Trpimir Vedriš

MARTYR AND KNIGHT:

THE CULT OF ST. ANASTASIA AND OF ST. CHRYSOGONUS IN MEDIEVAL ZADAR

M.A. Thesis in Medieval Studies

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by

Trpimir Vedriš

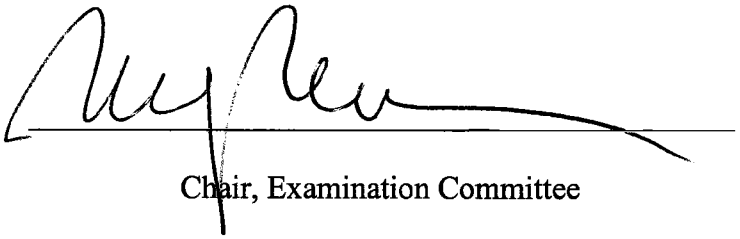
(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU



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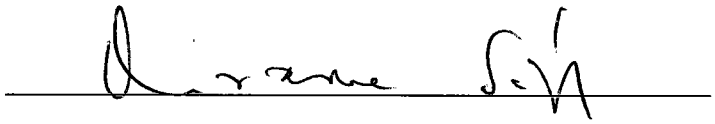

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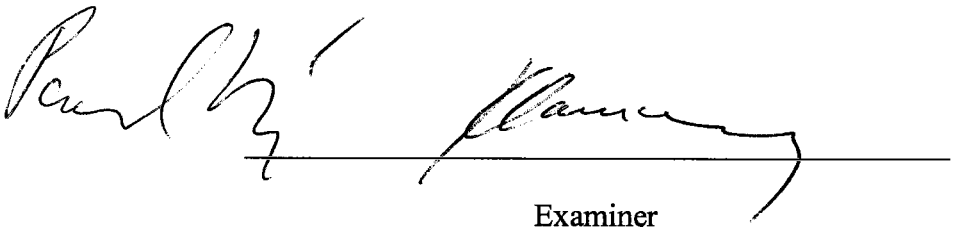

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External Examiner

Claire SOTINEL, MCF Université de Bordeaux 3 (France)

Budapest
June 2004

I, the undersigned, Trpimir Vedriš, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 1 June 2004

Signature

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Finishing this work in an atmosphere so much different from the one that we experienced at the beginning of the September, I am tired enough to resist the inspiration to write too long and too pathetic acknowledgments. There are however three groups of persons whom I really owe a serious debt of gratitude. Firstly, these are my dear friends and relatives, the guests at the wedding party last October, whose generous gifts I have used to sustain my little family in Budapest during the last ten months.

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In the end, I am deeply grateful (although it is often not very obvious) to my dear Adela for the sacrifice she has made joining me in Budapest. If this was a masterpiece, I would surely dedicate it to her and our little Philip, the second dear person who has suffered because of my studies.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA SS	Acta Sanctorum. Antwerp - Brussells
AB	Analecta Bollandiana. Brussells
ARR	Arheološki radovi i rasprave: Acta et dissertationes archaeologicae. Zagreb (1959-)
ASD	Archivio storico per la Dalmazia. Rome
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BHL	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina
BS	Bogoslovska smotra. Zagreb
BSS	Bibliotheca sanctorum. Rome
CCP	Croatica Christiana Periodica. Zagreb
CD	Codex diplomaticus. Zagreb
DAI	De administrando imperio
DAZd	Državni arhiv u Zadru (State Archive in Zadar)
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
Diadora	Diadora: Publication of Archaeological Museum in Zadar (1959-)
FF	Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu (Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb)
FFZd	Filozofski fakultet u Zadru (Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar)
HAM	Hortus Artium Medioevalium
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts). Zagreb
HR	Hrvatska revija. (Croatian Review). Zagreb
JAZU	Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. (Jugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts). Zagreb
MEFRM	Mélanges de l' École française de Rome. Series Moyen age/Temps modernes
Mélanges	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*. Paris

MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historica

MH Martyrologium Hieronymianum

MR Martyrologium Romanum

MSHSM Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meriodonalium JAZU. Zagreb

PG J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus: series Graeca (Patrologia Graeca). Paris

PL J. P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina (Patrologia Latina). Paris

RFFZd Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru.

RIZd Radovi instituta JAZU u Zadru (Proceedings of the institute of JAZU in Zadar). Zagreb

SHP Starohrvatska prosvjeta (Old –Croatian). Knin-Zagreb-Split

VAMUZ Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru (Review of the Archeological museum in Zadar)

ZKZd Znanstvena knjižnica u Zadru (Scientific Library in Zadar)

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Appendix A: Maps

Appendix B: Figures

INTRODUCTION

In this work I am examining the making of cult of the two principal patron saints of a Dalmatian town Zadar (*Iadera*) between the ninth and the fourteenth century. Although, by the very nature of the sources, I deal with remains of material culture, my goal is to understand people rather than the objects of the cult. More precisely, I focused on three "communities:" the urban community of Zadar; the chapter of St. Anastasia; and the monastery of St. Chrysogonus. The medieval period was highly turbulent for the commune of Zadar. After the collapse of Byzantine rule in the Adriatic, Zadar, the former capital of the Byzantine *theme*, not only fought to preserve its leading position among the towns of Dalmatia, but also played a power politics against Venice, and against the rulers of the hinterland: the Hungarian–Croatian kings and the local magnates. The strategic and political position of the town reflected as well as defined the divisions and conflicts within the commune. My intention is to trace the way in which the cults reflected these conflicts and to what extent the communities which controlled them used them to promote their own aims.[1]

Recent scholarship

Hagiography is not a dark spot of medieval studies anymore: in the last four decades "not only have hagiographic texts received close scrutiny from medievalists, but they have moved from the periphery to the center of the scholarly enterprise."[2] The tendency to move from the study of the saints to that of society found its catalyst in the person of Peter Brown, who has introduced something called *l'école politique*

[1] Usage understood here both as intentional manipulation and symbolic expression of different (even unconscious) needs

[2] Patrick J. Geary, "Saints, Scholars and Society: The Elusive Goal," in *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca, (Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1996), 2.

or sociological approach in hagiographic research. He is now referred to as an innovator, although these tendencies were present and important before him.[3] However, introducing the results of the stream of British social anthropology which deserted it's particularly "anti-historical bias" in the fifties[4] into historical research, Brown's essay, published in 1971,[5] seems to have been the stone to start an avalanche of "new hagiography."[6]

What I found particularly inspiring for my research are the four pervading trends in hagiography in the late 1990s as described to P. Geary. Firstly: the "focus of research turned away from saints towards society." The second is characterized by the "turn from the individual to the collective." Whether one focuses on the ideal of the given society, like A. Vauchez or looking for the social conflicts which are reflected in the writings of Goodich,[7] the logical result is the "third turn:" from research on *vitae* and *passiones* to other hagiographic texts such as *translationes* and *inventiones*. The fourth trend can be summed up as the "recognition that none of the texts are transparent windows into the saint's lives and their society,"[8] implying a critical approach to the sources. However, this "necessary shift" exposed the research to the dangers of the "linguistic turn"[9] which has already led some medievalists into deconstruction of the sources leaving them at the end with nothing to inquire.

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[3] Cf. the works of F. Graus, F. Halkin, E. Patlagean: Geary, "Saints," 13.
[4] Keith Thomas, "History and Anthropology" *Past and Present* 24 (1963): 3-4.
[5] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity" *Journal for Roman Studies* 69 (1971): 80-101.
[6] The importance of P. Brown is attested different symposia organised to commemorate and question his achievments, resulting in the publication of the papers submitted on the occasions. Cf. Peter Brown et al., "The World of Late Antiquity Revisited," SO Debate, *Symbolae Osloenses* 72 (1997): 5-90, and James Howard-Johnston and Paul A. Hayward, eds., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
[7] Cf. André Vauchez, *La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen-Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française, 1981), and Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982).
[8] Geary, "Saints," 17.
[9] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle ages" *Speculum* 65 (1990): 56-86.

These are the theoretical starting points of my research, but, by getting to know about these trends I already had a fair part of the research behind myself. Namely, as I started my research in the Jesuit library in Zagreb, I was unconsciously drinking from the Bollandists' cup, concerned with their positivist enterprise to find out the "truth about the sources." The result of this influence, visible in this work could not be simply erased by the (relatively short) encounter with all the new literature available at CEU. The struggle between the two concepts led to a crystallization of the central problem of my research: when should one stop gathering more and more evidence (risking of falling into a trap of antiquarianism) and start interpreting it? Time endeavouring effort to collect all the sources before making any statements and conclusions resulted in rather narrative and factual work. Being completely aware of the weaknesses of such an approach, I felt I was forced to do so since my predecessors in this inquiry are largely (and sometimes in the best case) nineteenth-century church historians. This way, the "catalogue-like" feature, being the central weakness of this work, also presents an unavoidable step in establishing the factual network necessary for similar research.

Literature and Sources

Risking generalization, I would say that in twentieth-century Croatian historiography there has been only a few works dealing with Late Antique, and very little with medieval hagiography.[10] In the field of medieval studies, there exist valuable contributions on particular important issues for hagiographic research such

[10] Late Antique hagiography has most often been approached by archaeologists, and more or less, on the level of a positivist concern of separating the 'fact' from 'fiction.' Cf. the works of archaeologists B. Migotti, M. Jarak and occasionally some others. Not intending to criticise these works, it is the approach and the training of the authors that direct the course of their research.

as churches, iconography, and text analysis,[11] but what is significant is that they were rarely initiated from *stricte dictu* hagiographic position. Hagiographical issues have mostly been dealt with on the periphery of "more important" topics, or in a rather anachronistic way.[12] Scarce articles whose titles imply hagiographic interest are often narratives of the type "what we know about the saint," or at best useful catalogues of local hagiographic sources.[13] Mostly this situation is to be blamed on the prevailing climate in scholarship (trying to avoid the *topos* of accusing Communism for all the problems): "burning" national questions after the fall of Communism, lack of interest, technical and intellectual isolation of the scholarly community in Croatia, but a mental attitude as well.[14]

Although the situation has started to change recently with the hagiographic works of the high quality, such as the work of S. Andrić,[15] there is still no major work on urban patron saints.[16] For this reasons it is clear why I have used Croatian authors primarily for the historical and particular questions, while for the models I had to look outside the Croatian historiography. In these terms I have found particularly valuable

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[11]For example, for the textual analysis, see Ivanka Petrović, *Hagiografsko-legendarna književnost hrvatskog srednjovjekovlja i senjski "Marijini mirakuli"* (Hagiographic-Legendary Literature of the Croatian Middle Ages and the *Miracles of St. Mary* from Senj) (Zagreb: Slovo, 1984); for liturgical calendars and medieval books of hours, see the works of Marijan Grgić..

[12] In the year 1989 it was still possible for the author of the article on the cult of St. Chrysogonus to state that "Chrysogonus, like the other saints, should be, after all, left to the world of legend" and that the local hagiographic legends were "no more than the inventions of the priests." Cf. Miroslav Granić, "O kultu sv. Krševana zadarskog zaštitnika" (On the Cult of St. Chrysogonus, Patron of Zadar), in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru* (Thousand Years of the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus), ed. Ivo Petricioli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 35-58. What is significant for the atmosphere of that period is that the author was accused of "introducing clericalism into scholarship."

[13] Example of the first might be Pavuša Vežić, "Su San Donato, vescovo di Zara" *HAM* 8 (2002): 235-240 (hereafter Vežić, "Su San Donato"), while other type is presented by Granić, "O kultu."

[14] It is still possible to hear about the "silly novelties" dealing with the "nonsense like family relations or cults of the saints" instead of "good old, solid historiography." Whether these objections come from the position of Marxist-schooled historians or (also Marxist-schooled) historians of a strong nationalistic background hagiography does not have a good chance there.

[15] Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2000).

[16] Not intending to do an unjustice to a whole set of valuable works on the topic I have to mention the publication of two volumes of *Hrvatska revija* entirely dedicated to the cults of the saints Cf. *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian Review) vols. 2 (2002) and 3 (2003).

the works of Sharon Farmer and Thomas Head.[17] These and other studies, although highly inspiring, could have been used only to certain point, because of the significant differences that lie between their and my object of inquiry.[18] Closer to the problems that I have encountered are studies on Italian urban patron saints, which unfortunately I came to know at a very late stage of my research.

I see as the novelty of my approach the attempt to overcome the traditional division of the sources aiming to incorporate all types of the sources as equally relevant for the understanding the research problems. I took the risk of entering the territory contested by different disciplines, but I hope to show how this approach sheds more light on the questions already discussed from narrower points of view.[19]

Structure

First I will try to clarify the obscure and controversial history of the cults before their introduction into Zadar. The cult of Anastasia and of Chrysogonus was established some decades after their martyrdom under Emperor Diocletian. The cult of St. Anastasia flourished in Sirmium and spread to Constantinople and Italy in the second half of the fifth century. St. Chrysogonus was venerated in Aquileia and in north Italy. The emergence of the cults of the two martyrs in Rome around the turn of the fifth century resulted in the compilation of their legend, in which they were Romanised, and presented as teacher and disciple. The *Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae*, known throughout the West and the East under different titles became a important vehicle of the spread of their cult in the Middle Ages. Although the

[17] Sharon A. Farmer, *Communities of St. Martin. Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, NY – London: Cornell University Press, 1991), and Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans, 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[18] The relative scarcity of sources as well as different historical background are only some of the important features that differ my research on Zadar from the mentioned case studies.

[19] The usage of different type of sources for decoding the complex reality of the relations between the saints and their venerators has shown the possibilities, but also shortcomings in the studies such as that

tendency of the medieval commune to usurp the saints as their own and "genuine," reduced the importance of the previous cult, I think it is not without importance to understand the "pre-history" of the cults. More so if it, in the scarcity of sources this might give clues for understanding the development of the cult in the given community in the later period.

Chapter II presents a brief summary of the early history of Zadar that helps to understand the later conflicts. Pointing to some issues from the town's history such as an unbroken tradition of urban living, the continuity of Roman communal institutions, and the position of the bishop in Early Middle Ages, this chapter aims to show how the cults were introduced and how the circumstances of it set up the stage for the play that would be played out in later centuries. Situated on the important east Adriatic travel route, Zadar has always been caught between the interests of two conflicting powers: one controlling the sea, another controlling its hinterland. In the early period these powers were the Byzantine Empire and the Franks; later they were replaced by Venice and the Hungarian-Croatian kings. Outer tensions influenced the inner politics of the town. Key institutions in the town, their mutual relations and their connections with external allies polarised the commune. Ecclesiastical institutions, the cathedral chapter and monasteries actively participated in them using all means at their disposal.

According to the local tradition, the cult of St. Anastasia was introduced in Zadar in the early ninth century. The relics of the martyr were brought from Constantinople by Bishop Donatus and deposited in the cathedral formerly dedicated to St. Peter. From its very beginnings, the cult was firmly attached to the cathedral

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of Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

and controlled by its canons. The origins of the cult of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar are very obscure. According to one of the local traditions his relics were translated to Zadar from Aquileia by Patriarch Maximus in 649. Although the cult of St. Chrysogonus seems to have been older than that of St. Anastasia, there is no evidence that it played a more important role in the early Middle Ages. St. Chrysogonus became the patron of the Benedictine monastery founded in 986, but his relics were venerated in the church dedicated to him as early as 900. With the rise of the monastery, his cult became more prestigious, so that he finally replaced St. Anastasia as the town's principal patron saint in the late twelfth century.

Chapter III describes the ways the cults conquered the town space and calendar: how the churches came to dominate the physical space of the Zadar and how the feasts filled the local time with the presence of the martyrs. The buildings are seen as important evidence of the power of the institutions and a rich source of the history of the cult. The Episcopal basilica, built on the foundations of an early Christian cult center placed in the Roman forum testifies to the continuity of the urban functions. The whole episcopal complex as a center of the cult of St. Anastasia physically dominated the town in the Early Middle Ages. With the fragmentation of the spiritual and secular authority in the later period, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, with its sister monastery of St. Mary, contested the ideal centralised unity of the community. My inquiry concerning dates and layers of the religious festivals intends to establish a temporal network, as well as to trace the clues for understanding relations between cults and communities.

Chapter IV examines hagiographic texts and iconographic presentations; it aims to analyse and interpret the relevance of the visual presentations of the saints as well as the legends. The starting point is the continuity of the inherited tradition.

Subsequently, it detects the changes in the representation as the manifestation of a new identity which the saints acquired during their sojourn in Zadar. Images are seen as a media expressing religious and social needs that give clues for understanding the creation of the saints as patrons of Zadar. The scarcity of evidence does not allow me to make definite conclusions or to establish a precise chronological sequence. Central issues are thus the analysis of the local legends whose primary role was to "make the saint their own" and analysis of the changes in the iconographic presentations of St. Chrysogonus in the thirteenth century.

The last chapter inquires about the institutions which promoted the two cults in their social and political contexts. A parallel chronological sequence follows the history of two communities: the chapter of St. Anastasia and the monastery of St. Chrysogonus. The first presents the oldest institution in the town depending on the late Classical and early medieval power of the bishop. With the upgrading of the bishopric to the archbishopric level in the mid-twelfth century the position came under the strong influence of the Venice, leading eventually to the introduction of "Venetian" bishops in the following centuries. At the same time, the monastery developed strong relations with the Croatian and Hungarian court, becoming the political power known as the "king's party" in Zadar. The aim of the chapter is to show how the contemporary social and political context influenced the replacement of the town's patron Anastasia and established the new principal patron St. Chrysogonus.

