is also expressed by the Nativity scene with the blessing Child. An extension of the story follows with the Magi questioning Herod about the King of the Jews and their journey as the last scene on the panel.

As on the Dominica panel, the Annunciation here is a scene particularly appropriate for doors and openings (such as that in the screen leading to the chancel) due to the connection between Mary's perpetual virginity and Ezekiel's reference to the shut gate of the sanctuary.[620] It is unfortunate that the figure of the Virgin has not been preserved leaving only the figure of Gabriel to provide details of this interpretation. Compared to the Dominica Annunciation, the arrangement of figures on the Lawrence panel is reversed and the angel approached the lost figure of the Virgin from the right while she stood on the left.

According to Cotsonis, when the Virgin is depicted on the right, as seen on the Dominica panel, Gabriel is placed in a secondary position, which 'lends dignity to her

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[619] Gabriel explains to Mary that 'the Holy Spirit will come upon' her and she will conceive. When announcing the birth of John the Baptist to Zechariah, Gabriel also states that 'he will be filled with the Holy Spirit' from birth. Elizabeth was 'filled with the Holy Spirit' and then recognized Mary as the mother of the Lord (Luke 1: 15, 35, 40)

[620] See discussion in section 1.4.

status.'[621] Denny argued that the turning point for the reversal of the figures took place in the fifth century as a consequence of the Council of Ephesus.[622] Although Denny found no theological doctrine which would determine the placing of these figures on either left or right,[623] his argument that after 451 the position of the Virgin tends to be frequently on the right implies that the 'older' position of the Virgin on the left, as on the Lawrence panel, was intended not to over-emphasize the Virgin.

Another subtle reference to the increased emphasis on Christ as the living Son of God lies in the fact that the angel on the Lawrence panel holds a foliate staff which can be understood to refer to the exegetical tradition of the Virgin (*virgo*) as the rod (*virga*) of Isaiah's (11:1) prophecy: 'A rod shall go forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise from his root'.[624] By the early third century Tertullian had already interpreted the Virgin as the rod from the line of David and Christ as the flower,[625] and these ideas were articulated by Ambrose – that the Virgin is the rod of Jesse and Christ is the flower rising from the root of Jesse – and others such as Jerome and Leo the Great.[626] The survival of this literary tradition, and its influence on the liturgy, is demonstrated unequivocally in the late eleventh century in Zadar, where the Virgin was praised as the 'Virga Iesse generosa' in the breviary of the Benedictine convent of St Mary in Zadar.[627]

Together with the closed gate of Ezekiel, this *virgo-virga* pun was clearly deemed appropriate for the discussion of the virgin birth,[628] while also emphasizing the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy about the coming of the messiah from the line of David: Christ's incarnation.[629] According to Schiller, the shoot as a 'symbol of Christ's human descent' was thus used as an attribute of the Virgin Mary, as well as Isaiah and the ancestors of Christ from the early eleventh century onwards, and merged

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[621] Cotsonis, 1994: 92.

[622] Denny, 1977: 8-14 (from Cotsonis, 1994: 92, n. 183).

[623] Ibid. 1.

[624] Another possible explanation is that the staff is 'a sceptre in the form of the lily' which Schiller (1971, 1: 38) mentions as one of the post-Carolingian attributes of Gabriel but does not give a more precise date. Kirschbaum (1970, 2: 75) implies that this attribute appeared only in Gothic art.

[625] Tertullian, *De Carn. Chr.* 21: 912.

[626] Ambrose, *De Spir. Sanc.* 2.5: 101; Jerome, *Comm. Esai.* 4.11: 147; Leo the Great, *Sermo 24*.1: 204B. See also Watson, 1934: 6.

[627] Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Cod. lat. 8-o.5, 41v (Grgić, 1968: 218).

[628] The two prefigurations are depicted together on the same page in the eleventh-century Vyšehrad Gospels, Prague, Národní knihovna Ceské republiky, MS. XIV. A13, fol. 4v (Schiller, 1971, 1: 15, Fig. 22; Watson, 1934: 84, Pl. 1).

[629] Schiller, 1971, 1: 15.

with the flower to allude to the full prophecy; it took the form of the 'flowering staff.'[630]
The foliate staff in the angel's hand at St Lawrence can therefore be understood to
symbolize the very event he is announcing – the flower representing Christ and the rod
referring to the Virgin.

Even more elaborate iconographic details are preserved in the Lawrence
Visitation scheme, where the house of Zachariah is depicted as a very elaborate domed
structure, perhaps with reference to the pre-Crusader Church of the Visitation at Ein
Kerem near Jerusalem.[631] As previously noted,[632] the Ionic capitals might also point to
an architectural model and, in a Vitruvian sense, could have been deemed particularly
appropriate for a major female religious figure such as the Virgin: after all, the fifth-
century basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome was also provided with Ionic capitals
above the nave columns.[633] However, although the St Lawrence Visitation has the same
embracing type as the Dominica Panel 1, and could thus be said to express the same
Ambrosian idea of Mary's humility,[634] or Elizabeth's recognition of her as the Mother of
God, three details point in a slightly different direction.

The two embracing figures are not only set *within* the elaborate domed interior,
but the curtains twisted around the columns form a lozenge-shaped frame around them.
Lozenges also appear on the Virgin's over-garment, differentiating her from Elizabeth.
Another device, already noted by Petricioli, was used to distinguish the two otherwise
symmetrical halves: the roof top on the left-hand (Mary's) side is triangular, while that
on the right side, corresponding to Elizabeth, is semicircular.[635] Compared to the
Dominica Visitation where the two women wear identical costumes and are squeezed
under a single arch without any hint of an architectural setting, this obvious

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[630] Ibid.

[631] The earliest church is attested by a pilgrim, Archdeacon Theodosius, *c.* 530 (*De Sit.*: 117; Wilkinson, 1977: 63-71). In 1106, Daniel, a Russian abbot visited the church on this site but it is unclear whether this was the early Christian church which Theodosius saw or the medieval one (Venevitinov, 1883-1885: 59). It was certainly not the double-church erected by the Crusaders and subsequently handed over to the Franciscans.

[632] See above, section 2.3.3ii.

[633] Because the Ionic order was inspired by the female figure, Vitruvius advised that it should be used for the temples to Juno, Diana and Bacchus, who are neither severe nor tender so as to require a masculine Doric or a tender Corinthian (Book 1.2.5; Book 4. 1.7); Rykwert, 1998: 237. Even the ground-plan of Sta Maria Maggiore conforms to Vitruvius' ideal (Miles, 1993: 158, quoting Benny and Gunn, 1981: 61, 104).

[634] See above, section 1.4; Ambrose, *Expos. Luc.* 2.22: 40.

[635] Petricioli, 1955: 66.

differentiation between the two women and their relative spaces on the St Lawrence panel must have been deliberate.

The lozenge shape has long been used to decorate objects and works of art.[636] In Carolingian works, according to Kessler, lozenges had a symbolic meaning, particularly when they were used as frames in the scenes of the Majesty of Christ.[637] Following Werckmeister, he argued that in this context, the lozenge represented a cosmological scheme of *tetragonus mundus* illustrating the four-fold nature of the world, or at a more fundamental level, the world itself or even the earth.[638] This is supported by the writings of Alcuin and Rabanus Maurus who interpreted the lozenge as the world.[639] Richardson, on the other hand, proposed that the lozenge is a symbol of Christ himself as Logos Incarnate.[640] O'Reilly has reconciled the two explanations, arguing that lozenges were indeed used in those scenes to depict the harmony of the Gospels unified in Christ as Logos, reflecting the divine order from at least the eighth-century onwards.[641]

With this in mind, the lozenges on the Virgin's cloak might well be understood to allude to the divine order being fulfilled by the Incarnation of the Logos growing in her womb. It is possible that the lozenge frame surrounding the two embracing women, also refers to those ideas, but since it contains both women, the lozenge in this case may refer back to its ancient usage as a symbol of female fertility.[642] When applied to the Virgin, the lozenge operates as a dual symbol of the Incarnation of Christ and of her pregnancy, but if it is applied to Elizabeth, who conceived John the Baptist in old age (Luke 1: 36), it might imply it was the divine order that had made her fertile, or in the

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[636] The lozenge was seen as a schematized representation of the womb and used as a symbol of female fertility (Gimbutas, 1987: 14-15). The ovoid lozenge known as the *vesica piscis* was used in Christian art to symbolize Virgin Mary (Fletcher, 2004: http://www.emis.ams.org/journals/NNJ/GA-v6n2.html (accessed on 1 May 2009)). Williams (2001: 54) identifies *vesica piscis* with a mandorla, explaining the origin of the latter as being borrowed from fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine art which applied it to the icons of the Virgin Platytera depicting the Incarnation of the Christ in the womb.

[637] Kessler, 1977: 52-53.

[638] Werckmeister, 1967: 693. The lozenge as a four-fold cosmological scheme in these scenes stands for the unity of the four Gospels symbolically linked to the four rivers of Paradise (Kessler, 1977: 51-53).

[639] Alcuin's poem *Versus de sancta Cruce* is arranged so as to form a cross within a lozenge (Bern, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 212, fol. 123r); see in Dümmler, 1964, 1: 225. Rabanus Maurus (*De Univ.* 12.2: 333C) defines the lozenge as the world.

[640] Richardson, 1984: 32; 1989: 376; 1996: 24-25.

[641] O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94; Hawkes, 2003: 8-9.

[642] See above, n. 637.

words of Ambrose, all that God willed was possible to God.[643] Thus, John the Baptist within Elizabeth as the last Old Testament prophet, prophesying the Divinity of the Christ Child, would represent 'harmony' and order in the sense of the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New.

Ambrose's commentary on the Visitation also places strong emphasis on the grace of the Holy Spirit, drawing on Luke's account of the event: John the Baptist, being filled with the Holy Spirit from his conception, passes on this effect of grace to his mother.[644] His interpretation of Isaiah's *virga Jesse* also appears here, strengthening the connection between the Incarnation and the Visitation with reference to the Holy Spirit.[645] Thus, what was announced to the Virgin in the previous scene on the St Lawrence panel symbolised by the foliate staff, is confirmed in the Visitation scene by the effects of the grace of the Holy Spirit, reflected in the two pregnant embracing women surrounded by a lozenge representing the divine order in the world.

Also of note in the Infancy scenes of the St Lawrence panel, is the fact that the Annunciation, Visitation and the Nativity were labelled by inscriptions.[646] That surrounding the Nativity scene opens with a cross and has been convincingly reconstructed by Petricioli as 'cognovit bos possessorum suum et asinus presepe domini sui' (Isaiah 1: 3).[647] This reference to the manger might be considered rather anachronistic given the absence of the manger from the scene which, as noted above, is unparalleled in Christian art.[648]

Moreover, taken together with the fact that the inscription focuses on the exegetical interpretation of the ox and ass adoring the Child at the manger,[649] it might be suggested that the scene did originally include the manger with a small head of Christ, as on the Dominica panel, and that its absence can be explained by the fact that Petricioli reconstructed the Nativity scene from the preserved fragments, placing the figure of the Virgin on fragment (g) next to the animal head on fragment (f) (Figs 74, 100), while the fragment with the manger might have been lost. In this way the message

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[643] Ambrose, *Expos. Luc.* 2.19: 39.
[644] Luke 1: 40; Ambrose, *Expos. Luc.* 2.22-23: 40-41.
[645] Ibid. 1561B.
[646] See cat. no. 23.
[647] Petricioli, 1960: 40. 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'
[648] See above, section 2.3.3iii.
[649] Ibid.

conveyed by the manger would be the same as on the Dominica panel: the manger with the two animals symbolizes the divine nature of Christ.[650]

Whether the manger has indeed been lost from the original scene, other references to Christ's divinity are present in the St Lawrence Nativity in the form of the star and the depiction of the first dream of Joseph, an event popular in the works of early Christian theologians,[651] since, according to Matthew, the angel informs Joseph that what is 'conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost' (Matthew 1: 20), while establishing the Old Testament connection with reference to Isaiah: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.'[652]

On the other hand, the reclining Virgin, a pose intended to communicate her suffering during labour, symbolizes Christ's humanity.[653] This aspect of his dual nature, within a Nativity scene is further emphasized by the Bathing episode. However, even here, the Lawrence panel depiction of the infant expresses the divinity of the Child: where other examples have a plump and clumsy infant, this Child, centrally placed and emerging from the 'bath', blesses the seated attendant.[654] In this context perhaps the bathing also reflects what Deshman has called 'a stock motif in ancient depictions of the birth of a divine or divinely begotten child.'[655]

The miracle of the divine birth, universally recognized by the Jews and Gentiles symbolized by the ox and ass would be further referred to by the visit of the Magi, representatives of the Gentiles. The scene of the Adoration has not been preserved, but, as already argued, it is nevertheless strongly implied by the fact that two other scenes from the Magi cycle appear in the second row of the panel: the Magi before Herod and the Journey of the Magi. The first, almost completely lost from the panel, was usually

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[650] This is based on the connection between the manger and Isaiah's prophecy which contrasts the faithfulness of the ox and ass to their master, with the unfaithfulness of the Jews. Origen, Ambrose and Augustine elaborated further and argued that the two animals stand for the Jews and Gentiles, Christ thus being universally recognized as the Son of God. This idea entered the pictorial tradition and the two animals appear at the manger even though they are not mentioned in the Gospels (Schiller, 1971, 1: 60, n. 157).

[651] Ambrose, *De Spir. Sanc.* 2.5: 101; Ambrose, *De Inst. Virg.* 8.57: 320D; Jerome, *Adv. Helv.* 4: 186C; Augustine, *De Nupt.* 1.11: 224.

[652] Isaiah 7: 14.

[653] Réau, 1957, 2/2: 219.

[654] Schiller, 1971, 1: 101.

[655] Deshman, 1989: 33. It was often depicted in the scenes of the birth of Dionysus and Alexander the Great (Lawrence, 1961: 328).

understood to signify that the 'Nativity is the birth of a king'.[656] Having arrived at the court of Herod the Magi enquire about the birth of Christ as the King of the Jews: the just ruler is set against the tyrant. The Journey of the Magi probably also emphasizes the importance of the birth of the new king. The Magi themselves were, as noted, regarded as kings by the eleventh century, an understanding alluded to by the crown worn by one of the Magi, and their journey was undertaken to pay homage to Christ and present him with royal gifts.

Since these five scenes are all that remain from the chancel screen of St Lawrence's, this iconographic analysis cannot be applied *pars pro toto* to the entire monument. However, as they survive it appears that together, their emphasis was on the Christ Child as the Son of God, whose incarnation in the flesh fulfils the prophecies from the Old Testament about the coming of the Messiah from the royal line of David, as a king himself. In some of the scenes, certainly in those in the upper row (Annunciation, Visitation and Nativity), the power of the Holy Spirit is also subtly referred to, a theme which unifies the Godhead and Logos to form the Trinity, an entity which also inspired the Old Testament prophets.

2.4.4. SUMMARY

Thus, analysis of the iconographic significance of the figure sculptures from the Church of St Lawrence's at Zadar demonstrates that the portal and the screen panel place more prominence on Christ's divinity than his humanity, and in doing so, complement each other. And, while the panel in the church interior depicted the Incarnation of Christ and the beginning of his life as the divine Child, the portal on the exterior showed the ascended adult Christ as God, the ruler of all, at the end of his terrestrial manifestation, as if to illustrate the words of Augustine in his Ascension sermons that through Christ the man one goes to Christ the God, or, more explicitly, that 'because you have rightly believed in the flesh of Christ, enjoy now the greatness and divinity of Christ. He was needed as weak by the weak, he will be needed as strong by the strong.'[657]

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[656] Schiller, 1971, 1: 98.
[657] *Sermo* 261: 1206; *Sermo* 264: 1215; trans. Hill and Rotelle, 1993: 210, 229.

Given this, the loss of the second panel on the right-hand side of the central chancel opening, of which only a fragment of the horizontal frieze has been preserved, is certainly regrettable, since it would have shed more light on the significance of the chancel screen as a whole.

2.5. CONCLUSIONS

The Church of St Lawrence at Zadar, however, was not decorated exclusively with figural sculptures but also with animal and vegetal ornament. The central opening in the chancel screen was surmounted by a gable, the central part of which was decorated with two birds drinking from a chalice. Above the chalice is a branch and a vegetal scroll runs along its arch. This scene, common in Christian art from the second half of the fourth century onwards, functions as a symbol of the Eucharist, where the chalice represents the cup with the blood of Christ, and the birds the souls that are nourished by it.[658]

Within this context, the screen panel depicting the Incarnation and the early days of Christ as a human infant, with a strong underlying message about his divinity, the power of the Holy Spirit and universal order, suggests that these are pre-requisites for the Salvation attained through Christ's sacrifice alluded to through the Eucharistic cup placed above it, on the gable forming the uppermost part of the screen.

The same non-narrative and abstract notions of salvation and divinity seem to be communicated by the rather damaged statues of eagles at either side of the apse vault and in the nave.[659] Eagles had long been considered as symbols of rejuvenation and resurrection in Christianity, and the verse from Psalm 103: 5 – 'thy youth is renewed like the eagle' – was associated with the Ascension already in the fifth century by Maximus, Bishop of Turin.[660] Moreover, their association with imperial ascension into

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[658] Cabrol and Leclrecq, 1925, 2/2: 1610, 1613.
[659] The best preserved eagle is on the south-west wall closest to the narthex. Petricioli, 1960: 56-57. Cecchelli (1932: 171-172) was the first to mention they might represent eagles. Hauser (1895: 153) referred to them as four winged animals while Gerber (1912: 110) noting their damaged nature, remarked that they might have been the evangelists' symbols. All authors agreed that the birds are of the eleventh-century date, see Vasić, 1922: 59; Bersa, 1927: 180.
[660] Werness et al, 2006: 153; The Physiologus describes how old eagles renew their strength by plunging in the fountain and flying high towards the Sun, hence the connection with baptism as being reborn into new life. Maximus, *Sermo* 55.1: 222; *Sermo* 56.2: 225.

heaven in Roman art ensured its survival as an appropriate symbol of Christ's divine nature and his triumph over death.[661]

As a symbol of John the Evangelist, the eagle as a bird able to soar high into the sky was also associated with the Ascension of Christ.[662] The connection between the evangelist symbols and key aspects of Christ's life was analyzed in depth by Gregory the Great, who outlined how Christ was incarnated as a man (Matthew), sacrificed like an ox (Luke), resurrected like a lion (Mark), and ascended into the heaven like an eagle (John).[663] The last aspect is explained particularly poetically in the early eleventh-century Uta Codex: 'In the ascension of Christ was fulfilled the vision of the eagle.'[664]

These interpretations clearly show that by the tenth century the eagle was widely recognized as a symbol of the Ascension and not only of John the Evangelist. The fact that in the Church of St Lawrence there are six eagles, and not just one, speaks in favour of them as signifiers of Christ's divinity rather than symbols of St John.

As implied earlier, the shift from the narrative and literal nature of the scenes on the screen panel to the non-narrative and abstract representations on the gable and the imposts corresponds to the separation between the sculptures in the lower and those in the upper part of the church; the dividing line being the level of the capitals, whether those on the screen or in the nave.

Standing on the dividing line between the spheres of the abstract and the human narrative is the curious figure of a nimbed orant carved on the capital of the right-hand western column. It faces the nave and represents a saint who no doubt would have been understood as intercessor acting on behalf of the congregation, possibly the titular saint, St Lawrence.[665] Furthermore, this separation between the east and west part of the church below the level of the vault, also evident in the use of capitals from different periods, bears witness to the fact that it was the position of the liturgical furnishings and

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[661] Werness et al, 2004: 153; http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02576b.htm (accessed 22 March 2011).
[662] Schiller, 1986, 3: 121.
[663] Gregory the Great, *Hom. Hiezech.* 1.4: 47-48. 'Totum ergo simul nobis est, qui et nascendo homo, et moriendo vitulus, et resurgendo leo, et ad coelos ascendendo aquila factus est.' The connection was first made in the late third century by Victorinus of Pettau who applied the eagle symbol to St Mark. Gregory, however, follows the accepted standard association of the eagle with St John established by Jerome (Stevenson, 1997: 476-479).
[664] 'In xpo c[o]mpleta e[st] visio aquilae ascendendo' Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm, 13601, fol. 89v (Cohen, 2000: 102).
[665] Jackson, 1887, 1: 264.

their association with architecture what determined the choice of figural and non-figural decoration. The pairing of the capitals in relation to the position of the columns corresponds to the separation between the chancel and the area for the faithful (*quadratum populi*), where the older late antique capitals mark the entrance to the chancel barred by the screen, further emphasized by the raising of the floor so that the columns themselves were originally placed one step above those in the nave, which were provided with newly carved early Romanesque capitals.[666] A similar 'sign-posting' with capitals was used in the Benedictine Church of St Peter at Supetarska Draga on the island of Rab.[667]

If the capitals sign-post the internal divisions, the six eagle statues visually unify not just the interior but also the exterior of the church. This was achieved by both their iconographic function as signifiers of the Ascension, and their position above the capital zone, both of which correspond to the symbolic significance and location of the portal pediment. There the divine nature of Christ is unequivocally represented in the image of the ascended Christ enthroned in heavenly glory.

According to Petricioli, the portal originally stood in the west wall, but only for a short while because the western structure and bell-tower were soon added in front of it and the portal was removed to the north wall where it would be visible from the street.[668] The fact that the portal had to be moved because the western addition hid it from view indicates that it was intended for a prominent exterior position leading into the nave. This entrance enabled anyone approaching the church from the street along its north wall to step directly into the nave, implying that it was used by the faithful and not the clergy. The western addition itself had a small door in the south wall. With its vaulted cubicles and niches on both floors, but particularly with the opening onto the church on the first floor, this structure implies that it may have been used for a variety of purposes such as enabling a number of people, perhaps dignitaries of high standing, to observe the liturgy taking place in the church.

Anyone who entered the church through the north portal would have been faced with the public display of the ultimate and eternal rule of Christ in his majesty before

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[666] Petricioli, 1987: 60.
[667] Jakšić, 1983: 211-212. Also in St Michael's at Banjole (Mustač, 2010: 33).
[668] Petricioli, 1987: 69.

perceiving the allusions to the Resurrection and Eucharist in the interior of the church, made possible by the Incarnation and his birth as part of the divine order.

The choice of scenes on the screen panel and portal of the Church of St Lawrence at Zadar, highlighting Christ's divinity and universal harmony, might have been influenced by a desire to represent local authorities as embodying the world order according to the will of God. This is strongly suggested by the fact that the church was erected on the square, referred to in the sources as *Platea comunis*, which is situated at the opposite side of town from the Cathedral and bishop's palace, and functioned as a meeting place where the *prior* and people of Zadar made civic decisions.[669]

Such separation of temporal rule from the religious leaders of Zadar is a trend that dates to the second half of the eleventh century.[670] This was a tempestuous period for the local aristocratic family, the Madii, and their ambition to rule the region with complete independence from Byzantium.[671] After the fall of the brothers Gregory and Dobrona when attempts to achieve autonomy were finally halted by the emperor in Constantinople in the late 1030s, the family lost their hereditary 'right' to *priors*. Venice was also intolerant of ideas of independence, and in 1050 Doge Contareno took control of Zadar.[672] Although Venetian rule did not last long, by the 1080s at least six other families were competing with the Madii for the office of *prior* and written records mention several names that cannot be linked to them.[673] Despite this, the Madii did succeed in having one of its members, Drago II, elected as *prior* on three occasions in the late eleventh century, his third term being around 1095.[674]

Whether the Church of St Lawrence was built during the reign of Drago II or one of the earlier *priors* from a different family, its nave and eastern end can be compared to the Church of the Holy Dominica which, as argued earlier, might have been founded by the Madii family.[675] However, since the Holy Dominica has lost its western front, any comparison is limited. The addition of the western structure at St Lawrence certainly

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[669] Vežić, 1996: 338, 357. The decision-making was a public process and the gathered citizens and priests cheered or disapproved the proposals (Lučić, 1997: 112).
[670] Ibid.
[671] See above, section 1.5.
[672] Klaić, 1971: 340.
[673] Nikolić, 2005: 5.
[674] Ibid. 17.
[675] See above, section 1.5.

implies that the alteration of the church was likely to have occurred against the background of local political events.

As previously mentioned, this western addition has been identified as a westwork: a Carolingian innovation which embodied a variety of functions. Westwork could simultaneously serve as a separate church, an early version of a parish church, a space reserved for a ruler, for holding court or even be a fortified church with a defensive purpose.[676] However, Croatian scholars have placed more emphasis on one of these functions, that of the westwork as *Kaiserkirche* (ruler's church), which has been connected to a number of Croatian churches from the second half of the ninth century which have a western structure identified by Jurković as a reduced form of westwork combined with an axial bell-tower.[677] Since St Lawrence's is a church with no royal connotations and since there are no written records which would shed more light on the function of the western structure at St Lawrence's, as was the case for Carolingian westworks analyzed by Möbius, there is no evidence that it was a westwork. Nonetheless, the tri-partite vaulted ground floor and the gallery with an opening into the nave do indicate that the western addition at St Lawrence's was a complex space with a separate function.

Against this background, the careful selection and placement of the figural sculptures, and the associated non-figural carvings, demonstrates that the iconographic programme was more developed and complex than that at the Church of Holy Dominica. The embryonic historiated portal facing the street, the western addition with a gallery and the demarcation of the interior by means of capitals all point to the public purpose of the church, while a message about Christ's divinity permeates the architectural decoration and the liturgical furnishings, unifying the exterior and interior in a 'sermon in stone.'

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[676] Möbius, 1968: 13-22, 70-88 . He sees these functions united in the westwork; the German terms are *Eigenkirche, Pfarrkirche, Kaiserkirche, Hofkirchenkopie* and *Wehrkirche*.
[677] Jurković, 1986-1987: 61-86. See also Heitz, 1963: 77-121 and sections 2.1; 3.1.1; 3.1.5.

SCULPTURES FROM KNOWN CONTEXTS

PART 1: SCULPTURES FROM THE CHURCH OF ST MARY AT BISKUPIJA

3.1.1. INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL SETTING AND DISCOVERY

The Church of St Mary at Biskupija has yielded four sculptures with early medieval figural decoration: a window *transenna* with the Virgin and child surrounded by evangelist symbols; a gable with an orant Virgin; a small stone cross from which only the fragments with Christ's head, arms and feet survive; and a small fragment with a haloed head and inscription (Figs 121, 127, 140, 147).[678]

The church itself has been preserved only in the outline of its foundations at the site of Crkvina in the village of Biskupija near Knin (Figs 113-116). These show an aisled basilica with four rectangular piers in each arcade. The east end consisted of three apses: the lateral ones were square and terminated in a straight wall, but opinions differ as to whether the main apse was semicircular and protruded beyond the east wall, or was squared off and internal as were the lateral ones.[679] A tripartite structure preceded by a narthex stood at the west end. Numerous other walls extended to the north of the church seem to have belonged to a large complex of residential and utilitarian buildings arranged around a central courtyard (Fig. 117).[680] To the south stood the cemetery with burials dating from the eighth, ninth and later, mostly thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[681]

Before turning to outline the historiography of the church, it has to be mentioned that Crkvina is the richest and most important of all the early medieval archaeological sites in Croatia. The grave goods found in the burials inside and around the church as well as the large number of stone sculptures discovered at the site bear witness to its

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[678] See cat. nos 1-4.
[679] Gunjača (1953: 24) recorded the eastern end as having with a straight wall while Milošević (2002a: 10) suggested the apse was semicircular and visible from the outside.
[680] Milošević, 2002a: 20.
[681] Gunjača, 1953: 32-35.

high status. The tombs excavated to the south of the church were furnished with Carolingian swords, decorated gilt bronze and iron spurs, and gold Byzantine coins of the emperors Constantine V and Leo IV (751-775), all of which confirm the late eighth- or early ninth-century date of the burials.[682] A number of vaulted tombs with gilt spurs for adults and children alike were also found in the church and to the west: these pre-date the construction of the western structure and are attributed to the first half of the ninth century.[683] Finally, the most prestigious inhumations were those discovered in three sarcophagi set in each of the chambers of the west end, also dated to the first half of the ninth century.[684] These have been interpreted as the tombs of the ninth-century princes of the Trpimirović dynasty, and their families.[685]

That the Church of St Mary enjoyed dynastic connections in the ninth and tenth centuries is further confirmed by the fragment of an altar screen gable with the inscription 'DVX GLO[riosus]', which refers to the title 'dux' used by Croatian rulers of the time.[686] This fragment, together with other similar inscribed pieces, belongs to one of the four different groups of sculptures identified by Jakšić.[687] Other inscriptions mention the dedication to St Mary and St Stephen, and the renovation of the church.[688]

The entire settlement – Biskupija – became a royal estate in the tenth century when Croatian princes assumed the title of kings.[689] Written sources mention that there were five churches at Biskupija or, as it was called from the eleventh (and possibly before) to the eighteenth century, 'villa Cossovo', including the Church of St Mary.[690]

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[682] Marun, 1892: 94; Milošević, 2001: 109, 112. These are considered pagan due to the finds such as coins placed under the tongue of the deceased, or vessels for food and drink, and which pre-date the church.

[683] Milošević, 2001: 112, 454. These seem to be early Christian tombs (probably in relation to the early Christian church at Katića Bajami, and re-used for early medieval burials). No Carolingian swords were found in these.

[684] Marun, 1890b: 144; 1891: 61; Milošević, 2001: 455-456.

[685] Milošević, 2002a: 23-24.

[686] Found by Marun (diary entry for 10 March 1908 in Petrinec, 1998: 164) to the east of the church (Gunjača, 1960a: 203; Delonga, 1996: 64, Pl. 13).

[687] Jakšić, 1980: 97-110; Delonga, 1996: 339.

[688] Delonga, 1996: 57, Pl. 9.

[689] See Introduction, 1b.

[690] According to Gunjača (1975: 133, 135) the etymology of the place name originated in the word 'kos', Croatian for blackbird, literally meaning 'the blackbird's field'. The ruins of the other three churches are: St Cecilia at the site of Stupovi, and the churches on the sites of Bukorovića podvornica and Lopuška glavica. The fifth church has not been found but in 1746 Vinjalić, the Knin parish priest at Knin, reported the existence of an ancient, ruined, octagonal church standing at the site of the present-day Orthodox Church of Holy Trinity (Gunjača, 1949: 40; Milošević, 2002a: 7; Delonga, 1996: 53-54).

Its importance increased during the second half of the eleventh century when it was elevated to cathedral rank. The residing bishop, however, was not named the Bishop of *Cossovo* but '*episcopus Chroatensis*' (Croatian bishop), and his diocese extended from Knin to the River Drava on the north. It is not known which king was the first to have a court bishop – the earliest record is from the reign of Stephen I (1030-1058) when the Bishop of Croatia, Marcus, is mentioned as a suffragan of the Archibishop of Split in 1040 or 1042.[691] With the extinction of the national dynasty at the end of the eleventh century and the transfer of power to the King of Hungary, the title 'Bishop of Croatia' was no longer applicable and episcopal jurisdiction over the region was transferred to the newly established bishopric of Knin, which moved its seat from Biskupija to Kapitul at Knin in the early thirteenth cenury.[692] At that time the cemetery at Biskupija was still being used for burials, a practice which continued until the Ottoman attacks of the fifteenth century and their subsequent conquest of Knin in 1522.

During Ottoman rule, a narrow single-cell Church of St Luke was built over the nave of the old and, by that time ruined, basilica of St Mary. This smaller church and a cemetery to the south of it were recorded in the eighteenth century,[693] but by the 1880s this church too had fallen into disrepair, its ruins on the site being mentioned by Zlatović.[694] This prompted Marun to start excavating the site and more than twenty campaigns took place between 1886 and 1908,[695] during which the remains of the Church of St Luke and those of the larger basilican church were unearthed.[696] The most radical decision Marun made was to remove the existing walls of St Luke's in order to free the nave of the basilica; in doing so, he damaged the original parts of the nave and apse.[697] The piers incorporated into the north and west walls of the later church were removed together with them, as was the original pavement in the apse made from re-

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[691] Antoljak, 1993: 58; Rački, 1877: 47.

[692] Jakšić, 2000: 45, 55.

[693] In 1746 Friar Vinjalić mentioned the site in his report to the Franciscans of the Province of Šibenik, now in the library of the monastery of St Lawrence at of Šibenik (transcribed in Gunjača, 1949: 40-42).

[694] Zlatović, 1883: 54-55.

[695] The best overview is in Gunjača, 1953: 10-12. For Marun's reports and notes see below, n. 700.

[696] Marun, 1890b: 141.

[697] Gunjača, 1953: 24-25. Marun (1891b: 64) did not mention the removal explicitly but stated generally that because the groud plan had been made, the more recent structures could be demolished to make the earlier buildings visible.

used marble fragments of late antique monuments.[698] Although Marun recorded finding the marble base of the chancel screen, he believed it to be one of the marbles re-used for the pavement of the Church of St Luke, not realizing he had found it *in situ*, as part of the original floor of the basilica of St Mary.[699] Thus, the original position of the chancel screen was irreversibly obscured.

The results of Marun's excavations were never properly published. Instead, the church was described in contradictory and confusing terms in a number of notes and reports published in the *Herald of the Croatian Archaeological Society* and Marun's field journals.[700] It is known that Marun had a local geodesist outline the ground-plan of the church which he submitted in 1891 to the Academy of Arts and Sciences in Zagreb, the publishers of Bulić's second volume on early medieval monuments around Knin.[701] The book was never published, however, and the plan was lost,[702] leaving the issue of the apse unresolved (Figs 115-117). Both Marun and Bulić noted that the church had a single apse but did not elaborate on its appearance.[703]

Marun dated the Church of St Mary to the late seventh or early eighth century, while Bulić regarded it as being of ninth- to eleventh-century date, on the basis of the stylistic qualities of the sculptures and epigraphic evidence of the inscriptions.[704] The matter of dating was further complicated by the attempts to identify the Church of St Mary with the eleventh-century Cathedral of the Croatian bishop who had his see in Knin.[705] Karaman, for instance, dated it to the eleventh-century and referred to it as early Romanesque on exactly these grounds.[706]

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[698] Gunjača, 1953: 22, 24-25.
[699] Ibid. 25; Marun, 1890b: 142.
[700] Marun's journals in Petrinec, 1998: 27-28, 30-35, 41-46. Reports on the ongoing excavations were published in *Viestnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 12-14 (1890-1892). The notes, intended as an overview of the previous campaigns, can also be found in *Viestnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 12-13 (1890-1891).
[701] Gunjača, 1953: 20, 16, n. 51. Marun (1891: 64) recorded its existence and mentioned correcting Radić's ground-plan in the diary entry for 12 June 1891 (Petrinec, 1998: 34). A schematic plan was discovered and published by Milošević (2002: 6), see Fig. 115.
[702] Gunjača, 1953: 20.
[703] Bulić, 1889: 28; Marun, 1894: 68.
[704] Ibid. 28-29; Ibid. 67-70.
[705] Gunjača, 1949: 57-69; 1953: 26. In the 1040s Croatian rulers installed a national bishop: this 'episcopus Chroatensis' is confirmed in the eleventh-century written sources in the royal entourage.
[706] Karaman, 1930: 67.

These uncertainties surrounding one of the most important early medieval churches in Croatia led Gunjača to carry out a revision excavation in 1950.[707] This resulted in a new ground plan according to which the church terminated with a straight wall and three internal square eastern apses, with the structure at the west end being added shortly after the church had been completed, to serve as a mausoleum with a bell-tower above the central bay (Fig. 116).[708] The complex to the north of the church was interpreted as a set of monastic buildings.[709]

Gunjača thus offered a convincing explanation of the evolution of St Mary's, which the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars had not attempted. He established only one building phase and dated the basilica to the ninth or tenth century on the grounds of its building technique and 'decorative characteristics'.[710] Soon after the construction, the church was extended westwards by the addition of the mausoleum, bell-tower and narthex, while adjacent to the north wall, along its entire length, stood the south end of the residential complex. On the other hand, Gunjača saw the architectural decoration and liturgical furnishings of the church as changing frequently and, based on the style of the sculptures, he argued that the basilica was used until the late thirteenth century,[711] with the Church of St Luke being built above its nave at some point during Turkish rule in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[712]

After 1950 only small-scale protection excavations were undertaken at the site of the church: during the conservation of the foundations in 1983; and a review investigation of the narthex and area to the south of the church in 2000.[713] These demonstrated that the narthex and mausoleum post-date the first half of the ninth century, when the tombs were installed, and that the mausoleum may not have had a bell-tower above it, as Gunjača had suggested, since the thickness of the two walls

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[707] Gunjača, 1953: 9.
[708] Ibid. 24, 28-30. Marun (1890b: 144; 1891: 61) had found sarcophagi in the north and south bay of the western addition suggesting that these spaces were used as burial chambers.
[709] Gunjača, 1953: 31. The buildings were grouped around the central courtyard. At the south-west corner was a stairwell leading to the bell-tower and the gallery above the mausoleum.
[710] Ibid. 48.
[711] Ibid. 48.
[712] Ibid. 13.
[713] Milošević, 2002a: 6; 2001: 454.

separating the ground-floor into three chambers results from the vaulted tombs incorporated into these walls.[714]

The function and elevation of the west end of St Mary's have excited much discussion but most scholars accepted Gunjača's conclusion that the ground floor served as a mausoleum.[715] This, however, did not solve the problem of the elevation. The structure seems to have had an upper level, indicated by the thickness of the dividing walls on the ground floor and the layout of two walls of the northern complex which may well have belonged to a staircase leading to a gallery above the mausoleum. Since the burials could not take place on any level other than the ground, the function of this space, however, remained unexplained. As mentioned, Gunjača had argued that a bell-tower rose above the mausoleum, as was the case with a number of ninth-century Croatian churches which had axial bell-towers at the west end, a feature Marasović regarded as deriving from a Carolingian model type.[716] Goss, however, suggested that the western structure of St Mary's was a westwork.[717] This idea appealed to Jurković who identified more westworks in ninth-century Croatian architecture and argued that they were a consequence of the Carolingian influence exerted through the presence of Gottschalk of Saxony at the court of Prince Trpimir (845-864) who is documented as having sought refuge there after being accused of heresy and fleeing from Francia.[718]

3.1.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND DATING

3.1.2i. The Gable

The chancel screen gable fom the Church of St Mary, now at the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split, was reconstructed from six fragments (Fig. 121). Four of these were found during Marun's excavations and published by Radić in 1895.[719] Radić believed the gable to have been part of an altar *ciborium* and, noting that the figural carving was unusual in the context of the early medieval gables from

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[714] Milošević, 2002a: 25.
[715] Goss, 1987: 149-150; Jurković, 1992: 28, 78; Milošević, 2002a: 23-26; Marasović, 2009: 167-168.
[716] Marasović, 1958: 117-121.
[717] Goss, 1975-1976: 5; 1987: 76-77.
[718] Jurković, 1986-1987: 79-81; 1992: 28. See sections 2.5 and 3.1.5.
[719] Marun, 1892: 94; Radić, 1895a: 7-9; see also 'Izvještaj', 1900: 48.

Croatia,[720] nevertheless dated it to the second half of the ninth century on the grounds of the epigraphy, type of ornamental border and perceived stylistic similarity with the figure of the Virgin on the mosaic on the western arch in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, executed during the reign of Basil the Great (866-886).[721] According to Radić, the Byzantine character of the gable was also evident in the Virgin's frontal pose and the small cross with splayed arm terminals set above her head.[722]

Radić's early dating, however, was not accepted in the scholarship, Vasić being the first to point out that the palmette ornament implied an eleventh-century date and that the gable might have been part of the chancel screen.[723] He suggested the source model may have been a painting, without identifying either a Byzantine or western prototype.[724] Karaman and Abramić agreed with this later date, settling on the second half of the eleventh century as a result of their identification of the Church of St Mary as the Cathedral dedicated in 1078.[725] They also reinforced the idea that the source model was a painting, and suggested a Byzantine icon, and argued that stylistically, the gable represents a transition from the 'interlace style' to the Romanesque.[726] As to the function of the monument, their opinions differed: while Karaman did not doubt it was a chancel screen gable, Abramić, like Radić, saw it as part of an altar *ciborium*.[727]

Karaman was to discuss the gable on two occasions in the late 1940s and early 1950s, when he elaborated on its early Romanesque features: the figural decoration, the classical palmette motif, and the shape of the letter 'O'.[728] Prijatelj agreed with him, offering more comparative material to strengthen the unanimous opinion that the Virgin on the gable conforms to Byzantine iconography.[729] The extremely shallow relief of the gable, which was considered indicative of the strong influence of painting, further

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[720] Radić, 1895a: 7. Marun (1892: 94) also regarded it as a *ciborium* piece.
[721] Radić, 1895a: 9.
[722] Radić, 1895a: 7, 9.
[723] Only Šeper (1943: 345) supported the early date. Vasić (1922: 169) compared the palmettes from the gable with those on the altar of St Domnius in Split Cathedral, which he considered an eleventh-century work. It is unclear to which altar he is compared the gable as that of St Domnius was made in the fifteenth century by Bonino of Milan. Petricioli (1960: 52) explained that Vasić was referring to an unknown fragment from Split which Jelić had dated before 1059.
[724] Vasić, 1922: 169.
[725] Karaman, 1930: 113; Abramić, 1932: 326.
[726] Ibid.
[727] Ibid.
[728] Karaman, 1943: 76; Karaman, 1952: 100.
[729] Prijatelj, 1954: 77.

prompted Prijatelj to propose the gable may itself have been painted.[730] This was considered plausible by Petricioli, who nevertheless neither dwelt on the gable, nor ascribed it to any of the eleventh-century schools of carving or workshops he had identified.[731] He, however, did accept the proposed dating and observe that a an identical palmette motif, which he considered early Romanesque, appears on two other fragmentary gables and architraves from the Church of St Mary (Fig. 118).[732] Petricioli was also the first to reconstruct the inscription on the gable as 'SAL VE (RE) G (INA) S (AL VE) V (I) R GO'.[733]

As it happened with the other eleventh-century sculptures covered in Petricioli's book, his opinions came to be widely accepted and the gable was thus confirmed as a screen gable, modelled on a Byzantine source in the second half of the eleventh century.[734] The date was also corroborated by Delonga's work on the early medieval inscriptions from the Croatian principality.[735] When Jakšić identified four different stylistic groups from the Church of St Mary, he dated both the gable and the architrave fragments mentioned by Petricioli to the second half of the eleventh century, based on the accepted date of the Virgin gable.[736] To this group he added the jamb with the figure of Stefaton from Knin (Fig. 210), and the gable with Christ from Split (Fig. 204), and argued that they had been produced by a stone-cutting workshop based in Knin around 1076-1078, the date of the dedication of the Cathedral of the Croatian bishop.[737] However, he subsequently opted for a later date for the whole group, ascribing it to the turn of the twelfth century.[738]

As for the inscription, Delonga voiced her doubts about the first part of Petricioli's reading, pointing out that the letter before the first 'G' has a visible vertical line (as in letters 'I', 'N' or 'V') inconsistent with the letter 'E' and cannot form the

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[730] Ibid. 76.
[731] Petricioli (1960: 52) included the gable under 'other sculptures'.
[732] Ibid. 52-53.
[733] Ibid. 50. The reading 'salve hic sancta virgo' ('Izvještaj', 1900: 48) does not correspond to the preserved letters.
[734] Petricioli, 1960: 53; Montani, 1966: 19; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 95; Jelovina, 1989: 32. More below, in section 3.1.3i.
[735] Delonga, 1980: 158-160; 1990: 78; 1996: 64-65.
[736] Jakšić, 1980: 100.
[737] Jakšić, 1981: 30-33.
[738] See discussion in section 4.3.1 and 4.4.1.

word 'regina'.[739] Delonga did not object to the second part of Petricioli's reconstruction and thus her version of the inscription was 'Sal ve [...] g [...] s[al ve] v[ir] go.'[740] Furthermore, she analyzed the inscription in relation to the mentioned inscribed architrave fragments, that Jakšić ascribed to the same chancel screen, and which read: 'PIA PARCE REATIS' (Fragment 1), 'R VIRTUTIS SPES MVNDI PO' (Fragment 2, Fig. 118), and 'ACENS XPO' (Fragment 3).[741] According to Delonga, the gable and Fragment 1 constituted the inscription which was inspired by antiphonal acclamations from the Gregorian repertoire, and even visually designed – with the large gaps between the syllables – to evoke the graphic layout of the neumatic musical notation which served as its source.[742] The text on Fragments 2 and 3 she interpreted as a prayer directed to Christ, also related to a litugical chant.[743]

After Jakšić's and Delonga's contributions, and especially from the 1990s to date, although the gable from St Mary's has appeared in many publications, none have included new information or offered fresh interpretations.[744]

3.1.2ii. The *Transenna*

Eighteen fragments with figural and animal decorations on both sides were found by Marun and Gunjača during their excavations in the 1890s and 1950s (Fig. 119).[745] They comprised the figures of the seated Virgin and Child; the evangelist symbols; an un-nimbed male figure, and a nimbed head. Unfortunately, three fragments – the body of the eagle (John) and of the winged man (Matthew) – were subsequently lost.[746] Some of the preserved fragments bear inscriptions, four of which relate to the evangelists; the

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[739] Delonga, 1980: 158.
[740] Ibid; Delonga, 1996b: 339.
[741] Delonga, 1990: 78-79, 82-84; 1996b: 64-66.
[742] Delonga, 1996: 341. The antiphons listed are *Ave regina caelorum* and *Salve regina mater misericordiae* from the 1964 edition of *Liber Usualis*: 274-276.
[743] *In me omnis spes vitae et virtutis*, also from *Liber Usualis*: 1380 (Delonga, 1996: 342).
[744] Petricioli, 1990: 62; Jurković, 1992: 115-116; Belamarić, 1997: 54; Jurković, 1998: 67-68; Jakšić, 1999: 96; I. Fisković, 2002: 241; Milošević, 2002a: 17; Marasović, 2009: 174-175.
[745] Apart from these, more double-sided fragments belonging to another *transenna*, decorated with birds and arches were found. Radić (1896e: 211-214, Figs 1-3) separated all the unearthed pieces into three groups but Gunjača (1956b: 111) pointed out that he had split one group into two without realizing it.
[746] The photograph of the fragment with the eagle's body and the upper part of Matthew are in Radić (1896e: Fig. 1). Although the eagle's body had been lost by the time Gunjača (1956b: Fig. 1) was reconstructing the *transenna,* he was able to add the lower half of Matthew's body he excavated (1954: 188) to the existing upper part. Both fragments of Matthew's body had also later disappeared and are not recorded in Delonga, 1996: 68.

other two are too partial to be reconstructed.[747] In 1956 Gunjača published his reconstruction of the fifteen extant fragments and two years later, with the addition of the plaster casts of three lost fragments, the *transenna* was physically re-assembled (Fig. 127).[748] Before this, however, the fragments were published and discussed separately, with most attention focusing on the figure of a bearded man with a sword (Fig. 128).

Radić was the first to publish the fragments found by Marun between 1886 and 1894.[749] In 1895 he considered those with the Virgin and Child and the bearded male figure to be parts of several ninth-century *transennae* from a *confessio* in the basilica of St Mary.[750] Nevertheless, when he published the remaining fragments in 1896 as also beloning to a perforated *confessio* panel, while acknowledging that he had previously published two pieces, he did not identify them as belonging to the same monument.[751] Focusing on the unpublished pieces he separated the inscribed and blank fragments of the border from those of the panel itself.[752] The inscriptions on the frame, naming the evangelists, helped Radić identify the remains of the evangelists' symbols: the eagle for John and the man for Matthew, with traces of a hoof and the letters LVH surviving from Luke's ox;[753] only one fragment, that with the inscription LEO/VM/MI, was considered by Radić to have belonged to Mark's lion symbol.[754]

In the first half of the twentieth century, scholarly attention moved to focus almost exclusively on the fragment with the male secular figure which had been understood to represent a 'Croatian dignitary', and so was regarded as offering insight into Croatian early medieval costume and weapons. In 1938, while excavating a ninth-century cemetery at Mravinci near Split, Karaman found a parallel to the round ornaments on the hem of the figure's garment in a child's grave: eight copper circles with tiny holes and traces of the thread with which they had been attached to a garment or an accessory.[755] Šeper compared the costume of the secular figure from Biskupija to

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[747] See cat. no. 2.
[748] Gunjača, 1956b: 112-113, Figs 1-3; Petricioli, 1960: 46.
[749] Marun, 1890a: 31; 1890b: 68; 1891: 61, 91-92.
[750] Radić, 1895c: 122; Radić, 1895f: 246.
[751] Radić, 1896e: 211.
[752] Ibid. 212-213.
[753] Ibid.
[754] Ibid.
[755] Karaman, 1940: 1, 16-17.

the left-hand magus in the Journey scene on the St Lawrence panel from Zadar, which he dated to the ninth century, and so proposed the same date for the 'dignitary'.[756] In Karaman's subsequent discussions on the 'dignitary' he suggested the figure represented the founder of the church or one of the donors of the liturgical furnishings for the Cathedral inaugurated in 1078.[757] He was vague about the original setting of the fragment, which he thought might have belonged to the chancel screen or another piece of furniture.[758]

Only Abramić considered this fragment to belong to the same monument as the fragments published by Radić; according to him it had been a chancel screen decorated with the evangelists symbols, Virgin and Child, and other figures.[759] He identified the secular figure as a warrior and the donor of the chancel screen or the entire church, suggesting it might have been Jurina, the *župan* of Knin (*župan* is a governor of an administrative unit in early medieval Croatia; in Latin: *iuppanus*).[760] He too dated the fragments to 1078, the year of the consecration of the Cathedral of the Croatian bishop.[761]

During Gunjača's excavations of the Church of St Mary in the early 1950s, two more fragments of the *transenna* were found: the head of a Virgin and the lower part of a figure, which he let Prijatelj publish before his interpretation.[762] Prijatelj focused on the four most prominent figures from the *transenna*: the 'dignitary', the tonsured saint and the Virgin and Child.[763] Although the head of the Virgin found by Gunjača and the body holding the infant Christ could be understood as parts of the same composition, Prijatelj was cautious about establishing the connection because the dimensions of the fragments did not match.[764] As for the 'dignitary', he rejected Abramić's hypothesis about *župan* Jurina, agreeing with Gunjača's suggestion that Knin Cathedral was not

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[756] Šeper, 1943: 650.
[757] Karaman, 1927-1928: 329, Fig. 3; 1930: 131-132; 1943: 74.
[758] Ibid.
[759] Abramić (1932: 327) mentions several heads - most likely the head of the tonsured saint and the fragments of a Crucifixion which do not belong to the *transenna* but are parts of a stone cross, see below, section 3.1.2iii.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid.
[762] Gunjača (1953: 39, Fig. 34) published the head; Prijatelj, 1954: 73, n. 21.
[763] Prijatelj, 1954: 73-74.
[764] Ibid. 74.

located on the site of St Mary's.[765] He also linked the lower half of a figure found by Gunjača in 1951 to Matthew's torso published by Radić in 1896.[766]

Prijatelj also offered a stylistic evaluation of the fragments. Although he observed that the figures possess an abstract and transcendental quality typical of Byzantine art, the general concept, according to him, owed more to Carolingian and Ottonian manuscripts but lacked their finesse and elegance.[767] As to the date of the fragments, he left this open, stating that on the one hand the '*conspectus generalis*' was of early Romanesque work, but that on the other, the costume of the 'dignitary' had many details in common with the clothes of the Magi from the St Lawrence panel which Prijatelj, together with Šeper, considered to be of the eighth-century date.[768]

It did not take Gunjača too long to publish his reconstruction of the *transenna* and re-assess Radić's explanation, noting that the fragment with the eagle had gone missing before 1933.[769] He identified six pieces of the frame, five of which could be joined together to make up considerable parts of the left and upper borders.[770] He further noted that one of these had a perpendicular extension and concluded that the *transenna* had a horizontal bar dividing it into two sections of unequal height; the evangelists' inscriptions appearing only on the upper section.[771]

Gunjača thus based the reconstruction on the inscribed fragments of the frame, some of which included remnants of the figures, such as heads, wings and body parts. By this means he placed John's eagle in the upper left-hand corner – the head being preserved on the horizontal frame and the wings on the left-hand side. Matthew's symbol was set below the inscription relating to him, in the upper right-hand corner.[772]

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[765] Ibid. 74; Gunjača, 1949: 38-86.
[766] Prijatelj, 1954: 75; Radić, 1896e: 213.
[767] Prijatelj, 1954: 75.
[768] Ibid. 76.
[769] Gunjača (1956b: 112, 115) refuted Radić's reconstruction of the inscription MA as referring to Matthew and LEO/VM/MI to Mark, arguing that the MA fragment belongs to Mark's inscription on the right-hand vertical frame because it does not match Matthew's fragment inscribed with TEVS EVAGELISTA. Thus the inscription mentioning 'leo' on the left-hand vertical frame, immediately below Luke's symbol, cannot belong to Mark. There seems little doubt that Gunjača was correct – since three evangelists can be placed in the three corners of the upper section, it is more likely that the corresponding fourth corner also had an evangelist, rather than appearing in the lower section.
[770] Ibid. Fig. 2.
[771] Ibid. 113-114; Radić, 1896e: 212-213.
[772] The wings have not been preserved; only a trace remains on the frame's right-hand side (Gunjača, 1956b: 114).

The evangelist symbols from the two lower corners were almost completely lost and only the inscriptions aided their placing. In the left-hand corner all that remained from Luke's ox was an open book and one of the hooves, while Mark's lion was not preserved and only the first two letters of his name survived on the right-hand vertical frame.[773]

Having reconstructed the upper section to this extent, Gunjača placed the Virgin and Child in the centre of the scheme, not sharing Prijatelj's doubts about the unequal dimensions.[774] According to his reconstruction, the Virgin was surrounded by a lozenge-shaped frame, the traces of which could be seen on three fragments: that of the Virgin's head, her cushion and the lost fragment with the eagle.[775]

The lower section of the *transenna* was separated from the upper with an inscribed horizontal bar visible on the fragment with the tonsured head, which Gunjača placed to the left, below the symbol of St Luke, and on the fragment with the 'dignitary' which he reconstructed as standing on the far right, suggesting that their postures indicate there may have been a central figure towards which their heads are turned.[776] He noted that the upper section thus contained figures of a higher, heavenly, order, while in the lower section stood the terrestrial 'dignitary' next to a saint which, according to Gunjača, confirmed Karaman's hypothesis that this figure represented a donor.[777] Having reconstructed the piece in this way, Gunjača identified it as a twelfth-century double-sided *transenna* from a door leading to an ambo or 'some other part', rather than to a chancel screen.[778]

Building on this work, Petricioli ascribed the *transenna* to the Zadar-Knin group of reliefs based on stylistic similarities with the Lawrence panel and the fragment with the seated female saint from Nin (Fig. 223).[779] According to him, the *transenna* displays the same stylistic qualities as these reliefs: large heads and bodies, short limbs, large hands with long fingers, oval faces with pointed chin, deltoid noses, large wide-open eyes (apparently reminiscent of 'rustic manuscripts'), and was generally modelled with

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[773] Ibid.
[774] Ibid.
[775] Ibid.
[776] Ibid. 115.
[777] Ibid. 115-116.
[778] Ibid. 116.
[779] Petricioli, 1960: 10.

more plasticity than the reliefs from the Zadar-Split group.[780] He based his dating of the whole group on the fact that the St Lawrence panel displays an iconographic detail that does not predate the late tenth and early eleventh century – the crown worn by one Magus in the Journey scene.[781] Apart from the date, Petricioli agreed with Gunjača's reconstruction of the *transenna* but did not express an opinion about its original function.[782]

Thus, from 1960, an eleventh-century date has been widely accepted, first by Gunjača and then by other authors, especially after Delonga's epigraphic analysis.[783] However, the question of the original setting and function of the *transenna* remained open: Gunjača continued to claim it was part of an ambo door,[784] and Jurković briefly mentioned it as 'part of the altar furnishing' and published an unusual reconstruction of this altar (Fig. 120), without elaborating further on his proposal.[785] Delonga and Belmarić refer to it generally as a *transenna*.[786] Milošević, however, argued that the *transenna* might have belonged to a window in the wall separating the church from the so-called westwork and the supposed ruler's chapel on its first floor, through which individuals from the upper echelons of Croatian society and the ruler himself could observe the rites within the church.[787] In his opinion (and he has been the only one to suggest it), this setting would make the representation of the donor on one of these window *transennae* both expected and entirely appropriate.[788]

3.1.2iii. The Cross Fragments

Among the other figural sculptures found on the site of the Church of St Mary at Biskupija, are four arms of a stone cross (Fig. 140). Three were found by Marun, but only two (the upper and left cross-arms) were published by Radić in 1896: one

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[780] The Dominica panels and that from Split Baptistery (Petricioli, 1960: 11, 47; 1997: 487).
[781] Ibid. 11. See also above, 2.3.3iv.
[782] Ibid. 47.
[783] Montani, 1966: 19-20; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 99; Delonga, 1990: 82-83; Jurković, 1992: 39, 111; Delonga, 1996: 69; Jurković, 1998: 63; Milošević, 2002a: 17.
[784] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: XVI.
[785] Jurković, 1998: 72, Fig. 10.
[786] Delonga, 1990: 82; 1996: 68-69; Belamarić , 1997: 54
[787] Milošević, 2002a: 25; accepted by Marasović, 2009: 540.
[788] Ibid.

preserved a head, and the other a left arm.[789] Both have inscriptions identifying the figure as the crucified Christ: IES above the head, and VDEO/VM below the arm. Radić concluded that these could be identified with the crucifixion inscription: 'Iesus Nazarenus rex Judeorum' (John 19: 19-20).[790] He dated them to the ninth century and, noting that the top of the upper arm and the end of the right cross-arm were smooth, rather than broken off, suggested that the crucifix was free-standing on the altar, screen or ambo.[791] However, since the upper arm also has a hole drilled in its top, Radić admitted that another element, such as a dove or a finger from the hand of God, may have been attached to it.[792] Seeing these fragments published alongside those from the *transenna*, Abramić assumed they had also belonged to it and thus indirectly dated them to the eleventh century.[793]

More than fifty years later, Gunjača discovered another (fourth) cross-arm fragment, depicting two feet placed apart.[794] This also has a hole, like the upper cross-arm, but drilled in its underside. This led Gunjača to assume it had been originally attached to an element, such as a chancel screen gable.[795] He did not date it nor did he connect it with the other fragments found in the late nineteenth century. This was achieved only in 1954 when Prijatelj published the (third) fragment, with the right hand and inscription NAZA/N/RE, noting Radić's failure to publish it, despite it having been found by Marun.[796] Due to the fragmentary state of the crucifix, Prijatelj could not analyze it stylistically and so limited himself to a comment about the plasticity and roundness of the visible body parts, which, to his mind, indicated a Romanesque approach.[797] Based on this perception, he dated the crucifix to the early twelfth century.[798]

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[789] Radić (1896e: 215, Fig. 4) does not mention the evidence of discovery but Delonga (1996: 71) stated they were found during the 1886-1896 excavations, led by Marun.
[790] Radić, 1896e: 215.
[791] Ibid.
[792] Ibid.
[793] Abramić, 1932: 327.
[794] Gunjača, 1953: 39, Fig. 34.
[795] Ibid.
[796] Prijatelj, 1954: 78.
[797] Ibid.
[798] Ibid.

The fragments did not receive much attention after this and it was only in the 1990s, when Delonga analyzed their inscriptions, that they next made an appearance in the scholarship, this time dated to the eleventh century and linked to other contemporary sculptures from St Mary's at Biskupija.[799] In this context they are briefly mentioned by Jurković who, following Gunjača's clue, argued that the crucifix was placed on top of the gable with the Virgin.[800]

3.1.2iv. Fragment with Head

This very damaged inscribed fragment with the worn outline of a figure (Fig. 147) was first published by Delonga in 1996.[801] Although she recorded that the evidence of discovery for this fragment is unknown, she speculated that it may have come from the Church of St Mary without arguing why.[802] According to her, the figure could have represented Christ.[803] Due to its fragmentary state, the piece has not appeared in many publications: Igor Fisković and Marasović mention it in their books, repeating the identification and provenance suggested by Delonga.[804]

3.1.3. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

3.1.3i. The Gable

The orant Virgin is one of the oldest representations of Mary, appearing in western Christian art in the second- and third-century catacomb paintings,[805] although not all orants in the catacombs can be identified as representations of the Virgin.[806] Inspired by these general figures, the type spread to the fourth-century Roman *fondi d'oro*,[807] but the decisive moment in establishing the figure as the Virgin came with the 431 Council of Ephesus which proclaimed Mary as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), resulting in the proliferation of the representations of the Virgin.[808] In the early Christian art of the West

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[799] Delonga, 1990: 82; 1996: 71.
[800] Jurković, 1988: 72.
[801] Delonga, 1996: 70.
[802] Ibid.
[803] Ibid.
[804] I. Fisković, 2002: 248; Marasović, 2009: 175.
[805] Romanini, 1997, 8: 206.
[806] E.g. those who have no attributes or inscriptions (Cabrol and Leclercq, 1932, 12/2: 2000-2001).
[807] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 159.
[808] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 12.

and pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art, the orant Virgin is usually depicted surrounded by saints, apostles or angels, rather than alone.[809] One of the earliest examples of the autonomous figure of the orant Virgin is preserved on the central medallion of the sixth-century cross of Archbishop Agnellus of Ravenna (Fig. 122).[810]

The isolated orant Virgin, however, gained more popularity in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art,[811] where on the one hand, the miraculous icon of the orant Virgin was venerated in the *Blacherne* church in Constantinople – hence the name *Blacherniotissa* for icons of this type; and on the other hand, the Virgin as *Theotokos* came to be regarded as a powerful intercessor, who could pray to her Son on behalf of the faithful.[812] As the former, the orant Virgin appears on a large number of mostly twelfth-century reliefs, and as the latter she can be seen in the apses of Byzantine churches from the ninth to eleventh century, and on the contemporary coins.[813]

In the early medieval western art, the orant Virgin was not particularly widespread: even when it does appear, she is not portrayed in isolation and the scheme is limited to a very specific subject, time and place. In this particular aspect the type is found only in Ottonian depictions of the Assumption of the Virgin, almost exclusively in manuscripts of the eleventh-century Reichenau school.[814]

In most of these examples the Virgin's hands are raised to shoulder-height in the praying position, which is not the case on the Biskupija gable where her hands have out-turned palms and are placed in front of her chest. Both Schiller and Kirschbaum were aware of this rarer, second subtype of the orant Virgin and noted that it is depicted more frequently in the applied arts and in those areas of Italy enjoying the strong influence of

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[809] On the fifth-century doors of Santa Sabina in Rome, the sixth-century Ascension from the Rabbula Gospels (Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 159; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25), or the seventh-century oil flasks from Bobbio and Monza depicting the Ascension (Grabar, 1958: Pls 3, 17, 19, 53).

[810] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25, Fig. 433.

[811] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 166; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25.

[812] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 166.

[813] The earliest apse with the orant Virgin is mentioned in a 864 homily by Patriarch Photios, while the eleventh-century examples are in Hagia Sophia at Kiev, and Hosios Loukas at Focida. An eleventh-century mosaic of the orant Virgin was in the Basilica Ursiana at Ravenna, while a bust of the orant decorated the narthex of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea, *c.* 1065 (Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 166-167; Romanini, 1997, 8: 227; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25). Constantine IX Monomachos (1042-1054) minted coins with the orant Virgin (Romanini, 1997, 8: 227).

[814] Also on the tenth-century Tuotilo ivory from St Gall; the Augsburg missal; the Pericopes of Henry II from Munich and the Hildesheim lectionary (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Figs 594, 595, 597, 598).

