Franka Horvat

# ARTISTIC TRANSFERS FROM ACROSS THE ADRIATIC SEA: THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRESCOES IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSOGONUS IN ZADAR

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

# ARTISTIC TRANSFERS FROM ACROSS THE ADRIATIC SEA: THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRESCOES IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSOGONUS IN ZADAR

by

Franka Horvat

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 Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

Chair, Examination Committee

_____

Bela Zsolt Szakacs

_____

Examiner

_____

Examiner

Budapest
May 2014

**ARTISTIC TRANSFERS FROM ACROSS THE ADRIATIC SEA: THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRESCOES IN THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSOGONUS IN ZADAR**

by

Franka Horvat

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 Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

Budapest
May 2014

by

Franka Horvat

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 Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance  with the standards of the CEU


_____

External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2014


I, the undersigned, **Franka Horvat**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary 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, __ May 2014

<div style="text-align: right">_____</div>

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 17. View on the northern wall – the archangel Michael, the Deesis and a part of the fragmented bishop scene (photograph by author).

Fig. 18. The southern apse calotte, Iveković, Ćiril M. *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru.* [The Church and the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar]. (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), 1931, photograph 31.

Fig. 19. The Annunciation scene, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 20. The southern wall – figure on a horse fragment, Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru*, photograph 32.

Fig. 21. The small Deesis scene (photograph by Ivan Srša).

Fig. 22. The Archangel Michael (photograph by author).

Fig. 23. The Archangel Michael, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 24. Icon of St. Michael, Pisa, Museo Nazionale San Matteo, http://www.culturaitalia.it/viewItem.jsp?language=it&case&id=oai:scalarchives.com:0039659https://www.academia.edu/913218/Pisa_bizantina._Alle_origini_del_culto_delle_icone_in_Toscana. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 25. The Nativity, detail – baby Jesus, (photograph by Ivan Srša).

Fig. 26. The Nativity, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 27. The Nativity, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 28. The Nativity, detail – the shepherds (photograph by author).

Fig. 29. The bell-tower of the church of St. Mary – Majestas Domini, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

Fig. 30. San Angelo in Formis – Majestas Domini, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sant%27Angelo-in-Formis-Christus-Pantocrator.jpg. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 31. The church of St Peter, Zadar – Deesis (photograph by author).

Fig. 32. The cathedral of St. Anastasia – Deesis (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

Fig. 33. The cathedral of St. Anastasia – Deesis, detail (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

Fig. 34. The church of St. John the Baptist, Šipan – Deesis, Željko Peković, *Četiri elafitske crkve* [Four Elaphite Churches] (Split: Studia Mediterranea Archeologica, 2008), 62.

Fig. 35. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – Deesis. Ibid., 40.

Fig. 36. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – Archangel Gabriel. Ibid, 76.

Fig. 37. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – Archangel Michael. Ibid.

Fig. 38. The church of St. John the Baptist, Šipan – Archangel Michael. Ibid.

Fig. 39.
 a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail.
 b. Lama d' Antico, detail, (photograph by author).

Fig. 40.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).
 b. The church of Santa Cecilia, Monopoli, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 41.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).
b. The church of San Lorenzo, Fasano, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 42.
 a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).
b. Lama d' Antico, detail (photograph by Roberto Rotondo).

Fig. 43.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph by Ivan Srša).
b. The church of St. Cecilia, detail, (photograph by author).

Fig. 44.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).
b. Lama d' Antico, detail, (photograph by Roberto Rotondo).

Fig. 45.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail (photograph by author).
b. The church of San Lorenzo, detail, (photograph by author).
Fig. 46. St. Lorenzo, Fazano, exterior, (photograph by author).

Fig. 47. Lama D'Antico, exterior, (photograph by author).

Fig. 48. St. Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni, exterior, (photograph by author).

Fig. 49. Lama D'Antico, interior, http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/.  Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 50. Some of the varieties of ground plans for rock-cut churches in Southern Italy, Dell'Aquila, Franco, Aldo Messina. *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*. Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 1998, 34-35.

Fig. 51. Different solutions of the Deesis scene:

a.      San Matteo, Monopoli, http://isegretidimonopoli.altervista.org/chiese-e-ambienti-rupestri.html. Last accessed May 2014.
b.      San Nicola, Mottola, http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habitat_rupestre_di_Mottola. Last accessed May 2014.
c.      San Lorenzo, Fasano (photograph by author)
d.      San Zaccario, Monopoli, Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale Bizantina in Puglia* (Milan: Electa, 1991), 136.

Fig. 52. Lama d'Antico – the Deesis/Majestas Domini composition, http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 53.
a.      Nativity, San Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni (photograph by author).
b.      Drawing, Dell'Aquila, Franco, Aldo Messina. *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*. Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 1998, 56.

Fig. 54. Lama d'Antico – blind arches with bishops, http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 55. Nativity, detail with medallions of prophets, San Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni (photo by author).

Fig. 56. Nativity, portal of the cathedral of St. Lawrence, Trogir, http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datoteka:Trogir_cathedral_entrance.jpg. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 57. Nativity. Portal of Santa Maria della Cerrate, Lecce, (photograph by Linda Safran).

Fig. 58. Apse, detail, Santa Maria della Cerrate, http://ica.princeton.edu/images/tomekovic/st.03514.jpg. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 59. Saint John the Baptist, Šipan, vaulting, Peković, Željko. *Četiri elafitske crkve,* 54.

# INTRODUCTION: SETTING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In Croatian historiography the church of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar is defined as Romanesque, which corresponds perfectly to the time of its consecration in 1175,[1] as well as to architectural features of its exterior.[2] However, the same adjective has been employed for the first phase frescoes[3] in its interior, the iconographic solutions of which are prevailingly Byzantine in character. These frescoes will be the central point of inquiry of this thesis.

It is important to note at the very beginning that the church of Saint Chrysogonus was not a self-standing monument, but was once part of an influential Benedictine monastery. The monastery was dissolved during the Napoleonic era; its buildings were at first used for military purposes, and subsequently replaced with new building blocks with various purposes, some of which still stand[4].The gradual process of change resulted in the fact that nowadays the only surviving building of the monastery is the church itself. The connection of the church to the monastery is one of the reasons why the discrepancy of the exterior and the frescoes might seem peculiar. One would expect the interior to be painted according to *Western* traditions, and correspond, relatively speaking, to the exterior stylistically. How to explain this discrepancy is a question to be answered. Cultural transfers are not easy to analyze, especially in places where political powers overlapped so intensely as in Zadar.

From the seventh century, until the second half of the eleventh century, Dalmatia was a Byzantine province, and Zadar – its capital. Since then, until well in to the late Middle Ages, the city will have been the point of interference of various political powers that were trying to

---

[1] The date has been calculated according to a lost inscription in the main apse of the church, Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana* (Zara: 1877), 302.

[2] The interior has been made baroque, but the determining features of a Romanesque space are still present.

[3] The church was painted twice – the first time in the thirteenth century, and the second time at the beginning of the fifteenth.

[4] Ivo Bavčević, "Klaustar samostana Sv. Krševana u Zadru" [The cloister of the St. Chrysogonus monastery in Zadar], in *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru*, [*One Thousand Years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar*], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, and Ivo Petricoli (Zadar: Narodni List, 1990), 188-9, hereafter *Tisuću godina*.

put it under their authority – the Croatian kings, the Hungarian kings, Venice, and the Croatian nobility. The presence of unusually strong noble families in Zadar is one of the reasons why the city was able to retain its relative independence. It took Venice almost one hundred years to permanently subdue Zadar to its rule, and even after this was achieved, there were still rebellions against the Venetian power taking place in the city.

Considering that the better part of Dalmatia was once part of the Byzantine Empire, it is not unusual to find heritage exhibiting Byzantine traditions along the coast. Although at the time the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus were most likely executed this had not been the case for about two centuries, it is a common perception that Byzantine influence was still present after their rule officially ended. The issue of Byzantine influence, however, became a matter of phrasing; when it is mentioned in Croatian historiography, it is done with no further elaboration as if it were something almost incidental.

The question of influences in general is naturally problematic. In fact, when it comes to visual culture, both W*estern* and *Byzantine* are constructs coined to place a particular object in a particular realm, which is a type of labeling that works better with some media than with others. The distinction between Western and Byzantine architecture is relatively clear, for the two indeed differ in form, material, and building technique regardless of the period, and different solutions of the architectural space appear in the intrinsic bond between architectural forms and liturgy. When one turns to monumental painting, however, the distinction becomes much fuzzier.

Generally speaking, everything that is known about the relationship of Byzantine and Western art comes from the art objects themselves, and the quantity of preserved material is so small compared to what was once there that it is extremely hard to form a comprehensive picture. The influence of Byzantine art on Western art has long been acknowledged,[5] yet little

---

[5] For the first attempt of a comprehensive study see Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York: New York Press, 1970).

2

is known about how particular instances of this connection functioned. Due to the scarcity of sources, both visual and textual, the matter of influence often turns into an invisible force that seems to spread randomly across territories.

In this thesis I will argue that the artistic impulse for the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus came from the territory of Southern Italy. Administratively speaking, the territory of Southern Italy, or *Mezzogiorno* as it is called in Italian, encompasses six continental regions: Abruzzo, Basilicata, Campania, Calabria, Puglia, and Molise. All of them, and Sicily, share a common historical fate of being conquered by the Normans during the course of the eleventh and the twelfth century.