CHAPTER I: THE CULT OF ST. ANASTASIA AND OF ST. CHRYSOGONUS

1.1 The Legend

Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae

According to the legend (preserved in its essence in the recent edition of the *Martyrologium Romanum*),[20] Anastasia and Chrysogonus were executed under the emperor Diocletian. A Roman noblewoman, daughter of Praetextatus, Anastasia was taught in the Christian faith by Chrysogonus. She comforted Christians in prison during the period of persecutions. When this was discovered by her pagan husband, Publius, he imprisoned her at home. Ill-treated and tormented, she managed secretly to keep in touch with her teacher Chrysogonus, who comforted and encouraged her with his letters. When her husband was sent to Syria by the order of the Senate, her treatment became even worse. Three months later Publius died, and Anastasia was freed. She sold her possessions and continued to help imprisoned Christians. At the same time, Emperor Diocletian ordered Chrysogonus to be brought before him in Aquileia. Chrysogonus was offered a prefecture and even the consulate on the condition that he denied his Christian faith. He refused, and was executed *ad aquas Gradatas* near Aquileia. His body was buried by Presbyter Zoilus. Anastasia followed Chrysogonus to Aquileia and continued to offer relief to imprisoned Christians after his death. She was accompanied by the three sisters, Agape, Chionia and Irene who were arrested soon after and investigated by the emperor. At this point, the legend starts to follow the trial of the three sisters, who were taken with many imprisoned Christians to Macedonia. They were questioned first by the *praeses* Dultius and then by the *comes* Sisinnius, who ordered the execution of the sisters.

After the Emperor Diocletian returned to Sirmium, he ordered Theodote from Nicaea to be brought before him. Theodote and Anastasia, both noblewomen, were together accused of visiting imprisoned Christians. They were offered marriage to pagans of high rank. Theodote was offered marriage to the emperor himself and Anastasia was offered to Ulpianus, the pagan *pontifex*. They refused and Theodote was taken to Nicaea, where she and her children were executed. Anastasia was sent to Lucius, the prefect of Illyricum to be questioned again. Lucius, knowing her father's high rank, tried to get her property. Refusing all offers, Anastasia was thrown into prison, where she would have died had she not been comforted by the spirit of Theodote. After imprisonment, Anastasia was taken to a ship loaded with criminals. The ship, sailing over the open sea, was beset by a storm and the prisoners were saved by her prayers. After their landing on the Palmarian islands, the prisoners joined the Christians who were already there waiting to be executed. Declining for the last time to worship the gods, two hundred men and seventy women were executed. Anastasia was tied to four stakes and burned. A Christian lady called Apolonia buried the remains in her garden and erected a basilica.

The Roman context of the Passion

This "epic passion" of Roman hagiography, in the form presented here, has a very complex history. Even the central information should not be taken as a reflection of historical events. The legend was compiled as a patchwork of four different stories; the Passions of St. Theodote and the three sisters from Thessalonica already existed in Greek at the time of compilation; the stories of Anastasia and Chrysogonus seem to have a different origin. What is the possible connection between Chrysogonus, martyr of Aquileia, Anastasia martyred on the mysterious

[20] *Martyrologium Romanum* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 2001).

Palmarian islands, the three virgins from Thessalonica, and Theodota from Nicea in Asia Minor? Seemingly none. Even the Roman passion, which aims to prove the Roman origin of the two central characters, admits that they were buried in different and very distant places. The answer to the question should be found in the context in which the legend was created. The Roman Church adopted a number of non-Roman cults during the fifth and sixth centuries. If we analyze the time and circumstances of the emergence of the particular cults, it is possible to reconstruct their origin.[21] The answer to the question: "Why did the author connect Anastasia and Chrysogonus and present them as Romans?" helps to date the compilation of the Passion. The constitution of the legend is usually dated to the beginning of the sixth century.[22] The reliability of such a dating is enforced by the proposed relation between the composition of the legend and the emergence of the cult of the two martyrs in Roman churches in the second half of the sixth century. At the time when Roman *tituli* were consecrated to "imported" homonymous martyrs[23] there was a need to explain the history of the martyrs who were known neither in the city nor in its surroundings. The legend is the result of this process, in which the identities of the former *tituli* were mixed with non-Roman martyrs: the *tituli* turned the foreign martyrs into Romans.

[21] The case is simpler with the cults of established origin, such as the African cults of Perpetua and Felicita, or cults from Milan such as Gervasius and Protasius, than it is with the Pannonian and North Adriatic cults which spread to Italy during the barbarian invasions. Giuseppe Cuscito, *Martiri cristiani ad Aquileia e in Istria: Documenti archeologici e questioni agiografiche* (Trieste – Udine: Del Bianco Udine, 1992), 79 (hereafter Cuscito, *Martiri*).

[22] Hippolyte Delehaye, *Étude sur le légendier romain. Les saints de Novembre et de Décembre*, Subsidia Hagiographica 23 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1936), 14 (hereafter Delehaye, *Étude*). Although his approach and methodology are contested today, there is so far no such serious and extensive work done on this legend as his *Étude*.

[23] Besides homonymous saints there are cases where completely different martyrs took the place of the tituli (e.g. *titulus Eusebii* became *S. Cyriaci*, *titulus Gai* became *S. Susanna* etc.): Cuscito, *Martiri*, 80.

1.2 The Cult in Late Antiquity

The time and the place of martyrdom

Anastasia and Chrysogonus are mentioned for the first time in the so-called *Hieronymian Martyrology* (*MH*),[24] a collection of a group of older martyrologies.[25] Although preserved in redactions younger then the supposed original (the oldest being dated to the eighth century), the *MH* presents the most important written source for the Pannonian and the north Italian martyrs of the third and fourth centuries.

The four redactions of the text mention Anastasia as a martyr of Sirmium whose *dies natalis* is celebrated on 25 December.[26] The date of the execution of Chrysogonus is mentioned on four different dates in November and February.[27] Although the hypothesis is not without problems, 24 November is accepted as the oldest celebration.[28] The place of his martyrdom also presents a problem: different martyrologies give different information. The legend places the execution of Anastasia *ad insulas Palmarias* and that of Chrysogonus *ad Aquas Gradatas* near Aquileia respectively. While for Chrysogonus this information fits both legend and most of the martyrologies, in the case of Anastasia it contradicts the data from the

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[24] The hypothesis that its fifth-century Italian original was superseded shortly before 600 by a Gallican text prepared at Auxerre was recently accepted by R. Aigrain, B. de Gaiffier, J. Dubois and A. Borst. Some of the scholars who oppose this hypothesis are F. Prinz and J. Nelson; Pádraig Ó Riain. "A Northumbrian Phase in the Formation of the Hieronymian Martyrology: The Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght," *AB* 120 no. 2 (2002): 314-316; (Hereafter Ó Riain, "Northumbrian Phase").

[25] A comparison to older Syrian martyrology (dated to 411) shows that both were dependent on the older Greek text written after 362; Rajko Bratož, "Dioklecijanovo preganjanje kristjanov v provincah srednjeg Podonavlja in zahodnega Balkana" (Diocletian's Persecution of Christians in the Provinces of the Central Danube Region and the Western Balkans), in *Međunarodni znanstveni simpozij ob 1700-letnici smrti sv. Viktorina Ptujskega* (International Scientific Symposium Held on the Anniversary of 1700 Years after the Death of St. Victorinus of Poetovio), ed. OFMConv. Slavko Krajnc (Ptuj: Minoritski samostan sv. Viktorina na Ptuju, 2003), 32. Cf. *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, AA SS Nov. II/1, ed. I. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1894) (hereafter *MH*). See also Hippolyte Delehaye, *Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, AA SS Nov. II/2 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1931) (hereafter Delehaye, *Commentarius*).

[26] "Anastasia" found on the other two dates in January was understood by Delehaye as a very early error where VIII KL. IAN was mistranslated as VIII or VI. ID. IAN.

[27] See Delehaye, *Commentarius,* 103, *passim.*

MH. The "Palmarian" martyrdom was introduced in the *Martyrologium Bedae* wherefrom it found its way into the Martyrologies of *Florus* of Lyon († c.860) and *Usuardus* († c.875). Knowing the importance of the latter under the name *Martyrologium secundum more Romanae curiae* during the Middle Ages all the way to the modern period, it is not surprising that the story about the "Palmarian" martyrdom survived to the eighteenth century.[29] Modern scholarship accepts the martyrdom in Sirmium.[30]

Accepting the testimony of the *MH* that Anastasia was martyred in Sirmium, we must ask whether any evidence connected to her martyrdom remained in the city. The archaeological excavations undertaken in 1882-83, discovered the foundations of two late antique buildings in the eastern part of Sirmium, which were identified by A. Hitrek as the basilicas of St. Anastasia and St. Demetrius.[31] The excavations in 1978 unearthed another late-fifth-century basilica, also interpreted as that of St. Demetrius.[32] The problem of the recognition of the basilica lies in the fact that the archaeological finds were interpreted in the light of the short information found in the Greek *Passio S. Demetrii*[33] but no inscriptions were found thus making the attribution unreliable.

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[28] Cf. Cuscito, *Martiri*, 71-80. Also see Victor Saxer, "L'hagiographie ancienne d'Aquilée à propos d'un livre récent," *MEFRM* 92, vol. 2 (1980): 373-392 (hereafter Saxer, "L'hagiographie").

[29] The Jesuit Bonucci writing his *Storia di S. Anastasia, vergine e martyre romana* (published in 1722) still insists on her Roman origin and her execution on the "Palmarian islands." Svetozar Rittig, "Martyrologij srijemsko – panonske metropolije" (Martyrology of the Archdiocese of Srijem and Panonija), *BS* Vol. 3, Year 2 (1911): 254 (hereafter Rittig, "Martyrologij"); The later attempts to connect the place of execution with Sirmium as a place near the Danube "planted with the palms" proposed by Coletti in *Illyricum Sacrum* should also be rejected.

[30] Cf. Maria Vittoria Brandi, "Anastasia, santa, martire di Sirmio" In *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, 1961), 1041-1049.

[31] Unfortunately, at that time the material of the basilicas was taken away and only the foundations testified to their look. Petar Milošević, "Raniji antički nalasci u Sirmiumu," *Limes u Jugoslaviji* 1 (1961): 71-76.

[32] Petar Milošević. *Kroz vekove Sirmiuma*, (Through the Ages of Sirmium) (Sremska Mitrovica: Sremske Novine – Muzej Srema, 1979), 45-46.

[33] It mentions the prefect of Illyricum, Leontius building the church of St. Demetrius "next to the church of St. Anastasia." This legend preserves some precise and valuable topographical information:

As for Chrysogonus, there is no church dedicated to him in the vicinity of Aquileia. A stone sarcophagus in the sixteenth-century chapel of St. Protus in San Canziano d'Isonzo presents a valuable piece of evidence for his early cult place. The sarcophagus, dated to the first half of the fourth century, bears an inscription with the name of Chrysogonus. The archaeological excavations undertaken in 1960-67 unearthed the remains of an early Christian burial chapel dated to the first half of the fourth century,[34] indicating a possible burial place.[35] Another legend describes how the group of the three *Cantii* and their teacher *Protus* left Rome for Aquileia "for the love of the martyr Chrysogonus."[36] Finding out about his death, they went on a pilgrimage (!) to the place of his martyrdom, were they were arrested and executed.[37] Although the origin of the *Passio Cantii* is obscure, the comparison of its data with the archaeological finds in San Canziano d'Isonzo can be taken to confirm the Aquileian martyrdom of St. Chrysogonus.[38] Some Italian scholars believe that Chrysogonus was a bishop of Aquileia, the predecessor of Theodore mentioned in the council of Arles in 314[39] but there is no liturgical reference to him as to a bishop.

North Italy and Pannonia: The destruction of the early cult centres

There is no information about the cult of Anastasia before the mid-fifth century. What seems to have been the important impetus for the dissemination of both cults is the destruction of their early cult centers. The turbulent turn of the fourth century brought new peoples to Pannonia, thus ending one period in the history of the

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Jacques Zeiller. *Les Origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'empire Romain.* (Paris: E. De Boccard, 1918), 189.

[34] Bratož, *Krščanstvo*, 210.

[35] Cf. Cuscito, *Martiri,* 65-69.

[36] *Acta SS, Cantii, Cantiani et Cantianille.* AA SS Maii VII (Antwerp, 1688), 427-435.

[37] The place is named as *ad Aquas gradatas.* They were buried in *locello marmoreo ...iuxta Chrysogonum.*

[38] Discovery of the bones of three relatives recognized as the *Cantii* from the legend in the place of the altar in church of St. Protus in 1966 adds to the seriousness of the hypothesis; Bratož, *Krščanstvo,* 210.

[39] Amongst them: F. Lanzoni, P. Pachini, S. Tavano, G. Cuscito et al; Bratož, *Krščanstvo,* 220-221.

region. Sirmium was taken by the Huns in 441 and Aquileia was destroyed by the same in 452. After the collapse of the Hun rule in 453, Pannonia became a part of the Eastern Empire and the Ostrogoths settled in Sirmium. That is the context in which the translation of the relics should be placed.[40] Following the translation of the relics to Constantinople after 457, nothing is known about the cult in Pannonia. Sirmium, attached to the Ostrogothic state under Theodoric became strongly bound to north Italy. It was lost to the Eastern Empire in 535, and taken by the Avars in the early summer of 582; the city was destroyed and the bishop escaped to Thessalonica. At the same time, Aquileia was ravaged by the Lombards in 568, and nothing is known of the cult of St. Chrysogonus before its emergence in Rome soon after 500.

The Cult in Rome and Constantinople

Wishing to compensate for "Constantinople's vacuum of holiness"[41] the emperors of the Eastern Empire collected the holy relics from the insecure provinces.[42] Theodore *Lector* († after 527) says that during the reign of Emperor Leo (457-474) and the patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadius (457-471) "the relics of St. Anastasia were translated from Sirmium and deposited in the martyrium by *Domnini* portico."[43] Soon after the translation, the church of Resurrection (*Αναστασις*) was dedicated to the martyr as documented in *Vita S. Marciani Presbyteri.*[44] Marcianus, known for his building activities, repaired the church in which the relics were deposed. Anastasia's arrival in Constantinople was important for the spread of her

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[40] Cf. Miroslava Mirković, "Sirmium – Its History from the I Century A.D. to 582 A.D.," *Zbornik Sirmium*, vol. 1 (1971): 48.
[41] Cyrill Mango, "Constantine's mausoleum and the translation of relics," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83, no.1 (1990): 51-62.
[42] The first historical translation of the relics, mentioned by Sozomen, is that of St. Babylas in the mid-fourth century by Emperor Gallus (351-354) in Antioch; Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyres.* Subsidia hagiographica 20 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1933), 51-52 (hereafter Delehaye, *Les origines*).
[43] Theodorus Lector. *Ecclesiastica historia.* PG 86/I: 216. A later historian, Theophanus († 817), puts the event in the year 458.

cult over a much broader territory. The dissemination is confirmed by epigraphic inscriptions from a catacomb in Cherson dated to late fifth or early sixth century,[45] and an inscription from North Africa.[46] Since the evidence is scarce, it is difficult to define the routes of expansion of the cult to other regions. It is known that cult spread to Ravenna, Verona and Rome as early as the sixth century. An interesting parallel can be noted of the promotion of the cult among the Ostrogoths in both Ravenna and Constantinople.[47]

The *titulus Anastasiae*, situated at the southwest foot of the Palatine hill in Rome was one of the 25 original *tituli* or parish churches of Rome in the mid-fourth century.[48] Pope Damasus (366-384) had it painted.[49] Knowing that Damasus was interested in seeking the sites connected with important Christian memories, the church was probably "already venerable in his time."[50] The church is mentioned again as a *titulus* in the Acts of the Council held in 499, where three presbyters of the church were present.[51] Who was Anastasia, the *titulus* of this church? The first archeological research and analysis of epigraphic inscriptions made it clear that *titulus Anastasiae* does not refer to the Sirmian martyr. Since there is no mention of

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[44] Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversatio Marciani presbyteri*, PG 114, 429-456.
[45] Delehaye, *Les origines*, 255.
[46] The information brought by Delehaye is not sufficient to conclude anything about its identity or origin: Delehaye, *Les origines,* 401.
[47] A testimony from 551 mentions "ecclesia legis Gothorum Sanctae Anastasiae" in Ravenna; Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Ravenna. Haupstadt des Spätantiken Abendlandes, Kommentar* II/2: *Die Bauten des Julianus argentarius. Übrige Kirchen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 300-302 (hereafter Deichmann, *Ravenna* II/2). Maybe it is not just a coincidence that Anastasia was translated to Constantinople at the time when Aspar, *patricius* and *magister militum*, had a great influence at the Court in Constantinople. Being himself Alan and Arian, he was remembered for his building activity in the City. Deichmann says that on the feast day of St. Anastasia the "Holy Scripture was read in the Gothic language" in her church in Constantinople. He quotes Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita et conversatio,* PG 114, 436. I did not find it there.
[48] Philip Barrows Whitehead, "The Church of S. Anastasia in Rome," *American Journal of Archeology* ser. 2, 31 (1927): 405-420 (hereafter Whitehead, "The Church").
[49] Some authors accept this information as proof that it was founded by Damasus: Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 34. That this does not mean that the church was founded by Damasus: Louis Duchesne, "Sainte Anastasie," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 7 (1887): 388 (hereafter Duchesne, "Saint Anastasie").

Anastasia as a saint in Rome before the sixth century, it is widely accepted that Anastasia is the name of the founder of the church. Questioning the identity of the first *titulus* brought proposals for three theories of its origin.[52] Accepting the hypothesis that Anastasia was a Roman *matrona* presents an important point in the process of deciphering the puzzle of the origin of the legend, explaining why the hagiographer wanted to show Anastasia's Roman origin.