Byzantine art, such as the Venetian lagoon.[815] In post-iconoclastic metalwork, this subtype occurs at the centre of processional crosses such as on the eleventh-century cross now at Paris (Fig. 123).[816] Schiller offers a good example of the late eleventh-century roundel now in London (Fig. 124), and the twelfth-century mosaic from the apse of the Church of San Donato on the island of Murano.[817] The Biskupija Virgin has several features in common with all of these: the bust format as on the processional cross and roundel, and the costume as on the mosaic. Although Schiller admitted that the cause underlying the change in the position of the hands were unclear, she argued that this subtype was also a representation of the *Blacherniotissa*.[818]

The stylized folds of the Virgin's clothes on the Biskupija gable and the fact that her body was obviously reconstructed from two non-adjacent fragments aggravate any analysis of her clothes. It is nonetheless clear that she wears a Byzantine-style maphorion over an under-garment. The most conspicuous details of her costume are the beaded ornaments on the maphorion covering her forehead and on the left-hand cuff of her sleeve; an identical ornament, now lost, must have decorated the other cuff. These ornaments, while arranged in slightly different patterns, present the same subject – the cross. That on the maphorion is arranged in a Greek cross, while the that on the cuff forms a *Chi* (X-shaped) cross.

This slight difference distinguishes the maphorion ornament as the cross usually placed on the part that covers the forehead, which in this case is composed of four beads as was normal in post-iconoclastic Byzantine ivories and coins.[819] However, the cuffs of what could only have been a long-sleeved tunic could be decorated with more varied motifs, including bands, crosses and circles.[820] The X-motif on the Virgin's cuffs on the Biskupija gable can also be seen in a continuous row on her cuffs on the ninth-century ivory now at Zagreb, and on her hem and pallium on a mid-eleventh century ivory from

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[815] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25.
[816] Also on the tenth-century cross at Athos (Cotsonis, 1994: 13, 34).
[817] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Figs 436-437.
[818] Ibid. 25.
[819] The Nativity ivory from the Vatican, *c.* 976-1025 (Cutler, 1994: 100, Fig. 105); coins in Grierson and Bellinger, 1993: 170.
[820] The eleventh-century enamel icon at Maastricht (Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 175, Fig. 9); the tenth-century ivory triptych at Donauwörth (Cutler, 1994: 54, Fig. 59).

Mainz (Fig. 125).[821] The small cross above the Virgin's head on the gable, as mentioned in the discussion of St Lawrence jambs, is unparalleled in early Christian and medieval art and it is more likely that it was placed here, not in relation to the Virgin, but to adorn the apex of the gable.

As this examination implies, the model lying behind the Biskupija gable was of neither early Christian nor Carolingian-Ottonian origin, but may well have been a tenth- or eleventh-century portable object such as an ivory, coin or a processional cross produced in Byzantium or, perhaps more likely, in Venice.

3.1.3ii. The *Transenna*

Although the Virgin on the *transenna* is not shown on a throne, she is nevertheless seated on a large cushion implying that she was enthroned. This iconographic type has been identified in Croatian scholarship as *Majestas Virginis* or *Sedes Sapientiae*.[822] In the international literature, however, the terminology is not so specific. Réau used the term 'Vierge de Majesté' in its widest sense to include all Byzantine and western depictions which show a frontal Virgin holding the Child.[823] Kirschbaum, on the other hand, applied the term *Maiestas Mariae* to western depictions of the enthroned Virgin surrounded by the angels and saints, and noted that these can be identified as *Sedes Sapientiae* when they appear in apse decorations.[824] Schiller, however, preferred *Sedes Sapientiae* to *Majestas* when discussing Byzantine-inspired western representations of the enthroned Virgin of the same type as the Biskupija *transenna*.[825] Russo also referred to Ottonian depictions of the enthroned Virgin with Child in the scenes of the Adoration of the Magi as *Majestas*, and used the same term for eleventh-century representations of the enthroned *Theotokos*.[826] He also seems to have used *Sedes Sapientiae* to define the same image.[827]

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[821] Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 15, Pl. 9; 1970, 2: 25-26, Pl. 13.

[822] Jurković, 1998: 68; Delonga, 1990: 82; 1996: 69. Petricioli (1960: 47) noted the analogy with the *Maiestas Domini*.

[823] Réau, 1957, II, 2: 72, 93. For him, they include the Byzantine icon types of Platytera, Blacherniotissa, Hodegitria and Nikopoia/Kyriotissa and western images of the enthroned Virgin with Child synonymous with *Sedes Sapientiae*.

[824] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 181, 183. The Virgin could be also standing.

[825] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 179.

[826] Russo, 1996: 224, 232.

[827] Ibid. 236-237.

On the other hand, Grabar identified the 'mandorla of light' as the indicator of a *Majestas Virginis* scene and limited the phenomenon to Romanesque apses.[828] Taking a similar stance, Piano stated clearly that *Maiestas Mariae* is an iconographic representation of the enthroned Virgin and Child set within a mandorla and surrounded by the four creatures from the Apocalypse, identified as the evangelist symbols.[829] This image was created by combining the well-known depiction of the *Theotokos* with the *Majestas Domini*, the origin of which Piano located in ninth-century Carolingian art,[830] but identified only a few prior to the eleventh century.

Among Piano's examples, however, it is hard to identify an appropriate source model for the Biskupija scheme. For instance, the Virgin in early ninth-century ivory at Munich is depicted without the Child, standing in the orant pose, surrounded by the apostles and evangelist symbols, which is why Goldschmidt identified the scene as the Ascension (Fig. 126).[831] Piano's two tenth-century examples, the Byzantine enamel on the cover of Gauzelin's Gospels and the ivory situla from Milan, are also problematic as neither depicts the evangelists as symbols. Moreover, there is no Child with the Virgin on the enamel, [832] and, although the situla does depict the Virgin enthroned Virgin with Child, there is no mandorla and the compositional scheme places all the figures in a single horizontal tier separated by the arcading encircling the situla (Fig. 129).[833]

In fact, the only appropriate tenth-century example, which happened to have escaped Piano's attention, is the frontispiece from the Byzantine Gospels at Brescia, where the *Hodegitria* Virgin is set in a medallion surrounded by the evangelist symbols.[834] Here, however, although the mandorla itself is not actually represented,

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[828] Grabar, 1955: 305-311.
[829] Piano, 2003: 29. The identification had occurred by the second century with Irenaeus.
[830] Ibid.
[831] Romanini, 1997, 8: 211; Piano, 2003: 30. Goldschmidt (1969, 1: 85-86, Pl. 83) also noted that the Apostles look up and point above, and explained that Christ may have been depicted on the lid of the casket from which this plaque comes from.
[832] Piano (2003: 30) identifies the scene as Hodegitria although the Virgin holds a flower and not the Child in her left arm.
[833] Goldschmidt, 1970, 2: 15, Pl. 1.
[834] Brescia, Biblioteca Civica A.VI. 26, fol. 14v (Galavaris, 1979: 110-111, Fig. 86). The symbols do not correspond to Jerome's arrangement but to those of Pseudo-Athanasios (ox for Mark, lion for Luke).

probably because as a prerogative of Christ it was rarely applied to the Virgin before the twelfth century, it is indicated by the framing medallion.[835]

Other than this, there seems to be only one extant example of the *Maiestas Virginis* scheme prior to the late eleventh century: the 1030 apse fresco in Aquileia Cathedral where the enthroned Virgin presents the Child on her left arm, as a *Hodegitria*, appearing in a mandorla surrounded by the evangelist symbols (Fig. 130).[836] Some of these elements, as mentioned, are absent from the early examples given by Piano, and Dale was thus correct in identifying the Aquileian apse as the earliest western example of *Majestas Virginis*.[837] With this in mind, it seems best to apply this term only to those scenes which share the constituent elements of the *Majestas* as already known from the scenes of Christ in Majesty. Thus, the example offered by Jurković – that of the Donation scene from the early eleventh-century Uta Codex – cannot be accepted on the basis that, contrary to his ascertion, the Virgin and Child in the Donation scene are surrounded by personifications of the virtues, rather than the evangelist symbols.[838]

Compared with the Aquileian fresco, the Biskupija *transenna* differs only in the way the Virgin holds the Child, while the lozenge-shaped frame around them can be understood as a mandorla. This shape was already used for mandorlas or frames in Carolingian *Majestas Domini* scenes, especially those produced in the school of Tours, such as the ninth-century Vivian (Fig. 131) and Bamberg Bibles.[839]

Turning to consider the Virgin within this overall composition, she is seated frontally with her feet placed together, holding the large Child on her lap by his left shoulder with her left hand, and at waist height by her right hand. Christ himself is nimbed and turned to the right; he holds his right hand in blessing and grasps a scroll in his left (Fig. 127). This distinctive pose adopted by both mother and child appeared immediately after the Council of Ephesus in the apses of fifth-century churches in Italy

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[835] Grabar, 1955: 305, Fig. 4. The only example being the apse mosaic in the Panagia Kanakaria church at Cyprus from the sixth or seventh century, where the Virgin and Child are surrounded by angels and not the evangelists.

[836] Piano, 2003: 31-32; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 185; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 181; Dale, 1997: Figs 14-15.

[837] Dale, 1997: 89.

[838] Cohen, 2000: 40-41, Fig. 13, Pl. 3; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 185. Jurković (1998: 74) seems to have taken Russo's (1996: 230) erroneous assumption as a fact, influencing Delonga (1990: 82).

[839] The lamb in majesty in Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek misc. Class. Bibl. 1, fol. 339v; Christ in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, ms. lat. 1, fol. 329v (Kessler, 1977: 54; Poilpré, 2005: 231).

and Byzantium.[840] In the sixth century it continued to be used in the mosaics, in the apse of Basilica Eufrasiana at Poreč (Fig. 132), and on the north wall in San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, as well as appearing on ivories and the Sinai icons.[841] In post-iconoclastic Byzantine art it was retained as an appropriate apse decoration, for example in the ninth-century mosaic in Hagia Sophia, or in the eleventh-century at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 134).[842]

However, depending on the exact position of the enthroned Virgin, and her interaction with the Child, several sub-categories of post-iconoclastic types of the Virgin and Child were introduced, all named after some of the most venerated Byzantine icons. Although Schiller considered the strictly frontal type with the hieratic Child, as on the Biskupija *transenna*, to be the *Nikopoia*,[843] the term tends to be applied almost exclusively to representations of the Virgin holding a shield with the image of the Child, and thus it is probably best to follow Belting's example and refer to the Biskupija type simply as the 'Mother of God enthroned'.[844] This type is found on Byzantine post-iconoclastic ivories such as a tenth- or early eleventh-century ivory icon at Cleveland (Fig. 133).[845] The pictorial evidence further indicates that this type of Virgin is often surrounded by angels in pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art, both on a monumental and smaller scale, while in post-iconoclastic art she starts to appear alone in apses.[846]

More important for the discussion of the Biskupija *transenna* is the fact that the enthroned *Theotokos* was frequently surrounded by figures such as the angels, apostles,

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[840] Documented only for two churches: the *Basilica Suricorum*, Capua Vetere, and the Blacherne church, Constantinople, the apses of which are known only from descriptions (Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 157; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 20)

[841] Ivories in London and Berlin (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 21; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 157-158).

[842] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 162.

[843] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 21-22, 179, Figs 413-414.

[844] Belting, 1996: 204. *Nikopoia* – 'the one who brings victory' – was the icon venerated for bringing military victory to Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century. It depicted the standing Virgin holding a shield with the figure of Christ Child before her chest. In post-iconoclastic art the shield was omitted but the standing frontal Virgin remained. Cohen (2000: 210, n. 11) also avoided the flexible application of the term and pointed out that the Virgin in the Donation scene in the Uta Codex has been incorrectly considered a *Nikopoia*. Kirschbaum (1971, 3: 165) explains how the two types became confused.

[845] Catalogue entry by Kalavrezou in Vassilaki, 2000: 302-303.

[846] The sixth-century ivory from Berlin and the lost mosaic of the same date from St Demetrios' at Salonica, Vassilaki, 2000: 29, 93, Figs 12, 47. The post-iconoclastic examples are: the ninth-century mosaic in the apse of Hagia Sophia (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 415) and in the eleventh-centuy apse mosaic in Hosios Loukas in Phokis (Vassilaki, 2000: 100, Fig. 54).

saints and donors.[847] In a number of Roman examples, such as the seventh-century icon from Santa Maria in Trastevere (Fig. 135), and the ninth-century fresco in Sta Maria in Domnica, donor(s) are depicted at the foot of the Virgin.[848] These comparisons indicate that the dignitary in the lower register of the *transenna* could well have been the donor, as commonly proposed.

Although it is impossible to identify the nimbed and tonsured saint based only on his head (Fig. 136), the Roman-style tonsure bears witness that the saint in question was either a cleric or a monk – both groups of churchmen were tonsured when they became ordained – as can be seen in the Carolingian and Ottonian ivories (Fig. 137).[849] However, even St Peter and church fathers were depicted with a tonsure: on the tenth-century ivory at Darmstadt and the eleventh-century ivory book cover at Berlin respectively (Figs 137, 139).[850]

Overall, therefore, judging from the distinctive iconographic details of the Biskupija *transenna*, such as the rhomboid frame consistent with the *Majestas* scheme and the fact that it contains the Virgin, it can be said that the source was most likely a Carolingian or Ottonian work. Although the image of the enthroned Virgin was inspired by Byzantine images of the *Theotokos*, as can be deducted from her costume, it had been combined with the Carolingian *Majestas Domini* scheme to provide a setting for the Virgin with donors and saints by the eleventh century, as evidenced by the early eleventh-century fresco in the apse of Aquileia Cathedral. A late eleventh-century date for the *transenna* can therefore be reasonably suggested on the understanding that following the early appearance at Aquileia, the *Majestas Virginis* image is likely to have reached Croatia towards the end of that century.

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[847] In the sixth-century Byzantine examples such as the Sinai icon with the Virgin, angels and saints, or the apse of the Basilica Euphrasiana at Poreč (Vassilaki, 2000: 262-263, 90, Fig. 45). Two donors appear in the ninth-century mosaic in the vestibule of the Hagia Sophia (Vassilaki, 2000: 106, Fig. 60). Also Romanini, 1997, 8: 207.

[848] Both examples also feature angels (Vassilaki, 2005: 38; 2000: 98, Fig. 52). An earlier Roman fresco is the sixth-century Virgin with saints and donor, in the catacomb of Commodilla (Romanini, 1997, 8: 209).

[849] The monks on the ninth-century ivory at Paris and the bishop, deacon and lector on the tenth-century ivory from Tournai (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 41, 78, Pl. 30a-b; 71).

[850] Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 22, 82-83, Pls 18, 79; 1970, 2: 44, Pl. 41.

3.1.3iii. The Cross Fragments

As noted, the fragmented cross from St Mary's preserves little of Christ's body (Fig. 140). Only the upper part of his head and cruciform nimbus with the letter V have survived from the upper cross-arm. These, nevertheless, allowed Delonga to suggest that the three visible parts of the cross in the nimbus were originally insribed with the word 'LVX'.[851] From the left horizontal cross-arm, only Christ's left forearm is visible but the palm is damaged. However, his feet are visible on the lower cross-arm, placed next to each other and they do not seem to have been pierced with nails. And, scanty though this evidence is, it does indicate that Christ did not wear a long-sleeved tunic; rather he wore either a loincloth, such as a *perizoma*, or even a sleeveless *colobium*. It also confirms that neither his limbs nor his head were bent.

These features are consistent with the representations of the crucified Christ as being alive rather than dead. It is an iconographic type is characteristic of the earliest Crucifixion scenes preserved from the fifth century: on the Roman ivory in London (Fig. 141), and the wooden doors of Santa Sabina in Rome, both of which depict Christ with his head upright and his arms naked and straight.[852] Depictions of the living Christ continued in the early medieval western Crucifixion schemes, especially in the ninth century such as the fresco at Cimitile,[853] or an ivory from Vatican (Fig. 142), where the nails are almost invisible and inscriptions run along the horizontal arms of the cross.[854] More importantly, a nearly life-size silver Crucifixion which depicted Christ as alive was one of the gifts that Charlemagne donated to the Pope in the ninth century.[855]

Although this scheme was abandoned in Byzantine post-iconoclastic art which, from the eighth century onwards, preferred to show the dying Christ, it remained popular in the West for a long time.[856] It is found throughout the Ottonian centuries, as on the tenth-century Basilewski situla (Fig. 143) and the early eleventh-century bronze

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[851] Delonga, 1996: 71.
[852] Schiller, 1972, 2: 90-91, Figs 326, 323; Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 683.
[853] Schiller, 1972, 2: 100, Fig. 345.
[854] The inscriptions refers to the Virgin and St John below the cross (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl 84).
[855] The original is now lost but a sixteenth-century copy has been preserved (Lasko, 1994: 11, Fig. 18).
[856] Kirschbaum, 1970, 2: 682

doors at Hildesheim.[857] Meanwile, in Italy, the living Christ was maintained in monumental art, such as in the late eleventh-century fresco from Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 144) where Christ's feet rest on it without being nailed, and his arms are outstretched with thumbs turned upward and his head unbent with open eyes.[858]

The examples of the inscribed cross-nimbus are rare. Nonetheless, the word 'LVX', which Delonga identified as being inscribed on the Biskupija cross, can be seen in Christ's cruciform nimbus in the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory the Great at Vercelli and the early eleventh-century Gospels of Hitda (Figs 145-146).[859]

The holes on the top and underside of the cross indicate that the cross was originally attached to two other pieces. This detail is not unique to Biskupija since two other similar pieces of cross fragments with feet and a hole on the underside have been found elsewhere Croatia. One of them was found during the excavation of the Church of St Michael at Brnaze near Sinj and has been dated to the eighth or ninth-century based on the fact that it the feet are engraved rather than sculpted.[860] The other fragment was discovered at Plavno near Knin on the alleged site of the Church of Holy Saviour and dated to the ninth century.[861]

More importantly, a stone cross of similar dimensions still stands attached to the top of the gable (Fig. 148) of the only *in situ* chancel screen in Croatia in the eleventh-century Church of St Martin of the Golden Gate at Split.[862] This example indicates that the placing of small stone crosses, with or without the Crucified Christ, above the chancel screen gables was a local custom between the eighth and eleventh centuries. For this reason it seems logical to assume that the stone cross from Biskupija was also attached to a gable; maybe even the gable with the orant Virgin which surmounted the central opening of the chancel screen.

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[857] Also on the tenth-century Basilewski situla (Lasko, 1994: 93, 116, Figs 128, 159), and the contemporary ivory from Cividale with inscription on the horizontal arms mentioning the donor (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 78).
[858] Schiller, 1972, 2: Fig. 348.
[859] Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. CXLVIII, fol. 8r (Schiller, 1986, 3: Fig. 640); Darmnstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Cod. 1640, fols. 75, 117 (Durliat, 1985: 311, Figs 156-157).
[860] Prijatelj, 1954:77-78; Gunjača, 1955: Fig. 17.
[861] Belamarić, 1997: 45; Marasović, 2008: 333.
[862] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 12; Marasović, 2008: 322, Pl. 10.

Overall, therefore, the features of the cross fragments can be seen to have derived from a western iconographic type which depicted Christ as being alive on the cross. The cross is unlikely to have been influenced by the post-iconoclastic Byzantine images of the dead Christ, but rather drew on the early Christian Crucifixion schemes through a contemporary western model.

3.1.3iv. Fragment with Head

Due to its small dimensions and damaged nature, this fragment does not offer much to a stylistic or iconographic analysis (Fig. 147). While it shows the head of a nimbed saint or Christ, the inscription cannot be reconstructed. It certainly fits into the Biskupija context where all other figure sculptures were inscribed, a factor that points to its original significance.

3.1.4. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

3.1.4i. The Gable

As the topmost elements of chancel screens the gables were reserved for important representations in early medieval churches in Croatia.[863] Given that the church at Biskupija was dedicated to the Virgin, it is thus not surprising to find her figured on the gable. The choice of the orant Virgin, however, must have been determined by a desire to communicate a specific veneration of the Mother of God by the Church of the Croatian kings and bishops.

Generally speaking, the orant pose of the Virgin shares its origins with other early Christian orant figures.[864] Thus, the most obvious symbolic significance of the orant Virgin is the act of prayer. With the development of the doctrine of Mary as *Theotokos* and saint, after the Council of Ephesus, she became regarded as the ultimate intercessor on behalf of the faithful, and it is this particular act of prayer that was visually embodied in her orant pose.

The role of the *Theotokos* as intercessor and protector was seen as a useful tool in the political activities of powerful elites in the early medieval East and West alike.

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[863] E.g. the peacocks or other birds pecking grapes, often beneath a cross in the ninth-century gables from Bijaći and Uzdolje, and the eleventh-century gable from Solin (Jurković, 1992: 76, 96, 103)
[864] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 25; Romanini, 1997, 8: 206.

Pope John VII chose the orant Virgin to decorate the oratory he dedicated to her around 705, and Byzantine Emperors put the image on their coins from the late ninth century onwards.[865] In post-iconoclastic Constantinople the orant Virgin as a symbol of intercession was combined with the icon of the protectress Virgin from the church at *Blacherne* which depicted Mary standing in the orant position with her arms raised and her mantle, a relic in this church, outspread on either side. The *Blacherniotissa* therefore inspired the bust orants with out-turned palms, such as the London roundel.

The orant Virgin, however, acquired further symbolic significance closely associated with her roles as intercessor. In the Carolingian art the type symbolized the unity of an ecclesiastical community and the Church as a whole. This was equally so in Byzantium, where the ninth-century patriarch, Photius, considered the orant Virgin appropriate for apse decorations. In the eleventh-century Byzantine churches she stands for the Terrestrial Church and the intercessor between the faithful and her son depicted in the dome.

The connection between the Mary and the concept of *Ecclesia* had been made in the fourth century by Augustine and Ambrose, who calls her 'Ecclesiae typus',[866] on the basis of her 'spiritual motherhood.'[867] However, as articulated in early medieval art, they did not extend the relationship to include the Virgin's intercession on behalf of 'the individual believer' and 'Ambrosius Autpertus (followed by Carolingian Mariologists) was the earliest theologian to make the traditional parallel between the Virgin and *Ecclesia* encompass this aspect as well.'[868]

In the eighth century, Ambrosius Autpertus invoked the Virgin to help the faithful who fall prey to sin because 'no matter how unworthy they are of your faithful prayers, nevertheless help them, whom you bore in bearing your only Son. Pray to your only Son for the many who go astray.'[869] He also advised: 'let us entrust ourselves to the

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[865] The image was introduced by Emperor Leo VI (886-912), see Ćurčić, 1986: 143, citing Kondakov, 1915, 2: 62. This was not only the first time this type appeared on coins but the first time the Virgin appeared on them.
[866] Ambrose, *Expos. Luc.* 2.7: 33; Augustine, *De Sca. Virg.* 1-2: 235-236.
[867] Thunø, 2001: 86. According to Ambrose and Augustine she was the model of the church because both were virgins and mothers. Bede (*In Luc. expos.* 2: 48) follows Ambrose, trans. Gambero, 2005: 39.
[868] Thunø, 2001: 86-87.
[869] Autpertus, *Sermo in purif.* 7: 992, 'Fove ergo etsi tantis meritis indignos piis orationibus, quos in Uno genuisti. Deprecare unicum Filium pro excessibus multorum'; trans. Gambero, 2005: 45.

intercession of the most Blessed Virgin with all the ardour of our hearts' so that 'she may deign to be our advocate in heaven with her constant prayers.'[870] He was followed by Paul the Deacon at the end of the eighth,[871] Paschasius Radbertus in the ninth,[872] and Odo of Cluny in the tenth century.[873]

This corelation between the Virgin, as the 'best' intercessor a ruler can have, and the Virgin as *Ecclesia* – the symbol of the unity and universality of the Church – must have seemed ideal to an eleventh-century Croatian ruler and his newly appointed court bishop, and it is in this context that the Virgin on the Biskupija gable is best understood. Indeed, the role of the Virgin as *Ecclesia* rather than a mediator was emphasized by Jurković, based on Russo's views of the role of Mary in the Gregorian Church reform of the eleventh century.[874]

Since the iconographic source for the orant Virgin from Biskupija seems to have been Byzantine, it is worth mentioning that in those contexts the type was seen as the protectress of rulers and not as *Ecclesia*.[875] Describing the apse of the Church of St Mary of the Pharos near the Imperial palace, patriarch Photios says that it 'glistens with the image of the Virgin, stretching out her stainless arms on our behalf and winning for the emperor safety and exploits over the foes.'[876] More importantly, the inscription on the eleventh-century London roundel, decorated with the Virgin in the pose identical to that on the Biskupija gable, invoked the help of the Mother of God for the aged Emperor Nicephoros III (1078-1081) and is thought to have been intended for his tomb.[877]

This seems to have been also the case at Biskupija. As mentioned earlier, the gable and the corresponding architraves from St Mary's were also provided with inscriptions which salute and ask the merciful Virgin for the forgiveness of sins ('salve

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[870] 'toto mentis affectu beatissimae Virginis nos intercessionibus committamus … ut dum … ipsa nos sedula prece commendare dignetur in coelis.', Autpertus, *Sermo de Adsum.* 12: 1035-1036; trans. Gambero, 2005: 47-48.
[871] 'Mediator Dei et hominum, filius ejus est, mediatrix filii sui et hominum ipsa … et interpellare pro nobis apud filium suum non cessat', Paul the Deacon, *Hom. 45.*: 1469. 'She is the Mediatrix between her Son and men. She never ceases to intercede for us with her Son'; trans. Gambero, 2005: 57.
[872] Radbertus, *De Assum. Mar.* (*Cogitis me*): 109-162.
[873] *Vita Odon.* 1.9: 47. 'O domina, mater misericordiae, tu nocte ista mundo edidisti Salvatorem; oratrix pro me dignanter existe'; 'O lady, mother of mercy, on this very night when you gave the world its savior. Be a worthy intercessor to me'; trans. Gambero, 2005: 89.
[874] Jurković, 1998: 74-76; Russo, 1996: 232-241.
[875] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 18, 24.
[876] *Homily* 10.6: 188; see also Jenkins and Mango, 1956: 125.
[877] catalogue entry by Williamson in Vassilaki, 2000: 300.

Virgo' and 'pia parce reatis'). Thus, the orant with the out-turned palms was likely selected to portray the Virgin as intercessor, in the same manner as was adopted by Byzantine emperors on their coins.

3.1.4ii. The *Transenna*

In all contexts, the enthroned Virgin with Child symbolizes first and foremost the incarnation of the Logos through Mary.[878] This pose was also adopted in many scenes of the Adoration of the Magi as the first theophany where the Divine is made manifest on earth, as the Child is enthroned on his mother's lap, identified by a cruciform nimbus, holding a scroll in his left hand, and extending his right in a gesture of blessing.[879] In this respect, the underlying message of the Virgin and Child on the *transenna* is the same as in the Adoration scene on the Dominica panel. However, the scheme on the Biskupija *transenna* differs in two major aspects: the mother and child are surrounded by a mandorla and the evangelist symbols as is normal in the scenes of the adult Christ in Majesty, and below them are smaller figures of a saint and a donor.

The evangelist symbols and the lozenge frame, as demonstrated, were likely borrowed from a *Majestas* scene where they represent the unity of the four gospels and its relation to God's world order, symbolized by the lozenge as the *tetragonus mundus*.[880] Furthermore, as Grabar pointed out, the mandorla as an exclusive sign of Christ's divinity was extended only to those depictions of the Virgin which 'express the idea of Theotokos', enveloping her in the 'divine mandorla of the Son.'[881] Here, therefore, Christ's Majesty is also extended to his mother – the necessary vehicle of his incarnation – without whose obedience, humility and purity, the redemption and salvation would have been impossible.[882]

In addition to its significance as a symbol of divine order and unity, the lozenge can also be understood to refer to the Incarnation,[883] as it does in the Visitation scene on

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[878] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 157; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 179; Romanini, 1997, 8: 206.
[879] Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 158, 182; Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 21; Romanini, 1997, 8: 211-212.
[880] See above, section 2.4.3; O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94; Kessler, 1977: 52-53; Werckmeister, 1967: 693; Alcuin, *Versus Cruc.*: 225; Rabanus Maurus, *De Univ.*: 333C.
[881] Grabar, 1955: 310-311.
[882] Ibid. 311. The mentioned example from the Brescia Gospels refers to the liturgical hymn which honours the Incarnation (Galavaris, 1979: 111).
[883] Richardson, 1996: 24-25; O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94; Hawkes, 2003: 8-9.

the St Lawrence panel which, according to Petricioli, came from the same stone-cutting workshop.[884] By using this motif, both key aspects of the *Majestas Mariae* scene are emphasized simultaneously: the incarnation of the Logos and the divine order articulated in and represented by the gospels.[885]

The importance of Mary in the process of Incarnation received increasing attention immediately before the Council of Ephesus and, naturally, in the post-Ephesian exegesis. Thus, compared to Ambrose, Augustine portrays Mary not only as a modest Virgin but as the woman chosen by God for his incarnation because 'he chose the mother he had created; he created the mother he had chosen.'[886] This choice is not fully comprehended by humans because it did not result from anything Mary did; rather, because she was deemed, as Gambero put it, 'a pure grace of the Lord, given to the incarnate word and to all humanity.'[887] The mystery of the divine plan was again underlined by Augustine when he explored the reasons why God chose to 'subject himself to all the weaknesses of the flesh he assumed in the womb of a woman; [this] is a hidden design, known to him alone.'[888] Although this 'hidden design' behind the Incarnation of the Logos in itself implies the divine order, the reference is futher strengthened in the *transenna* by the visual connection with the *Majestas*.

Following in the footsteps of the Carolingian tradition of depicting Christ in Majesty framed by a lozenge and surrounded by the evangelists' symbols, the eleventh-century *Majestas Mariae* reveals the 'hidden design' of Incarnation as embedded in these symbols of the divine order in their own right. The reason why the rhombus-like schemata of the world became associated with the Majesty and the evangelists lies in the ninth-century fascination with Jerome's preface to the Gospel of Matthew, the *Plures fuisse*, in which he explained that the four Gospels are canonical because the four living

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[884] Petricioli, 1960: 10.
[885] The lozenge as a symbol of the *tetragonus mundus* and in the context of a Majestas scene with the evangelists' symbols refers to the divine order which explains the fourfold nature of the cosmos and the unity of the fourfold Gospels fixed in the person of Christ (O'Reilly, 1998: 49-94).
[886] 'Quam creavit elegit, quam eligeret creavit.' Augustine, *Sermo* 69.4: 464.
[887] Gambero, 2005: 219.
[888] 'Cur autem illa omnia in carne ex utero feminae assumpta pati voluerit, summa consilii penes illum est', Augustine, *Cont. Faust*. 26. 7: 735; trans. Gambero, 2005: 220.

creatures, identified with the evangelists, appear around God in the visions of Ezekiel and John, which in turn were the textual sources for the *Majestas* scenes.[889]

The presence of the tonsured saint and the donor in the lower register imply that they were part of the pictorial entourage and that, as witnessed by a similar contemporary example in Aquileia, the act of donation is perceived as a guarantee of the continuation of the divine order on earth and as a natural part of it.[890] The saint is clearly representative of a religious community which in the case of Biskupija would have consisted of canons living together rather than being a monastic community.[891] The donor, as on the Aquileia apse and in the Uta codex, symbolizes his devotion to the Virgin and his plea for the protection and mercy of the Mother of God. By placing himself in the context of the Majestas scene, the donor reveals that his endowment and his plea are part of the divine world order that pleases God. Although the donor cannot be identified, his costume and the absence of a crown probably identify him as a dignitary rather than a king.

3.1.4iii. The Cross Fragments

The cross as an instrument of a shameful punishment in Roman times was transformed in Christian thought into 'the splendid emblem of [Christ's] triumph' symbolizing his victory over death.[892] According to Schiller, the Crucifixion image was understood as an expression of Christ's dual nature: his humanity was confirmed by his death while the victory over death demonstrated his divinity.[893] For this reason, the depictions of the living Christ, as was the case on the stone cross from Biskupija, emphasized his divine nature and this 'theophany on the cross' revealed him as 'the eternal exalted lord.'[894] Representations of the living Christ were rooted in the early Christian preference of the

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[889] 'Haec igitur quattuor Evangelia multum ante praedicta, hiezechielis quoque volume probat, in quo prima visio ita conexitur…Unde et Apocalypsis Joannis…introducit quattuor animalia plena oculis', Jerome, *Comm. Matt.*, *Praefatio*: 3-4; Kessler, 1977: 40-41, 53.

[890] The *Majestas Mariae* is surrounded by three local saints on either side, introducing the donors who are depicted as smaller than them. To the Virgin's right are Aquileian patriarch, Poppo, and Emperor Henry II, while to her left are Emperor Conrad II, Empress Gisela and Prince Henry III (Dale, 1997: Fig. 15).

[891] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1953, 15/2: 2433. The tonsure was used already in the fourth century in both contexts.

[892] 'pulchra specie triumphi sui (…) trophaeum', Leo the Great, *Sermo 59*.4: 339C; Schiller, 1972, 2: 2.

[893] Schiller, 1972, 2: 93.

[894] Ibid.

saving nature of his death over its historical accuracy.[895] Christ is not shown suffering or dying because he conquered death on the cross or, in the words of Augustine, he 'slew death' by dying.[896]

Apart from confirming that the crucified Christ is alive and victorious, the outstretched and straight arms perfectly outline the shape of the cross and its four directions which symbolize the world and cosmos.[897] Thus, according to Schiller, the cross stands for the 'worldwide impact of Christ's death' which can be linked to St Paul's desire (Ephesians 3, 17-19) that everyone may comprehend 'the breadth, and length, and depth, and height' of Christ's love.[898] Indeed, Augustine himself compared these words with the cross: he identified the breadth with the horizontal beam which 'signifies good works in all the breadth of love'; the length with the lower half of the vertical beam, symbolizing 'the perseverance through the length of time to the end'; the height with the upper half of the vertical beam referring to the heavenly matters; and finally, the depth with the part fixed to the ground which, due to it being concealed and yet fundamental since from there 'spring up all those parts that are outstanding from it', he identified as the grace of God.[899]

This universality of Christ's power to save humanity is closely related to Zechariah's prophecy that the one 'whom they have pierced' is the Messiah.[900] At the same time, the emphasis on the divine nature of Christ, achieved through depicting him alive, signifies that Christ is also the judge who will be seen coming down on a cloud even by those 'who pierced him' on the occasion of the Second Coming.[901] Augustine made it clear that Christ chose when to die, after the Old Testament prophecies had been completed, because he 'had power to lay down his life and take it up again (...) How

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[895] Ibid. 1.
[896] 'et de morte occideret mortem', *Iohan. tract*. 2.16: 19.
[897] Schiller, 1972, 2: 93.
[898] Ibid.
[899] 'significat opera bona, in latitudine charitatis … perseverantiam in longitudine temporis usque in finem … supernum finem … quippe et occulta est, nec videri potest, sed cuncta ejus apparentia et eminentia inde consurgunt', *Iohan. tract.* 118.5: 657.
[900] Zechariah 12: 10.
[901] Revelation 1: 7.

great the power, to be hoped for or dreaded, that must be his as judge, if such was the power he exhibited as a dying man!'[902]

Underlining such theological paradoxes, the addition of the inscribed 'lux' to Christ's nimbus on the Biskupija cross can be understood with reference to Christ's words 'I am the light of the world' (John 8: 12), and Augustine's description of Christ carrying the cross as 'bearing the candelabrum of that light that was yet to burn, and not to be placed under a bushel (Matthew 5: 15).'[903]

3.1.5. CONCLUSIONS

While no analysis of iconographic significance can be made for the fragment with the head, it can be suggested that it may have belonged to a screen panel rather than a gable, as the latter would have been too small to incorporate the figure and the inscription. Nevertheless, the other figural sculptures from St Mary's offer new insight into the eleventh-century phase of the church.

The image on the gable shows the Virgin as the mediatrix and protectress of the rulers. The same set of references is inherent in the inscription running along the gable and the architraves. It cannot be established with certainty whether the stone cross was inserted above the gable as the appropriate hole has not been preserved due to the damage sustained by the topmost fragment of the gable itself. However, contrary to Delonga's opinion that the cross attempted to achieve the Romanesque ideal of the suffering Christ,[904] the crucified Christ is depicted alive and so rendered triumphant. Thus, if it originally surmounted the gable, then the partially preserved inscription on the other two architrave fragments '...acens Christo' and 'spes mundi', identified by Delonga as addressing Christ, could be understood with this in mind to invoke Christ who is the hope of salvation.

The double-sided *transenna*, depicting the *Majestas Virginis* in a donation context, was intended to be visible from both sides and so may have been set in the wall of the western structure which opened towards the nave as suggested by Milošević.

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[902] '…ille qui potestatem habebat ponendi animam suam, et iterum sumendi eam … Quanta speranda vel timenda potestas est judicantis, si apparuit tanta morientis?' *Iohan. tract.* 119.6: 660.
[903] 'ipsam crucem suam suo gestans humero commendabat; et lucernae arsurae quae sub modio ponenda non erat, candelabrum ferebat' *Iohan. tract.* 117.3: 652-653.
[904] Delonga, 1990: 82.

However, whether or not this structure was a westwork with a chapel on the first floor remains inconclusive.[905] If indeed the gable and *transenna* were placed at the opposite ends of the church, they would have presented two different aspects of the Virgin. As an orant on the screen gable in front of the altar, she was the intercessor who would pray in heaven for the forgiveness of sins, while on the *transenna* she was partaking in Christ's majesty as the vehicle through which God was made incarnate and became man. This represented the divine order, being reflected on earth by the acceptance of the donor's gift and as such would have been wholly appropriate for the Court Cathedral.

The eleventh-century refurbishment of the church was linked to its elevation to the rank of Cathedral of the court bishop. However, the bishop was first recorded thirty years before the 1078 consecration of the Cathedral so the question remains: why was the church interior not remodelled earlier, for the occasion of the ordination of the first bishop? The answer might be that the refurbishment had more to do with the implementation of the Gregorian reform in the kingdom of Croatia. Indeed, Biskupija Cathedral shared an important feature with the Gregorian movement – the connection between royal patronage and Mary as intercessor. Given that the sources mention that King Zvonimir (1076-1089) attended the consecration ceremony in 1078, it is possible that he was responsible for the initiative to update the liturgical furnishings in St Mary's and that one of his *iuppani* followed his example and made a donation alluded to in the *transenna*.

PART 2: SCULPTURES FROM THE CHURCH OF SS PETER AND MOSES AT SOLIN

3.2.1. INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL SETTING AND DISCOVERY

Together with Biskupija and Nin, Solin belongs to the same group of sites that have come to play such an important role in the study of early medieval art and architecture in Croatia. It is situated in the immediate vicinity of Split, on the eastern outskirts of the late antique Dalmatian capital of Salona, at the mouth of the River Jadro (Fig. 149).

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[905] On the westwork in Croatian ninth-century architecture see sections 2.1; 2.5 and 3.1.1.

Medieval written records mention a number of churches here: those of St Mary and St Stephen, which housed the tombs of Croatian kings and queens, built by Jelena, wife of King Michael Krešimir II, in the second half of the tenth century; the church and monastery of St Moses, first mentioned in 1078; and the basilica of St Peter where Zvonimir was crowned king by the papal legate, Gebizon, on 8 October 1076.[906]

In 1898 Bulić excavated the Church of St Stephen on the site of Otok, and in its narthex discovered the fragments of the funerary epitaph of Queen Jelena who died in 976.[907] However, because Bulić believed he had found the Church of St Mary, the archaeological society *Bihać* continued to search for St Stephen's:[908] both churches are mentioned in the thirteenth century by Archdeacon Thomas as foundations of Queen Jelena, and that of St Stephen is cited as the location of the royal tombs.[909] As for the coronation church of Zvonimir, Bulić argued that the rotunda he discovered on the site of Gradina represented the remains of the basilica of St Peter, a view which Karaman supported.[910] This left only the site of the monastery of St Moses and its church (the abbot of which, Ursus, was mentioned in 1078) to be identified.[911]

The most significant contribution to this search was made by Katić who had studied the perambulation documents in the Split Diocesan Archives in considerable detail, and concluded that the only possible location of St Moses would be the site known as the Hollow Church in Solin.[912] Based on this, *Bihać* entrusted Dyggve to excavate the site in 1931, where he uncovered a columnar aisled basilica with three eastern apses, and a narthex to the west end with the traces of a bell-tower staircase in its

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[906] Katić, 1942: 186, 188. The monastery of St Moses and its abbot Ursus were first mentioned in 1078 in a deed issued by King Stephen III to the monastery of St Stephen *de pinis* at Split, at which King Zvonimir was present (*CD I*, 164-165; Rački, 119-120). Zvonimir was crowned in 1076 on the feast day of St Demetrius, his Christian name, but the Church of St Peter had already been mentioned in 1069 in the deed of king Petar Krešimir IV to the same monastery from Split (*CD* I, 122-123; Rački, 1877: 79).

[907] 'wife of king Michael and mother of king Stephen' (Bulić, 1901: 220, Fig. 4).

[908] For the discussion of Bihać and its foundation, see Introduction, 2.

[909] Bulić (1898: 19-24) unearthed the church close to the nineteenth-century parish Church of St Mary and so believed this was the dedication. However, because Thomas (*Hist. Sal.* 16: 80) had recorded the tombs in St Stephen's, and because Dyggve discovered a smaller church below the parish church in 1930, it became obvious that Dyggve hadfound St Mary's and Bulić St Stephen's. Duggve's campaign was prompted by Katić (1929: 74-78) who established that St Stephen's was situated on the site of Otok.

[910] Bulić, 1925a: 449-450; 1925b: 143; Bulić and Katić, 1929: 64-65. Karaman (1930: 181-197) supported this opinion but it was finally disproved by Katić (1929: 74) and Dyggve (1951: 133-134).

[911] See above, n. 906.

[912] Katić, 1929: 74.

south half (Fig. 150).[913] A Roman sarcophagus was also found in the narthex, re-used for a burial of an early medieval dignitary.[914] Large parts of the original church floor were found, among them the traces of the chancel screen base and the holes for the altar *ciborium*.[915]

Dyggve also unearthed a quantity of architectural decoration and pieces of liturgical furnishings.[916] Among these were four marble fragments decorated with the partial remains of human figures: a head with the inscription S MOISE; a face with a moustache; the lower part of a body with two feet; and a nimbed head with long hair (Figs 152-155).[917] More importantly, Dyggve also found five marble fragments of a screen gable (Fig. 156) decorated with two peacocks and a cross, and bearing the dedicatory inscription: + SANCTISSIME PETRE SVSCIPE MVNUS A RE(VERENDO) MOYSES FAM(VLO TVO).[918] Traces of polychromy, mostly red, yellow and brown, were still visible in the hollows of the relief.[919]

Dyggve immediately informed Bulić about the discovery, and his conclusions that not only was this the Church of St Moses, as suggested by Katić, but also the coronation basilica of Zvonimir (1076-1089), as corroborated by the inscription on the gable mentioning St Peter.[920] He further supported this identification with the panel from the Split Baptistery (Fig. 173) depicting an enthroned ruler and a man prostrate before him, which had been identified as, among others, Zvonimir and considered by some to have been brought from Solin.[921] Dyggve argued that due to the fact that it shares the same stylistic qualities (the workmanship of the hair, eyes, ears and clothes) with the figural fragments from Solin, as well as the same material (marble), and the fact that it depicts a seated king, were all proof of the same origin as the stones from the liturgical furnishings of Zvonimir's coronation basilica.[922] However, Dyggve only

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[913] Minor excavations were carried out in 1927-1928 when the remains of walls were found (Piteša et al., 1992: 144, 147; Zekan, 2000: 249-251).
[914] Piteša et al., 1992: 147.
[915] Zekan, 2000: 252.
[916] Karaman, 1934: 25-26.
[917] See cat. nos 13-16.
[918] Karaman, 1931: 18; 1934: Pl. 6; Dyggve, 1951: 134.
[919] Karaman, 1943: 63; Petricioli, 1960: 33.
[920] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 240, n. 15.
[921] See below, section 4.1.1.
[922] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241-242.

published his paper on the chancel screen from SS Peter and Moses in the 1950s and thus the argument that the churches of St Moses and the coronation basilica dedicated to St Peter were one and the same was first set out by Katić in 1943.[923]

The walls and the bell tower are documented in a drawing by Camucci from 1571, but the roof is missing, hence the name Hollow Church.[924] Today the church floor lies below the level of the River Jadro (Fig. 151), which was not the case in the eleventh century when it had been above it. Through the centuries the site was often flooded because of the nearby influx of the St Elijah stream into the river, bringing mud and raising the water levels so that the foundations of the church came to be buried under the detritus.

While excavating this eleventh-century church, Dyggve also unearthed a larger, early Christian church on the same site (Fig. 150).[925] He identified this as the remains of a sixth-century cemetery church of ancient Salona.[926]

Between 1990 and 1993 the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments in Split undertook new excavations on the Hollow Church site.[927] The archaeologists investigated the space of the early Christian church to the east, north and south of the medieval Church of SS Peter and Moses, and established that the walls of the old church stood to the height of c. 3.5-4 m at the time when the new church was erected in its nave.[928] It seems that the monastic buildings, incorporating the old walls, were placed to the north.[929]

3.2.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND DATING

Of the four small fragments with traces of figures found by Dyggve during his excavation of the church in 1931,[930] the fragment with a bearded head and the fragment with feet did not give rise to much interest, apart from recognition of them as part of the

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[923] Katić, 1942: 187-188.
[924] Katić, 1929: 191; Piteša et al., 1992: 144. The drawing is in the State Archive at Zadar. By late 1920s the walls of the church were gone and only the place name implied they had been there.
[925] Piteša et al., 1992: 147; Zekan, 2000: 251.
[926] Dyggve, 1951: 80; Piteša et al., 1992: 147.
[927] Zekan, 2000: 255.
[928] Ibid. 258-259.
[929] Ibid.
[930] Dyggve, 1951: Pl. 6.18.

same group as the other two fragments, due to their lack of individual details or inscriptions. The fragment with the head and inscription 'S. MOISE' was, for exactly these reasons, considered the most important of the four.[931] Traces of polychromy have been preserved in the inscribed letters.[932] A damaged fragment with another head was attributed to a relief of Christ based on the identification of the trace of a cruciform nimbus around the head (Fig. 155).[933]

The first scholar who did not limit himself to only mentioning the find of the Moise fragment was Katić who ascribed it to the right-hand gable above the chancel screen opening leading to the south apse, in 1942.[934] He considered the other gable, that with the dedicatory inscription to St Peter and two birds flanking a cross (Fig. 156), to have surmounted the central opening.[935] However, the photographs of the Moise fragment and other figural pieces were only published by Dyggve as late as 1951.[936] Although he went on to write a more detailed study of the chancel screen from the church, he omitted the fragment of 'Christ's' head and his drawing of the reconstructed screen from the paper; it was found in his archive in Split by Petricioli who published it in 1975 (Fig. 157).[937] Here, he had positioned the head of 'Christ' in the gable above the central opening, while the three other fragments were reconstructed as parts of the screen.[938] Igor Fisković convincingly suggested that for this reason, Dyggve's reconstruction should not be understood as completely reliable, since it seems to have been only a working hypothesis.[939]

Prijatelj mentioned only two fragments: Moses and the bearded head, stating that the nimbed head was that of Moses even though the Moses fragment does not have a nimbed figure, nor is he usually portrayed as such. [940] He noted Dyggve's view that the

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[931] Mentioned briefly in: Karaman, 1931: 14; 1934: 25-26; Katić, 1939: 17
[932] Delonga, 1996: 139.
[933] Dyggve (1951: Pl. 6.20; 1954-1957: Pl. 30) did not publish this head with the other fragments, but he did place it on the central gable of the reconstructed chancel screen. Petricioli (1975: 113, 117, n. 10) published it as the head of Christ, explaining that only its side is visible in Dyggve's publications because the front had not been photographed.
[934] Katić, 1942: 186-187.
[935] Ibid.
[936] Dyggve, 1951: T 6, Fig. 18.
[937] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 239, 241, T 29, Figs 2-3, 7; Petricioli, 1975: 116, Fig. 11.
[938] Ibid.
[939] I. Fisković, 2002: 262, n. 22.
[940] Prijatelj, 1954: 71.

Solin fragments and the panel from the Split Baptistery were part of the same screen, but did not express an opinion on this, merely stating that they are stylistically similar and probably produced by the same stone cutting workshop.[941]

Dyggve's illustration, showing the fragment with feet in a horizontal position, next to the detail of the Split Baptistery panel depicting a prostrated figure, implied that he considered this fragment to have belonged to a similar scene.[942] The bearded face was also seldom analyzed; Igor Fisković suggested that it could have been that of Peter, as a counterpart to Moses.[943]

The figure of Moses was identified by most authors as that of the Old Testament prophet.[944] This seems to be confirmed by a stone fragment, found in the 1990-1993 campaign, inscribed with 'profeta'.[945] Ostojić and Katičić, on the other hand, suggested the dedication of the church (which indirectly applies to the carved figure) referred to the fourth-century Ethiopian monk St Moses.[946]

The fragment with a nimbed and long-haired figure was interpreted as depicting a youthful Christ on the basis of the perceived trace of a cross-nimbus, which is admittedly difficult to decipher (Fig. 155). It was presumably for this reason that Dyggve assumed it would have been appropriate for the central screen gable, an opinion recently shared by Igor Fisković.[947] Other scholars, however, consider it part of a screen panel.[948]

An original proposal was put forward by Vežić, according to whom all four figural fragments belonged to the same chancel screen panel depicting the Transfiguration of Christ.[949] Thus, the scene would have included Christ and two prophets, Elijah and Moses, as well as the apostles Peter, James and John, joining the

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[941] Ibid. 72.
[942] Dyggve, 1954-1957: Pl. 29, Figs 6-7.
[943] I. Fisković, 2002: 263.
[944] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 239, n. 13; Katić, 1942: 189-190; Prijatelj, 1954: 71; Piteša et al., 1992: 149; Zekan, 2000: 251, 257; I. Fisković, 2004: 33.
[945] Delonga, 1996: 138; Zekan, 2000: 157; I. Fisković, 2002: 261, n. 18.
[946] Ostojić, 1963, 2: 310; Katičić: 1998: 484. The dedication would be appropriate for SS Peter and Moses, being a monastic church; a fifth-century Syrian church at Dar Qita also had a double dedication to Moses the monk and Paul (Esler, 2002, 1: 735, Fig. 27.23)
[947] I. Fisković, 2002: 262-265.
[948] Rapanić and Katić, 1971: 85; Petricioli, 1983: 21; Piteša et al., 1992: 149, 150.
[949] Vežić, 2001: 14.

two titular saints in the same scene.[950] Although this suggestion sounds appealing, it is difficult to imagine how this scene, usually consisting of two vertical registers – the Transfiguration above and the apostles below – would have been depicted on a panel approximately 110 cm high.

3.2.3. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

As implied by the scholarship, the only figure that can be precisely identified on these fragments is that of Moses. However, so little remains of his face that it is impossible to define its physiognomy, such as whether he was bearded or clean-shaven.[951] From the preserved hair (Fig. 152), however, it is clear that it was short and that he was neither horned nor nimbed.[952] Although the lack of nimbus confirms the interpretation of the figure being Moses the prophet rather than the saintly monk,[953] the titulus S MOISE honours him as a saint. This transcription departs from the standard form 'Moyses', used by early Christian and medieval theologians, but local variants did refer to him as 'Moises', such as on the eleventh-century fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis (Fig. 160).[954] This is also one of the few examples when Moses is depicted in isolation (on the north wall of the nave as one of the Old Testament prophets); he was usually portrayed in narrative cycles.[955]

Apart from this, the identification of the three other partially preserved figures from Solin is problematic although, compared to the Moses fragment, larger sections of their bodies have survived. In the absence of an attribute or titulus, it cannot be

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[950] Ibid.

[951] In early Christian and Carolingian art, Moses was often depicted as a clean-shaven youth with a staff, although the white-haired bearded type also existed. The latter became more popular from the twelfth century onwards (Réau, 1956, 2/1: 176-177; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 283-285).

[952] The horns appear from the eleventh century onwards due to Jerome's mistranslation of the Hebrew 'qaran' describing Moses' face after talking to God (Exodus 34: 29) as figuratively 'sending out rays'. Jerome chose the literal meaning of the word as 'displaying horns' i.e. 'cornuta' in Vulgate (Caraffa and Morelli, 1996, 9: 610; Kirschbaum, 1971, 3: 285.). The earliest example is found in the eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon Aelfric Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua (London, the British Museum, Cotton Claudius B. IV, fol. 105v), see Dodwell, 1971: 319-328.

[953] The monk Moses is always depicted with a nimbus while for the prophet it was optional: he has one in the sixth-century mosaic in San Vitale at Ravenna and the eleventh-century fresco in Sant'Angelo in Formis, but not in the fifth-century mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and the sixth-century mosaic in Sant'Apollinare in Classe.

[954] Caraffa and Morelli, 1996, 9: 605-606. In the sixth-century mosaic from San Vitale in Ravenna he is 'Mose', and in the contemporary one at Sinai he is 'Moysis'.

[955] Ibid. 633.

determined to whom the lower part of the tunic and a pair of feet had originally belonged. The only possible analysis is that which attempts to establish whether the figure might have been standing or prostrate. The closest parallel to the feet fragment is, as noted by Dyggve,[956] is the panel with three figures from the Split Baptistery (Fig. 173). Compared to their feet, those from Solin resemble the feet of the prostrate figure in that both are relatively small and do not have 'gaiters' worn by the two larger standing figures. This may have been the reason why Dyggve published this fragment in a horizontal position as if this figure was also prostrate.[957]

If the feet fragment (Fig. 154) is compared to the Dominica panels, deemed to have been produced by the same stone-cutting workshop in Croatian scholarship,[958] the situation is the same since all standing figures in knee-length tunics have 'gaiters' (Figs 12-13). The figures in long tunics wear either pointed shoes and seem to be standing on tiptoe, or are barefoot, like Gabriel and John the Baptist. Understandably the comparison is not ideal as there are no prostrate figures on the Dominica panels, where the closest example is the woman washing the Christ Child, whose right foot is slightly raised while the left is not visible. Nevertheless, from these examples, it seems likely that the feet on the Solin fragment had belonged to a prostrate figure similar to that on the Split Baptistery panel, as implicitly suggested by Dyggve.

The same examples can also serve as comparative material for the fragment with a moustachioed face (Fig. 153). All male figures on the panels from Split and Zadar, apart from the two angels, have moustaches and beards. Moreover, among all the extant early medieval figural sculpture in Croatia, there is not a single one with only a moustache. This strongly suggests that the figure from Solin was also bearded. Unlike the Moses fragment, however, this one does not have the top of the head preserved and so it cannot be discerned whether the figure was nimbed. This aggravates any other interpretation because although all three figures on the Split panel represent secular persons with beards, the Holy Dominica panels demonstrate that the saints, such as John

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[956] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241.
[957] Ibid., Pl. 29, Figs 6-7.
[958] Petricioli, 1960: 7; Jakšić (2008, 1: 27) argued that it was active for decades, progressing with time to achieve the increased plasticity so that the later carvings are 2 cm deeper. Thus, the *ciborium* of Proconsul Gregory is the earliest, followed by that from St Thomas, both in Zadar (1030-1040s), while the Solin fragments and the Split panel are dated to the 1060s.

the Baptist could also be bearded. Thus, the moustachioed figure from Solin could equally have been a member of the laity or a bearded saint (an Apostle or John the Baptist).

Finally, the identification of the long-haired, clean-shaven head with a nimbus as Christ was based on the perception that there is a trace of the cross in the nimbus (Fig. 155).[959] Leaving this not immediately visible detail to one side, the comparison with the above mentioned sculptures from Split and Zadar demonstrates that only angels and women were depicted in this fashion. It is regrettable that these panels do not preserve a figure of an adult Christ which would reveal whether this school of carving represented him as a clean-shaven or bearded. The adult Christ does appear enthroned on three other eleventh-century examples from Croatia: the St Lawrence pediment, the Sustipan gable and the panel from Rab (Figs 64, 195, 204). Unfortunately, since all of them had been built in the exterior walls of churches and exposed to the elements for long periods of time,[960] the resulting wear means that the presence or absence of a beard on Christ's face cannot be ascertained.

3.2.4. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

Discussion of the symbolical significances of these pieces is extremely limited due to their fragmentary state. Most conclusions, therefore, albeit of a general nature, can be drawn from the fragment with Moses and his relationship with Peter as the second titular saint of the basilica.

Although Moses is an Old Testament prophet, Church Fathers such as Ambrose and Augustine frequently refer to him as 'Sanctus Moyses.'[961] In the fourth century, the pilgrim Egeria refers to Moses as 'holy' in her descriptions of the visits to the Holy Land.[962] The phrase is also used by Maximus of Turin in the fifth, and Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century.[963] Chapels dedicated to St Moses and St Elijah were set up in the Church of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and both were generally honoured as saints. Thus, Moses was commemorated on 4 September in the Byzantine and Roman

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[959] See above, n. 946-947.
[960] See cat. nos 12, 18 and 21.
[961] Ambrose, *Expos. psal.* 8: 160; Augustine, *Epist.* 147: 293.
[962] Wilkinson, 2002: 93, 107-108.
[963] Maximus of Turin, *Sermo* 29.3: 113-114; Rabanus Maurus, *Comm. genes.* 1.1: 443B.

calendars alike.[964] He is commemorated as a saint in the ninth-century martyrologia of Ado of Vienne and Notker Balbulus.[965]

The closest parallel for the Solin piece, however, can be found in Venice where, in 947, a local dignitary Moisè Venier replaced the Church of St Victor with a new church dedicated to St Moses which was damaged by fire in the twelfth century.[966] The connection between the name of the donor and the dedication of the church provides a useful parallel for the situation at Solin where, as mentioned above, the donor of the chancel screen was called Moses. Perhaps, as suggested by Dyggve and supported by Igor Fisković, the donor may have been an abbot who took the name Moses when he was ordained to honour the titular saint of the church,[967] and not the other way round as in Venice.

Katić had already demonstrated that the double dedication of the church to St Peter and Moses could be explained by the fact that these two figures were sometimes depicted similarly in the iconographic tradition: drawing the water from the rock as a symbol of baptism, for instance.[968] This parallel was made from the fourth century onward on the grounds that Peter as the founder of Christ's Church was compared to and seen as being prefigured by Moses, the lawgiver and the leader of God's people.[969] Réau even stated that Moses was perceived as the pope of the Jews, making the comparison with Peter as the first pope so strong that the miraculous Rod of Moses was kept together with the relics of St Peter in the *Sancta Sanctorum* at St John in Lateran.[970]

The connection was further elaborated by Igor Fisković who stated that both biblical figures were considered 'regal' because of their roles: Peter as the first apostle of the Latin Church and, to a greater extent, Moses who had received the divine Law on

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[964] Caraffa and Morelli, 1996, 9: 628. The Roman martyrology lists St Moses as 'On Mount Nebo, in the land of Moab, the holy lawgiver and prophet Moses.'
http://www.breviary.net/martyrology/mart09/mart0904.htm (accessed 18 June 2010). Byzantine synaxarion: http://www.anastasis.org.uk/syn-sep01.htm (accessed 28 March 2011).
[965] *Vet. rom. mar.*: 167; *Martyr.*: 1147C.
[966] Dorigo, 2003, 2: 761; Tentori, 1785, 4: 347; Coleti, 1758. Also http://siusa.archivi.beniculturali.it/cgi-bin/pagina.pl?RicPag=3&RicLin=en&TipoPag=prodente&Chiave=5&RicProgetto=ev&RicVM=ricercasemplice&RicSez=produttori&RicTipoScheda=pe (accessed 19 June 2010).
[967] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241; I. Fisković, 2002: 261, n. 18.
[968] Katić, 1942: 189-190
[969] Huskinson, 1982: 129; Réau, 1956, 2/1: 176.
[970] Réau, 1956, 2/1: 176, n. 2.

how to guide God's people.[971] In addition, he emphasized how Moses' origin as the foster child of the royal dynasty of Egypt further made him suitable as the dedicatory figure of a royal monastery.[972] His 'royal connection' can be supported by the fact that the Rod of Moses, reputedly obtained by Constantine the Great, was one of the insignia used in the coronation ceremony of Byzantine emperors.[973]

This aspect of Moses, as legislator and leader, appealed to the medieval figures of power who wished to be associated with similar characteristics, and received visual expression in the frescoes of Le Puy Cathedral, for instance, which, although now lost, included episodes from Moses' life that can be interpreted as allusions to the deeds of Bishop Ademarus during the first Crusade.[974]

Thus, as argued by most scholars, the fragments from Solin likely formed part of a screen panel depicting a number of figures, one of whom was Moses. This is also supported by the fact that Moses was rarely depicted in isolation, in fact, the most frequently portrayed episode from his life, from the early Christian period onwards, was that of him receiving the Law on Mount Nebo (Fig. 158). If this was the case at Solin, the panel with Moses may not have necessarily have included the fragment with the bearded head (Peter?) and the prostrate figure, as these are not consistent with such a scene. These other figures are difficult to identify and further speculation about their original context would only represent unsubstantiated guesswork in the absence of more evidence. The same can be said for the nimbed head of 'Christ' – the fragment is too small and damaged to allow for a certain identification.

3.2.5. CONCLUSIONS

Since the earliest mention of the Church of SS Peter and Moses was in 1069, in the deed of Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075), recording a land donation to the monastery of St Stephen *sub pinis* at Split,[975] it can be assumed that it was built before or at the beginning of his reign. As the first Croatian king who exerted actual power over the Dalmatian cities, Petar Krešimir IV seems the likeliest sponsor responsible for the

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[971] I. Fisković, 2004: 35.
[972] Ibid. 36.
[973] Nelson and Magdalino, 2009: 291, n. 21; Dagron, 2003: 90, 216.
[974] Romanini, 1997: 595.
[975] Katić, 1942: 188, see above, n. 905.

construction of a large Benedictine church on the royal patrimony. The marble chancel screen consisting of the figural panels and the non-figural gable(s) was probably installed by Abbot Moses to allude to the qualities possessed by the king. One of these panels was Moses, whose association with Peter reveals the underlying message about the leader of the people who travels the path taken by these two saints: in this case, the implementation of Church organization according to Christ's wishes (Peter) and the enforcement of law given by God (Moses). As Igor Fisković pointed out, the dedication to St Peter seems significant, as this was King Krešimir's Christian name, as he often emphasized in his deeds.[976]

Possible further interpretation has to rely on the suggested connection between the Solin fragments and the panel from Split Baptistery. If a Solin provenance of this panel is accepted, as argued below (section 4.1.4), then the depiction of the crowned ruler establishes an even stronger connection with the Moses panel. If indeed this scene was that of Moses receiving the Law, it was echoed in the Split scene of the merciful king, who is presented with a scroll. The appearance of a prostrate figure and the bearded man, possibly on another panel at Solin would also correspond to the panel now at Split which includes both. This would suggest that the figural panels from Solin and Split could have belonged to the same narrative set installed in the basilica of SS Peter and Moses to honour Petar Krešimir IV.

PART 3: SCULPTURES FROM THE CHURCH OF ST MICHAEL, KOLOČEP

3.3.1. INTRODUCTION: ARCHITECTURAL SETTING AND DISCOVERY

Koločep is a small island (2.3 km²) lying 7 km to the south-west of Dubrovnik (Fig. 161). It is one of the three islands usually referred to as the Elaphiti islands, the other two being Šipan and Lopud.[977] The figural reliefs from Koločep – a gable with the figure of an angel (Fig. 168) and a panel with the figures of two boys blowing horns

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[976] I. Fisković, 2002: 154.
[977] The name *Elaphites*, from Greek *elaphos* for deer, was given to them by Pliny the Elder *(Nat. Hist.* 3.26.152: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/L/Roman/Texts/Pliny_the_Elder/3*.html, accessed on 20 May 2010).