It is a vast and disperse territory, and although it should be observed as a whole, the specific place I will be showing connections with is the region of Apulia. It is a region so close geographically that this statement alone suggests contact. It is a region which Dalmatia had well established trade routes, although with some cities more than with others. Finally, the regions show parallels in various types of art – in sculpture, frescoes, as well as architecture. Interestingly, similarities in all three cannot be found in the same monument. One can find sculpture and architecture comparative to the examples from Zadar (and notably examples all over Dalmatia) in Apulian basilicas. However, the interiors of these cathedrals are not particular rich in monumental painting any more, and in order to find parallels with the fresco cycle of the church of Saint Chrysogonus, one must take a look outside urban centers: in rock-cut churches in rural settings. The stylistic and iconographic character of the material preserved within the rock-cut churches points to the conclusion that the artistic role-models for the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus should be looked for in this neighboring region, despite the difficulty of bringing monumental painting from an urban monastery into connection with churches carved from the living rock.

The first chapter of this thesis will deal with historiography and history of the monastery. I believe that calling the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus *Romanesque*, as was done in previous scholarship, sends out the wrong signal and forcefully places them within a realm of the *West*, which hinders the possibility to find comparative material which can be analyzed on the basis of tangible criteria. History of the monastery will be discussed because of its decisive role in the life of medieval and its specific relation with the local inhabitants, who acted as patrons to the monastery. The relationship of the monastery with Venice will also be addressed in order to elaborate on the reasons as to why the artistic impulse did likely not come from there.

However the main sources that will be analyzed in this thesis are the frescoes themselves. Therefore I will deal closely with the visual features of the church of Saint Chrysogonus and the problems of chronology. Out of the two stages of the fresco decoration, I will be dealing most closely with the frescoes preserved from the older cycle, and these are the ones for which I will argue the connection with Apulia. Apart from visual material brought together by iconographic analysis, various types of communication between the two territories will be used as evidence to support the argument.

# Chapter 1: CREATING THE SETTING: THE CULTURAL AND DOCUMENTARY CONTEXT

The general interest of this thesis is to study the frescoes of the church of Saint Chrysogonus and to suggest Southern Italy as a plausible point of reference for the execution of the earlier cycle. In order to do that, I first have to start from the context of the monastery to which they belonged. Before I go into a detailed analysis of the fresco cycle, a brief note on historiography is needed, as well as a general introduction to the monastery, which will help outline some of the problems of dealing with a topic which is at the same time so broad and so narrow.

### Historiography

Although the reputation of the abbey of Saint Chrysogonus and its importance for the history of Zadar has been often emphasized in scholarship, the topic has so far not received the attention it deserves. There are only two publications that can be called monographic in scope and both will be consulted extensively in this thesis.

One book came out of the restoration of the church in the early twentieth century, written by Ćiril Metod Iveković, the architect in charge of the restoration.[6] In addition to a detailed description of the course of restoration, which he wrote on the basis of the diary he kept during the procedure, Iveković made the first serious research on the monastery.[7] However, when it comes to historical interpretation, his attitude is outdated and the greatest value of the book lies in the fact that it is an eyewitness account of how the church looked prior to the restoration.

---

[6] Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru* [The Church and the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), 1931.

[7] In the foreword he states that "very few have dealt with the topic" and wonders why no one has touched upon the history of the monastery. Ibid., i.

The other large publication is an edited volume resulting from a symposium held in 1986 to commemorate the thousand-year anniversary of the foundation of the Benedictine abbey. This publication is the first attempt to create a comprehensive picture of the monastery by presenting a variety of monastic aspects pertaining to the fields of general history, social and religious history, as well as art history. Visual aspects that relate to the Middle Ages are presented in two papers,[8] but the interest of the monograph really lies in emphasizing the prestige of the monastery in particular and the importance of its archive for Croatian history in general[9].

Even now the contents of the archive have not yet been looked into systematically. There are over 600 documents from the early phase of the monastery,[10] which have been formally classified into various types,[11] but only a very small number of them have been published. About fifty years ago Nenad Čolak was working on the charters, wrote short summaries of each of them, and transcribed some of the longer ones, but he never published his work. His notes are kept in the State Archive of Zadar, and serve as a hard-copy database that makes it possible to search the inventory.[12]

At the beginning of this research, I was under the impression that the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus and its church represent a typical case of the artificial separation between various

---

[8]Ivo Bavčević, "Klaustar samostana Sv. Krševana u Zadru" [The cloister of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar], in *Tisuću godina*, 179-196; Ivo Petricioli, Umjetnička baština samostana Sv. Krševana do 16. stoljeća [The artistic heritage of the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus until the sixteenth century], in *Tisuću godina*, 197-219.
[9] The documents provide information about the "chronology of the rulers, social-administrative environment, religious environment, toponymy and borders, onomastics, the status of St. Chrysogonus in the context of Zadar, Byzantine-Dalmatian relations, and history of fishing". Josip Lučić, "Povijesni dokumenti Svetokrševanskog samostana i vladavina Petra Krešimira IV" [The historical documents of the archive of Saint Chrysogonus Monastery and the rule of Petar Krešimir IV], in *Tisuću godina*, 60.
[10] The inventory of the archive of the monastery is kept in the State Archive of Zadar. It has been divided into two subgroups – the earlier documents (806-1500) written on parchment, and later documents (1500-dissolussion)), archived in boxes.
[11] "… *various instrumenta, documenta, scripturae, scripta, acta, diplomata, chirographa, bullae, privilegia, chartae, notitiae, litterae, brevia, brevia recordationis, breviaria, poginae, testamenta, libri censuales.*" Stjepan Antoljak, "O arhivu Sv. Krševana kroz stoljeća" [On the Achive of Saint Chrysogonus through the Centuries] in *Tisuću godina*, 10.
[12] The inventory is currently under re-examination and re-classification. Because of this, not all the charters can be found under the old inventory numbers.

historical and visual aspects, which is often the case in traditional scholarship. I was only partially on the right track.

A certain fragmentation according to media can be observed in art-historical publications, stemming from the fact that scholars tend to specialize in one medium. Therefore one can find references to the frescoes of the church of Saint Chrysogonus either in general overviews of monumental painting of a particular area or discussed in articles.[13] The problem with these publications is not their narrowly set topics, but the fact that they do not go beyond the traditional descriptive art-historical approach and seem quite a-historic due to their disregard of the context.[14] Although the stylistic approach was valid at the time when these works were published, it is no longer productive to observe the material from the confines of a single discipline.

It is in publications dealing with general history that one can see the attempt to place the visual features of the church within a certain historical context. Longer passages on the visual features of the church (with notably more attention paid to architectural features than the frescoes) can be found in various traditional historical overviews.[15] When these passages are compared, one cannot escape the impression of a certain repetitiveness, both in the information presented and in the conclusions. A projection of the remarkably urban character of Zadar is created based on the assessment of the artistic quality of three monuments preserved in Zadar dating from approximately the same period: the church of Saint Chrysogonus, the church of the female Benedictine convent of Saint Mary, and the Cathedral of Saint Anastasia.

---

[13] There are not many such publications. For general overviews of monumental painting with a portion of text dedicated to the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus, see Cvito Fisković, *Dalmatinske freske* [Dalmatian frescoes], (Zagreb, 1965) and Vojislav Đurić, *Byzantine Frescoes in Yugoslavia* (Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, 1975). For the only journal article dealing exclusively with the frescoes see Ana Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu" [Romanesque frescoes in Saint Chrysogonus], *Peristil* 2 (1957): 114-123.

[14] None of the three publications from the previous footnote even mention that the church was monastic.

[15] See Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409] (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru), 1976, 254-60; Ivo Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [The Benedictine Order in Croatia and our other regions] (Split: Benediktinski priorat Tkon, 1963), 39-54, Grga Novak and Vjencislav Maštrović, *Grad Zadar: Presjek kroz stoljeća* [The city of Zadar: A cross-section through the centuries], (Zadar: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1966), 149-151.

Of course, Zadar had an urban character in the Middle Ages; there is no question about that. The problem with this line of argumentation is that it has become tradition in Croatian historiography to emphasize the cultural connection of Zadar with the West on account of these isolated instances of Romanesque architecture. Making a connection between Romanesque style and cultural development indicates a romanticized image of the West, which is a fuzzy concept, as it is unclear which territory the scholars allude to when they claim a connection. Representative of this trend is Andrija Mohorovičić's statement that the number of buildings built in the "Romanesque period"[16] in the historical center of Zadar "represent a unique example of European standards to which hardly any city from the Italian, French or German territory can be compared."[17]

**The monastery and its archive**

It is difficult to give a meaningful historical overview of the abbey of Saint Chrysogonus, since a comprehensive chronology of the monastery has not yet been established. In scholarship one notices constant reference to a small number of admittedly important documents from the archive which provide a reference point for some historical occurrence, but do not account for anything between these points. Giving an overview of the monastery's history is not the goal of this thesis; however, it is important to provide certain information which will give an idea of how important the monastery was.

The relationship of the monastery to the local community is much emphasized in historiography, as well as its affiliation to both the Croatian and Hungarian royal families.