The situation is to certain extant similar with the cult of St. Chrysogonus in Rome. The *titulus Chrysogoni* in Regio XIV is mentioned for the first time in 499, while the inscriptions from 521 and 522 mentioning St. Chrysogonus show that the shift of the patrons already took place.[53]

1.3 The spread of the cult at the beginning of the Middle Ages

Dispersion of the cult before 800

Taking the beginning of the ninth century as a period when the cults were introduced in Zadar it is useful to present their contemporary distribution. That Anastasia was venerated in Gaul by the turn of the fourth century is testified by Victricius of Rouen in his *De laude sanctorum* in which he mentions her among other

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[50] Whitehead, "Church," 412.
[51] Duchesne, "Saint Anastasie," 400.
[52] The first hypothesis is proposed by L. Duchesne, suggesting that Anastasia was a Roman *matrona*, founder of the church: Duchesne, "Saint Anastasie," 47-51. The second hypothesis was proposed by H. Grisar, who thought that the church was dedicated to the Resurrection, connecting it with the basilicas in Jerusalem and Constantinople: H. S. Grisar, "Anastasia di Roma e l'Anastasis di Gerusalemme e di Costantinopoli," *Civiltà Cattolica*, serie XVI, vol. 7 (1896): 727-741. This theory was rejected by L. Duchesne and J. Zeiller, *Les Origines*, 85. The third hypothesis, proposed by P. B. Whitehead (rejected by C. Pietri and R. Krautheimer), was that *titulus Anastasiae* stands for Anastasia, the sister of the Emperor Constantine. He based his conclusion on the "archaeological" argument that the church was built as a part of the imperial complex on the Palatine Hill, and stressed the "liturgical" connection of Christmas with Constantine's family worship of *Sol Invictus*: Whitehead, "Church," 414-420.
[53] L. Duchesne, "Les titres presbytéraux et les diaconies." *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 7 (1887).

martyrs whose relics Ambrose sent to Rouen.[54] The spread of her cult in Italy must have been intensified due to the instability in Pannonia which drove refugees to seek a new homeland in the West after the fifth century. This trend is clearly seen in Rome, where the late fifth century brought a influx of Pannonian and north Adriatic cults. Around the year 800 Anastasia was also venerated in Ravenna,[55] Verona, and Fulda.[56]

The Latin manuscripts, the Greek legend and the problem of the two Anastasias

The contents and the structure that are presented here reflect the legend in the form that it took in the sixth century in Roman hagiography,[57] but a number of Greek redactions also exist. An interesting note found in the epilogue of the Greek legend states that the transcription was made by a certain Theodore,[58] who came to Rome "on embassy for the union of the true faith." Theodore was identified by J. Gouillard as Theodore Krithinos treasurer of St. Sophia in Costantinople, later bishop of Syracuse. The transcription made in Rome on that occasion was used as a source for a large number of later Greek transcriptions.[59] The Greek Passion established by this translation entered Byzantine hagiography in the first half of the ninth century as Βίος καὶ μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας μάρτυρος Ἀναστασίας. The fact that no

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[54] It is not clear whether the translation of the relics was involved: Victricius Rothomagensis, *De laude sanctorum*, PL 20: 453; Delehaye, *Les origines*, 356.

[55] Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis*, in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-IX*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hannover, 1878), 289.

[56] Ivanka Nikolajević, "Martyr Anastasia u Fuldi" (Martyr Anastasia in Fulda), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Belgrade, 1979): 43-52.

[57] The following manuscripts present the oldest known versions of the Latin legend: 1) Ms. 144 *Bibliothèque Municipale de Chartres* is dated to tenth century. The legend is to be found under the title *Passio sancti Chrysogoni martyris* under *die XXIIII mensis novembris, hoc est VIII kal. Decembris* (Fol. 265^{v}-274^{v}), 2) Ms. Egerton 2797 of the *British Museum* is dated to tenth century. Collection of the Lives of the saints contains the legend under the title *Passio sanctae Anastasiae et sotiorum eius* (Fol. 109^{v}- 127). 3) Ms. 139 Monte Cassino from the eleventh century. The legend is preserved under the title *Passio sancti Chrysogoni et sanctae Anastasiae* (pag. 330-355). All three were published for the first time by Delehaye, *Étude*, 221-249.

[58] Theodore was a member of the embassy sent by Michael II to Louis the Pious in the year 824. The emperor in his letter mentions "Theodore, deacon and *oikonomos* of the church of St. Sophia." *Concilia aevi Karolini*, in *MGH*, t. I, pars II, ed. Albertus Werninghoff (Hannover – Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopoli Hahniani, 1908), 478.

[59] F. Halkin has analyzed the Passion on the basis of 13 manuscripts; Halkin, *Légendes*, 87-89.

version before Metaphrastes mentions the Sirmian origin or translation of the relics of St. Anastasia led H. Delehaye to conclude that the Greeks did not use this legend of St. Anastasia before the ninth century.[60]

The fact that the Roman legend was not known in Constantinople calls for inquiry into a possible genuine independent Greek tradition, raising the question of the identity of the Anastasia celebrated on 29 October. Greek sources distinguish Anastasia φαρμακολύτρια and Anastasia῾ Ρωμαῖα or παρθένος. The Metaphrastic tradition mentions the virgin Anastasia as a young Roman noblewoman who withdrew to the monastery of St. Sophia.[61] The veneration of this virgin is not attested anywhere in the West until the sixteenth century, when she was included in the official Roman Martyrology.[62] Disregarding the tradition about this "second" Anastasia it must be stated that the legend on which it depends is an invention without historical background. Following Delehaye, P. Devos highlighted the parallelisms between the Passion of Anastasia the Virgin and the Greek Passion of St. Febronia.[63] Referring to the fact that the former was modeled on the latter, he demonstrated that it was invention of a Greek hagiographer.[64] This legend shows the existence of a genuine, although fictitious, Greek tradition earlier than the ninth century.

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[60] Delehaye, *Étude*, 170. Although there is no evidence to the contrary, to me it seems quite strange that the relics would have been venerated in the city for such a long period without an adequate legend.

[61] According to whole list of the manuscripts the martyrdom is dated to the reign of "Diocletian and Valerian" (Διοκλητιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ συγκαθέδρου Βαλλεριανου).

[62] First mentioned by Galesinius (*MR*, 1578), she was accepted by Baronius, who put her martyrdom in the reign of Valerianus, calling her accordingly the Elder (Senior) to differentiate her from the Younger (Junior), martyred under Diocletian. *Martyrologium Romanum, Ad Novam Kalendarii rationem, & Ecclesiasticae historiae veritatem restitutum. Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. Iussu editum* (Venice: Apud Iohannem Variscum et Socios, 1584 -1613).

[63] AA SS, Junii V, 17-35. Cit. Devos, *Sainte Anastasie*, 36.

[64] Devos, *Sainte Anastasie*, 45. About the Passion, see P. J. Simon, "Note sur l'original de la Passion de sainte Fébronie," AB 42 (1924): 69-76; also see Francois Halkin, "La Passion grecque des saintes Libyé, Eutropie et Léonis," AB 76 (1958): 299.

CHAPTER II: THE EARLY HISTORY OF ZADAR AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CULTS

2.1. *Iadera Christiana*

The early history of Zadar

With regards to continuity, Zadar has preserved a constancy of name[65] and settlement for almost two millenia. Because of its good strategic position on the central part of the eastern Adriatic coast, this former Illyrian settlement was captured by the Romans between the first century BC and first century AD. Turned into a Roman *civitas, Colonia Iulia Iader* survived until the Avaro-Slavic intrusions in the seventh century.[66] Zadar shared the destiny of many a Mediterranean town in Late Antiquity: it preserved the forms of Roman political and social life as well as the ideal of a free community.

The Justinianic *reconquista* (527-569) had far-reaching consequences for Dalmatia which formally remained subjected to the rule of the Byzantine emperor until the late twelfth century. In the course of the seventh century this territory shrank to a handful of coastal towns and islands.[67] During the Ostrogothic period ecclesiastic life was still flourishing as church councils were held in Salona in the early sixth century. At the beginning of the disastrous seventh century, all the Liburnian inland towns were deserted, if not destroyed.[68] Zadar was the only urban settlement to survive between the Velebit channel and the Gulf of Šibenik. Who ruled Dalmatia

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[65] With the minor linguistic changes the town has preserved its name since the first century (Latin *Iadera,* Greek *Diadora,* Italian *Zara,* and Croatian *Zadar*). Cf. Mate Suić, "O imenu Zadra" (On the Name of Zadar), in *Zbornik Zadar* (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1964), 95-104.

[66] Mate Suić, *Prošlost Zadra* (History of Zadar), vol. 1: *Zadar u starom vijeku* (Zadar in the Ancient Age) (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru), 1981 (hereafter Suić, *Zadar*).

[67] Namely, the coastal towns Iadera (Zadar), Tragurion (Trogir), Spalato (Split), Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Catara (Kotor); and island towns Absaros (Osor), Curricum (Krk) and Arba (Rab).

[68] Liburnia covered approximately the area of later Lower Dalmatia. The towns were *Varvaria, Blandona, Asseria, Scardona, Aenona , and Nedinum.*

during the seventh and the eight centuries remains unclear, but the deductions that it was either subjected to the exarchate in Ravenna or joined to Istria in one province have not been proven. It seems that Dalmatia was under direct imperial government as an imperial archonty, being thus "a peripheral region in whose affairs the Byzantine Empire interfered little."[69] The independent position of *Colonia Iulia Iader,* whose important geographic and good strategic position was inherited by medieval *Iadera* was maintained by the preservation of the district and the sea route which connected it with the rest of the empire.[70]

In the case of Zadar, it is not possible to speak of the emergence of a municipality in the Middle Ages, but rather about the transformation of institutions of the Roman city into a new medieval form.[71] Three major institutions constituted the government of a late antique–early medieval town: the bishop, the civil and the military commander. The importance of the bishop in the early medieval period is partially a result of the founding of bishopric seats in Roman period. With regards to the Dalmatian towns, Croatian historians emphasized two important aspects for the preservation of the towns in the early Middle Ages. While older authors stressed the importance of the bishops and episcopal sees, others have rather enhanced the "fusion of the Roman municipal elements and the community of the faithful with the community of the citizens."[72] The preservation of the civil government is attested in

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[69] Jadran Ferluga, *Vizantiska uprava u Dalmaciji* (Byzantine Rule in Dalmatia) (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1957), 46.

[70] Zadar has preserved its *ager centuriatus* much smaller than Istrian districts but much larger than the other Dalmatian towns. District was however not situated only in the hinterland but also on the nearby islands; the lands enjoyed by the citizens of Zadar spread in the long line of the islands starting with Pag in the North and ending with Vrgada in the South. See Map 1, *Dalmatia in the Early Middle Ages.*

[71] Cf. Nada Klaić and Ivo Petricioli, *Prošlost Zadra* (History of Zadar), vol. 2: *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* (Zadar in the Middle Ages up to 1409) (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1976), 52 (hereafter Klaić, *Zadar*).

[72] Cf. Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* (Judicial History of Dalmatian Towns) (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1913), 1; Marko Kostrenčić, "Postanak dalmatinskih sredovječnih gradova" (Emergence of the Dalmatian Medieval Cities), in *Šišićev Zbornik*

Zadar in the Ostrogothic period when the town's prior was chosen from a college of judges.[73] The authors who emphasize the preservation of Roman law point to the fact that even the Byzantine tribunes were subject to municipal judges. The militarization of Byzantine society after the founding of the Dalmatian *theme* around 870 led to the formation of elite recently referred to as "urban proto-patricians."[74] These closely-knit families tended to keep the most important positions in the towns even after their military role lost its importance.[75] Whatever the formal relations between the three segments of government, it is important to stress that in the early Middle Ages the positions of priors, judges and bishops were held by the members of the same families.[76]

Christianity in Zadar: The development of the Church and the position of the bishop

The existence of the first organized Christian community in Zadar is shown by the existence of an *oratorium* from the first half of the fourth century.[77] Archaeological finds and the later connections between the Church of Zadar and Aquileia confirm that Christianity came to Zadar from northern Italy in the late third century. A stable community with an ecclesiastical hierarchy developed during the fourth century. At that time, the primacy over the Dalmatian Church was held by the archiepiscopate of Salona, dependent on Aquileia. When Dalmatia fell to the Western

(Zagreb: 1929), 114. Both positions were criticised in the 1970s and the stress was put on the continuity of the Roman civic institutions. Cf. Klaić, *Zadar*, 52-53.

[73] Klaić, *Zadar,* 54.

[74] Cf. Neven Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske* (The First centuries of Croatia) (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994), 153-154 (hereafter Budak, *Prva stoljeća*).

[75] A good example for this continuity is the titles of *dux* and *strategos* given to the city prior in the period when he did not have any military role. On the problems of the Dalmatian proto-patricians, see Zrinka Nikolić, *Rođaci i bližnji: dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Relatives and Neighbours: Dalmatian Town Nobility in the Early Middle Ages) (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003). The book is an adaptation of MA thesis defended in the Department of the Medieval Studies at CEU.

[76] Nikolić, *Rođaci*, 200.

[77] Pavuša Vežić, "Zadar na pragu kršćanstva" (Zadar at the Doorstep of Christianity), *Diadora* 15 (1993): 29-33 (hereafter Vežić, "Zadar").

Empire in 395, the episcopate of Illyricum was connected to Aquileia thus codifying the already established relations.

Episcopus iadertinus is mentioned for the first time at the council of Rome in 341. The first bishop known by name is Felix, who participated in the Council of Aquileia in 381. He attended the Council of Milan in 390, again as the only representative of Dalmatia. At the turn of the fourth century, after the Arian crisis, the bishop of Zadar gained importance.[78] The significance of the bishop of Zadar was especially increased after the catastrophe of the Dalmatian towns at the beginning of the seventh century. This position, further consolidated by the *Codex Justinianus*, was to remain the basis of the bishopric position throughout all the Early Middle Ages.[79] In this way, the bishop leading the town clergy did not hold an ecclesiastical position only, but also exercised secular functions and duties.[80] Although there is no written evidence about Zadar in the seventh and eight centuries, the archaeological finds and the preserved buildings emphasize the central position of the bishop and his clergy in the community.[81] As for many Late Antique cities, it can be said that Zadar "outlived the empire because it was an episcopal town."[82]

[78] During the Schism of the Three Chapters, at the Councils of Salona in 530 and 533, the signature of the bishop of Zadar appears right after that of metropolitan. Suić, *Zadar,* 330.
[79] Klaić, *Zadar,* 53.
[80] The opinion of historians that "although highly influential, the bishops never became the proper rulers of the towns," aimed to prove the preservation of "basic elements of the Classical communal system." The statement that "the bishops were most respected electives without formal political power" underestimates their role in late antique and early medieval town. Cf. Klaić, *Zadar,* 53, 56. Unlike their North Italian counterparts, Dalmatian bishops never acted as the feudal lords of the towns, but vast evidence testifies to their concrete influence and power in the community. Cf. Nikolić, *Rođaci,* 89-106.
[81] On the preservation of the towns in the seventh century: George Ostrogorsky, "Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 45-66.

2.2. The Adriatic crisis of the 800s: The Translation of St. Anastasia

Zadar between East and West: The Byzantines and the Franks

Political changes in Italy in the late eighth century had a profound effect on Dalmatia and its capital Zadar. The situation became very complex for the Byzantine Adriatic towns especially after the Frankish conquest of Istria in 788 and the fall of theAvar Khaganate in 796, when the Slavs of Pannonia and Dalmatia came under Frankish influence. Charlemagne was stopped on the Adriatic coast only by the Byzantine thalassocracy. In Byzantine Venice, driven into an unenviable position, a revolt broke out, in which Charlemagne's party, led by Obelerius, the tribune of Malamocco, took power. This situation was used by Charlemagne to undertake the first naval operation in the Adriatic Sea. The Dalmatian towns chose to follow the Venetian example and turn their back on Constantinople, at that time absorbed with the Arabs in the East. Representatives of Dalmatia went to Thionville around Christmas 805, as confirmed by the Royal Frankish Annals.[83] This first known political act of the Dalmatian towns was a logical result of the circumstances: finding themselves between the two forces they chose the one who promised to settle their vital problems; finally Zadar found itself under the same ruler as its Slavic hinterland.[84] Whatever ambitions might have attracted Dalmatian envoys on the occasion when the emperor settled the affairs of Dalmatia;[85] there was not much he could do. As soon as the following year, the Byzantine fleet under the *patricius*

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[82] Farmer, "Communities," 14.

[83] *Statim post natalem Domini venerunt Willeri et Beatus duces Venetiae necnon et Paulus dux Iaderae atque Donatus eiusdem civitatis episcopus legati Dalmatarum ad praesentiam imperatoris cum magnis donis*, in *Annales regni Francorum*, ed. F. Kurze, in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hannover, 1895; reprint 1950). Translation: Bernhard Walter Scholz, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 85 (hereafter *Carolingian Chronic*).

[84] On the problems of the Byzantine Empire and the Franks in Dalmatia, see Mladen Ančić, "The Waning of the Empire: The Disintegration of Byzantine Rule on the North Adriatic in the 9th Century," *HAM* 4 (1998): 15-24; Neven Budak, "Croats between Franks and Byzantium," *HAM* 3 (1997): 15-22; Ivo Goldstein, "Byzantium on the Adriatic from 550 till 800," *HAM* 4 (1998): 7-14.

Nicetas came to the Adriatic and re-conquered both Venice and Zadar for the Empire. However, although victorious, the empire was not in a position to punish its disloyal subjects, so it took the path of rewarding them. Duke Obelerius was granted the court title of *spatharios* while his brother Beatus was taken to Constantinople as a hostage, to return home awarded with the title of *hypatos*.[86] Although the Venetian chronicles and the Frankish annals do not mention what happened to Zadar, local tradition fills this gap; a local Zadar legend *Translatio S. Anastasiae* describes how Bishop Donatus went to Constantinople where he was given the relics of St. Anastasia.

The translation and its background

The translation of the relics of St. Anastasia took place in the period when Zadar was struggling to establish its position between the two world powers as well as amongst the other Dalmatian towns. Towns such as Ragusa and Spalato began to recover and the strength of Venice grew. In the context of early medieval politics, where "the cult of the saints emerged as a prominent focus for the construction of political identity,"[87] the acquisition of prestigious relics might have been one of the means for Zadar to reinforce its identity as well as to justify its position in the empire. The legend of the translation will be discussed in more detail below: here it is important to stress only that the core of the legend seems to be authentic and contemporary to the events. The dating given in the legend (804) has been contested by the historians who proposed alternative, but still close dating such as 811 or 807.[88]

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[85] *Carolingian Chronicles,* 85.

[86] Gavro Manojlović, "O godini prijenosa sv. Anastazije u Zadar" (On the Year of the Translation of St. Anastasia to Zadar), *Viestnik Kraljevskog Hrv.-Slav.-Dalm. Zemaljskog arkiva* 3, no. 2 (1901): 7 (hereafter Manojlović, "O godini").

[87] John Osborne, "Politics, Diplomacy and the Cult of Relics in Venice and the Northern Adriatic in the First Half of the Ninth Century," *EME* 8, no. 3 (1999): 369 (hereafter Osborne, "Politics").