(Fig. 164) – were carved on the reverse faces of Roman monuments made from Luna (Carrara) marble.[978] The gable with the angel bears an inscription on its arched opening: P(RO) SORORE (E)T REGINA Q(VAE) EDIFICA(VIT). A marble architrave built in as *spolia* in the house of the Besjedica family at Gornje Čelo, with the inscription + QVESO VOS OM(NE)S Q(VI) ASPICITIS V, was convincingly interpreted as part of the same screen and represents the beginning of the inscription that Delonga reconstructed as 'I am asking all of you who are looking at this to .... for a sister and queen who constructed...'[979]

The piece with the angel and that with the boys were only attributed to the Church of St Michael in 1998,[980] for the fragments from which they are composed were found considerably earlier, at two different locations not far from St Michael's: the gable and the panel were discovered in and around the cemetery Church of St Nicholas (formerly St Vitus) in the early twentieth century; and a fragment of the gable was found during the archaeological excavation of the eleventh-century Church of St Sergius in 1972;[981] as a result the sculptures were first thought to have belonged to the Church of St Sergius.[982]

However, during the conservation and restoration works on the churches of St Nicholas and St Michael in 1997-1998, both in the vicinity of St Sergius, Peković and Žile discovered marble fragments of screen pilasters and window frames which they ascribed to the Church of St Michael.[983] The argument in favour of this church was based on their proximity and the fact that *spolia* from St Michael's were used as the building material in the walls of the porch added to the Church of St Nicholas, following the deconstruction of St Michael's in 1868 due to its allegedly ruinous state.[984] At the

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[978] See cat. nos 7-8.
[979] Delonga, 2000: 24.
[980] Peković and Žile, 1999: 124-128.
[981] The excavations were undertaken by the Conservation Office in Dubrovnik (Menalo, 2003: 24-26; Peković et al., 2005: 2, n. 4). A limestone capital was also found on this occasion (Menalo, 2003: 26) and Peković et. al (2005: 5) suggested that it too may have been part of the same screen. Žile (2003: 96-104) dated the church to the ninth or tenth century but it seems more likely, as Marinković (2007: 230, n. 54) implies, that it was built in the eleventh century.
[982] Petricioli, 1990: 63; Žile, 2003: 122.
[983] Žile, 2002: 256-263; Peković and Žile, 1999: 124-128.
[984] Lisičar (1932: 108). He also pointed out that a cemetery was formed around St Nicholas' in 1808. The nineteenth-century porch was destroyed and removed during the restoration works in the 1990s, being considered of no architectural importance. The church itself is a single-cell structure with three bays and

same time, the excavation of St Michael's yielded yet more evidence of the use of Luna (Carrara) marble: a number of marble chips left over after the re-cutting of the Roman material, and two pieces of columns were uncovered.[985]

Thus, on the basis of the consistent use of Carrara marble for these pieces and the fact that they were found in the three neighbouring churches, they were recognized as belonging to the same ensemble (Fig. 172).[986] The attribution of this group of elements of liturgical furnishings and architectural decoration to the Church of St Michael was then based on a number of factors: the stylistic similarities between the fragments found at the two churches (St Nicholas' and St Michael's); the identification of the figure on the gable as St Michael; and, most crucially, the dimensions of the reconstructed screen and decorated window frames which match the width and size of the windows of St Michael's.[987]

Furthermore, the Church of St Michael has been identified as the only one on Koločep wide enough to accommodate the width of the reconstructed chancel screen.[988] Only the lower parts of the walls and the foundations of the church have survived but they clearly show it to have been a single-cell church with three bays separated by two T-shaped pilasters on each wall. To the east is a single apse, semicircular on the inside and square on the outside (Figs 162-163). Peković suggested that above the central bay there may have been a dome because the morphology of the church conforms to the regional architectural type, identified in the Croatian scholarship as the 'south Dalmatian domed type'.[989] Based on the architectural features and the comparison with the Sigurata Church at Dubrovnik, St Michael's has been dated to the eleventh century.[990]

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originally had a small central dome. It was provided with frescoes, the traces of which were discovered during the works, dated to the second half of the eleventh century, and restored (Peković et al., 2005: 3-4, n. 10).

[985] Peković et al., 2005: 5.

[986] Ibid. 2-7; Žile, 2002: 263; 2003: 121-124.

[987] Peković, 2000: 14-15.

[988] The screen was 240 cm wide which corresponds to the distance between the two T-shaped pilasters attached to the lateral walls of the first bay to the east (Peković et al., 2005: 4, Fig. 4).

[989] Marasović, 1960: 33-47.

[990] Both have blind arches on the front (Žile, 2003: 106; Peković et al., 2005: 5).

3.3.2. PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP AND DATING

3.3.2i. The Chancel Screen Panel

The marble panel from Koločep was reconstructed from three large fragments which had been found, together with one fragment from the second panel, around the Church of St Nicholas by Medini at the turn of the twentieth century.[991] Medini was the parish priest of the Church of St Mary at Donje Čelo, only a kilometer away from St Nicholas, and he had the fragments built into the north wall of St Mary's.[992] The decoration consists predominantly of interlace motifs to which the figural decoration is subordinated (Fig. 164). The two symmetrically placed figures of two identical naked boys blowing horns appear in the left- and right-hand side segments of the interlace, while in the upper segment is a griffin and in the lower one two animals.

The panel was first mentioned in 1929 by Bjelovučić who, rather than dating it, merely ascribed it to 'ancient Croatian' sculptures.[993] However, in 1930 Karaman listed its figural and animal decoration as examples of the early Romanesque motifs which started to penetrate the interlace sculptures in the second half of the eleventh century.[994] Two years later, in 1932, Lisičar was to argue for a slightly later date, at the very end of the eleventh or early twelfth century; it was an opinion subsequently accepted by Karaman.[995]

This later date was further corroborated in Croatian scholarship after the First World War, although the preferred date was the late eleventh-century estimated by Prijatelj.[996] Petricioli did not date the panel but did include it in his book on early Romanesque sculpture and so implied an eleventh-century date. As he only knew the panel only through images, he did not devote more than few lines to it when arguing, without explanation, for manuscript illuminations as models.[997]

In 1973 Kirigin observed that among the marble fragments which had been built into the wall of the parish church at Donje Čelo, was a third fragment of the same panel, hitherto unidentified as such, and another fragment, with non-figural decoration, which

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[991] Lisičar, 1932: 104.
[992] Ibid. 18-22. They were removed in 1973 and placed in the church and rectory (Žile, 2003: 82).
[993] Bjelovučić, 1929: 50.
[994] Karaman, 1930: 111-112, Fig. 111.
[995] Lisičar, 1932: 22; Karaman, 1943: 78.
[996] Prijatelj, 1954: 89.
[997] Petricioli, 1960: 65.

may have belonged to the second panel.[998] He attributed these to St Nicholas' and agreed on the late eleventh-century date.[999] This was accepted by Jurković who attributed the figural carvings to the last phase of 'interlace sculpture' in the Dubrovnik region in 1988.[1000]

In the 1990s the publications tended to list the panel as one of the early Romanesque examples of late eleventh-century sculpture in Croatia.[1001] With the excavations of the churches of St Michael and St Nicholas in 1997-1998, which yielded new finds of marble fragments, attributed to the same chancel screen, the focus shifted to the reconstruction of the entire screen and its architectural setting.[1002] The resulting conclusions were published in a number of papers and books, with the opinions on the style and date of the panel and screen remaining unaltered.[1003] Apart from the stylistic qualities of the panel, the date to the late eleventh century was based on the analysis of the epigraphy and content of the inscription on the gable.[1004]

The most apparent inconsistency in the literature on the Koločep panel regards the identification of the animals. Scholars have not disputed these, preferring merely to offer different identifications without visual or iconographic support. The winged quadruped in the upper segment has thus been identified as a griffin,[1005] and a winged horse;[1006] the two quadrupeds in the lower segment as dogs,[1007] lambs,[1008] a dog chasing a rabbit,[1009] and an unidentified animal.[1010]

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[998] Kirigin, 1973: 117-118. His attribution was based on the identical palmette decoration of the horizontal friezes of the two panels, the only difference being that one has the palmettes arranged vertically and the other horizontally. Taking account of the use of the same marble, Kirigin's argument was convincing and is widely accepted.

[999] Ibid.

[1000] Jurković, 1988: 209-215.

[1001] Petricioli, 1990: 63; Belamarić, 1991: 43.

[1002] The fragments from the Rectory were removed, and that from the Besjedica house taken out of the wall. The restoration and reconstruction were carried out in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments at Split in 2000, and then displayed in Dubrovnik (Milošević, 2000: *passim*).

[1003] Žile, 2002: 254-264; Peković, 2000: 9-17; Peković et al., 2005: 2-7.

[1004] Peković et al., 2005: 6-7, based on Delonga, 2000: 23-28.

[1005] Bjelovučić, 1929: 50; Lisičar, 1932: 20; Prijatelj, 1954: 89; Petricioli, 1960: 65; 2000: 18.

[1006] Karaman, 1930: 112; 1943: 78; Jurković, 1988: 211.

[1007] Karaman, 1930: 112.

[1008] Petricioli, 1960: 65.

[1009] Bjelovučić, 1929: 50; Lisičar, 1932: 20; Šeparović, 2000: 30; Peković et al., 2005: 5.

[1010] Karaman, 1943: 78; Prijatelj, 1954: 89; Peković et al., 2005: 2.

The figures, on the other hand, have almost always been described as naked boys blowing horns. Only Bjelovučić, and Lisičar after him, identified them as *erotes* and considered that on the right to be drinking from the rhyton or horn.[1011] The overall scheme was first referred to as 'hunting' by Karaman, and then Prijatelj, who further identified the figures as horn-blowing hunters,[1012] while Belamarić, who also saw them as blowing hunting horns, identified the boys themselves as *erotes*.[1013]

As far as potential visual sources for the schemes represented on this panel are concerned, Karaman drew parallels with 'oriental' rugs which had been increasingly imported in Europe, based on his identification of the winged horse.[1014] He also ascribed the hunting motifs to the repertoire of Romanesque art because of its presumed tendency to find inspiration in contemporary activities.[1015] Prijatelj agreed with this but added Romanesque rugs to the possible prototypes lying behind the scenes, deeming the 'purely decorative arrangement of the ornament' and the 'griffin' to indicate a textile origin, and the symmetrical hunting scenes and the motif of the hunter with the horn to be typically early Romanesque features.[1016] Petricioli, as noted, favoured manuscript illumination as a source, without explaining why.[1017]

3.3.2ii. The Gable

In most publications the chancel screen gable appeared alongside with the Koločep panel due to their common material, provenance and location. It has received more scholarly attention, however, because of the inscription running along the arched opening (Figs 168, 172). It was first published in 1929 by Bjelovučić, who presumed that the figure presumably represents St Michael and that it was carved by the 'ancient Croats';[1018] this was repeated by Lisičar.[1019]

[1011] Bjelovučić, 1929: 50; Lisičar, 1932: 20.
[1012] Karaman, 1943: 78; Prijatelj, 1954: 89.
[1013] Belamarić, 1991: 43.
[1014] Karaman, 1943: 78.
[1015] Ibid. His observations are supported by Belamarić (1991: 43).
[1016] Prijatelj, 1954: 89.
[1017] Petricioli, 1960: 65.
[1018] Bjelovučić, 1929: 49.
[1019] Lisičar, 1932: 19-20.

Thus Karaman was the first to consider the gable early Romanesque,[1020] with Abramić deeming it to be a work of Byzantine inspiration and dating it implicitly to the 1080s.[1021] Abramić, believing the gable to belong to an altar *ciborium*, was also the first to offer musings on its details, claiming that the interlace on the angel's head represents a crown, not hair.[1022] Based on the angel's frontal pose, he also compared the gable to those from Biskupija and Sustipan which also have frontal figures.[1023]

In the 1950s and 1960s, the scholarly discussions were equally brief and revolved around the same considerations. Prijatelj agreed with Karaman and Abramić, disputing only Abramić's 'reading' of the interlace on the angel's head as a crown, claiming it represented his hair.[1024] He reiterated that the iconographic source was Byzantine and that the details, such as the dots on the nimbus, were Romanesque features, and placed the gable between those from Biskupija and Split-Sustipan in his development of Romanesque plasticity.[1025] As with the panel, Petricioli refrained from elaborating on the gable since he had not seen it in person and limited himself to stating that it was an apparently local production carved after a Byzantine model, and confirmed the analyses of Karaman, Abramić and Prijatelj.[1026] In 1994, however, he attributed the gable to the stone-cutting workshop from Split which he identified as being responsible for the carving of two gables there, and dated them to 1089 on the basis of the inscription naming the town *prior*, Furminus.[1027]

Kirigin did not bring the gable and panel together in his 1973 discussion, saying that the fragments in the parish Church of St Mary at Donje Čelo belong to chancel screens, which implies more than one.[1028] Neither did other scholars attribute them to

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[1020] Karaman, 1930: 113.
[1021] Abramić (1932: 328) based his opinion on the similarity between the angel and those depicted in the Ravenna mosaic; he argued that the gable was carved at the same time as the Biskupija reliefs which he had dated to 1087.
[1022] Ibid.
[1023] Ibid.
[1024] Prijatelj (1954: 88-89) agreed with Karaman (1952: 100) that the letter 'O' with two dots resembles those on the Biskupija gable.
[1025] Prijatelj, 1954: 89.
[1026] Petricioli, 1960: 53.
[1027] Petricioli, 1994: 289-290.
[1028] Kirigin, 1973: 117.

the same screen and they continued to be discussed as *spolia* at Donje Čelo.[1029] They were only perceived as part of the same screen in 1998 by Žile and Peković.[1030]

3.3.3. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

3.3.3i. The Chancel Screen Panel

As noted in the scholarship, the figures on the chancel screen panel, unusual in such a context, represent naked boys blowing horns which have been identified as cupids (or as *erotes*, *putti* or *amoretti*). These figures have precedents in classical Greek and Roman art where they featured in a wide variety of contexts and monuments. As early as the third century BC, the Greek rhetorician Philostratus the Elder described an image of cupids hunting a hare.[1031] The fact that the Koločep figures are blowing horns in company of a dog chasing a quadruped (Fig. 164), most likely a hare, leaves no doubt that they belong to such a scene, and indeed, dogs, cheetahs and hares all feature in the early medieval depictions of hunts.[1032]

Horn-blowing is a constituent element of these scenes. On the early ninth-century screen panel from Civita Castellana (Fig. 165), three hunters blow their horns while a pack of dogs surround a boar being speared by another hunter,[1033] while more examples survive on twelfth-century ivories (Fig. 166).[1034]

However, given the presence of cupids, rather than hunters blowing the horns, it is more likely that the model for the Koločep panel was of Roman rather than early medieval provenance. Hunting cupids appear on Roman sarcophagi at the turn of the third and fourth centuries AD,[1035] and in mosaics, such as those in the early fourth-century villa at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 167).[1036] More locally, they also decorate the

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[1029] Jurković, 1988: 209-214; Petricioli, 1990: 63; Belamarić, 1991: 43; Petricioli 1994: 289-290; Marasović 1997: 20-22.
[1030] Peković, 2000: 9-17; Žile, 2002: 262-265; Žile, 2003: 122-123; Menalo, 2003: 72; Peković et al., 2005: 2-7.
[1031] *Imagines* 1.6: http://www.theoi.com/Text/PhilostratusElder1A.html#6 (accessed 3 June 2010).
[1032] Romanini, 1997: 24.
[1033] Ibid.; Ciarrocchi, 1990: 34-35.
[1034] From Munich (Goldschmidt, 1975, 4: 22, Pl. 18).
[1035] The non-mythological hunting scenes themselves appear in the second century (Huskinson, 1996: 9).
[1036] Elsner, 1998: 45.

frieze in the interior of early fourth-century mausoleum of Diocletian (now the Cathedral of St Domnius) at Split.[1037]

Taking into account that the gable from Koločep was carved on the back of a Roman marble sarcophagus, and that other fragments of sarcophagi were found on the island,[1038] it can be assumed that the visual source for the panel was a late antique Roman sarcophagus decorated with hunting scenes. The figure of the griffin also supports this explanation: these mythical creatures, seen as guardians, were often depicted on sarcophagi and other funerary monuments.[1039] However, the reason why the motifs from a sarcophagus were used to decorate this panel, which was itself a re-used Roman monument, probably also a sarcophagus, is unclear.

3.3.3ii. The Gable

The angel in the gable holds a staff in his left hand, but does not bless with his right; rather this is held as if gesturing towards the staff (Fig. 168). He has outspread wings which fall in front of the inner decorative border framing the space, a halo outlined with decorative circles, and stylized curly hair. His costume consists of a *chlamys*, held by a fibula on his right shoulder, worn over a long-sleeved *chiton*, rather than the more common combination of a tunic and *pallium*.[1040] The *chlamys* was a garment reserved for Byzantine dignitaries and the Emperor himself, who is depicted wearing a *chlamys* as early as the sixth century (Fig. 171).[1041] From such *aulic* contexts, the costume was quickly adopted in representations of angels, appearing in pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art, such as the sixth-century ivory now at Berlin.[1042] According to Parani, the *chlamys*-clad angels appeared in scenes of the Last Judgement and Dormition from the middle Byzantine period (843-1204) onwards, while in the eleventh century, it began to be used

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[1037] Ibid. 160, Fig. 107; Marasović, 1968: Figs 57-58. Detailed study of frieze in McNally, 1971: 101-112.
[1038] Cambi, 1988: 129-137.
[1039] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1925, 6/2: 1817-1818.
[1040] The earliest depictions of angels show them wearing the draped *pallium* over the tunic (Kirschbaum, 1968, 1: 633).
[1041] Parani, 2003: 99 and 12. It is worn by Justinian in the San Vitale mosaic.Originally, the *chlamys* was a short cloak worn exclusively by men, especially the young, in ancient Greece. Interestingly, messengers (angelos, Pl. angeli) in Greek art were also depicted wearing *chlamydes*:
http://www.fashionencyclopedia.com/fashion_costume_culture/The-Ancient-World-Greece/Chlamys.html accessed 29 May 2010).
[1042] Cutler, 1994: 10, Fig. 3.

as a signifier of the angels' 'role as attendants to Christ as the Heavenly King in compositions which had evolved into representations of Christ in His divine glory (theophanies)'.[1043]

The *chlamys* thus indicates that the Koločep angel can be identified as an archangel, as in the ninth-century mosaic in the presbytery of Hagia Sophia (Fig. 170).[1044] Given that he is the only figure filling the entire space of the gable, the topmost element of a chancel screen which provides the most prominent setting for visual representation, and that the dedication of the church is to St Michael, it is likely that this archangel can be identified as Michael.

The Archangel Michael is depicted in an ornate chlamys as early as the sixth-century, in the mosaics of Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna,[1045] while the eleventh-century ivory plaque from a triptych now at Berlin (Fig. 169) demonstrates its confirmed use throughout the early middle ages.[1046] Furthermore, on this ivory Michael is depicted in the same posture as he is on the Koločep gable: standing frontally, with a staff in his left hand while his right is placed over his chest; the rim of his nimbus is also has decorated, albeit with small squares rather than circles. Although the author of the 1997 exhibition catalogue entry on this ivory, Sarah Taft, describes this angel as blessing with his right hand,[1047] the fact that all five fingers are held straight outright suggests this is unlikely: the Latin blessing is identified by the raising of the first two fingers and thumb, while bending the ring and small finger; the Greek blessing by extending the two forefingers with the ring finger touching the thumb. Thus the position of the archangel's hand and the fact that the ivory formed one wing of a triptych strongly suggests that he was gesturing towards, or presenting the figure(s) in the central panel of the triptych. The same position of the hand of the Koločep archangel therefore implies that the model on which it was based represented a similar contemporary depiction of Archangel Michael.

[1043] Parani, 2003: 99.
[1044] Lowden, 2003: 178, Fig. 100.
[1045] Romanini, 1997, 8: 364.
[1046] Evans and Wixom, 1997: 141, Fig. 88.
[1047] Ibid.

3.3.4. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

3.3.4i. The Chancel Screen Panel

Hunting was associated with gods, kings and emperors in Mesopotamian, Greek and Roman art, and it was an important part of a young nobleman's education, the favourite sport of the rulers throughout the middle ages.[1048] So integral was it to the courtly culture that a Byzantine imperial panegyric evokes the hunt as a metaphor for imperial victory.[1049] It was also a pastime enjoyed by high-ranking ecclesiasts, although in this spectrum of society it was a cause of complaint. In 867 Pope Nicholas I wrote to Adalwin, Archbishop of Vienna, upon hearing that one of his bishops went hunting, stating that bishops and clergymen should not participate in this type of activity,[1050] citing Jerome to comment that 'we never read of a pious hunter'; he was to invoke the same quotation in his decrees to the bishops.[1051]

Such criticisms were based on the negative perception of biblical hunters by early Christian theologians,[1052] Jerome himself noting that the hunters such as Nimrod and Esau 'play an unfavourable role.'[1053] He went on to identify the devil as the hunter who wants to capture the souls and that throughout the Bible 'never do we find a holy hunter.'[1054]

However, a more positive exemplar was identified in Jeremiah (16: 16) when God, speaking through the prophet, declared: 'I will send for many fishermen … and they will catch them. After that I will send for many hunters, and they will hunt them down on every mountain and hill and from the crevices of the rocks.'[1055] This promise was perceived by the exegetes as a prefiguration of Christ calling the Apostles, inviting the fishermen brothers Peter and Andrew to follow him as 'fishers of men.'[1056] Thus the

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[1048] Cabrol and Leclercq, 1948, 3/1: 1079-1080.
[1049] Evans and Wixom, 1997: 206.
[1050] *Epist.* 127: 1126-1127.
[1051] 'venatorem nunquam legimus sanctum' *De episc.* 10: 1191A.
[1052] Micah7: 2; Jeremiah 5: 26.
[1053] 'Quantum ergo possum mea recolere memoria, numquam venatorem in bonam partem legi.' *Comm. Mich*. 2.5.6: 487; trans. Liguori-Ewald, 1966: 83.
[1054] 'non invenimus in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem.' *Tract. psal*. 90: 127; trans. Liguori-Ewald, 2002: 157.
[1055] Jeremiah 16: 16.
[1056] Matthew 4: 19; Luke 5: 10.

'spiritual hunt', to paraphrase Rabanus Maurus,[1057] came to be identified as a means of salvation. Ambrose's interpretation of the Jeremiah passage epitomizes God's clemency in his explanation that these hunters were not sent to judge but to absolve and show mercy.[1058] According to him they were sent to hunt down those in the mountains and hills, which he identified as God's people, instructed in the faith of St Peter and Paul, and bring them to life.[1059]

Jerome had taken the same view, despite his protestation that no 'holy' hunters were to be found in the Bible, and argued that the Jeremiah verses did not 'promise punishment to sinners, as many believe, but rather give them promise of healing' because God sends fishermen and hunters 'to spread nets for the lost fish tossed in whirlpools, and to hunt down unto salvation the beasts that rove through mountains and hills.'[1060] He also translated Origen's homilies on Jeremiah where it was argued that the faithful should aspire to be on the mountains and hills with the prophets and the just, so that when the day of death arrives, the hunters will find you there with the saints.[1061] Origen had supported his identification of the mountains as symbolic of the place to be when the final day comes, by reminding his readers that God ascended into heaven from a mountain, and that the hunters are not permitted to catch men from any other place but those mentioned by Jeremiah.[1062]

Rabanus Maurus was more specific than Ambrose, Jerome and Origen, and interpreted Jeremiah's hunters as the Apostles and other teachers. Even more precise was his explanation of the fishermen as the Apostles (as in Matthew 4: 19); coming after these 'fishers of men', the hunters could be understood as either the clergy or angels,

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[1057] 'spirituales venatores', *Comm. reg.* 3.4: 131B.
[1058] Ambrose, *Hexam.* 6.8: 262C-D. 'Venatorem te fecit Deus, non expugnatorem, qui dixit: Ecce ego mitto venatores multos: venatores non criminis, sed absolutionis; venatores non culpae utique, sed gratiae. piscator Christi est, cui dicitur: Amodo eris homines vivificans.'
[1059] *Expos. psal.* 6: 113-114.
[1060] Jerome, *Tract. psal.* 10: 362, 'unde et piscatores mittuntur et venatores in hieremia, ut pisces vagos et in gurgitibus fluctuantes retibus teneant, et in omnibus montibus et collibus bestias oberrantes capiant in salutem (…) non igitur, ut multi aestimant, ex hoc versiculo et ex sequentibus supplicia peccatoribus sed remedia promittuntur'; trans. Liguori-Ewald, 1966: 11.
[1061] *Trans. Hom. Orig. 12*: 677C-678B.
[1062] Ibid.

who, he argued, would hunt down all the saintly ones from the mountains of heavenly doctrines and the hills of good deeds at the end of time.[1063]

These theological interpretations make clear that the goal of the 'spiritual hunt' is the salvation of the righteous. Although the hunters themselves are not depicted on the panel, the horn-blowing *putti* and the hare being caught by a quadruped, most likely a dog, certainly belong to this context.

3.3.4ii. The Gable

Being an angel and having no corporeal relics, Michael nevertheless inspired a widespread cult due to his roles in biblical and apocryphal texts. Unlike his fellow archangels, Gabriel and Raphael, he was associated with two key functions: that of the victorious warrior triumphing over evil, and that of the protector of souls after death.[1064]

Although Paul warned the Colossians about the 'worship of angels',[1065] and the Council of Laodicea (363-364) forbade Christians to 'invoke angels',[1066] there were numerous biblical texts which exempted Michael from such 'negative' views of the cult of angels. He was named 'chief prince' and protector of the Jews in Daniel (10: 13, 21; 12: 1); as 'archangel' in Jude (1: 9) on the occasion of 'disputing with the devil about the body of Moses;' and in the New Testament (Revelation 12: 7) he leads the heavenly army which defeats the antichrist.

The cult of St Michael thus spread quickly from Asia Minor to Constantinople and Italy. In the fourth century Constantine the Great, after the Archangel had appeared to him, built a Michaelion church on the Bosphorus,[1067] which Justinian repaired and

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[1063] Rabanus, *Expos. Jerem.* 8: 939-940B.
[1064] Romanini, 1997: 366-368. He was also responsible for a number of miracles and healings but because these are not represented in non-narrative images as is the case at Koločep, they will not be discussed here. Michael replaced pagan gods in Asia Minor as the protector of the therapeutic water sources and wells; he performed miracles in Apulia where he appeared to a shepherd called Gargano and prevented him from killing his bull; he also appeared in and around Rome, first at the top of Mount Tancia in Sabine Hills in the fourth century, conquering a snake, and then atop Hadrian's mausoleum during the pontificate of Gregory the Great (590-604). In Byzantium his cult centred on the healing waters at Chairotopa and Chonae (Otranto, 2007: 385).
[1065] Colossians 2: 18.
[1066] Canon 35: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf214.viii.vii.iii.xl.html (accessed 4 June 2010).
[1067] Romanini, 1997: 366; Sozomen, *Hist. Ecc.* 2.3: 53.

most likely erected another nearby.[1068] Prior to the sixth century a basilica on the Via Salaria in Rome was dedicated to St Michael;[1069] the sanctuary at Monte Gargano sprung up in the fifth; and a basilica was built in Ravenna in the sixth century.[1070]

In early medieval Europe, particular veneration of archangel Michael was first adopted by the Lombard kings who minted coins with his image.[1071] Following Charlemagne's capture of the Lombard territories in Italy, the cult spread through the Carolingian world, with the feast day of St Michael being proclaimed obligatory.[1072] Reflecting this, Alcuin composed a sequence on St Michael for Charlemagne himself, which pictured the Archangel as the protector of mankind against all enemies, the conqueror of evil and keeper of the power of heaven.[1073] While this hymn did not enter the liturgy, that written by his pupil, Rabanus Maurus (780-856), which praised Michael as the prince of the heavenly army did so.[1074] Slightly later, Florus of Lyon (790-860) was to praise him as the protector of Rome.[1075]

The cult of the Archangel continued to flourish in the Ottonian Empire with a number of important churches, such as the early eleventh-century monasteries at Hildesheim and Bamberg, being dedicated to St Michael. Ottonian imperial troops even took 'the banners with the insignia of St Michael' into battle with them.[1076] One important factor contributing to this spread of the cult was the millenarian anxiety about the end of the world which marked the period between 950 and 1033, the latter year being regarded the thousand-year anniversary of Christ's death.[1077]

Against this background the inscription surrounding the angel is particularly apposite: the mentioned queen and sister named (who has been identified as Jelena, wife of the king of Croatia, Zvonimir (1076-1089) and the sister of two successive kings of

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[1068] Procopius, *De aed.* 1.8;
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Procopius/Buildings/1C*.html (accessed 1 April 2011).
[1069] http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10275b.htm (accessed 4 June 2010).
[1070] S. Michele in Africisco (Mauskopf Deliyannis, 2010: 250-252).
[1071] Romanini, 1997: 367.
[1072] Heinz, 2007: 41.
[1073] 'Ne laedere inimici, quantum cupiunt, versuti fessos unquam mortals praevaleant...Tu crudelem cum draconem forti manum staveras... Idem tenes perpetui potentias paradisi', *Sequen. Mich.*: 348.
[1074] Heinz, 2007: 42; 'primatem caelestis exercitus, Michaelem' in *Hymn. 156*: 207.
[1075] 'dignatus Petri Paulique invisere sedem imperiumque fovens, inclita Roma, tuum' in *Hymn. 159*: 210.
[1076] Callahan, 2003: 182.
[1077] Ibid.

Hungary, Geza I and Ladislaus I) indicates that the Archangel Michael is portrayed in the context of royal patronage and votive offering. As noted, the protective aspect of the Archangel secured him a place in imperial circles in Byzantium and the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires, and therefore in their art. As such, he was an appropriate choice for a woman who was both queen and sister of a king.

On the other hand, the significance of Michael as the psychopomp and guardian of Paradise, together with the votive inscription on the gable, also strongly suggests a funerary context, which is further implied in the panels of the chancel screen. With the date of Jelena's death, falling *c.* 1091 (before 1095), it can be assumed that she either left the funds to the Church of St Michael in her will for the carving of the new screen so that prayers would be said for her soul or, less probably, that she was buried in the church, and that the Koločep carvings date from this event – a suggestion that is nevertheless not inconsistent with other features signifying a date in the eleventh century.[1078]

The unusual choice of location for a votive offering, on an island off Dubrovnik, can be explained by the fact that at the same latitude, across the Adriatic Sea, lies the Apulian Gargano peninsula with the most famous Michaelic sanctuary and pilgrimage centre at Monte Gargano. In the late tenth and early eleventh century even the Ottonian emperors were among the pilgrims thronging to the site of St Michael's apparitions: Otto III set out barefooted from Rome to Monte Gargano in 999, and Henry II is said to have had a vision of the Archangel while visiting the sanctuary in 1022.[1079]

3.3.4 CONCLUSIONS

The fact that the hunting scene on the panel from St Michael's at Koločep was almost certainly copied from a sarcophagus and that the gable was carved from a fragment of a Roman sarcophagus indicate the presence of late antique models. The presence of the Roman sarcophagi made from Luna (Carrara) marble on such a small island has already

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[1078] The tombs of the eleventh-century kings and queens of Croatia were in Solin.
[1079] Callahan, 2003: 185-186.

been noted by Cambi,[1080] and perhaps they can be explained as having been transported to Koločep for the specific purpose of reuse as a chancel screen.

Certainly, the analysis of the hunting panel and the gable with the half figure of Michael demonstrate that the carver had access to sources which would meet the specific requirements of a royal commissioner since both motifs have strong funerary and imperial connotations. Hunting was a prerogative of emperors and kings, and at the same time was a frequent subject on many late Antique sarcophagi. The cupids themselves were also a stock motif in Roman funerary art, as were the griffins, understood both as guardians and heavenly creatures. However, griffins also tended to have imperial associations: griffins flew Alexander the Great's chariot into the sky on his ascension (as can be seen on the eleventh-century relief built in the north wall of St Mark's in Venice)[1081] and they decorated many high-status objects, such as the marriage roll of the Empress Theophanu and Emperor Otto of 972, or the two early eleventh-century coats of Henry II.[1082]

On the other hand, while Michael was the mighty protector of the rulers he also symbolized victory over evil. As a military saint he would thus have been an entirely appropriate choice for a royal commission, while his role on Judgement day and the fact that he was responsible for accompanying the souls of the deceased to paradise, makes him suitable for a funerary context. This funerary role best complements the symbolical significance of the hunting scene on the screen panel.

The reason why only one screen panel was decorated with figures, while the other one was filled with geometric interlace ornaments, is difficult to explain. It is possible that the ornamental panel with the so called *Korbboden* motif – a term that Stückelberg applied to the pattern composed of two intersecting diagonal plaits within a square and circle[1083] – was also imbued with a sepulchral significance as well.

Whether this is the case, the inscription on the gable confirms that St Michael's was the funerary donation of Queen Jelena. By referring to herself not only as queen but also as a royal sister, she clearly wished to emphasize her familial ties with the

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[1080] Cambi, 1988: 129-137.
[1081] Demus, 1995: 70-71.
[1082] Schramm and Mütherich, 1962: 286, 351, Pls 72, 133; Kemper, 1977: 59-60.
[1083] Stückelberg, 1909: 38, 46.

Hungarian kings. This is particularly appropriate for the period following the death of her husband, Zvonimir, in 1089, for two reasons: first, it is generally accepted that the Croatian nobility was hostile to Jelena's ambitions to rule the country after the early death of her son Radovan who had died before Zvonimir. In this situation, a commemoration like that at Koločep could be seen as a reinforcement of her status as legitimate queen. The throne, however, passed on to Stephen II who also had no heirs when he died shorty afterwards in 1091. As Jelena's brother, Ladislaus I saw this as an opportunity, and invaded Croatia, appointing his son Almo as the future king of Croatia. This might well have been the second reason lying behind the wording of the inscription: Jelena may have wanted to remind the viewers that she was related to the powerful king of Hungary.

In such an atmosphere of conflict surrounding succesion to the throne, Jelena must have been perceived by the hostile noblemen as a foreign element who had precipitated the Hungarian threat to seize the Croatian throne. Because of this, it is difficult to imagine that she would have been buried in a royal tomb or mausoleum next to Zvonimir (who may himself have been murdered and buried at Biskupija), and explains why the remote southern island of Koločep may have been selected as her resting place.

CHAPTER 4

FIGURAL SCULPTURES LACKING PRIMARY CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

Having fulfilled a decorative or liturgical function, early medieval sculptures were often dismantled to be discarded or, in a number of cases, re-used for other purposes. As such, they were separated from their original architectural setting and irreversibly divorced from their intended context and function. Furthermore, if recovered before the application of the modern professional standards in archaeology, as frequently happened in Croatia, the documentation lacks detail, or is non-existent. For all these reasons, the analysis of sculptures lacking primary context is, of necessity, limited and attempts to reach a better understanding of their possible significances must remain speculative. However, figural decoration on the carvings does yield itself to iconographic analysis and the results of this can shed some light on their potential place within contemporary sculpture.

Among the extant eleventh-century figural sculptures, those without a primary context form a heterogeneous group: three marble *spolia*, two of which are in Split (Figs 173, 204) and one in Rab (Fig. 195); two limestone pieces found at Knin (Figs 210-211), and a further fragment allegedly found at Nin (Fig. 223). The scholarly interest expressed in these sculptures has been equally varied, ranging from intense discussion in the case of the panel from Split Baptistery, to moderate when applied to the *spolia* at Split Sustipan cemetery, Rab and one of the fragments from Knin. In the case of the second fragment from Knin and that from Nin, the interest was scarce due to their damaged state and the unidentifiable nature of the scenes depicted on them. Indeed, while the figure from Nin cannot be identified with any degree of certainty, the one from the weathered stone from Knin has only been reconstructed in a tentative drawing.

For this reason, the research into these two carvings has not yielded conclusive results and so they are not given the same amount of space as the other sculptures here. The remaining four pieces, however, will be re-examined like those already discussed:

by means of critical reading of the extant scholarship, and analysis of their iconography and potential symbolical significance.

PART 1. PANEL FROM SPLIT BAPTISTERY

4.1.1. INTRODUCTION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The figural panel with three figures (Fig. 173) from the Baptistery of Split Cathedral is the most famous and fervently debated carving in the entire corpus of early medieval sculpture from Croatia.[1084] It is one of six decorated marble panels which, along with another set of six plain slabs, were used for the construction of the cross-shaped baptismal font in the thirteenth century (Fig. 176).[1085] All six decorated panels have similar dimensions and an upper horizontal frieze standing *c*. 3 cm proud, but only this panel (Panel 1) has figural decoration (Fig. 174).[1086] Panel 2 is decorated with a pentagram in a circle at the centre of which is a flower while in the five triangular segments between the pentagram and the circular frame are three identical birds, an eagle and another flower (Fig. 175). Identical branches lie in the four corners of the panel, outside the circles. The decoration of Panel 3, which was cut off on the right, consisted of squares filled with interlace and flowers, two of which have been preserved (Fig. 177). The decoration of the remaining three panels also shows that they were reduced to construct the baptismal pool: Panels 4 and 5, decorated with ring-knots, originally belonged to a single panel (Figs 177-178), while Panel 6 represents the central section of a larger panel filled with interlaced circles and diagonals.

Turning to Panel 1, the scholarly controversy is rooted in the identification of the scene composed of three figures. At its most general, this discussion falls into two categories: on the one hand it is understood to be secular; on the other, it is deemed to be religious in nature. The main objection to the first, secular, interpretation has been the assertion that secular figures, unless they are donors, have no place on a chancel screen; for this reason it was necessary to find a biblical story which might have inspired such a

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[1084] See cat. no. 17.
[1085] Domančić, 1976: 17-20; Vežić, 2001: 7; However, I. Fisković (2002: 322) considers the twelfth century to be more likely.
[1086] H. 104-106 cm x D. 9-12 cm.

representation, or to find a comparable example involving Christ. The scene itself is very simple: an enthroned figure with a crown, cross and orb sits on the right; a figure who originally held an object (now unidentifiable) with both hands stands on the left; and a small figure lying prostrate before the enthroned figure is also on the left. An inscription ran along the horizontal border above the figures and below a decorative frieze on the upper edge. Even today opinions differ as to the subject matter and provenance of this piece.

The most comprehensive study of the panel is the 366-page book by Igor Fisković published in 2002. In it the author examined every aspect of the panel: its historiography, morphology, iconography, historical background, place in contemporary sculpture, possible provenance, and the secondary context in which it still exists. The discussion, however, started in the second half of the nineteenth century when the panel was first published in 1861 by Eitelberger, as part of a sarcophagus, and dated to between the ninth and eleventh century.[1087] According to Eitelberger, the panel depicts a local ruler and had been brought from Solin – a piece of information he probably obtained locally, during his visit to Split, when he was sent by the Hapsburg government in Vienna to study the Dalmatian monuments with which he was not completely familiar.[1088] The Solin provenance was also upheld by Kukuljević, the first local scholar to discuss the panel, in 1873.[1089] He, however, was of the opinion that the seated ruler was a tenth- or eleventh-century Croatian king, whom he subsequently identified as Tomislav (910-928).[1090] Driven by patriotic zeal, he was particularly interested in the shape of the crown.[1091]

At this time, the ruler's left arm was not visible as the right end of the panel had been inserted deep into the neighbouring panel (Fig. 179). Thus, in 1888, perceiving only the right arm with the cross, Bulić introduced a new explanation. Suggesting the figure could have had a scroll in his left hand, he identified the seated ruler as Christ and the scene as the *Traditio Legis* with a prostrate donor, the standing figure being either

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[1087] Eitelberger, 1861: 123; Eitelberger, 1884: 287.
[1088] Ibid.
[1089] Kukuljević, 1873: 53.
[1090] Kukuljević, 1881: 47.
[1091] Ibid. He considered the overall shape similar to Byzantine crowns while the three crosses reminded him of Frankish examples.

Peter or Paul (depending on the nature of the damaged object), and proposed that a corresponding apostle may have stood to Christ's left.[1092] Based on this, Bulić believed that ten remaining apostles could have decorated five more panels.[1093] He did not question Solin as the place of provenance, but dated the panel to the second half of the ninth or the first half of the tenth century.[1094]

By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, the scholarship was already divided between those who supported Bulić's Christian interpretation, such as De Waal,[1095] and those, such as Kukuljević and Stückelberg, who maintained that the depiction was secular – the ruler being a Croatian king.[1096] Among the first group, the most vociferous supporter of Bulić was his nephew Jelić, while the most fervent defender of Kukuljević's opinion was Radić.[1097] Disputing the Bulić-Jelić interpretation, he pointed out that Christ is never portrayed without a nimbus, arguing further that the specific crown depicted and the cross are not the attributes associated with Christ, but rather, are the attributes of secular rulers, such as those found on south Slavic coinage.[1098] According to him, the crown is reminiscent of Frankish models while the prostration of a subject is consistent with the Byzantine ceremonial adopted at the Croatian court.[1099]

The disagreement motivated *Bihać* to have the baptismal font dismantled with the aim of studying it more closely; the task was entrusted to Jelić who published the results in 1895.[1100] As noted, the extraction of the panel exposed the ruler's left arm holding an orb upraised. Jelić also claimed to have been able to identify some of the barely visible remains of the obliterated inscription, recognizing the letters: /TIT/O/E

[1092] Bulić, 1888: 38-42.
[1093] Ibid. He also looked at the panel with the pentagram also on the Baptistery font and interpreted the pentagram as a symbol of Christ, and the birds as symbols of the Eucharist.
[1094] Ibid., Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894: 120-121.
[1095] De Waal, 1894: 8.
[1096] Kukuljević, 1881: 47; Stückelberg, 1896: 76.
[1097] Radić, 1890b: 133. The discussion caused much debate during the first Congress of Christian Archaeology at Split in 1894. Bulić and Jelić claimed that the crown was not a crown but a part of the throne, and the delegation of scholars went to the Baptistery to continue the debate *in situ*, concluding the object in question was a crown after all (see reports by Neumann, 1894: 74-75; Katalinić, 1895: 79-81; Radić's responses (1895c: 112-123; 1896b: 46-50; 1896d; 109-115, 1896f: 167-179; 1896h: 245-253).
[1098] Radić, 1895c: 114.
[1099] Radić, 1895c: 118-119.
[1100] Jelić, 1895a: 81-131; 1895b: 79-81.

E.FEMIE LEGEM....SDA..., which he tentatively reconstructed as 'Titio (or Titiano) et Eufemie legem Dominus dat.'[1101]

Based on this reading, he argued that the scheme should be identified as a *Majestas Domini* with Christ performing a blessing with a cross. As to the object in his left hand, Jelić initially claimed it to be the host or a paten, but several pages later described it as an orb.[1102] According to him, the inscription identified the prostrate man, a donor, as Titius, husband of Euphemia.[1103] He further interpreted the standing figure as St Anastasius on the grounds of his assumption that the panel from the Baptistery was stylistically similar to the relief depicting St Peter and the patron saints of Split, Domnius and Anastasius, carved by master Otto, erroneously ascribed by Jelić to the eleventh century rather than the thirteenth.[1104] He thus considered the panel to have been an altar front from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[1105]

One of Jelić's arguments against a secular interpretation was based on his understanding of the Byzantine coronation ceremony as involving kneeling veneration and not full prostration as depicted on the panel.[1106] He thus argued that the the depicted scene did not conform to the coronation rite proposed by Kukuljević.[1107] However, as shown by McCormick, full proskynesis is well documented as having been part of Byzantine imperial ritual.[1108] Jelić's other arguments included the claims that the hand-held cross was an attribute of Christ or saints between the ninth and twelfth centuries; that the crowned Christ was already a feature of Christian art in the tenth century; and that the costume worn by the enthroned figure was liturgical (*casula*).[1109]

While the Croatian scholars occupied themselves with analyzing the carving, the relief also appeared in foreign publications with superficial and *ad hoc* evaluations, such as Jackson's assessment of the 'imperfect group of figures grotesquely, and even

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[1101] Jelić, 1895a: 100.
[1102] Ibid. 96, 99, 111.
[1103] Ibid. 127.
[1104] Jelić, 1895a: 97, 100, 123; 1895b: 79; I. Fisković, 2002: 326.
[1105] Jelić, 1895a: 114, 119-123.
[1106] Ibid. 105. For the ceremony see Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De cer*. 1.38: 191-196.
[1107] Jelić, 1895a: 109-110. Vasić (1922: 166) followed his interpretation.
[1108] McCormick, 1990: 72, 97, 127. Kazhdan (1991, 3: 1738) mentions the prophyry disks in the floor indicating where to perform proskynesis.
[1109] Jelić, 1895a: 108.

ludicrously barbarous, of which the meaning is obscure.'[1110] His description was borrowed by Cattaneo, who perceived the relief as belonging to the Italo-Byzantine 'style' and dated it to the ninth or tenth century, while Jackson had considered the panel, together with the other font panels, to be Byzantine.[1111] Although Stückelberg also dated the panel to the ninth century, his stylistic appraisal of the relief was that it was Lombardic in 'style'.[1112] Such brief mentions, in the wider European scholarship of the early twentieth century, which made no reference to the historiography of the piece, resulted in a number of conflicting opinions bieng expressed in the overviews of medieval art and architecture of the period. According to Gabelentz, the relief depicted a Lombard king and was of a pre-eleventh-century date;[1113] in Dudan's opinion it portrayed the adoration of the cross, which may have been of a later date than the other font panels which he dated to the seventh or eighth centuries;[1114] and Venturi dated the relief to the eleventh century, without explanation.[1115]

Against this extensive and confusing scholarly background, the most important contribution to the discussion in the first half of the twentieth century was that made by Karaman in 1925, who approached the Bulić-Jelić, and the Kukuljević-Radić arguments with notable objectivity, analyzing the proposals involved, and concluding that the seated figure could not have been Christ due to the lack of both the cross-nimbus and classical costume; he furthermore noted that early medieval *Majestas* depictions neither show Christ wearing a crown and shoes, nor holding a short cross and globe.[1116] Overall, he considered the panel to be part of an eleventh-century chancel screen from a church in Split, due to the fact that it had been reused in the Baptistery there and, with the wide availability of *spolia* in Split, there was no need to transport the stones from Solin; and as the panel belonged to a set of six, five of which were decorated with interlace ornaments that Karaman perceived as betraying stylistic similarities with several interlace sculptures found re-used as *spolia* in the Cathedral around that time.[1117] He

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[1110] Jackson, 1887, 2: 68.
[1111] Cattaneo, 1888: 184; 1896: 216; Jackson, 1887, 2: 68.
[1112] Stückelberg, 1896: 76.
[1113] Gabelentz, 1903: 106.
[1114] Dudan, 1921, 1: 77. He compared the interlace panels to the mosaic floors from Salona (Ibid. Fig. 43).
[1115] Venturi, 1917: 77, Pl. 76.
[1116] Karaman, 1925: 394-398.
[1117] Karaman, 1924-1925: 25.

concluded that the scene depicts a Croatian king, wearing a Franco-Ottonian crown, receiving homage from a subject, as was customary with medieval western rulers.[1118] He further strengthened his 'reading' in 1928, after having examined an eleventh-century fresco in the Church of St Michael at Ston which shows a donor king wearing a very similar crown (Fig. 181).[1119]

Although Karaman continued to publish works on the Split Baptistery panel until 1966, his interpretation remained unchanged and he implied that the portrayed king might be identified as Zvonimir (1076-1089).[1120] His analysis was supported by Abramić who ageed that the relief depicted that particular king, and who was the first to publish a reconstruction (drawn by Dyggve) of the entire chancel screen as it would have appeared in Split Cathedral.[1121] Their arguments were further considered sufficiently valid by Baum and Strzygowski,[1122] and even Bulić allowed the possibility that the figure was that of a secular king and not Christ.[1123]

After the Second World War, Serbian art historians began to identify the ruler as Herod and dated the relief as late as the thirteenth century.[1124] In the 1950s, the debate received new impetus from Dyggve in his publications on the sculptures from SS Peter and Moses at Solin.[1125] He proposed that the panels from Split Baptistery originally stood in this church where they had been installed for the coronation of Zvonimir in 1076 (Fig. 150).[1126] While being aware that this provenance had already been suggested by Eitelberger and accepted by Bulić,[1127] Dyggve based his opinion on perceived stylistic similarities between the panels and the sculpted fragments he had unearthed in Solin in 1931 (Figs 152-154), finding further support for his view in the fact that

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[1118] Karaman, 1925: 402, 412

[1119] Karaman, 1928: 92-93, 112-115.

[1120] Karaman , 1927-1928: 335-336; 1930: 114-115; 1943: 70-73; 1952: 99; 1966: 111-129.

[1121] Abramić (1929: 7-8, 11) compared the relief to the Ottonian depiction of king Henry II on the eleventh-century ivory from Aachen, while agreeing with Karaman about the Split provenance based on the stylistic similarities with a number of sculptures found in the Cathedral.

[1122] Strzygowski, 1927: 191-198; Baum, 1937: 28-29.

[1123] Bulić, 1925b: 145; Bulić and Karaman, 1927: 229-230; Bulić and Katić, 1928: 90.

[1124] Kovačević and Garašanin, 1950: 183, 216. Radojčić (1955: 204) opted for the twelfth century.

[1125] See above, section 3.2.2.

[1126] Dyggve, 1951: 133-134; 1996: 97

[1127] Eitelberger, 1861: 123; 1884: 286; Bulić, 1888: 41.

Zvonimir was crowned at SS Peter and Moses at Solin in 1076, suggesting that the depicted king was him.[1128] He elaborated further on the nature of the crown in 1960.[1129]

Dyggve's attribution of the Split panel to the Solin group, however, was not universally accepted. Prijatelj claimed that the comparison between the remains at the two sites revealed the work of two different masters but accepted Karaman's and Dyggve's identification and date.[1130] Thus, from the 1960s onwards, the discussion of the workshop (one or two carvers) was added to the ongoing issues regarding provenance (Split or Solin) and identification (temporal ruler or Christ). Petricioli, saw all the panels from Split Baptistery as early Romanesque and added them to the group of reliefs that he identified as the Zadar-Split school of carving.[1131] Comparing the manner of the carving of the figures, he considered the panel with the king to date from thirty years later than the Zadar reliefs from the same school, which he dated to 1030s on the basis of the inscription on Gregory's *ciborium*.[1132] Petricioli was reticent in identifying the king as Petar Krešimir IV, but more interested in the nature of carving overall.[1133] Doubt in the secular nature of the relief was expressed by Subotić who stated that no temporal ruler could ever have been represented on a piece of early medieval liturgical furniture.[1134]

Generally speaking, however, the publications continued to repeat the century-old doubts and revealed no inclination to engage in a serious critical examination of the scholarship.[1135] It was only in the 1970s that Radojčić questioned this dominant approach and resurrected Jelić's identification of the ruler as Christ, arguing, however, that here he is the King of Kings, represented in the parable of the unforgiving servant at the moment when the king judges the merciless servant (Matthew 18: 23-35), which was understood to be a prefiguration of the heavenly kingdom,.[1136] The main support for his

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[1128] Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241-242.
[1129] Dyggve, 1960: 175-184.
[1130] Prijatelj, 1954: 71-72.
[1131] Petricioli, 1960: 7.
[1132] Ibid. 9-10. The main argument is the rusticity in the carving of the heads on the panel from Split. On the other hand, the 'best' modelling of the volumes is found on the marbles from Solin, which Petricioli considered more akin to the Zadar reliefs. See also above, section 1.2iii.
[1133] Ibid. 9, 32.
[1134] Subotić, 1963: 38.
[1135] Karaman, 1966: 111-129; Montani, 1966: 17; Marasović, 1967: 35.
[1136] Radojčić, 1973: 3-13; 1982: 128-134.

argument was drawn from comparison with a Landsberg manuscript of 1170,[1137] which shows a seated and crowned ruler with no insignia, turning towards a prostrate man to his left, while to his right stands another man with a raised sword (Fig. 180).[1138] He referenced Demus for the Italo-Byzantine iconography of the manuscript, believing it had been based on a monumental painting.[1139]

The parable is certainly illustrated in Byzantine manuscripts, such as a late eleventh-century Paris Gospels, and Gospels from Florence, dated to the early twelfth century.[1140] But, these examples, unlike the Split panel, show the ruler without insignia. Noting this, Radojčić sought an explanation in the painter's handbook from Mount Athos which depicts Christ as king in the first scene of the parable.[1141] However, the handbook in question is the eighteenth-century work of Dionysios of Fourna and so does not represent a contemporary painting instruction.[1142] Radojčić neverthelss concluded that Matthew's 'homo rex' was identifiable with Christ who, as he demonstrated, could be represented as king or emperor, and so proposed that the Split relief represented Christ with the poor servant standing, and the merciless one prostrate on the ground.[1143]

Petricioli at first did not comment on Radojčić's interpretation, limiting himself only to stylistic connections with the fragments from Solin in his dating of the panel to 1070s,[1144] but he subsequently accepted it and moved the date back to the 1030s.[1145] Gvozdanović (Goss), however, rejected Radojčić's ideas, and arguing that the relief displayed many similarities with the way Ottonian emperors were depicted in manuscripts displaying a western, Carolingian, influence, and so regarded the panel as depicting a king receiving honours from the prostrate 'governor' of Split, or a

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[1137] The manuscript itself was destroyed in 1870 and known only from the nineteenth-century copies before the original perished (see Green and Evans et al., 1979, 2 vols: *passim*). Radojčić, 1982: 131.
[1138] Radojčić, 1982: 132, Fig. 1.
[1139] Ibid. 132.
[1140] Ibid. 131.
[1141] Ibid. 133. Schäfer, 1855: 217; Hetherington, 1996: 41.
[1142] Hetherington, 1996: III.
[1143] Radojčić, 1982: 133.
[1144] Petricioli, 1975: 113, 116.
[1145] Petricioli, 1980: 113-120; 1983: 19, 23-24; 1990: 58; 1999: 483. For the opposite view see Petricioli, 1986: 44, where the relief was described as that of an enthroned king from the mid-eleventh century and the provenance as Solin. As I. Fisković (2002: 39) suggested, this was perhaps due to the editor's intervention.

personification of Split or Dalmatia as a whole.[1146] Meanwhile, the explanation of the image as that of a king from the second half of the eleventh century continued to be presumed, albeit briefly, as the established opinion in overviews, catalogues and guides.[1147]

Against this ongoing debate the Conservation Office in Split had the baptismal font dismantled once again in 1974-1975, and the investigation did not reveal any trace of a previous font.[1148] The results were published by Domančić who dated the construction of the existing font to the thirteenth century and repeated Karaman's hypotheses about the Split provenance and secular ruler.[1149] Following this investigation, Goss returned to the Split panel, dating it to the tenth century and elaborating on his earlier opinion with the idea that the standing figure was one of the Dalmatian leaders and originally held a sword, which may have been obliterated by the Venetians in the fifteenth century when they seized Dalmatia.[1150]

The recent secession from Yugoslavia and the re-gained independence of Croatia in the early 1990s saw a resurgence of interest in the early medieval art of the ninth-century principality and the eleventh-century kingdom of Croatia. By that time, the panel was already commonly thought to portray Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075) or Zvonimir (1076-1089), and as such it was reproduced in every history book and in a considerable number of scholarly publications. Many of them did not venture to add anything new to the discussion but merely informed on the state of research.[1151]

In 1991, Belamarić, however, ascribed the panel stylistically to Romanesque art, rather than late pre-Romanesque as had been the case until then, supporting the theory that the king in question was Zvonimir.[1152] On other occasions in the 1990s, he rejected Radojčić's identification, which had received some credibility through Petricioli's support, on the grounds that Christ's parables were not adopted in monumental sculpture, especially not around the main altar, and criticised the comparative examples

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[1146] Goss, 1978a: 99; 1981: 6-11.
[1147] Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 100; Jelovina, 1979: 52; Marasović, 1982: 116; C. Fisković, 1986: 37; Ivančević, 1986: 64.
[1148] Domančić, 1976: 17-20.
[1149] Ibid.
[1150] Goss, 1987b: 20.
[1151] Jurković, 1992: 39; Mohorovičić, 1992: 12; Piteša et al., 1992: 144-151; Marasović, 1994: 46, 254.
[1152] Belamarić, 1991: 27; accepted by Zekan (1990: 36; 1994: 1-2).

provided by Radojčić.[1153] As Nagy before him, Belamarić also cited the panel from Baška as an appropriate comparison to the Split panel, concluding that it had originally belonged to the Cathedral.[1154] According to him, the source could have been, as pointed out by Radojčić, a manuscript, and he also turned his attention to the erased inscription and the removal of the object in the standing figure's hands (in his opinion a sword), which had preoccupied Goss before him.[1155]

Another argument against the identification of the seated ruler as Christ was given by Marasović who, having looked at the panel in the context of the Solin fragments, came to the conclusion that had it been Christ, he would have been depicted as a youthful, clean-shaven figure with long hair, as on the fragment from Solin which Petricioli recognized as Christ.[1156] Therefore, he identified the figure as Zvonimir as argued by Abramić, a view that he has upheld in all subsequent publications.[1157] Rapanić was also inclined to attribute the panel to SS Peter and Moses at Solin and to accept the secular interpretation.[1158]

An unusual approach in Croatian scholarship was employed by Pejaković in 1996; he did not doubt the panel's Salonitan origin and analysed it together with the church by applying astronomical calculations of the position of the Sun, on the dates he considered crucial for Zvonimir's life as king, to the construction of the basilica of SS Peter and Moses.[1159] According to him, the scene on the panel showed the newly crowned king being presented with his duties towards the Pope by the papal emissary Gebizon, while one of his dukes performed *proskynesis*.[1160]

Having attracted the interest of Igor Fisković in 1997, the relief became the subject of a number of his papers, culminating with his book in 2002, all of which argue

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[1153] Belamarić, 1996: 362; Belamarić, 1997: 47-48.
[1154] Ibid.
[1155] Belamarić, 1997: 47-48. For Goss see n. 1149. However, Jiroušek was the first to focus on the obliteration of these details in 1975, when the font was dismantled and he had these details scanned with an ultraviolet lens. Since the scan could not and did not yield results, he did not publish anything on the subject and only discussed it at the university seminars in Zagreb and a conference in Zagreb in 1992, when he dated the panel to the ninth-century and argued it represented prince Trpimir in the company of the sword-bearer and a subject (I. Fisković, 2002: 35, 40).
[1156] Marasović, 1992: 70-71.
[1157] Ibid. 71; Marasović, 1997b: 7-8; Marasović, 1998: 24-25.
[1158] Rapanić, 1996: 21-22; 2000: 99.
[1159] Pejaković, 1996: 254-282.
[1160] Ibid. 282-284.

that the panel was produced during the reign of Petar Krešimir IV.[1161] Igor Fisković's main arguments can be summarized as follows: the depicted ruler is a temporal king and not Christ, despite the fact that images of medieval rulers were modelled on Christ, and that as Christ's vicar on earth, the ruler was considered a *typus Christi* and *rex iustus*;[1162] had the figure been Christ, there would have been no need to remove the object held by the standing figure and erase the inscription.[1163] Accordingly, the scene represented an historic event, explained in the inscription.[1164] The nature of the event was responsible for the asymmetric composition with the prostrate figure before the ruler in a position of homage or gratitude, and the standing figure originally holding a scroll which he had received from the ruler.[1165] Igor Fisković interpreted this act as a donation to the local community (church) and drew parallels with earlier, ninth- and tenth-century dedicatory inscriptions of Croatian rulers.[1166]

Igor Fisković's most important comparative material were eleventh-century manuscripts from Monte Cassino and the surrounding area, in particular the contemporary transcriptions of Lombard legal codices (*Leges Langobardorum*).[1167] Two other examples he considered crucial were images of the Ottonian emperor Henry II: one on the ivory situla from Aachen (Fig. 188), the other in the Regensburg Gospels, now at the Vatican.[1168]

As for provenance, Igor Fisković supported and argued for the Church of SS Peter and Moses on the basis of the stylistic similarities with the fragments found there, the iconographic evidence of the Moses fragment, the status of the church as a coronation basilica, and the fact that for political reasons, an image of a Croatian king could not have been installed in Split, a Dalmatian town, making Solin the more likely choice.[1169] In his opinion, the ruler is to be identified with Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075) who was in a position to claim the title of *rex iustus* due to his good relations with

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[1161] I. Fisković, 1997a: 179-209; 2001: 17-46; 1997b: 49-74; 1999: 753-758; 2002: *passim*.
[1162] I. Fisković, 2001: 18, 38; 2002: 124, 183.
[1163] I. Fisković, 2002: 94
[1164] Ibid. 98-99, 103.
[1165] Ibid. 109
[1166] Ibid. 108, 223; I. Fisković, 2001: 30.
[1167] Ibid. 116; I. Fisković, 2001: 33.
[1168] Cod. Vat. Ottobon. Lat. 74, fol. 193v (I. Fisković, 2002: 132, 125).
[1169] I. Fisković, 2002: 254, 263, 265-266, 273-276.

Rome and the successful unification of Dalmatia and Croatia.[1170] He denied it could have been Zvonimir because the beginning of his reign (1076) coincided with the reforming papacy of Gregory VII meaning that the prominence of a secular ruler in a church would not have been tolerated.[1171] Specifically, the *Dictatus papae* of 1073 or 1075 made clear that the power of Rome was not to be subjected to temporal rulers.[1172] The details were deleted while the relief was still *in situ* as part of the chancel screen, which, according to Igor Fisković, resulted from the arrival of Zvonimir, crowned by the papal legate, and thus complying with the *Dictatus papae*.[1173] He also argued that the panel was brought to Split and re-used together with the other panels, not in the thirteenth but in the twelfth century.[1174]

A less formalist approach was adopted by Prijatelj-Pavičić and Rendić-Miočević who attempted to analyze the relief from a symbolical viewpoint. Prijatelj-Pavičić argued that the figural panel, together with the interlace panels, reflected the idea of the apotheosis of light, interpreting the ruler as Christ, the *sol invictus* and embodiment of divine justice.[1175] For Prijatelj-Pavičić, this depiction combined all three identifications of the scene, Christ, a local king and Matthew's parable, since they all represent just rulers.[1176] Vežić agreed with Prijatelj-Pavičić, arguing in line with Petricioli, that a secular subject could not have existed on a chancel screen, and so supported Radojčić's parable-theory.[1177]

Rendić-Miočević, on the other hand, interpreted the scene as symbolizing the victory of the ruler and his army (the standing figure) over the gentiles (the prostrate man).[1178] Thus, in his opinion, the ruler is passing a judgement on the prostrate offender, while the standing figure represents an executioner.[1179] According to Rendić-Miočević,

[1170] Ibid. 174-178, 184.
[1171] Ibid. 220, 216.
[1172] Ibid.
[1173] Ibid. 100, 205-206, 211-214.
[1174] Ibid. 318, 324, 326, 332.
[1175] Prijatelj-Pavičić, 1998a: 10-22. She also referred to Christ as the just ruler here.
[1176] Prijatelj-Pavičić, 1998b: 41.
[1177] Ibid. 39; Vežić, 2001: 7-16; 1999: 11.
[1178] Rendić-Miočević, 2000: 106.
[1179] Ibid. 107.

the interlace decoration in the upper frieze also had symbolical value, denoting the connection between this ruler and God.[1180]

In recent years, Burić turned his attention to the non-figural panels from the Baptistery and, separating them from the king and pentagram panels of the eleventh-century date, and dated them to the ninth century,[1181] while Igor Fisković reiterated his arguments in 2006.[1182]

Thus, for well over 150 years, the extensive scholarship on this panel has remained undecided on the provenance, the exact date and interpretation of the subject matter of the piece, although the evidence brought to bear in the discussions has perhaps become more focused as information and understanding of the historical and material culture of the region has expanded.

4.1.2. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

In turning to consider the iconographic sources proposed in the scholarship in more detail, it does seem that the identification of the enthroned figure as Christ is flawed, as Karaman and Igor Fisković noted, by the fact that Christ was rarely represented without a nimbus in early medieval art; nor, as Karaman further noted, did he appear dressed in a tunic with leggings, a distinctly non-classical and secular costume. Equally, the enthroned Christ is always depicted with a book or scroll in his left hand, an attribute not displayed by the ruler on the Split panel. Finally, as convincingly demonstrated by Igor Fisković, it is unlikely that a panel carved with Christ would have been altered as a result of *damnatio memoriae*.[1183] Together, these factors strongly suggest that the identification of the seated ruler as Christ cannot be convincingly supported.

On the other hand, the argument put forward by Petricioli and Vežić, in favour of a religious interpretation, that it was not customary to depict secular subjects on chancel screens, cannot be sustained. The Baška screen panel, mentioned by Belamarić as a good comparison for the relief from Split, is entirely filled with an inscription recording a donation by Zvonimir (Fig. 182); indeed this inscription has more in common with an

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[1180] Rendić-Miočević, 2000: 106. Seeing the interlace as clouds denoting God's presence.
[1181] Burić, 2002: 310. He rejected the Solin provenance for the pentagram and ruler panels on the grounds of their better preservation as opposed to the fragments from Solin.
[1182] His catalogue entry in Jakšić, 2006b: 90-91.
[1183] I. Fisković, 2002: 98.

administrative entry in a donation list than one appropriate to a screen before an altar. And Dalmatian eighth- or ninth-century sculpture offers examples of secular figures on three chancel screens: warriors and horsemen from St Martin's in Pridraga, and from Zadar Cathedral itself, and the two naked boys on the Koločep panel (Fig. 164). Moreover, the panel from Split Baptistery may have been part of a wider scheme, such as a narrative cycle, involving other panels, and would thus not have been perceived as inappropriate in its original context.