---

[16] There are to my knowledge no secular houses from the period remaining, like it is the case with Trogir. For more on this issue, see Tomislav Marasović, "Stambena kuća u Trogiru Radovanova doba" [A residential house in Trogir from the age of Radovan], *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba* [Master Radovan and his Age], ed. Ivo Babić (Trogir: Muzej Grada Trogira, 1994), 193-200, herafter *Majstor Radovan.*

[17] Andrija Mohorovičić, "Srednjovjekovni samostanski kompleks Svetog Krševana u Zadru, žarište evropskih kulturnih strujanja na tlu Hrvatske" [The medieval monastic complex of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar: A focal point of the European cultural flow in Croatian territory], in *Tisuću godina*, 8. (All translations are mine unless otherwise noted).

Because of these two connections, the character of the monastery has been described as imperial-urban.[18]

Eduard Peričić says that the influence of the monastery exceeded Zadar and the areas where it had territory. He then goes on to say that the monastery governed all of the male monasteries in the region, that it shared credit for the foundation of several monastic houses, and that the abbot of Saint Chrysogonus was one of the most important abbots in Dalmatia.[19] Although none of these information has been substantiated by reference[20], I do not claim otherwise, for the selection of documents I have examined do not suggest any kind of subordination to another monastery.

Scholars agree that Saint Chrysogonus was the first Benedictine monastery to be founded in Zadar. The foundation charter from 986, called *Cartula Traditionis Ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni Martiris*, presents the first known mention of the order in Zadar, and although it never mentioned explicitly that the Benedictines came to the city at that point, there is no reason to assume otherwise. Far more important than the question of chronological primacy, however, is the issue of its reputation and its relationship to the local community.

The charter states that Prior Majo joined the church of Saint Chrysogonus and the old monastery, transferred it to the Benedictine order, and made the abbot a certain Madije, who had come from Monte Cassino. Furthermore, the document mentions two men as patrons of the church: Fuskalo and Andrija.[21] Their places of origin are not specified so it can be assumed that they were from Zadar and that from the very beginning the monastery was strongly

---

[18] Stjepan Antoljak, "O arhivu Sv. Krševana kroz stoljeća" [About the archive of St. Chrysogonus across the centuries], in *Tisuću godina*, 11-12.

[19]Eduard Peričić, "Samostan Svetog Krševana kroz lik i djelovanje njegovih opata" [The monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar through the image and the activity of its abbots")) in *Tisuću godina*, 79.

[20] The author does not provide references as to where he got any of the information nor does he mention which monastic houses the monastery helped found. If the abbey of Saint Chrysogonus was the most important monastery from the hierarchical point of view, then its abbot would in fact have been the most important abbot rather than one among the most important ones.

[21]Translated from Latin into Croatian by Ivan Mustač, "*Cartula traditionis Ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni Martiris* iz 986.godine" [The *Cartula traditionis Ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni Martiris* from 986], in *Tisuću godina*, 33.

connected to the local community.[22] The interpretation of the activity of the monastery along the same lines[23] is strongly substantiated in documents from the archive, which testify how it acquired wealth and land, bequeathed by local aristocrats and bestowed by both Croatian and Hungarian kings.

Two documents provide clues as to why local aristocrats would leave their possessions to the monastery. The first one refers to 1072, when five brothers from Nin gave a piece of land in Obrovac to the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus for "the peace of their souls and the souls of their parents and relatives…"[24] The other document, from 1339, is the last will of a woman identified as Stana, daughter of Petronije, who states that she wishes to leave all of her possessions to the monastery, providing that the monastery takes her in as a *conversa.*[25] Clearly the monastery was providing various types of spiritual services.

The existence of a scriptorium in the monastery suggests its meaningful role in urban life. It is assumed that the scriptorium was part of the monastery from the very foundation and that its notaries composed a number of documents that had nothing to do with the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. It is considered that documents from the cartulary of the female Benedictine convent of St. Mary in Zadar were all composed in the scriptorium of St. Chrysogonus,[26] as they date to the period when the convent did not yet have a scriptorium.[27]

---

[22] Ibid., 33.

[23] Ibid., 30-31.

[24] *Visum nobis fratribus Zouine, Desimero, Petro, Gromele, Slauizo ut pro remedio animarum nostrum et parentum nostrum…* The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XVIII, nb. 34.

[25] Ibid, Caps. VII, nb. 82.

[26] Nada Klaić, "Nekoliko riječi o kartularu samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru" [A few words on the Cartulary of the Monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar"], *Historijski zbornik* 9 (1968): 508.

[27] A will from 1285 states that a scribe, Filip, leaves to the monastery of Saint Mary his writing tools, books and everything necessary for a scriptorium. However, it is not clear if the scriptorium already existed at that point, or whether Filip helped found it. Grga Novak, Vjencislav Maštrović, *Kulturna Baština samostana Svete Marije u Zadru* [The cultural heritage of the Monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar] (Zadar: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1968), 21.

There were no public notaries in Zadar until the end of the twelfth century,[28] which might mean that the scriptorium provided public notary services. There are not many records illuminating this type of a relationship for reasons which will be discussed below. However, a will exists from 1183, in which a certain Stanče leaves half of his inheritance to his cousin Prediha,[29] which suggests no direct involvement of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in the activity that was taking place, so it is possible to assume that the will was written in the scriptorium as part of its public activity. It would be dangerous, however, to jump to such a conclusion based on only one charter.

I would like to point out that the position of the abbey was far more complicated than has been elaborated in the historiography so far. In order to make a comprehensive study of its relationship with the local lay community, one would need to look not only into grants, certificates of gifts, and last wills of local aristocrats,[30] but also into other types of charters. Documents that relate to court records testify that lawsuits were frequently conducted against the monastery on account of land holdings, and that it was no easy task for the monastery to place legal claims on the possessions they had acquired.[31] Furthermore, the documents from the archive could provide rich study material for a complex web of ecclesiastical relations that the abbey took part at, both in a local sense, and a wider, trans-regional one.

I started looking into the textual sources pertaining to the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, in the hope that I would find solid clues to the creation of the church and its interior decoration. Unfortunately, I found no such thing. No document among medieval archival records of the monastery provides information as to when the church that is seen today was built and painted, on whose initiative, and by whom. If such a source existed, it would

---

[28] Branka Grbavac, "Notari kao posrednici između Italije i Dalmacije" (Notaries as mediators between Italy and Dalmatia), *Acta Historiae* 16(2008): 506.

[29] The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XIV, no. 176.

[30] Such documents make up about one third of the archive.

most have likely been published by now and I would not have to look for it in the first place. However, the problem goes much further than that, as hardly any source mentions the church building as such in any context.

The explanation for this lies in the character of the archival inventory as it stands today. Namely, it would be difficult (if even possible) to find a medieval archive has been preserved entirely, and in this respect is the archive of Saint Chrysogonus is no exception. The reason that the archive is in an incomplete state mostly likely has less to do with forces coming from outside the monastery, more with the purposefully selective process of saving documents of particular value.[32] The earliest documents from the archive of Saint Chrysogonus in one way or another relate to benefits, privileges, and wealth that the monastery was gradually acquired over centuries. These documents were possibly chosen to be kept as a legitimizing factor; written justification that the abbey has the status to claim its land for a valid historical reason.

Not only would such an interpretation account for why no traces of commissions or consecration dates for the church can be found in the archive, but it also explains why there are few documents in the inventory that were written outside of Zadar, and even fewer outside of Dalmatia. It is, however, very important to say at least a few words on the exceptions.

The documents from outside of Zadar provide traces of communication with the papacy. It is no surprise that these documents were kept, since they mostly pertain to privileges that various popes bestowed on the monastery.[33] However, not all papal letters were privileges; in three instances a pope was requested to intervene in a court dispute or to undo an injustice that had been done to the monastery. It is important to note that in all three cases the pope decided in the favor of the monastery.

---

[32] Admittedly, the fact that the cartulary of the monastery has been lost indicates that documents were lost by factors other than purposeful selection.

[33] The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. I, no. 5, Caps. I, no. 12, Caps. I, no. 12a.

Among documents related to the papacy, one stands out as unique. It is a copy of the papal bull from 1092 in which pope Urban II gives royal privileges to the monastery of the Trinita della Cava, a Benedictine abbey located near Salerno in Southern Italy, shortly after it was founded.[34]

It is only logical to assume that keeping a bull that gives privileges to another monastery implies some sort of communication between the two monasteries. The nature of this relationship cannot be explained from the document itself, for the document makes no mention of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus. One also cannot account for the frequency of communication nor say when it started. Chances are that the Abbey of Saint Chrysogonus appears in documents in the archive of the Trinita della Cava's monastery. This archive is vast; it contains over five and a half thousand documents relating only to the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries[35] so it is hardly surprising that it, too, has not been studied in depth.

The fact that the copy of the papal bull has been preserved in the archive of Saint Chrysogonus as the only record related to a monastery outside of Dalmatia is meaningful, regardless of whether it was kept purposely or by chance. It is meaningful because it offers clues for trans-regional monastic communication of the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus and points to source material that could better illuminate the subject. Furthermore, in the context of this particular thesis, this document is a textual trace that suggests the territory where visual material comparative to the frescoes in the church of Saint Chrysogonus might be found.