[88] D. Farlati dated the event to 811, while F. Rački thought that 804 is more acceptable. Cf. Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5 (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1775), 31 (hereafter Farlati, *Illyricum*); Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia, MSHSM 7* (Zagreb, 1877), 310 (hereafter Rački, *Documenta*). Both opinions were contested by Gavro Manojlović

Whichever of the proposed years we accept, it remains clear that the translation took place in the context of the first decade of the ninth century.[89] This dating suits in the whole wave of Byzantine relic-donations to Adriatic towns such as St. Tryphon to Kotor in 809 and St. Zacharias to Venice in 819.[90]

The Establishment of the Cult

Zadar, the former centre of the Byzantine province, did not have its own martyr tradition at the beginning of the medieval period. If there were some local martyrs it is strange that they were not remembered, given that the "circumstances for the nourishing of such traditions were much more favourable in Zadar than in any other coastal town of Dalmatia."[91] Hoping to substitute for this "vacuum of holiness," the community of Zadar, gaining a more and more significant position amongst the Dalmatian towns, must have striven to obtain some prestigious relics.

The earliest written source mentioning the church of St. Anastasia is a charter from 918, where Prior Andrew leaves a silver cup to the church of St. Anastasia.[92] If this charter is authentic,[93] it shows that, by the time of its composition, the city cathedral already bore the name of the Sirmian martyr. The earliest "external" testimony to the cult of St. Anastasia in Zadar is information found in *De*

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who argued that, although the mission really could have taken place, it must have been only in 807. Cf. Manojlović, "O godini," 3-12. More recent authors mostly accept the dating of Manojlović.

[89] Contrary to this, archaeologist B. Migotti proposed the rather confusing idea that the relics of St. Anastasia came to Zadar from Aquileia "along with the relics of the other martyrs" after the "destruction of Aquileia in the fifth century." This proposition sounds a bit strange, since there is no evidence about the cult or the relics in Dalmatia before the ninth century. Cf. Branka Migotti, "Neka pitanja ranokršćanske hagiografije srednje Dalmacije" (Some Problems of the Early Christian Hagiography of Central Dalmatia), *ARR* 11 (1988): 133-159.

[90] On the Byzantine relic-gifts to Adriatic towns, see Osborne, "Politics," 369-386. Also Francis Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

[91] Suić, *Zadar,* 335.

[92] "*In s. Anastasiam unam cuppam de argento* [...] *legant.*" *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae.* vol. 1, ed. Marko Kostrenčić (Zagreb: JAZU, 1967), 26-27 (hereafter *CD* I).

[93] The charter was preserved in Zadar in the early-twelfth century version and was taken to Italy. As far as I know the last word has still not been said about its authenticity. Granić, "O kultu," 39.

administrando imperio in chapter 29 which says that the "body of St. Anastasia" [94] is to be found in Zadar. Describing the city, the author compares the church of St. Anastasia to the church of the Virgin of Chalcoprateia in Constantinople.[95] There is no reason to doubt the validity of this information. Closer evidence that dates the cult in Zadar to the ninth century is the epigraphic inscription on the sarcophagus of St. Anastasia. The three inscriptions, mention[96] Bishop Donatus and St. Anastasia. The validity of the dating is supported not only by the epigraphic analysis and the mentioned written sources, but also by other archaeological evidence. Namely, there are other similar contemporary inscriptions of Donatus on the stone beams found inside the cathedral.[97]

2.3. An uncertain arrival: St. Chrysogonus

Three traditions

The acknowledgment that it is so far impossible to estimate the beginning of the cult seems to be an appropriate starting point for further research. There are three different traditions concerning the establishment of the cult in Zadar. The first tradition, preserved in a now lost sixteenth-century chronicle[98] tells the story of how the relics were translated to Zadar from Grado in 649 on the order of Patriarch Maximus. Another tradition, according to which the relics were brought to Zadar by

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[94] Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 136 (hereafter *DAI*).

[95] On the description of Zadar, cf. Mate Suić, "Zadar u 'De administrando imperio' Konstantina Porfirogeneta" (Zadar in the *De Administrando Imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus), *RIZd* 27-28 (1981): 5-29. For a more recent analysis of the description, see Milenko Lončar, "On the Description of the Churches of St. Anastasia and St. Donat in Zadar in *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *HAM* 4 (1999): 235-243 (hereafter Lončar, "On the Description").

[96] Ivo Petricioli, "Ranosrednjovjekovni natpisi iz Zadra" (Early Medieval Inscriptions from Zadar), *Diadora* 2 (1962): 252. See Fig. 1.1 and 1.2.

[97] Pavuša Vežić, "Po čemu je u 10. st. katedrala u Zadru mogla sličiti halkopratejskoj bazilici u Carigradu?" (In What Manner Did the Tenth-Century Zadar Cathedral Resemble the Chalkopratiae Basilica in Constantinople?), *Diadora* 20 (2001): 301-313.

Bishop Donatus on his return from Thionville in 806, was recorded by Farlati.[99] The third tradition describes how the body of St. Chrysogonus was found in an antique graveyard in the vicinity of Zadar.[100] Finally, there is a tradition (logically contradicting neither of the three) according to which Chrysogonus had long been venerated in Zadar, but, after his relics had somehow fallen into oblivion, they were rediscovered in his church in 1046.[101] Unfortunately, these legends do not help us to establish the beginning of the cult. Since all are preserved in much later manuscripts, their origin and dating is still far from being deciphered. For this reason one must rely on non-hagiographic sources such as archaeological evidence and charters.

The earliest evidence: Church of St. Chrysogonus and foundation of the monastery

The cult of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar is, together with that of Anastasia, mentioned both in the Testament of Prior Andrew (918) and in the *De Administrando Imperio*. The first document refers to a rich donation to the church and the monastery.[102] The author of *De Administrando Imperio* mentions the relics of St. Chrysogonus "monk and martyr." In the charter dated to 986 there is an explicit note that the body of St. Chrysogonus lies "inside the city walls."[103] The local tradition mentions that the church of St. Chrysogonus was formerly dedicated to St. Anthony the Hermit and that there was a community of the Egyptian monks gathered around it.[104] That there were hermits in Dalmatia as early as in the fourth century is known

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[98] Attributed to Šimun Kožičić Benja, the bishop of Senj (1509-1537).
[99] Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum* V, 37.
[100] The legend preserved in the seventeenth-century manuscript will be discussed in details below.
[101] *CD* I, 82.
[102] *CD* I, 25-28.
[103] "Ecclesia quae sita est intra muros Civitatis,, ubi et sacratissimum Corpus requiescit..." *CD* I, 46.
[104] This tradition was written down by the older Zadar historians but their sources, referred to as "antichi nostri cronacisti," are not precisely quoted. Cf. Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*, vol. 1 (Zara: Tipografia Woditczka, 1877), 296-297 (hereafter Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*).

from a letter of the Pope Zosimus and the "Life of St. Hilarion" by St. Jerome.[105] The memory of the older dedication to St. Anthony might have been preserved by the altar which existed in the church until the end of the eighteenth century.[106] Archaeological excavations in 1920s discovered two older layers of the church: the church of St. Anthony the Hermit built between the fifth and eighth centuries and the earliest phase of the new church of St. Chrysogonus built some time before 950s.[107] The data from these charters, a description of Zadar in *De Administrando Imperio* and archaeological finds converge at the conclusion that the body of St. Chrysogonus was venerated in the homonymous church in Zadar as early as the beginning of the tenth century. The church was connected to the monastic community which was re-founded in 986 as the Benedictine monastery of St. Chrysogonus. The monastery, preserving the tradition of the older monastic community and gaining a new identity in the process, soon became one of the strongest and the most influential monastic communities in Dalmatia.

[105] Zosimus writing to Esichius, bishop of Salona in 417 says: "Coetus monachorum, quorum solitudo frequentiorest in Dalmatia" and Jerome: "Sicut in Aegyptum, sic et insulae Dalamtiae, solitudines piorum hominum cum choris psallentium populo christiano exhibitur."
[106] Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*, 297.
[107] Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan sv. Krševana u Zadru. Hrvatska zadužbina iz X. Stoljeća* (Church and Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), Djela JAZU, vol. 30. (Zagreb: JAZU, 1931), 19.

CHAPTER III: CONQUERING SPACE AND TIME: CHURCHES AND CALENDARS

3.1 *Loca sancta*: Churches

What role did the introduction of these cults play in shaping the urban space in medieval Zadar?[108] As a result of the process started in Late Antiquity, when open space worship was gradually replaced by more interior Christian liturgy, churches became the most important public buildings in the medieval town. Churches dedicated to martyrs replaced former public buildings and came to dominate the physical space of the town. What differed from the Classical Roman town is not just the types of the public buildings but, also the fact that the expenses for their construction were no longer seen only as a prerogative of the richest. Thanks to the intermediary role of the Church, even humble donations could be added to construction of "new public buildings".[109] The analysis of this process shows the engagement of a broader and more self-conscious group of citizens.

Research concerning buildings and urban spaces, is not only important in order to set the scene for the events, but rather to understand the role of social memory and the perception of space in a particular community. The inspiring presumption of the Christianisation of the "place, time and social memory"[110] under

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[108] The idea to read the buildings as a source was inspired by M. Eliade's ideas, which, contested by the recent scholarship, have lost their universality, but in my opinion still remain an inspiring starting point applicable to medieval Christianity: Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, tr. Willard R. Trask (San Diego–New York–London: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1987), 20-65. Further conceptualization of the idea is a result of the course in non-textual research methods taken in December 2003, reading of the essays of J. M. Spieser collected in his *Urban and Religious Spaces* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), and Maureen Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, NY – London: Cornell University Press, 2000) (hereafter Miller, *Bishop's Palace*).

[109] "Intermediary role" stresses the Church's capability to "accumulate the wealth beyond the reach of the ordinary individuals"; Jean-Michel Spieser, "The City in Late Antiquity: A Re-Evaluation," in *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 10 (hereafter Spieser, "City").

[110] Spieser, "City," 12.

episcopal patronage in Late Antiquity must be perceived in more heterogeneous ways in the later period. The citizens of the medieval town lived in a closed world of spaces interwoven with invisible bounds and symbolic relations. When the city-dominating cathedral was contested by the monastery church of the same size, this had a socio-political and symbolic meaning beyond the mere fact of the appearance of another huge building. The position, the dimensions and the functions of the churches showed not only the riches of the town, as travellers used to observe, but also provided clues to understanding the complex relations inside the community. As the city represented the entire commune, so did the particular buildings represent the particular "sub-communities."

St. Anastasia: The episcopal complex and the cathedral

The position of the earliest Christian cult centre distinguishes Late Antique *Iadera* from other Adriatic cities such as Aquileia, Parentium, or Salona. While the original Christian nuclei in these towns were situated at the periphery, in Zadar, it was positioned in the heart of the Roman Forum.[111] It would not be true to simply say that the "church has just replaced the temple,"[112] but the central position of the episcopal complex, besides its symbolical significance reflects the bishop's position in the early medieval Zadar. The construction of the episcopal basilica in Zadar does not fit in what was sometimes considered to be a "general pattern" of early Christian episcopal churches.[113] Namely, there was no shift of the episcopal complex from the antique

[111] It is however, the only such example in Dalmatia or Pannonia. Cf. Suić, *Zadar*, 332.

[112] In the first place it is important to understand the circumstances and the modes in which this transformation took place, which are not very clear. Cf. Jean-Michel Spieser, "La christianisation de la ville dans l'Antiquité tardive," *Ktèma* 11 (1986): 49.

[113] Early churches, "built over the dead saints" followed the position of the graveyards which were situated outside the city centres according to the Roman law. However this "general pattern," the very proposition about "the shift from the peripheral site, usually associated with the suburban cemeteries" to city center, so far taken as a norm, should be revised in the light of the extensive archaeological evidence. Recent scholarship has established that the continuity on an urban site, rather than the "shift from the suburb" was the most common pattern for Italian sees: Miller, *Bishop's palace*, 17-18.

suburban location, nor did the medieval town "move to settle around it;" instead, the episcopal complex substituted the Roman cult center showing a clear a continuity of urban functions.[114] It seems that the transfer from public Late Roman paganism to Christianity in Zadar was a gentle transmission supported by broad communal consensus. Before the relics of St. Anastasia were brought to Zadar, the town cathedral had been dedicated to St. Peter. The dedication of the cathedral *principi Apostolorum* fits well into a broadly established pattern, but it also signals an absence of patron's relics. My reading of the patronage of St. Peter in the ninth century as due to lack of relics is supported by the fact that soon after the relics of Anastasia were brought to the town, the cathedral was dedicated to her.

Except for the absence of the relics, the cathedral might have otherwise boasted a venerable tradition. The first basilica, with joined *baptisterion* and *catechumenion* was built in the fifth century next to an older *oratorium.*[115] The basilica was thoroughly reconstructed in Romanesque style in the twelfth century. On this occasion a crypt was built for the relics of Sts. Agape, Chionia and Irene. The cathedral was consecrated around 1175 by the first archbishop Lampredius. After the destruction of Zadar by the Crusaders in the 1202, the cathedral was rebuilt once again.[116] Whether the words of Pope Innocent III to Venetian Dodge Henrick Dandolo are true or not: "you have robbed the city, destroyed the churches and pulled down the altars...," the cathedral was rebuilt during the thirteenth century. It was finally consecrated on 27 May 1285.

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[114] See Fig. 2.1.
[115] Cf. Pavuša Vežić, "Starokršćanski sloj katedrale u Zadru" (The Early Christian Stratum of the Zadar Cathedral), *Diadora* 10 (1988): 165-183, and "Episkopalni kompleks u Zadru" (Episcopal Complex in Zadar) (Ph.D. diss., University of Split, 1993).
[116] See Fig. 3.1 and 3.2.

Although it is not clear where were the relics situated in ht earliest period, by the twelfth century they had a central position in the cathedral: when Pope Alexander III visited Zadar in 1177, he was taken in the solemn procession to visit martyr Anastasia, "resting in the major city church."[117]

An important building attached to the cathedral is the rotunda of the Holy Trinity.[118] The controversies which this exceptional and unusual building has aroused among the scholars still seem not to cease.[119] It was dated from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. Accepting the hypothesis of two phases of the rotunda's construction, more recent works put the second phase in the period between the 750s and 866.[120] More precisely, the latest analysis of the wooden beams found in the church dates them to ca. 800, thus confirming the local tradition according to which the church was constructed by Bishop Donatus, the same one who brought the relics of St. Anastasia from Constantinople.[121] The dating as well as other circumstances led some authors to propose that the church was meant to be the *martyrion* of St. Anastasia.[122] This hypothesis might shed some light on the description found in the *Translatio S. Anastasiae*: the relics were kept in the cathedral until the church and the altar were prepared for the relics.[123]

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[117] Ante Strgačić, "Papa Aleksandar III u Zadru" (Pope Alexander III in Zadar), *RIZd* 1 (1954): 165.
[118] See Fig. 2.2.
[119] Although it was stated in the mid-1990s that the early medieval pre-Romanesque origin of the rotunda was proved, more recent works show that there is still some room for discussion. Cf. Mirja Jarak, "Je li dokazano ranosrednjovjekovno porijeklo prvotne rotunde sv. Donata?" (Has the Medieval Origin of the Original St. Donatus Rotunda Been Proved?), *Opuscula archaeologica* 19 (1995): 117-123 (hereafter Jarak, "Je li dokazano"). For a survey of the architectural complexity of the building, see Pavuša Vežić, *Crkva sv. Trojstva u Zadru* (Church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar), Mala biblioteka godišnjaka zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske, Prilog uz broj 8/9 1983 (Zagreb: Mladost, 1985).
[120] First dating was proposed after the radio carbon analysis of the wooden beams found in the 1970s, while the other relies on the results of the dendro-chronological analysis of the beams conducted at the Cornell University in 1985: Jarak, "Je li dokazano," 119.
[121] The church was renamed to St. Donat in the second half of the fifteenth century. Klaić, *Zadar,* 123.
[122] Vežić, *Crkva sv. Trojstva,* 18.
[123] "cum veneratione die noctuque custodierunt, donec illi aedem et aram, ubi illum conderent, praeparent"

St. Chrysogonus: The church and the monastery

The arrival of the relics of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar cannot be dated precisely. Although some authors have inferred that his cult was influential in the town before the introduction of the cult of St. Anastasia, there is no evidence for it.[124] On the symbolical level, while the basilica of St. Anastasia and the rotunda attached to it dominated the central space of the town as early as the beginning of the tenth century,[125] St. Chrysogonus was a small church connected to a decayed monastery.[126] An important moment for the development of the cult of St. Chrysogonus was the foundation (or re-construction) of the monastery in 986 testified to in the *Cartula traditionis ecclesie beati Chrysogoni martiris*.[127] According to the charter, the church was given to the monastery which was thoroughly reconstructed on the occasion. According to a recent reading of the charter, the church given to the monastic community once belonged to the *Madii*, the respectable priors of Zadar.[128] It is significant that this *traditio* implies realigning the existing street – pattern, which attests a broader communal enterprise. The monastery was enlarged, and Madius was

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[124] Cf. Suić, "Zadar u DAI," 9. Also, the idea of Donatus's acquisition of the relics of St. Anastasia as a means of "neutralising the ideological influence" of Chrysogonus is not necessarily valid. Joško Belamarić, "Sveti Vlaho i dubrovačka obitelj svetaca zaštitnika" (Saint Blasius and the Patron Saint Family of Dubrovnik), in *Studije iz srednjovjekovne i renesansne umjetnosti na Jadranu* (Studies in Medieval and Reneissance Art of Adriatic) (Split: Književni krug, 2001), 165-199.

[125] The writer of the chapter 29 of *DAI*, who, admiring its beauty, compares it with the Chalcoprateian church in Constantinople, while he only mentions the church St. Chrysogonus: *DAI*, 136.

[126] The older opinion was that by the end of the tenth century a monastery connected was already in ruins. Cf. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan.* For more recent opinions about the monastery see note below.