Images of enthroned Christian secular rulers with orbs have their origins in late antique art, especially in post-Theodosian material. On the silver Missorium of Theodosius from 388, for instance, which depicts him with Valentinian II and Arcadius, the co-emperors hold orbs, while Valentinian presents a sphere-topped sceptre, and Theodosius himself extends a scroll to an official (Fig. 183).[1184] In coinage, the emperors Justinian and Justin I, depicted together in 527, the year of their co-rulership, both hold orbs.[1185]

The thrones on which the late antique and early medieval rulers are seated are also worth considering as they take a limited variety of forms: cross-legged folding stools, bench-thrones and 'regular' thrones with a back, two arm rests and four legs. Although Igor Fisković described the throne on the panel as having 'bent legs' terminating in a 'snail-like' feature, and a 'double' cushion, and compared it to the Carolingian cross-legged folding stools,[1186] this is not supported by examination of the carved relief itself which portrays a throne with a base under the seat, and so identifies it as a bench-type throne, while the 'snail-like' features can more likely be explained as the stylized ends of the cushion. Furthermore, the base of the throne is tapering and the foot resembles an extension of the throne rather than a separate piece; these are characteristics of the Ottonian thrones found in depictions in the Gospels of Otto III, and throughout the early eleventh-century Pericopes Book of Henry II (Figs 184-185).[1187]

[1184] Leader-Newby, 2004: 14, 35.
[1185] Grierson and Bellinger, 1992: 57-58.
[1186] I. Fisković, 2002: 83-84. This identification is surprising since the panel has been attributed to the same workshop as the Dominica panels where, as seen above (section 1.2iii), the cross-legged stool appeared twice. It would be logical to assume that a carver trained in this workshop would have known how to depict such a stool, rather than chiselling a base more consistent with the bench-thrones.
[1187] Both in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452, fols. 2, 18, 162 (Pericopes); Clm. 4453, fol. 247 (Gospels). See Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 160, Pl. 26, Figs 96, 98, 109.

Apart from the throne, the royal regalia consist of the crown, orb and either a cross-topped sceptre or a small cross. As noted by Karaman and recently by Igor Fisković, the crown worn by the Split ruler is indeed a derivative of the Carolingian-Ottonian type, with ear pieces, pearls and three crosses on the top (Figs 186-187).[1188] Igor Fisković noted that these latter details are rare, giving the Ottonian examples of crowns worn by Conrad II and Henry III in the *Codex Aureus*, commissioned by Henry and finished by Conrad, made in Echternach for Speyer Cathedral in the mid eleventh-century.[1189] Given this rarity he proposed that the 'crosses' could be no more than stylized versions of leaves or trilobes more usually featured on crowns.[1190]

However, Igor Fisković also proposed that the crosses could have been features of the crown used in the region, based on the fact that Michael of Zahumlje depicted on the eleventh-century fresco in St Michael's at Ston wears a similar crown (Fig. 181).[1191] This certainly seems a more plausible explanation, especially given that such crowns were found in the tombs of the Hungarian kings of the Arpad dynasty of the twelfth century.[1192] Another example survives in an eleventh-century fresco in the abbey Church of St Mary at Lambach in Austria where it is worn by Herod Agrippa, and was painted intentionally to resemble the Ottonian crown.[1193]

Turning to the insignia held by the king, the orb in his left hand is the most common attribute of kingship from late antiquity onwards.[1194] Since it was chiselled off when the panel was re-used in the font, it is unknown whether it was originally plain or decorated, perhaps with a cross, such as that held by Otto III in his Gospel book.[1195] It can nevertheless be deduced, as Igor Fisković noted, that the orb was not surmounted by a cross (*globus cruciger*), as traces of this would still have been visible.[1196] However, it cannot be argued, as Igor Fisković did, that the orb was plain only because the cross in the king's other hand would have made a cross within the orb obsolete; he himself

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[1188] I. Fisković, 2002: 89-90.
[1189] Madrid, El Escorial, Real Biblioteca, Cod. Vitrinas 17, fols 2v, 3r (Ibid.).
[1190] Ibid. 90.
[1191] Ibid.
[1192] Ibid. 92, n. 72, referencing Schramm, 1971, 4/2: Figs 755, 757.
[1193] Fagin Davis, 2000: 130.
[1194] Kazhdan, 1991, 3: 1936; Schramm, 1958: 24-28, 133.
[1195] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, fol. 24r.
[1196] I. Fisković, 2002: 87.

published several Ottonian examples of such objects, like the seals of Otto III and Henry V, and the figure of Henry II on the ivory bucket from Aachen (Figs 188-189).[1197]

As far as the short cross in the king's right hand is concerned, it seems unlikely that it can be identified as a cross-topped sceptre. These tended to be longer and thinner than that on the Split panel, and the cross terminal was significantly smaller, as is the case with the cross-sceptre held by Louis the Pious accompanying Rabanus Maurus' poem on the Holy Cross.[1198] Rather, the cross held by the king from Split is the short cross often held by kings, as well as saints, angels and bishops (Fig. 85-87).[1199] The closest parallels are found in representations of Ottonian rulers on seals, such as those already mentioned of Otto III and Henry II (Fig. 189).[1200] Also relevant to consideration of the Split figure and his attributes is the fact that the seal impressions of Ottonian emperors feature them holding their regalia in up-raised hands, as is the case with the ruler at Split.

The costumes worn by the king and the attendant figures are also identifiable within an early medieval context. The king wears a cloak over tunic and trousers, all of which have parallels in Frankish ruler portraits,[1201] and although the standing attendant figure has no cloak, his tunic resembles that worn by the enthroned figure, suggesting a common source of inspiration;[1202] and the prostrate figure is so stylized and disproportionately small so that his tunic has been rendered nondescript.[1203] Furthermore, the shoes and leggings of the ruler and his attendants form part of the male costume standard in Carolingian art, as for example in the ninth-century Vivian Bible where the two male figures flanking Charles the Bald are similarly attired (Fig. 191).[1204] The secular nature of all three figures is further indicated by the beards visible on all of them.

[1197] Ibid. 87, 186, 132.

[1198] Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. Reg. Lat. 124, fol. 4v (Garipzanov, 2008: 231).

[1199] See also the St Lawrence portal jambs in section 2.3.1ii.

[1200] I. Fisković, 2002: 186. Curiously, the seal of Petar Krešimir IV does not feature a short cross but depicts him holding a regular tall sceptre (Ibid. 185, 187).

[1201] Dragičević, 1997: 133.

[1202] Ibid. Dragičević argued that both attendants wear sleeveless cloaks with belts but it is more likely the folds under the arms are mere stylizations.

[1203] Ibid. 126. Dragičević thought he also wore trousers.

[1204] Paris, Bib. Nat., MS lat. 1, fol. 423 (Mayr-Harting, 1991, 1: 62, Fig. 30).

Also suggestive of the secular nature of the panel is the fact that early medieval rulers were often portrayed accompanied by standing attendants, one of whom commonly held a sword. This arrangement can be seen in the miniature of Charles the Bald in the Vivian Bible, and in the late tenth-century Gospels of Otto III (Figs 191-192).[1205] In keeping with this established iconography, it was initially thought that the standing attendant on the Split panel also held a sword, but the position of his hands and the size of the retouched area do not support this; the attendants' swords were generally depicted as being held upright or sideways, while the figure from Split held an object across his chest with both hands. A more likely suggestion, as observed by Pejaković and Igor Fisković, is that this figure held a scroll.[1206]

The prostrate pose of the third extant figure had been understood as illustrating the purely Byzantine prerogative to proskynesis, but as pointed out by Karaman, western rulers also enjoyed the honour of this gesture.[1207] Indeed, in the west, the ritual of proskynesis was introduced by Caligula in the first century, and continued to be enacted into the Christian era with, most famously, Pope Leo III who prostrated himself before Charlemagne after crowning him in 800, and Louis the Pious who reversed the ritual after his coronation, prostrating himself before Pope Stephen IV.[1208] And, although Otto I was apparently astonished when Hermann Billung, Duke of Saxony, prostrated himself before his emperor in the tenth century,[1209] this indicates the continued use of the ritual, while his grandson Otto III readily received prostrations, and Henry II even performed them before his bishops.[1210] Thus, it can be assumed that prostration was a familiar feature of late eleventh-century ritual in the West, and never really declined in the East. Thus, regardless of how this custom reached Croatia or was observed in the region, it would seem that at the time the relief was carved, prostration was no longer a privilege unique to the Byzantine emperor.

Nevertheless, the gesture itself was rarely depicted in early medieval art. According to Grabar, in Byzantium, proskynesis was perceived as an expression of

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[1205] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453, fol. 24 (Mayr-Harting, 1991: Pl. 21),
[1206] Pejaković, 1996: 284.
[1207] Karaman, 1925: 396-397; 1966: 111-129; Schramm, 1958: 62-63.
[1208] Theissen, 2003: 51; Muldoon, 1999: 24, 28.
[1209] Leyser, 1994: 200.
[1210] Althoff 2003: 78, 136.

servility which might imply tyranny – a message the emperors wanted to avoid.[1211] The association was current because those depicted as prostrate were most often conquered barbarians on whom the gesture was enforced, rather than the Emperor's subjects who, as a consequence, tended to be depicted paying homage to their ruler while standing and inclining their heads.[1212] Grabar invoked the late tenth- or early eleventh-century image in the Psalter of Basil II in support of this claim, identifying the prostrate figures as captured Bulgars (Fig. 194).[1213] More recently, however, these prostrate figures have been identified by Cutler and Stephenson as citizens of Constantinople.[1214]

In the West, the examples were equally limited and Petricioli cited only two: the prostration (of Richard the Lionheart before the German emperor Henry VI) in the twelfth-century manuscript from Palermo, written by Petrus de Ebulo, and another in the *Codex Cavensis*.[1215] It remains unclear whether this latter example was that given by Igor Fisković of the eleventh-century *Codex legum Langobardorum* also from Cava, which shows King Rothari receiving the full *proskynesis* of a subject.[1216] Whether this was the case, pictorial representation of the ritual of prostration remains unusual.

Nevertheless, considered overall, the iconographic traditions confirm that the ruler depicted at Split is best understood to be a temporal king rather than Christ, and that the scene was intended to represent a ceremonial act: the king is enthroned, displaying his insignia as on the Ottonian seals from the eleventh century; the standing attendant presents a scroll, while the prostrate subject expresses gratitude, homage or supplication in the well-known ritual of proskynesis.

As far as the identity of the ruler and the specific event being illustrated are concerned, the barely visible remains of the accompanying inscription, which have successfully resisted identification, despite Jelić's claim to have deciphered it,[1217] have nevertheless been accepted by Igor Fisković as including the phrase LEGEM DAT, in support of his hypothesis that the scene refers to a real event of a donation by Petar

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[1211] Grabar, 1936: 85-86.
[1212] Ibid. 147.
[1213] Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cod. Mar. gr. 17, fol. 3r (Grabar, 1936: 86).
[1214] Cutler, 1977: 11; Stephenson, 2003: 52.
[1215] Petricioli, 1983: 19. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, cod. 120 II, fol. 129r.
[1216] I. Fisković, 2002: 116. Cava de Tirreni, Archivio della Badia della Santissima Trinità, MS 4, fol. 27v.
[1217] Jelić, 1895a: 100.

Krešimir IV of a legal document or privilege to the Solin community. [1218] Regardless of whether or not the inscription did include these words, it remains the case that at some point it was deleted, as was the object held by the standing attendant. As Igor Fisković noted, these two details must have been considered innapropriate, probably for political reasons, at a time when memory of the ruler and his deeds was still alive.[1219]

4.1.3. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

With this general identification of the secular nature of the image and its probable sources, it has to be said that although the ritual of *proskynesis* was not often depicted, the portrayal of a seated ruler with his regalia was an extremely common motif throughout the middle ages, appearing not only on coins and royal seals, but also in larger-scale representations as visual expressions of kingship. More specifically, Carolingian and Ottonian rulers are depicted in this manner in manuscripts as donors or recipients.

In this context, the attributes held by the Split ruler imply, as convincingly argued by Igor Fisković, that the panel was intended to identify him as the vicar of Christ and a just king. The globe in his left hand, for instance, a common sign of kingship, can be understood to symbolize the universe.[1220] Its origin lies in pagan art, but by the fourth century it had been 'christianized' with the addition of a small cross, denoting a ruler as Christian, within a universal Christian world.[1221] The choice of a cross, rather than a cross-sceptre, as the insignia for the Split ruler also emphasizes the Christian nature of his kingship – this is the type of cross held by saints and the clergy, and, as demonstrated, can be found in imperial Ottonian portraits in the eleventh century.

The presence of attendants in depictions of enthroned rulers also usually serves to clarify their significance. The retouching of the relief from Split, unfortunately, contributed the opposite effect: with the loss of the object held by the standing man, and more importantly, with the loss of the inscription. Without these details, it is only

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[1218] I. Fisković, 2002: 208, n. 54.
[1219] Ibid. 215-216.
[1220] Schiller, 1986, 3: 168; Kazhdan, 1991, 3: 1936.
[1221] Schiller, 1986, 3: 168.

possible to speculate but nonetheless, as proposed by Igor Fisković and Pejaković,[1222] the likely presence of a scroll indicates that the standing figure presents or receives an official document; the fact that the king's hands are not free imply that he cannot physically accept the scroll and that therefore, the figure is in receipt of a donation from him.

If the standing figure leaves room for speculation, there is no doubt that the prostrate figure performs *proskynesis*. This was an act of begging or imploring, connected to the kissing and touching of the feet and as such forms an expression of subjugation by the implorer.[1223] Nevertheless, as Koziol has noted, while prostration as a supplication generally signifies 'an act of prayer that assimilated earthly rule to an eternal archetype', it was also, more specifically, an expression of gratitude for benefaction or apology following the resolution of litigation and disputes.[1224]

It is this latter significance that seems to best explain the relationship between the Split figures and their postures. First, the size of the figures corresponds to their importance: the seated king and the standing figure are of the same height which is such that if the king were also to be depicted standing, he would be significantly taller; the prostrate figure is the smallest. Second, only one figure is depicted in *proskynesis* and the figure who is likely in receipt of the royal donation stands without even inclining his head. This distinctive treatment of these two figures suggests that their roles are very different and, in the light of Koziol's argument that *proskynesis* was employed in the West as a symbolic gesture 'appropriate for those whose acts were judged to have violated a fundamental rule of social order',[1225] it seems likely that the standing figure emerged victorious in a dispute and obtained the document of confirmation from the just ruler who dispensed justice, while the other party is prostrated in the act of begging pardon.

The bearded nature of the two attendants further suggests that they cannot be identified as priests since by the second half of the eleventh century the Dalmatian and Croatian clergy had accepted the orders of the reformed church and were clean-

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[1222] I. Fisković, 2002: 98; Pejaković, 1996: 284.
[1223] Schiller, 1986, 3: 168, 229-230; Cutler, 1975: 53-110.
[1224] Koziol, 1992: 12, 63, 206.
[1225] Ibid. 207.

shaven.[1226] For this reason, Igor Fisković's interpretation that the scene depicts the local church receiving a donation from a king does not seem entirely plausible.

On the other hand, the suggestion that the scene shows the king as the dispenser of Justice can be further corroborated by the potential significance of two other panels from the font which have been attributed to the same chancel screen and linked with the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin. One of these is the pentagram panel which was singled out for its symbolic value by several scholars. According to Pejaković, the pentagram served the function of a 'lucky charm' to the king and embodied the date of Zvonimir's coronation.[1227] He also interpreted the circle around it as a wreath and the five rod-like features at the top as the fingers of the *Dextera Dei* which holds it.[1228] Igor Fisković saw the ancient symbolism of pentagram as a star, associated with the Sun as the source of all life, applied to Christ and signifying his divine nature, and his mission on earth as the Son of God.[1229] However, Hall explained the pentagram as a pagan symbol of the universal rule and a Christian symbol of the five wounds of Christ.[1230] This latter significance is supported by another Croatian example, that on the ninth-century stone crucifix from Brnaze near Sinj where the pentagram is engraved above the head of the Crucified Christ.[1231]

Nonetheless, the motif acquired another level of meaning in the early middle ages, as is implied by the numerous examples of engraved pentagrams on early medieval rings.[1232] According to *the Testament of Solomon*, a text composed between the second and fourth century, king Solomon built the Temple of Jerusalem by 'harnessing the demons' with the help of his 'magic ring, the seal of which is a pentagram' which was displayed in Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[1233] The legend was widely circulated in sixth-century Byzantium and known to Michael Psellos, who referred to the apocryphal book written by Solomon in the eleventh-century.[1234] Indeed, Byzantine

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[1226] Klaic, 1971: 368.
[1227] Pejaković, 1996: 136; Pejaković, 1999: 539-540.
[1228] Pejaković, 1996: 272-273.
[1229] I. Fisković, 1997: 97; 2002: 194.
[1230] Hall, 1997: 5.
[1231] I. Fisković, 2002: 194, n. 21.
[1232] Zorova, 2007: 52-54, 74-75.
[1233] Duling, 1975: 242; Ousterhout, 1990: 47.
[1234] Magdalino and Mavroudi, 2006: 15; Walter, 2003: 35.

amulets from the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries which feature pentagrams are sometimes inscribed with the phrase 'Seal of Solomon'.[1235] Although it cannot be said that the Solomonic legends were widely known in the West before the thirteenth century, the Anglo-Saxon poem *Solomon and Saturn* from the tenth or eleventh-century witnesses that the western audiences were familiar with Solomon as the controller of demons.[1236] With this in mind, it is not impossible that in eleventh-century Croatia the pentagram motif could refer to the universal kingship as an abstract concept and the rule of a specific king – Solomon, whose wisdom was granted by God. These connections might imply that the pentagram panel from Split alluded to the Solomon-like qualities of the Croatian king.

Although hypothetical, this interpretation could be further supported by the other fragments, found at Solin, which contained the images of Moses and two other unidentified figures (Fig. 152-154). The connection between Moses, the leader of the Hebrews and the giver of the Old Law, and a local ruler who has given the scroll, would underline the 'just ruler' aspect of the Split panel, while also confirming the importance of the cross in the king's hand. He is a Christian king, chosen by God, '*deo gratias dux Croatorum*', who governs his people by adherring to the Law given by God, as Moses did before him.[1237] As a law-giver he dispenses justice, awarding the right to one subject and receiving supplication from the other.

4.1.4. SUMMARY

From all of the above, therefore, it can be suggested that, as Dyggve and Igor Fisković proposed, the panel can be ascribed to the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin: the figural fragments from that church provide the best stylistic and iconographic parallel to the relief with king and the context of the royal basilica provides a more likely setting for the scene with the enthroned Croatian king than Split Cathedral.[1238] Furthermore, the fact that the panel is today part of a baptismal font at Split does not necessarily imply a Split provenance. The archbishops of Split owned SS Peter and Moses from the first half

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[1235] Spier, 1993: 30, 31, Pl. 3a.
[1236] Skemer, 2006: 90-91, 117.
[1237] See above, section 3.2.5.
[1238] Ibid.

of the twelfth century, as recorded in contemporary written records, and it can therefore be safely assumed that one of them was responsible for trasporting the marbles from Solin to Split and re-assembling them as the baptismal font. In acting like this they were not alone: the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century archbishops of Zadar seem to have done the same on more than one occasion.[1239]

As suggested in the scholarly literature, the occasion of the installation of the original chancel screen in Solin may have been the accession of Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075) or Zvonimir (1076-1089). However, since the Church of SS Peter and Moses already existed in 1069, it cannot have been constructed as Zvonimir's coronation basilica. Rather, it must have already existed in the time of Petar Krešimir IV, and so did its chancel screen.

PART 2: PANEL FROM RAB

4.2.1. INTRODUCTION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Another figural panel dissociated from its original context is the one depicting an enthroned Christ, now located in the north wall in the interior of the Church of St Mary at Rab (Fig. 195).[1240] When it was first recorded by Eitelberger in 1861, it was built high up in the exterior of the north wall,[1241] above the door,[1242] where it remained for at least sixty-five years (it was still there in 1926). The church itself is an aisled basilica founded in the fifth century of which the central apse and the general layout of the nave and aisles are still extant (Fig. 196).[1243] It was remodelled in the eleventh century when the nave columns received new capitals and two lateral apses were added to the aisles.[1244] The present façade is of a twelfth-century date and coincides with the visit of Pope Alexander III in 1177.[1245] The church had had episcopal status from the fifth century until 1828 and so enjoyed considerable reworking over the centuries.[1246] Indeed, the

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[1239] Jakšić, 1988a: 200-201.
[1240] See cat. no. 12.
[1241] Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26; 1884: 73-74; Frey, 1912: 89, Fig. 1; Dudan, 1921, 1: 89.
[1242] Brusić, 1926: 70.
[1243] Domijan, 2001: 89.
[1244] Domijan, 2004: 9, 12.
[1245] Ibid. 13-14.
[1246] Ibid. 9.

later, thirteenth-century date of the exterior walls suggests that the relief was not in its original position when Eitelberger saw it.

Eitelberger considered the relief to be a high-quality Romanesque carving and so similar to the gable from Sustipan at Split.[1247] After Eitelberger, the relief was reproduced in predominantly Austrian and Italian publications until the mid 1920s. Among these, Frey, who also saw the relief on the exterior and described it in 1912, paid special attention to the throne, noting that both rear legs are rendered correctly in perspective, and claiming the capitals on top of the legs are Byzantine cushion capitals.[1248] He compared the lyre-shaped back of the throne to that featured in the later, ninth-century mosaic in the narthex of Hagia Sophia, which, at the time Frey was writing, was considered to be sixth-century work, and so observed that it is a type often found in sixth-century mosaics such as those in St Prisco near Capua and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, and the seventh-century silver reliquary from Grado Cathedral depicting the Virgin.[1249] He thus dated the relief to the sixth or seventh century, stating that it could have come to Rab from Ravenna or Constantinople.[1250] Apart from Frey, the panel was more generally considered to be Romanesque,[1251] although Brusić grouped it with the 'interlace' sculptures of the 'ornamental style' which he dated to between the eighth and tenth centuries and, more precisely, ascribed it to the eighth-century phase of the Cathedral.[1252] In 1930 the loosely Romanesque date (from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries) was also rejected by Abramić who argued that lyre-shaped thrones suggest a date before the year 1000.[1253] He thus dated the relief

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[1247] Eitelberger, 1861: 25; 1884: 74.

[1248] According to Frey (1912: 89, 90), the foot rest was also decorated with acanthus border framing the panel; Christ was bearded and dressed in a dalmatic and pallium, noting it was impossible to recognize his footwear.

[1249] Ibid.

[1250] Ibid.

[1251] Wulff (1914, 2: 606) , Schleyer (1914: 73) and Toesca (1927, 1: 895, n. 33) record the panel in passing. Dudan (1921, 1: 89) noted it in his section on the Romanesque and attributed it to the 'old cathedral.'

[1252] Brusić, 1926: 69-70, 150. The date is arbitrary; Brusić was a Franciscan and not an art historian and the date relies only on his view of which century the early medieval fragments from Mary's might have belonged to.

[1253] Abramić, 1932: 323.

to the tenth century, while identifying Christ as a *Majestas*, based solely on the blessing gesture and comparisons with the *Majestas* reliefs from Venice and Mistra.[1254]

Following this, the relief was largely ignored, being mentioned only sporadically in passing, such as when Prijatelj invoked it as an example of the *Majestas* comparable to the Sustipan gable,[1255] or when Žic-Rokov referred to it as early Christian.[1256]

In 1996, however, interest in the relief was rekindled; Belamarić considered it to be an imported Byzantine icon of twelfth-century date,[1257] while Domijan, discussing it on several occasions, returned it to a proto-Romanesque work of the eleventh century.[1258] He compared the carving to Venetian works, and referred to it as Veneto-Byzantine, ascribing it to the same phase of remodelling the then Cathedral and its façade which, he claimed, took place either around 1050 or in the second half of the eleventh century (rather than the twelfth).[1259] Marasović, repeating Belamarić's hypothesis in 2009, published the relief as a 'marble icon'.[1260]

4.2.2. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

Although Prijatelj identified the scheme as a *Majestas*,[1261] there is no convincing iconographic evidence that this is the case. Indeed, Schiller refers to the image of the enthroned Christ holding the Gospels and blessing as definitive of the *Christus-Rex* (*Basileus*) iconographic type, one of the representations of the exalted Christ following his resurrection.[1262] Implicit in this term is the derivation of the type from late antique depictions of Roman emperors.[1263] Borrowing from this well-established imperial iconography, the scheme outnumbered all other representations of Christ from the late fourth century onwards.[1264]

[1254] Ibid. It is unclear to which *Majestas* relief in St Mark's Abramić is referring. The only comparable example is on the exterior of the north wall, where the seated Christ is one of five reliefs, the other four depicting the evangelists and are dated to the twelfth century (Demus, 1995: 13, 47).
[1255] Prijatelj, 1954: 72.
[1256] Žic-Rokov, 1972: 458.
[1257] Belamarić,, 1997: 58, 60.
[1258] Domijan, 2001: 95, 98; 2004: 12-13.
[1259] Domijan, 2001: 98.
[1260] Marasović, 2009: 141.
[1261] Prijatelj, 1954: 72.
[1262] Schiller, 1986, 3: 165.
[1263] E.g. Theodosius on a fourth-century silver missorium (Elsner, 1998: Fig. 56).
[1264] Schiller, 1986, 3: 167.

Against this general art-historical understanding of the type, however, Schiller argued that the iconography of Christ *Basileus* stems from two distinct traditions: that of the late antique imperial portrait where the throne is the main attribute, and the *Majestas Domini* tradition rooted in the Old Testament visions of God.[1265]

The attributes of the enthroned Christ are thus the book, open or closed, in his left hand, which represents the Gospels, and the gestures of his right hand. [1266] These can be either the gesture of the orator, with the second and third finger held upright, or the gesture of the ruler, with the extended open hand or held across the chest.[1267] The orator's gesture subsequently came to be understood as a benediction but it is unclear when this occurred.[1268] Another crucial iconographic element of the *Basileus* image is the throne, inherited from the imperial portraits which Schiller demonstrated could include details such as footrests, as in the Rab relief.[1269]

In Byzantine art, the enthroned Christ *Basileus* appears on the south wall in the sixth-century mosaic in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Fig. 200), surrounded by angels at the head of the procession of saints.[1270] As a *Basileus*, Christ also receives homage from Emperor Leo IV in the ninth-century mosaic in the Church of Hagia Sophia (Fig. 197).[1271] In these depictions, however, Christ is the centre of a group rather than an isolated figure as at Rab. The most famous post-iconoclastic depiction of the enthroned Christ in isolation was that in the vault mosaic in the apse behind the imperial throne in the *Chrysotriklinos* at Constantinople in the mid-ninth century.[1272]

Although rare in Carolingian art where the predominant image of the enthroned Christ was the *Majestas Domini*,[1273] a young, clean-shaven Christ is depicted as an isolated *Basileus* in the eighth-century Godescalc Gospels (Fig. 80); in the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory the Great from Nonantola, where Christ, with the word *Lux* in his

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[1265] Ibid. 222.
[1266] Ibid. 223.
[1267] Ibid.
[1268] Ibid.
[1269] Ibid. 168, 224.
[1270] Ibid. 224.
[1271] In the ninth-century mosaic in the narthex of Hagia Sophia, Christ Basileus receives hommage from Emperor Leo VI (Schiller, 1986, 3: 229).
[1272] Grierson, Hendy and Bellinger, 1999: 34; Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 257; Parani, 2003: 165.
[1273] Schiller, 1986, 3: 227.

cross-nimbus, is identified as *Rex regum* and the word *Lux* is placed in his cross nimbus (Fig 198); and in the ninth-century Lorsch Gospels.[1274]

With the revived interest in Byzantine art among the Ottonians, the eleventh century saw a rise in instances of the isolated enthroned Christ, beginning with the early eleventh-century golden bookcover of the Uta Codex.[1275] This was also the time when the first stone sculptures of this type began to appear, such as the eleventh-century reliefs from the Church of St Emmeram at Regensburg (1049 – 1060) and St Radegund at Poitiers (Fig. 201).[1276]

An isolated Christ *Basileus* can also be seen in a miniature in the Rab Pericopes (also known as the Rab Evangelistary) dated to the second half of the eleventh century (Fig. 199).[1277] This image, which Badurina identified as the Transfiguration despite the lack of any defining iconographic indicators of this episode, shows Christ blessing with his right and holding a book in his left hand.[1278] Badurina argued that the manuscript may have been produced locally, in the Benedictine monastery of St John the Evangelist, on stylistic grounds – the presence of 'Byzantine morphology' next to 'western colours, and geometric and vegetal ornament' – and attributed it to what Croatian scholarship sometimes identifies as 'adriobyzantinism'.[1279]

Among these examples, only the Christ Basileus from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and that from Hagia Sophia (Figs 197, 200), although not isolated images, provide convincing parallels for the throne of the Rab Christ in that all three are of the so-called lyre-backed type, originally used for Roman emperors in coinage from the second half of the fifth century onwards.[1280] The sixth-century mosaic from Sant' Apollinare Nuovo is also the earliest known depiction of Christ *Basileus* on such a throne and happens to

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[1274] Ibid. Figs 639-641.
[1275] Ibid. 228, Fig. 643.
[1276] Ibid. Figs 644-645.
[1277] Badurina, 1997: 186-187, Fig. 49; 1965-66: 5. The manuscript is written in Beneventan script of Monte Cassino type. Six folia are in the Rectory at Rab and two are in Zagreb, National University Library, R4106.
[1278] Badurina, 1965-66: 8-9.
[1279] Badurina, 1997: 189, 186; 1965-66: 5, 10-11.
[1280] The term 'lyraförmig' was first used by Weigand (1932, 65-69) to describe the throne of the Virgin on the Grado reliquary. The thrones themselves were introduced by Leo I (473-474) in his *solidi* (Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 250)

be the only extant example of it before the ninth century (Fig. 200).[1281] Although there are early Christian depictions of the Virgin with Child on such a throne these provide little analytical information, being more relevant to discussions of the overall development and usage of this type of throne.[1282] For instance, they tend to have backs with a different curvature, which have been compared to animal horns.[1283]

Apart from the ninth-century narthex mosaic in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, the lyre-backed throne was used in monumental art only in the tenth-century frescoes at the cave Church of Santa Cristina Carpignano near Otranto.[1284] It is found more frequently in post-iconoclastic portable objects such as manuscripts and coinage: in the miniatures of Christ in the frontispiece (Fig. 202) and in the Vision of Isaiah in the ninth-century Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus,[1285] and on coins minted by the Macedonian emperors between 860s and 950s.[1286] According to Breckenridge, this type of throne was deliberately revived in the eleventh century, in the coins of Constantine IX and his son Constantine X (1042-1067), in order to refer back to a past perceived as more glorious (Fig. 203).[1287]

4.2.3. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

As noted, depictions of Christ *Basileus* express the power of the exalted Christ as a ruler.[1288] Although his kingdom is not of this world, he is the messianic king, the heir of David, and his kingdom is without end.[1289] This idea is confirmed by the lyre-backed throne which was used by the eastern Roman and Byzantine emperors, as can be judged from the coinage, and which was borrowed for the images of Christ. That this first occurred on Byzantine coins and then in large-scale public art speaks of the imperial

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[1281] Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 248.
[1282] These are the sixth-century fresco in Sta Maria Antiqua, Rome, contemporary mosaic in the Church of Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi, Cyprus; a somewhat later mosaic (now lost) from the Church of St Demetrios, Salonica, and the seventh-century silver reliquary from Grado (Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 249-250).
[1283] Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 250, 252.
[1284] Abramić, 1932: 323. It is used for the Virgin only in the eleventh-century fresco in St Sophia, Ohrid (Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 417).
[1285] Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, gr. 510, Fol. 67v (Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 248; Brubaker, 1999: 139, 282, Fig. II). For the narthex mosaic see Brubaker, 1999: 145-150, Fig. 82; Oikonomides, 1976: 151-172.
[1286] Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 252, 253.
[1287] Ibid. 248.
[1288] Schiller, 1986, 3: 222.
[1289] Ibid.

origin of the motif. The usual inscription – *Rex regnantium* – which accompanied Christ *Basileus* on coins, made it clear it was an image which on the one hand guaranteed the subjects that their temporal ruler was just and in keeping with the divine ruler, and on the other, it showed that jurisdiction of God's rule relied on the ruler's power, as Christ's vicar on earth. This is corroborated by the image in the early ninth-century Homilies from Nonantola, which shows Christ with the inscription *Rex regum*.[1290]

Breckenridge noted that prior to the ninth century the lyre-backed throne was used as a seat for two or more emperors, not for a single ruler, and so he interpreted the examples with Christ enthroned on such a throne as signifying that he is both Creator Father and Saviour Son, an identity that renders him Pantocrator.[1291] He also connected such a depiction with the *Rex regnantium* inscription and argued that it refers to Christ as 'the Son of God who rules the earth through the regency of the emperors.'[1292] This interpretation also supports the idea emanating from such an image as that of universal harmony.

According to Breckenridge, this type of throne was deliberately revived in the eleventh century coins by Constantine IX and his son (1042-1067) because it 'alluded to the past associations and glories',[1293] but without the knowledge of the 'special significance' it had held for the Macedonian dynasty.[1294] In his opinion, the image of Christ Basileus possessed imperial associations only for this dynasty, which explains why the throne was absent from the more varied types of the enthroned Christ.[1295]

Although Cutler also examined the occurrence of the lyre-backed throne in coinage, his main argument relied on the dependence of the shape on the instrument itself and its connection with Orpheus.[1296] Relying on Eusebius' comparison between Christ and Orpheus who tamed wild beasts by playing music on his lyre,[1297] Cutler arrived at the conclusion that Christ's lyre-backed throne represents 'the seat of

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[1290] See above, n. 1273.
[1291] Breckenridge, 1980-1981: 259.
[1292] Ibid.
[1293] Ibid. 248.
[1294] Ibid. 257.
[1295] Ibid.
[1296] Cutler, 1975: 45-52.
[1297] *In praise of Constantine* (εἰς Κωνσταντίνων τριαχωνταετης ιχός) 14: 241-244.

harmony, the throne of the Logos in incarnate majesty' and thus symbolized universal harmony.[1298]

4.2.4. SUMMARY

The iconography of the Rab relief suggests it is best viewed in the context of the eleventh-century renewed interest in Byzantine models and more frequent depictions of Christ *Basileus* as an isolated image. The use of the lyre-backed throne also indicates a Byzantine source of a portable rather than monumental nature, while the spread of that particular shape of throne also implies an eleventh-century date.

The lack of context for this relief aggravates further analysis of its potential symbolic significance. Nothing is known about its original location, function, possible commissioner or whether there were originally other similar pieces. If the relief had been an isolated plaque then its iconography and the finely carved frame imply that it could indeed have been intended as a stone icon, similar to the eleventh-century icons from Constantinople and Venice.[1299]

The symbolic significance of the relief, on the other hand, indicates that the commissioner may have been a person who had political power in the local community, a supposition supported by the use of marble and the quality of carving which successfully renders perspective. This person could have been an eleventh-century *prior* of Rab, or indeed a bishop. Another possibility, again suggested by the high quality of the carving but also by the overall Byzantine character of the relief, is that it could have been a gift from Venice, which claimed power over Rab and the rest of the Quarnero islands from 1000 to the 1050s,[1300] and again in 1090s.[1301] This explanation seems more likely since access to high-quality Byzantine icons made of marble would have been more natural in a Venetian context than among the local bishops between 1050 and 1090s when the church on the island of Rab was free from Venetian control.

The reasons lying behind Venetian aspirations to Rab stem from the fact that it was a Dalmatian city and as such it had been a Byzantine territory from Justinian

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[1298] Cutler, 1975: 52, 30. The connection between the Orpheus-lyre and Christ-throne in Goldammer, 1963: 228.
[1299] Belting, 1996: Figs 108, 115, 120.
[1300] According to Budak (1994: 38) until Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075).
[1301] And again from 1108 or 1115 (Margetić, 1987: 201).

onwards. However, Byzantine rule over the Adriatic cities gradually became increasingly formal rather than actual, as was the case with Venice.[1302] In the ninth century the Dalmatian cities rejected this formal rule and became independent, an act which prompted Byzantium to ally with Venice and temporarily relinquish control of the cities.[1303] Certainly in the tenth century Constantine Porphyrogenitos mentioned Rab as one of the cities inhabited by the 'Romanoi.'[1304]

Due to dynastic struggles between factions in the Croatian kingdom in the late tenth century, and their family ties with the Orseolo family, Peter II Orseolo, the Doge of Venice, set sail with his fleet to Dalmatia in the year 1000, in order to free 'his people' from paying tribute to the Slav Croats; he stopped in Dalmatian ports and received oaths of allegiance, among which was that given by the Bishop of Rab. [1305] In 1018 Otto Orseolo, Peter's son, retracing his father's steps, also sailed to Dalmatia but failed to proceed further than Rab,[1306] where *prior* Bellata and Bishop Maius recognized Venetian rule and promised to pay the annual tribute.[1307] This situation seems to have lasted until the 1060s when Rab established closer links with Croatia and its king, Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075).[1308] However, after the death of Zvonimir (1089), Rab re-acknowledged the rule of Venice at some point between 1091 and 1097 when, having accepted Doge Vital Michieli's offer of protection, all Dalmatian cities followed suit.[1309]

Thus, Rab spent nearly seventy years as a 'vassal city' of Venice, making it possible that the relief with Christ may have been carved there, and presented to or acquired by a local ecclesiastical or secular dignitary. The late eleventh-century date seems a more likely option on the basis of the date of the re-appearance of the lyre-backed throne on coins by Constantine IX and X, together with the quality of carving.

[1302] Budak, 1994: 37.
[1303] Margetić, 1987: 200.
[1304] *DAI* 29.51-52: 124-125.
[1305] Margetić, 1987: 200; Budak, 1994: 36-37; Goldstein, 1995: 341-342. Iohannes Diaconus, *Chron. Ven.*: 157.
[1306] Budak, 1994: 37; Goldstein, 1995: 343.
[1307] Klaić, 1971: 330, n. 174; Brusić, 1926: 71.
[1308] Margetić, 1987: 201. Opinions differ as to whether Rab acknowledged the Croatian ruler even earlier in 1025 as reported by Thomas the Archdeacon and supported by Budak (1987: 193) and Klaić (1976: 335).
[1309] Budak, 1994: 49. According to Budak, in 1091 the Byzantine emperor sent Gottfried de Melfi, son of Amico, to Dalmatia where he stayed until 1093, while Margetić (1987: 201) stated Rab returned to Venice in 1095.

For this reason, the relief with Christ *Basileus* is likely to have been a product of the short period between 1091 and 1097 when Rab returned to Venice and through her to Byzantium, whose Doges and emperors saw themselves as governing with the blessing of Christ as 'the king of kings'.

PART 3: GABLE FROM SUSTIPAN

4.3.1. INTRODUCTION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Like the enthroned Christ *Basileus* from Rab, the gable from Sustipan also depicts a seated Christ, but with the throne supported by two angels (Fig. 204).[1310] The gable was inserted as *spolia* into the wall above the main entrance to the cemetery at Sustipan in Split until the 1960s when it was moved to the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and replaced with a copy. It was first published by Eitelberger in 1861 who compared it to the relief from Rab, identified the leaf ornament as Romanesque, and assumed it had belonged to the Benedictine abbey of St Stephen which had stood on the site.[1311]

The monastery of St Stephen *sub pinis* was first mentioned in 1020 in a deed which recorded the donation of a deacon, Peter.[1312] Thereafter documentation for the site is relatively commonplace, the abbot of the monastery being the third most important person in Split, after the town *prior* and archbishop.[1313] It thus enjoyed royal patronage: in 1069 Petar Krešimir IV gifted land to the monastery for mills near the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin, and his nephew, Stephen II, donated land in the vicinity of Split, upon his retirement to the monastery in 1078.[1314] The monastery survived to the early eighteenth century when it was dissolved by the Pope in 1702 and handed over to the Diocesan seminary.[1315] A cemetery was established on the site in 1825, but

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[1310] See cat. no. 18.
[1311] Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26; 1884: 74.
[1312] Karaman, 1935: 9; Kečkemet, 1994: 9; Rački, 1877: 36-37.
[1313] Kečkemet, 1994: 9.
[1314] Karaman, 1935: 9; Kečkemet, 1994: 10. Both donations in *CD* 1: 122-123, 164-165; Rački, 1877: 79, 119-120.
[1315] Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 182; Kečkemet, 1994: 10.

abandoned in 1931 and destroyed by the city council in the early 1960s to make way for a public park.[1316]

It was at this point that, between 1960 and 1962, the site was excavated by Marasović and Vrsalović who unearthed the Church of St Stephen (Fig. 205), a three-aisled basilica with a large single eastern apse, and an irregular portico to the west; two small rooms were identified at the western end of each aisle, probably with a funerary function.[1317] Marasović dated the church to the ninth or tenth century on the basis of the building technique, even though he noted that its size and the ground plan were common in the early Christian period.[1318] He even considered the closest typological connections to be those of the early Christian Salonitan cemetery basilicas at Marusinac and Kapljuč.[1319] For these reasons (vast size and comparison with the churches in Salona) Cambi considered the church to be early Christian, implying a fifth- or sixth-century date.[1320] Further minor localized additional excavations to the east of the apse, south of the church and in the south aisle, were carried out in 1990s, confirming the existence of a late antique cemetery on the site.[1321] Chevalier thus proposed a sixth- or even seventh-century date in 1996 based on Marasović's and Cambi's comparisons with contemporary churches at the cemeteries in nearby Salona.[1322]

After the site was taken over by the seminary, a small chapel, also dedicated to St Stephen was built (in 1814) which incorporated a number of sculptures reused as *spolia*, including the granite columnns from the church, which were themselves already *spolia* from Diocletian's fourth-century palace.[1323] The cemetery was also enclosed at this time, with a wall that incorporated the gable decorated with figural ornamentation over the main entrance.

[1316] Vrsalović, 1963: 272-273. But also the construction of the new building of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments and the excavation of the church, several test pits being done in 1958 and finds of Roman and medieval remains in 1961 (Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 175, 182-183).

[1317] Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 187-188, Pl. 56; Chevalier, 1996, vol. 2, Pl. 37; vol. 1: 231.

[1318] Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 203, 206. Same date in Marasović, 1994: 76, Pl. 30, 3.

[1319] Ibid. 201, 203.

[1320] Cambi, 1976: 260.

[1321] Five late antique tombs were found to the east of the apse, a column base *in situ* in the south row, and traces of the monastic walls to the south of the church (Petrinec and Šeparović, 1994: 48; Petrinec and Šeparović, 2000: 245, 248).

[1322] Chevalier, 1996: 232

[1323] Ibid. 230.

This was first published by Eitelberger in 1861, as depicting Christ seated between two angels, and identified as having originally belonged to the Benedictine abbey of St Stephen.[1324] Bulić, Jelić and Rutar chose not to comment in detail and considered it to have been part of a *ciborium*.[1325]

Following these early scholars, Karaman agreed on the provenance but dated the gable, chronologically rather than stylistically, to the late eleventh-century,[1326] and disagreed with Abramić's confirmation of the relief as part of a *ciborium*.[1327] Unlike Eitelberger and Karaman, Abramić also considered the piece to reflect the work of an earlier, transitional period between the 'ornamental style' and the Romanesque, and although linking it to the monastery of St Stephen, dated it more broadly to the second half of the eleventh century.[1328]

Thus the scholars who have studied the piece, even in the post-War period, have accepted the monastic context as its provenance.[1329] Marasović even argued the Church of St Stephen had a marble chancel screen in the late eleventh century, solely on the basis of the *spolia* in the cemetery wall.[1330] This assumption was only challenged by Jakšić in 1981, who argued that it could have originated at Knin, perceiving stylistic similarities with several carvings found at Knin Castle.[1331] He denoted this group of reliefs the 'early Romanesque stone-cutting workshop from Knin' and, apart from the Sustipan gable, included in it two figural fragments from door jambs, fragments of a chancel screen architrave, and one of the chancel screens from St Mary at Biskupija, including the gable with the Virgin (Figs 118, 121).[1332] Jakšić's first suggestion was that the Sustipan gable may have belonged to the chancel screen in Knin Cathedral, but he subsequently favoured the parish Church of St Stephen of Hungary as its original

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[1324] Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26; 1884: 74.
[1325] Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894: 220.
[1326] Karaman, 1927-1928: 325; 1935: 11; Petricioli, 1960: 54.
[1327] Abramić, 1932: 326; Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894: 220.
[1328] Abramić, 1932: 326.
[1329] Karaman, 1927-1928: 325; 1935: 11; 1943: 84; Prijatelj, 1954: 72; Petricioli, 1960: 54; Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 204, 206; Jelovina, 1989: 59; Kečkemet, 1994: 15.
[1330] Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 206. Marasović (1994: 263) also published the gable as belonging to the Sustipan church.
[1331] Jakšić, 1981: 31.
[1332] Ibid. 27-30. See sections 3.1.2 and 4.4.1

setting.[1333] Either way, he argued that the gable had been transported to Split in the sixteenth century when the Ottoman Turks captured the town, and, he suggested, was taken as a revered 'icon' to Split by the refugees who gathered at the monastery of St Stephen.[1334] Given his failure to reference a source for this information, it is not clear how this could have occurred since the church had already been abandoned a century earlier.[1335]

Nevertheless, Jakšić's proposed Knin provenance and workshop have been largely accepted in the scholarship, being repeated by Belamarić,[1336] Marasović,[1337] and Jurković,[1338] although Belamarić also claimed a Sustipan and Knin provenance.[1339] Likewise, the dating of the relief has been generally limited to the late eleventh or twelfth century, mostly because of its perceived plasticity, which was noted by Karaman,[1340] Prijatelj,[1341] and Petricioli.[1342] Jakšić, on the other hand, dated it to 1076-1078, this being the recorded date of the construction of the Cathedral at Knin;[1343] following him, this date has been accepted by most art historians since the 1980s.[1344]

Jakšić's subsequent research on the topography of Knin, however, did lead him to change his mind, and link the pieces found at the castle with the Church of St Stephen of Hungary which, due to the Hungarian overtones of the dedication, could only have been built during or after the reign of Zvonimir (1076-1089), who was related through marriage to the Arpad dynasty whose kings claimed the Croatian throne after Zvonimir's death.[1345] As a result, Jakšić subsequently dated the entire group of reliefs to the turn of the twelfth century.[1346] His arguments were accepted by Delonga who,

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[1333] Ibid. 33; Jakšić, 1990: 128; 2000: 23-24.
[1334] Jakšić, 1990: 128; 2000: 26. According to Jakšić, the gable was recut after the chancel screen was dismantled so that it became an individual image which was venerated for several centuries before the arrival of the Turks and the removal to Split. I am grateful to him for discussion on this subject.
[1335] See below, n. 1370.
[1336] Belamarić, 1996: 360; 1997: 45.
[1337] Marasović, 1996: 26; 2009: 514.
[1338] Jurković, 1991: 42.
[1339] Belamarić, 1996: 362; 1997: 46.
[1340] Karaman, 1935: 11; 1943: 76.
[1341] Prijatelj, 1954: 72.
[1342] Petricioli, 1960: 54.
[1343] Jakšić, 1981: 33.
[1344] Marasović, 1996: 26; Belamarić, 1997: 57; I. Fisković, 2002: 235, n. 50. However, Jelovina (1989: 59) and Kečkemet (1994: 15) ignored it, repeating Karaman's hypotheses.
[1345] Jakšić, 2000: 23.
[1346] Jakšić, 1990: 128; 2000: 24.

having analyzed the inscriptions on some of these fragments, corroborated his dating and thus helped establish Jakšić's hypothesis concerning their provenance and date, with the gable from Sustipan being included in the corpus of the sculpture under consideration.[1347] Their interpretations have been accepted in the recent scholarship as the likeliest explanation of when and where the Sustipan gable may have been made.

4.3.2. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES

As far as the iconographic details of the gable are concerned, Karaman was the first to explain the scheme as a *Majestas Domini*.[1348] Abramić emphasized it might have been a local variant of this, or a Pantocrator image,[1349] but its identification as a *Majestas* has been sustained to date by Prijatelj, Petricioli, Jakšić, Marasović, and Belamarić, who also calls it a theophany.[1350]

However, as noted in relation to the pediment from St Lawrence's in Zadar, in the absence of evangelist symbols the enthroned Christ with angels can also be understood to refer to his Ascension.[1351] Their absence apparently concerned Abramić when he discussed the gable and considered it a local variant of *Majestas*,[1352] an interpretation which would also need to explain the absence of the rainbow and mandorla, commonly featured in *Majestas* schemes. Without these, the image is in fact closer to the iconography of Christ *Basileus*, as at Rab, while the presence of angels bearing the throne strongly associates it with Ascension imagery.[1353]

The supporting angels are a motif of eastern, pre-iconoclastic origin, which proved equally successful in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art and early medieval western art.[1354] The seated frontal Christ was also typical of the eastern Ascensions, visually dependent on Ezekiel's vision of God.[1355] However, the witnesses of the Ascension, the Virgin with the apostles and the angels, also common to such schemes, are not present

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[1347] Delonga, 1990: 78.
[1348] Karaman, 1927-1928: 325.
[1349] Abramić, 1932: 326.
[1350] Prijatelj, 1954: 72; Petricioli, 1960: 54; Jakšić, 1981: 31; 1990: 128; Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 183; Marasović, 2009: 514; Belamarić, 1996: 365, 368, Fig. 14; 1997: 48, 57.
[1351] See above, section 2.3.1i.
[1352] Abramić, 1932: 326.
[1353] Schiller, 1986, 3: 148-149.
[1354] Ibid. 147, 152.
[1355] Ibid. 148.

and the restricted size of the gable means they could never have been included. Nevertheless, as already discussed, the iconographic schemes of Ascension and *Majestas Domini* were merged from an early date in medieval art, being present on the eighth-century altar of Ratchis at Cividale, but the tendency became more frequent in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1356]

Certainly, the Sustipan gable lacks several attributes characteristic of both the Ascension and *Majestas* but, as was the case with the St Lawrence pediment, it also includes details shared by both schemes. The most obvious omission on the gable is that of the mandorla. However, bearing in mind the lack of space on the limited triangular field of the gable, this is not entirely surprising. It is as a result of this omission that it is possible to suggest that the angels carry the throne, rather than the usual mandorla; it is an action that conveys the same process of elevating Christ, while also perhaps emphasizing both the angels' role as attendants on the heavenly throne, and the majestic nature of Christ resurrected and ascended into heaven. Regardless of such considerations it is certainly a feature not consistent with images of the enthroned Christ *Basileus*. Thus, the closest iconographic parallels for the figure of Christ on the Sustipan gable are the reduced Byzantine versions of the Ascension (without the Virgin and the Apostles) which appear in combination with other scenes such as the Virgin and Child on a sixth- or seventh-century textile from Alexandria, and the ninth-century Vicopisano cross (Fig. 206).[1357] The same reduced version can be seen on the eleventh-century panel from St Génis-des-Fontaines where only six Apostles surround Christ (Fig. 24).[1358]

It can therefore be concluded that the iconographic reference of the Sustipan gable was primarily concerned with the Ascension of Christ, rather than the *Majestas*, as has been repeatedly proposed in the scholarship; it is also likely that this particular version of the Ascension represents an abbreviated Byzantine type of the earliest eastern representations (Fig. 207).[1359] By the eleventh century this scheme had also been

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[1356] Ibid. 239.
[1357] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: Fig. 413; 1986, 3: Fig. 456.
[1358] Schiller, 1986, 3: Fig. 506.
[1359] Unlike the Christ on the St Lawrence pediment, the Sustipan Christ makes a blessing gesture with his right hand instead of holding a cross-sceptre which, again, indicates an older source since the sceptres appear later than the blessing hand (Schiller, 1986, 3: 153).

adopted in western art and the Sustipan gable belongs to the same line of development and derivation.

4.3.3. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE

All images of the Ascension represent Christ's triumph over death and being lifted up to God (Ephesians 1: 20-22).[1360] They symbolize the belief that Christ pre-existed as God, that he was made human and that he ascended, as human, following the path of sacrifice and humility (Philippians 2: 6-11).[1361] However, as already mentioned,[1362] the Ascension could also symbolize his divinity as the Son of God, and his supreme power as the omnipotent ruler who will return as Judge at the end of time, an idea rooted in the two angels' address to the gathered Apostles: 'This same Jesus which is taken up from you into heaven shall so come in like manner as you have seen him go into heaven' (Acts 1: 9-12).[1363] The connection between the Ascension and Second Coming was frequent in the homilies of Augustine,[1364] and those delivered in Rome by popes Leo I and Gregory the Great.[1365] This idea was inherent in the Ascension images which depict Christ seated on a throne in a mandorla supported by angels, as is the case at Sustipan, and it accounts for the visual conflation with the account from Revelation which describes this return of Christ 'in the like manner' (Revelation 1: 7). In addition, according to Schiller, the 'passive' eastern Ascension emphasizes this theophany and the glory which would follow.[1366]

Since the Sustipan gable depicts Christ ascending into heaven, making a gesture of blessing rather than holding a sceptre, and seated on a throne rather than on a rainbow, it fully conforms to the established iconography of the Ascension, without borrowing motifs from the Majestas scheme as was the case with the pediment from St Lawrence's at Zadar. It thus conveys Christ's divine nature: he is seen departing and raised into heaven from which he shall return as the Judge, enthroned in his glory. The image of the elevated enthroned Christ is, at the same time, a depiction of an event,

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[1360] Schiller, 1986, 3: 141.
[1361] Ibid. 142.
[1362] See above, section 2.4.1.
[1363] Schiller, 1986, 3: 142; Dewald, 1915: 278; Hawkes, 1996: 82-84.
[1364] *Iohan. tract.* 94.2: 562; *Iohan. tract*. 101, 591- 594.
[1365] Leo the Great's *Sermo 74*. 2.4-5: 398-399; Gregory's *Homilia 29*: 244-254.
[1366] Schiller, 1986, 3: 147.

recounted in the Bible, and an illustration of the fulfilment of the angels' promise. The enthroned Christ-Judge is thus also the 'King of Glory' from Psalm 24: 7-9: 'Lift up your heads, o ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the king of glory shall come in. Who is the king of glory? The Lord of the strong and mighty, the Lord is mighty in battle', which was already interpreted in the light of the Ascension by Justin Martyr in the second century,[1367] and continued to be so in the writings of Jerome and Ambrose in the fourth century.[1368]

4.3.4. SUMMARY

According to Jakšić, the Sustipan gable has no stylistically similar parallels in Split and indeed, Marasović did not find any comparable fragments during the excavations in the 1960s, nor do similar *spolia* exist in the cemetery wall.[1369] The only other eleventh-century relief present at Sustipan, depicting two lions, was built into the front of the 1814 church, and bears no apparent similarities with the gable; it appears to have been part of a decorative frieze from a church façade, similar to those from Osor and Pomposa.[1370] For this reason, it seems probable that the gable was brought to Sustipan from elsewhere, perhaps Knin, especially as the monastery was accepting refugees from this town in the sixteenth century after it was abandoned by the Benedictines.[1371]

The fragments from Knin, with which Jakšić had grouped the Sustipan gable, also have no original context and, as noted, he attributed them to the Church of St Stephen of Hungary, first mentioned in the fifteenth century and perhaps destroyed in the sixteenth century.[1372] After that, its stone material was reused for the buildings on Knin Castle, most probably in the eighteenth century. However, it is difficult to sustain that the sculptures from this group originally belonged to St Stephen's of Hungary; as

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[1367] Ibid. 142; Justin Martyr, *The First Apology* 51: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf01.viii.ii.li.html (accessed on 6 January 2011).
[1368] Jerome, *Ad Ephes*. 2: 515; Ambrose, *De myst*.7.36: 104.
[1369] Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 183, 197-200.
[1370] Ibid. 183, Pl. 52. Osor and Pomposa in Jakšić, 1982: 187-190.
[1371] The Benedictines left in the mid-fifteenth century; the old church was demolished in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 207).
[1372] See below, section 4.4.1.

Ančić and Sekelj Ivančan, pointed out, the church may have been built later, in the twelfth or thirteenth century.[1373]

Regardless of such considerations, the iconographic analysis of this piece points strongly to the Ascension of Christ, and particularly the association of that event with the Second Coming of Christ as Judge. The symbolical significance of the Ascension scene illustrated Christ as the universal ruler who offers the promise of the rewards for the faithful and as such is appropriate for a chancel screen gable.

PART 4: FRAGMENTS FROM KNIN CASTLE

4.4.1. INTRODUCTION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

Apart from the possible provenance of the Sustipan gable in Knin, a number of other figural fragments are indisputably associated with that site, being found in the area around the foot of the fortified castle at Knin in the late nineteenth century. The present-day castle is a fortified complex on the southern slope of Mount Spas, which enjoyed continual building programmes from the tenth century onwards, but especially in the fourteenth, early sixteenth, late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1374] It was first mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitos as *castrum* 'Tenin', in the tenth century, as one of nine inhabited towns in christianized Croatia, and a seat of a Croatian duke – *župan/iuppanus*;[1375] as such it may have already existed in the ninth century.[1376]

The early medieval castle occupied the north part of the present-day complex and gradually expanded in the later middle ages.[1377] The first major transformation occurred in the early sixteenth century, in the face of the Turkish threat; it resulted in the building of the fortified walls encompassing the castles, Tenin and Lab, into a single

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[1373] Sekelj Ivančan, 2008: 116.

[1374] Jakšić, 1996: 16, 26, 29; 2000: 17, 28. Ančić (1996: 61) argued the oldest part of the castle may have been rebuilt with new fortifications in the 1180s.

[1375] 'το Τενίή' in *DAI* 31.68-70: 150-151. See also Smiljanić, 1984-1985: 125; Jakšić, 1996: 9; 2000: 9.

[1376] According to Gunjača (1960b: 21) the oldest part of the fortifications is the east wall of the southern part of Mt Spas. Jakšić (1996: 5, 8) also agreed on the pre-tenth-century date and noted that a sixth-century cemetery was discovered at the foot of Mt Spas. Smiljanić (1984-1985: 120) did not believe any significant settlement existed before the tenth century.

[1377] Jakšić, 1996: 15-16. To the south-west of the old castle a smaller one, Lab, was built in the fourteenth century, while a civil settlement grew at its foot. To the north of the old castle was a cemetery with grave goods dating from the eleventh and thirteenth centuries; see also Ančić, 1996: 54.

complex (Fig. 208).[1378] Unfortunately, this failed to deter the Ottomans who captured the castle and the surrounding area in 1522, destroying a number of medieval churches.[1379] The next phase of building activity was undertaken after 1688 when Venice took Knin from the Turks and started extensive rebuilding of the fortifications of the castle complex;[1380] this included the settlement at the foot of the castle and the replacement of a mosque with the parish Church of St Jerome.[1381] This intervention continued through the eighteenth century and is visible today (Fig. 209).[1382]

In this process, both the Turkish and Venetian occupations represented a discontinuity in the urban and demographic development of Knin, and obscured its medieval topography,[1383] to the extent that the exact location of the churches mentioned in the written records, such as the Cathedral of the Croatian bishop, Knin Cathedral and the parish Church of St Stephen of Hungary, remain obscure.[1384]

When the diocese of Knin was established at the Synod in Split in 1185, the church selected as the seat of the bishop was the old monastic Church of St Bartholomew at Kapitul in the vicinity of Knin.[1385] Kapitul had been the site of a royal monastery, in existence in the tenth century when its church was furnished with an ambo inscribed with the name of Prince Stephen Držislav.[1386] After the end of the royal dynasty, the Hungarian kings donated the monastery and its possessions to the Archbishop of Split in 1158.[1387] As already described,[1388] the motive behind the desire of the Knin clergy to have their own bishop lay in the fact that the 'Croatian bishop' – *episcopus Chroatensis* – resided near Knin, in the Church of St Mary at Biskupija, from

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[1378] Jakšić, 1996: 26; 2000: 17.
[1379] Smiljanić, 1984-1985: 125; Jakšić, 1996: 26. Among them, the parish Church of St Stephen of Hungary and the early medival churches in the vicinity, on the sites of Kapitul, Uzdolje and Biskupija (Ibid. 10).
[1380] Jakšić, 1996: 28-29.
[1381] Ibid., 30; Jakšić, 2000: 27. This parish church was demolished in the early eighteenth century and a new parish church with the same dedication was built on the site of a smaller mosque. This coincided with the rebuilding of the castle fortifications. Ibid. 30.
[1382] Jakšić, 2000: 28.
[1383] Smiljanić, 1984-1985: 122.
[1384] Ibid. 125-127; Jakšić, 2000: 7, 9-11.
[1385] Jakšić, 1996: 20.
[1386] Ibid. 9.
[1387] Jakšić, 1988a: 124; *CD II:* 87.
[1388] See above, section 3.1.1.

the eleventh century onwards, until the Croatian crown passed to Hungary when, as was the case with the royal monastery at Kapitul, the national see was discontinued.[1389]

This situation has inspired many contradictory opinions in the scholarly discussions of Knin and its early sculptural remains. Although four figural fragments were found at Knin castle in the nineteenth century, only the relief with two superimposed figures inscribed with the word 'Stefaton' (K1, Fig. 210) has been sufficiently well preserved to be identified and analyzed.[1390] The second fragment is the small and poorly preserved piece which seemingly shows the lower part of a human figure (K2, Fig. 211).[1391]

Because two other carvings, joined at the line of fraction and depicting two figures placed above a single one, were also found at the castle in 1896, first Marun,[1392] and then Gunjača considered them stylistically similar to the Stephaton relief.[1393] However, Jakšić did not consider them part of the same monument due to the fact that neither their thickness nor their ornamental motifs conform to those of K1 and K2.[1394] Furthermore, the costumes worn by these figures, with their long collared undergarments and jacket-like overgarments, are difficult to parallel in the early medieval depictions of religious and secular figures alike, and they thus indicate a later date than that of K1.[1395]

4.4.1i. The Stephaton Fragment (K1)

The fragment bearing the inscription 'Stefaton' (Fig. 210) was first recorded by Evans in 1883 as having been built 'into a gateway on a public walk, a little below the old castle', although he read the inscription as 'Stefatom.'[1396] Based on this, and the object in the

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[1389] Jakšić, 1996: 20.
[1390] See cat. no. 5.
[1391] See cat. no. 6.
[1392] Marun's diary entries of 29 February 1896; 3 March 1896; 19 December 1899 (Petrinec, 1998: 66-67, 104). See also the reports in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 2, nos. 2-3 (1986: 125, 201), and Gunjača, 1960b: 118, n. 568; 125, n. 575.
[1393] Gunjača, 1960b: 125-128, reprinted in 2009: 170, 176. Marasović (2009: 513) also grouped them together.
[1394] Jakšić (1981: 27-33) excluded them from his discussion of K1 and K2. He confirmed in oral communication on 10 August 2010 that he did not consider them part of the same monument, suggesting they may have formed a pilaster rather than a door jamb.
[1395] Based on the costumes Gunjača (1960b: 119) concluded the carving was of a 'rustic Romanesque' nature.
[1396] Evans, 1883: 62.

figure's hand, which he identified as a sceptre, he suggested the figure might be identified as Tomislav (910-928), whose Christian name, as was the case with other 'Slavonic princes', might have been Stephanus.[1397] Evans thus implied the relief was of a tenth-century date.[1398] This theory was accepted by Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, the authors of an early guide to Split and Solin, who stated that the relief depicted two kings.[1399]

Radić, however, disputed Evans' dating and suggested an earlier, sixth- or seventh-century origin based on: the round modelling of the figures' bodies which he considered did not pre-date the sixth century; the presence of the figure-filled casettes which he regarded as characteristic of sixth- to eighth-century sculptures; the vegetal scroll which he thought was typical of 'Croato-Byzantine monuments' of the period between the seventh and eleventh centuries; and the epigraphic features of the letters 'O', 'A' and 'N', which he identified as customary between the sixth and eighth centuries.[1400]

A year later, he went on to dispute Evans' identification of the upper figure as Tomislav and suggested convincingly that, as the inscription reads 'Stefaton', it was more likely to refer to the sponge-bearer of the Crucifixion.[1401] The example he cited was the Crucifixion scene in the sixth-century Rabbula Gospels which features Stephaton and Longinus (spear-bearer);[1402] other examples included the mid eighth-century St Gall Gospels,[1403] and the tenth-century Codex Egberti in which only Stephaton is depicted and named.[1404] He thus proposed that the lower figure could also be identified: as Longinus.[1405] This identification, corroborated by the preserved inscription, has been widely accepted in the scholarship throughout the twentieth century.[1406]

[1397] Ibid. 63-64.
[1398] Ibid. 64.
[1399] Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894: 291.
[1400] Radić and Evans, 1895: 25.
[1401] Radić, 1895b: 85.
[1402] Ibid.
[1403] Ibid. St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51, fol. 266.
[1404] Ibid. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24, fol. 83v (Schiller, 1972, 2: Fig. 392).
[1405] Radić, 1895b: 85.
[1406] Gunjača, 1959: 133; 1960b: 123; Jakšić, 1981: 21; Delonga, 1990: 82; 1996: 106; Petricioli, 1990: 62; Jurković, 1992: 116-117; I. Fisković, 2002: 247; Zekan, 2007: 147.