**Dismissing Venice**

It appears that the monastery of Saint Chyrogonus also had strong attitudes against Venice, judging by a charter from 1228,[36] which reveals that the monks of Saint Chrysogonus

---

[34] Ibid., Caps. XV, no. 80. The date of the copy is 1641.
[35] Linda Safran, "Byzantine Art in Post-Byzantine Southern Italy? Notes on a Fuzzy Concept." "Fuzzy Studies: Symposium on the Consequence of a Blur," part 3. *Common Knowledge* 18, no. 3 (2012): 489.
[36] The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XV, no. 87.

refused to give Martin Dandolo privileged treatment whenever he came to the monastery (i.e., to welcome him with holy water) or formally invite him to attend the celebration on the patron saint's holiday. Their disobedience had consequences for which they later repented and were forgiven, but this did not change their position against Venice.[37]

The attitude of the monks of Saint Chrysogonus towards Venice is part of a larger conflict. Namely, the Venetian aim to establish official rule in Zadar met a great deal of resistance in the city, a fact that can be traced in various rebellions through the course of almost a century[38] – from 1159 to 1247, when the Venetians finally managed to take over. A crucial event in this relationship is the crusaders' attack on Zadar in 1202, which was triggered by Venice. Thomas the Archdeacon describes the people of Zadar as "very hostile towards the Venetians … attacking them whenever they could, robbing them, killing them, and doing their best to do them harm".[39]

Given the constant presence of Venice in Zadar, it would be logical to assume that the role-models for the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus should be sought there – after all, the great amount of Byzantine art, if nothing else, justifies calling Venice "almost a second Byzantium."[40] However, the specific relationship of Zadar to Venice and the political circumstance stemming from such a relationship cast doubt on the idea.

It is reasonable to think that in a situation of perpetual conflict and refusal to settle with Venice, patrons in Zadar would not purposely be seeking artists from Venice to execute their commissions. It is impossible to say to what extent they would have refused artists just on

---

[37] A frequent point in historiography is that the monastery openly spoke against Venice during the rebellion of 1243-47, although it is not entirely clear what it is meant by "openly".

[38] Ferdo Šišić, *Zadar i Venecija od 1159-1247* [Zadar and Venice from 1159-1247] (Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1900). This is an old publication, but still the most detailed broad time frame study on the topic. The rebellions against Venice continued after 1247, but these events are from a period not covered by this thesis.

[39] Hrvoje Gračanin, Igor Razum, "Toma arhiđakon i križarstvo" [Thomas the Archdeacon and the Crusades], *Povijest u nastavi* 10, no. 1 (2012): 51. Thomas the Archdeacon's account is visibly lenient towards Venice, but corresponds to the attitude the people of Zadar had towards Venice.

[40] Q*uasi alterum Byzantium*, which were the words that Bessarion, a Byzantine humanist and a Unionist, used to describe Venice in his letter to the doge of Venice in 1468. John W. Barker, Introduction", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49, Symposium on Byzantium and the Italians 13th -15th Centuries, (1995): vii.

account of their place of origin, but the very chances of interaction between the two were most likely diminished, as I believe that artists would not willingly want to go into a *war zone*.

Interestingly, the Zadar rebellion of 1243 was connected to a significant figure from across the Adriatic Sea: Frederick II Hohenstaufen, the Holy Roman emperor and ruler of the Southern Italian territory. It was Frederick II who, with the intention of shifting the attention of Venice away from the territory of Southern Italy, convinced Zadar to rebel again by promising them military assistance. Finally, having seen that his political goal had been accomplished,he broke his word.[41]

The fact that he backed out from helping Zadar when the time came does not diminish his prior actions of establishing intensive communication with Zadar, however,and other cities on the Dalmatian coast.[42] The contract of trade that Trogir signed with Apulia in 1242 may be a result of such politics. If one looks at it from this perspective, the emperor's involvement in Dalmatian, and particularly in Zadar's, affairs, does not remain an isolated incident of contact, but becomes a matter that enabled the strengthening of communication between the two coasts, which must have resulted, among other things, in artistic transfers.

---

[41]Ferdo Šišić, *Zadar i Venecija od 1159-1247,* 264-266.
[42]Ibid., 264. The author states that by the end of 1241, Frederick II "started to get close to Dalmatian cities Trogir and Split, and especially Zadar."

## Chapter 2: THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSOGONUS UNDER A MAGNIFYING GLASS

### Architectural Features

The church of Saint Chrysogonus opens up to the city from three sides. The western façade is situated on a small square close to the northern entrance to the city (Fig. 1); the southern wall, which together with the opposite building forms a small alley, and the eastern part: three apses which dominate an otherwise undefined opened space (Fig. 2). Buildings that lean on the northern wall close the block where the rest of the monastery was situated.

Judging by the ideal reconstruction of a later visual appearance of the monastery, several buildings from the complex stood against the northern wall of the church. This might have been the initial solution, which would explain the fact that there are no blind arches accentuating the northern wall, as they do the southern. Overall the exterior is characterized by simple solutions, with blind arches, flying arches, and dwarf galleries as the only decoration. The combination of the elements is most successfully presented in the exterior of the main apse.

In terms of architectural features, the church of Saint Chrysogonus has often been connected with the Zadar cathedral of Saint Anastasia (Fig. 3).[43] The two share a number of similarities in formal elements and décor, the most notable of which relate to the solutions of their facades. Both are decorated with blind arches only in the upper register, while the portal zone is undivided and undecorated, except by the portals themselves. The cathedral has a richer and more condensed decoration consisting of three separate registers of arcades and a rose window placed in the center of the middle one. In Saint Chrysogonus the rose window is absent and the overall impression much simpler; arcades are restricted to only one register in the nave, and the gable is decorated with flying arches.

---

[43] Pavuša Vežić, "Arhitektura romaničke katedrale u Zadru" [The architecture of the Romanesque cathedral in Zadar], in *Majstor Radovan,* 236.

It has been established that the cathedral had two Romanesque phases, and that its façade is the result of the enlargement that occurred in the middle of the thirteenth century.[44] Despite that, the dating criteria for the first phase seem to be the consecration date of the church of Saint Chrysogonus. The similarities that the two churches share in the exteriors, despite the time-span that separates them, led to the conclusion that they must have been executed by the same workshop,[45] which alludes to a notion that there was a local workshop in Zadar working for at least a century. However, there are no records to indicate the existence a local workshop nor is the visual evidence from Zadar that roughly corresponds to the same period abundant enough to corroborate this idea. The similarities can rather be ascribed to local tradition which often manifests itself in repeating the elements of near-by buildings, although to claim a local tradition is problematic based on only two monuments.

The fact is that the exteriors of these two churches show strong connections to Apulian cathedrals, which Cvito Fisković noticed almost half a century ago.[46] Apulian Romaneque churches are characterized with the same kind of flatness of the façade (Fig. 4-5) and by the usage of the same formal elements, although these characteristics are not restricted only to Apulian churches, as can be seen from the façade of the cathedral of Sant' Eustachio in Matera (Calabria) (Fig. 6). Taking into consideration the common elements, the Romanesque churches in the Southern Italian area make a plausible point of origin for the features of the two churches in Zadar.

The interior of the church of Saint Chrysogonus (Fig 7) also shows a character similar to the Southern Italian churches (Fig. 8-9). Its vaulting system and its wide nave open to the aisles through large and tall arcades leave the impression of the unity of the entire space of the

---

[44] Ivo Petricioli, *The Cathedral of St. Anastasia*, (Zadar: Zadar archbishopric, 1985), 22.
[45] Pavuša Vežić, "Arhitektura romaničke katedrale u Zadru", in *Majstor Radovan*, 236.
[46] Cvito Fisković, "Contatti artistichi tra la Puglia e Dalmazia", in *Per una Storia delle relazioni per le due sponde adriatiche*, ed. P. F. Palumbo et al. (Bari: Grafiche Cressati, 1962), 71, herafter *Per una storia*.

17

church. It has even been suggested that a dome "as a characteristic feature of Romanesque architecture in areas of previous Byzantine influence" might have been planned for the church of Saint Chrysogonus, but never executed.[47]

### The Mosaic

In this spacious interior, the most splendid part of the decoration must have been the mosaic in the main apse. Carlo Federico Bianchi's brief reference rescued it from oblivion:

> L'apside era un tempo adornata da un mosaico di molto pregio... Era opera dei dodicesimo secolo in qui l'arte dei mosaici dai Constantinopoli venne portata in Dalmazia... Fu barbaramente distrutta con il biasmo universale nel 1791 in occasione del ristauro della chiesa. Non ne avremmo neppur contezza, si no vi posse stato chi per avventura ne avesse trato nel1771 il disegno, per cui ne resto conservata la memoria. Rappresentava nel mezzo i Salvatore, con a destra la Vergine ed a manca S. Giovanni Evangelisto. Di sotto a questi una zona che girav_ per tutto l'emiciclo, conteneva un iscrizione, che non potta essere rilevatta, a al disotto d'essa in dodici quadri raffiegurati se vedean gli Apostoli, coi propi nomi, dei quali taluno era ancora legibile. L'epocha poi dei lavoro era precisamente indicata da alcune iscrizioni, mentre sotto le figuri degli Apostoli Simeone e Guida si rilevarono le seguenti parole: HIC OPUS FIERI IVSSIT STANA FILIA COMITIS PETRANA JADERAE ET Dalmatiae Proconsulis.[48]

The text goes further by presenting the legible part of the inscription that used to run through the entire arch of the apse:

> SUMA MAIESTAS TUA TUAQ. POTESTAS OMNI GUBERNAS PUGILLO CUNCTA SUSTENTAS. ANNO MILLENO XPI DECIES QUOQUE DENO ET DECIES SEXTO TER QUINTO MSEQ. MAIO (die) EI(us) DE(m) M(en)SIS QU(arto Lampridius arciepis) CO(pus) (us hanc ecclesiam dedicavit

---

[47]Pavuša Vežić, "Arhitektura romaničke katedrale u Zadru", in *Majstor Radovan*, 238.