[127] The restoration of the monastery documented in the *Cartula traditionis* traditionally read as the founding of a new monastery where the old one once stood, was recently contested by a new reading of the charter. I. Mustać aimed to show that there was a Benedictine monastery near the church in 986, and that charter testifies to the delivery of the church of St. Chrysogonus to the Benedictines. Ivan Mustać, "*Cartula traditionis ecclesie beati Chrysogoni martiris* iz 986. godine," in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru*, ed. Ivo Petricioli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 21-35 (hereafter Mustać, "*Cartula*").

[128] Id. 26. For the *Madii*, besides the Nikolić, *Rođaci,* see also Zrinka Nikolić, "The *Madii*: An Example of the Dalmatian Urban Elite in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *EME* 13 (2004) (forthcoming).

appointed the new abbot.[129] From the end of the tenth century, the monastery was given many possessions by the Croatian kings and the citizens of Zadar, confirmed by a large number of donation charters. Due to the close connections of the monastery with the Croatian kings (and later their Hungarian heirs all the way to the Angevins), the monastery became a stronghold of royal interest within the town. The monastery, leaning on the northern city wall and looking to the hinterland, proved to be a "key to Zadar," not only in terms of political influence, but also in terms of spatial position.[130]

Lesser churches

Besides the cathedral a small church was also dedicated to St. Anastasia in *Puntamika*, today a suburb of Zadar. The church was built in a Roman cistern that had once belonged to suburban *villa*. The cistern was transformed into a small single-apse church on which another church was built, thus creating a two-storey church. The building technique and the ornamental decorations found in the church were described as being pre-Romanesque in style.[131] The church probably stood on the lands belonging to the Chapter of St. Anastasia.

There was also a church of St. Chrysogonus "*ad fontem*" east of Zadar, mentioned in thirteenth - fourteenth century charters, and shown on early modern maps.[132] This six-foil church was turned into a quarantine hospital for Turkish traders in the sixteenth century and destroyed soon after. An interesting point about this church is its possible connection with a Late Antique necropolis in its vicinity. V.

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[129] Madius, called "*monachus noster*" was thought to be of Zadar origin. His possible connection with Monte Cassino and Abbot Aligerna († 986), brings him into the context of late tenth-century Church reform. Mustać, "*Cartula,*" 29, *passim.*

[130] There are examples when the monks were the ones who helped the troops to enter the town: in 1357 they let the Croatian and German soldiers of Louis Anjou. See Map 2.

[131] Mate Suić and Ivo Petricioli, "Starohrvatska crkva sv. Stošije kod Zadra" (Old-Croatian Church of St. Anastasia near Zadar), *SHP* 4 (1955): 7-22.

[132] Ivo Petricioli, "Crkve sv. Krševana i sv. Marka *ad fontem* kod Zadra" (Churches of St. Chrysogonus and St. Mark "ad fontem" near Zadar), *RIZd* 37 (1995): 237 (hereafter Petricioli, "Crkva sv. Krševana").

Brunelli has already pointed out that the church was built on the place of an ancient graveyard (he did not know about the necropolis) and connected it with the legend of the *Inventio* of St. Chrysogonus.[133] I. Petricioli shares the same opinion inferring that the early medieval church was built on the ancient necropolis following the notion of the *Translatio S. Chrysogoni* which tells the story how the body of the saint was found in the "old graveyard near Zadar."[134]

3.2 *Tempora sacra:* Calendars and feasts

How did the saints' feasts shape and model local urban time? The most precise evidence for the liturgical presence of the saints is calendars. Used as independent volumes or inserted in different liturgical books they present the earliest evidence for the celebration of feasts and about the position of the cult in the particular churches. It is important to decipher different layers of the calendar as to inquire when particular festivities were established since many documents are dated according to local calendars. The transmission of the dates also signifies a possible spreading influence of the cult from one church to another. Particular importance lies in the feast days as privileged occasions for transmission of the message. Convergence of the particular persons, dates and buildings show how the feast helped to cross the gap between the secular and sacred integrating the tension and articulating the actions of the citizens.[135]

The oldest preserved layer of the festivities of St. Anastasia and St. Chrysogonus in Zadar seems to be that of the Roman church. The relevant sources

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[133] Brunelli, *Storia*, 457; 476 n. 67.

[134] Petricioli, "Crkva sv. Krševana,"15. This connection, although possible, is very obscure. Namely, if the six-foil church of St. Chrysogonus was an early medieval church that would suggest that the founder already knew the legend of the invention of the saint's body. But, if I am not wrong, the *Translatio* must be of much later date. If this is true, the legend might have been constructed upon the fact that the church was situated near the ancient necropolis or the church may have had other titular at the time of foundation.

for the reconstruction of the local calendar are eleventh century Books of Hours,[136] and thirteenth to fifteenth century calendars.[137] The reconstruction of the local calendar concerning the two saints looks like this:

25 December ANASTASIE VIRGINIS ET MARTYRIS
29 December COMMEMORATIO ANASTASIE V. ET M.
15 January FESTIVITAS ANASTASIE V. ET M. (after 1480s)[138]
22 January OCTAVA ANASTASIE V. ET M.
4 May DEDICATIO ECCLESIAE S. CHRYSOGONI (after 1292)
19 May TRANSLATIO S. CHRYSOGONI
3 October TRANSLATIO S. ANASTASIAE (after 1285: 25 September)[139]
24 November CHRISOGONI MARTYRIS
1 December OCTAVA S. CHRYSOGONI

An analysis of the feasts shows that the older layer of the celebrations coincides with the Roman calendar (that is Anastasia on 25 December and Chrysogonus on 24 November). Not having an established tradition like the Roman church of St. Anastasia, and forced by the liturgical demands of Christmas, the celebration was moved to the first free day after Christmas that is 29 December. It is not clear when this happened, but even the late medieval and early modern calendars preserved the notion of Christmas along with the *Commemoratio* on the 29, that is 15

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[135] Example of this is described in the Chapter V, 5.2.

[136] Book of Hours of Cicha (MS. Canonici Liturgical 277, Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited as *Liber horarum Cichae, abbatissae Monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*, ed. Marijan Grgić and Josip Kolanović (Zagreb – Zadar: 2003); Book of Hours of Vecenega (MS. Codices latini octavo 5, Mágyar tudományos Akádemia, Budapest. Marijan Grgić, "Dva nepoznata svetomarijska rukopisa u Budimpešti" (Two Unknown Manuscripts in Budapest), *RIZd* 13-14 (1967): 125-230 (hereafter Grgić, "Dva nepoznata"), and *Evangelistarium St. Mariae Maior* (Ms. Theol. Lat. Quart. 278, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Marijan Grgić, "Kalendar zadarske stolne crkve iz 15. st." (The Fifteenth-Century Calendar from the Cathedral of Zadar), *RIZd* 20 (1973): 119-174 (hereafter Grgić, "Kalendar").

[137] *Kalendarium et Obituarium Monasterii St. Mariae Monialium Jadrensis* a. 1290 (Ms. Cod. Lat. 48, Szécseny Library, Budapest); *Kalendarium s. Chrysogoni* from 1292 (Ms. Ashmole 360, Bodleian Library, Oxford); *Kalendarium s. Dominici* from 1320 (MS. is kept in the monastery of St. Mary in Zadar); *Rituale* from 1479-1488 (Exponent in the permanent exhibition of ecclesiastical art in Zadar. Cf. Josip Kolanović, "Liturgijski kodeksi svetokrševanskog opata Deodata Venijera" (Liturgical Codices of Deodat Venier, the Abbot of St. Chrysogonus), *RIZd* 29-30 (1983): 57-84), and *Kalendarium, rubricae et orationes Jadrensis Ecclesiae S. Anastasiae* dated c. 1480-1490 (Ms. IV, no. 94, Archive of the Historical Institute HAZU, Zagreb. Grgić, "Dva nepoznata," 125-230).

[138] *MDV* (written in 1480) still has festivity in December, while *KZ* (dated to 1480–1490) indicates the moving of the celebration to 15 January. Grgić, "Kalendar," 156.

[139] This date is found in the *Translatio*. There was another translation in 1285 connected to the consecration of the basilica and it is probably since then that feast was celebrated on the 25 September.

January. Even in the oldest calendars there is no mention of Anastasia in October, or on the 22 December, as it was celebrated in Constantinople.[140] The Feast of the Translation was first testified to by the legend itself as "*quinto nonas octobris*" which is 3 October. The feast was typical for the cathedral where it was defined in the liturgical books as *duplex maius* which means that it was celebrated in the most solemn way.[141]

The earliest evidence for the feast of St. Chrysogonus in the eleventh-century *Evangelistarium St. Mariae Maioris* has 24 November signed as *in natali S. Chrysogoni.* This dating follows the *MH* showing that in the tenth century there was no mention of another date than the one accepted by the Roman Church.[142] The celebration of the *octava* on the 1 December is testified to in the mid-thirteenth century, although it is probable that it had been celebrated earlier. If no earlier, the *Translatio* on the 15 May was celebrated in the thirteenth century. The legend itself does not supply any date, so it is hard to decide on the circumstances of the introduction of this festivity.

The result of the inquiry in the calendar is confirmation of the two layers of the cults – the universal layer, with the feasts common to the Roman church, and the second layer of the feasts which emerged as the result of the "localisation of the martyrs" confirmed by the new celebrations of the Translations or Inventions.[143]

Later, after the translation in 1622, the festivity was moved to fourth Sunday of the month: Grgić, "Kalendar," 143.

[140] *Synax. Eccl. Const,*?

[141] Grgić, "Kalendar," 143.

[142] Cf. Cuscito, *Martiri* and Saxer, "L' hagiographie."

[143] Interesting testimony to localisation of the martyrs comes from the fifteenth-century Franciscan Missal from Šibenik where St. Chrysogonus is even mentioned as "*martyr de Jadra.*" Grgić, "Kalendar," 148.

CHAPTER IV: COMMUNICATING THE SAINTS: LEGENDS AND IMAGES

The manifestations of the cult of saints present a rich semantic field and can be used as a hermeneutic key to the system of communication between the *impresarios* of the cult and their audience. Scrutinizing a society as a system of communication consisting of *realia* or objects, ideas and social realities,[144] I propose to inquire into the communication of the ideas (whether purposeful aims or unconscious needs) through the manifestations of cults. For this purpose, I have divided the hagiographical material into three types: "read", "proclaimed", and "depicted."[145] The first group includes liturgical readings such as hymns and prayers, the second (in reality inseparable from the first) hagiographical texts, the third covers all the non-verbal and non-textual presentations of the saints. In a largely illiterate society, in which reading aloud and listening, as well as seeing images was a significant means of communication, it is even more important to pay attention to all kinds of representations. Unfortunately, by the very nature of the sources we cannot observe important features, such as ritual, but even the relatively scarce sources on our disposal enable insights into the complex social and political reality of medieval Zadar.

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[144] Cf. the proposition of Marc Mostert presented as a model that he has presented as a flow chart in his lecture *Communication, literacy and the development of early medieval society* given during the *52. Settimana di studio* (Spoleto, April, 2004).

[145] Paraphrasing the terms recently proposed by A. Bartoli Langelli: "agiografia dipinta, scritta e detta": Attilio Bartoli Langeli *Le Sacre Scritture*, lecture given during the *52. Settimana di studio* (Spoleto, 20 April, 2004).

4.1 *Libri horarum*: Prayers and hymns

By its traditionally conservative nature, the liturgy tends to retain ancient expressions of the cult of the saints. The earliest Zaratine liturgical texts are eleventh-century books of hours containing hymns and prayers dedicated to the saints.[146] Presuming that the oldest layer of the liturgy might indicate the origin of the cult, this inquiry aims to clarify how it is reflected in the texts and how it influenced the formation of the cult in Zadar. It has already been confirmed that the earliest layer of the local calendar coincides with that of the Roman Church.[147] The position of Zadar as Byzantine capital of Dalmatia, however, raises questions about Greek influence.

Analysing the earliest prayers to St. Anastasia, M. Grgić stressed the veneration of Anastasia as a virgin in Zadar as a reflection the Greek origin of the cult.[148] I do not find this acceptable because the earliest Latin sixth-century legend also refers to her virginity despite her marriage.[149] The argument that Anastasia was venerated as a widow in the West refers to a later period, when this feature was stressed in order to differentiate two Anastasias.[150] The research of M. Grgić sought to suggest that there was another, older, Zadar legend of St. Anastasia.[151] Again, I do not see any evidence for this, and my conclusion is that the earliest preserved liturgical books show the opposite: neither was Anastasia venerated as a Greek saint

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[146] Here I mean the already mentioned Books of Hours of Abbess Chica and of her daughter Vecenega (see Chapter III, 3.2). For the texts themselves I have used *Libri horarum. Duo manuscripti monasterii Sanctae Mariae monialium de Iadra*, ed. Marijan Grgić (Zagreb: 2002) (hereafter, *Libri horarum*).
[147] See Chapter III, 3.2.
[148] Grgić infers the existence of an older Zadar legend dependent on the Greek legend of Anastasia "Romana" for which I see no confirmation: Marijan Grgić, *Časoslov opatice Čike* (The Book of Hours of Abbess Chica) (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv – Kršćanska sadašnjost – Matica hrvatska, 2003), 142-150 (hereafter Grgić, *Časoslov*).
[149] "sacrilegi iugum mariti suscepi, cuius, Deo miserante, thorum mentita infirmitate declinans." *Passio,* In Delehaye, *Étude*, 223.
[150] On the problem of the two Anastasias see Chapter I, 1.3.
[151] For instance he says that in the hymn to St. Anastasia a mention of prefect Probus testifies to the influence of the Greek passion of S. Anastasia *Romana*, which is not true, because the same Probus also examines Anastasia in the Latin *Passio*.

nor was a Greek passion used in Zadar. Moreover, Amalarius of Metz, visiting Zadar to meet its bishop in 813 mentions that bishop's deacon was ordained in Rome.[152] Knowing such connections at the time of the translation, it seems to me much more plausible that the *Passion* was introduced in Zadar in its Latin version, maybe directly from Rome.[153]

The situation is simpler in the case of Chrysogonus since there is no "other Chrysogonus," nor was his cult particularly popular in the East. The prayer referring to him contains information taken from the Latin *Passion*.[154] As was shown in Chapter I, his cult spread mostly in northern Italy. The ecclesiastical relations of Zadar and Aquileia present a background for obvious hagiographical dependence. This relation is also clearly visible in the high liturgical rank given to one of the patrons of Aquileia, Zoilus the Confessor, another actor of the *Passion* venerated in Zadar.[155] It is interesting to observe how little attention the writer of *DAI* pays to the cult of St. Chrysogonus compared to the detailed account of the cathedral complex of St. Anastasia.[156] While there was obviously awareness for the "Greek origin" of the relics of St. Anastasia in medieval Zadar, I infer that the cult itself developed very much leaning on cult in the Roman church, as will be shown below.

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[152] For the voyage of Amalarius, see Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 138.
[153] More so if we accept that the Latin *Passion* was not known in Constantinople before the mid-ninth century: See Chapter I, 1.3.
[154] These are: a mention of his disciple Anastasia, the conversion of Rufus. Compare *Libri horarum*, 91-92 and *Passio* in Delehaye, *Étude*, 222, 226-227.
[155] Although there is no source for such a qualification, Zoilus is mentioned among the Church fathers like Basil, Gregory, Ambrose, and Augustine. His cult as a *confessor* was prohibited in the seventeenth century: Grgić, *Časoslov*, 151-153.
[156] Although recent attempts to identify the similarities between the churches in Zadar with the ones in Constantinople brought interesting results, I think that one should consider the propagandistic or ideological aspect of the description.

4.2 *Legenda*

A common origin: the Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae

As we have seen, the *Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae* was compiled from at least three different sources, artificially connecting Chrysogonus and Anastasia. However, when the legend was introduced in Zadar in the early Middle Ages, the link between the two martyrs as disciple and a teacher had already been made.[157] The oldest known Zadar version of the legend dates from the thirteenth century.[158] The comparison of this text with the oldest redactions of the Latin *Passion* shows that it is almost identical with the Latin passion published by Delehaye. This version of the legend was used in Zadar after 1200, and it is not possible to bridge the centuries that divide it from the introduction of the relics. Being the identical text as that from Monte Cassino from the eleventh century or the later Lateran legend, it tells the same story as the Roman *Passio*.

What is in my opinion the most important here is to observe how the legend was perceived by the communities under the saintly patronage of the two martyrs. Namely, both the chapter of St. Anastasia and the monastery of St. Chrysogonus read the same readings on the feast day of their patrons. How did they perceive the close relation of their patrons perceived in the period when the two communities were competing for spiritual and secular power in the city? The *origo* is, of course, always referred to as the guarantee of authenticity and tradition. The oldest phase of the cult, based on the common origin of the two martyrs, thus presented a "universal" layer of

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[157] The acquaintance of the passion as a vehicle of the cult is reflected in the collecting of the relics of other martyrs from the passion. The early cult of Zoilus is testified to in the eleventh century and there is even a medieval legend which puts his miraculous translation to Zadar into the fifth century. The cult of Agape, Chionie and Irene was, according to the local tradition, introduced by Bishop Donatus.

[158] Partially preserved in later transcriptions, the legend was preserved in the Legendary of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus. The fragment of the lectionary containing the text of the legend was

the cult. Only with the later "allodisation" of the calendar a new phase in hagiography emerged, reflecting contemporary realities rather than relying on tradition. It is significant that in the early medieval period (up to 1100), which I would call "pre-conflict" period, the offices of bishop and of the abbot of the monastery were exercised by the members of the same families. The two communities, connected by the close family relations (where one was still holding the uncontested authority of the Late Classical bishop and another was the head of the newly founded monastery with no tradition) had no problems with such a perception among their patrons. However, medieval legends describing the translations of the relics give a much less unified picture. So important in the early medieval period, the source legend seems to have played a minor role in the perception of the saints in later period. Its "ancient tradition" indeed connected the present with the authoritative past, but the cults were not petrified; saints, as living members of their communities produced miracles and lived in the present. As the possession of the relics implies a close relation with the saint, it enabled a possessor to interpret the saint's will. Local hagiography gives the excellent example of this process and allows us to turn our attention from the universal history of the saints and inquire about the communities which controlled their cult in medieval Zadar. Although the inquiry into the two local legends *Translatio S. Anastasiae* and *Translatio beati Chrysogoni* is made hazy by their insecure dating, the texts themselves present valuable evidence.