The same cannot be said, however, for the date he proposed. More than fifty years later the relief came to the attention of Cvito Fisković and Gunjača, who viewed it as a product of the second half of the thirteenth century, based on comparisons with the Romanesque portal of Trogir Cathedral, carved by Master Radovan in 1240.[1407] Gunjača also noted that the relief had been recut at a later date and reused as a threshold.[1408]

As previously discussed, Jakšić ascribed the Stephaton relief, together with the stylistically similar damaged fragment and four pieces of architraves, all found at Knin castle, to the early Romanesque workshop from Knin, and in 1981 dated them to the late eleventh century.[1409] This was the workshop he considered also responsible for the carving of the Sustipan gable, which he attributed to the same Knin church, and the carving of the architraves and gables from the Church of St Mary at Biskupija (Figs 118, 121).[1410] Subsequently he allowed an early twelfth-century date,[1411] and, as with the Sustipan gable, his dating has prevailed in the scholarship.[1412]

As far as the function of the Knin monument is concerned, this was determined by Gunjača who disagreed with Radić's hypothesis that it was a pilaster, and argued that the relief had originally formed part of the right-hand door jamb of a church portal.[1413] His thesis was accepted by Jakšić and, since it offers a logical explanation consistent with its two-faced decoration and preserved holes, can be accepted without reservation.

More speculative has been the search for the original architectural setting of this door jamb. As mentioned, the castle and the structures at its foot experienced numerous phases of destruction and reconstruction between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, making it difficult to propose a provenance for the early medieval reliefs. Gunjača attributed them to Knin Cathedral, first recorded in the thirteenth century, and dated them to around 1272-1274.[1414] Jakšić initially agreed that the church in question

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[1407] C. Fisković (1951: 27) did not mention the relief itself, referring only to the Romanesque portal of the cathedral at Knin. Gunjača (1959: 135; 1960b: 124) then associated the Stephaton relief with Knin cathedral which he dated to the thirteenth century.
[1408] Gunjača, 1959: 132; 1960b: 122.
[1409] Jakšić, 1981: 33.
[1410] Ibid. 30-31.
[1411] Jakšić, 2000: 24.
[1412] Delonga, 1996b: 106; Jurković, 1992: 114; Marasović, 1996: 26; 2009: 514-515; Belamarić, 1996: 360; 1997: 45.
[1413] Gunjača, 1959: 134.
[1414] Ibid. 135; Gunjača, 1960b: 124.

might have been Knin Cathedral, but he apparently confused this with the Cathedral of the Croatian bishop, which was established in 1076-1078 and located at Biskupija near Knin; he thus opted for this date as the time of the dedication of Knin Cathedral and not the thirteenth century as Gunjača had suggested.[1415] Several years later, however, following his research on the topography of Knin, Jakšić corrected himself and separated the eleventh-century Croatian Cathedral of St Mary at Biskupija, from the thirteenth-century Cathedral of St Bartholomew at Knin, established on the site of the former Benedictine monastery at Kapitul.[1416]

This presented a problem for the provenance of the castle reliefs because the proposed eleventh-century date could no longer be connected with the Cathedral built in the 1270s, nor with the Croatian Cathedral at Biskupija built in the 1070s, which was already provided with architraves and three gables from the same early Romanesque workshop identified by Jakšić.[1417] He thus attempted to solve the problem by attributing the castle reliefs and the Sustipan gable to the parish Church of St Stephen of Hungary, first mentioned in the fifteenth century.[1418] Since this saint was canonized in 1083 by Pope Gregory VII, and since a Hungarian titular saint could only be expected to appear during or after the reign of King Zvonimir (1076-1089), due to his strong family connections with the Hungarian kings, Jakšić moved the date proposed for the reliefs accordingly to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[1419] The Church of St Stephen of Hungary has not been archaeologically confirmed but its location has been identified with the site of the sixteenth-century mosque and the parish Church of St Jerome, constructed by the Venetians in the seventeenth century and demolished in the eighteenth.[1420] The results of Jakšić's research have been supported by the epigraphic analyses of Delonga who further fully accepted his arguments concerning the date and provenance of the piece.[1421]

Nevertheless, others have identified later moments when this Hungarian saint could have been selected as the dedicatory patron in Knin: Ančić proposed the church

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[1415] Jakšić, 1981: 32.
[1416] Jakšić, 1988a: 132. Accepted by Ančić (1996: 72, 81).
[1417] Jakšić, 1981: 30.
[1418] Jakšić, 1990: 128; 2000: 23.
[1419] Ibid.
[1420] Smiljanić, 1984-1985: 127, n. 61; Jakšić, 1990: 128; 2000: 26-28.
[1421] Delonga, 1996b: 103, 106.

may have been built in the 1180s, linking it with the appearance of the new *ban* (lat. *banus*) of Croatia and Dalmatia, Dionisius;[1422] and Sekelj Ivančan has recently conducted an analysis of the church dedications to St Stephen of Hungary throughout Croatia and concluded that they reflected a tendency of the Hungarian kings to spread the sphere of 'cultural politics' towards Croatia between 1217 and 1270.[1423] Thus a thirteenth-century date was applied to the parish church at Knin.

4.4.1ii. The Damaged Fragment (K2)

According to Gunjača and Jakšić, this extremely damaged fragment (Fig. 211) was found reused in the wall of the old 'military hospital' in Knin Castle in 1899.[1424] However, the actual field report only mentions that a fragment belonging to the same pilaster as the Stephaton fragment (K1) had been found in that location.[1425] Since this fragment was neither described nor photographed at the time, its association with the damaged fragment published by Gunjača and Jakšić (K2), is based on the *argumentatio per exclusionem*.

Its weathered condition also meant that it has appeared only twice after the initial publication. Gunjača compared the decorative border to the one on the Stephaton relief, considering them similar, but did not discern any figural decoration and argued, on the basis of the oblique underside, that it was part of an arch.[1426] Jakšić, on the other hand, perceiving the stylistic similarities, argued that the damaged piece belonged to the same door jamb as the Stephaton fragment (K1), and more precisely, to its lower end.[1427] He dated it to the late eleventh and early twelfth century.[1428]

The damaged fragment does possess a decorative border similar to that on K1, as well as the carving on two adjoining faces, which supports Gunjača's and Jakšić's attribution of K2 to the same portal. However, due to the degree of damage, the figural decoration is unrecognizable and further analysis is impossible without Bakulić's

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[1422] Ančić, 1996: 61.
[1423] Sekelj Ivančan, 2008: 116.
[1424] Gunjača, 1960b: 125, n. 574; 2009: 175-176, n. 659; Jakšić, 1981: 28, n. 7.
[1425] 'Izvještaj', 1900: 49.
[1426] Gunjača, 1960b: 125.
[1427] Jakšić, 1981: 28.
[1428] Ibid. 32; 2000: 24.

reconstruction drawing which Jakšić published (Fig. 212).[1429] This shows the lower part of the body and feet in a position typical of a kneeling posture, while the visible decorative border, consisting of a vegetal scroll, implies that it is not likely the piece belonged to the same jamb as the Stephaton fragment, which has a decorative border filled with triangular leaves. Since the damage to the face decorated with a barely visible figure is considerable, fragment K2 will not be discussed further.

4.4.2. RECONSIDERING THE ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES OF K1: The Stephaton Fragment

As demonstrated, the identification of the upper figure as Stephaton can be accepted with some certainty. This is the name which, in the western tradition, was given to the sponge-bearer at the Crucifixion.[1430] He is not mentioned in the apocrypha and it is unknown exactly when he was given this name.[1431] It is only first recorded in an eighth-century inscription on the partially preserved Crucifixion scene from a golden reliquary in the treasury of St Foy at Conques (Fig. 213),[1432] followed by the late ninth-century or early tenth-century Crucifixion scene in a Gospel book from Brittany, now at Angers (Fig. 214).[1433] Unnamed, of course, he is mentioned in all four Gospels: Matthew (27: 48) and Mark (15: 36) describe in nearly identical words how, following Christ's cry to God, one of those present ran to wet a sponge with vinegar, put it on top of a stick and lifted it to Christ. Luke (23: 36) mentions only the soldiers who were mocking Christ and offering him vinegar, while John (19: 29) reduced the event to the general statement that 'they' soaked a sponge in a jar of vinegar, put it on the hyssop plant and lifted it to Christ. Thus, only Luke identifies the sponge-bearer as a Roman soldier.

The earliest depiction of the figure dates to the sixth-century, in the Rabbula Gospels, and in the early seventh-century *Sancta Sanctorum* reliquary box in Rome,

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[1429] Jakšić, 1981: 28, Fig. 2.
[1430] In the eastern tradition his name was Esopos (Manning Metzger, 1980: 44).
[1431] Schiller, 1972, 2: 89.
[1432] Lasko, 1994: 7; Hubert, Porcher and Volbach, 1969: 364.
[1433] Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. No. 24, fol. 7v (Schiller, 1972, 2: Fig. 390). For most recent analysis see B. Kitzinger: http://www.christonthecross.org/abstracts.html#kitzinger (accessed 23 December 2010).

produced in Palestine (Figs 215-216).[1434] In both instances, he is accompanied by a soldier with the lance who pierced Christ's side and whose name, Longinus, is inscribed next to him in the Rabbula Gospels. Unlike the sponge-bearer, Longinus was named in the apocryphal account of the Crucifixion in the Acts of Pilate, the dating of which varies from the second to the fourth century.[1435] In the Gospel accounts, on the other hand, the Roman soldier who pierced Christ's side is mentioned only by John (19: 34), while the synoptic evangelists Matthew (27: 54) and Mark (15: 39) narrate how a Roman centurion acknowledged Christ as the Son of God the moment after he had expired; Luke (23: 47) reports only that the soldier praised Christ as a 'just man.' Nevertheless, these two figures merged into one, named Longinus, and he began to be perceived as a convert.[1436]

Thus, while the sponge-bearer remains anonymous, not only in the sixth-century versions of the Crucifixion, but also in the eighth-century frescoes in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, Longinus is clearly identified (Fig. 217).[1437] Nevertheless, such 'naming', even for Longinus, was not common in scenes of the Crucifixion, and instances of both Stephaton and Longinus being identified, as on the eighth-century golden plaque from Conques, remain highly unusual and rare in the early middle ages. A unique example can be found in the late tenth-century Codex Egberti where the named Stephaton appears without Longinus (Fig. 218).[1438] Thus, it can be deduced that the earliest examples of Stephaton's 'name tag' originated in the early Carolingian minor arts and was subsequently adopted by Ottonian artists.

Regardless of such considerations, it seems highly likely that, as Radić argued, the lower figure on the fragment from Knin represents Longinus,[1439] since these two figures were almost always, with the notable exception of the Codex Egberti, depicted together in the Crucifixion scenes. As Gunjača noted, his lance has two lateral

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[1434] The image on the inside of the reliquary lid (Schiller, 1972, 2: 91, Fig. 329). The choice to depict Longinus and the sponge bearer beneath the cross seems to have originated in Syria. The scheme was popular in Irish early Christian crucifixions (Herren and Brown, 2002: 251). Schiller (1972, 2: 91) denoted the scheme as eastern and originating from Constantinople.
[1435] Klauck, 2003: 91; Schiller, 1972, 2: 13, 89; *Acts of Pilate* 16: http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/anf08.vii.xv.xvii.html (accessed 24 August 2010).
[1436] Herren and Brown, 2002: 251-252.
[1437] Schiller, 1972, 2: 94, Fig. 328; Romanelli and Nordhagen, 1964: Pl. 32-37.
[1438] Schiller, 1972, 2: Fig. 392.
[1439] Radić, 1895b: 85.

feathers,[1440] or bars, a detail similar to that on the plaque from Conques (Fig. 213). Furthermore, Stephaton's attributes in these scenes, visible on the relief from Knin, are the staff with a sponge and a vessel.[1441] Indeed, similar staffs were depicted on the eleventh-century Farfa casket (Fig. 220),[1442] while Stephaton holding a vessel in his left hand can be seen on the early tenth-century ivory at Berlin (Fig. 219).[1443]

On the relief from Knin, Longinus' facial features differ from those of Stephaton in that he is clean-shaven and his hair has a Roman-style fringe, while the latter has a pointed beard and parted hair which leaves his forehead exposed. In the Rabbula Gospels (Fig. 215) the two were already depicted differently – Longinus having a short soldier's tunic, sword and sandals and Stephaton with a longer beard and a long tunic – the same distinctions can be seen on the lid of the *Sancta Sanctorum* reliquary (Fig. 216). For Schiller, followed by Chazelle, these distinctions allowed Stephaton to be identified as a Jew.[1444]

In later examples, however, the distinction in the facial features and costumes between the two figures became less notable. In the eighth-century fresco in Sta Maria Antiqua (Fig. 217) Stephaton still wears a long beard, but both figures wear short tunics, while in the ninth century he is sometimes depicted as clean-shaven, as in the frescoes at Cimitile and Trier; this is a characteristic repeated in the tenth century in the Codex Egberti (Fig. 218).[1445]

These examples indicate that the iconography of Longinus and his name were established early and depended on the textual sources, while the sponge-bearer could be depicted as either a Jewish civilian or a Roman soldier, and that his name appeared considerably later in the context of Carolingian and Ottonian art.

4.4.3. ICONOGRAPHIC SIGNIFICANCE OF K1: The Stephaton Fragment

By the fourth century Longinus was venerated as a saint and understood to have been the first Bishop of Caesarea; his feast day appears in the late fifth- or sixth-century

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[1440] Ibid.
[1441] Ibid.
[1442] Bergman, 1980: 129, Fig. 154.
[1443] Bode Museum (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: Pl. 73, Fig. 161e).
[1444] Schiller, 1972, 2: 92; Martin Chazelle, 2001: 275.
[1445] Schiller, 1972, 2: Figs 345, 347, 392.

Martyrologium Hieronymianum.[1446] Stephaton, on the other hand, lacking any tradition of his conversion, came to be 'a representative of the unbeliever.'[1447] Indeed, Chazelle, discussing Stephaton on the ninth-century ivory Crucifixion on the cover of Pericopes of Henry II, pointed out that his vessel had become a 'symbol of human wickedness' for Carolingian theologians such as Radbertus and Rabanus Maurus.[1448]

For Radbertus, for example, the sponge was the cup of death from which Christ absorbed all the vices passed on to him in baptism and penance, so that they can be annulled on the cross and death absorbed into victory.[1449] Going a step further, like Rabanus, he associated the bringing of the sponge and vinegar with unbelievers and Jews in particular. The vinegar was thus a symbol of the corruption through sin, in the same way as the new wine was a symbol of the honour of immortality. For Radbertus the Jews and unbelievers, through their lack of faith, continually give Christ the vinegar of unfaithfulness and the gall of vice.[1450] For Rabanus the Jews signified the vinegar, being degenerate from the 'wine of patriarchs and prophets', filling the cup full of their iniquities, and 'having a heart as cavernous as a sponge'.[1451] In this he drew on Psalm 69: 21 ('for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink'),[1452] and Psalm 51: 7 ('purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean'),[1453] contrasting the cruelty of the offer of vinegar (Jews) with the healing properties of the hyssop (the humble Christ).[1454]

This overt antisemitism in the works of the Carolingian theologians can be traced back to the early Church Fathers, with Rabanus repeating Augustine's Commentary on John almost verbatim.[1455] Elsewhere, in his sermons, Augustine explained Christ's request to have his thirst quenched as a request for faith; because they rejected him by

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[1446] Walter, 2003: 226. Confirmed by Gregory of Nyssa in Letter 17.17: 166.
[1447] Herren and Brown, 2002: 253.
[1448] Chazelle, 2007: 152,
[1449] Martin Chazelle, 2001: 276. Radbertus, *Expos. Matt.* 23: 1366 ; 1387-90.
[1450] Ibid.
[1451] Rabanus, *Expos. Matt.* 8: 756. 'Judaei quippe ipsi erant acetum, degenerantes a vino patriarcharum et prophetarum (...) cor habentes velut spongiam cavernosis quodammodo atque tortuosis latibulis fraudulentum.'
[1452] 'Et in siti potaverunt me aceto'
[1453] 'Asperges me hyssopo et mundabor'
[1454] *Expos. Matt.* 8: 756.
[1455] *Iohan. tract.* 119.4: 659-660. 'Sitio, inquit: tanquam diceret, Hoc minus fecistis, date quod estis. Judaei quippe ipsi erant acetum, degenerantes a vino Patriarcharum et Prophetarum; et tanquam de pleno vase, de iniquitate mundi hujus impleti, cor habentes velut spongiam, cavernosis quodammodo atque tortuosis latibulis fraudulentum. Hyssopum autem cui circumposuerunt spongiam aceto plenam, quoniam herba est humilis, et pectus purgat, ipsius Christi humilitatem congruenter accipimus.'

offering him vinegar (as in Psalm 69: 21), Augustine invoked John 1: 11, 'he came to his own, and his own did not *receive him*', to associate the Jews with the unfaithful/unbelievers.[1456] Rather, as Augustine put it, 'his own' gave him the vinegar of treachery in a sponge which he describes as 'full of cavernous traps'.[1457] Nevertheless, he concluded, since among 'that nation' were also those of a humble nature who did penance, symbolized by the hyssop, redemption was possible.[1458]

Jerome, quoting Psalm 69: 21 as a prefiguration of the wickedness of the unbelievers and Jews, also worked in this tradition,[1459] as did Ambrose, although he did so not to castigate the Jews, but to emphasize the contrast between the bitterness of sin and Christ's purity; according to him the vinegar denoted original sin which had corrupted Adam, was inherited by humans, and then redeemed by baptism and Christ's sacrifice.[1460]

So commonplace was the association of the sponge soaked in vinegar with unfaithfulness and treachery, that Psalm 69: 21 was illustrated in the ninth-century post-iconoclastic Khludov Psalter by the figure of Stephaton standing with the vessel before the crucified Christ; next to him are the iconoclasts with an identical container, whitewashing an icon.[1461]

These symbolic definitions separate Stephaton and Longinus, the two figures featured so commonly in Crucifixion scenes, into personifications of Good and Evil, to the extent that they resonated with the same binary scheme applied to the two thieves crucified with Christ: the good one being Dismas, who acknowledged Christ as God, and the bad one Gestas, who mocked him.[1462] Thus Stephaton, the unconverted, offers Christ the sponge with the vinegar as a symbol of sins for which he sacrificed himself; while Longinus symbolized the converted Gentile, a sign of the future to come, when

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[1456] 'In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt', *Sermo* 218.11: 367.
[1457] Ibid. 'Vere spongiae comparandi, non solidi, sed tumidi; non recto confessionis aditu aperti, sed insidiarum tortuosis anfractibus cavernosi'.
[1458] Ibid. 'Erant quippe in illo populo, quibus hoc facinus ad humiliandam poenitendo animam post abjiciendo servabatur.'
[1459] *Comm. Matt.* 4: 270-217.
[1460] *Expos. Luc.* 10.124: 380.
[1461] Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. 129, fol. 67r (Chazelle, 2007: Fig. 25, 275; Corrigan, 1990: 30).
[1462] Schiller, 1972, 2: 13-14, 89, 93.

Christ's crucifixion would be preached to all nations and result in the conversion of the Gentiles.

Another level of interpretation was offered by Schiller who stated that the two figures can be understood as the means of emphasizing the dual nature of Christ: Stephaton responded to the thirst Christ felt as a man, while Longinus pierced the dead 'man's' side, and the wound coming to be 'the eternal source of life.'[1463] Schiller explained the symbolic significance of Longinus' action as referring to Christ's divinity by invoking Augustine's argument that the blood and water which poured out of Christ's wound were interpreted as the 'gate of life' since the spilling of Christ's blood enabled the forgiveness of sins and the water symbolized the sacrament of baptism.[1464] The piercing of Christ as denoting his divinity also stems from the connection with the messianic prophecy of Zechariah 12: 10 ('I will pour upon the house of David…the spirit of grace…and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son'), and also with the Second Coming described in Revelation 1: 7: 'Behold, he cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him.'[1465]

Bearing in mind the fact that at Knin the two figures were placed vertically, one above the other, and that they decorated a door jamb, it is obvious that they were not depicted interacting with the crucified Christ as is usually the case, and therefore more emphasis must have been placed on Stephaton and Longinus as individual figures rather than as agents of particular actions. For this reason the symbolic distinction between Longinus as the convert and Stephaton as the Jew seems a more probable explanation. Although the figure identified as Stephaton gave Christ something to drink, it was vinegar, not water, and he was reported by Mark (15: 36) and Luke (23: 36-37) as mocking Christ rather than sympathizing with his thirst.

[1463] Ibid. 94.

[1464] Ibid. 93. Augustine, *Iohan. tract.* 120.2: 661.

[1465] Ibid. Zechariah 12, 10: 'et effundam super domum David et super habitatores Hierusalem spiritum gratiae et precum et aspicient ad me quem confixerunt et plangent eum planctu quasi super unigenitum et dolebunt super eum ut doleri solet in morte primogeniti' and Revelation 1, 7: 'ecce venit cum nubibus et videbit eum omnis oculus et qui eum pupugerunt.'

4.4.4. SUMMARY

As argued by Gunjača, the Stephaton fragment formed part of a door jamb decorated with the scenes from the end of Christ's life.[1466] Whether or not the entire portal was concerned with the Crucifixion or with other Christological scenes, is difficult to ascertain in the absence of other identifiable figural fragments. Jakšić added to it the damaged fragment K2 where he managed to recognize the outline of kneeling figure, claiming that it had originally formed the lower end of the same jamb.[1467] If this fragment had contained a figure, like those of Stephaton and Longinus on K1, then it too would have been isolated within the frame the traces of which have been preserved. Thus, despite the damaged nature of K2, it is likely that it too had belonged to the same historiated portal, framing the main entrance to an unknown church at Knin. The Crucifixion story, which may have been displayed in some or all of the portal carvings, illustrated the choice between Good and Evil in the human condition, as well as the message of redemption related to Christ's sacrifice on the cross, as elements recognizable in the symbolical significance of the Stephaton fragment.

Whatever the identity of the church invoked, the interior of the church accessed through this portal was clearly elaborately articulated with carved sculptures, being the original setting not only of a number of non-figural pieces from the site, but also of the Sustipan chancel screen gable. Four inscribed architrave fragments found at the Castle have been attributed to the same chancel screen based on perceived stylistic similarities, such as the carving of the vegetal scroll and cymation between them, the Sustipan gable and the Knin fragments K1 and K2.[1468] Three of these were found by Marun between 1904 and 1909: Fragment 1, inscribed with +HEC DOMUS HEC AULA (Fig. 222); Fragment 2, bearing the inscription +HAN/PA arranged in two rows, which was immediately grouped with Stephaton; and a marble Fragment 3, with a similarly

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[1466] Gunjača, 1959: 135.
[1467] Jakšić, 1981: 28; Gunjača, 1960b: 125.
[1468] Gunjača, 1960b: 126-128; Jakšić, 1981: 28-29.

arranged inscription VICTIS/TINEV (Fig. 222).[1469] Fragment 4, inscribed with SMAT, was only discovered in 1947.[1470]

It is clear that these fragments differ in material and in decoration: Fragments 1 and 3 share the same lower cymation border and the scroll in the upper moulding but not the layout of the inscription (Fig. 222), while Fragments 2 and 4 have in common the leaves in the lower border and palmettes in the upper horizontal border (Fig. 221). Equally, the first letter on Fragments 1 and 2 is preceded by a cross, which indicates the opening of the inscriptions,[1471] implying that all four fragments could not have formed part of the same chancel screen.

The existence of the vegetal scroll and cymation on Fragments 1 and 3, together with the lack of palmette and hooks as on Fragment 4, does nevertheless connect them to K1 and K2. A plausible explanation might thus be that the inscribed Fragments 1 and 3, referring to the 'hec domus, hec aula' and Knin (indicated by the fragmentary Latin name for Knin – 'Tineu...'), originally formed part of the historiated portal (Fig. 222). Fragment 1 which bears the beginning of the inscription running in a single row may have belonged to the lintel surmounting the central portal to the church, while Fragment 3 with its identical decoration and inscription split into two rows could have been part of one of the lintels over the side doors leading to the aisles.

Fragments 2 and 4, on the other hand, may have originally formed a chancel screen architrave, not necessarily from the same church since they are not consistent with the Sustipan gable which, judging from the decorative borders along its edges, had uninscribed architraves consisting of three superimposed strips: the vegetal scroll at the top, the garland in the middle, and the cymation at the bottom (Fig. 221).

[1469] Fragment 1 was found in 1904; Fragment 2 in 1906; Fragment 3 in 1909, see Marun's diary entries for 5 January 1904; 5 October 1906; 21 September 1909 (Petrinec, 1998: 129, 146, 184-185). Also, Gunjača, 1960b: 126-128, ns 578-580, Pl. 23, no. 19; Pl. 24, no. 20.

[1470] It was found by I. Jelovina in the wall of the former museum situated in Knin castle (Gunjača, 1960b: 128-129, n. 581, Pl. 24, no. 21).

[1471] Gunjača, 1960b: 127.

PART 5: THE FRAGMENT FROM NIN

4.5.1. INTRODUCTION

The last sculpture to be addressed here is the fragment with the seated saint from Nin (Fig. 223).[1472] Although it cannot be extensively analysed to provide a meaningful and conclusive interpretation, it deserves mention primarily because of its alleged connection with the St Lawrence sculptures from Zadar. As such it was even argued that it had actually been found in Zadar,[1473] although the inventory of the Archaeological Museum there recorded that the Russian architect, Teodor Čalginj, found it in Nin and brought it from there to the Museum in 1883.[1474] Since Čalginj spent considerable time in Zadar, taking part in the important archaeological excavations of that time, and often corresponded with Eitelberger who included his information in the second edition of his book;[1475] it is unlikely that he would have mistaken the find site of the fragment in Nin, if this was not the case.

The fragment in question is part of the right end of a panel, judging from the original vertical decorative strip marking the end of the decorated field and the tenon for the insertion into the adjoining pilaster or wall. The preserved decoration consists of a dome-like structure below which is a figure identifiable as female because of the long hair, veil and a double-rimmed nimbus. She is depicted on a piece of furniture which consists of one visible leg, a base rendered in perspective, and back. Her posture with the curved back, and the angle formed by the back and lower half of the body, are consistent with a reclining position. She is swathed in drapery arranged in circular pleats over her chest leaving neither her arms nor hands are visible. On the basis of the characteristics of the item on which she is depicted, the position of her body and the fact that she is under a cover, it seems logical to assume she is depicted reclining in a bed rendered in a three-quarter profile.

The fragment was first published by Smirich in 1894, but it did not attract any interest until 1954 when Prijatelj referenced Petricioli for ascribing it to the screen panel

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[1472] See cat. no. 9.
[1473] Petricioli, 1955: 75; 1960: 43.
[1474] Unfortunately, it does not record precisely where or how it was uncovered there (Smirich, 1894: 19).
[1475] Eitelberger, 1884: 32, 135-136, 167.

from St Lawrence's at Zadar.[1476] Prijatelj identified it as the seated Virgin and, relying on Petricioli, suggested that she may have been depicted as receiving gifts in a scene of the Adoration of the Magi.[1477] Following Šeper's dating of the St Lawrence panel to the eighth or ninth century, Prijatelj applied the same date to the fragment from Nin.[1478]

When Petricioli published his paper, he clarified how he connected the fragment with the St Lawrence panel by perceiving stylistic similarities between the seated saint and the seated woman bathing the Christ Child on that panel.[1479] On this basis, he also expressed his doubt that the fragment came from Nin.[1480] He believed that the same hand had carved the Nin figure and the panel from Zadar.[1481]

As with other eleventh-century sculptures, the impact of Petricioli's judgements has been overwhelming. In 2008, Jakšić discussed the fragment in the same words as Petricioli, accepting his identification of the figure as the Virgin seated on a throne while holding the Child, in the scene of the Adoration of the Magi which may have been on the second, lost panel from St Lawrence's.[1482] Marasović, on the other hand, agreed that Adoration could have been on the second panel but did not ascribe the seated figure to it, nor did he identify her as the Virgin.[1483] Nonetheless, he also accepted that the fragment was part of the second panel from St Lawrence's, without mentioning the Nin connection.[1484]

4.5.2. DISCUSSION

Although the figure has been repeatedly described as Mary from an Adoration of the Magi, the visual sources do not corroborate this interpretation, which is supported only by the hypothesis that such a scene may well have been depicted on the second panel in the Church of St Lawrence.[1485] First, the identification of the object on which the figure is depicted as a throne cannot be sufficiently proven because the length and curvature of

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[1476] Smirich, 1894: 19. Prijatelj, 1954: 83; see above, section 2.2iii.
[1477] Ibid.
[1478] Ibid.
[1479] Petricioli, 1955: 75; 1960: 43-44.
[1480] Ibid.
[1481] Petricioli, 1967: 163.
[1482] Jakšić, 2008: 35, 150.
[1483] Marasović, 2009: 352.
[1484] Ibid.
[1485] See above, section 2.2iii and 2.3.3iv.

the figure's back are not consistent with the position of a figure seated on a throne with a high back, flat seat and presumably, four legs. The back of a seated figure would be longer and more upright in relation to the back of the seat. As a comparison, the seated figures on the St Lawrence panel and *transenna* from Biskupija (Figs 100, 127), are depicted either in full profile or strictly frontally and not in a three-quarter view, while their clothes are depicted without pleat-like folds.

Moreover, even if the object on which the figure is sitting is a throne, the body is entirely draped, leaving no hands free to support a child; nor are there any visible traces of the Child on her lap, as would have been the case, had it been an Adoration. In all Adoration scenes, from any period, the Virgin is depicted with her arms and hands clearly visible and directed toward or supporting the Christ Child on her lap. It is thus extremely difficult to sustain the interpretation that the fragment from Nin was originally part of such a scene.

As for the identification of the female figure thus swathed and reclining in bed, it could be suggested that she is the Virgin since Mary was sometimes shown resting on a bed after giving birth in the scenes of the Nativity, such as on the tenth-century ivory casket at Braunschweig (Fig. 224).[1486] Other scenes in which the Virgin is depicted lying or reclining on a bed are those of her Dormition (Koimesis), which first started to appear in post-iconoclastic Byzantine art,[1487] and in the late eighth- and ninth-century Rome.[1488] However, unlike the figure from Nin, the Virgin in Byzantine examples is always shown already dead, with her eyes closed and her arms either at her side or on her chest (Fig. 225).[1489] Some similarities between the Nin figure and the Dormition Virgin can nevertheless be found in the western examples of this scene: in the tenth-century Benedictional of Æthewold, for instance, where she is depicted with open eyes, sitting on the bed and gesticulating with her hands towards two veiled and grieving women at her side (Fig. 227).[1490] However, Dormitions with the living Virgin remained

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[1486] Also on the eleventh-century portable altar and the early twelfth-century ivory plaque, both in Munich (Goldschmidt, 1969, 1: 52-53, Pl. 45c; 1970, 2: 47, 50 and Pls 44, 47).

[1487] Especially in the tenth-century Constantinopolitan ivories; also in contemporary frescoes at Ateni, Georgia (Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 333).

[1488] Recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Ibid. 335).

[1489] Ibid.

[1490] London, British Library, Additional MS 49598, fol. 102v (Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 335; Deshman, 1995: Pl. 34).

extremely rare and other western examples, from eleventh-century Spain, Italy and Ottonian Germany, conform to the Byzantine type (Fig. 226).[1491]

The only other scene in which the Virgin could be depicted alive and reclining in bed is that of the Annunciation of her death by Christ, such as in the ninth-century fresco in the Church of Santa Maria Egiziaca in Rome, where she is rendered in three-quarter profile with her eyes open, and fully covered except for her hand turned to her left in the direction of Christ (Fig. 228).[1492]

Judging from the fact that the figure from Nin would only have had her right hand free in the original scene, the Dormition with the gesticulating Virgin seems a highly unlikely visual source. This would leave the scene of the Annunciation of the Virgin's Death as a possible option, if indeed the Nin figure is that of the Virgin. However, this particular scene was also infrequent before the twelfth century, and due to the fragmentary nature of the Nin carving and the lack of any context make it is extremely difficult to argue that it may have been the original identity of the reclining figure from Nin.

PART 6: CONCLUSIONS

Study of the sculptures without a context supports a number of existing hypotheses, such as the connection between the panel from Split Baptistery and the fragments from SS Peter and Moses at Solin, which constitutes the likeliest place of provenance for the panel. It also corroborates the explanation of the Rab panel as a high-quality imported work, and that the Sustipan gable and the jamb from Knin may well have been part of the same eleventh-century church in Knin.

However, the results of this analysis also challenge several preconceptions about the sculptures and their proposed architectural settings. There is, for example, no evidence that the sculptures from Knin stood in the Church of St Stephen of Hungary, or that the fragment with the seated saint, recorded as having been found at Nin, belonged to the Church of St Lawrence at Zadar. Equally, the claims that the architraves 2 and 4

[1491] For example the Bible from Ripoll (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, vat. lat. 5729), the Warmundus Sacramentary from Ivrea (Biblioteca Capitolare, Cod. 86) and the Pericopes of Henry II from Reichenau (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4452) in Kirschbaum, 1972, 4: 335, Fig. 2.
[1492] Schiller, 1980, 4/2: 92, 124, Fig. 657.

found at Knin formed part of the same decorative ensemble, which have rested solely on stylistic similarities, cannot be sustained. The same can be said of the Nin figure who cannot be identified as the Virgin in an Adoration of the Magi.

Instead, this study allows for a new hypothesis to be proposed for these sculptures. For instance, the themes of the salvation and Christ's universal rule, which underlie the Crucifixion and Ascension scenes on the portal and the gable from a church in Knin, might imply that the church in question was that of the Holy Saviour on Mt Spas, the existence of which was argued by Gunjača and ascribed to the ninth century.[1493] Early medieval cemeteries were discovered on Mt Spas and the place name itself certainly originated in the dedication to Christ the Saviour (in Croatian Sv. Spasitelj, hence Spas). Furthermore, the jamb fragments with Stephaton as well as the architraves were discovered as *spolia* in the walls of the Castle which occupies the same mountain.

The present condition of the Sustipan gable also shows that it was shortened to include only the central triangular field. This implies that the image had acquired special meaning so that after the chancel screen was dismantled, the gable was preserved and venerated as an icon. In this state it was considered so important that refugees fleeing from Turkish Knin brought it with them to Split.

On the other hand, the panel from Split Baptistery had lost its importance with the passage of time and when it came to be re-used in the font, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, it was not deemed sufficiently important to be placed at the front of the baptismal pool (originally the setting of the pentagram panel). By that time, the inscription and the object held by the standing figure had been removed and the image of a seated ruler had ceased to hold any recognized meaning. The erasure of these details is highly significant as it reveals that at a certain point in time this scene was deemed inappropriate. As Igor Fisković suggested, it is plausible that this occurred soon after the chancel screen with this panel was installed in its architectural setting. The written sources confirm that the Church of SS Peter and Moses, the likeliest candidate for the

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[1493] Alberghetti's 1888 map shows an unnamed church on Mt Spas, considered in the scholarship to refer to the remains of Holy Saviour. Nothing remains from this structure today but a number of sculpted fragments found on the site have been dated to the ninth century, and Jelovina (1991: 121-242) excavated a contemporary necropolis covering the area of 1200m². See also Živković, 1993: 96-101; Delonga, 1996b: 102; Marasović, 2009: 138.

original setting, existed before Zvonimir was crowned there in 1076, which places it within the reign of Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075), the very king whom Igor Fisković identified on the Split panel.

Indeed, the two kings were not members of the same dynasty and there is disagreement among the historians whether Zvonimir usurped the throne. One of the arguments for this theory has been the fact, mentioned in the sources, that Zvonimir donated the Church of St Mary or Stephen, the burial place of Croatian kings, on the site of Otok at Solin to the Archbishop of Split, an action interpreted as a consequence of his disregard for the old dynasty. Whether this was so, the fact remains that Zvonimir would not have wanted his coronation to take place in the church where the chancel screen featured his predecessor as the embodiment of royal and Christian justice surrounded by the symbols of that role, such as the pentagram and the Moses scene.

The panel from Split is the only sculpture with secular subject-matter in this group. However, bearing in mind that it had been part of a chancel screen with other figural and non-figural panels (as suggested by Dyggve), and that the screen had a panel with the figure of Moses, the overall context of the screen would not have been purely secular. The seated ruler is a vicar of Christ whose ideological, if not actual, aspirations were to be perceived as a *typus Christi*. Christ himself is the ultimate just ruler with universal power over all, and these themes are also expressed by the image of Christ *Basileus* on the Rab panel, and the Ascension on the Sustipan gable.

While the carvings from the Split Baptistery and Sustipan belong to chancel screens of important churches all of which seem to be from Croatian royal towns (Solin and Knin), the function of other sculpures in this group is different. The jamb fragment from Knin belongs to architectural decoration as part of a church portal. As such it could not pre-date the late eleventh century which is the time when the earliest historiated portals of the early Romanesque begin to appear. On the other hand, the original position of the Rab *Basileus* is not known. As a marble icon it could not have been moveable and processional, and must have had a fixed position inside Rab Cathedral. Its place in the iconographic developments of the tenth to twelfth centuries ascribes it to the second half of the eleventh century.

These findings show that all of these figural sculptures can be linked to important churches in the eleventh-century kingdom of Croatia, such as the coronation basilica or a large abbey church. Furthermore, the loss of Rab, which passed into Venetian hands, is reflected in the importation of an icon of strongly Byzantine flavour, which announced the end of an artistic development following the union with Hungary in 1102.

CONCLUSION

This study represents the first systematic investigation of the eleventh-century figural sculptures from Croatia. The existing scholarship on these carvings, from the nineteenth century to date, has been limited by its exclusive emphasis on stylistic analysis. This project has addressed this gap in knowledge by contextualizing the figural sculptures in their immediate circumstances of production, enabled by analysis of visual sources and iconographic significances. As such, it has given these sculptures a place in more modern interpretative trends in the discipline of history of art.

It is important to bear in mind that the majority of eleventh-century Croatian sculpture was still non-figural and that interlace, scrolls and animal motifs continued to predominate in the decoration of the chancel screens and *ciboria* in most churches, even in the Cathedrals at Split and Zadar. In fact, only six or seven churches were decorated with figural reliefs, indicating that their patrons clearly wanted an out-of-the-ordinary decorative project. Another important point to register is that some of these carvings had originally been painted, as is evident from the traces of pigmentation found on the St Lawrence pediment.[1494]

At first sight, the figural sculpture from those churches forms a heterogeneous group of reliefs found in a handful of locations and in different states of preservation. Even among the carvings from the same site, the stylistic tendencies are not unified and there are discrepancies between the degrees of stylization or realistic rendering, most notably in the reliefs that had decorated the churches of St Lawrence at Zadar and St Mary's at Biskupija. If the stylistic unity between various sculptures in a church was not the major concern for the eleventh-century society, then what was? Why were the angels, not easily identifiable, entwined in a vegetal scroll on the portal jambs of St Lawrence's? Why was the St Lawrence portal historiated and the one from Holy Dominica decorated only with interlace although its chancel screen was figural? These are only some of the questions that the predominantly stylistic analysis of early medieval sculpture from Croatia did not attempt to address.

[1494] See cat. no 23 and section 2.2i.

Although heterogeneous, these sculptures do nevertheless have something in common: their fragmentary dislocation. Apart from the orant capital at St Lawrence's at Zadar, they do not exist *in situ* and their present-day setting is the museum. As such, they have lost their context and have been placed in what Kessler calls 'the implied narrative of a universal art history.'[1495] They have ceased to fulfil their original function of sculptures which 'medieval ''users'' encountered ... over long periods and in stable conditions' which 'allowed them to decipher the messages in stages and often as part of a collective experience involving educated interpreters.'[1496] Thus, studied, labelled and displayed, today these sculptures lack their original 'circumstantial (not artistic) unity ... and their functional (not stylistic) relationship with one another.'[1497]

In order to 'decipher the messages', this study has involved two types of 'educated interpreters': the early Christian and early medieval theologians with whom the eleventh-century clergy would have been familiar regardless of whether they resided in Croatia or elsewhere in Europe, and modern iconographers such as Schiller, Kirschbaum and Reau. By means of this deciphering process, it has been possible to restore the 'circumstantial unity' to the sculptures with a known context, and suggest it for those lacking such contexts.

Looking at the sculptures together, only the panel from Rab represents an isolated carving which functioned as an icon, rather than a piece of liturgical furnishing or architectural decoration. Its developed Byzantine iconography and underlying message about Christ as 'the king of those who rule' place it in the Venetian sphere of influence of the 1090s, and make it likely that it had been an imported work, brought to Rab by its bishop or donated to the Cathedral by a Venetian figure of power. As an imported work of art, the Rab icon stands completely apart from other eleventh-century figural sculptures in Croatia.

Where the Rab Christ reveals the classical heritage of Byzantine art which borrowed the shape of the throne from pre-iconoclastic sixth-century repertoire, and the accurate perspectival representation from an even earlier period of Roman art, other Croatian examples demonstrate a predilection for a combination of eastern and western

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[1495] Kessler, 1988: 178.
[1496] Ibid. 179.
[1497] Ibid.

iconographic sources on the one hand, and the early Christian and early medieval on the other. At Zadar, the influence of early Christian sources can be seen in the Infancy scenes on the Dominica panels, while several decades later, the inspiration for the St Lawrence panel was drawn from contemporary western examples. This dichotomy of sources is even more pronounced in St Mary's at Biskupija, where the orant Virgin on the gable follows the standard Byzantine type while the Virgin on the *transenna* shares its *Majestas* scheme with the western examples. Nonetheless, both were modelled after eleventh-century examples, displaying the patrons' awareness of contemporary artistic and theological trends.

The same can be said for the Split panel and the Solin fragments which originally stood in the coronation basilica of SS Peter and Moses at Solin. There, the seated king and the youthful figure of Moses show affinities with the Carolingian and Ottonian depictions. Western elements also reverberate in the Stephaton jamb and the Sustipan gable which belonged to an unknown church at Knin.

In stark contrast to these sculptures, the figural carvings from St Michael's at Koločep, produced at the end of the eleventh century, reveal a preference for Byzantine depictions of the archangel and, moreover, demonstrate a taste for classical themes, such as that of hunting, and so constitute a modest example of one of Panofsky's medieval 'renascences'.[1498]

When it comes to Kessler's 'circumstantial unity' of these sculptures, an aspect which has hitherto been neglected in the scholarship, it is evident that apart from the Rab Christ, an isolated icon displayed in an unknown area of Rab Cathedral, all other carvings had, despite their stylistic 'disunity', originally been intended as parts of a set. Indeed, the panels from Zadar, Solin, Koločep and Split belonged to chancel screens as standard elements of liturgical furnishings, and so did the gables from Biskupija, Koločep and Sustipan. These screens, consisting of panels inserted between pilasters, could be provided with colonettes supporting the architraves and gables, such as at St Lawrence's, St Mary's, SS Peter and Moses, St Michael's, and the unknown church at Knin. However, a simpler version also existed, without the upper elements, as in Holy Dominica at Zadar.

[1498] Panofsky, 1960: 82-85.

Turning to the figural ornament on the elements of architectural decoration, the situation is slightly different but the principle remains the same: they too were intended to be viewed in relation to other sculptures, figural and non-figural alike. The pediment and the jambs of the St Lawrence portal, although presenting different iconographic schemes, both refer to the Ascension and the Second Coming of Christ, and reflect the consequence of the mystery of the Incarnation of God communicated by the scenes on the chancel screen in its interior. Another portal, that of an unknown church at Knin, also leads the faithful from its scenes of Crucifixion, of which only the Stephaton jamb and a very damaged piece survive, to the interior where the gable of the chancel screen displayed another Ascension scene. The Biskupija *transenna* and its scene of the Virgin in Majesty, possibly placed at the western end, complemented and responded to the scene of the orant Mary and the Crucified triumphant Christ above it, at the eastern end of the church's longitudinal axis.

So, what do these sculptures tell us about the society and culture which had produced them? As the analysis of the symbolical significance of the individual carvings has demonstrated, the figural decoration in the eleventh century was (as elsewhere in Europe) placed strategically in the churches in response to the desires of the patrons. Appearing on the chancel screens and portals, its spatial context is exclusively that of the door: into the church and into the sanctuary. The difference between the two reveals a difference between their audiences. While St Lawrence's at Zadar and the church at Knin displayed messages concerning Christ the Just Judge and Christ the Crucified Redeemder respectively, on their portals, publicly visible to every passer-by, the Church of Holy Dominica at Zadar did not. Its figural decoration revealed its message only to those who were admitted into the church, pointing to a more private viewing context. Thus, the two screen panels only communicate with each other – having no gable surmounting them either, and this is why the Infancy scenes follow in an uninterrupted sequence over both halves of the screen – across the opening into the chancel.

This was not the case at St Michael's at Koločep, however. Although providing another example of a more private use of space, confirmed in the inscription on the gable, here only one screen panel bears figural decoration, unobtrusively and on a small scale, within an overall design which is similar to the geometric patterned scheme on the

other panel. In fact, the main figural emphasis is placed on the top-most element of the screen: the gable with St Michael above the entrance into the chancel. However, as at Holy Dominica, the elements of the architectural decoration at St Michael's, namely the windows, were also decorated with interlace patterns. In this respect, both churches reveal a conscious decision to focus the figural decoration exclusively on the chancel screen so that those admitted to these churches would reflect not only on the Christian messages of the depictions before them, but also on the patrons who had endowed them. With this in mind, St Michael's addressed the faithful with a single message, that of praying for the soul of the dead 'sister and queen', while a more ideological communication was implied by the Dominica panels: that of Good Government.

The same meaning, albeit made more directly and on a much grander scale, could also be found in the basilica of SS Peter and Moses, where a ruler had himself depicted as a Just King pardoning an offender and implementing the law, paralleling the exemplar of Moses, the ultimate law-giver of the Old Testament. The portrayal of this act was so personally relevant that the scroll was subsequently removed from the hands of the attendant in order to erase the memory of this particular event and make the scene more generally applicable to all rulers. This *damnatio memoriae* indisputably demonstrates that the intended audience was widely public. The church was a large monastic basilica where at least one king was crowned, and its chancel screen spanning the entire width of the building gave plenty of space for expressions of royal power.

Another basilica founded under royal auspices was also provided with figural sculptures, namely St Mary's at Biskupija. Like SS Peter and Moses, its chancel screen also spanned the entire width of the church but the location of the figural carvings was completely different. The central opening in the screen was surmounted by the Virgin orant, the intercessor and protectress of rulers, and topped by the Crucifix. Here, the inscription, honouring the Virgin, covered the entire length of the architraves and the gable, and was used to unify the overall screen. But, being the Cathedral of the national and court bishop, rather than a monastery, the royal implications of the decoration were more discreet than in SS Peter and Moses.

Although the interior of St Mary's at Biskupija also included a depiction of a secular figure, rather than filling the entire panel as at SS Peter and Moses, the duke in

the *transenna* was subordinated to the Virgin and accompanied by a tonsured saint. More notably, the *transenna* represents the only figural sculpture which was decorated with the same scene on both sides. Unlike the chancel screens, which had only the face visible to the congregation decorated, leaving a plain surface visible to the clergy, it is clear that both faces of the *transenna*, decorated with the Majesty of the Virgin and a donor, were intended to be seen by secular viewers. This arrangement implies that there were two different groups of secular viewers and strengthens Milošević's suggestion that the scene would have been visible to the secular elite in the western gallery and the congregation gathered in the nave.

The iconographic programme and significance in the majority of the churches provided with figural decoration demonstrate that they functioned as eleventh-century 'sermons in stone'. The patrons who commissioned them and the clergy who selected the scenes for display grasped the opportunity to use the surfaces of the liturgical installations and the elements of the portals which had hitherto been covered with abstract interlace or stylized vegetal scrolls, found all over Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries, to exploit these utilitarian elements of early medieval churches for their own specific purposes.

The location of those few churches provided with figural sculptures and inscriptions preserved on some of the reliefs reveal a pattern: Holy Dominica and St Lawrence's are at Zadar, the eleventh-century capital of Dalmatia, whose *priors* from the powerful Madii family seem to have spread their power to other Dalmatian cities in the 1030s before Byzantium put an end to their pretensions. The Cathedral of the Croatian bishop – St Mary's – at Biskupija and the monastic church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin were both built on royal lands and endowed by the kings. Zvonimir was crowned at SS Peter and Moses in 1076 and two years later, he attended the consecration ceremony at St Mary's. The royal patronage is clearly stated on the inscription from St Michael's at Koločep where a 'sister and queen', most likely Zvonimir's widow Jelena, asked the faithful to pray for her soul. Moreover, the use of marble for entire chancel screens in Solin and Koločep also corroborates the high status of their patrons.

An unknown church at Knin had an ambitiously decorated portal, technically more developed than that at St Lawrence's, and a gable which ended up at Sustipan, while another church at Nin, perhaps that of St Mary in the Benedictine convent at Nin, was the original setting for the fragment with the seated saint. It is not coincidental that both Knin and Nin were the seats of two Croatian *iuppani* (župans) and, more importantly, that both were royal towns where both Petar Krešimir IV and Zvonimir resided, held court and issued decrees.

Therefore, all the churches decorated with figural sculpture can be seen to have been associated with the highest echelons of Croatian society: kings and queens, and in the case of Zadar, the local noble family. These were the patrons who sought to go beyond interlace and vegetal decoration; who had family connections with the bishops, abbots and abbesses, the 'educated interpreters' who could develop the 'sermons in stone' to decorate their churches. They were the literate members of society, who travelled and who had the means to purchase, or the connections to obtain works of art that provided them with the visual sources for the figural sculptures they commissioned. Given that Croatia has geographically and politically always been a borderland where the East meets and mingles with the West, these visual sources reflect a mixture of these two cultures: Beneventan manuscripts from Monte Cassino which themselves amalgamated the eastern and western elements, south Italian exultet rolls, Byzantine coins, Carolingian and Ottonian ivories, and reliquaries from both spheres of influence.

The network of patronage responsible for these figural carvings came to an end at the turn of the twelfth century with the extinction of the royal line. The kingdom of Croatia came under the rule of Hungary and the royal possessions passed into the hands of the Hungarian kings; thus the churches of St Mary and SS Peter and Moses were handed over to the Archbishop of Split. By the time of King Coloman of Hungary (1070-1116), the Madii family at Zadar did not rule the town any more and the local clergy sang *lauds* to the new king, who also sponsored the rebuilding of the Benedictine convent of St Mary.[1499] It was a change of rulers and patrons that saw changes in society and the arts.

[1499] Kantorowicz, 1946: 149-150.

Highlighted in the Introduction was Hearn's observation that apart from the Pyrenees and England, the early Romanesque 'resurgence of stone sculpture' also occurred in Croatian Dalmatia.[1500] The contextualization of Croatian eleventh-century sculpture within such a wide geographic frame exceeds the remit of this thesis and represents a next step for this research, which would investigate the wider phenomenon of what Focillon identified as the great eleventh-century experiments.[1501]

Here, it has to be said that although Croatian eleventh-century sculpture does not possess the sophistication of Ottonian works,[1502] in the context of contemporary stone sculpture in Europe, only ten or fifteen years separate the first early Romanesque sculpture – the lintel at St Génis des Fontaines of 1020-21 – from the Dominica panels, the earliest of Croatian eleventh-century examples. The figure of Christ in Majesty on the tympanum at Arles sur Tech of 1046 announces the same trend which would be encountered forty years later in the St Lawrence lintel and the Sustipan gable: Christ as the heavenly ruler presiding over the 'visible and the invisible' world. Equally so, after the first extant example of the *Majestas Virginis* in art, in the 1031 apse fresco of Aquileia Cathedral of 1031, the second is that on the Biskupija transenna of the 1070s or 1080s.

On the other hand, the position of Croatian eleventh-century sculpture in the existing corpus of early Romanesque European sculpture is not just that of precocious emulation which 'had no further impact in Dalmatia or elsewhere'.[1503] The Bathing of the Child in the Dominica Nativity represents the earliest western example of this scene in stone sculpture. Even more important is the portal of St Lawrence's at Zadar which even Hearn recognized as 'the earliest complete doorway composition in medieval stone sculpture.'[1504] It was not the only eleventh-century historiated portal from Croatia: a somewhat later example stood in a Knin church.

[1500] Hearn, 1981: 26.
[1501] Focillon, 1980: 17-53.
[1502] Such as the tenth-century ciborium from San Ambrogio at Milan or the bronze doors and column in St Michael's at Hildesheim from the time of bishop Bernward (993-1022), see Castelfranchi Vegas, 2002: 57-62, Figs 77-82. Later, twelfth-century examples of figural stone panels can be found in Petersburg near Fulda and on the font in the church of San Bartolomeo all'Isola in Rome, see Fisković, 2002: 142-143, 220-221.
[1503] Hearn, 1981: 30.
[1504] Ibid.

One reason why eleventh-century Croatia proved to be fertile ground for the resurgence of figural sculpture considered to be early Romanesque perhaps lies in its relative social stability during the early middle ages. After the 812 Treaty of Aachen between the Carolingians and Byzantium, and especially from the mid-ninth century onwards, the Croatian princes acted as independent rulers and established good relations with the Byzantine towns who paid them annual tribute. The majority of Croatian rulers, first princes and then kings, belonged to the House of Trpimirovic (845-1091), which faced a crisis in the tenth century and died out in the late eleventh. Compared to the Benedictine abbots responsible for the figural decorations in eleventh-century Roussillon and the patrons in pre-Conquest England, unbroken patronage may have been crucial for the production of figural carvings.

With the Hungarian king's accession to the Croatian throne, the 250-year long connections between Croatian rulers, dukes, bishops, abbots and *priors* of the coastal cities were broken. As a consequence, there was a shift in the relationships between the patrons, works of art and their target audiences – the high and late medieval Croatia was a different place in this respect in comparison to its earlier medieval phase. And the new circumstances affected the eleventh-century sculptures: while the St Lawrence portal remained in place until the nineteenth century, the chancel screen at Solin was dismantled in the thirteenth century and the same fate awaited the screens from Holy Dominica, Biskupija, Koločep and Knin. Almost all of their fragments were re-used as *spolia* and discovered as such by the nineteenth-century antiquaries and twentieth-century archaeologists.

It has been fifty years since these eleventh-century figural sculptures were studied together. They were reconstructed, described, catalogued, dated and placed in 'the implied narrative' of Croatian early medieval art history. Such a process, however, placed emphasis on their artistic merit and stylistic relationships rather than on the 'circumstantial unity' in which they were originally viewed. This study has attempted to restore that unity to these sculptures by examining them from a different angle, one that goes beyond the surface and allows deeper understanding of the significances of their figural decoration.

Standing out from the copious amount of non-figural decoration in the eleventh century, the figural carvings in a small number of Croatian churches demonstrate, through their originality, subtle references and multiple layers of meaning – all aspects which escape the standard stylistic analysis – that their patrons and audiences belonged to a culture which was open to Eastern and Western artistic traditions and enriched by their fusion. The society which produced them regarded them as a high-status means of visual communication, and they were indeed intended and designed to be 'sermons in stone'.

'SERMONS IN STONE': ELEVENTH-CENTURY FIGURAL SCULPTURES FROM CROATIA

TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME 2

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APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF SCULPTURES[1]

BISKUPIJA
(St Mary)

Catalogue Number: 1   Fig. 121

Monument Type: Chancel screen gable

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 1101

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 70 cm, W. 68 cm , D. 11 cm (reconstructed H. 107 cm, W. 103 cm)

Evidence for Discovery: Radić (1895a) noted that three fragments of the figure of the Virgin were found on 14 May 1892 (Marun's diary, Petrinec, 1998: 41) during the excavation of the Church of St Mary at Biskupija. The fragment belonging to the left end of the gable was found during the 1899 excavation ('Izvještaj', 1900). It is not known when the two fragments from the right end were found; as part of the reconstructed gable they appear already in Petricioli (1960).

Present Condition: Gable reconstructed from six well preserved fragments

General Description: The triangular gable with an arched opening is framed by two ornamental strips along its slanting sides, and a flat band moulding with an inscription running along the arch: SAL VE G   GO. The outer decorative strip consists of a series of volutes on long stems (hooks) turned towards the apex of the gable. The inner strip has a string of tiny palmettes. The entire field of the gable is filled with the half-length figure of the Virgin Mary executed in shallow relief with incised lines. She wears a robe and an overgarment around her shoulders. Her left hand emerges from the overgarment and is raised with the out-turned palm held in the orant pose. The right hand has not been preserved. The cuffs of the sleeves are decorated with an incised x-shaped cross

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[1] In the absence of a standard catalogue for early medieval sculpture from Croatia, this catalogue has been formatted in accordance with that established by the British Academy Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture (Cramp, 1984).

and circles between its arms. The Virgin is nimbed and wears a veil decorated with a small cross set over her forehead. Her facial features, round eyes, nose and small down-turned mouth are all incised and stylized. Above her head is a Greek cross with splayed arms.

Discussion: The identity of the Virgin filling the field of the gable has been accepted since it was first published by Radić in 1895, while the inscription depended on the subsequent recovery of the lower fragments. After the discovery of the fragment with the letters SALVE was found in 1899, it was suggested ('Izvještaj', 1900) that it may have read 'Salve hic sancta virgo', however, with the discovery of the two right-hand fragments inscribed with GO, the inscription was read as 'Salve regina, salve virgo' by Petricioli (1960, repeated by Montani, 1966). Delonga (1980) expressed some doubt about the reconstruction of 'regina', noting that the vertical line before the letter G is not consistent with letter E; she transcribed the inscription as: SALVE...G...S/ALVE/ V/IR/GO and interpreted the inscription as a prayer text invoking the virgin (Delonga, 1980, 1990; 1996a-b), explaining the gaps between the letters as intentionally separated syllables inspired by the neumatic musical notation (1990; 1996b).

Although Radić (1895a) suggested the gable may have formed a *ciborium*, Vasić (1922), which was accepted by others who also discovered the matching architraves (Delonga, 1980; Jakšić, 1981; Delonga, 1996a-b). However, most discussion of the piece has concerned the nature of the art historical models lying behind the figure of the Virgin. These have largely agreed on a Byzantine model on the grounds both of iconographic details (e.g. the cross decorating the veil, see Radić 1895a), and stylistic details of the carving (e.g. the distinctive use of low relief and inscisions, see Prijatelj, 1954; Petricioli, 1960; Jakšić, 1981; 2006b). In large part these details have provided the means by which the piece has been dated to the eleventh century, while a more precise date of the third quarter is implied by the date of the inauguration of the Croatian Bishop and the presumed redecorating of the church of St Mary for this new purpose in 1078 (Karaman, 1930; Abramić, 1932; Jakšić, 1981; Delonga, 1996a-b; Jakšić, 2006b). Marasović (2009) dated it to the very end of the eleventh century.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Radić, 1895a: 7-9; 'Izvještaj', 1900: 48; Vasić, 1922: 169; Strzygowski, 1929: 182; Karaman, 1930: 113, Fig. 117; Abramić, 1932: 326, Fig. 103; Karaman, 1943: 76-77; Prijatelj, 1954: 76-77, Fig. 13; Petricioli, 1960: 50, 52-53, Pl. 16; Montani, 1966: 19, cat. no. 35, Fig. 8; Gunjača, 1975: 159, Fig. 20; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 19-20, 96-97; Jelovina, 1979: 29; Delonga, 1980: 158-160, Pl. 3, Fig. 7; Jakšić, 1980: 100, Fig. 4; Jakšić, 1981: 30, Fig. 6; Jelovina, 1989: 32; Delonga, 1990: 78, Fig. 1; Petricioli, 1990: 62; Jurković, 1992: 115-116; Delonga, 1996a: 176-178, Fig. 9; Delonga, 1996b: 64-65, Pl. 14, 26; Jurković, 1998: 68, Fig. 6; Jakšić, 1999: 96; I. Fisković, 2002: 241; Milošević, 2002: 17, 21; Marasović, 2009: 544, Fig. 675, Pl. 16.

BISKUPIJA

(St Mary)

Catalogue Number: 2   Fig. 127

Monument Type: Window *transenna*

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 2587

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 90 cm, W. 60 cm , D. 7-8 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Eighteen fragments comprising the *transenna* were found during various archaeological campaigns on the site of the Church of St Mary at Biskupija. Those comprising the figures in the lower part of the *transenna*, and the figure of the Virgin and Child were recovered during the 1886-1894 campaign by Marun; the head of the Virgin and the lower half of a body were recovered during the 1950-1951 review excavations by Gunjača.

Present Condition: *Transenna* reconstructed from 15 parts; although incomplete is well preserved

General Description: Due to the fact that three fragments were lost (one with the eagle's body, and two belonging to the winged figure), the *transenna* was reconstructed with their casts and the fifteen original fragments in the late 1950s and is displayed as such. The *transenna* is a rectangular perforated panel with identical decoration on both sides. It is framed by a flat band moulding with and an inner narrow slanting, border

both of which are inscribed. The lower left-hand side of the outer moulding bears the letters LEO/VM/MI, while the narrow border is inscribed with the names of the evangelists. Beginning with the upper left-hand corner are the traces of John's and Matthew's names: [.]OH[…..] EVAGELIS[..] and […]TEVS EVAGELIS[..] (reconstructed as 'Iohannes Evagelista' and 'Matteus Evagelista'); on the right-hand border are the letters MA[….], presumably from Mark; on the left-hand border is Luke's inscription: LVHA EVAGELISTA.

A narrow horizontal bar separating the *transenna* into two unequal parts was also inscribed, with only two letters remaning: MI. The upper part is larger than the lower and consists of a central lozenge with four nimbed evangelist symbols in the triangular spaces between the lozenge and the rectangular frame. At the points where the lozenge meets the frame, there are four crosses; the border of the lozenge is decorated with a rope-like ornament. At the centre of the lozenge, seated on a wide horizontal cushion, the fabric of which is indicated by a linear mesh, sits the Virgin holding the Christ Child on her lap. Christ is clearly identified by a cruciform nimbus and his gestures: his right hand is raised in blessing to his right, while his left hand holds a closed book clasped to his chest. The Virgin's right hand supports the Child on her lap, while her left hand is placed on his shoulder. She is dressed in a non-descript long garment. Her hair is covered with a veil marked with a small Greek cross on her forehead; the nimbus around her head has a double rim. In the upper left corner of the *transenna* is the eagle of St John with out-spread wings decorated with scale-like feathers. The body is rendered in profile and is marked with diagonal lines, while the tail is marked with vertical lines which separate into two at the splayed end. A book is held in profile in the claws. The corresponding upper right corner is filled with the symbol of St Matthew: the winged man. He leans to the left, holding a book (in profile) in his right hand. This position is identical to that of the eagle, as are the out-spread wings and their deocration. The man is dressed in a long garment which is plain above waist and pleated below. His bare feet are visible below the hem. The two remaining evangelist symbols, both quadrupeds, are carved to resemble each other in pose and ornament. In the lower left corner is the ox of St Luke rendered in profile; the body faces left, away from the lozenge frame, but the head turns to the right towards it and is raised in the direction of the Virgin and Child.