[48] The apse was once adorned by a very precious mosaic... It was a work of the twelfth century in which the art of mosaics was brought from Constantinople to Dalmatia... It was barbarically destroyed in 1791 as a reflection of condemnation typical of the period. We would not even know about it, if a drawing from 1771 had not been found by chance, through which the memory was kept. It represented the Savior in the middle, with the Virgin on the right and John the Evangelist. The zone beneath that ran through the entire half-circle, contained an inscription, which could not be revealed, and beneath that one could see the Apostles represented in twelve frames, with proper names, of which some of them are now legible. The period after the work was precisely indicated in some inscriptions, while beneath the figures of Simeon and Judas the following could be read: "Stana, the daughter of Petronije, the count of Zadar and governor of Dalmatia had this building erected/built here" Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana* (Zadar: Tipografia di G. Woditzka, 1877), 301-2. I thank Cristian Gaspar for helping me with this translation.

Sanc)TO C(h)RISOGONO QUO GAUDET IADRA PATRONO XPO
REGNATE (Quinque) SEC(u)LA FUIT DE ANTE...[49]

Bianchi's account of the mosaic is not very telling in the visual sense because he never saw it; he was only born eighteen years after it was removed,[50] if the date of the removal is in fact correct.[51] The 1771 drawing was left unspecified so one cannot say what kind of a drawing it was, or whether it still exists nor can one cross-reference it to see if his inscription and the one on the drawing match.[52]

The representation it depicts was not uncommon for a medieval apse. He does not provide any kind of further elaboration on the characters' postures or gestures, however, so one can only assume that it was a Deesis scene.[53] In fact, the short reference on what the mosaic represented suggests that a long time passed between the time when Bianchi saw the drawing he refers to and when he wrote the account. The lumps that can still be seen in the main apse as a consequence of its dismantlement confirm that the mosaic was really there.

The existence of this mosaic, the only one recorded on the coast of Dalmatia from that period, already alludes to Byzantine traditions, although one cannot tell anything about the iconography of the representation from the description at disposal. It need not have been Constantinople where the artists came from, as Bianchi suggests, but a center closer to Zadar.

---

[49] "Your supreme majesty and your power governs and sustains all with full authority. In the year of Christ 1175 and in the month of May, on the fourth day of the same month Lampridius the metropolitan archbishop dedicated this church to S. Chrysogonus, a patron under whose patronage Zadar rejoices in Christ's reign…" Ibid., 302.

[50] Zvjezdan Strika, "*Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jadertinae* arhiđakona Valerija Pontea" [*Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jadertinae* by archdeakon Valerius Ponte] *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU Zadru* 48 (2006): 86.

[51] Extensive documentation of construction work on the monastery and the church during the eighteenth century is preserved in the archive of Saint Chysogonus and it is possible that there is material there relating to the interior decoration of the church. However, these documents, which take up two boxes (no 18 and 19) need to be studied as part of different research to provide a comprehensive picture of the course of the procedure.

[52] Although it is not completely clear from Bianchi's rendering where the inscription comes from, it is logical to assume that it comes from the same source as his knowledge of the mosaic.

[53] Igor Fisković, "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji" [Wall Paintings of the Age of Radovan in Dalmatia], in *Majstor Radovan*, 206. (201-216)

Unfortunately, this direct artistic transfer (rather than a continuous influence) cannot be further elaborated without knowing the work itself.[54]

The inscription written in the mosaic represents the surviving evidence of the twelfth-century consecration date, which is a fact important not only for this church, but also for the Church of Saint Anastasia, the first Romanesque phase of which was dated according to it. Bianchi's note of the consecration date of the church as 1175 has always been accepted and considered as if it were an eye-witness account, although this was far from the case. This is hardly surprising, since there is no evidence pointing to another consecration date.

Bianchi probably copied the inscription from the source he saw it in, since he transcribes it specifically with missing words and reconstructed letters. Lacking medieval sources that might shed light on the issue, there is no alternative but to take his account as reliable. The account is persuasive enough – he even found that a certain Peter mentioned as count of Zadar in 1134 and reached the conclusion that he might have been the father of Stana, the patron of the church.[55]

The inscription goes hand in hand with the idea of a strong connection between the local aristocrats and the monastery of Saint Chrysogonus, which was reflected in the fact that they financed the construction of at least two of church buildings for the monastery. The note that the apse was adorned by a mosaic rather than a fresco suggests not only the prestige of the monastery, but also the wealth of its patrons and consequently power, in which the scenery for a prosperous city was gradually reconstructed, resting on the influence of the monastery, the rich Romanesque building activity, and the powerful patrons. All of this allows for the interpretation of a local tradition in art, but the visual evidence suggests otherwise. The fact that the mosaic was commissioned prior the Fourth Crusade, one outcome of which was, among

---

[54] Ivo Babić, Zadarski knez Petronja i njegova kći Stana [The Zadrian count Petronja and his daughter Stana], *Opuscula Arheologica* 23/24, no. 1 (2000): 317, identifies the drawing as a part of the so-called Filipi manuscript from the eighteenth century, which has been lost.
[55] Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana*, 302.

others, the migration of artists, perhaps indicates a purposeful, rather than a circumstantial commission. This would imply at least some familiarity of the patron(s) with art of Byzantine centers.

### The Frescoes

While the consecration date from the inscription has been applied to the architectural features of Saint Chrysogonus (despite various later reconstructions), there seems to be no real consensus for dating the frescoes in the interior. Some claim that the church was painted at the time of the consecration,[56] whereas others propose a later date ranging from the beginning[57] to the middle of the thirteenth century.[58] The problems of chronology will be addressed in more detail below; for now it needs to be noted that there were in fact two stages of fresco decoration – the older one, broadly dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, and the younger one, most likely from the beginning of the fifteenth.

What remains of the thirteenth-century fresco cycle in the church of St. Chrysogonus is a small number of scenes, and none of these scenes has been preserved entirely (Fig. 10-11). The only remaining part of the nave decoration is the severely damaged Transfiguration scene on the gable (Fig. 12), which was covered by the restoration of the early twentieth century and was only re-discovered during the restoration of the 1950s.The rest of the fresco fragments are located in the northern apse and on the northern wall just next to the apse. The calotte of the northern lateral apse shows a symmetrical three-figured composition commonly referred to as the Deesis (Fig. 13). The register beneath the northern calotte, in contrast, depicts a row of presumably eight saintly figures, of which four are at least partially preserved. The two saints

---

[56] Igor Fisković, "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji" [Wall painting in Dalmatia in the age of Radovan], in *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba: zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Trogiru 26-30. rujna 1990. godine (Master Radovan and His Age: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Trogir, June 26-30, 1990)*, ed. Ivo Babić (Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1994), 204.

[57] Ana Deanović. "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu" [Romanesque frescoes in St. Chrysogonus], *Peristil*. 2 (1957): 118.

[58] Vojislav Đurić.*Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji* [Byzantine frescoes in Yugoslavia]. (Beograd: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, 1975), note 18.

on the left side have been interpreted as Cosmas and Damien, based on their attributes, whereas the figure preserved on the right is unidentified (Fig. 14). The only part remaining part of the figure of John the Baptist is the characteristic inscription in Latin he holds (Fig. 15), based on which he has been identified.[59]

The present state of the frescoes on the northern wall shows fragments of three different representations in two registers on the northern wall. The only preserved scene in the upper register is the Nativity (Fig. 16), which originally occupied about four meters in width. In the lower register an archangel is represented in a frontal position and yet another Deesis is painted above him (Fig. 17). To the left of this image there is a fragment of three figures preserved only from the waist down.

These are the only scenes left from the thirteenth-century cycle, although the church must have been completely painted. It was then repainted at some point at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.[60] Traces of the second cycle are preserved on the triumphal arch of the northern apse, where the Annunciation scene can still be recognized, and in the calotte of the southern apse, the three figures of which have been interpreted as a peculiar local variant of the Deesis scene (Fig. 18). Although I am dealing most closely with the frescoes preserved from the older cycle, the fragments of the younger cycle cannot be overlooked completely because of the possibility that they might have repeated particular scenes of the previous cycle and also because a late nineteenth-century account by Vitaliano Brunelli[61] makes no distinction between the two. Since this account has been the basis of all previous attempts to reconstruct the program of the fresco decoration, later in the text I will address certain problems stemming from this source.

---

[59] See footnote 76.

[60] Iveković seems to think that the date for the younger cycle coincides with the consecration of the church in 1407. Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan*, 22. There are no arguments to contest this and suggest another date, but it should be noted that Iveković got the information indirectly; he read it Bianchi's *Zara Christiana*, who got it from an old chronicle. I could not find this information in Bianchi's account to verify it.

The state of preservation of the Annunciation scene does not allow a detailed analysis (Fig. 19). Namely, all that remains of the younger cycle are fragments of architecture in the left hand upper corner, a piece of the archangel's wing and a part of his garment. Under these fragments the remains of the older cycle can be seen, but they are almost completely unrecognizable, except for the illegible fragmentarily preserved inscription in an ark located in the middle of the scene. Based on placement, as well as the presence of what used to be a much longer inscription, it is possible to say that the thirteenth-century cycle had the Annunciation scene placed in the same location. The fragment beneath what is left of the archangel shows what seems to be a figure wearing a blue tunic and red mantle; a traditional combination for the Virgin's drapery. If this is the Virgin, then her position in the younger scene suggests a reversal of figures from the usual iconographic canon; where the archangel comes from the left (looking from the perspective of the observer), and the Virgin stands on the right.