The bishop as mediator: The Translatio S. Anastasiae

The *Translatio S. Anastasiae* is a hagiographical text presented as a contemporary account of the translation of the relics of St. Anastasia from

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discovered by V. Brunelli in the library of the Filippi family in Zadar. Unfortunately, their house was burnt during the British bombing in 1943, when the manuscript was probably destroyed.

Constantinople to Zadar in 804.[159] It tells the story how Bishop Donatus (later venerated as one of the patron saints of Zadar) and Beatus, the duke of Venice go to Constantinople as envoys on a peace mission. There they meet citizens of Sirmium hiding the relics of St. Anastasia, for their hometown had been destroyed by barbarians. The citizens of Sirmium instigate the envoys to take the relics to their homeland. During the sea voyage, the relics demonstrate their divine power by exorcising demons and healing the sick. Upon coming to Zadar, the Venetian duke wants to take the relics further to Venice but is stopped by a sudden storm and the relics are taken to Zadar. They are introduced into the town with the great pomp and after the church and the altar were prepared, the relics are deposited in the cathedral. Many of the citizens donate their lands, houses and islands to the saint while she continues to perform miracles in Zadar.

The oldest preserved manuscript dates from the mid-seventeenth century and is not a liturgical book.[160] However, the title *Narratio historica* itself implies that it must have been read on the feast day of the translation during the Middle Ages.[161] It is not clear for what purpose or for whom the transcription was made, but the text is only one of the hagiographic texts included in the volume.[162] Another transcription of

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[159] The text was published for the first time by Jesuit D. Farlati in 1775: Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum,* V, 34-35. It was taken over by F. Rački and included in his *Documenta* in 1877 (Franjo Rački, *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia, MSHSM* 7 (Zagreb, 1877), 306-310). It was analysed, translated into Italian and published by V. Brunelli in 1913: Brunelli, *Storia*, 185-188.

[160] It is a transcription made by nobleman Jerome Grisogono and notarized by the city scribe Simeon Brajichic under the title *Narratio historica circa Beatam Anastasiam Virginem et martyrem.* DAZd, Miscellanea Vol. 9, III, fol. 91-94.

[161] This is explicitly shown in the subtitle: "*In translatione Beate Anastasiae Virginis et Martiris Domin(o) antiphonae sicut in eius festa, propter Lectiones quae leguntur ut infra.*" For more detailed account of the feast: Grgić, "Kalendar," 143-144, *passim.*

[162] I infer that it was made by the nobleman who wanted to have the ancient legends about the patron saints collected in one volume. Today only folios 81-82 and 87-94 survive. Besides surviving *Narratio* and *Passio S. Chrysogoni,* there was at least one more hagiographic text in the missing part of the volume.

the text was also made by Giovanni Gurato in 1848.[163] There must have been at least one manuscript containing the text of the translation in Zadar prior to 1658: the one from which Jerome Grisogono adopted his transcription. That this is so is confirmed by Zadar historian Valerio Ponte, who in the mid-seventeenth century mentions "an antique Lectionary in the Church of St. Anastasia containing the story of the translation."[164] We can only infer how old this "antique" Lectionary was which Ponte had in his hands in 1641. The fact is that there are no preserved manuscripts older then that from ca. 1658, which makes it impossible to undertake a formal analysis of the text. This makes the cautious analysis of its contents even more important.

The *Translatio* is often quoted as an important source from the earliest period in the history of Zadar but it has not yet received a proper treatment, especially not from a hagiographic point of view.[165] Today's *opinio communis* is that the core of the document is an account contemporary with the translation. The legend must have been composed after the second half of the twelfth century with additions in the subsequent centuries.[166]

Although written as an account of the translation of the relics of St. Anastasia, the obvious aim of the compiler was to enhance the role of Bishop Donatus. This conclusion fits well with the complex socio-political situation of Zadar in the late

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[163] *De Sanctis Titularibus ac Patronis Civitatis et Archidiocesis Jadrensis* (ms. 385, cat. no. 15870, ZKZd, Zadar) (Rab, 1848), 53-58. As the source from which he took the text he quotes a certain *Manuscriptum pertinens ad Dnos fratres Nimir Arbense*, which is otherwise unknown. The comparison of the two transcriptions (Ms. *Gurato* and Ms. *Grisogono*) shows that they contain exactly the same text. I infer that the mysterious manuscript is in fact Ms. *Grisogono*, preserved in the DAZd.

[164] Valerio Ponte, Ms. Caps. 17, no. 89. Archive of the Zadar chapter.

[165] Scholars' lack of interest in this text clearly shows how, without proper evaluation and methodology for hagiographic inquiry, it is not possible to benefit from this type of text. To some extent older historians were closer to this than the later ones. Cf. Brunelli, "*Storia della città,*" 186-188.

[166] This conclusion is reached through the identification of the most obvious anachronisms: Donatus is called *archiparesul* while Zadar was upgraded into rank of archbishopric only in 1154; the Dux of Venice bears the title *praepotens,* which is a reflection of a later situation since in the ninth century the *dux* of Venice was the equal of the *dux* of Zadar; the gate by the church of St. George does not appear before the twelfth century; the gates on the south side of the city were (if it does not refer to some older case) closed only in the sixteenth century. Cf. Brunelli, *Storia della città,* 185-188.

twelfth century. After upgrading the bishopric of Zadar to the rank of archbishopric in 1154, the next year the archbishop was subjected to the patriarch of Aquileia. Although the power of the bishop was at its peak at that moment, it was already contested by the authority of the patriarch, on one side and the growing self-consciousness of the commune on the other. I infer that the account of the translation shows concern about both problems.

Although the document pretends to be contemporary to the events, its structure clearly shows the new constellation of powers: the emperor and the Byzantine court play no role in the translation. The writer knows that the relics were brought from Constantinople, but he constructs the story of how the citizens of Sirmium, expressing the martyrs wish convince the envoys to take the body. As is often attested in other examples, the repair of the church in the mid-twelfth century was followed by the revision of the older hagiography. The *Translatio* is apparently an attempt to validate the authority of the bishop. When legends mention Bishop Donatus, it means bishop as such. He is seen as the holy founder of the bishopric power and the first bishop known for his particular deeds. This inference is further attested by the parallel promotion of his cult.[167] The twelfth century was the period when many a Dalmatian communes promoted the cult of their local holy bishops, replacing the older late-Classical "imported" saints.[168] The divine authorisation for this attempt is manifested in the event in front of Zadar when the duke of Venice decided to take the body to his city. Although humans could not stop him from doing that, it was done by God: a storm forced his ship to sail towards Zadar and the saint's body was taken into town. This insisting on the bishop's independence from Venice

[167] On his cult see Vežić, "Su San Donato," 235-240.

as the central feature of the story of the *Translatio* points to the attempt to stress the traditional power of the early medieval bishops. A hundred years later it was no longer possible; bishops were appointed by the patriarch, sometimes even insisting that they should be of Venetian origin.

Opposite to the "external" problem it is interesting how the legend insists on the inner unity of the commune in veneration of St. Anastasia. The legend mentions no other patron saints of the city. It is even more telling when we know that soon after the time of the compilation of the legend Chrysogonus was already addressed as the principal patron saint of Zadar. At this stage of my research, I still lack information to complete the image, but I think that a careful reading of the text would discover its ideological background and propagandistic aims.

The contacts with the hinterland: Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris

The text preserved in Zadar under the title *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* is known from a fifteenth century manuscript from the monastery of St. Chrysogonus.[169] The text was published in an Italian translation by Brunelli in 1913,[170] and again in 1931 by Iveković.[171] Although it was never published in any of the source collections, and marked as "full of fantastic miracles and nebulous dialogues,"[172] scholars have found the legend interesting; three articles have been dedicated to it in the last two decades.[173]

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[168] As in the example of St. John of Trogir. The particular circumstances in Zadar did not allow this process to succeed. Moreover, the commune has chosen the oldest known patron saint as their principal protector.

[169] The Lectionary mentioned above, dated to 1498, was destroyed in 1943. Brunelli's analysis shows that the text was in fact not written in the year mentioned, but recovered by the monk Zoilus: "vetustate deletam et totaliter cassam, illuminavi, litteras omnino deletas iterum ceu e novo inscripsi manu propria."

[170] Brunelli, *Storia*, 207-210.

[171] Iveković, *Crkva i samostan*, 49-52.

[172] Granić, "O kultu," 159.

[173] Radoslav Katičić, "Zadrani i Mirmidonci oko moći Sv. Krševana" (Citizens of Zadar and Myrmidons around the Relics of St. Chrysogonus), in *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka* (From the

The text consists of three narrative parts. The first part describes the discovery of the body of St. Chrysogonus in an ancient graveyard near Zadar. After the martyr himself appeared to an old lady, the whole community gathers to transport the body in town. Coming to the gates, they are incapable of introducing the body before the three representatives of the town took an oath to give rich donation for the building of a basilica dedicated to the martyr. The second part narrates of how three monks steal the hand of the martyr and traveled to the land of Marab, to the nation of Myrmidones.[174] After the land was devastated by the plague, the inhabitants found out its cause – the theft of the relics - and brought the hand back to Zadar. The third narrative unit describes how a merchant from Aquileia escaped a storm and how he gave a rich donation to the saint.

According to the philological analysis of R. Katičić the story can be dated to the ninth century.[175] The central issue of the second story seems to be the contact with the people from the hinterland. Perceived as barbarians, they are brought to friendly terms through the mediation of St. Chrysogonus. This feature well reflects the relations that the monastery kept with the rulers of the hinterland, bringing them into orbit of city politics.

Beginning of the Croatian Beginnings), (Split: Književni krug, 1993), 191-201 (hereafter Katičić, "Zadrani"); Mate Suić, "Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci" (Myrmidons of Zadar and Nin), *RIZd* 38 (1996): 13-33 (hereafter Suić, "Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci"), and Mladen Ančić, "*Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* kao povijesno vrelo" (The *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* as a Historical Source), *SHP* 25 (1998): 127-138 (hereafter Ančić, *"Translatio"*).

[174] Marab was interpreted by M. Suić as derived from "mrav" (Croatian "ant") which led him to conclude (after a complicated discussion) that the Myrmidons are the Croats inhabiting the hinterland of Zadar: Suić "Zadarski i ninski Mirmidonci," 29-30; Ančić, *"Translatio"* understands Marab as Moravia.

4.3 *Imagines*

Early representations

What was shown for the "written" hagiography fits equally the "depicted." The iconography of both martyrs derives from a common origin connected to the reception of their legend. This subchapter aims to show the common iconographic heritage in order to start an inquiry into the changes that took place during the localisation of the cults in medieval Zadar. As will be shown, the changes in the representation of Anastasia in Zadar followed contemporary changes in Italy, especially the ones in Aquileia. As for Chrysogonus, radical change in his representation was closely connected with the role and the position of the community that controlled his cult: monastery of St. Chrysogonus.

The earliest representation of St. Anastasia and Chrysogonus is the one from *S. Apollinare Nuovo* in Ravenna dated to second half of the sixth century. Both saints are presented in a procession of the similar-looking martyrs and neither of them bears any specific iconographic features. In the oldest group of representations (sixth to eleventh centuries) like those in Ravenna, Rome or Aquileia, Anastasia is always represented holding a crown.[176] Only in a fresco from Aquileia is she holding a small cross – a feature that seems to be more characteristic for Byzantine than Latin iconography. Although I could not find any twelfth or thirteenth century representations, those from the fourteenth century present Anastasia with a crown,

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[175] This dating relies on the contemporary historical circumstances and the Greek linguistic layer of the text, confirming its compilation in the time of Byzantine influence in Zadar: Katičić, "Zadrani," 193.
[176] Mosaic in *S. Apollinare Nuovo* c. 570; crypt of *S. Crisogono*, after 700 (George Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art*. Vol. 2. Florence: Le Lettere, 1965: 49; Hereafter Kaftal, *Saints*); fresco in the Basilica, c. 1031 (Kaftal, *Saints* III,32; T. Dale suggests that the figure represents St. Anastasius: Dale, Thomas E. A. *Relics, prayer and politics in medieval Venetia: Romanesque painting in the crypt of Aquileia Cathedral*, Princeton-New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997: 92; (Hereafter Dale, *Relics*).

dressed in a rich cloak[177] or veiled and holding a palm.[178] The palm is very characteristic for the later, fifteenth-century, depictions when Anastasia is usually represented with a palm and a book.[179]

Besides the mentioned mosaic in *S. Apollinare Nuovo,* Chrysogonus is represented on a medallion in the archbishopric chapel in Ravenna.[180] These two earliest images depict him as middle-aged man with a short black beard in Classical dress. A somewhat similar iconography appears in the eleventh through thirteenth century frescoes in the basilica in Aquileia, where Chrysogonus is depicted in Byzantine patrician costume holding a small cross.[181] Very close to these is a twelfth-century image in Palermo, where he is shown as a middle-aged, short-bearded man holding a cross.[182] Although Chrysogonus was sometimes referred to as a warrior saint in the later period, it is important to stress that the depictions from the early and central Middle Ages do not emphasize this aspect. This "military" identity seems to have been emphasized only in the Roman cult.[183] The source of such a perception cannot be found in the *Passion.* It does not even attribute a high rank to him explicitly: Chrysogonus is referred to as *vir christianissimus* or as "one of the confessors." The notion that he "suffered a lot in vicariate," his role in the conversion of Rufus, and the high offices offered to him by the emperor created an image of a nobleman, which was understood as a knight (*miles*).[184]

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[177] Venice, after 1300: Kaftal, *Saints* III, 32.
[178] Bologna, c. 1355: Kaftal, *Saints* III, 33.
[179] Palermo, 1472: Kaftal, *Saints* II, 49; Sale San Giovanni, 1493: Kaftal, *Saints* IV, 51-52.
[180] Kaftal, *Saints* III, 225.
[181] Kaftal, *Saints* III, 224-225; Dale, *Relics*, 92; (fig. 46).
[182] Kaftal, *Saints* IV, 288.
[183] Eighth- or ninth-century fresco in *S. Crisogono* in Rome depicts him as a youthful warrior with a lay *pallium* over a tunic. Kaftal, *Saints* IV, 288. He is again (much later) depicted in Roman armour, drawing a sword from his tabard: Kaftal, *Saints* IV, 287-288.

Virgo et Martyr: a continuity of representation

The earliest image of St. Anastasia in Zadar is a miniature in the book of hours of the abbess Chica dated to c. 1060.[185] Anastasia is shown dressed in luxurious Byzantine clothes colored red and blue, raising her left arm and holding a small cross. This iconographic model was accepted as the most common way of representing the patron saint of Zadar cathedral during the next two centuries. The relief of St. Anastasia carved in pink marble from the cathedral's ambo, dated to the twelfth century, shows the same features as the eleventh century miniature: Anastasia, dressed in the decorated Byzantine clothes, holds a small cross.[186] The unusual image of Anastasia tied to poles, dated to thirteenth century is reminiscent of Greek iconography and does not appear in the West.[187]

Later depictions follow the oldest representation, showing minor changes due to social changes that took place in the subsequent centuries or simply following contemporary fashion. In my opinion what is important here is the fact that the depictions of Anastasia do not show significant iconographic changes during the four centuries observed.[188] Anastasia, the patron of the town cathedral, preserved the Classical iconography throughout the Middle Ages. Her representation as a martyr and virgin, balanced between Byzantine and Latin iconography, does not show any distinctive local characteristics.

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[184]"...in vicarii officio degens multa perpessus," "praefecturae etiam consulatus dignitatem" Cf. *Passio,* in Delehaye, *Étude,* 222-223 and 227.

[185] *Liber horarum*, fol. 128r.

[186] See Fig. 4.1. Another relief from the thirteenth century bears the similar iconographic features as the mentioned two: See fig. 4.3.

[187] This representation literally depicting her martyrdom clearly shows the connection between the text and the image. Cf. *Metaphrastian Menologion* (Athos lavra Δ51) from the first half of the eleventh century: Nancy Ševčenko-Patterson, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago – London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 98; later example on the "wall" *menologion* of the monastery of Peć: Pavle Mijović, *Menolog: istorijsko-umetnička istraživanja* (Menologion: Art-historical Research) (Belgrade: Arheološki institut, 1973), 367.

Martyr, monachus, miles

Although in late medieval Zadar images show Chrysogonus as a mounted warrior, this iconography does not appear in any Italian pre-quattrocento depictions. Such an image does not exist in medieval Byzantine iconography, either; Chrysogonus is not one of the Byzantine warrior saints.[189] The iconography of Chrysogonus depends on the earliest depictions in Ravenna. Presented as a martyr, nobleman or Roman knight, he is always shown as a standing figure dressed either in the Roman *pallium* or Byzantine patrician costume. I infer that the depiction of Chrysogonus as mounted knight emerged in Zadar during the twelfth or thirteenth century.[190] Compared to the other mounted warrior saints of the period, one observes that the iconography of St. Chrysogonus fits well into the contemporary ideology: the cult of chivalry as well as crusading. What I suggest here, however, is the dependence of the "new iconography" of St. Chrysogonus on the particular social and political context of Zadar in the thirteenth century.

Unfortunately there is no depiction of Chrysogonus preserved in Zadar from before the eleventh century. For the earliest representation we have to rely on a description rather than the image. Namely, the writer of the chapter 29 of *DAI* mentions that there is a "monk Chrysogonus" venerated in the town church. Although the terminology does not explicitly say anything about the representation of the saint, it might be a clue to it. Moreover, when the church was restored in the twelfth

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[188] One might observe the differences on the basis of possible oppositions like: indoor-outdoor or liturgical and non-liturgical representations, but this would be a research project of its own.