Only his left wing is visible, curving upward and incised with stylized lines. The front paw is placed on the book. The pose of the lion of St Mark is identical, as are several details (e.g. the wing, hind leg, back and front paw with the book). The lion is differentiated from the ox in the neck by means of the scale-like representation of the mane, and the head which is rounder and lacks ears.

The lower part of the *transenna*, below the horizontal bar, could not be reconstructed with great accuracy. While the central portion is missing, the head with the tonsure and nimbus has been placed to the left, and a fully preserved figure to the right. Its body faces left but its head faces forwards. The figure can be identified as male because of its short cropped hair and beard, while also having a sword attached to its waist. The man is dressed in a very detailed costume consisting of a knee-length tunic and gaiters. The tunic has a V-shaped neck-line with tassels emerging from both sides; the hem is decorated with a series of small circles. Part of the belt with a triangular pouch is clearly visible next to the sword. The man's left hand is placed in front of his torso.

Discussion: Although Radić (1896e) grouped the fragments and identified them as belonging to the evangelist symbols, the *transenna* was reconstructed by Gunjača in 1956. While some discussion of this monument has considered its function – as part of the altar chancel screen in the basilica built for the Croatian bishop, Grgur, in 1087 (Abramić, 1932), or the panels from a confessio (Radić, 1895c) – the fragments have generally been accepted as part a single *transenna*, although Prijatelj (1954) suggested that they belonged to more than one. More interesting to those discussing the piece have been the identity and costume of the figure in the lower right-hand corner, and the dating of the carving. Abramić (1932) for instance, considered the sword-bearing figure to represent the donor of the church, perhaps *župan* Jurina, while Prijatelj, less concerned with the identity of the figure regarded his costume to be of considerable interest and agreed with Šeper (1943) that it could be compared with one of the Magi on the panel from St Lawrence's, Zadar (cat. no. 23), but stated that the general appearance was early Romanesque. The same impression was shared by Petricioli (1960: 10) who attributed the *transenna* to the Zadar-Knin school of carving, together with the sculptures from St Lawrence's (cat. nos 21-23) and the fragment from Nin (cat. no 9). The inscriptions

were studied by Delonga (1990; 1996a-b) who dated the *transenna* to the second half of the eleventh century.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Radić, 1895c: 122; Radić, 1896e: 211-214, Fig. 1; Abramić, 1932: 326-327, Figs 105-107; Karaman, 1930: Fig. 45; Gunjača, 1953: 39, Fig. 34; Gunjača, 1954: 188; Prijatelj, 1954: 73-76, Figs 7-12; Petricioli, 1955: 75-77, Figs 8-9; Gunjača, 1956: 111-117; Gunjača, 1958: 22, Figs 16-18; Petricioli, 1960: 44-47, Pls 12-15; Montani, 1966: 17-18, cat. no. 29, Fig. 7; Gunjača, 1975: 158 and 160, Fig. 22; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 33, 100-101; Jelovina, 1979: 46; Petricioli, 1983: 37-41; Jelovina, 1989: 48-49; Delonga, 1990: 83, Fig. 12; Petricioli, 1990: 60, 62, Fig. 33; Jurković, 1992: 111-112; Delonga, 1996a: 175, sl. 2; Delonga, 1996b: 68-69, Pl. 17, 36; Jurković, 1998: 69, Fig. 8; Petricioli, 1999: 487; I. Fisković, 2002: 239; Marasović, 2009: 540-541, Fig. 662, Pl. 15.

BISKUPIJA

(St Mary)

Catalogue Number: 3   Fig. 140

Monument Type: Crucifix, in four disparate pieces

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 2588

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

Crucifix H. 50 cm, W. 45 cm , D. 7 cm

Fragment a (head) H. 13 cm, W. 9.2 cm, D. 10.5 cm

Fragment b (right arm) H. 10 cm, W. 13 cm, D. 8.5 cm

Fragment c (left arm) H. 10 cm, W. 12 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment d (feet) H. 13 cm, W. 9 cm, D. 7 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Fragments a-c found during the 1886-1896 archaeological excavations (Radić, 1896e); Fragment d found during the 1950 review excavation by Gunjača at Biskupija (Gunjača, 1953).

Present Condition: All four fragments broken and decoration damaged

General Description: The four squared arm terminals of the crucifix have survived. These comprise:

Fragment a: Contains the upper part of Christ's head with his hair and nimbus. The facial features are not discernible. The remains of a cross survive in the nimbus had a cross; namely, the upper square arm terminal incised with the letter V. Above the head is the trace of a further inscription with letters IES, with a ligature over the I. A hole survives in the upper surface of the fragment.

Fragment b: Contains only the inscription: NAZA//N : R[?E].

Fragment c: Only an arm is visible, the hand being damaged. Below the arm is the inscription: VDEO//[?R] VM.

Fragment d: A pair of feet stand on a lower horizontal flat-band moulding; no signs of nails piercing the feet survive. On the underside of the fragment is a hole.

Discussion: Given its fragmentary condition, the monument of which these pieces once formed a part has attracted only sporadic discussion, although it is generally assumed that it was a stone cross with the crucified Christ. In Croatian early medieval sculpture, plain crosses without Christ were usually placed on top of altar screen gables, the best example being that on top of the church of St Martin above the Golden Gate at Split, the only *in situ* chancel screen in Croatia, dated to the second half of the eleventh century (Karaman, 1943: 67; Petricioli, 1960: 60). For this reason Marasović (2008) suggested this cross may have also stood on top of the screen gable, perhaps that with the orant Virgin (cat. no. 1). Apart from Biskupija, fragments of stone crosses with the crucified Christ have been discovered at the Church of St Michael at Brnaze near Sinj (Gunjača 1955, 117), believed to be of the ninth-century date (Prijatelj, 1954), and at the site of St Saviour's at Plavno near Knin (Gunjača, 1960).

There has been little discussion of the iconography of the pieces and what they might reveal about the cross overall, although their date has been considered, with Prijatelj (1954) dating Fragments a-c to the early twelfth century on the basis of the plasticity of the Christ's figure, which he regarded as indicative of Romanesque work. Delonga (1990; 1996a-b), however, dated the cross to the late eleventh century, and provided a reading of the inscription: IES[VS] / NAZAR[E] / N[VS] RE[X] / IVDEO / RVM, and LV[X] set within the nimbus.

Date: Late eleventh century

Bibliography: Radić, 1896e: 215, Fig. 4; Gunjača, 1953: 39, Fig. 34; Prijatelj, 1954: 77-78, Fig. 15; Delonga, 1990: 82, Fig. 11; Delonga, 1996a: 175, Fig. 3; Delonga, 1996b: 71, Pls 19, 36; Jurković, 1998: 72, Fig. 9; I. Fisković, 2002: 249; Milošević, 2002: 17, 24; Marasović, 2009: 544, Fig. 676.

BISKUPIJA
(St Mary)

Catalogue Number: 4   Fig. 147

Monument Type: Unknown

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 1099

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 12 cm, W. 21 cm , D. 9 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Unknown

Present Condition: Broken and very worn

General Description: The head and shoulders of a nimbed figure preserved on this piece are extremely damaged, the head and right shoulder being cut off by breaks in the stone and only part of the left shoulder being preserved. Nevertheless, traces of a cross have been discerned in the nimbus although this is debateable. To the left and right of the head are traces of an inscription (EO) / (I) and [E]PO. Due to its fragmentary nature, there has been no attempt to reconstruct this.

Discussion: Delonga (1996b) and I. Fisković (2002) both agree that the damaged figure is that of Christ, due to the apparent traces of the cross in the nimbus, traces which could be no more than the result of weathering and damage to the carving. Marasović (2009) repeated their identification as a possibility.

Date: Possibly eleventh century

Bibliography: Delonga, 1996b: 70, Pl. 18; I. Fisković, 2002: 248; Marasović, 2009: 544.

KNIN

(Castle)

Catalogue Number: 5   Fig. 210

Monument Type: Door jamb

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 1098.

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 48 cm, W. 26 cm, D. 24.5 cm

Evidence for Discovery: The fragment was first recorded by Evans (1883) as being built 'into a gateway on a public walk...below the old castle.' According to Jakšić (1990), supported by Delonga (1996b) it came from the parish church of St Stephen of Hungary.

Present Condition: The stone is broken off along the upper and lower edges; the decoration, preserved only on one broad side (A) and the narrow side to the left (B), is slightly worn but generally well preserved. The other two faces, C (broad) and D (narrow) were cut back at some point and grooves were inserted into C and the upper edge (E) of the stone (Evans and Radić, 1895; Gunjača, 1960).

General Description: The vertical edges of A carry a zig-zag pattern carved in high relief. Within this are two are two rectangular fields each containing a human figure separated by a wide plain horizontal band bearing the inscription: STEFATON. The upper, almost complete panel is framed by a wide border that slopes into the main field, and is ornamented with stylized leaves (identified as a 'lesbian cymation' by Evans and Radić, 1895: 25). The main field of the panel contains a short-haired male figure with an over-sized pear-shaped head that obtrudes into the upper border. He has large eyes and a pointed beard, and wears a short pleated skirt. In his right hand he holds a staff topped with a small sphere-like object, while in his left is an indeterminate object resembling a cloth, sponge or a vessel (identfied as an amphora by Evans and Radić, 1985; Radić, 1895b). The head and shoulders of a short-haired male figure remain in the lower panel. The eyes are stylized. Part of his right hand grasping a spear with two lateral protrusions survives above the lower break. The decoration on B consists of borders decorated with

an outer zig-zag motif and an inner scroll, which frame a narrow empty field. Two other faces were recut with grooves at a later time. The groove on C is 38 cm long x 13.5 cm wide x 4 cm deep. In one corner is a cone-shaped hole 7 cm deep; on the other side of this face is a square-shaped hole 3.6 cm long x 2.4 cm wide x 4 cm deep. The groove on E is square-shaped, measuring 21 cm long x 3 cm wide x 3.5 cm deep.

Discussion: Discussion of the fragment has continued since it was first recorded by Evans (1883), with interest focussing on the identity of the figures and the date of the piece. The upper figure has been identified as Stefaton, the sponge-bearer of the Crucifixion (Radić, 1895b), and as King Tomislav (910-928) (Evans, 1883; Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894). The lower figure has been identified as an unknown ruler (Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894) and Longinus, the spear-bearer of the Crucifixion (Radić, 1895b). However, Radić's identification of the two figures as Stephaton and Longinus has been generally accepted in the scholarship (Gunjača, 1960; Jakšić, 1981; Petricioli, 1990; Jurković, 1992; Delonga, 1996b; Belamarić, 1997; Jakšić: 2000; Marasović, 2009). With these identifications the datings proposed for the piece have also varied – between the sixth or seventh century (Radić and Evans, 1895), the tenth century (Evans, 1883; Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894), the late eleventh and early twelfth century (Jakšić, 1981; Delonga, 1996b; Jakšić, 2000), and the thirteenth (C. Fisković, 1951; Gunjača, 1959; 1960) – as have the functions assigned to it: as a pilaster (Radić and Evans, 1895; Radić, 1895b) and as the right-hand door jamb reused, face-down as the threshold stone of the castle at Knin (Gunjača, 1959). This latter explanation, consistent with the original holes on the upper edge of the stone (E), was accepted by Jakšić (1981), Delonga (1996b) and Marasović (2009).

Following Jakšić's publication in 1981 there has been a consensus on the late eleventh-century date of the piece in Croatian scholarship. He carried out a stylistic analysis of the non-figural ornaments, claiming that without them and the inscription, it would have been impossible to consider the figures Romanesque due to their 'primitive form' (1981: 31). The Romanesque nature of the relief, according to Jakšić (1981) is evident in the higher relief, the abandoning of the two- or three-strand interlace, and the motifs such as are cymation and vegetal scroll of Roman inspiration. Based on his analysis and the mistaken connection with Knin cathedral, dedicated in the second half

of the eleventh century (Jakšić, 1981), this date was imposed as logical corrolary. However, when Jakšić shifted the proposed original setting to the church of St Stephen of Hungary, the existence of which is confirmed only from the thirteenth century onwards (Sekelj Ivančan, 2008: 116), he applied the results of the stylistic analysis to the dating of the church and together with the canonization of St Stephen of Hungary in 1083, proposed the late eleventh or early twelfth century date (Jakšić, 2000).

Nevertheless, a date in the second half of the eleventh century was confirmed by Delonga's (1990; 1996b) epigraphic analysis of the inscription. According to her (Delonga, 1990), the letter 'O' has close morphological parallels with those on the eleventh-century inscriptions from Split and Trogir, themselves dependent on Italian ortography. Her analysis was influenced by Jakšić's attribution of the Stephaton relief to the 'early Romanesque workshop from Knin' (including the gables from Biskupija (cat. no. 1) and Sustipan (cat. no. 18), and a number of inscribed architraves), so that the results of the epigraphic analysis of all these inscriptions were automatically applied to the Stephaton relief and used as a dating 'tool'. However, the 'squashed' letter 'O' does have closest parallels with the inscription on the Virgin gable (cat. no. 1) and some eleventh-century inscriptions from Split (Delonga, 1990).

Date: Late eleventh century (1090-1100)

Bibliography: Evans, 1883: 62-64; Jelić, Bulić and Rutar, 1894: 291; Evans and Radić, 1895: 23-26; Radić, 1895b: 84-86; 'Izvještaj', 1900: 49; C. Fisković, 1951: 27; Gunjača, 1958: 16-17, Fig. 11; Gunjača, 1959: 131-135, Pl. 47, Fig. 1; Gunjača, 1960: 122-124, Pl. 20; Jakšić, 1981: 28, Fig. 1; Delonga, 1990: 83, Fig. 13; Jakšić, 1990: 128; Petricioli, 1990: 62; Jurković, 1992: 116-117; Delonga, 1996b: 106, Pls. 34, 72; Belamarić, 1996: 360; Belamarić, 1997: 45, 56; Petricioli, 1999: 489; I. Fisković, 2002: 247; Kusin, 2007: 147; Marasović 2009: 513.

KNIN

(Castle)

Catalogue Number: 6   Fig. 211

Monument Type: Jamb

Location: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split, cat. no. 1884.

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

Fragment H. 16 cm, W. 18 cm , D. 18 cm

Evidence for Discovery: According to Gunjača (1960: 125, n. 574) and Jakšić (1981: 28, n. 7), this is the fragment the anonymous report, 'Izvještaj', (1900: 49) recorded as being found on 19 December 1899, reused in the wall of the old military hospital at the foot of Knin castle. However, since it was not described nor illustrated, the association is speculative.

Present Conditions: Broken and very worn

General Description: The original decoration is only preserved on two sides, the front retaining the remains of a strip decorated with a vine scroll which framed the square field in which only traces of the relief decoration remain. Very small traces of the outer border strip with zig-zag ornament have been preserved. According to the drawing made by Bakulić, published in Jakšić (1981: Fig. 2), this decoration consisted of a figure, of which only the very damaged lower portions survive. Its outline suggests that the figure is in the kneeling posture and turned to the right, the right foot obtruding into the surrounding frame and crossing into the border strip. The decorated side bears a similar frame to that on the front but its lower part was damaged due to later recutting. The underside of the fragment is slanting and bears the partial remains of a hole 5.2 cm deep. According to Gunjača (1960) the slanting surface indicates it could have been part of an arch.

Discussion: Whether or not the anonymous author of the report in Starohrvatska prosvjeta 5/1 ('Izvještaj', 1900) had this fragment in mind when he recorded that a fragment of the same pilaster as Stephaton had been found, Gunjača (1960) was the first to publish its photograph and, believing that the report referred to this fragment, linked it to the Stephaton jamb (cat. no. 5) due to stylistic similarities between the stones (zig-zag border ornament) and the place of their discovery. Jakšić (1981) agreed and added to it the layout of the figures, arguing it had belonged to the same jamb, more specifically its lower end, based on the fact that the vertical and horizontal vegetal scrolls join in the lower left-hand corner with a palmette. Gunjača's ideas from 1960 were reprinted in 2009.

Date: Late eleventh century

Bibliography: 'Izvještaj', 1900: 49; Gunjača, 1960: 125, n. 574, Fig. 13, Pl. 21; Jakšić, 1981: 28, Fig. 2; Gunjača, 2009: 175-176, no.13.

KOLOČEP

(Donje Čelo, St Michael)

Catalogue Number: 7   Fig. 164

Monument Type: Chancel screen panel

Location: Dubrovnik, Archaeological museum

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

panel H. 100 cm, W. 62 cm, D. 10 cm

Evidence for Discovery: The fragments were found in the late nineteenth century around the Church of St Nicholas on Koločep by Vice Medini, who brought them to the parish church of St Mary at Donje Čelo and built them in the wall (Lisičar, 1932) A number of other, non-figural carvings made from the same Carrara marble and perceived as stylistically similar were discovered during the excavation of the Church of St Michael near Donje Čelo in 1998 (Žile, 2003).

Present Condition: This has been reconstructed from three slightly worn fragments.

General Description: The upper edge of the panel is decorated with a protruding wide frieze framed by narrow mouldings. The frieze consists of three pairs of horizontally placed three-strand S-shaped scrolls. Between each pair is a palmette. The two pairs on the left are placed so that the top of the palmette faces left, while the right-hand pair has a palmette facing right. The rest of the panel is framed on all three sides by a narrow moulding while dentils run along the top. The lower end of the panel is also marked by a decorative strip, this one consisting of three arches filled with palmettes, separated by narrow arches with vertical pointed lines. Small triangles emerge from the spandrels between the arches. Between this strip and the central field is a narrow moulding decorated with a herring-bone pattern. The centre of the panel is filled with two three-strand concentric free rings. In the centre of the inner ring is a Greek cross with wedge arm terminals and a leaf between each arm. The rings are linked by four closed circuit

loops arranged to form two diagonals. In the triangular segments of the larger ring, between the diagonals, are human and animal figures. In the lower segment are two quadrupeds in profile, turned to the righ; that on the left has a raised tail and chases another other whose head is turned back towards the first. In the left and right segments are two identical human figures in profile, turned towards the centre of the rings. They seem to be naked, and stand with one foot on the three-strand arch below them while the other foot steps onto the diagonal. The figure on the right is depicted taking a larger step than that on the left. Both hold horns to their mouths with both hands. In the upper segment is a winged leonine creature (probably a griffin) posed in profile, facing right. It has an undulating raised tail and raised wings with incised feathers (only the outer wing being visible).

Discussion: The identification of the figures filling the quadrants of the central circle has proven to be difficult. Although most authors (Karaman, 1930; Petricioli, 1960; Jurković, 1987; Žile, 2003) have regarded them as naked boys, Lisičar (1932) identified them *erotes* drinking from horns, while Prijatelj (1954) refered to them as boys and hunters. Likewise, the two animals in the lower segment have been variously identified: as two dogs (Karaman, 1930); a dog chasing a rabbit (Lisičar, 1932; Žile, 2003), or some other game (Prijatelj, 1954), while Petricioli (1960) identified them as two lambs. The identification of the animal in the upper segment as a griffin has caused less controversy, with some scholars (Karaman, 1930; Jurković, 1987; Žile, 2003) considering it to represent a winged horse. Various models have been identified as lying behind the decoration (textiles: Karaman 1930; manuscripts: Petricioli, 1960), but the panel has been dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century primarily on stylistic grounds, motifs such as the palmette and the symmetrical composition being deemed Romanesque (Lisičar, 1932; Prijatelj, 1954).

Date: 1090s

Bibliography: Karaman, 1930: 112, Fig. 111; Lisičar, 1932: 20, 22, Fig. 8; Prijatelj, 1954: 89, Figs 30-31; Petricioli, 1960: 65; Maksimović, 1969: 168, Fig. 19; Kirigin, 1973: 118-119, Fig. 1; Jurković, 1987: 211, Figs 2a-b; Petricioli, 1990: 63, Pl. 6, Fig. b; Belamarić, 1991: 43; Marasović, 1997: 20-22; Peković and Žile, 1999: 124-128;

Milošević, 2000: 15-18, 30, Figs 11-12; I. Fisković, 2002: 243; Menalo, 2003: 43, 72, Fig. 87; Žile, 2002: 254-264; Žile, 2003: 85-86, Pl. 21, Fig. 1; Peković et. al. 2005: 6-7.

KOLOČEP

(Donje Čelo, St Michael)

Catalogue Number: 8   Fig. 168

Monument Type: Chancel screen gable

Location: Dubrovnik, Archaeological museum

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 89 cm, W. 80 cm , D. 8-11 cm

Evidence for Discovery: The larger fragment was found by Vice Medini in the late nineteenth century around the Church of St Nicholas on the island of Koločep, he also brought it to the parish church of St Mary at Donje Čelo and inserted it into its wall as a *spolia* (Bjelovučić, 1929; Lisičar, 1932). The lower right-hand corner of the gable was found in the Church of St Sergius on the island during the 1972 archaeological excavations (Žile, 2003).

Present Condition: Reconstructed from two contiguous fragments; the lower left-hand side and the corner of the lower right-hand side are missing. The carving is in good condition.

General Description: The back of the gable is decorated with Roman figural carving. The front is bordered by two decorative strips running along the sides: the outer one bears a row of volutes (hooks?) and the inner one is composed of arches which diminish in size towards the apex. Along the curved base of the gable is a plain flat moulding bearing the inscription: […] SORORE T REGINA Q EDIFICA. In the centre of the triangular field is the half-length figure of a frontally-placed angel with outspread wings who is rendered in a naturalistic and highly modelled manner. He wears a pleated tunic with an over-garment (*chlamys*) clasped together with a brooch on his right shoulder. In his right hand he holds a sceptre across his chest so that it passes over his left shoulder. The head is oval and the eyes, nose and mouth are well formed. The angel's hair is depicted by means of stylized incisions grouped to form separate locks. The nimbus is

bordered with decorative circles along the border. In the lower left- and right-hand side of the gable, below the tips of the angel's wings, are the remains of two elongated lily flowers.

Discussion: A number of other, non-figural carvings made from the same Carrara marble and perceived as stylistically similar were discovered during the excavation of the Church of St Michael in 1998 (Žile, 2003). This, together with the fact that the gable (cat. no. 7) was made from the same type of marble and that it had belonged to the group of *spolia* retrieved by Medini from the site of St Nicholas (where they were re-used as building material after the demolition of St Michael's in 1868), has been considered as a strong argument for attributing the gable and panel to the same screen from St Michael's (Peković and Žile, 1998). Only Lisičar (1932) made any attempt to identify the angel (as Michael), other scholars being more interested in the date and evaluation of the stylistic details of the carving. Thus, while Abramić and Prijatelj pointed to the Byzantine nature of angel's costume, Karaman focused on the return of the late antique features in early Romanesque sculpture. Petricioli, also seeing the influence of Byzantine art, focussed more on the inscription, and linked the gable to two from Split, one of which is dated by its inscription to 1088-1089, and so dated the piece to the late eleventh century. He furthermore identified the script as Beneventan, and determined that the inscription on the gable continued on the architraves of the screennand read: +QVESO VOS OMS Q ASPICITIS V// SORORE T REGINA Q EDIFICA. He identified the sister and queen mentioned in the inscription as Queen Jelena, wife of Zvonimir and sister of the Hungarian king, Ladislaus (1040-1095).

Date: 1090s

Bibliography: Bjelovučić, 1929: 49-50; Abramić, 1932: 328, Fig. 100; Karaman, 1930: 113, Fig. 116; Lisičar, 1932: 19-20; Prijatelj, 1954: 88-89, Fig. 29; Petricioli, 1960: 53; Montani, 1966: 19, no. 36; Kirigin, 1973: 117-118, Fig. 3; Jurković, 1987: 211, Figs 2a-b; Petricioli, 1990: 63, Pl. 8, Fig. b; Belamarić, 1991: 32, 43; Petricioli, 1994: 289-290, 292, Fig. 3; Marasović, 1997: 20-22; Milošević, 2000: 3, 7, 10, 19, 29-30, Figs 11-13; I. Fisković, 2002: 243; Žile, 2002: 262-265; Menalo, 2003: 27, 43, 72, Fig. 87; Žile, 2003: 84-85, 122-123, Pl. 20, Figs 1-2; Peković et al. 2005: 2-7.

Catalogue Number: 9   Fig. 223

Monument Type: Fragment of chancel screen panel

Location: Zadar, Archaeological Museum, cat. no. 34.

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 30 cm, W. 20 cm, D. 7-9 cm

Evidence for Discovery: According to the museum inventory, the fragment was found in Nin in 1883 by a visiting Russian archaeologist, Teodor Čalginj, who donated it to the Museum. Petricioli, Curator of the museum's medieval monuments (1950-1955) was sceptical about the veracity of the information (Petricioli, 1955).

Present Condition: Fragmentary but the carving is well preserved

General Description: The right side of the fragment preserves the original edge moulding of the panel composed of a flat-band moulding. The right-hand narrow side further preserves a tenon demonstrating that the piece would originally have been part of a composite monument, likely a chancel screen. The partial remains of the figure preserved by the break to the left of the stone, is depicted seated on a bed or chair under an architectural frame, visible on the right. This comprises a column with cable moulding, a square base, and surmounted by an Ionic capital from which springs an arch curving over the figure. Above the arch are scale-like tiles representing the remains of a partially preserved baldacchino. The figure appears to have worn a robe articulated as a series of recular curved folds, one of which terminates with a volute on the figure's left side. The nimbed head, identifiable as that of a woman due to the veil she wears, is slightly turned to the left and has large almond-shaped eyes and a small mouth. A small hole pierces the underside of the fragment on an axis with the column flanking the female figure.

Discussion: Petricioli (1955) compared this fragment to the screen panel from the Church of St Lawrence's at Zadar (cat. no. 23), arguing that the female figure is similar to the seated female figure in the bathing scene on that panel, and proposed that the fragment, rather than emerging from Nin, was in fact part of the second panel from St

Lawrence's. He repeated his opinion on a number of occasions (1960; 1967). His interpretation was unequivocally accepted by Jakšić (2008), while Marasović (2009) did not doubt the Zadar provenance but remained quiet about the suggestion that the figure might be interpreted as the Virgin in the Adoration scene.

Bibliography: Prijatelj, 1954: 83, Fig. 24; Petricioli, 1955: 75, Fig. 7; Petricioli, 1960: 43-44, Pl. 11, Fig. 2; Petricioli, 1967: 163; Petricioli, 1999: 487; Jakšić, 2008: 35, Fig. 47; Marasović, 2009: 352.

OSOR

(unknown)

Catalogue Number: 10   Fig. 9

Monument Type: Unknown

Location: Archaeological collection

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 36 cm, W. 88 cm , D. 15.5 cm

Evidence for Discovery: unknown

Present Condition: Fragmentary; preserved as three contiguous pieces

General Description: The figural ornament is contained by the remains of two round-headed arches set in an arcaded arrangement. In the spandrels are, on the far left a split leaf with a curved foliate tendril terminal, and on the right (in the central spandril) another foliate motif of indeterminate type. The figural decoration itself consists of the profile figure of a horseman turned to the left; the hind quarters of the horse have been only partially preserved. The horseman wears a head-dress, the details of which cannot be discerned, but a strip can be seen extending across his chest from right to left, and he holds the reins in his left hand. He sits on a blanket or a saddle.

Discussion: Ćus Rukonić (1991) dated the piece to the eleventh or twelfth century and compared it to the *spolia* from a private house at no. 57 at Osor (cat. no. 11). She identified the Osor horseman as the apocalyptic horseman who brings war, based on her interpretation of the no. 57 *spolia* (see below). I. Fisković (2002) and Marasović (2009) only published photos and mentioned the fragment briefly. The dimensions and the inhabited-vine arrangement are reminiscent of a number of other fragments from Osor,

decorated with non-figural motifs, such as birds set within vegetal scrolls, which Jakšić attributed to the Benedictine monastery of St Peter and dated to the eleventh century (1982: 188-190). He cited parallels with the fragments from the Chiostro di Sant' Apollonia in Venice and the exterior frieze preserved at the basilica of St Mary at Pomposa, dated to the first half of the eleventh century. However, the Osor piece is so fragmentary that it is not possible to come to any firm conclusions concerning its original nature or iconographic function; it may have formed a part of a frieze, given the apparently arcaded arrangement. As such it indeed resembles the frieze at Pomposa and the pieces in the Chiostro S. Apollonia in Venice.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Jakšić, 1982: 187-191; Ćus-Rukonić, 1991: 33, cat. no. 45; I. Fisković, 2002: 141; Marasović, 2009: 103.

OSOR

(unknown)

Catalogue Number: 11   Fig. 10

Monument Type: Unknown

Location: House no. 57

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

unavailable

Evidence for Discovery: unknown

Present Condition: Fragmentary

General Description:

Discussion: Ćus Rukonić (1991) dated the piece to the eleventh or twelfth century. She observed two human heads on this *spolia*, although only one is clearly visible, and perceiving stylistic similarities with the horseman fragment (cat. no. 10), proposed that pieces depicted the four horsemen of the Apocalypse. Marasović (2009) published a photo among the other sculptures from Osor. See discussion above (cat. no. 10).

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Ćus-Rukonić, 1991, 28, cat. no. 35; Marasović, 2009: 103.

RAB

(St Mary)

Catalogue Number: 12   Fig. 195

Monument Type: Plaque

Location: Inserted as *spolia* into the interior north wall of the parish church of St Mary (ex cathedral) at Rab

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 110.5 cm, W. 91. 5 cm , D. unavailable

Evidence for Discovery: Unknown

Present Condition: Entire, but broken into six pieces. The edge mouldings on all four sides have been preserved, and the decoration is in good condition, although the higher parts of the relief, such as the face or feet, are worn.

General Description: All four sides of the plaque are bounded by a flat-band moulding, the inner sloping surface of which is decorated with a repeated foliate motif composed of five small acanthus leaves. Against the plain background of the main field is an enthroned, forward-facing figure of Christ, who can be identified by his cruciform nimbus. He has long hair, and wears a full-length robe and an overgarment draped around his waist and falling over his shoulder into his lap where it is tied into a loose knot. He is seated with his legs held slightly apart and his right hand held across his chest in a gesture of benediction, with the thumb touching the third finger. His left hand is not visible, lying behind a rectangular-shaped book that rests on this left knee. The throne is ornate and is depicted in considerable detail. It consists of an oblong seat supported by four legs which are articulated as columns with bases, capitals and roll mouldings set midway along their length. They rest on an oblong base the same size as the seat. Also resting on this base, between the legs, is a footrest supporting Christ's feet, while on the seat is a cushion on which he sits. The back of the throne has convex sides (lyre-shaped) decorated with widely set rings, and a plain upper horizontal bar; tightly pleated fabric is suspended from this. The foot rest and the right side of the throne are rendered perspectivally.

Discussion: Eitelberger (1861; 1884) and Frey (1912) mention that the plaque was built in the exterior north wall of the church, but only Brusić (1926) specifies the location above the side door. Eitelberger considered the relief to be Romanesque, comparing it to the eleventh-century gable from Sustipan at Split (cat. no. 18). Domijan (2001; 2004) also identifies the relief with an early Romanesque date, associating it with the rebuilding of the Cathedral and the decoration of the façade in the mid- or second half of the eleventh century. Abramić (1932), however, considering it to represent *Majestas Domini* (due to the fact that Christ's hand is raised in blessing), and comparing it to an unspecified *Majestas* scene from St Mark's in Venice, dated it to tenth entury on the understanding that lyre-shaped throne indicates a date before the year 1000. Brusić (1926) considered the relief an eighth-century work belonging to the 'ornamental style' (i.e. interlace sculpture). Frey (1912) dated the relief to an even earlier period, that of the sixth century, based on his comparison of the lyre-backed throne to that in the contemporary mosaic at San Apollinare Nuovo, and two other examples: the narthex mosaic at Hagia Sophia and that in the chapel of Santa Matrona at San Prisco near Capua. However, the former was subsequently dated to the ninth century, while the latter mosaic does not have a lyre-backed throne. The early Christian attribution was also supported by Žic-Rokov (1972). The relief is now generally dated to the second half of the eleventh century. As for its function, according to Domijan, it had formed a part of the Cathedral's façade predating the current twelfth-century work. On the other hand, Belamarić (1997) suggested it may have been a stone icon, followed by Marasović (2009). While it clearly depicts Christ enthroned, the specific iconographic identity has yet to be determined.[2]

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26, Fig. 7; Eitelberger, 1884: 73-74, Fig. 2; Frey, 1912: 89-90, Fig. 1; Schleyer, 1914: 73; Wulff, 1914: 606; Dudan, 1921: 89; Brusić, 1926: 69-70 and 150; Toesca, 1927, 1: 895, n. 33; Karaman, 1929: 182; Abramić, 1932: Pl. 49, Fig. 2; Žic-Rokov, 1972: 458; Belamarić, 1997: 58-60; Supičić, 1999: 179; Domijan, 2001: 95 and 98; I. Fisković, 2002: 215; Domijan, 2004: 12-13; Marasović, 2009: 141.

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[2] See discussion in section 4.2.2.

SOLIN

(SS Peter and Moses)

Catalogue Number: 13   Fig. 152

Monument Type: Fragment of chancel screen panel

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 1120.

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 15.5 cm, W. 23 cm , D. 6.5 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Found during the 1931 archaeological excavations supervised by Dyggve.

Present Condition: Fragmentary but the carving is in good condition

General Description: The fragment appears to preserve the upper portion of a panel, the raised portion of an edge moulding surviving along the upper edge. On the lower left are the remains of a human head, characterized by short hair swept back from the forehead, a small ear set high on the side of the head, and part of the upper eye-lid. To the right, in the well dressed field of the fragment are the remains of an inscription: SMOISE.

Discussion: This fragment, along with the three others (cat. nos 14-16) found at the site, have been reconstructed by Dyggve (1954-1957) as forming part of the altar screen, the base of which was uncovered during the 1931 campaign. He linked these fragments to the panel depicting a seated ruler from Split Baptistery (cat. no. 17), based on the apparent stylistic similarities (the workmanship of hair, beard, eyes, nose, feet and clothes), and the fact that Zvonimir was crowned in the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin in 1076. This led Dyggve to argue that the panel from Split Baptistery was part of the same monument, depicted King Zvonimir, and stood in the church at Solin, constructed on the occasion of the royal coronation. Dyggve also compared the non-figural sculptures from Solin and Split Baptistery and also found stylistic similarities between them. He, therefore, argued the Split panel must also have emerged from Solin. Prijatelj (1954) was less certain, despite observing that the pieces from the two sites appear very similar. Petricioli (1960), widened the stylistic comparisons with a number

of sculptures from Zadar, namely the panels from the Church of Holy Dominica at Zadar and two *ciboria* from the same town, dating them all to the 1030s on the basis of the dedicatory inscription identifying *proconsul* Gregorius who was mentioned in the written sources in 1033 and 1036. He attributed all these reliefs to the same Zadar-Split stone-cutting workshop. Petricioli, however, proved to be inconsistent with the name of the workshop, referring to it as Zadar-Solin in 1983.

Hypotheses about the monument type have been scarce. In Dyygve's reconstruction the head of Moses was part of the screen panel, while Katić (1943) proposed it could have been on the right-hand side gable leading to the south apse.

As for the potential scene to which the head might have been belonged, Vežić (2000) proposed the figure of Moses may have been part of a composition of Christ's Transfiguration, to which the three other figural fragments had also belonged (cat. nos 14-16). Thus Christ's head would have been on the same panel, while the preserved body parts may have been those of Elijah, and the apostles Peter, James and John. Vežić (2000) emphasized the connection between this scene and both St Peter and Moses as the titular saints of the church.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Karaman, 1931: 14; Grgin, 1933: 119; Karaman, 1934: 25, Pl. 6; Katić, 1939: 17; Katić, 1943: 186-187; Dyggve, 1951: Pl. 6, Fig. 18; Prijatelj, 1954: 71-72, Fig. 5; Dyggve, 1954-1957: 239, 241, Pl. 29, Fig. 3; Petricioli, 1960: 33, Pl. 7, Fig. 3; Rapanić and Katić, 1971: 81; Petricioli, 1975: 113, Fig. 3; Jelovina, 1980: 48; Petricioli, 1983: 20; Piteša et al., 1992: 149, 151, Fig. 82; Zekan, 1994; Delonga, 1996b: 139, Pl. 46; I. Fisković, 1997: 195; Marasović, 1997: Figs 21-23; Vežić, 2000: 13; Zekan, 2000: 251; I. Fisković, 2002: 263.

SOLIN

(SS Peter and Moses)

Catalogue Number: 14   Fig. 153

Monument Type: Fragment of chancel screen panel

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. 1627

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 16 cm, W. 11.5 cm, D. 12 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Found by Dyggve during the 1931 archaeological excavations of the church.

Present Condition: Fragmentary, but carving in good condition

General Description: Part of a male head is all that remains of the carving. It is characterized by an oval-shaped face with big eyes, flat nose, thin mouth and moustache split in two below the nose. The remains of hair survive on the left of the forehead.

Discussion: The fragment is only mentioned briefly in the scholarship as one of the four figural fragments found on this site. Piteša (1992) stated that it is most similar to the panels from the church of Holy Dominica (cat. no. 20a-b), and that from Split Baptistery (cat. no. 17). Only I. Fisković (2002) devoted somewhat more attention to it, suggesting the bearded face may have belonged to St Peter as a counterpart to Moses, both being the titular saints of the church. See also above, the discussion for cat. no. 13.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Karaman, 1934: Pl. 6; Dyggve, 1951: Pl. 6, Fig. 18; Prijatelj, 1954: 71-72; Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241, Pl. 29, Fig. 2; Petricioli, 1960: 33, Pl. 7, Fig. 2; Petricioli, 1975: 113, Fig. 3; Petricioli, 1983: 20; Piteša et al., 1992: 149, 151, Fig. 81; I. Fisković, 1997: 195; Marasović, 1997: Figs 21-23; I. Fisković, 2002: 263.

SOLIN

(SS Peter and Moses)

Catalogue Number: 15   Fig. 154

Monument Type: Fragment of the chancel screen panel

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, cat. no. unknown

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 17 cm, W. 20 cm , D. 7 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Found during the 1931 archaeological excavations at the Church of SS Peter and Moses supervised by Dyggve.

Present Condition: Fragmentary but the carving is in good condition

General Description: The remains of the carving consist of the lower half of a human figure wearing a long pleated robe, the hem of which is decorated with an undulating line. The feet are turned to the right.

Discussion: The fragment clearly formed part of a monument decorated with figural carving. Beyond this it is difficult to determine the original nature of the figural scheme of which it was a part. See above, the discussion for cat. no. 13.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Karaman, 1934: Pl. 6; Dyggve, 1951. Pl. 6, Fig. 18; Dyggve, 1954-1957: 241, Pl. 29, Fig. 6; Petricioli, 1960: 33; Petricioli, 1983: 20; Pitešaet al., 1992: 149; Marasović, 1997: Figs 21-23; I. Fisković, 2002: 230.

SOLIN

(SS Peter and Moses)

Catalogue Number: 16   Fig. 155

Monument Type: Fragment of panel

Location: Split, Archaeological Museum, cat. no. unknown

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric): unavailable

Evidence for Discovery: Found during the 1931 archaeological excavations supervised by Dyggve.

Present Condition: Fragmentary and worn

General Description: Only the upper half of a nimbed head with long hair survives, featuring a large right eye, flat nose and thin mouth.

D**iscussion**: The fragment was drawn by Dyggve as belonging to the gable over the central opening in his reconstruction of the altar screen of SS Peter and Moses at Solin, as seen in Petricioli (1975: Figs 4, 11), who was the first to publish Dyggve's reconstruction the photograph of the piece, analyzing it together with other fragments from Solin (cat. nos. 13-15). He identified the figure as Christ (1975), but regarded it as having formed part of the altar screen (1983), rather than the gable. Subsequent scholars accepted his identification without reserve (Piteša, 1992; I. Fisković, 1997; Marasović, 1997; I. Fisković, 2002). See also above, discussion for cat. no. 13.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Petricioli, 1975: 113, Fig. 4; Petricioli, 1983: 20-21; Piteša et al.: 1992: 149, 150, Fig. 80; I. Fisković, 1997: 195; Marasović, 1992. 71; Marasović, 1997: figs. 21-23; I. Fisković, 2002: 262.

SPLIT

(Cathedral Baptistery)

Catalogue Number: 17   Fig. 173

Monument Type: Chancel screen panel

Location: Baptistery of Split cathedral; forms part of the baptismal font

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 104 cm, W. 68 cm , D. 18 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Unknown. The panel belongs to a set of six decorated early medieval panels reused in the parapet of the cruciform baptismal font constructed in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Present Condition: The decoration on the panel is well preserved but the right-hand edge and upper corner are damaged, probably due to recutting when the panel was reused in the baptismal font.

General Description: The original upper border stands proud of the main field of carving, and is decorated with a frieze of three-strand double como-braid surrounded by a flat-band moulding. Immediately below this upper border is a slightly protruding narrow band which was originally inscribed. The inscription was obliterated and only illegible traces of individual letters are still visible. The panel itself is decorated with three male figures, the largest of whom sits on the right enthroned on a backless bench throne with a footrest; to his left stands a slightly smaller figure; and a diminutive figure lies prostrated at his feet. The seated figure, identified as a king by the crown he wears, faces forwards. The crown consists of a square element, decorated with circles, set on the top of the head, which extends down each side of the face. On the left the extension terminates in a slightly outward-turning curl; the comparable detail on the right has been lost in the damage to the stone. The crown is surmounted by three small crosses. In his

upraised right hand the king holds a large Latin cross and in his left he holds an orb upraised, the remains of which can be discerned despite the damage to the stone. The king's face is characterized by large ovoid eyes, a deltoid nose and thin incised mouth with moustache and beard, and he has short cropped hair. He wears leggins, shoes and leg gaiters indicated by horizontal incisions. A short overgarment, articulated as a number of U-shaped folds, is thrown across his chest. The seat of the bench throne is connected to the footrest by two, inwards-sloping legs which hug the outline of the figure's legs. Low hand-rests on either side of the seat are depicted as inward-curving spirals.

The male figure standing to the king's left faces forwards with his feet turned to the right. Save for the crown, his head is identical to that of the king. He wears a knee-length pleated robe with a square neck-line; there is a sash at the waist and the hem is decorated with horizontal lines. The legs also sport gaiters. He holds his arms across his chest in the action of clasping an object that has been almost obliterated, but may have consisted of a rectangle held diagonally across his body; the vestigal outlines of such an object are just discernable between the hands. Immediately below him is the profile figure of the man prostrate before the king, whose head almost touches the left side of the foot-rest. He is attired in garments similar to those of the standing figure, and displays the same facial features as both this figure and the king.

Discussion: The panel has been the subject of extensive discussion for more than a century and the issues raised concerned its date, provenance and iconography. Eitelberger was the first to publish it in 1861. He considered the panel as part of a sarcophagus and dated it widely between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Eitelberger identified the figure as the local ruler and believed the panel had been brought to Split from Solin. Jelić (1895a-b), however, later supported by Vasić (1922), identified it as one of the panels from the twelfth-century altar from Split Cathedral depicting Christ as king. Jelić (1895a) also attempted to identify the barely visible inscription and recognized the following letters: TIT/O/E E.FEMIE LEGEM ... SDA ... which he reconstructed as 'Titio (or Titiano) et Eufemie legem Dominus dat.'

Thus, two sites have been suggested as possible provenances for the panel: Split Cathedral and the Church of SS Peter and Moses at Solin. The building in which the

panel is currently situated was a fourth-century Roman temple (now the Cathedral Baptistery), constructed near the imperial mausoleum (now the Cathedral of St Domnius), within Diocletian's palace complex. Since the use of the temple as Baptistery is confirmed in written sources from the twelfth century onwards, the scholars believe that the Baptistery could not have been the original setting for the panel and its counterparts. While a number of scholars (e.g. Jelić, Karaman, Abramić, Marasović and Belamarić) hold that the panel may have belonged to the chancel screen from the Cathedral, others (e.g. Eitelberger, Kukuljević, Dyggve, Pejaković, I. Fisković), have proposed that it was brought to Split from the Church of SS Peter and Moses at nearby Solin. This hypothesis has been based to two pieces of evidence: first, the church in Solin served as a coronation basilica for King Zvonimir in 1076, and since the panel depicts an enthroned king it has been assumed that he can be identified with this particular ruler; second, four marble fragments with percieved stylistic similarities were discovered during the archaeological excavations of SS Peter and Moses by Dyggve in 1931 (cat. nos. 13-16).

Within these discussions, accounts of the iconography of the panel have taken three different courses. Most scholars argued that the enthroned figure is that of a local ruler (Kukuljević, Radić, Karaman, Abramić, Dyggve, Marasović, Belamarić, Jakšić, Jurković; I. Fisković), although they disagree as to the identity of that ruler; Tomislav (910-928?), Petar Krešimir IV (1058-1075) and Zvonimir (1076-1089) have all been proposed. Others, mostly in the nineteenth century (Bulić, Jelić, De Waal), considered the enthroned ruler to be Christ, while a few (Radojčić, Petricioli, Vežić) have argued that the three figures together illustrate Christ's parable of the merciless servant (Matthew 18: 23-35).

In a number of publications between 1997 and 2006, I. Fisković undertook the most thorough analysis of all the aspects of the panel, arguing that the depicted king could not have been Zvonimir due to the fact that as a vassal to Pope Gregory VII, his appearance on a chancel screen would not have been tolerated. Moreover, since the church of SS Peter and Moses is documented before Zvonimir's reign, the enthroned king would better identified as his predecessor, Petar Krešimir IV who was in a position to depict himself in the role of *rex iustus*, which I. Fisković identified as the scheme

carved on the panel (1997; 1999; 2002). As such, I. Fisković (2002) argued that the panel shows the temporal ruler as the vicar of Christ in the act of donation to the local church. Although, Prijatelj Pavičić (1998a-b) returned to the interpretation of the scene as involving Christ, she went further to propose that the panel depicts all the proposed schemes: Christ, a local ruler and Matthew's parable since all could be understood as just rulers. However, overall, the panel is currently considered by most scholars to a depict a local ruler, Petar Krešimir IV, rather than Zvonimir, and to have been carved during his reign, between 1058-1075.

Date: Eleventh century; possibly 1070

Bibliography: Eitelberger, 1861: 123, Fig. 83; Eitelberger, 1884: 285-286, Fig. 86; Kukuljević-Sakcinski, 1873: 53; Jackson, 1887, 2: 68; Kukuljević-Sakcinski, 1881: 47; Bulić, 1888: 38-42, Pl. 15, no. 42; Cattaneo, 1888: 184; Radić, 1890b: 133; Bulić, Jelić and Rutar, 1894: 120-121; De Waal, 1894: 8; Neumann, 1894: 74-75; Jelić, 1895a: 81-131, Jelić, 1895b: 79-81; Katalinić, 1895: 79-81; Radić, 1895c: 112-123; Radić, 1896b: 46-50, 109-115, 167-178, 245-253; Stückelberg, 1896: 76; Gabelentz, 1903: 106; Monneret de Villard, 1910: 50; Venturi, 1917: Pl. 74; Dudan, 1921, 177: Fig. 43; Vasić, 1922: 166-168, Fig. 127; Karaman, 1924-1925: 1-27; Karaman, 1925: 391-412; Bulić, 1925: 145; Bulić and Karaman, 1927: 229-230, Fig. 88; Strzygowski, 1927: 191-198; Karaman, 1928: 81-116; Abramić, 1929: 1-13; Bulić and Katić 1928: 90, 93-95; Karaman, 1929: 321-336; Karaman, 1930: 114-115, Fig. 120; Baum, 1937: 28-29; Karaman 1943, 70-73; Kovačević and Garašanin, 1950: 183, 216; Dyggve, 1951: 97-98, Pl. 6, Fig. 21; Karaman, 1952: 99; Prijatelj, 1954: 68-71, Fig. 2; Radojčić, 1955: 204; Dyggve, 1954-1957: 238-243, Pl. 27, Fig. 2; Dyggve, 1960: 175-184; Petricioli, 1960: 28-32, Pl. 7; Subotić, 1963: 38; Karaman, 1966: 111-129; Montani, 1966: 6, 17, no. 27, Fig. 6; Petricioli, 1967: 159; Marasović, 1968: 35; Radojčić, 1973: 3-13, Fig. 1; Petricioli, 1975: 111, 113; Jelovina and Gunjača, 1976: 41, 101-102; Goss, 1978a: 99; Petricioli, 1980: 113-120; Goss, 1981: 6-11; Marasović, 1982: 116; Petricioli, 1983: 17-19; C. Fisković, 1986: 37; Ivančević, 1986: 64; Petricioli, 1986: 44; Goss, 1987b: 20; Rapanić, 1987: 176; Jelovina, 1989: 50-51; Petricioli, 1990: 58; Zekan, 1990: 30; Belamarić, 1991: 27; Jurković, 1992: 104-105; Marasović, 1992: 70-71; Piteša, 1992: 144-151; Marasović, 1994: 46, 254; Zekan, 1994: 1-2; Belamarić, 1996: 365, Fig. 10;

Marasović, 1996: 9, 15-16; Pejaković, 1996: 282-293; Belamarić, 1997: 47-48; I. Fisković, 1997a: 179-209; I. Fisković, 1997b: 49-74; Marasović 1997, 7-55; Marasović, 1998: 24-25; Prijatelj-Pavičić, 1998a: 38-41; Prijatelj-Pavičić, 1998b: 10-22; Badurina and Marković, 1999: 432, cat. no. 22; I. Fisković, 1999b: 753-759; Petricioli, 1999: 483; Vežić, 1999: 11; Rapanić, 2000: 99; Rendić-Miočević, 2000: 106-108; Vežić, 2000: 8; I. Fisković, 2001: 18, 38; Burić, 2002: 310; I. Fisković, 2002: 55; Jakšić, 2006b: 90-91.

SPLIT - SUSTIPAN

(St Stephen)

Catalogue Number: 18   Fig. 204

Monument Type: Screen gable

Location: Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, M.S.

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 65 cm, W. 82 cm , D. 9-10 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Unknown. The gable was inserted as *spolia* into the wall above the main entrance to the former nineteenth-century cemetery at Sustipan; first recorded there by Eitelberger (1861). It was moved to the Museum in the mid-1960s.

Present Condition: Worn but in good condition; the lower angles and apex of the triangle are lost due to recutting

General Description: The triangular field of the gable is framed on both sides by a frieze decorated with a simple split-leaf vine-scroll. These meet at the apex where they form a small serrated lobed leaf, similar to a palmette, encircled by a heart-shaped roll moulding. The lower, arched edge of the gable is marked by a roll moulding. The triangular field is filled with three figures: Christ flanked by two angels. Christ, identified by his cruciform, ringed nimbus, is seated on a throne resembling a simple chair. He wears a full-length robe with a long overgarment and his right hand is raised across his chest in blessing. In his left hand he holds a closed book on his knee. His head is disproportionately large and bearded, with oval shaped eyes and a flat nose. His hair, parted in the centre, is long. The two flanking angels grasp the central throne with both

hands. The right hand of the angel on the left, and the left hand of that on the right hold the legs of the throne, while their left and right hands respectively grasp the back of the throne. Both angels are turned in profile to face the throne. They wear identical long robes and are nimbed. Their inner legs, closer to Christ, are bent at the knees while their outer legs are extended to fill the triangular space formed by the spandrels of the arch below. Their wings are spread out, one shown in profile and the other raised above, and behind their heads.

Discussion: Eitelberger (1861; 1884) mentioned the Sustipan gable as a comparison to the plaque from Rab (cat. no. 12), considering them both Romanesque. Bulić, Jelić and Rutar (1894), and Abramić (1932) referred to it as a *ciborium* fragment. This was rejected by Karaman (1935) who recognized it as the gable of a chancel screen.

Karaman (1927-1928; 1935; 1943) was the first to identify the scene as a *Majestas Domini*; previous scholars did no more than describe the relief as Christ seated between two angels. He also dated the relief to the late eleventh century and cited the fact that the monastery was recorded as a place where the last member of the Trpimirovic dynasty and nephew of Petar Krešimir IV, Stephen II (? – 1091) retired around 1078. Abramić (1932) had some reservations about Karaman's identification of the scene, being more inclined to see it as a local variant in the development of the *Majestas* iconography.[3] He interpreted the gable as representing a transition between what he called the 'ornamental' and Romanesque styles, and dated it to the second half of the eleventh century. Prijatelj (1954) also saw the gable as originating from the monastery, and regarded the scene as a simplified variant of the Romanesque *Majestas Domini*. For this reason, he dated the gable to the late eleventh century while allowing for the possibility that it might have been a twelfth-century provincial work given the plasticity of the figures, their dynamic poses and the strong sense of composition. Petricioli (1960) did not dwell much on it, being inclined to accept what Karaman, Abramić and Prijatelj had said, while recognizing Byzantine features of the gable in general. Marasović and Vrsalović (1963-1965) relied largely on Petricioli.

Accordingly, while the relief had always been regarded as early Romanesque, opinions concerning its eleventh- or twelfth-century date have varied. Furthermore, most

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[3] See section 4.3.1.

authors (Karaman, 1927-1928; Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965; Montani, 1966; Jelovina 1989; Kečkemet 1994) associated the gable with the Benedictine monastery of St Stephen *sub pinis*, which gave the name to the site (Sustipan) because it had been built in the cemetery wall. On the other hand, Jakšić (1981) suggested it might have been brought from Knin in the sixteenth century, because of apparent similarities with the fragments from Knin Castle (cat. nos. 5-6). Marasović at first (1994) repeated the Sustipan provenance but then subsequently began mentioning Jakšić's idea (1996; 2009), identifying it as an early Romanesque marble of late eleventh-century with the scene of *Majestas Domini*.

Thus, from Karaman (1927-1928) onwards, the scholars have unanimously agreed about the *Majestas* scene and the early Romanesque nature of the carving, opting for the late eleventh-century date. As for the provenance, the earlier assumption that it belonged to the church of St Stephen was replaced by the conviction that Jakšić (1981) may have been right when he suggested it could have come from Knin.

Date: Late eleventh century

Bibliography: Eitelberger, 1861: 25-26; Eitelberger, 1884: 74; Jelić, Bulić and Rutar, 1894: 216; Bulić and Katić, 1928: 88; Karaman, 1927-1928: 325-327, Fig. 1; Abramić, 1932: 326, Pl. 49, Fig. 1; Karaman, 1935: 9, 11; Karaman, 1943: 84; Prijatelj, 1954: 72, Fig. 6; Petricioli, 1960: 54, Fig. 22; Marasović and Vrsalović, 1963-1965: 183, 204, 206, Pl. 52; Montani, 1966: 19, cat. no. 34; Jakšić, 1981, 31: Fig. 9; Jelovina, 1989: 59; Jakšić, 1990: 128; Petricioli, 1990: 62, Pl. 8, Fig. a; Jurković, 1992: 115-116; Kečkemet, 1994: 15; Marasović, 1994: 263; Belamarić, 1996: 368, Fig. 14; Delonga, 1996: 103; Marasović, 1996: 26; Belamarić, 1997: 46; Petricioli, 1999: 489; Jakšić, 2000: 23-26; I. Fisković, 2002: 245; Marasović, 2009: 514.

STON
(St Michael)

Catalogue Number: 19   Fig. 11

Monument Type: Unknown

Location: Church of St Michael, near Ston

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 10 cm, W. 12.5 cm , D. 8 cm

Evidence for Discovery: The fragment was found by conservation officers near Ston at the top of St Michael's hill sometime between 1950-1960.

Present Condition: Fragmentary and worn

General Description: Only part of a male head survives. The head is round and has large ovoid eyes with prominent relief eye-brows, a flat nose and thin incised mouth. Two small ears protrude from the each side of the head. No hair is visible; rather a head-dress (crown?) formed by small triangles surrounds the head.

Discussion: The fragment was first published by Petricioli (1960) who compared it to the sculptures from the Zadar-Solin workshop on the basis that all are carved in shallow relief. On the other hand, he noted the physiognomy (e.g. the deltoid nose) which reminded him of the sculptures from the Zadar-Knin group. He dated the fragment to the eleventh century on the basis of the dating of the church of St Michael. Jurković briefly mentioned the fragment on two occasions (1983; 1987), commenting that the date can only be discussed if the original position of the fragment within the church has been determined. He initially suggested that the head had stylized hair, before concluding that it might wear a cap or crown – a suggestion taken up by Lupis (2000) who interpreted the head-dress as crown and proposed that the figure may have represented King Michael, an eleventh-century ruler of Zahumlje, who is depicted on the frescos in the church of St Michael (Fig, 181). I. Fisković (2002), on the other hand, suggesting the piece may be of twelfth-century date due to its shallow relief, identified the head as that of Christ, *Sol Invictus* with a radial wreath around his head.

Date: Second half of the eleventh century

Bibliography: Petricioli, 1960: 50; Jurković, 1983: 175, Fig. 33c; Jurković, 1987: 209, 214, n. 1; Lupis, 2000: 91-92, Fig. 53; I. Fisković, 2002: 230-231.

ZADAR

(Holy Dominica; formerly St John the Baptist)

Catalogue Number: 20a-b   Figs 12-13

Monument Type: Two chancel screen panels

Location: Archaeological Museum, Zadar (inv. nos 14/804, 14/806, 2/807, 1/801)

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

Panel 1: H. 98 cm, W. 235 cm , D. 7 cm

Panel 2: H. 98 cm, W. 183 cm, D. 7 cm

Evidence for Discovery: Panel 2 was found during the demolition of 'a private house' in 1880.[4] Panel 1 was reconstructed in 1954 by joining two large fragments: one (illustrating the Nativity), built in the façade of the church of Holy Dominica, removed and brought to the museum in 1887; and the other (depicting the Annunciation) was found during the demolition of the church itself in 1890.

Present Conditions: Panel 1 is worn and weathered due to its exposure, but the original end mouldings have survived. Its right end has preserved the tenon for insertion into the chancel screen post. Panel 2 is well preserved but its right end is missing.

General Description

Panel 1: The carving is organized as a series of nine arcades set between two decorated horizontal and strips. That running along the top of the stone, contained by two mouldings, forms a frieze composed of alternating inhabited arcades (i-vi) and knots of interlace with medium incised strands. The arcades are occupied chiefly by birds, placed frontally or in profile; in ii is a rampant quadruped turned to the right. Along the bottom, again contained by two narrow mouldings is a horizontal run of a single twist double-strand plait with pellets at the centres. Between these two decorative friezes is a nine-fold arcade (1-9). The pillars have no bases and no capitals; only the first two depart from this pattern, having cable mouldings and trapezoidal capitals. The arches do not contain the same number of figures.

(1) A standing angel with outspread wings faces right. The head is very damaged but the outlines show that he was nimbed. His right arm is raised diagonally towards the next arch; his left arm is bent across the waist. He wears a long robe with vertical folds and an over-garment with diagonal drapery, the end of which hangs across his left hand. The feet point to the right.

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[4] See section 1.1.

(2) A damaged figure stands slightly turned to the left. The outlines are still visible but the carved details remain only on the lower left-hand side of the body. The figure is nimbed and wears a long robe with vertical folds and a shorter over-garment.

(3) Two nimbed embracing figures stand pressed against each other. The left-hand figure is taller than that on the right. Both have round heads with large oval-shaped eyes, tubular noses and straight incised mouths; they are almost identical, except for their height and the decorative detail of the vertical strip hanging down the front of their full-length robes (that of the left-hand figure is decorated with an undulating line, while that of the right-hand figure has an x-shaped pattern). The left-hand figure puts both arms around the shoulders of the right-hand figure, while her overgarment folds over the left arm of that figure, whose own left arm is visible extending across their bodies and holding the drapery of their robes. The end of the upper robe of the right-hand figure flutters to the right. Their feet face each other.

(4-5) These arches are occupied by a scene of the Nativity. In the lower part of the first arch is the half-length figure of a nimbed angel facing forwards with out-spread wings but with no visible arms. His robe is close fitting, as indicated by triangular drapery folds. Next to him, in the lower part of the adjoining arch (5), one figure attends the small figure of Christ, identified by a nimbus with three radiating arms, who is immersed up to his neck in a large chalice-shaped vessel. The attendant has a disproportionately large head with no nimbus and wears a long robe; the left arm extends toward the Christ Child and the feet face left. Above, and occupying the width of both arches, is the horizontally placed reclining figure of the Virgin, her head in 5. She is nimbed and her hairline is visible. Her arms are crossed over her chest with her right arm extended towards the Christ Child and attendant below. Above her, in 4, is a box-shaped structure from which emerge the heads of two animals flanking a smaller nimbed human head. Above this group is a large eight-pointed star.

(6) Three standing figures are turned to the left to face 5. The two in front (on the left) are fully visible while only the bust of the third emerges from behind them. The figure on the far left is bearded and has short hair. The right arm is raised and he points with his index finger, while his left hand is also visible across his chest. He wears a long robe with vertical folds and a sash at the waist. His over-garment is short. The right-

hand figure also extends his left hand across the chest towards the left and in his right hand he holds either a sack or the end of his over-garment. He wears a knee-length robe with a pointed hem and is clean-shaven. He stands 'before' the column that would separate this group from the figures in the adjoining arch. The bust of the figure in the middle is bearded and his facial features are similar to those of the left-hand figure.

(7-9) The scene of the Adoration of the Magi occupies the last three arches on the right with the Virgin seated on a cross-legged stool to the left of the scene in 7 (next to the figures in 6). She holds the Christ Child on her knee while he extends his right hand in a gesture of blessing towards the Magi (in 8 and 9) who approach in single file from the right with their heads slightly bowed. All the figures are shown in profile. The three Magi wear identical clothes: knee-length robes with belts, cloaks and pointed head-dresses, which are stylized Phrygian caps. Their hands are visible, offering gifts in the form of identical cup-shaped objects to the Child. The first two Magi are both bearded and do not differ from each other, except for the shorter height of the second, whose comparatively diminutive stature allows the juncture of the two adjoining arches meeting the column to be seen immediately above his head. The column itself does not continue downwards. The third Magus is more individualized; he is taller than the first, is clean-shaven and the hem of his robe is straight rather than pointed.

Panel 2: The figural decoration, organized in a series of eight arches (1-8) is bounded above and below by two horizontal friezes. The uppermost of these is composed of medallions formed by three-strand double-twisted ribbons. In the triangular spaces between the medallions are floriate motifs formed by a central pointed oval bud and two pointed leaves or petals. The medallions themselves are inhabited by birds, quadrupeds and flowers. This arcade filling the panel contains fewer scenes than are preserved on Panel 1, and these are distributed more evenly across the length of the panel with a single figure contained in each arch.

(1-4) The scene of the Massacre of the Innocents occupies the four arches on the left. Herod (in 1) is seated on a folding cross-legged stool, like that of the Virgin in Panel 1 (7). He sits, three-quarter turned to the right. He is dressed in a long robe which he holds around him with his left hand, and wears a short cloak that falls behind the stool. He is bearded and wears a distinctive triangular crown. His right hand is raised

with the index finger pointing upwards apparently addressing the bearded figure in 2 who, wearing a short tunic and leggings with gaiters, dangles a naked child upside-down by its right leg in his left hand; his right hand is raised and touches his tilted upturned face. In 3-4 are two standing figures of women depicted almost identically. They have long parted hair not covered by veils and wear long robes with vertical folds that are open across their torsos, revealing their stylized breasts. That on the left has her hand raised to her head.

(5-7) The next three arches contain the scene of the Flight to Egypt: the nimbed Virgin (contained in 5) sits on the donkey which walks in profile to the right, filling both 5 and 6. The Virgin faces the viewer and holds the swaddled nimbed Christ Child across her lap. The donkey has its head bowed in 6 which is filled with a tree. Joseph (in 7) leads the donkey by the rope in his left hand which is held across his body; in his right hand he holds a staff with a small undefined object attached at the far end across his left shoulder. He is bearded and wears a simple knee-length robe.