The Transfiguration scene also shows traces of two layers, but since the upper layer consists of small scattered fragments, it is not feasible to analyze it in a meaningful way. At the same time, the presence of the fragments of the younger scene hinders the interpretation of the older representation, and the little preserved from the younger cycle shows that the figures do not mirror the old representation. The recent restoration brought the fresco from a state almost beyond recognition to a state where the main features can be clearly identified. The older layer depicts Christ is in the middle, placed in an almond-shaped mandorla above the ground, flanked by the prophets Moses and Elijah. Beneath the outlines, three kneeling apostles can be recognized. None of the heads are preserved so the scene can hardly be interpreted in terms of style, however, both the general composition and details of what is left of the drapery

23

suggest a Byzantine solution for the representation[62] and it should be dated simultaneously with the images on the northern wall and the northern apse.

More fragments of painting could still be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century, before Ćiril M. Iveković removed them in the process of restoring the church in 1911-1914. Iveković states:

> During the pulling down of the (southern) wall, traces of various painterly decorations were found in the interior, hidden under a thick layer of mortar. Remains of a large painting al-fresco have been discovered on the right side of the lateral entrance, on which the lower back side of the horse in larger-than-life scale can be recognized. The representation on the left side of the entrance is preserved only in some fragments; beneath it there was once a register with saint heads... Beneath the mortar that covered these images, an older mortar came to light, which also contained traces of painting.[63]

As suggested by Iveković's passage, the scene with the horse was part of the second cycle. Without a proper context there is no telling who the figure shown on the horse was, or whether it repeated the scene from the younger cycle, as was most likely the case with the Annunciation example.

Iveković was primarily an architect and this naturally had an impact on the way that he restored the church. It is clear that the frescoes were not on his priority list, judging by the fact that he only addresses them in a couple of passages in his publication. However, the decision to remove the frescoes was most likely not his, but of members of his supervising body, i.e., the Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historical and Artistic Monuments in Vienna. Namely, the few short references to the frescoes in his diary, he states that he needs

---

[62]Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980), 94.
[63] "Kod rušenja toga zida našlo se iznutra pod debelom žbukom tragova raznim slikanim dekoracijama. Desno od pobočnog ulaza otkriveni su ostaci jedne velike slike al-fresco, od koje donji i stražnji dio konja u natprirodnoj veličini dosta je jasan... a slika na lijevoj strani od ulaza sačuvana je tek u nekim ostacima; ispod nje bijaše nekoć pojas sa svetačkim glavama... Ispod žbuke, koja je prekrivala ove slike, došla je na vidjelo još jedna starija žbuka, na kojoj su se također nalazili tragovi slikarija.", 33.

to ask the Commission what to do with the fragments and does not make value judgments of his own.[64]

After he removed the fragments, Iveković took them to the Museum of Saint Donatus,[65] which was later incorporated into the Archeological Museum of Zadar. What happened to them after this can only be speculated on, but they cannot, at this point, be traced in the Archeological museum. It also remains unclear what happened to the extensive photo-documentation that Iveković undertook during the course of the restoration.[66] The two-volume diary is kept in the Conservation Institute of Zadar, but the photo-documentation has disappeared almost entirely,[67] including all of the visual records of the frescoes. Therefore the only record of the vanished fragments is the photograph from Iveković's monograph (Fig. 20).

In her analysis of the frescoes, Ana Deanović argues that only the sanctuary was decorated with monumental painting at the time of the consecration, whereas the northern wall (together with the rest of the church) was painted a couple of decades later. She based this argument on stylistic differences between the figures of the northern apse and those of the northern wall, and supported it with loose technical evidence. Namely, traces of a different layer of painting can be found around the window in the northern apse. The frescoes on the northern wall, on the other hand, have no remains of younger layers attached to them. This made her conclude that the apse must have been damaged during the crusaders' attack in 1202 and repaired shortly after, at which time the window in the apse was replaced and the frescoes mended, and at which time the rest of the church was painted.[68]

---

[64] Ana Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu", 113 (footnote 3), quotes the entry from 21.07.1913 in Iveković's diary, saying that he stated that the "frescoes were too fragmentary to be kept". She also notes a drawing of the finds in the diary under the same date. However, this date has no such comment nor a drawing of the fresco.
[65] Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan*, 33.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Except for a couple of dozen photographs attached to the pages of the diary.
[68] Ana Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu", 115.

The assumption that the church was damaged in 1202 appears commonly in publications dealing with the building, although there are no surviving documents suggesting that that was the case. While recounting the force of massive destruction that took place in the city after it was taken over, Thomas the Archdeacon maintains that the Venetians destroyed "all the houses within the walls, leaving nothing but the churches".[69] Even if the church of Saint Chrysogonus was not spared during the attack, there is another argument contradicting the idea that the frescoes in the northern apse had been executed prior to 1202 and been repaired as a result of the siege.

Namely, the window which can be seen today has few determining features to denote it stylistically, but the size suggests that it was most likely not built in the early thirteenth century. It is evident that the surface surrounding the window has been partially repainted, but one must keep in mind that the church was redecorated at the turn of the fourteenth century and the window was probably replaced then. The absence of younger mortar layer traces on the frescoes of the northern wall can be explained by the fact that the church was restored at the beginning of the twentieth century and it is possible that the layers were removed then.

The time-lapse between the execution of the mosaic and the execution of the frescoes can easily be justified. After all, these are two different media, which indicates that artists employed on the commission were most likely part of a different workshop. There are, however, no substantial arguments, technical or stylistic, to date the scenes from the nave and those from the apse to different periods. It is true that the preserved figures differ in stylistic qualities, and it is reasonable to speak of at least two different hands executing the frescoes. However, these differences are not enough to claim that these hands, in other words these masters, would not have been working together as part of the same workshop. I will therefore

---

[69]Hrvoje Gračanin, Igor Razum, "Toma arhiđakon i križarstvo", 54.

treat the scenes from the northern wall and those from the northern apse accordingly - as parts of the same cycle.

### Iconographic analysis

It has been noted that the older frescoes of the church of Saint Chrysogonus reflect Byzantine traditions. This can be verified in both the occurrence of Deesis scenes and the overall iconographic solution of the Nativity. However, a closer examination of the frescoes shows a modification of the "prescribed" Byzantine iconography. Although a certain departure from the norm is common in provincial art, it even more so in this case, where several details reveal insensitivity towards what can be called the iconographic canon. The fact that Zadar was no longer under Byzantine rule at the time when the cycle was executed only partially solves this problem. The issue of influences and possible role models for it still remains. The aim of this scene-by-scene analysis of the older cycle is to isolate the pertinent iconographic peculiarities, which will allow a comparison with monuments where similar features appear.

### The lateral apses

Both lateral apses preserve traces of three-figure compositions that were interpreted as Deesis scenes in previous scholarship.[70] At the same time, the central figure of both representations was said to portray Saint Chrysogonus.[71] The iconographic scene of the Deesis is a typically Byzantine theme, although it can be found in the West as well in places with strong connections with Byzantium. The initial meaning of the scene is closely connected to prayer, although there are various ways in which the prayer is qualified in connection with patrons: intercession, petition, and thanksgiving are among the most common.[72] Traditionally,

---

[70] On more about the Deesis see Christopher Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis", *Revue des etudes byzantines* 26 (1968): 311-336.

[71] Igor Fisković, "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji" [Wall Painting in Dalmatia in the Age of Radovan], in *Majstor Radovan,* 205.

[72] Cristopher Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis" *Revue des etudes byzantines* 26 (1968): 318.

the scene is elaborated by being composed of three figures: Christ stands in the middle and is flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, who are depicted next to him as having been closest to him on Earth, but also as the first ones to acknowledge his divinity. It is evident that in Byzantium the word *Deesis* was not restricted to this group, as there are examples when the word was used for compositions that included other figures.[73] Variations occurred in the three-figure group; there are cases when John the Baptist was replaced by a local saint of special significance or a patron of a certain group[74]. This was especially common in provincial art and art beyond the borders of Byzantium and became widespread in the post-Byzantine period in places with an Orthodox tradition[75]. However, I have found no examples – written or pictorial – where a local saint replaced Christ and assumed the central position in the scene.

It is important to note where the identification of the two central figures as Saint Chrysogonus comes from in the first place. There are no preserved inscriptions which would point to the identity of the central figures. The single source that provides this identification is Vitaliano Brunelli's account:

> Dalle poche traccie, che ne restano, si vede nell arco dell' abside sinistra s. Grisogono in piedi, che tiene una mano sullo scudo appoggiato a terra, e 1' altra sull' asta; di fianco una donna con la palma del martirio, forse s. Anastasia, di sotto icolori si sono quasi perduti. Questo dipinto era certo dedicate alia glorificazione di s. Grisogono, perche fu nel secolo decimosettimo sostituito da una pala, la quale rappresenta appunto il martire, rinvenuto da s. Zoilo nelle acque di Grado. Nell'i dell'abside destra, in mezzo, di nuovo s. Grisogono, che ha da una parte s. Benedetto (vi si legge **B E N**. . .), e dall' altra una figura incerta ; sotto, dopo il fregio, cinque santi nimbati, che recano nelle mani o un rotolo o un cartello ; uno di questi dice: *Ego vox clamants in deserto dirigite via dno sicut dix Esaia pf.* quadro doveva essere dedicate a s. Benedetto, perche nel secolo decimosettimo fu rimpiazzato da un altro di questo santo, e a' piedi dell'altare c' era la sepoltura dei benedettini.[76]

---

[73] Anthony Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 146.