[189] L. Réau mentions Chrysogonus amongst the holy knights venerated in the Eastern Church. However, it is curious that in naming the oldest depictions of the saint he does not bring any example of Byzantine iconography: L. Réau, *L'iconographie de l'art chrétien*, vol. 3/1 (Paris: 1958), 314. Cf. Sofija Petricioli, "Kameni grbovi grada Zadra" (Stone Coats of Arms of Zadar), *RIZd* 9 (1962): 362 (hereafter Petricioli "Kameni grbovi"). Chrysogonus is not included among the Byzantine warrior saints by Christopher Walter in *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

century, the walls were painted with the different saints. In the north apse were depictions of St. Benedict, St. Scholastica and St. Chrysogonus in the middle.[191] The oldest representation is the one found on the reliquary of St. James and St. Arontius.[192] The representations from the following period are found on the reliquaries and the portal of the cathedral.[193] Both show some similarities, Chrysogonus is depicted as a standing figure, dressed as a martyr or monk. Although showing minor iconographic innovations, these two representations still depend on the Classical image as seen in Aquileia. However, sometime in the thirteenth century a new iconography of St. Chrysogonus appeared. A depiction on a Romanesque column presents him as a bearded and long-haired mounted warrior charging with spear and shield.[194]

The replacement of the patrons

The new thirteenth century representation does not show only the new iconography of one of the town's patron saints, but it also came to be used as Zadar's coat of arms. From the thirteenth century it started to appear on house fronts, city walls, seals, and banners. Supposedly the oldest representation of Zadar, understood as the coat of arms of the town, is the one with three towers.[195] During the period before the late twelfth century, which by no accident coincides with the development of the city commune, there is neither description nor image of the town's coat of arms. The oldest known town seal is in fact the one of the cathedral chapter from the twelfth century. This important piece of evidence shows how the town was perceived

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[190] This proposition is based on the fact that there is no such representation outside Zadar before the fourteenth century.
[191] The frescoes are heavily damaged, but in the central row are the figures of St. Cosmas and Damian, which may show what the others looked like. See Fig. 5.3
[192] See Fig. 5.2.
[193] See Fig. 5.4 and 5.5.
[194] See Fig. 6.1-6.3

as the "town of St. Anastasia." Namely the inscription on the seal showing St. Anastasia raising her hands over Zadar says: SIGILLVM IADER[E VR]BIS SANCTA ANASTASIA.[196] The seal is preserved on the 1190 charter celebrating the victory over the Venetian fleet. Not without a hint of irony, the seal was used (maybe for the last time) to confirm the return of property to the monastery whose patron Chrysogonus "led and protected the citizens against the enemy." At that time the clear political features in the influence of the monastery were reflected in the new symbolic representation of Zadar. When the cathedral was renovated after the crusaders' conquest of 1202, the portal was decorated with a new sculpture of St. Anastasia, but this time accompanied by St. Chrysogonus. As early as around 1300 Zadar was described and represented as the "city of St. Chrysogonus."[197] In 1385 the change was officially confirmed and the town seal was described and defined as representing the figure of the St. Chrysogonus.[198]

[195] The problem is that, despite older authors who mention a few examples of this type of coat of arms, today it is preserved only as a stone relief in the city tower: Petricioli, "Kameni grbovi," 360-361.
[196] Cf. Ivo Petricioli, "Prilog zadarskoj sfragistici" (Contribution to the Heraldry of Zadar), *Radovi FFZd* 10 (1972): 117-120; See Fig. 4.4. Also see Ante Gulin, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika* (Croatian Medieval Church Heraldry) (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 1998).
[197] Rome Bibl. Vat. Cod. Vat. Lat. 2972 (c. 1310) and Bibl. Vat., Cod. Palatino lat. 1362). See Fig. 7.
[198] Petricioli, "Kameni grbovi," 360.

CHAPTER V: COMMUNITIES IN CONFLICT

5.1 *Tempus episcoporum*, 800-1190

Initial advantage

Sealing a document in June 1190, the deacon and *notarius* of Zadar Blasius used a *sigillum Iadere urbis Sancta Anastasia.* The seal with the image of St. Anastasia raising her hands over the city shows the influence of her cult in twelfth-century Zadar. Yet the seal was not simply the seal of the city; it was the seal of the cathedral chapter in the first place. As it was noted in the Chapter II, it was the role of the bishop who in the period of "early medieval transition" integrated the identity of the town and presented a firm connection with antiquity. Although the power of the bishops of the Dalmatian towns did not equal that of their Italian colleges, evidence from the tenth and eleventh century show their important position and large influence. They were not only the only professional international ambassadors but primarily the ones whose continuous presence in the town substituted the short-term functions of the imperial bureaucrats. The memory of particular bishops tended to melt with the office of a bishop as such. The *laudes* sang in their honour put them right after the emperors, kings and dukes. The bishop has never been alone; he lived in a community to some extant resembling monastic communities: the episcopal chapter. There are four issues that I see as highly important for the position of the bishop and his chapter inside the city: tradition, literary monopoly, connection with the community and control over the cults.

The cathedral boasted with the tradition of the longest living institution within the community. It is not strange that many offices that were later to become a public

or communal duty were born in the cathedral *millieu*. The emergence of notarial office in Zadar is also connected with the chapter of St. Anastasia.[199] In the period when sources show the high level of illiteracy of the secular officers, one might contemplate on the power held by the institution which controlled local literary production.[200] The reform of the notary after the beginning of the thirteenth century shows how the commune wanted to control this important office. Although we do not exactly know much about the details of the life of the chapter in the early and central Middle Ages, the sole buildings which constitute the episcopal complex signalise the necessity of the large and organised group of people who have served the complex.

The relationship of the bishops with the community is quite well attested in the central Middle Ages: up to the late eleventh century, the bishop had his *familia* living with him.[201] Some of the bishops were connected with the most powerful families in the city and have significant influence on the emergence of the new monastic communities.[202]

The cult of St. Anastasia celebrayed in the city cathedral presents one of the most significant features of Zadar: we have already seen how much space Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives to the description of the cathedral. Similarly significant is the description of Cardinal Boson two hundred years later: in the occasion of the Pope Alexander's visit to Zadar, he mentions how the pope was taken on a white horse to the "martyr Anastasia resting in the major church of the city."[203] But it is not only the external visitors who observe the central position of the cathedral and its patron saint. It is well shown in the legend of translation, (whether this is an ideal projection of the

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[199] Klaić, *Zadar*, 197.
[200] Literary production implying features like: preservation and interpretations of important traditions such as hagiography, judicial charters.
[201] Cf. Nikolić, *Rođaci*, ?
[202] Clearly shown in the case of the monasteries of St. Chrysogonus and sister monastery of St. Mary.

hagiographer or the reflection of the reality) how the citizens of all the "classes, ranks and gender" gather around their patron celebrating her *adventus* as the most solemn occasion. In the description one clearly "reads" the image of the unified commune: the image of the *communio sanctorum* gathered around Christ's martyr and her chosen follower, the bishop. However, this image, if it ever existed in such a simple and perfect form, was doomed to disappear or to change its participants.

1154: Archiepiscopus Iadertinus

When by the order of the Pope Anastasius IV, Zadar became an archbishopric in 1154, it shook off the supremacy of the archbishop of Spalato, with which it was fighting for centuries. The victory, however, was short lived: already in the next year, Pope Hadrianus IV subjected the archbishop of Zadar to the Patriarch of Grado. This decision seen clearly (as it was), a political move leading to subjection of Zadar to Venice caused a rebellion in 1159 and the Venetian duke imposed on Zadar was driven away. As the archbishops of Zadar still participated in the communal resistance, this period is attested by an dynamic building activity and prosperity: Zadar entered its glorious, yet troubled era. At the end of the next fifty years, marked by constant rebellions, warfare and changing alliances, the city was destroyed by the Crusaders and the Venetians in 1204. Zadar was conquered by Venice. The peace treaty of 1205 imposed a rule that the archbishop of Zadar should be, from then on, chosen amongst the citizens of Venice.[204] On the level of public ritual the people of Zadar promised to sing *laudes* to the Venetian doge, Patriarch, Venetian duke of Zadar and their Archbishop in the cathedral.

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[203] Strgačić, "Papa Aleksandar," 165.

[204] More precisely from the region between Grado and Capo d'Argina. Grga Novak, "Presjek kroz povijest grada Zadra" (Survey of the History of Zadar). *RIZd* 11-12 (1965), 19 (hereafter Novak, "Presjek").

In spite the fact that king Andrew II gave Zadar to Venice as an "eternal possession" in exchange for the passage to the Holy land, the citizens of Zadar did not accept this situation. The scarce evidence reflects the fragments of the situation in the town: Archbishop John was invited to Venice to promise that "he will not prepare any plot with the citizens of Zadar." What is clear outcome of this Venetian project is that the archbishops were to become the representatives of Venetian authority over the city. After a hundred years of struggle, Venice managed to impose her grip on the former Dalmatian capital, and through the offices of the imposed dukes and controlled archbishops, it started to influence inner city politics. This definitely changed the position of the bishop in the community.

Another aspect that should not be underestimated is the fact that the Church reform movement went into a direction of firmer control, distancing the bishop from close dependence on his flock. The interference of the papal reform and the centralisation of the ecclesiastical institutions often had to oppose the "public good" of the emerging communes. The imposing of the bishop from outside collided with the traditional customs and in some cases must have presented an irritating slap to the pride of growing "communal nationalism."

Contested authority

Some weeks before the above mentioned document was sealed with the seal of St. Anastasia, the citizens of Zadar had won a battle against the Venetians. The victory, remembered as the battle at the peak of Treni, was an occasion for the citizens to return some property to the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, naming the monastery patron *noster patronus, tutor* and *protector civitatis* in the occasion.[205] This event seems to be a crystallizing point where a new balance of the powers in the

town became evident. It is highly significant that the victory over the Venetian fleet was [subscribed] not to the former patron saint Anastasia (whose figure was still used on the seal), but to the patron saint of the influential monastery. It seems that by that time not only that the monastery grew to such power that it could oppose the bishop, but that the growing self-consciousness of the commune wanted to represent itself symbolically choosing to put its trust in another patron saint than to the cathedral and by then city patron Anastasia. The following two examples illustrate well the contested authority of the bishopric.

In 1224, the abbot of the monastery of St. Chrysogonus rejected the order of the duke Marin Dandolo: he denied him honour to be welcomed at the entrance of the monastery with holy water, incense and the cross. The rebel monastery was brought to order by the intervention of the archbishop. The archbishop "closed" the monastery church, forbade burials and attendance of masses, even forbidding the traditional procession on the feast day of St. Chrysogonus. Soon a number of citizens were involved in the scandal, since they tried to bury their dead in the monastery.[206] This case is interesting not only for the opposition of the monastery shown to the bishop and the duke, but also because of its outcome. In the end the citizens managed to force the archbishop to withdraw his order.[207]

Similar symbolic demonstration of resistance took place in the summer of 1308 when the legate cardinal Gentilis came to Zadar. Excommunicating some priests who rebelled against his orders, he was contested by the inobedience of the

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[205] Granić, "O kultu,"43.

[206] *CD* III, 280-281: Maren Freidenberg, "Samostan Sv. Krševana i Zadar u X.–XIV. stoljeću"(Monastery of St. Chrysogonus and Zadar from the Tenth through Fourteenth Centuries). *RIZd* 27-28 (1981), 58 (hereafter Freidenberg, "Samostan").

local churches: the bells were ringing and the churches were opened as usually. The powerful manifestation of the independence took place on the 3 October, when the funerary rite of a city lady was led by the abbots of the three Benedictine monastery: dressed in solemn cloths, mitres on their heads and with the "shepherds' staff" in their hands, the abbots, lead by the abbot of St. Chrysogonus and followed by the mass of citizens opposed the legate's order."[208]

On the symbolical level it is highly significant how the abbots, having right to wear mitre and bishops' staff made an impression as if there were more than one bishop in the city. Indeed, in the thirteenth and fourteenth century, it is the monastery that came to play a central role in the communal politics against the Venice and occasionally against their own dukes and archbishops.

5.2 The centuries of rebellion, 1190-1409

The monastery of St. Chrysogonus, the earliest town monastery founded in Dalmatia was founded by the bishop and Byzantine functionaries, but also by elected members of the newly formed organization of the citizens.[209] The monastery, founded by the commune of Zadar at the time when the same Madi family held the posts in town's secular government, the bishopric seat and high monastic offices, could not, and had no reason to present any threat to authority of the bishop. However, during the eleventh, and especially the twelfth centuries the political situation became more complicated, leading to a polarization within the city. I propose the two features that I see as the most important for the development of the

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[207] The case was further discussed before the bishop of Trogir who judged that duke should leave the monastery alone and called the archbishops orders "forced." *CD* III, 283, 287-289: Freidenberg, "Samostan," 58.
[208] "Cum pluvialibus et mitris ac baculis pastoralibus," *CD* VIII, 196: Freidenberg, "Samostan," 62.
[209] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 35.

monastery and its role in the communal life: firstly, the "organic connection" between the monastery and communal organisation,[210] and secondly, the relation with the Hungarian-Croatian kings.

Tempus communitatis

Although the monastery of St. Chrysogonus, through possible personal relations of abbot Madius and abbot Aligerna of Montecassino, might have been connected to the Cluny reform, the monastery never entered the Cluniac network; it was neither included in papal exemptions. The monastery, in fact, did not need to enter international filiations; its close relations with the commune and the rulers of the hinterland granted various and extant privileges for its monks.[211] It is significant that the existence of the most influential monasteries in Dalmatia coincides with the emergence of communes, which needed these monasteries.[212] The participation of the citizens in the internal affaires of the monastery is often connected with the decline of the monastic discipline in the thirteenth century. I do not think that it should be interpreted only in this way. Many examples showing the active participation of the lay persons in the life of the monastery also attest the communal character of the community of St. Chrysogonus. It is not surprising then that Patriarch Egidius was scandalised and angry when he discovered that some citizens would be present during his inquiry about monastic finances in 1306.[213] The earliest known trials between the monastery and the commune took place in the 1221 and 1222. At the first sight they show the commune in the conflict with the monastery, but if observed more cautiously, one notes it is only one segment of the communal government who quarrels – namely the duke. When Venice imposed her dukes on Zadar after 1205,

[210] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 56.
[211] Mustać, "*Cartula,*" 30.
[212] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 48.

they must have found the specific status that the monastery enjoyed in the city unacceptable.[214] In fact, "in the town recently conquered by the Republic of St. Mark... it was the monastery which remained the symbol of the communal autonomy."[215]

The allies of the kings

The monastery is known to have supported Croatian and Hungarian kings, with whom it kept family relations. The close relations of Chica, the abbess of the sister-monastery of St. Mary with the Croatian king Krešimir IV and the friendly relation of her daughter Vecenega (also the abbess of the same monastery) with king Coloman were interpreted differently in Croatian historiography. What is clear is that some kind of relation, whether it was really a family relation or shared goals, existed.

The growing connections with the rulers of the hinterland, attested already in the *Translatio beati Chrysogoni*, can be read in the donation charters. The earliest period of the monastery is characterised by the lack of the land-possessions; its income seems to have been exclusively from fishing.[216] However, sometimes around the mid-eleventh century the monastery started to receive houses and gardens, slowly concentrating its own space, divided as a separate entity within the town. The first land gifts are attested between 1020 and 1040[217] given mostly by Croatian nobles and kings.[218] In one of the charters the monastery is given a significant title: *Sacratissima*

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[213] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 54-55.
[214] For instance, unlike other city monasteries in Dalmatia, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus was not subjected to the clerics of Zadar. This is testified by the statement of one of the abbots that he "never gave any taxes to the parish priest nor other priests of Zadar." Also in the process of 1221, the monastery, through its lawyer announces that whoever steals property of the monastery automatically falls under excommunication. Freidenberg, "Samostan," 61.
[215] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 59.
[216] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 36-37.
[217] Freidenberg, "Samostan," 42.
[218] Like the donation of Ban Godemir and his wife in 1028 or King Krešimir IV in 1069.

membra Iadere.[219] Towards the end of the century, more and more lands came into the possession of the monastery, and the trend continued through the subsequent centuries. Here, I would not like to enter the discussion about the authenticity of these charters, nor even listing them, but rather follow the development of these relations in the period of the fierce struggle with Venice.

In the 1242 Bela IV confirmed the rights of the monastery for its fidelity.[220] Although the period under the rule of the Hungarian kings did not last long, already in 1311 the citizens of Zadar chose Mladen, the son of Paul of Bribir and ban of Bosnia as their duke.[221] The high point of the tendency of Zadar to subject itself to the Hungarian-Croatian kings is the arrival of the Louis I Anjou to Croatia in 1345 when the envoys of the Dalmatian towns ask him to be their king.[222]

Zadar rebelled against Venice and invited the king to the city. When the Venetians imposed a siege upon Zadar that lasted for almost a year monastery, the monastery was used as the headquarter of the defence[223] The symbolical importance of the patron can be read between the lines of *Obsidio Iadrensis*, a contemporary account of the siege 1345-1346.[224] What strikes the reader is that the description written by the archbishop never mentions St. Anastasia, while Chrysogonus is addressed many times. It is the bell of St. Chrysogonus that rings for alarm when the enemy is approaching,[225] citizens gather under the banner of their patron to attack the

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[219] *CD* I, 76

[220] Eduard Peričić, "Samostan sv. Krševana kroz lik i djelovanje njegovih opata" (Monastery of St. Chrysogonus through the Activity of Its Abbots), in *1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru*, ed. Ivo Petricioli (Zadar: Narodni list, 1990), 95 (hereafter Peričić, "Samostan").

[221] Novak, "Presjek," 27.

[222] Novak, "Presjek," 31.

[223] Peričić, "Samostan," 98.

[224] *Obsidionis jadrensis libri duo* were written by Nikola Matafar, Archbishop of Zadar (1333-1367). Born ca. 1290 he studied in Padua, doctor *utriusque juris*, friend of influential people of the age. The ally of the Angevins. He has written the text after he had to leave the city after the Venetian victory.

[225] "clangit altior nola S. Chrysogoni, que ad stornium" *Obsidio*, I, 10.