(8) The figure in this arch is a bearded man with long hair and a nimbus; he wears a long robe, and reaches out with his right arm to the next arch, while stepping up into that arch with his left foot raised. Since this last arch is missing, the scene that involved it is incomplete and cannot be firmly identified. The only detail remaining consists of two fingers extended towards the bearded figure stepping into the arch. Given the survival of this figure, apparently stepping up towards a second figure that seems to bless him, it has been proposed that the scene originally depicted the Baptism of Christ with the remaining figure being identified as John the Baptist.

Discussion: The earliest record of Panel 1 is found in Kukuljević's (1855; 1873) accounts of his travels. Eitelberger (1861) mentioned only that the fragment with the Magi was built in the façade of the church, noting its similarity with a fragment from the Museum, but not dating it. In the second edition of his book (1884), he published a drawing of Panel 2 without connecting it to Panel 1. Jackson (1887), however, recognized that the *spolia* on the façade included scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Shepherds and Magi and observed that its size and style corresponded to the panel in the Museum, and concluded that both might have formed part of an altar. He dated them to the ninth or tenth century. Vasić (1922) was the first to argue that the panels belonged to

a chancel screen, and dated them to the eleventh century, pointing to similarities with the panel from Split Baptistery (cat. no. 17). During the nineteenth century, however, there was little agreement on the dating of the panels. Most authors argued for an early date, in the eighth (Bianchi, 1877; Bulić, 1888; Cattaneo, 1888; Kehrer, 1909; Strzygowski, 1927) or ninth century (Smirich, 1894; Gabelentz, 1903; Brunelli, 1913). A tenth-century date was proposed by Kowalczyk and Gurlitt (1910) and Toesca (1927). Vasić (1922) and Karaman (1930) were the first to argue for an eleventh-century date, with Vasić opting for the more precise date of 1070 on the grounds of his dating of the panels in Split Cathedral Baptistery.

Some of these scholars also suggested unusual iconographic interpretations of the scenes: De Waal (1894) identified the missing last figure on Panel 2, not as St John the Baptist but as Moses, while Cattaneo (1888) and Hauser (1895) considered the Massacre of the Innocents (Panel 2, 1-4) to be a depiction of Solomon's Judgement. This interpretation has proved surprisingly popular, being reiterated in recent works by Jakšić (1999; 2006b; 2008) and Belamarić (1997). Cattaneo (1888) even offered a surprisingly inaccurate interpretation of the Nativity scene, seeing the chalice-shaped vessel containing Christ Child (Panel 1, 5) as the cradle, the reclining Virgin as the angel announcing the birth to the shepherds and the woman bathing Christ as the infant John the Baptist. Generally, however, it is now accepted that the scenes can be identified as: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity with the Shepherds, and the Adoration of the Magi (on Panel 1); and the Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, and the Baptism of Christ (on Panel 2).

Date: First half of the eleventh-century

Bibliography: Kukuljević, 1855: 6; Eitelberger, 1861: 53; Kukuljević, 1873: 35; Bianchi, 1877, 1: 413; *Mittheilungen*, 1880: LXXX; *Mittheilungen*, 1881: XIV; *Mittheilungen* 1882: 81; Eitelberger, 1884: 134-135, Fig. 27; Jackson, 1887, 1: 265; *Mittheilungen* 1887: CLXXV; Bulić, 1888: 37; *Mittheilungen*, 1890: CCXIX; Radić, 1890a: 34; Radić, 1890b: 52; Strzygowski, 1893: 66-67; Smirich, 1894: 17; de Waal, 1894: 6; Hauser, 1894: 248; Hauser, 1895: 158; Radić, 1895e: 191; Gabelentz, 1903: 106; Kehrer, 1909: 100-101, Fig. 100; Iveković, 1910: 4-5, Pls. 122-123; Kowalczyk and Gurlitt, 1910, 4: Pls. 122-123; Errard and Gayet, 1901-1911, 4: Pl. 20; Brückner,

1911: Fig. 51; Reisch, 1912: 62-64; Brunelli, 1913: 257, Figs 102-103; Dudan, 1921, 1: 78, Pls 48-49; Vasić, 1922: 61, 166-168, Figs 75-76; Strzygowski, 1927: 198-205; Toesca, 1927, 1: 433-435; Karaman, 1930: 113-114, Figs 118-119; Baum, 1930: 29, Fig. 24; Focillon, 1931: 52; Bersa, 1926: 132-133; Bersa, 1927: 179-180; Cecchelli, 1932: 187-188, 198; Valenti, 1932: 12, nos 108 and 118; Baum, 1937: Pl. 70; Karaman, 1943: 60, Figs 41-42; Šeper, 1943: 644; Jullian, 1945: 17, Pl. 3, Fig. 1; Vezin, 1950, 44-45; Garašanin and Kovačević, 1950: 181, 216; Radojčić, 1950: 30, Pl. 8; Karaman, 1952: 100; Malraux, 1954: Pl. 47; Prijatelj, 1954: 85-88, Figs 26-28; Suić, 1954: 15, 102; Petricioli, 1954: 5; Karaman, 1957: 197-207; Petricioli, 1960: 18-28, Pls 3-6, Figs 1-2; Maksimović, 1961: 85-96; Karaman, 1962: 129-130; Petricioli, 1962: 360-374; Karaman, 1963: 80-81, 92; Montani, 1966: 18, cat. no. 32, Fig. 11; Petricioli, 1967: 160-161; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 48-49, 103-104; Petricioli, 1983: 12-16; Jelovina, 1989: 56-57; Petricioli et. al.: 1990: 148, 309; Petricioli, 1990: 57, Pl. 7, Fig. b; I. Fisković, 1991: 29; Jurković, 1992: 106, 108-109; Belamarić, 1996: 361, Fig. 5; Pejaković, 1996: 313-349; Belamarić, 1997: 46-47; I. Fisković, 1997: 182-183; Jurković, 1998: 65; Badurina and Marković, 1999: 96, 430-432, cat. no. 21; Petricioli, 1999: 482-484;Vežić, 1999: 11-13; Vežić, 2000: 9, 11; I. Fisković, 2001: 19; I. Fisković, 2002: 224-225; Jakšić, 2006b: 98-103; Jakšić, 2008: 27-28, 131-138; Marasović, 2009: 160-161.

ZADAR

(St Lawrence)

Catalogue Number: 21   Fig. 64

Monument Type: Portal of the church (lintel and two door jambs)

Location: Zadar, Archaeological Museum, cat. no. 25

Stone Type: Marble

Dimensions (Metric):

portal H. 250 cm, W. 153 cm, D. 20 cm.

pediment H. 48 cm, W. 153 cm, D. 20 cm.

jambs H. 202 cm, W. 20 cm, D. 20 cm.

Evidence for Discovery: Portal was *in situ*, in the north wall until 1886 when it was moved to the Archaeological Museum, apparently for safety reasons (Jackson, 1887).

Present Condition: Entirely preserved; jambs are more worn than the lintel.

General Description: The portal consists of a pedimented lintel and two jambs.

Lintel: The pediment is framed with a flat-band moulding. Both the short vertical and the slanting sides have an astragal running along the moulding, while the lower horizontal edge is bounded by a plain flat moulding. The central field is occupied by the figure of Christ, identified by his cruciform nimbus, seated on an arch. He is surrounded by an oval mandorla supported by an angel on each side; behind each angel is a small tree and a griffin. In his right hand, extended out to his side, Christ holds a sceptre with a round terminal, while in his left he holds, on his knee, an open book with the letters IHS XPS. He wears a long garment and an overgarment which are not clearly differentiated. The zig-zag pattern decorating the U-shaped folds falling over down his chest and the folds around the knees seem to belong to the overgarment while the scale-like decoration covering the lower half of Christ's legs, although depicted above the other garment, seems to belong to that worn underneath. The feet are visible and placed slightly apart. The angels flanking him are identical save for the details of their overgarments and wings. They stand in profile with their feet facing towards the mandorla and both of their hands placed on it. Their outer arms are not indicated by the folds of drapery and the hands are simply placed by the side of the body next to the mandorla. Both are nimbed and have oval-shaped heads with large eyes, long noses and small mouths, and both have out-spread wings, but the feathers are detailed individually. Furthermore, while both angels wear a long pleated garment and an overgarment articulated as stylized folds, the folds on the overgarment of the angel on the left are diagonal while those of the angel on the right are undulating. The trees stand on small square bases and have three tiers of paired branches. Each branch terminates with a trefoil leaf. The lower two branches have triangular bunches of fruit suspended from them. The griffins stand in profile with their feet turned to the centre of the pediment. Their front paws are raised so as to touch the trees in front of them. The left-hand griffin has a herring-bone pattern on its neck and scales on the upper part of its body; the neck

and body of that on the right are plain. Petricioli (1960) noted traces of the brown and red colour on the pediment.

Door jambs: The jambs are slightly broken at the top where they join the lintel. They are framed by a flat-band moulding and decorated with an undulating vegetal scroll. The leaves are stylized, drooping and depicted in profile. They alternate regularly to the left and right of the undulating stem. The stem itself springs from two roots at the bottom of each jamb, and between the roots is a chalice. The stem terminates at the top of each jamb with a final drooping leaf while at its topmost curve are two small birds' heads facing away from each other. Approximately 82 cm from the base of each jamb is a figure entwined in the scroll. That on the left jamb stands in profile on the scrolled stem of the scroll and is inclining towards the right. It has long hair and a nimbus. In its right hand it has a small cross while the left hand is not visible. This figure is winged and wears a long garment with numerous stylized folds. The figure on the right jamb is also nimbed and wears a similar long garment, but stands on the stem facing forwards. It too holds a cross but it is unclear whether this is grasped only in the left hand or by both and, immediately above its head is a large Latin cross. A thin line extends, at waist-height, up on either side of this figure, curvng inwards (apparently around the nimbed head).

Discussion: Scholarly interest in the portal has focused on its date from the time of the earliest publications. In the nineteenth-century publications it was dated to the eighth (Smirich, 1894: Radić, 1895e) or ninth century (Bulić, 1888). Jackson (1887) was the first to note the Romanesque character of the scrolls on the jambs but he nevertheless compared the pedimented lintel to the similar ninth-century lintel from Pula, implying the same date. Following Jackson's interpretation, scholarly opinion among European art historians in the first half of the twentieth century settled on an eleventh-century date and early Romanesque style (Gerber, 1912; Dudan, 1921; Toesca, 1927; Cecchelli, 1932). In the mid-twentieth century, Croatian scholars returned to the considering the portal as an early, eighth- or ninth-century work (Karaman, 1943; 1952; Prijatelj, 1954; Petricioli, 1954), until Petricioli (1955; 1960; 1983; 1987) analyzed the portal in more detail and, comparing it to the orant capital and panel from St Lawrence's, which he dated to the late eleventh century, dated it to the same century. His dating has prevailed

and is widely accepted in the scholarship (Hearn, 1981; Belamarić, 1991; Jurković, 1992; Belamarić, 1997; Jakšić 2008; Marasović, 2009).

Apart from this, disparate statements were made regarding the identity of the figures inset in the scroll of the jamb. Prijatelj (1954), Montani (1966) and initially Petricioli (1960), identified them as angels. Petricioli (1987) then suggested they could be understood as belonging to the Annunciation – an opinion later repeated by Belamarić (1991) and Marasović (2009). As for the scene on the lintel, it was described simply as Christ between the two angels until 1960 when Petricioli identified it as *Majestas Domini*. This reading has been accepted by Jurković (1998) and Jakšić (1999) while Belamarić (1997) refers to it as a general theophany.

Date: First half of the eleventh century

Bibliography: Bianchi, 1883: 49; Eitelberger, 1884: 132-134, Figs 25-26; Jackson, 1887, 1: 265; Bulić, 1888: 37; Radić, 1890b: 129-130; Smirich, 1894: 18; Hauser, 1895: 153; Radić, 1895e: 191; Rivoira, 1901: 311-313; Gerber, 1912: 110-113, Fig. 140; Reisch, 1912: 69; Brunelli, 1913: 246; Dudan, 1921, 1: 78; Vasić, 1922: 58-59, Fig. 70; Bersa, 1926: 136; Toesca, 1927, 1: 789; Bersa, 1927: 180; Cecchelli, 1932: 190; Karaman, 1952: 81-101; Prijatelj, 1954: 81, Fig. 20; Suić, 1954: 15; Petricioli, 1955: 78; Petricioli, 1960: 54-60, Pls. 17-18; Montani, 1966: 16-17, cat. no. 26; Hearn, 1981: 30; Petricioli, 1983: 43-44; Petricioli, 1987: 71, Pl. 9; Lukšić, 1990: 152, 309; Petricioli, 1990: 62, Pl. 7, Fig. a; I. Fisković, 1991: 41; Jurković, 1992: 107, 110; Belamarić, 1996: 359, Figs 2-3; Belamarić, 1997: 48-49; Jurković, 1998: 66, Fig. 3; Jakšić, 1999: 96-97, 424, cat. no. 15; Petricioli, 1999: 487, 490; I. Fisković, 2002: 313; Jakšić, 2006b: 93-95; Jakšić, 2008: 32, 147-148, Fig. 45; Marasović, 2009: 170.

ZADAR

(St Lawrence)

Catalogue Number: 22   Fig. 65

Monument Type: Capital

Location: *In situ* surmounting the eastern column of the south aisle

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

H. 40 cm, W. 22 cm

Evidence for Discovery: *In situ*, the capital was first noted by Jackson (1887).

Present Condition: Undamaged

General Description: The capital consists of a lower single rank of eight leaves just above the *torus*. The leaves point inwards and in the leaf facing the nave is a small frontally placed standing figure in a full-length robe with highly stylized undulating folds running round the body; it is nimbed and has upraised arms in the standard pose of the orant. Above the figure's head is a heart-shaped ornament, identical to those in other leaves. Between the leaves are stems and from each one of which springs two *caulicoli* terminating in scrolls of varying sizes: those at the corners are larger and those at the centre of each side are smaller. Two adjoining scrolls at the centre are supported by a single stem. The abacus is concave and has a rosette at the centre of each side. These are all elements familiar to the design of a Corinthian capital.

Discussion: Jackson (1887) dated the capital to the ninth or tenth century and suggested the figure could be St Lawrence. After him, the identification of the orant did not attract any attention; and the figure is sometimes mentioned as female (Jurković, 1998), and at other times as male (Marasović, 2009). As was the case with the portal, the discussion focused on the date of the capital. Jackson's early date was supported by Hauser (1895), Gerber (1912), Bersa (1927) and Prijatelj (1954). The eleventh-century date, on the other hand, was first proposed by Rivoira (1901) who considered it stylistically similar to the portal. His dating was accepted by Monneret de Villard (1910) and Vasić (1922). In 1955 Petricioli compared the orant capital with the eleventh-century examples from Tuscany and dated it to the same century. He argued for the same date in later publications (1960; 1987) and based on his contribution the eleventh-century date is the one supported in the present-day scholarship (Jurković, 1992; 1998; Jakšić, 2008; Marasović, 2009).

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Jackson, 1887, 1: 264; Hauser, 1895: 154, Fig. 4; Rivoira, 1901: 311-312; Monneret de Villard, 1910: 62; Dudan, 1921, 1: 78; Vasić, 1922: 57, Fig. 71; Bersa, 1927: 179-180; Cecchelli, 1932: 171-172; Prijatelj, 1954: 82, Fig. 21; Petricioli, 1960: 57, Pl. 20, Fig. 2; Petricioli, 1967: 162; Jakšić, 1983: 214, Pl. 6, Fig. 17; Petricioli,

1983: 42; Petricioli, 1987: 71, Pl. 8c; Jurković, 1992: 39, 111; Jurković, 1998: 67, Fig. 5; Jakšić, 2008: 36, Fig. 48; Marasović, 2009: 170.

ZADAR
(St Lawrence)

Catalogue Number: 23   Fig. 66

Monument Type: Chancel screen panel

Location: Zadar, Archaeological Museum, cat. nos. 26-28, 67/1-67/4, N4

Stone Type: Limestone

Dimensions (Metric):

Reconstructed panel: H. 100 cm, W. 122-126 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment a (Museum cat. no. 27) H. 31 cm, W. 23, D. 12-14 cm

Fragment b (Museum cat. no. 26) H. 23 cm, W. 20 cm, D. 12-14 cm

Fragment c (Museum cat. no. N4) H. 27 cm, W. 22 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment d (Museum cat. no. 28) H. 30 cm, W. 23 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment e (Museum cat. no. 67/4) H. 20 cm, W. 27 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment f (Museum cat. no. 67/3) H. 15 cm, W. 32 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment g (Museum cat. no. 67/1) H. 53.5 cm, W. 42 cm, D. 7 cm

Fragment h (Museum cat. no. 67/2) H. 21 cm, W. 26 cm, D. 7 cm

Evidence for Discovery: The eight fragments were brought to the Museum on three separate occasions over a period of sixty years. Fragments a, b and d were found in the Church of St Lawrence in 1886, with Fragment d being built in the exterior of the Church of St Donatus after its removal from St Lawrence's. Fragments e-h were found near the Land Gate in the city walls (*Kopnena vrata*) during construction works in 1891: Fragment g was found by Smirich (before 1894) and brought to the Museum; Fragments e, f and h were found by the conservation officer, Glavinić, in the sea off the Land Gate. Fragment c was also found in the Church of St Lawrence – but during the conservation works lead by Crema in 1945. It was only when, in 1954, the museum collections were being removed from the Church of St Donatus to the new, interim location, before the opening of the new Museum building, that Petricioli reconstructed the panel from these eight fragments.

Present Condition: Worn

General Description: The extant fragments constitute only the upper and right-hand side of the panel reconstructed by Petricioli; the lower half and the left-hand side are still missing. These fragments show that a frieze, protruding 5 cm from the surface of the panel, extended along its upper edge. Based on the two preserved fragments of this frieze (a and b), it can be argued that it must have consisted of alternating panels of arcades and ring-knots. The frieze itself is framed by thin triple mouldings, that in the centre being decorated with small circular bosses (or pellets). On Fragment a are the remains of a square panel framed by a triple strand, showing two U-bend loop terminals of a triple strand, tied with a knot to the vertical strand between the fields. In the adjacent arched panel is an eagle with his wings outspread and head turned to the left. The body of the bird is decorated with scale-like feathers and both wings have realistically rendered, albeit stylized, feathers with semicircular incisions at the top, horizontal lines in the middle and vertical lines below. Between the legs and claws is a triangular tail with scale-like feathers. In the lower right-hand corner is the trace of the next vertical strand that divided the panels of the frieze. Fragment b has the same triple mouldings along the borders of the frieze and identical vertical triple strands between the panels. It shows a completely preserved ring-knot.

The main surface of the panel is also framed by narrow flat band mouldings with traces of an inscription that accompanied the figural scenes (see below). The decoration of panel involved at least six scenes set in separate square fields (1-6) framed by two-strand single twist plaits with pellets at the centres.

(1) In the first field is the right-hand side of an angel who stood in profile, leaning to the left. Only a small part of his nimbed head is visible. He is clad in a long robe and over-garment with large folds. In his left hand he holds, diagonally across his body, a staff with a triple foliate terminal which reaches the upper right corner of the preserved square field. Behind his back is a wing with undular incised lines depicting the feathers. His feet turn to the left. That this figure formed part of an Annunciation scene can be ascertained, not only by the iconographic details of the angel – the fact that he is shown leaning to the left where the figure of the Virgin would have stood; and by the position of the scene to the left of the scene (2) which can be understood as the

Visitation – but also by the inscription preserved along the upper moulding: [.....]VS NVNCIAT M[.....].

(2) The second square contains two female figures in a close embrace set in an interior space defined by a dome-like structure on columns. Above them is the inscription AVE. The figures do not differ from each other except for their over-garments; that of the woman to the left is decorated with a net of lozenges, while that of the woman on the right is plain. Both figures are placed closely together, in profile, as if kissing, with their arms placed on each other's shoulder and side. Their heads have small incised mouths, stylized noses and large, heavily outlined eyes. Their hairline, veils and haloes with double rims are identical. The architectural setting is elaborately conceived. The dome-like structure or a roof is articulated with scales resembling those used to render the feathers of the eagle on the frieze above. The arch itself rests on two Ionic capitals, both of which have been preserved and placed on slender columns with the cable mouldings. The curtain that hangs from the dome-like roof, decorated with a series of lozenges, is symmetrically pulled apart, revealing the embrace, with both its ends wrapped around the columns, and so forming a lozenge-shaped frame in which the two women stand. This scene represents the Visitation of Mary to Elizabeth, as it is clear from both the iconographic arrangement and the inscription: ELISABETH SA[.....]

(3) This scene, set within an equally small square, is that of the Nativity of Christ. On the upper moulding above it runs the inscription: + COGN[…]T BOS POSES[.....] SVV[.]; on the right vertical moulding it reads: P/R/E/SE/PE/DN/SV. The scene itself can be divided in two horizontal registers: the upper has the heads of an ox and ass above the reclining Virgin. She is depicted wrapped in a highly stylized garment or blanket with parallel folds, reclining on a mattress decorated with the lozenge net. Her eyes are large and open; her left hand is on her cheek, while the right hand extends down towards the scene of the bathing of the Child in the lower register. To the left of the Virgin is a large four-pointed star and, immediately next to it, a small nimbed head turned upside down. To the left of the star is the inscription ANG[….]. The lower register is filled with four figures. To the right is the figure of a seated woman, dressed in a long robe. She is depicted in profile, with her right arm extended towards the Child.

She has long hair and wears a veil. Her chair consists of a simple seat of a square section, while the back and what seems to be back legs are represented as a single column with the cable moulding and Ionic capital, identical to the columns in the Visitation scene. The Christ Child with a cross-nimbus stands, waist-high, in a chalice-shaped vessel. This bears a striking similarity to the early Christian *cantharos* with its triangular base, arcaded cup and volutes along the brim which resemble the handles. The Child's right hand is raised towards the seated woman in a gesture of blessing, and his left hand, holding a scroll, is placed across his chest. Another woman attends to the bathing from the right-hand side. She is placed in profile, with her feet facing left and is also dressed in a long robe. Her hands are placed in front of her and in them she holds a jug of water against her chest. The fourth figure in the lower register, a man with short hair, is taller than the female figures and is standing frontally on its own piece of ground. This figure wears a short tunic, judging from the fact that the two legs are visible, and seems to holding one end of his garment in his left hand. His right hand is raised to the face. Between the woman with the jug and the male figure is a vertical inscription which reads from top to bottom: IOSEF.

(4-5) Nothing is preserved of the fields below the Annunciation and the Visitation, although the lower right corner of the latter (5) preserves the remains of a human figure and a square shaped form. The head of the figure is missing, but the body is clothed in a knee-length robe with a V-shaped neckline decorated with small scales. The right arm is raised and an oval shield with radial lines stands over the left-hand side of the body. It seems plausible to identify this figure as a soldier bearing a shield.

(6) The last extant scene, placed below the Nativity, depicts three male figures on horseback, riding towards the right. The group is arranged in such a way that the left rider on the far left is depicted in full profile, that on the right is also fully visible although the back of his horse is hidden behind the first horse, while the third figure is represented only by his head, which is on the same level as those of the other two horsemen. In this way, the group of three riders was successfully depicted in perspective. The damaged surface of the fragment prevents the establishing of whether they were bearded. Their heads are three-quarter turned in profile and they wear individual head-dresses: the first seems to wear a pointed Phrygian cap, that behind him

also wears a cap, although not one that is pointed, while the right-hand figure wears what seems to be a crown. All three wear short tunics with V-neck openings; that of the first figure is decorated at the hem with beads or tassels.

The two horses and their equipment are rendered in some considerable detail. The horses have anatomically correct heads and manes, and are shown walking with their front left leg raised. The horses' headgear consists of the bridles with bits and reins. The first figure holds the reins in his left hand, and the second in his right hand. The figures sit in saddles with straight pommels and slightly curved cantles, which are placed on blankets, while their right feet are set in stirrups. The horses are also provided with the breast-collars and haunch harness with tassels. As such they can be identified as the three Magi journeying, either to Jerusalem/Bethlehem or homeward. Although the scene clearly involves their journey, the surviving details leave specific identification open as to which journey is depicted.

Discussion: Before Petricioli's 1954 reconstruction these fragments, found on different sites and over a long period of time, had not been recognized as belonging to the same monument. As part of this reconstruction Petricioli dated the panel to the eleventh century, based on the appearance of human figures, the use of narrative scenes and the crown worn by one of the three Magi. He corroborated this date by the comparison to the panels from Holy Dominica (cat. nos. 21a-b) and that from the Split Baptistery (cat. no. 17). The work of previous scholars, however, without the benefit of his reconstruction, varied widely in the dates they assigned to the fragments – from the eighth to eleventh centuries (Radić, 1890a; 1895e; Smirich, 1894; Reisch, 1912; Bersa, 1926; Cecchelli, 1932; Šeper, 1943; Karaman, 1952; Prijatelj, 1954; and even Petricioli (1954) before he reconstructed the panel). Likewise, opinions concerning the nature of the iconographic sources lying behind the scenes have also varied widely, from early Syrian to the tenth- and eleventh-century works (Petricioli, 1955; 1960). These issues, however, have been subordinated to that of the date of the panel, and following Petricioli's reconstruction, the identity of the scenes has been largely accepted as consisting of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity with the Bathing of the Child and the Journey of the Magi.

Date: Eleventh century

Bibliography: Radić, 1890a: 36; Radić, 1895e: 254-255; Smirich, 1894: 18, 21; Reisch, 1912: 67; Bersa, 1926: 134-135; Karaman, 1930: Fig. 108; Cecchelli, 1932: 196, 198; Šeper, 1943: 644-651; Karaman, 1952: 83-84; Prijatelj, 1954: 82-84, Figs 22, 25; Suić, 1954: 15, 99; Petricioli, 1955: 59-78, Figs 1-6; Petricioli, 1960: 37-43, Pl. 9-10, Fig. 15; Montani, 1966: 19, no. 33, Fig. 10; Petricioli, 1967: 162-163; Gunjača and Jelovina, 1976: 46, 102-103; Petricioli, 1983: 27-42; Petricioli, 1987: 54, 60, 71-72, Pl. 10a; Lukšić, 1990: 150, 309; Petricioli, 1990: 58, 61, Fig. 34; Belamarić, 1996: 363; Belamarić, 1997: 46-47; Jurković, 1998: 67, Fig. 4; Jelovina, 1989: 54-55; Jakšić, 1999: 96; Petricioli, 1999: 487; Vežić, 2001: 10; I. Fisković, 2002: 311; Jakšić, 2006b: 94-95; Jakšić, 2008: 34, 148-152; Marasović, 2009: 171.

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Fig. 13. Panel 2 from *Holy Dominica*, Zadar, Archaeological museum, *c.* 1036.
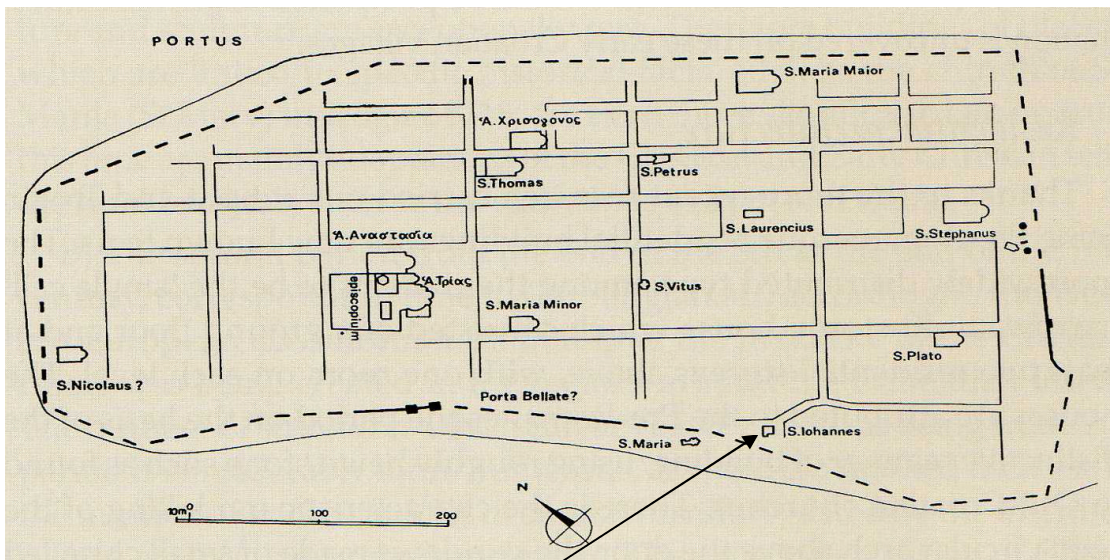
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Fig. 15. *Holy Dominica,* Zadar: drawings of the exterior before 1890:
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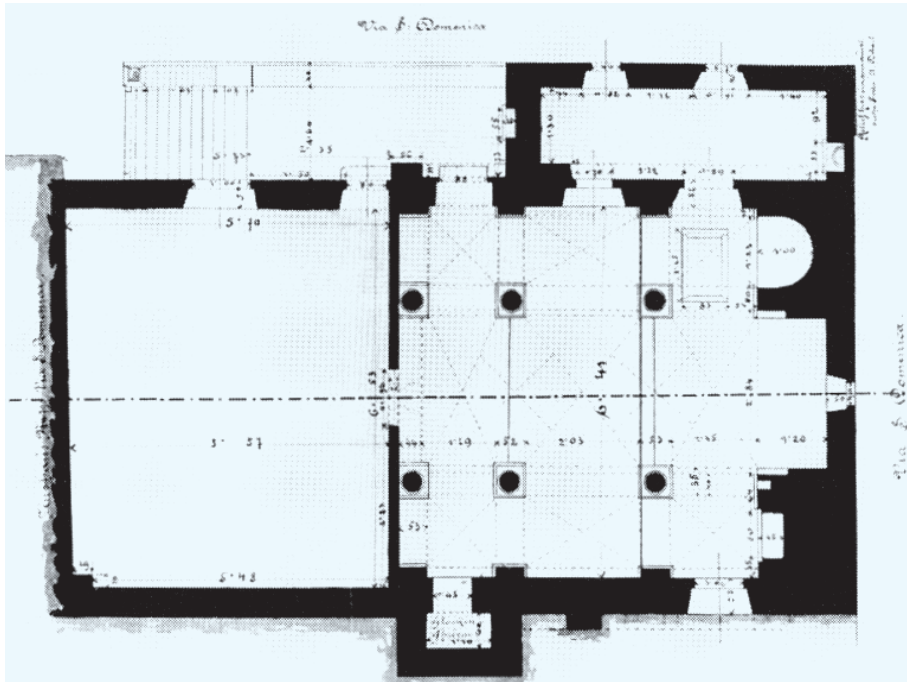
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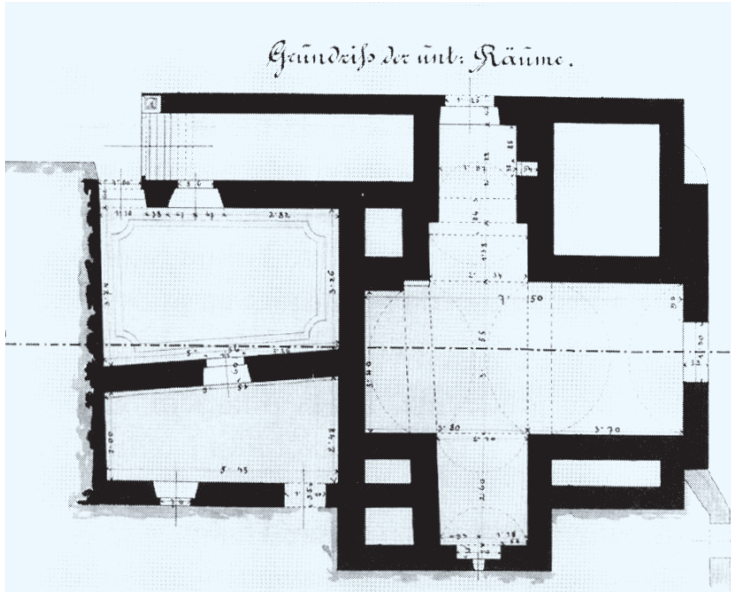
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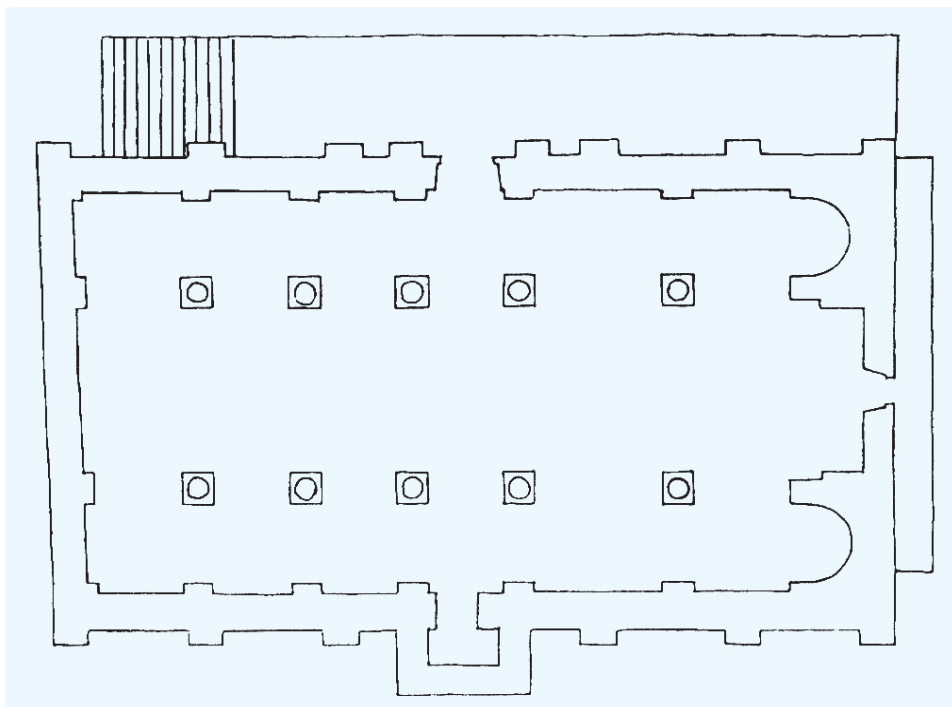
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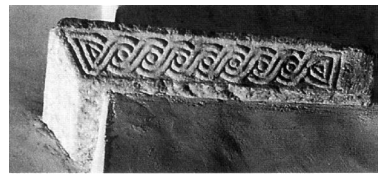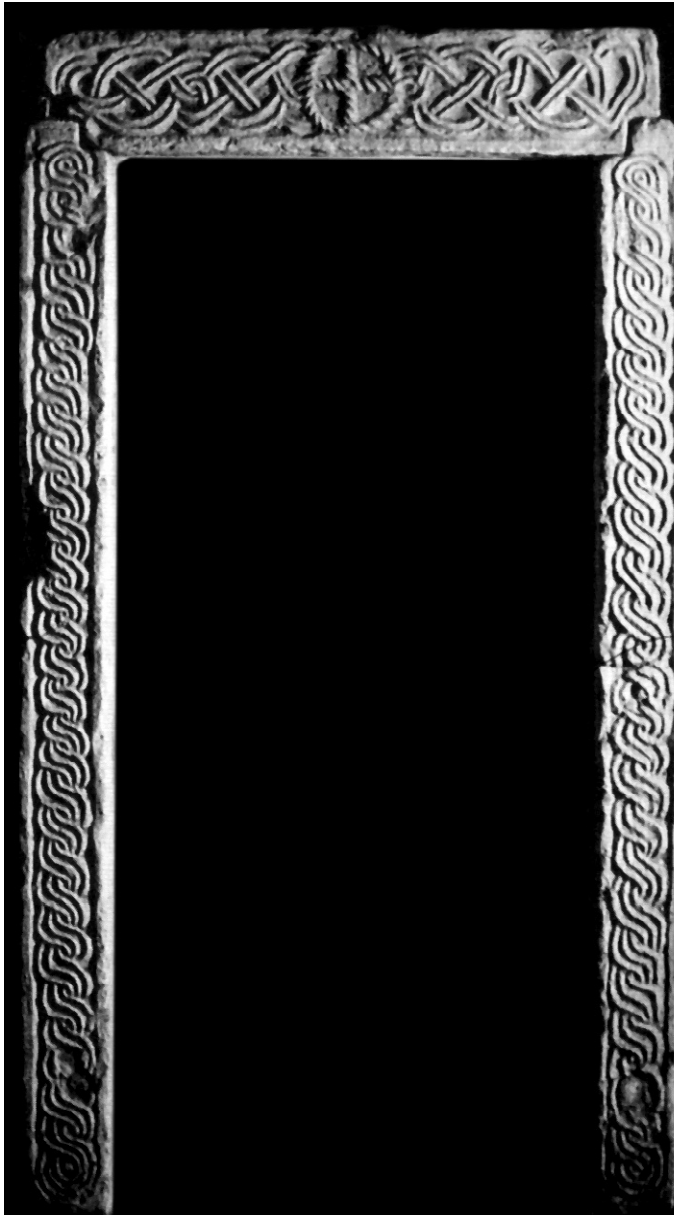
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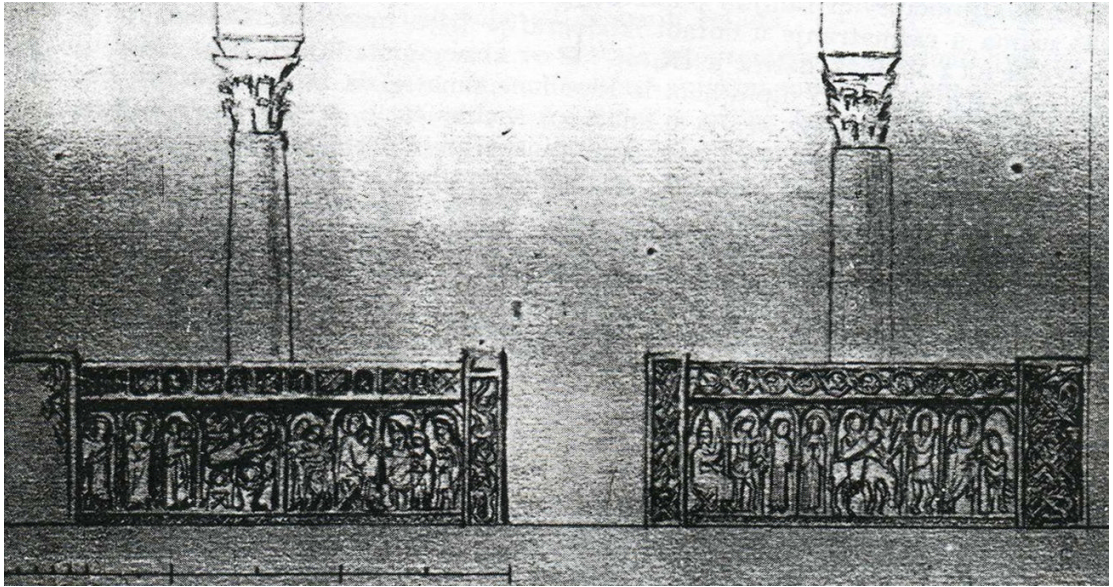
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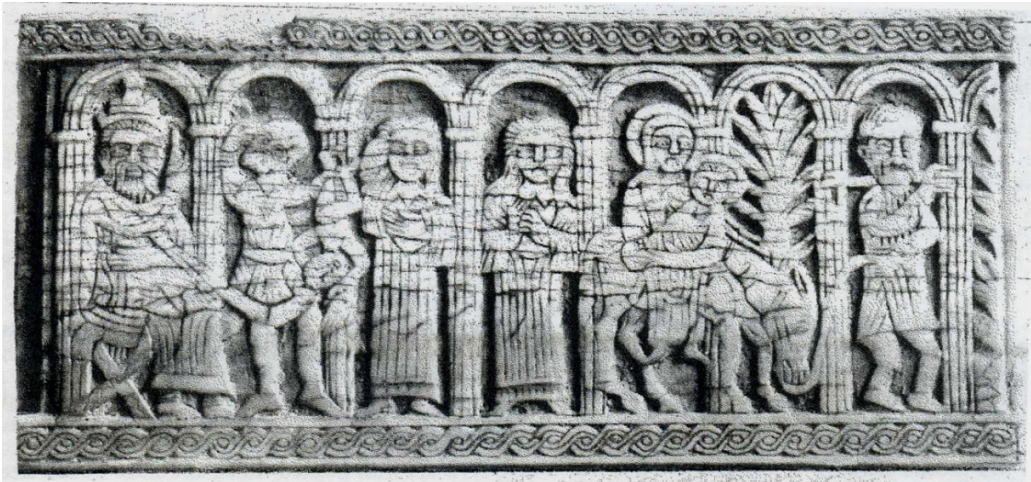
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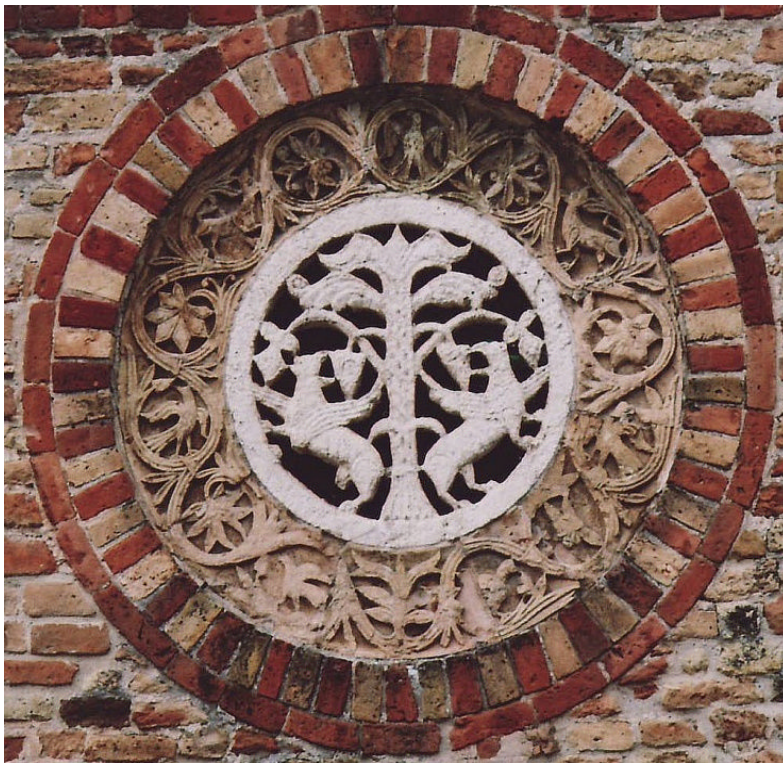
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Below: *Abbey of St Mary,* Pomposa: façade roundel.

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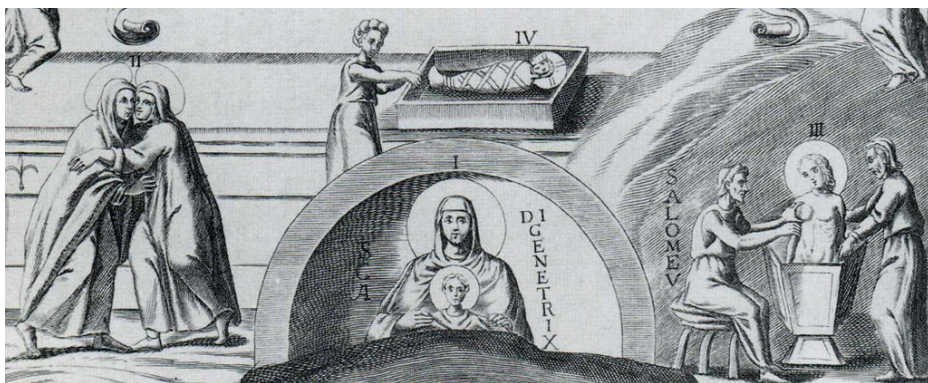
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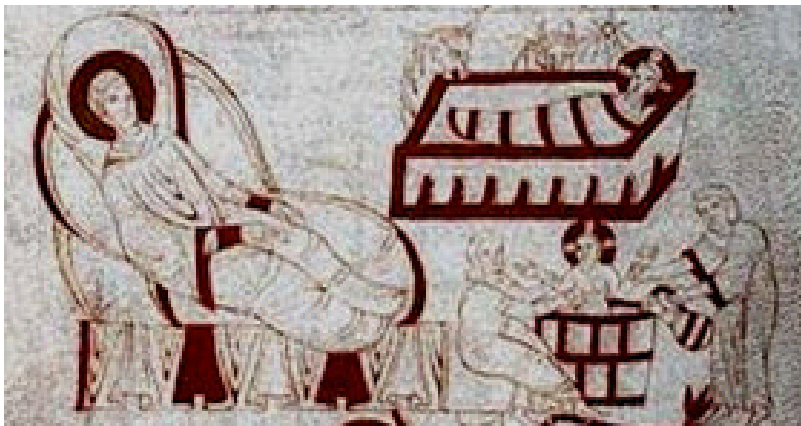
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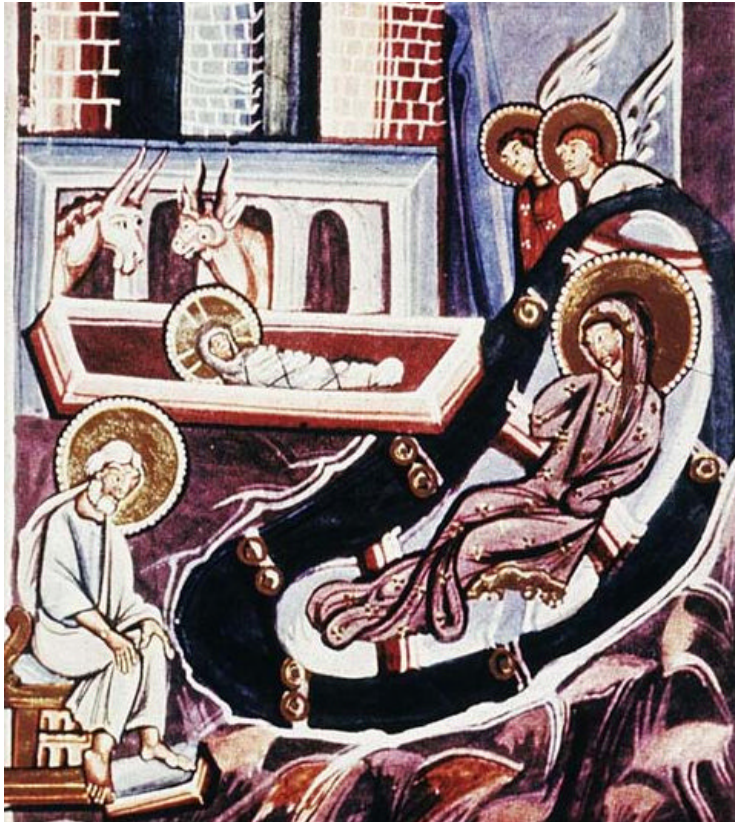
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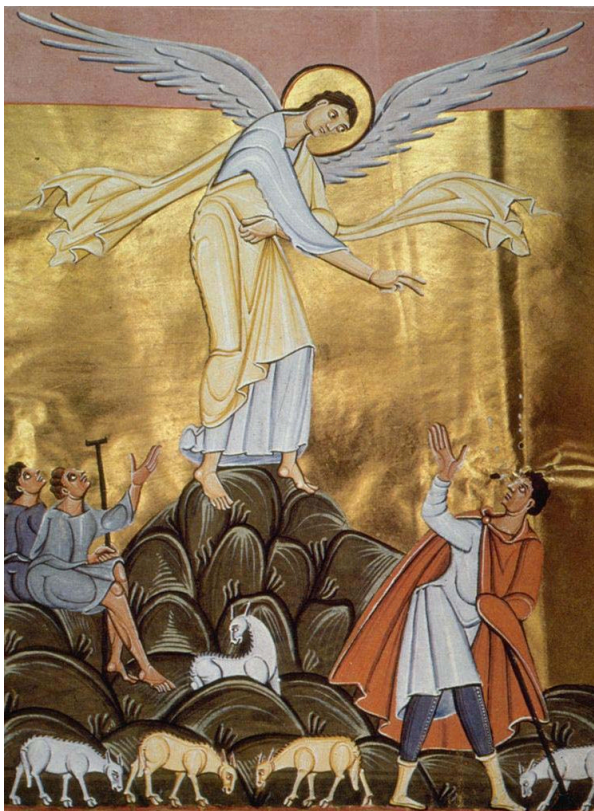
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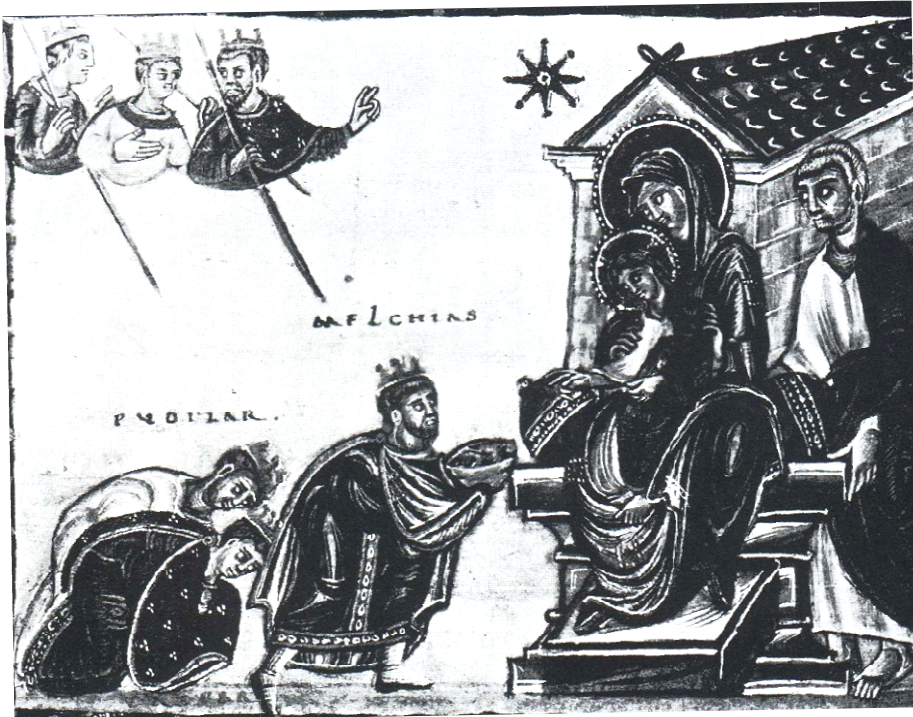
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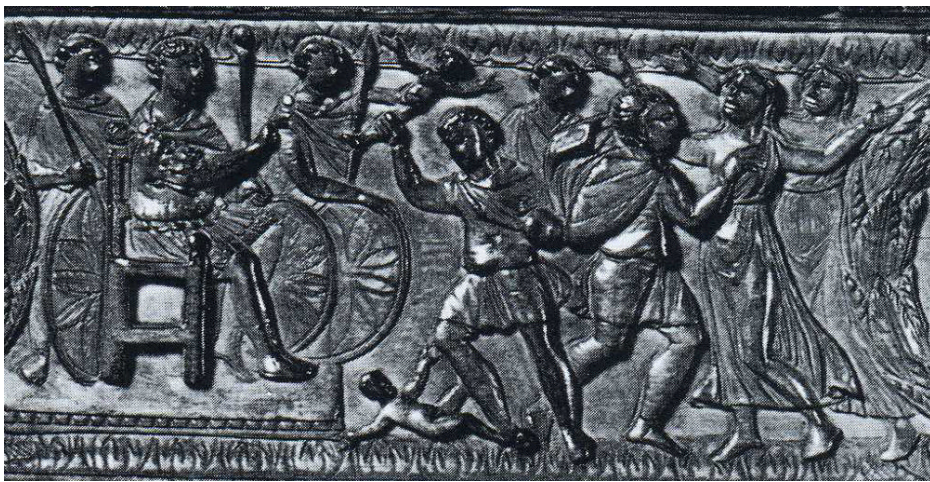
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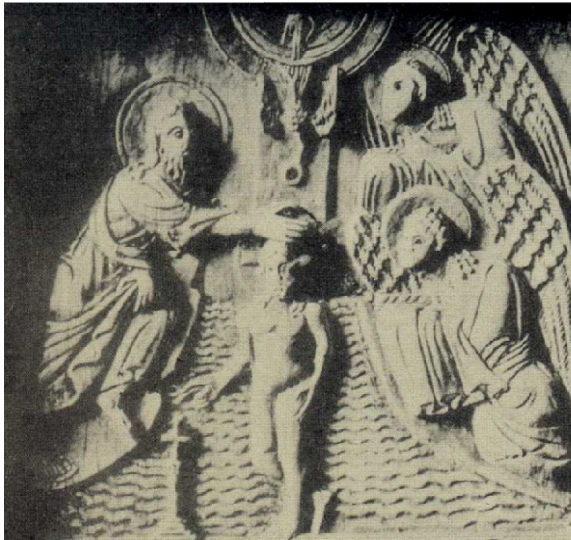
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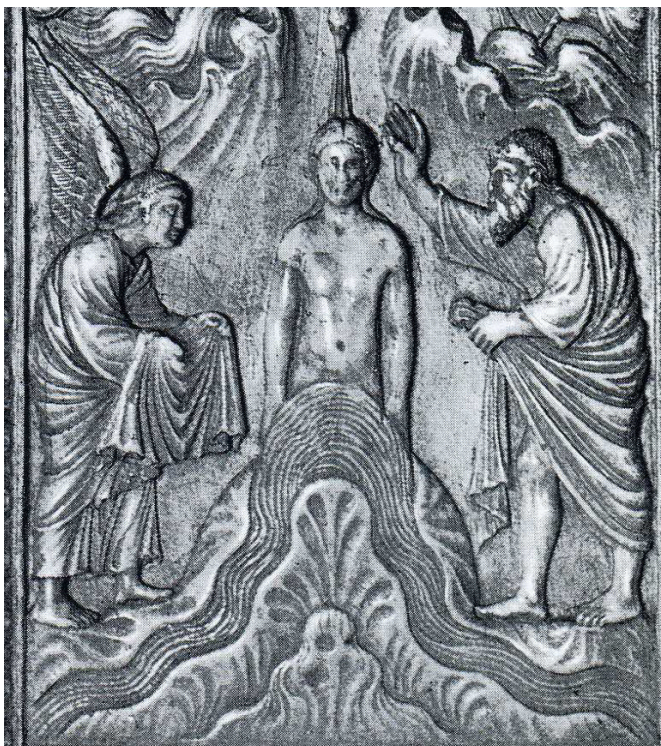
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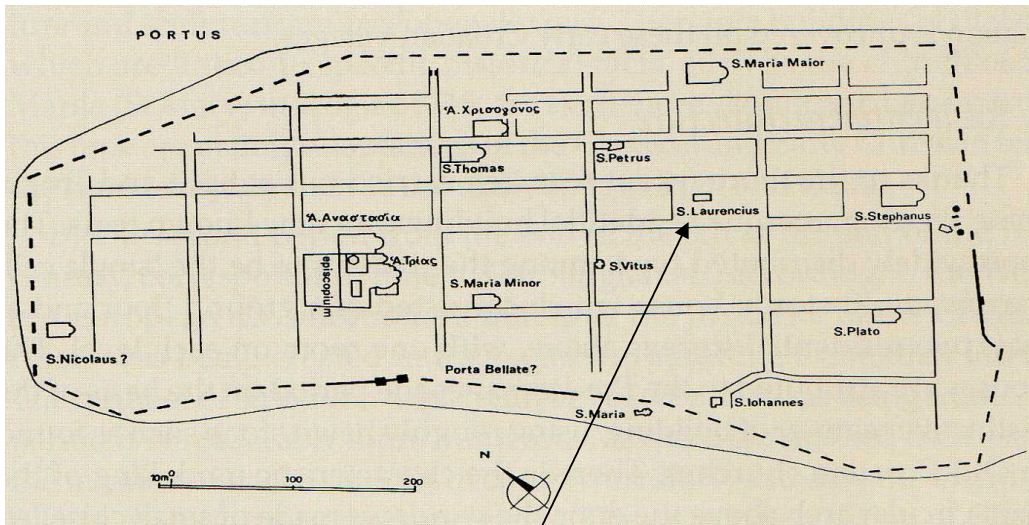
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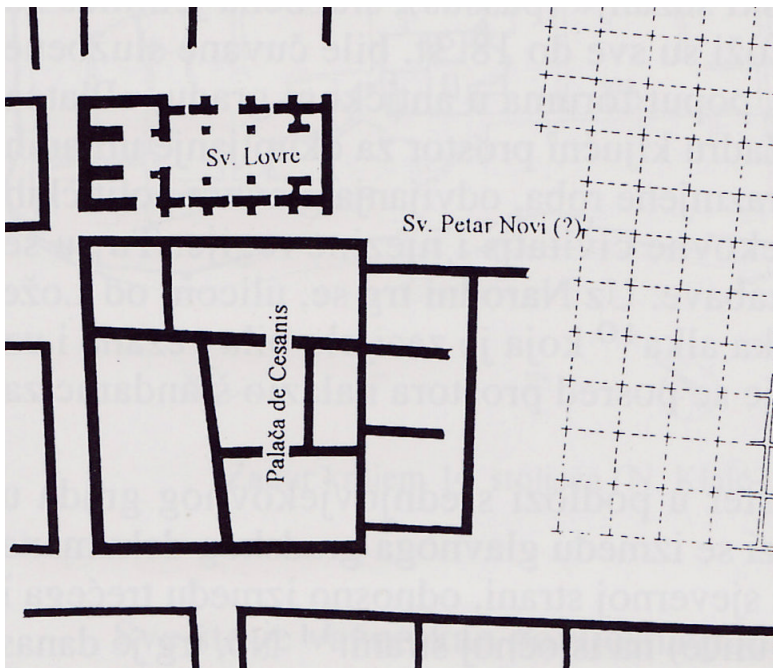
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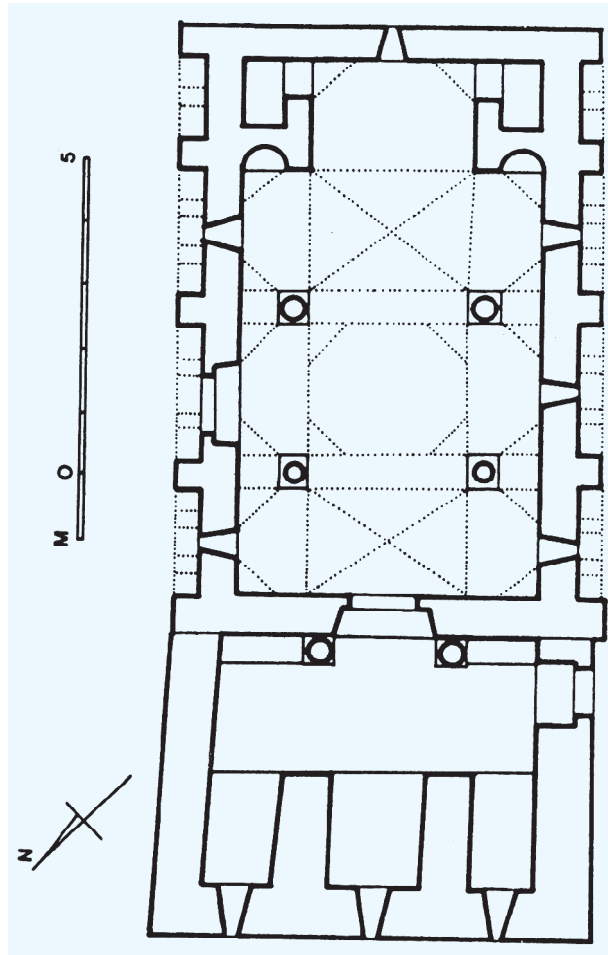
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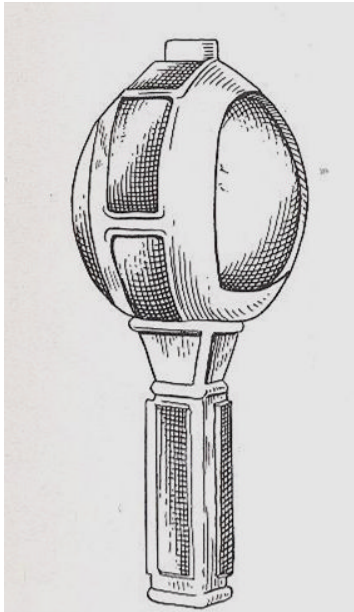
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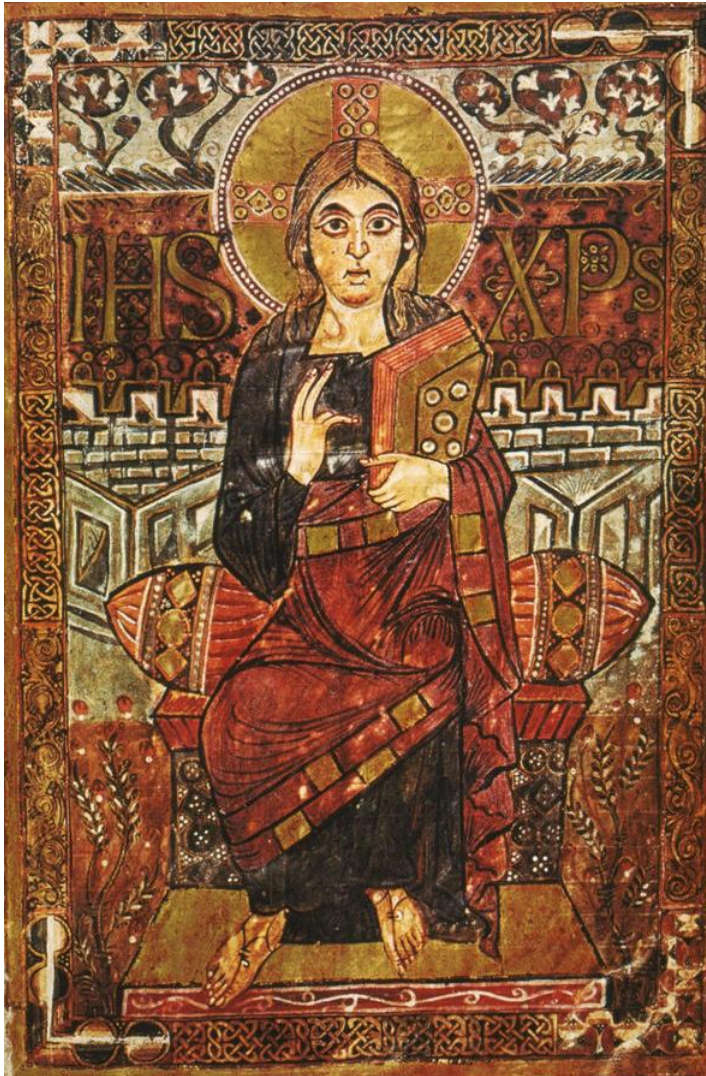
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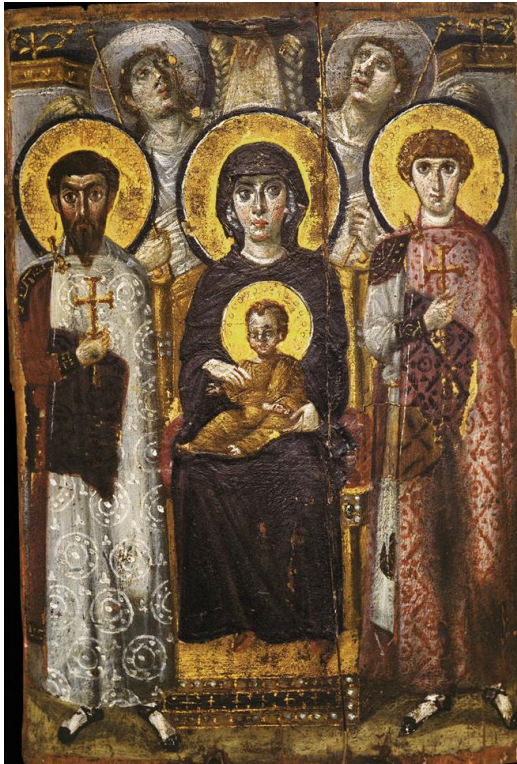
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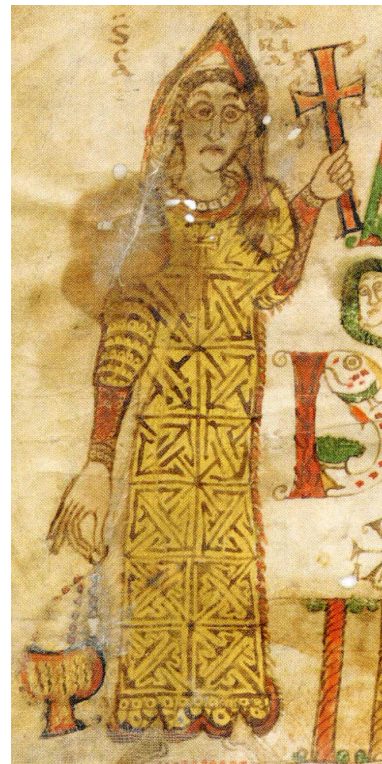
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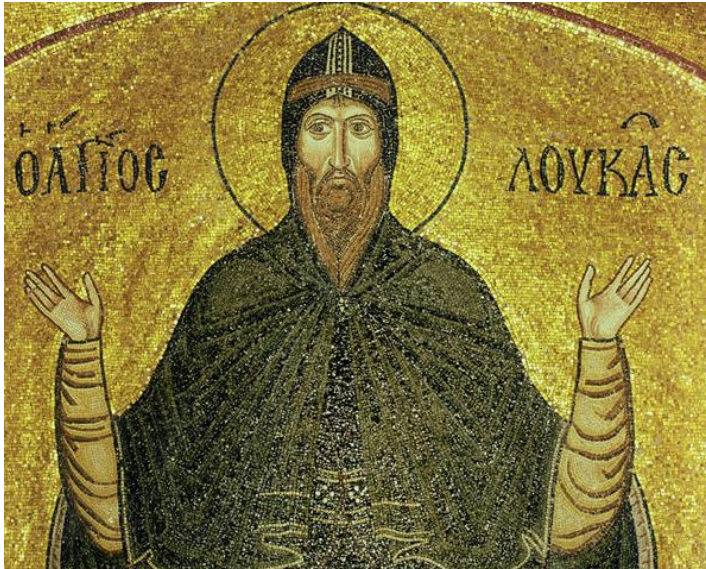
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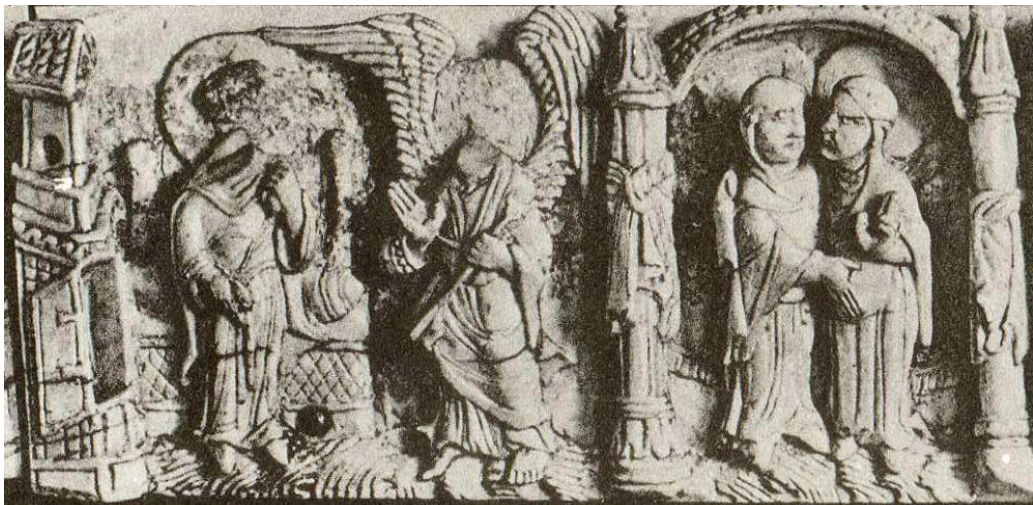
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Annunciation →	Visitation →	Nativity →
Adoration of the Magi ←	Magi at Herod's court ←	Magi's journey to Jerusalem ←

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Fig. 108. *Abbey of St Silvester's*,
Nonantola: portal jamb,
early twelfth century.