[74] Viktor Nikolaevich Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi* [History of Byzantine painting] (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1986), 139.

[75] Ibid.

[76] From the few remaining traces one can see in the arch of the left apse Saint Chrysogonus going by foot holding one hand on his shield, which touches the ground, and the other on his lance; at his side is a woman with a martyr's palm, perhaps Saint Anastasia, below them the colors are almost lost. This painting was certainly dedicated to the glorification of Saint Chrysogonus, because it was replaced in the seventeenth century by an altarpiece, which

The argument for Brunelli's interpretation of the fresco in the southern apse is the seventeenth century altarpiece depicting St. Chrysogonus. Based on the position of the altarpiece, he concluded that the fresco must have been dedicated to the glorification of Saint Chrysogonus. Brunelli does not mention the fact that the frescoes in the two apses are not contemporary and that the representation in the southern one was most likely painted at beginning of the fifteenth century. This still leaves a period of at least two centuries between the altarpiece and the fresco and it would not be illogical to assume that the positioning of the former next to the latter was not done with a special agenda. However, one feature does speak in favor of this identification: the shield with a cross laid on the ground next to the figure is in fact one of Chrysogonus' standard attributes.

The interpretation of the northern apse is more debatable – namely, Brunelli makes no arguments for placing St. Chrysogonus in the middle and St. Benedict to his right. Furthermore, having done that, he states that the altar in this apse must have been dedicated to Saint Benedict because Benedictine graves can be found beneath the apse. It is, in my opinion, highly unlikely that St. Benedict would be subordinated to a local saint in such a direct mannerin a church belonging to a Benedictine monastery.

It is impossible to say whether the three-figure composition in the southern apse repeated the scene of the older cycle judging only from this representation. However, the Annunciation scene and the Transfiguration, where the layers overlap, suggest that the two cycles had completely different layouts. Even if one claims otherwise and imagines the

---

depicts the martyr found by Saint Zoilus in the waters of Grado. In the inside of the apse to the right, in the center, there is Saint Chrysogonus again, with Saint Benedict (one can read B E N ...) on one side, and an unknown figure on his other side; below, after the frieze, there are five haloed saints, who carry in their hands either a rotulus or a sign; one of them says: *Ego vox clamas in deserto dirigite via dno sicut dix Esaia pf.* The picture must have been dedicated to Saint Benedict, because in the seventeenth century it was replaced by another picture of this saint, and at the foot of the altars there was a tomb for Benedictines. Translated by Vedran Sulovsky,Vitaliano Brunelli, *Storia della citta di Zara* (Trieste: Lint, 1974), 53-55.

29

decoration of the apses as the same ensemble, the appearance of the figure of St. Chrysogonus in the other apse would be highly unlikely. Therefore, he cannot be depicted in both lateral apses: He is either depicted in one or neither of them.

Furthermore, the composition in the southern apse featuring Saint Chrysogonus should not be interpreted as a Deesis. The flexibility of the Deesis scene is clear from visual representations as well as literary sources,[77] but the idea of intercession dictates that the central figure be either Christ, or the Virgin.[78] For lack of a better word, it is perhaps best to call the scene simply a saintly representation. The placement of such a representation is not common at all and certainly demonstrates the local importance of the saint, but should be seen in a much later context than the other frescoes.

There is no reason to think that the figure in the calotte of the northern apse is not Christ, however. The inscription *BEN...* can no longer be seen and it is unclear from Brunelli's text where exactly it was. It could have formed part of a longer, possibly donor, inscription, parts of which can still be seen in the frieze between three calottes and the lower register (it reads *...ONORE...*). The drapery of the figure to the right of Christ does not suggest a Benedictine garment,[79] but rather the clothing of the Virgin. The representation is in very bad condition, which prevents one from saying with certainty, but given the funerary function of the apse it would be logical to interpret the three figures as Christ, the Virgin, and John the Baptist and interpret it as a Deesis scene.

**The northern wall**
***The archangel and the Deesis***

The Deesis scene appears once more on the northern wall. Here, however, the context is different; it is a much smaller representation and only the heads of the protagonists – Christ,

---

[77] Christopher Walter, "Further Notes on the Deesis", 161-162.
[78] Christopher Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis", 322.
[79] Cf. Ana Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu", 118.

the Virgin and John the Baptist – are depicted (Fig. 21). Furthermore, it is not a self-standing representation, for it is connected with the archangel depicted below it (Fig. 22). The very disposition of these scenes in the space suggests that they were linked; the limit of the register is interrupted and the image of Saint Michael is located in the middle of the borderline, thus breaking the border of the zone. The location of the scene itself is unusual. Namely, the Deesis is usually placed in the calotte of the apse or in the narthex (which does not exist in this church).

The archangel, depicted to the waist in a frontal position, is portrayed with a characteristic hairstyle with braids and is dressed, in accordance with Byzantine iconography, in two-layered blue and red imperial attire.[80] A diagonal golden strip decorated with two rows of geometrically shaped ornaments encircles his waist; an identical color in the same pattern surrounds the archangel's collar and goes down vertically to the middle of the chest. This is most likely a *loros* -- a simplified one rather than a crossed one -- although it is difficult to say due to the degradation of the image. The use of the *loros* costume in depicting archangels prevailed from the Middle Byzantine period; a simplified *loros* was introduced in iconography roughly about the same time as the emperors started wearing it.[81]

The archangel's right hand is pointing upwards and in his left hand he is holding a sphere. This clearly identifies the figure as St. Michael, who is usually portrayed holding a *globus cruciger*, or in other cases holding a disc with a cryptogram or an image of Christ Emanuel. In this scene, however, the disc is different – it depicts two male figures with halos accompanied by the inscription –ET NVNC ANIMARUM– on the inner left side of the medallion (Fig. 23). These young and beardless characters with no specific attributes, with bare feet, dressed in simple single-layer draperies that reach their knees, should not be identified as any canonized saintly couple.[82] Small dimensions in relation to St. Michael might suggest that

[80] Cf. Ana Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu", 120.
[81] Maria Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography 11th-15th cc.* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 45-46.
[82] Cf. Deanović, "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu", 120.

they are patrons; this is, however, not feasible if the modesty of the representation, the figures'

placement, and pose are taken into consideration. It is most likely that these characters are

souls[83] that are being weighed by St. Michael in a symbolic representation of the Last

Judgment. This interpretation seems convincing not only artistically, but in an iconographical

sense as well since the Last Judgment is dogmatically connected with the Deesis, which is

represented above the archangel.[84] It is impossible to determine the exact position of the fingers

of the archangel's raised right hand, but the pose suggests that this is not a gesture of blessing,

and it is possible that he was pointing at an inscription that is now lost. This would physically

connect the two scenes that are theologically linked by the ideas of repentance, intercession,

and salvation.

One can assume that the elaborate version of the Last Judgment was originally located

in its usual place – probably on the western wall. The choice of this particular location for a

symbolic representation of the Last Judgment is unusual. It is possible that it was done

according to a template which was copied and put in this place of special significance.[85]

An icon from the National Museum in Pisa might shed some light on this. Here Saint

Michael holds a disc with the image of Christ Emanuel, but also a scale on which he, or rather

Christ, is weighing the souls. This is again a fusion of the Western and the Eastern way of

representing the Archangel Michael. It would appear that the same idea is taken one step further

in the scene at the church of Saint Chrysogonus, where the souls were placed in the medallion

instead of on the scale. The Western type of warrior is weighing the souls, but the other

elements of a Byzantine representation were retained.

---

[83]Vojislav Đurić, *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji* [Byzantine frescoes in Yugoslavia] (Beograd: Jugoslavija edition, 1975), note 18.

[84] This is a rare, but not unique, case of such framing. There are at least two other examples of it, however, both of them from Russian art (and both are related to the altar screen). Viktor Nikolaevich Lazarev, *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi*, 113.

[85] Igor Fisković, "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji", in *Majstor Radovan*, 209, interprets the Deesis as a devotional image and links it to a donor separate from the rest of the cycle who might have been buried in the northern aisle.

*The Nativity*

The iconography of the Nativity is a complex and rather understudied matter – there are plenty of variations that have not yet been investigated. One thing is certain – as the theme shifted from the early representations depicting only baby Jesus with the ox and the ass into the Byzantine period, it acquired quite a number of other characters which are aligned around the initial group in a rather centrifugal manner.

Thus, in the Byzantine type of scene, the Virgin Mary, who is as a rule depicted larger than the other characters, rests alongside a masonry manger in a supine or semi-supine position (Fig. 24).[86] This central scene takes place in a cave and all the other characters are grouped around it -- looking from the upper left angle and rounding out the circle – the Magi, Joseph, the two women bathing Christ, the shepherds, and the choir of angels surrounding the cave from above.

The adaptation of the theme had a significantly different evolution in Western art, where the scene was divided into three different compositions, i.e., the Birth, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds.[87] The Birth itself is set in a stable rather than a cave.

The difference between the Byzantine and the Western representation goes beyond the pictorial. While Western iconography narrates the story by separating events that occurred at different times, Byzantine iconography tells the story anachronistically for a theological reason. Namely, the Nativity scene does not just show the story of Christ's birth; it discloses the very

---

[86] Depending whether the emphasis is on the child's human or divine nature. Vladimir Lossky, "Nativity of Christ", in *The Meaning of Icons*, ed. Leonid Aleksandrovich Ouspenski, Vladimir Lossky (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982), 159.