Venetians.[226] High tensions and the importance of the symbolical convergence of the dates, places and persons which I have mentioned in the Chapter III is well illustrated during the siege. On the 25 November, the feast day of St. Chrysogonus the whole the commune gathered in his church and the archbishop preached to encourage them. After the Gospel was read the archbishop blessed king's banner. After mass, the people went to the central square where they celebrated the feast singing "pious hymns and secular songs."[227] Celebrating and cursing the enemies they took the weapons and started a battle the same evening. The miraculous presence of St. Chrysogonus is attested by the witness who saw how "the fire which, turning many buildings into ashes, burned the house in which there was a shield with the colourful depiction of St. Chrysogonus, everything was turned into ashes except the figure of the soldier of Christ. It was not ruined, but, illuminated by the Divine light, started to shine with even more brilliant radiance."[228] Although the rebellion did not succeed, and the city was again taken by Venice, it is only twelve years later that the young king Venice came to conquer Zadar.

1358: The victory of the knight

After the expiry of the ceasefire, Louis I came to take Zadar in 1357. He was welcomed by the citizens. The monks of St. Chrysogonus helped Croatian soldiers and German mercenaries to cross the city wall and to enter the city through the cloister. The Venetians were defeated and soon after, the "peace of Zadar" was

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[226] *Obsidio*, II,9.
[227] *Obsidio*, 18.
[228] "in qua vnus clypeus signatus effigie diuersis admixtis coloribus S. Chrysogoni consedentis in sonipede pendebat, domiciliumque illud vniuersum pariter et clypeum concremauit nil lesionis enigma militis Christi contaminatum, sed ueluti lucis superne illuminatum ac omnium assertione, qui ipsum depictum in clypeo primitus despexerant, nunc splendidiori corruscatione splendescere." *Obsidio*, II, 15.

signed on February 18, 1358. Venice had to resign all her possessions from the Drač to northern Adriatic and Louis I Anjou came to his city of Zadar.[229]

The king generously expressed his gratitude to the monastery; besides confirming all the historical possession of the monastery, he ordered that his coins minted in Zadar should bear the name of St. Chrysogonus.[230] That was the (not only symbolical) high point of success of the politics of both the monastery of St. Chrysogonus and commune of Zadar. On the symbolical level, it is the "knight" who saved the town from the Venetians once again. Not forgetting the role of their protector, the city Council decided that to mark the victory over the Venetians, each citizen should bring his pious gift – a half-pound candle to St. Chrysogonus.[231]

Is it possible to make any connection between the success of the Angevin king and the expectations of the citizens of Zadar from their patron saint?[232] This is the moment when the previous politics of the monastery succeeded: the town had the coins with the inscription of their king and their heavenly protector, both represented as young knights. Some thirty years after the treaty, in the document from 1385, the new situation is officially confirmed: the seals of the commune are decided to represent St. Chrysogonus signed with the inscription: "*Urbs Dalmatina Jadra pollet hoc duce.*"[233]

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[229] Novak, "Presjek," 36

[230] To my knowledge, there are no coins of the type preserved. V. Brunelli describes it as having inscription: "M[ineta] IADRE Ludovicus REX UNGARIE on one side and "IADERA civitas – s. Grisogonus IADRAE" on the other: Brunelli, *Storia*, 513.

[231] Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* (Benedictines in Croatia and Our Other Regions). vol. 2. (Split: Benediktinski priorat -Tkon, 1964), 46.

[232] It would not, of course, be advisable to think of the flourishing of the cult as connected to that particular ruler; evidence shows that already in 1403 the citizens of Zadar greeted their new chosen candidate for the throne in the same way: When Aloysius Aldemarisco, the regent of Ladislas of Naples for Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia, came to Zadar, beside the banner of St. Chrysogonus there was a banner of the king Ladislas and the Hungarian kingdom raised up, "accompanied by songs and joy, the burning of fires and different feasts." Ladislas was himself crowned king on 5 October 1403. Novak, "Presjek," 37.

[233] Petricioli, "Kameni grbovi," 360.

CONCLUSION

The enhancement of St. Chrysogonus and his saintly protection in the period between the twelfth through fourteenth centuries was related to a highly turbulent period in the history of Zadar. Between ca. 1100 and 1400, when Zadar found itself as the focus of a political struggle it was the role of its Benedictines, through their piety and political engagement, who managed to integrate the growing self-consciousness and pride of the commune. Growing influential as a political force and keeping their relations with the Croatian and Hungarian kings, the monks preserved their own interests. Having most of their possessions in the hinterland but also symbolised and protected the growing self consciousness of the commune. Supported by the donations both of Hungarian kings, Croatian noblemen and citizens of Zadar, the monastery of St. Chrysogonus became a crucial force in these political events. It opposed Venice and helped the rulers of hinterland to gain control over Zadar. On the level of ecclesiastical politics, the abbots of St. Chrysogonus contested the power of the archbishops, who were subjected, after 1155 to the "Venetian" Patriarch of Grado.

All these tensions were expressed in devotion to the patron saints of the communities in conflict. While St. Anastasia, whose cult was much more popular in the early Middle Ages and had a more glorious history with important cult centres both in Rome and Constantinople, Chrysogonus came to play an important role in city politics only with the growing power of the monastery in the High Middle Ages. Venerated in the early period as a monk, Chrysogonus became a knight, whose presentation as a charging horseman came to symbolise the pride and self confidence of the citizens of Zadar. On the iconographic level, the new representation seems to

have derived not from the Byzantine warrior saint tradition and is not known anywhere in the West before the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Leaving many questions still to be answered, an analysis of the iconographic presentation of St. Chrysogonus shows that some time after the second half of the twelfth century he became venerated as the principal patron saint of the town, thus removing the former protector Anastasia. Sometime in the thirteenth century the figure of St. Chrysogonus came to represent the city. In the "century of rebellions," Chrysogonus metamorphosed from martyr into a victorious knight. Following the Venetian conquest of Zadar in 1409, the commune finally lost its independence. Yet, the figure of the mounted rider remained as a reminder of the period when the monastery with its abbots managed to contest the power of the Venetian doges and their own archbishops.

As the result of this research I conclude that the very idea of a principal patron saint might be a bit misleading and should be used with caution, especially in the earlier periods when evidence is far from abundant. As my inquiry has shown, in some periods it is not possible to state precisely who was "the principal" patron saint of the community. I suggest observing this position in the light of the relations between the urban sub-communities as "contested territory." In such a situation, it is the role of the institution which promoted the cult to interpret the events in such a way as to fit its proposed reality. However, in the High Middle Ages, the emergence of urban consciousness displayed through public rituals and symbolic representations seems to have asked for a more precise self-definition and self-representation of communal identity. Although the scarcity of the evidence does not allow me to make precise conclusions, the victory over the Venetians in 1190 and the interpretation of it as the action of St. Chrysogonus seems to be one of these crystallizing points. For

this, I have used terms such as the replacement of the principal patron saint. However, the emergence of the cult of St. Chrysogonus as the first of the protectors of Zadar is not the result of a single act of the replacement of one patron saint with another, but rather the result of the process in which the commune, by bridging the gap between the sacred and the secular, found ways to express its independent identity crystallized in the figure of its protector.

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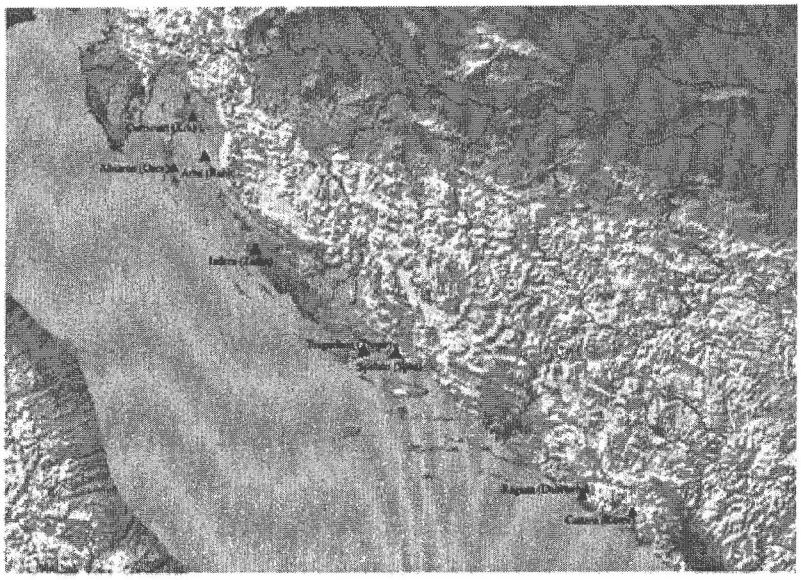
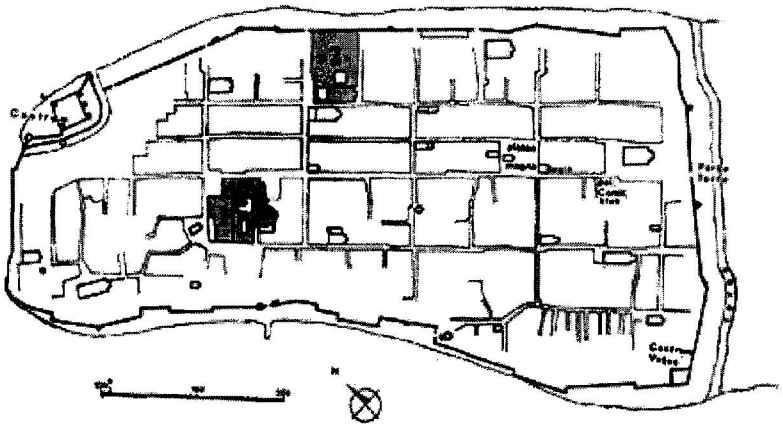
APPENDIX A: Maps



Map 1. Dalmatian cities in the early Middle Ages



1 Episcopal complex of St. Anastasia
2 Monastery of St. Chrysogonus

Map 2. Zadar in the thirteenth century

APPENDIX B: Figures

1. Sarcophagus of St. Anastasia

Fig. 1.1 Sarcophagus of St. Anastasia, after 800.

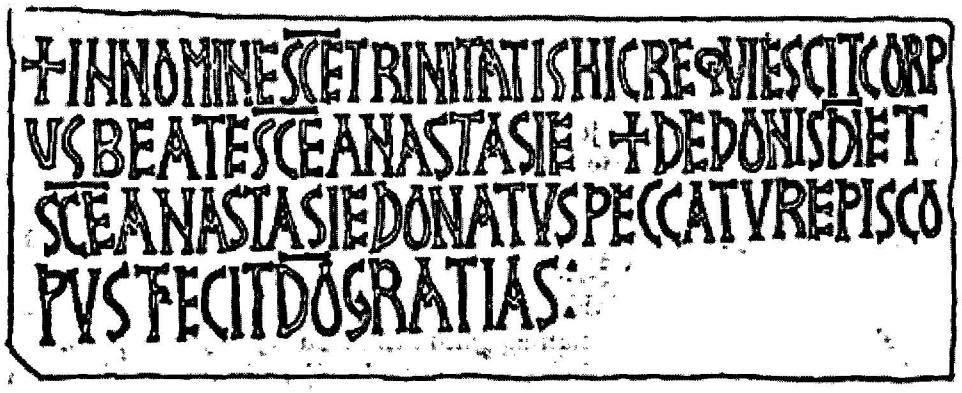


Fig. 1.2 Inscription on the front side of the sarcophagus

2. Episcopal complex and rotunda of the Holy Trinity

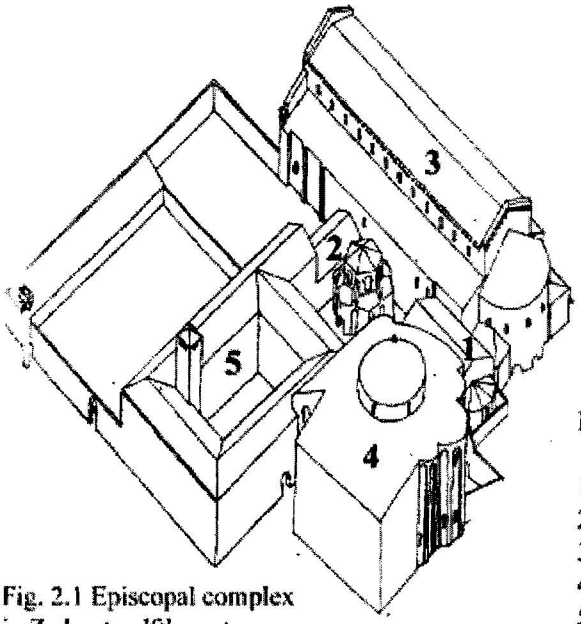


Fig. 2.1 Episcopal complex in Zadar, twelfth century.

Legend

1 *Catechumenion*, later sacristy
2 *Baptisterion*
3 Basilica of St. Anasatasia
4 Rotunda of the Holy Trinity
5 Bishop's palace

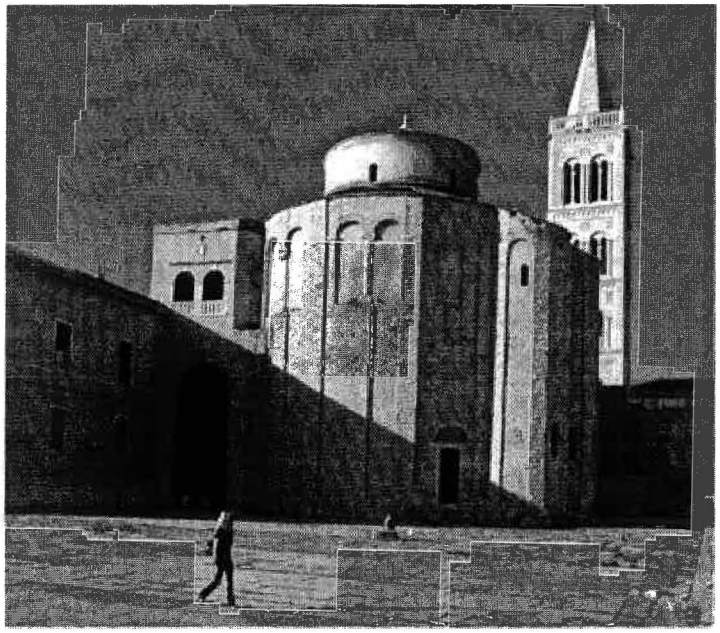


Fig. 2.2 Rotunda of the Holy Trinity, build ca. 800.

3. Cathedral of St. Anastasia in Zadar

Fig. 3.1 Facade of the basilica of St. Anastasia, ca. 1300.

Fig. 3.2 Interior of the basilica, ca. 1175 - 1300.

4. Representations of St. Anastasia in Zadar

Fig. 4.1 Detail from the ambo of the cathedral, late twelfth century.

Fig. 4.2 Relief on the house front, thirteenth century.

Fig. 4.3 Relief in the crypt of the cathedral, thirteenth century.

Fig. 4.4 Seal of Zadar, used in 1190.

5. Representations of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar I

Fig. 5.1 Mosaic in *S. Apollinare Nuovo* in Ravenna, c. 570.

Fig. 5.2 Reliquary of St. James and St. Arontius from Nin, before 1100.

Fig. 5.3 Fresco from the church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, c. 1175.

Fig. 5.4 Portal of *S. Anastasia* in Zadar, finished 1324.

Fig. 5.5 Reliquary of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, 1326.

6. Representations of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar II

Fig. 6.1 Romanesque capitel, thirteenth century.

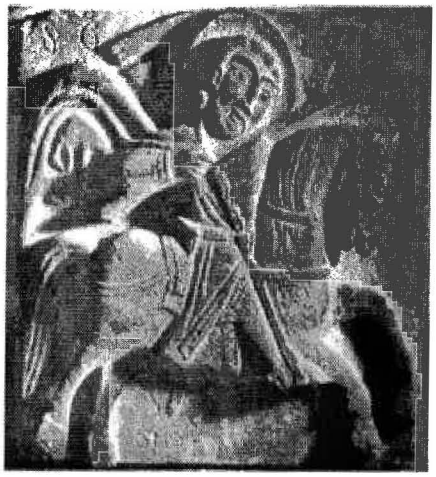


Fig. 6.2 Relief on the house front, thirteenth century.

Fig. 6.3. Relief from the church of St. Chrysogonus, fourteenth century.

7. Representations of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar III

Fig. 7.1 Reliquary of St. Zoilus, fourteenth century.

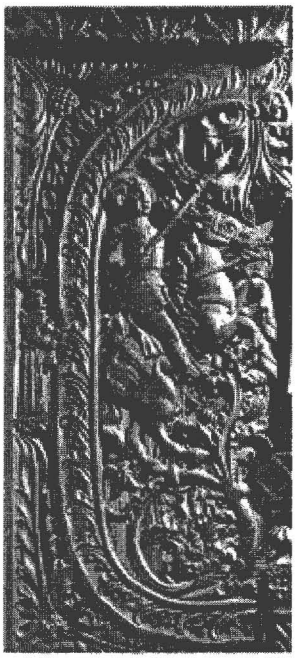


Fig. 7.2 Choir stalls from St. Francis's church, 1394.

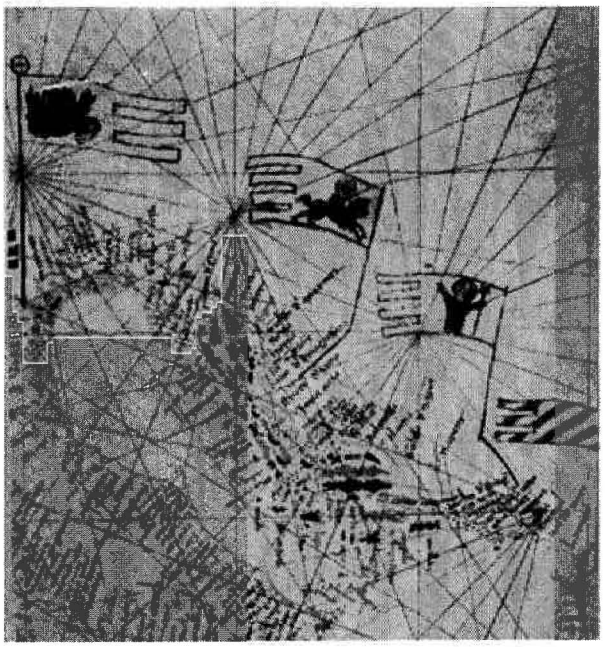


Fig. 7.3 Detail of the map of Mediterranean (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Lat. 2972). Only three cities in the Adriatic are depicted with their flags: Venice, Zadar and Dubrovnik, ca. 1310.