Fig. 109. Ivory book-cover, Paris,
Martin-Le-Roy Collection, twelfth century.

Fig. 110. *San Pedro el Viejo*, Huesca: portal lintel,
early twelfth century.

Fig. 111. *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, Nuremberg, Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, MS 156142/KG 1138, fol. 18v, *c.* 1036.

Annunciation →	Visitation →	Nativity →
Scene 7 →	Magi at Herod's court →	Magi's journey to Bethlehem →

Fig. 112. Proposed scene sequence for St Lawrence Panel.

Fig. 113. *St Mary's*, Biskupija: view of the foundations towards east, ninth century.
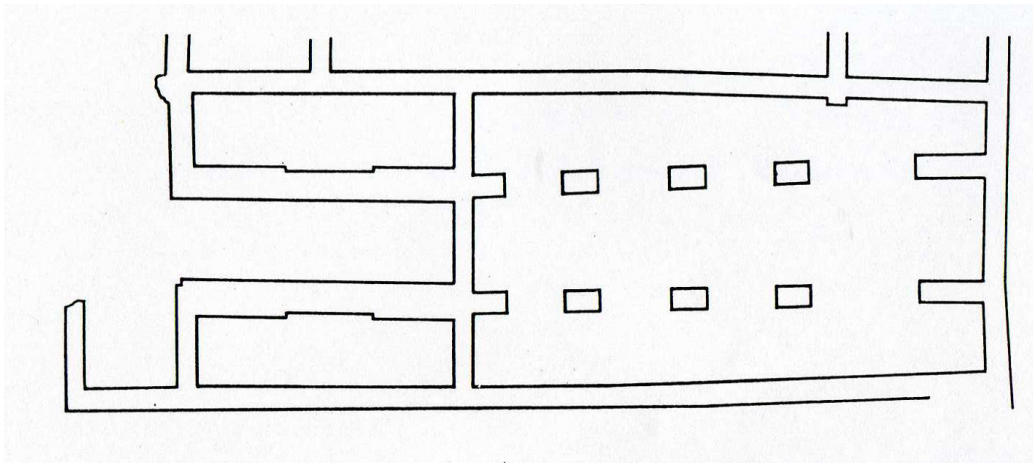
Fig. 114. *St Mary's*, Biskupija: ground-plan after Jurković, ninth century.
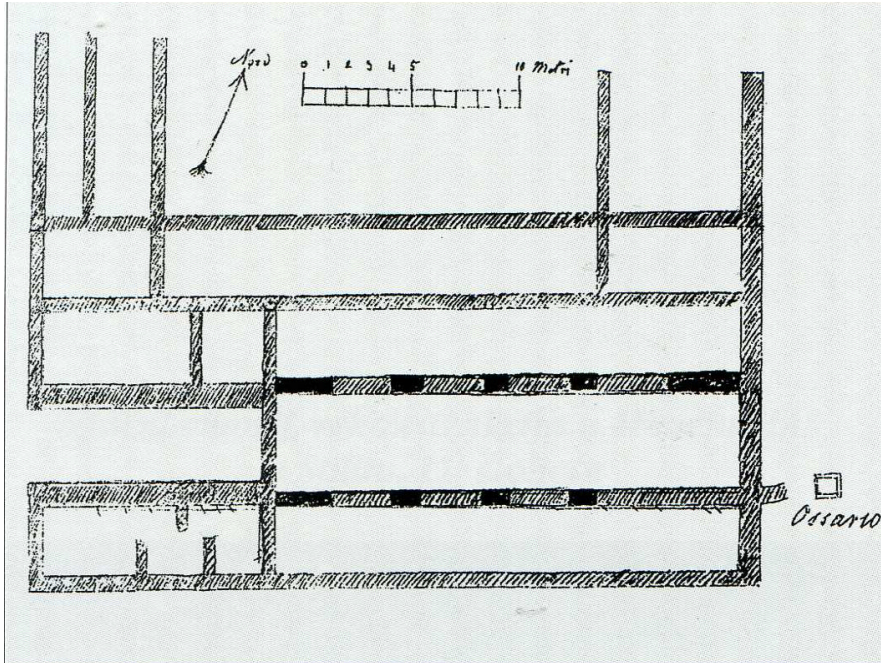
Fig. 115. *St Mary's,* Biskupija: ground-plan *c*. 1890, ninth century.
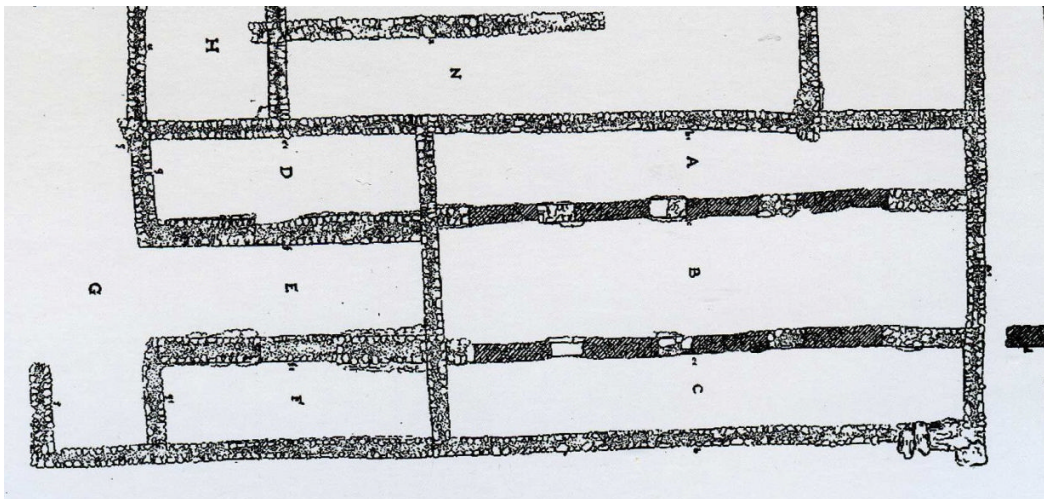
Fig. 116. *St Mary's*, Biskupija: ground-plan after Gunjača, ninth century.
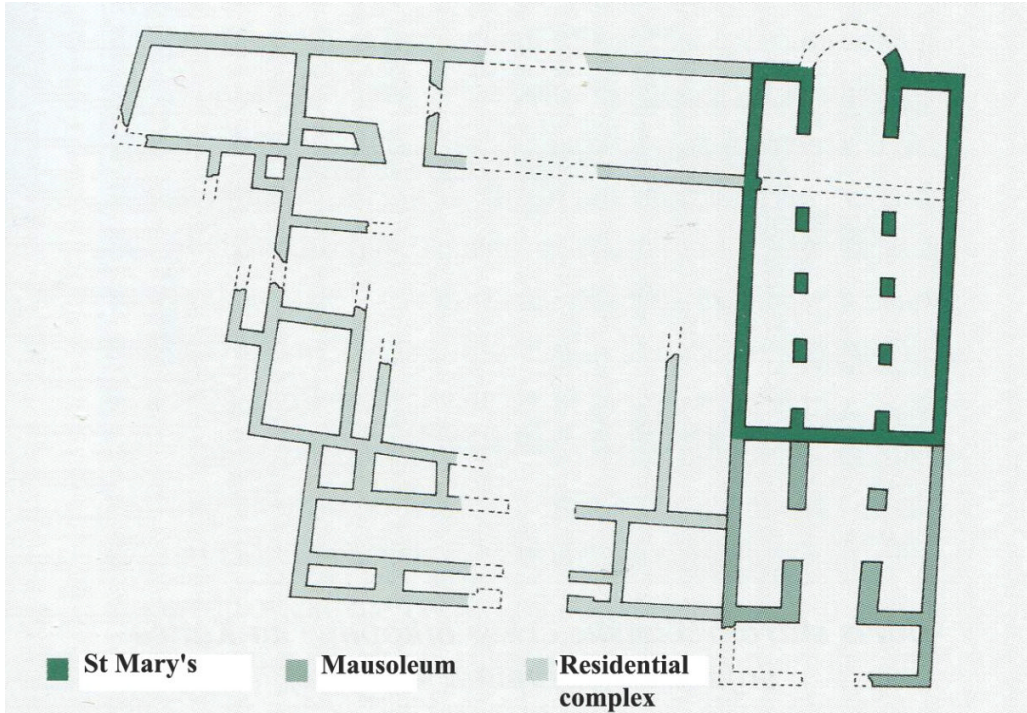
Fig. 117. *St Mary's*, Biskupija: ground-plan with reconstructions after Milošević, ninth century.

Fig. 118. Fragments of a gable and architrave from St Mary's, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.
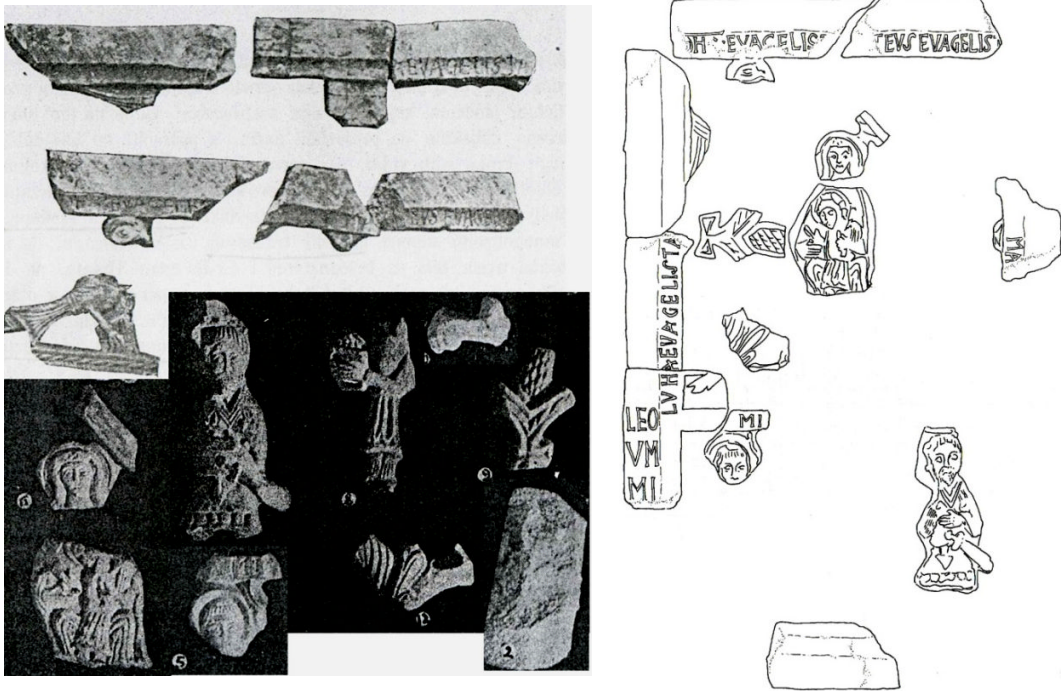
Fig. 119. *Transenna* fragments found by Marun and Gunjača, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.
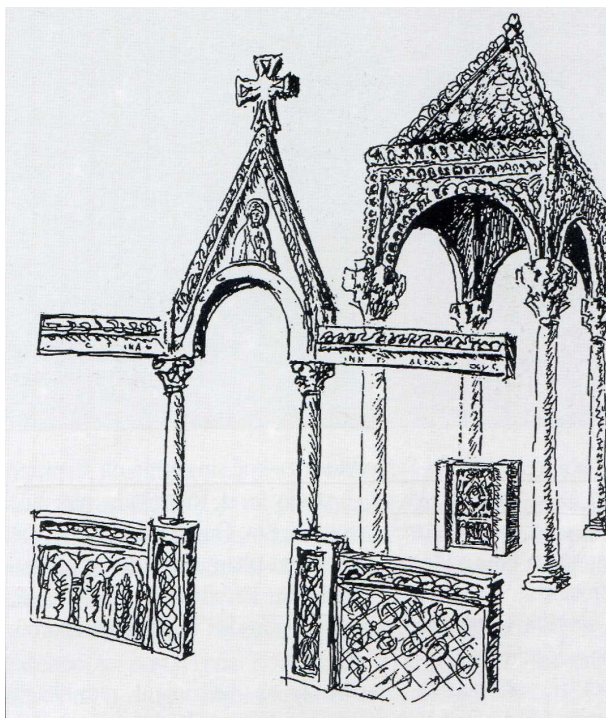
Fig. 120. Reconstruction of the sanctuary of St Mary's, Biskupija, drawing by Bakulić, eleventh century.

Fig. 121. Chancel screen gable from St Mary's, Biskupija, Split, Museum of Croatian, Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.

Fig. 122. Central medallion, processional cross, Ravenna, Museo Arcivescovile, 557-570.

Fig. 123. Central medallion, processional cross, Paris, Cluny Museum, eleventh-twelfth century.

Fig. 124. Roundel, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *c*. 1078-1081.

Fig. 125. Decorations on the Virgin's cuffs and cloak.
Left: ivory plaque, Zagreb, Strossmayer Gallery, ninth century.
Right: ivory relief, Mainz, Landesmuseum, mid-eleventh century.

Fig. 126. Ivory plaque, Munich, Nationalmuseum, ninth century.

Fig. 127. *Transenna* from St Mary's, Biskupija, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.

Fig. 128. Secular figure, transenna from St Mary's, Biskupija, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century

Fig. 129. Ivory situla, Milan,
Cathedral Treasury, *c*. 980.

Fig. 130. *Cathedral*, Aquileia: main apse, fresco, *c*. 1030.

Fig. 131. *The Vivian Bible*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Ms. Lat. 1, fol. 329v, *c*. 846.

Fig. 132. *Cathedral of St Mary*, Poreč: apse mosaic, sixth century.

Fig. 133. Ivory icon, Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art,
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Fig. 134. *Hosios Loukas*, Phokis:
wall mosaic, early eleventh century.

Fig. 135. Icon of the Virgin, Rome,
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Fig. 136. Fragment from the Biskupija *transenna*, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh cenury.

Fig. 137. Ivory, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, St Peter, tenth century.

Fig. 138. *The Vivian Bible*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1, fol. 423, *c*. 845.

Fig. 139. Ivory, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Theol. Lat. fol. 2, *c*.1022-1036.

Fig. 140. Cross fragments from *St Mary's*, Biskupija, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.

Fig. 141. Plaque from
ivory casket, London,
The British Museum,
c. 420-430.
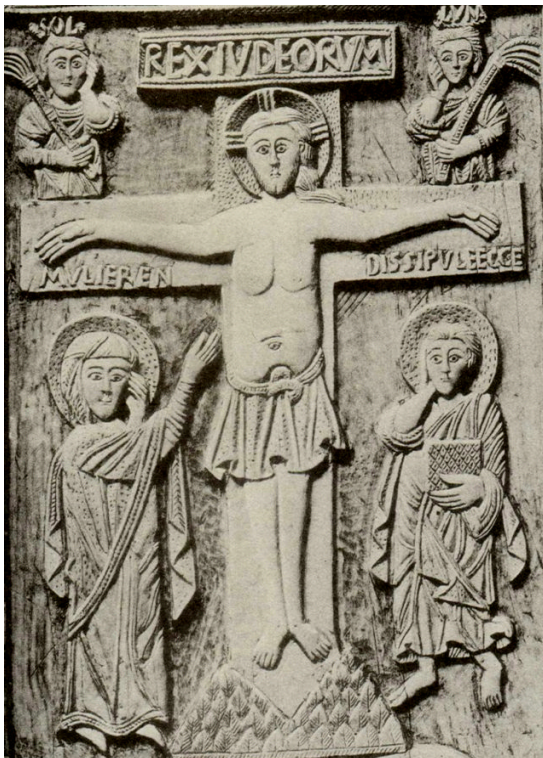
Fig. 142. Ivory diptych,
the Vatican, Museo Cristiano,
late ninth century.

Fig. 143. *Basilewsky Situla*, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *c*. 980.

Fig. 144. Fresco, *Sant'Angelo in Formis*, Capua, 1072-1087.

Fig. 145. *Hitda Gospels*, Darmstadt, Hessische Landesbibliothek, MS 1640, fol. 7r, 1000-1020.

Fig. 146. *Homilies of Gregory the Great*, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms. CXLVIII, fol. 8r, *c.* 800.

Fig. 147. Fragment from St Mary's, Biskupija, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, eleventh century.

Fig. 148. *St Martin above the Golden Gate*, Split, chancel screen
in situ, eleventh century.
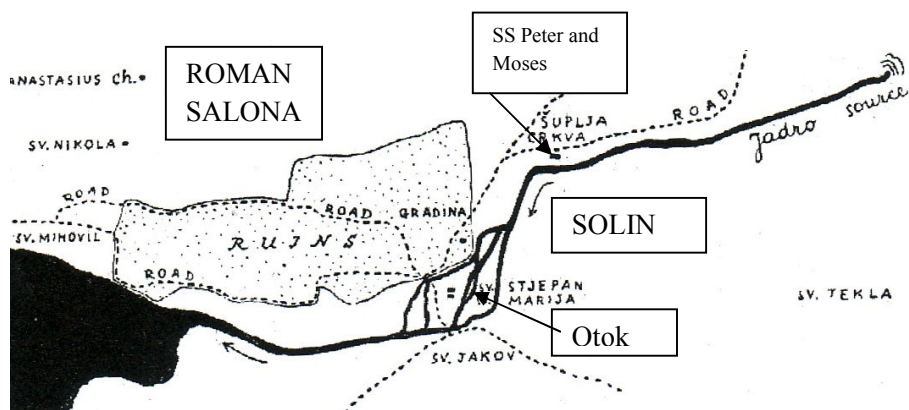
Fig. 149. Location of *SS Peter and Moses*, Solin.
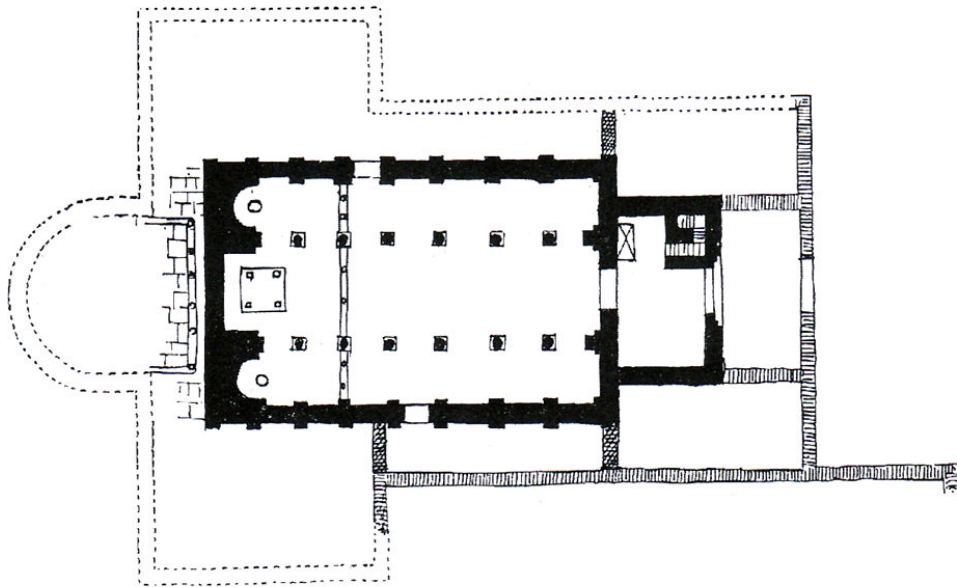
Fig. 150. *SS Peter and Moses*, Solin: ground-plan after Dyggve, eleventh century.

Fig. 151. *SS Peter and Moses*, Solin: foundations, eleventh century.
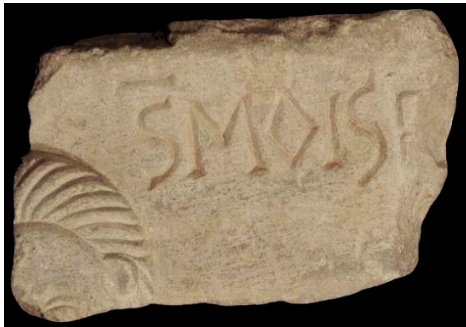
Fig. 152. Fragment with head, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, *c.* 1058-1069.

Fig. 153 Fragment with head, Split Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, *c.* 1058-1069.

Fig. 154. Fragment with feet, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, c. 1058-1069.

Fig. 155. Fragment with head, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, c. 1058-1069.

Fig. 156. Gable from SS Peter and Moses, Split, Museum of
Croatian Archaeological Monuments, *c*. 1058-1069.
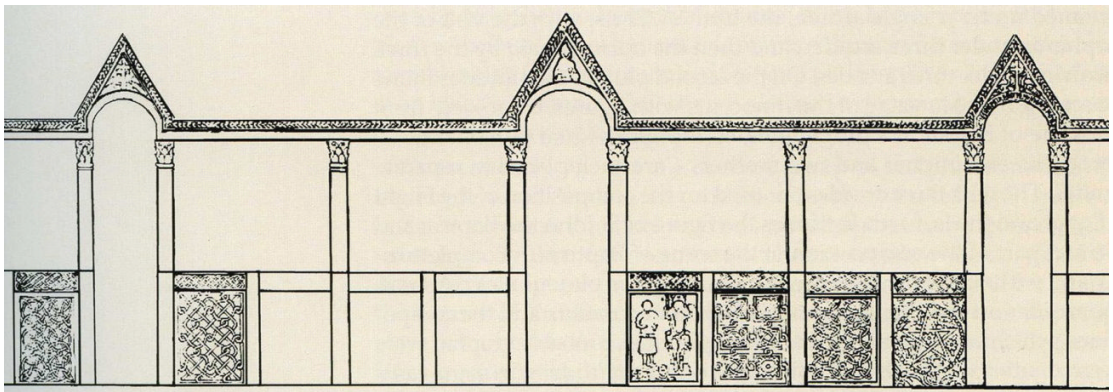
Fig. 157. Reconstruction of the chancel screen from SS Peter and Moses according to
Dyggve.

Fig. 158. *San Vitale*, Ravenna:
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mid-sixth century.

Fig. 159. Moses, wall mosaic,
Monastery of St Catherine,
Mount Sinai, *c*. 549-464

Fig. 160. Moses, fresco, Sant'Angelo in
Formis, Capua, *c*. 1072-1087.
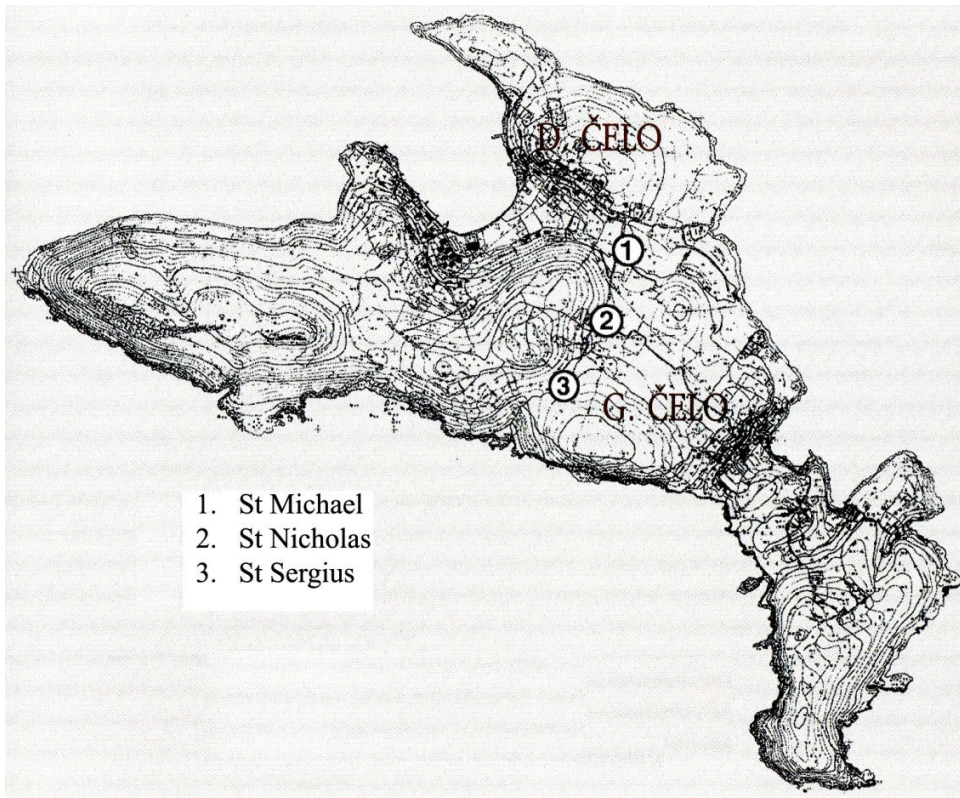
Fig. 161. Island of Koločep, location of St Michael's and two churches with finds of marble *spolia* attributed to it.
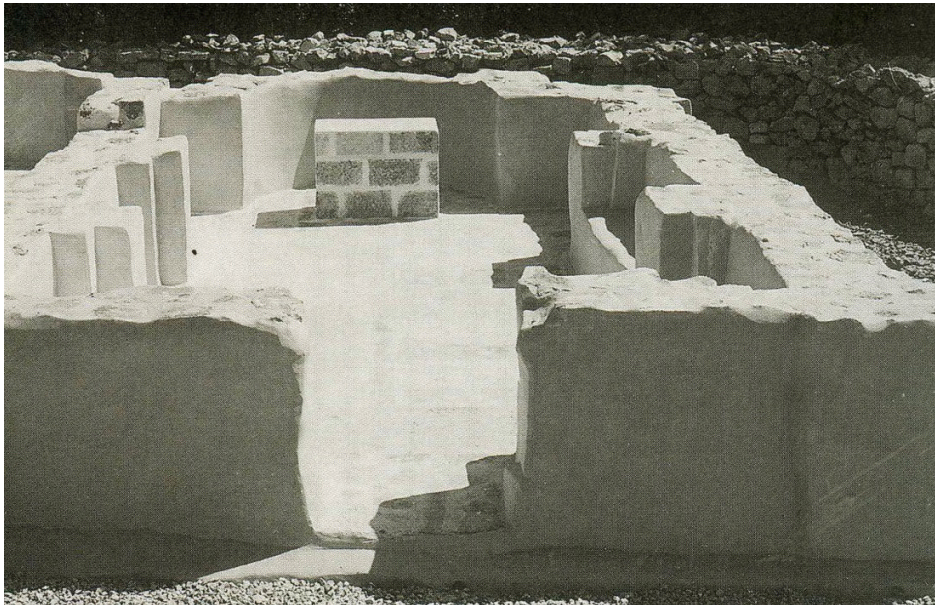
Fig. 162. *St Michael's*, Koločep: conserved foundations, view towards east, eleventh century.
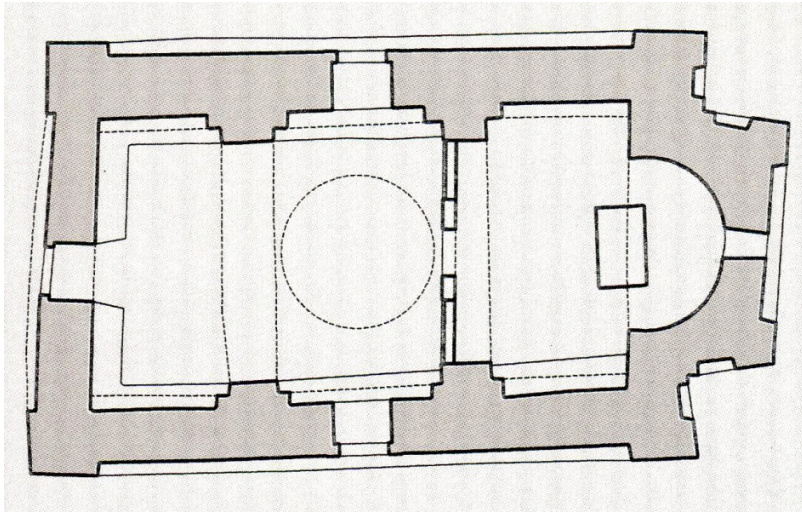
Fig. 163. *St Michael's*, Koločep: ground-plan after Peković, eleventh century.

Fig. 164. Panel from
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late eleventh century.

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Fig. 167.
Villa del Casale,
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Fig. 170. Wall mosaic, *Hagia Sophia*, Istanbul,
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Fig. 172. Reconstructed chancel screen from *St Michael's* at Koločep,
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Fig. 173. Panel, baptismal font, *Cathedral Baptistery*, Split, eleventh century.
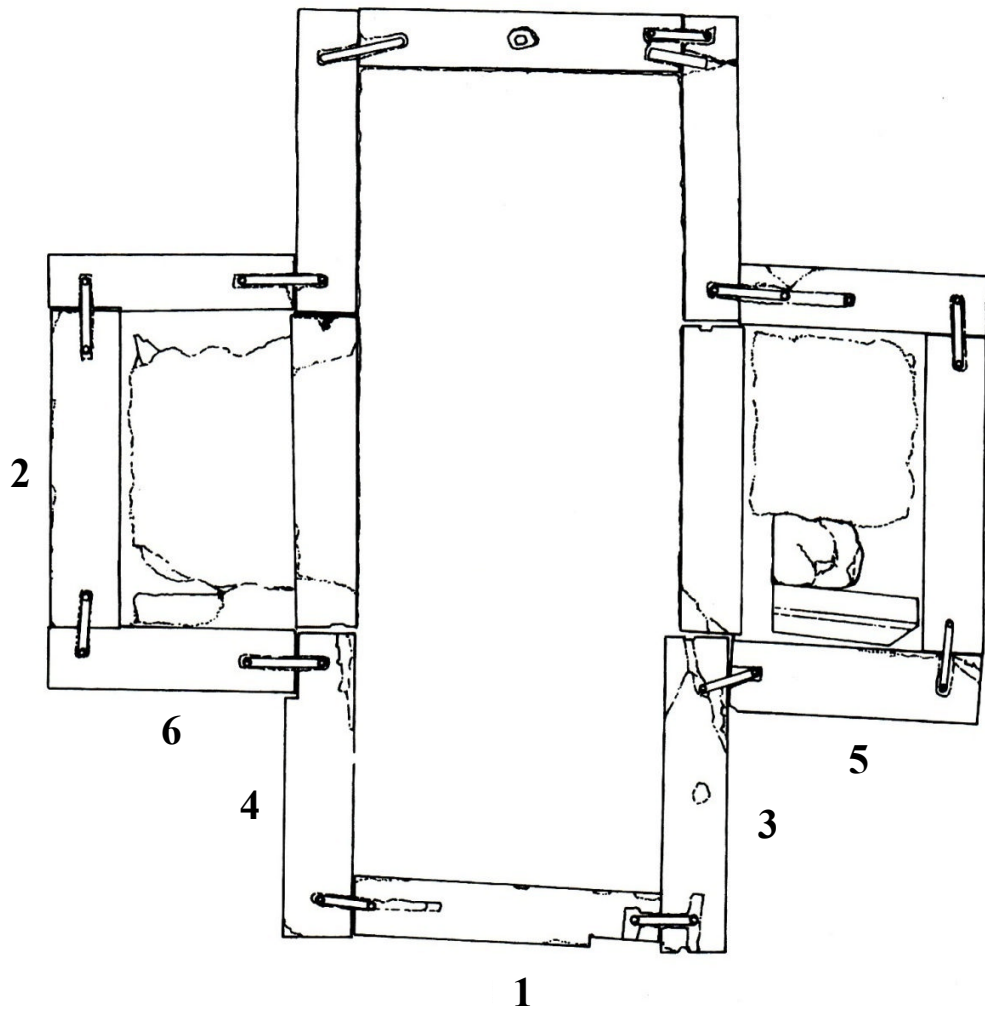
Fig. 174. Baptismal font, ground-plan, *Cathedral Baptistery*, Split.

Fig. 175.
Pentagram Panel, ,
baptismal font,
Cathedral Baptistery,
Split,
eleventh century

Fig. 176. Baptismal font, present condition, *Cathedral Baptistery*, Split.
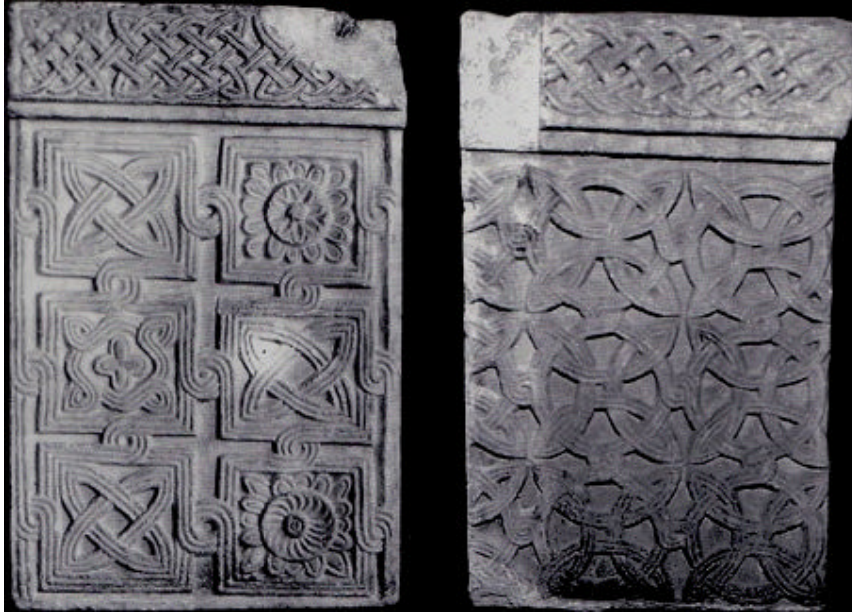
Fig. 177. Panels 3 and 4, eleventh century, baptismal font,
Cathedral Baptistery, Split.
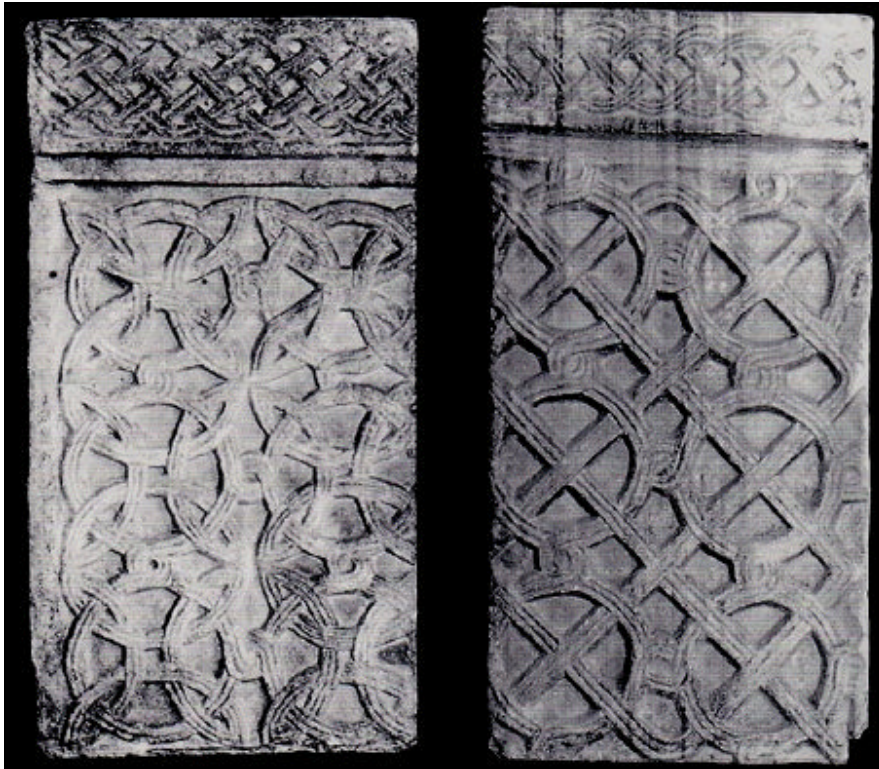
Fig. 178. Panels 5 and 6, eleventh century, baptismal font,
Cathedral Baptistery, Split.

Fig. 179.
Baptismal font in 1895,
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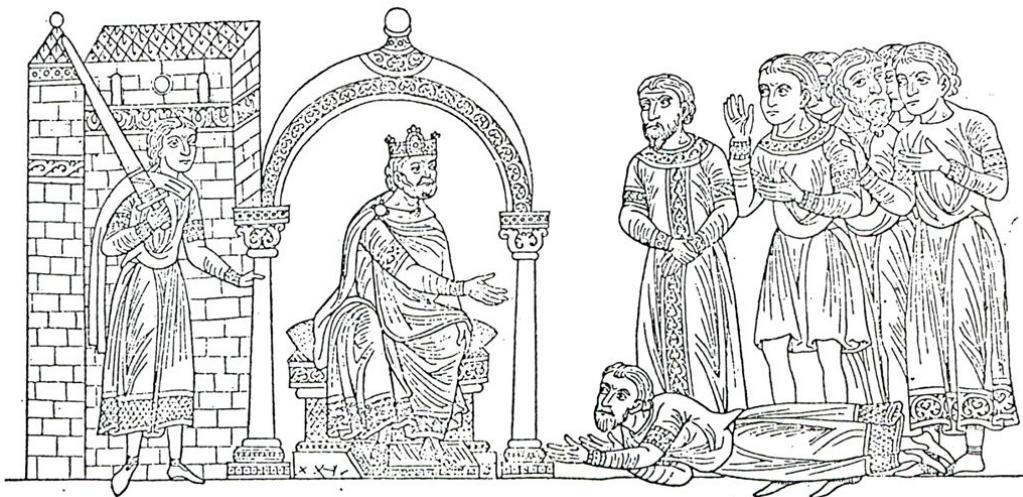
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Fig. 182. *The Baška Panel*, early twelfth century, Zagreb, Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Fig. 183. *Missorium of Theodosius*, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, *c*. 387.

Fig. 184. *Pericopes of Henry II*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms Clm. 4452, fol. 2, *c.* 1002-1012.
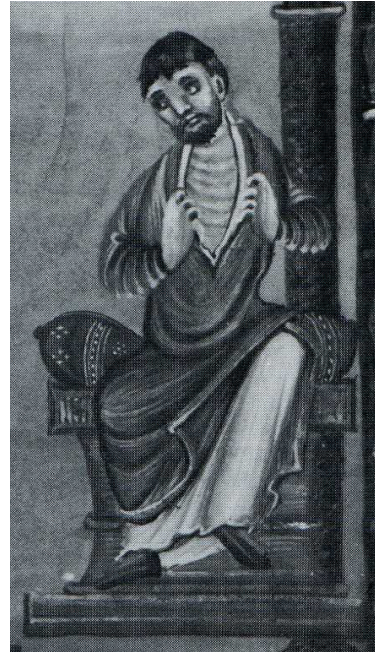
Fig. 185. *Gospels of Otto III*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms Clm. 4453, fol. 247, *c.* 998-1001.

Fig. 186. *Codex Aureus of St Emmeram*, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm. 14000, fol. 5v, Charles the Bald, *c.* 870.

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Fig. 188. Imperial situla for the coronation of Otto III, Aachen,
Cathedral Treasury, *c*. 996.

Fig. 189. Imperial seals of Otto III, c. 996-1002 and Henry II, c. 1002-1024,
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Fig. 190. Seal of Petar Krešimir IV, Zagreb,
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Fig. 191. *The Vivian Bible*,
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Fig. 192. *Gospels of Otto III*,
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Fig. 193. *New Minster Charter*,
London, The British Library,
MS. Cotton Vesp. A. VIII, fol 2v,
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Fig. 194 *Psalter of Basil II*, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana,
Ms. gr. z 17, fol. 3r, 976-1025.

Fig. 195. Panel, Rab, *St Mary's*, interior, north wall, late eleventh century.
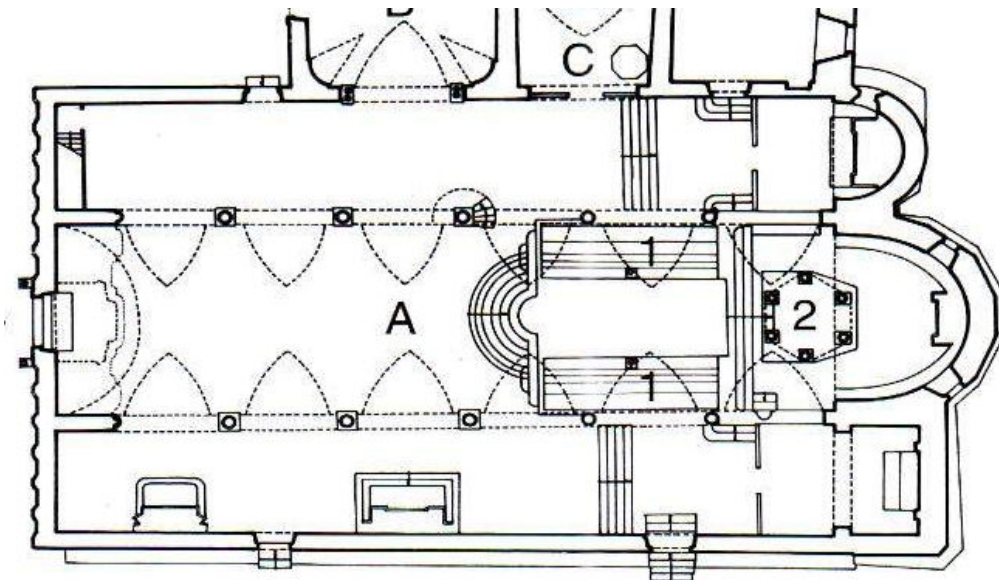
Fig. 196. *St Mary's*, Rab: ground-plan after Domijan. Apse: fifth century; nave and aisles: eleventh-twelfth century and later.

Fig. 197. Wall mosaic, narthex, *Hagia Sophia*, Istanbul, second half of the ninth century.

Fig. 198. *Homilies of Gregory the Great*, Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, Ms CXLVIII, fol. 8r, *c*. 800.

Fig. 199. *The Rab Pericopes,*
Rab, Archives of the Archparish,
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Fig. 200. Wall mosaic, Ravenna,
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Fig. 201.
Relief of Christ,
St Emmeram,
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Fig. 202.
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Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,
Cod. gr. 150, fol. Av,
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Fig. 203. *Histamenon* of Constantine IX,
Sunflower Foundation, Zurich, 1042-1055.

Fig. 204. Gable from Sustipan Cemetery, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, late eleventh century.
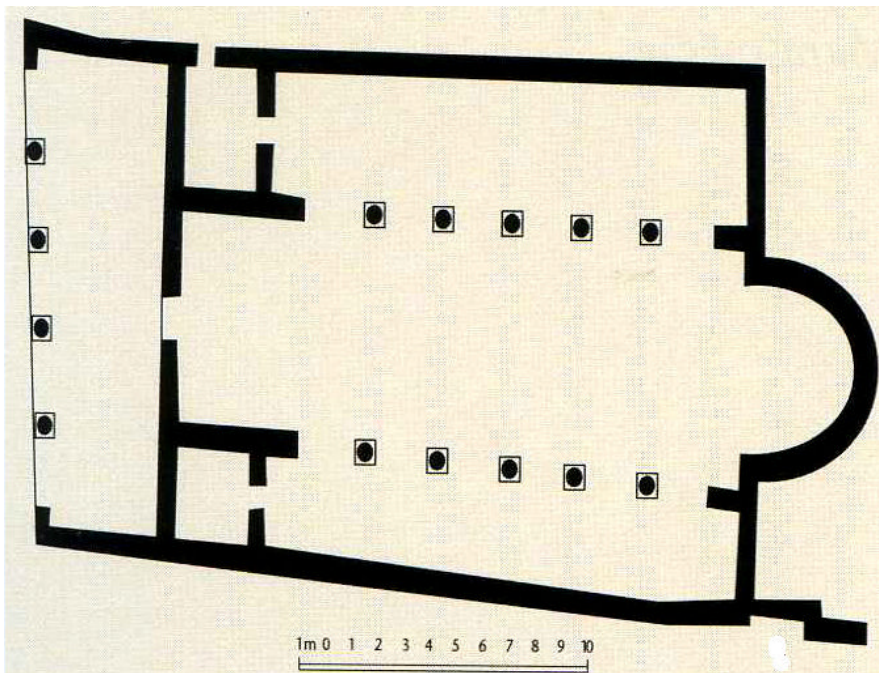
Fig. 205. *St Stephen's*, Split: ground-plan of the basilica after Marasović, sixth cenury.

Fig. 206. Cross, Vicopisano, *SS Maria e Giovanni*,
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Fig. 207. Oil flask, Monza, Cathedral Treasury,
sixth-seventh century.
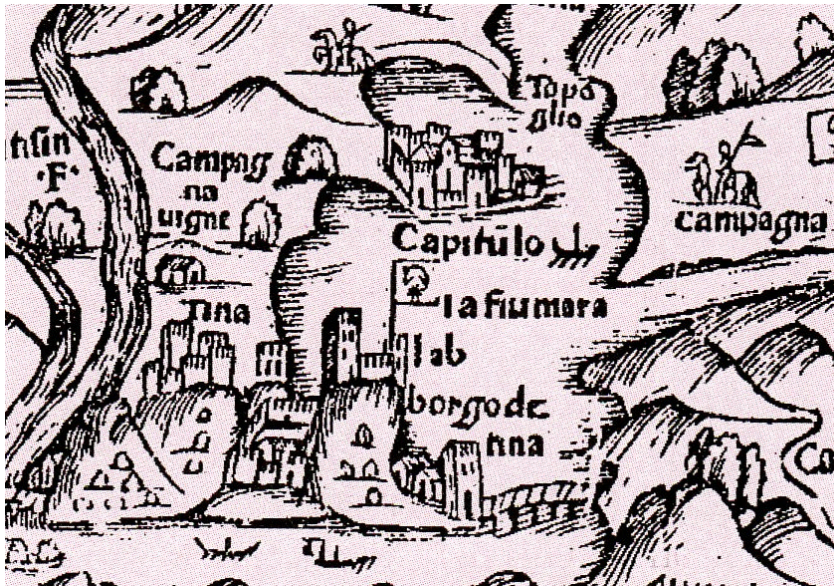
Fig. 208. Map of *Knin Castle*, drawn by Pagano in 1525.

Fig. 209. *Knin Castle*, Knin: aerial view.

Fig. 210. Portal jamb (K1) from *Knin Castle*, Split, Museum of
Croatian Archaeological Monuments, late eleventh century.
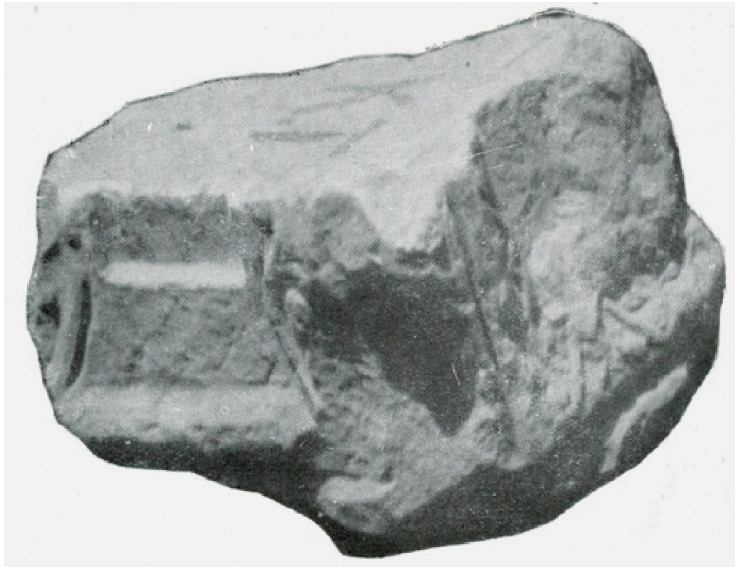
Fig. 211. Damaged fragment (K2) from *Knin Castle*, late eleventh century, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.
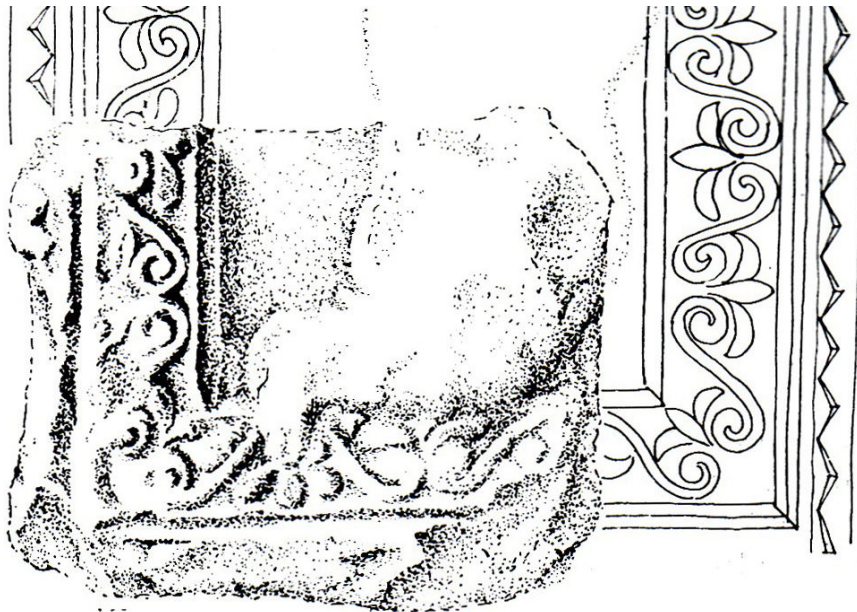
Fig. 212. Drawing and reconstruction of K2 by Bakulić.

Fig. 213. Golden plaque, Treasury of St Foy, Conques, eighth century.

Fig. 214. *The Angers Gospels*, Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 24, fol. 7v, second half of the ninth century.
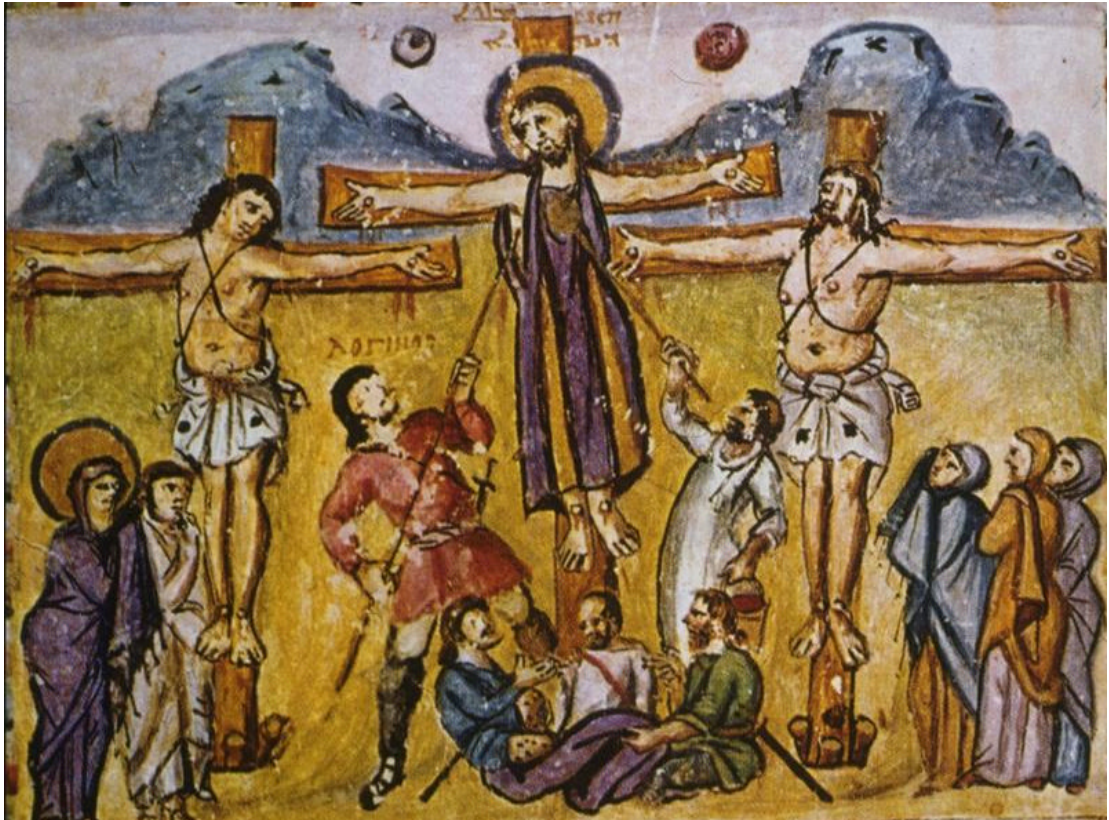
Fig. 215. *Rabbula Gospels*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Plut. I. 56, fol. 13r, 586.

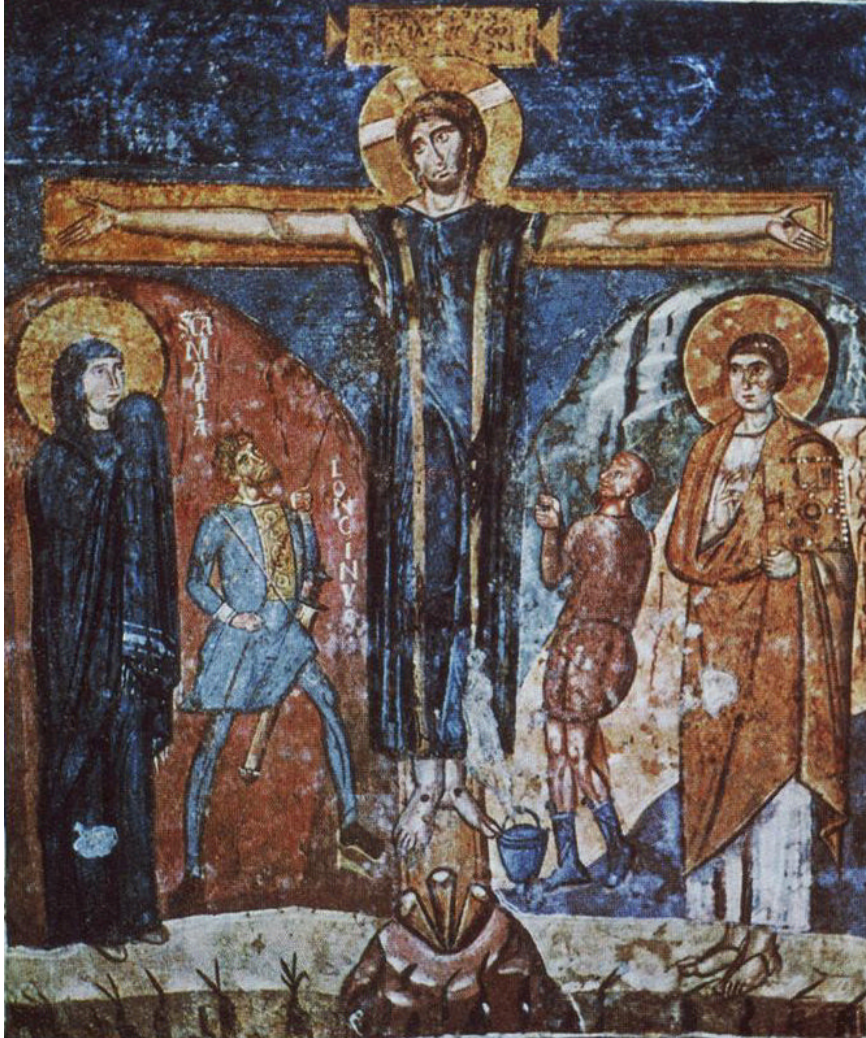Fig. 216. Inside of lid, *The Sancta Sanctorum Reliquary*, Rome, Museo Sacro, *c*. 600.

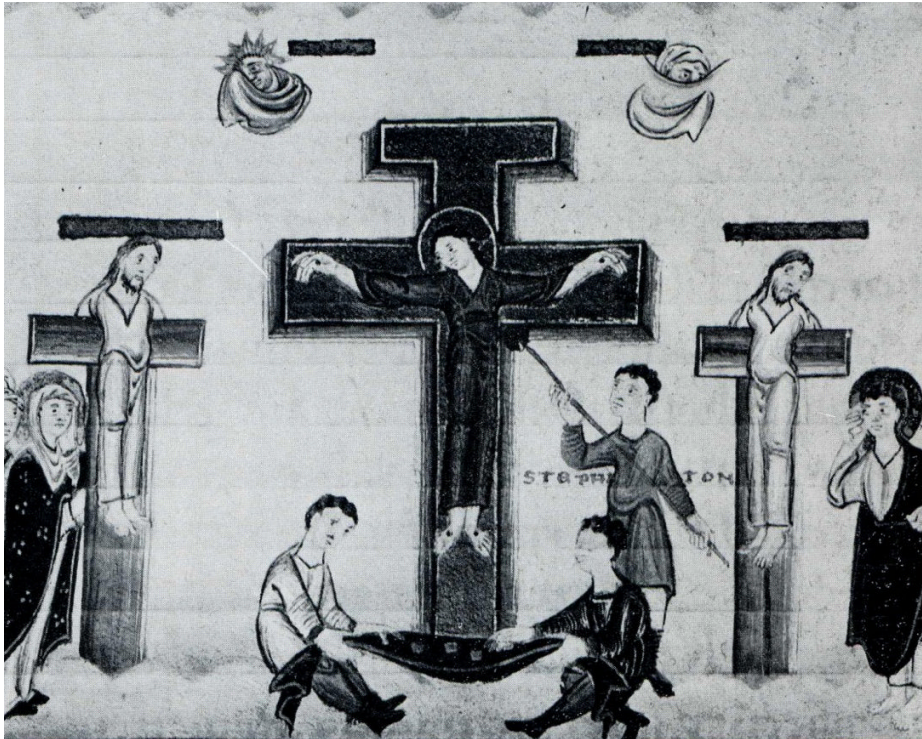Fig. 217. Fresco, Chapel of Theodotus, *Santa Maria Antiqua*, Rome, *c*. 705-707.

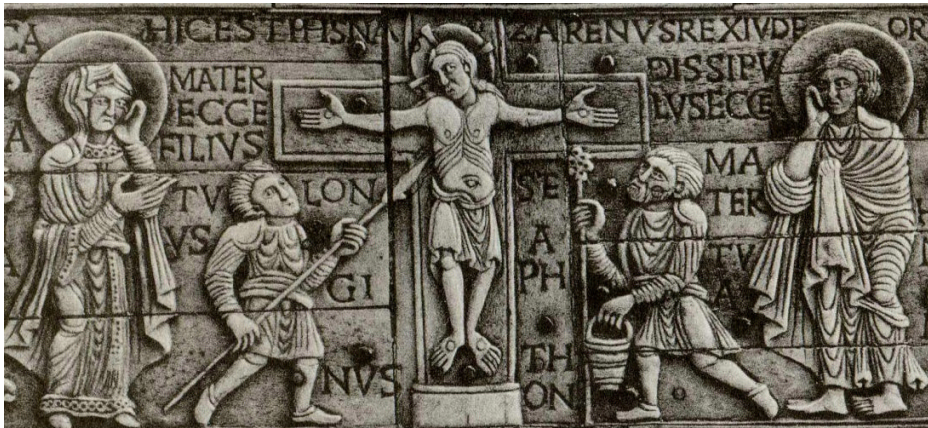Fig. 218. *Codex Egberti*, Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24, fol. 83v, *c.* 980.

Fig. 219. Ivory casket, Berlin, Bode Museum, *c.* 900.

Fig. 220. *The Farfa Casket*, Farfa, Abbey Treasury, 1070-1075.

Fig. 221. Architraves 2 and 4 from *Knin Castle*, late eleventh century, Split Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.

Fig. 222. Architraves 1 and 3 from *Knin Castle*, late eleventh century, Split, Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments.

Fig. 223. Fragment from Nin, Zadar, Archaeological
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Fig. 225. Left: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 4453, *c.* 975-999.
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Fig. 226. *The Farfa Casket*, Farfa, Abbey Treasury, 1070-1075.

Fig. 227. *Benedictional of Aethelwold*, London, The British Library, Ms. Add. 49598, fol. 102v, *c.* 975-980.

Fig. 228. Fresco, *Santa Maria Egiziaca*, Rome, 872-882.