[87] The Bathing scene usually does not appear in Western art.

meaning of the act. The scene holds signs of the two natures of Christ[88] as well as the idea of incarnation and the implications of Christ's death and resurrection. The cave is chosen as a setting for it alludes to the tomb, and Jesus is placed in a masonry manger which looks like an altar to remind viewers of his sacrifice.

When one compares the Nativity scene in the church of St. Chrysogonus to the general iconography of the Nativity, it becomes apparent that this is not a Western representation. The occurrence of baby Jesus, the Bathing scene, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the same composition is the first clue for this. The three magi have not been preserved, but the angel showing them the way is present on the upper left side of the representation, which would place them in their usual position in the composition (Fig. 25).[89] The smaller angel was most likely part of the choir of angels situated above the cave, the outline of which is still visible on the right side of Christ. Christ's body, swaddled in the usual way[90] and the beasts leaning their heads against him are in the very center of the composition (Fig. 26). The blue pigment beneath belongs to the Virgin's drapery and it is the only trace remaining of her figure. All of this suggests a Byzantine iconography of the scene; however, several inconsistencies and particularities need to be discussed here. The most significant one is that Jesus is not placed in a manger, but rather a cradle, and a decorative one at that, suggesting glorification of the child rather than martyrdom.

Another peculiarity is the placement of Joseph, who, as usual, is on the margins of the composition, sitting just next to the cave in this example (Fig. 27). His solitude is defined in an emotional way; he is not connected to other figures in any way in the representation, and his

---

[88] For this purpose, Christ's figure appears twice: once in the manger and once in the bathing scene. The idea of the bathing scene is to demonstrate that Christ is a child like any other and that he still needed bathing and nurturing. Lossky "Nativity of Christ", in *The Meaning of Icons*, 157-60.

[89] Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol. 1, 95.

[90] Reminiscent of a mummy, which is also part of the symbolism. Lossky, "Nativity of Christ", in *The Meaning of Icons*, 157.

pose (resting his chin on his hand), as well as the look on his face, reveal that he is reflecting on something. Although the figure itself is a typical way of portraying Joseph in the Byzantine Nativity scene,[91] it is still important to note his position on the right rather than the left side of the composition.[92]

The third particularity refers to the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Both of the shepherds are standing frontally, with their backs turned away from the angel; one is communicating with the angel and the other one is not (Fig. 28). The shepherd on the left is an old man, barefoot and dressed in modest clothing; the one on the right is younger, dressed in boots, tights, and wearing a conical cap on his head. Admittedly the shepherds in the Nativity scene hardly ever wear matching draperies, but in this case the difference is not only in color, but in status. The position of the younger shepherd's hands (severely damaged) suggests that he was carrying a bowl of some sort. Were it not for the placement on the right-hand side of the representation, one would be likely to argue that he is one of the Magi. An almost identical solution can be found on the Nativity in the evangeliary of Trogir dated between 1230 and 1240, only it is the older shepherd that is dressed in formal drapery in this example. The Magi are absent from this representation, which can partially be explained by the pointing out to the Western Nativity type in which the Annunciation to the shepherds and the Visitation of the Magi are represented as different scenes. Still, the illuminated Nativity scene usually appears in manuscripts only once, and this manuscript does not fall out of the ordinary in that respect, so it is unusual that the Magi be omitted, rather than the shepherds.

**Dating**

---

[91] Joseph's physical separation from Christ and Mary is no coincidence. In later representations he is addressed by an old man, who is interpreted as Satan, trying to get Joseph to doubt Mary. A tradition in belief established according to the apocrypha suggests that Joseph was tempted by the devil to turn against Mary. This became the basis for many heresies. Joseph's figure in the Nativity scene is of great importance, for it represents all of humankind and serves as a metaphor for doubting phenomena that are not in accordance with the laws of nature. Ibid, 160.

[92] Gertrud Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, vol 1, 95.

The question that remains unresolved is: When was the cycle executed? In order to date it according to style, one needs comparable examples that have been dated. Unfortunately, pictorial evidence from the first centuries of the second millennium is scarce, not only for Zadar, but for the Dalmatian coast in general. In fact, one could argue that Zadar is rich when it comes to monumental painting, at least compared to other Dalmatian centers, as remains of frescoes can be found in four churches. The problems of comparison can be introduced by stating that however fragmented the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus are, they still represent the most complete cycle out of the four. The problems continue with the notion that neither of the paintings is dated to the same period and that in terms of style the cycles differ greatly.

The oldest frescoes in question, the ones from in the bell tower of the church of Saint Mary (Fig. 30) dated to the beginning of the twelfth century, have little in common with those of Saint Chrysogonus. Neither the program, with the Majestas Domini as the dominant representation, follows byzantine iconography nor is the style at first glance close to Byzantine traditions. However, the fact that the figure of Christ has much in common stylistically with the figure of Christ from the same scene in the church of Saint Angelo in Formis suggests that one should not dismiss Byzantine traditions completely when discussing this cycle (Fig. 31).

The only fresco preserved of the cycle in the church of Saint Peter has been interpreted as the Deesis scene,[93] although it certainly does not present a clear-cut case of a Deesis composition, as the figures flanking Christ are both male (Fig. 32). Given the flexibility of the Deesis as a theme it might be possible to interpret this scene as a Deesis in a peculiar adaptation. I will return to this peculiarity below.

The closest analogy to the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus located in Zadar is the Deesis scene from the southern apse of the cathedral of Saint Anastasia (Fig. 33-34). Unfortunately this scene is the only one left of the cycle and only half of it remains. While John the Baptist

---

[93] Igor Fisković, "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji", in *Majstor Radovan,* 208.

and a smaller part of Christ are still visible, the figure of the Virgin is entirely missing. The serenity of the composition, the colors, and the overall solution of the figure of John the Baptist are entirely Byzantine, except for the Latin inscription with his proper name, curiously written in the shape of the letter L.

The fresco has been dated to 1269 according to the date for the second Romanesque phase. One cannot speak of the facial expression or specific features of the figure since the face is in poor condition, but when compared to the characters from the representation in the church of Saint Chrysogonus, he appears more voluminous. Not only is his drapery depicted in greater detail, but it is evident that this master paid more attention to the body than the master(s) of Saint Chrysogonus did; his hands are in a more natural position, and the creases of his sleeves almost create an illusion of depth.

The Deesis fresco from the cathedral of Zadar is most likely younger than the cycle of Saint Chrysogonus, although it is hard to say how much younger. The stylistic distinction is to be ascribed to different workshops, rather than to a great time gap between the executions. Namely, the examples most comparable to the ones in Saint Chrysogonus, as far as the Dalmatian coast is concerned, have been dated to at least one century earlier than the Saint Chrysogonus cycle.

These are the frescoes from Saint Nicholas on Koločep, Saint Michal on Šipan, and Saint John the Baptist on Šipan, three pre-Romanesque churches on the Elaphiti islands in the area of Dubrovnik. There is so far no consensus for the dating of the frescoes, but no dates are proposed later than the beginning of the twelfth century.[94] Nevertheless, the expression of the

---

[94] Igor Fisković, "O freskama 11. i 12. stoljeća u Dubrovniku i okolici" [On the eleventh and twelfth century frescoes in Dubrovnik and its area], *Radovi instituta povijesti umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 24. Hereafter "O freskama"; Željko Peković, *Četiri elafitske crkve* [Four Elaphite Churches], Split: Studia Mediterranea Archeologica 2008, 12.

figures, a combination of ascetic contemplation[95] and softness with an occasional emotional overtone[96] is what brings all of these cycles together. The Elaphiti churches show a Deesis composition in the apse in the church of Saint John the Baptist on Šipan (Fig. 35) and Saint Nicholas on Koločep (Fig. 36), and the same can be assumed for Saint Michael, where the fresco in the apse has been lost. Among the saintly figures, Saint Michael stands out as the most common, appearing in all three of them (Fig. 37-38). However, the frescoes of the Elaphiti churches do not seem to exhibit an adjustment of Byzantine iconographic traditions such as in the case of Saint Chrysogonus. This can perhaps be explained by a complete absence of narrative scenes in these churches, and it is in narrative scenes where one can see iconographic shifts more clearly. The three churches of the Elaphiti do reveal artistic tendencies somewhat similar to those of the church of Saint Chrysogonus, but are not helpful for dating. Examples more useful in that respect, as well as stylistically closer, are found outside of Dalmatia – in the region of Apulia.

The rock-cut churches of Santa Cecilia near Monopoli, San Lorenzo in Lamalungo near Fasano, and the church of unknown denomination in Lama D'Antico (all in the province of Bari) provide direct analogies in the treatment of the figures in the frescoes of the church of Saint Chrysogonus. Namely, all of these churches reveal several painterly solutions despite showing the hands of different masters, and at the same time a trend of two groups of figures with distinct types of expressions.

The first group of figures are frontally placed saints. Well balanced and peaceful, they have a dose of softness in their expressions, while at the same time possessing an intellectual[97]

[95]Olga Sigismundovna Popova, "Drevnerusskaya zhivopis i Vizantia" (Ancient Russian art and Byzantium), in Problemy Vizantijskogo iskusstva: Mozaiki, freski, ikony [Problems of Byzantine art: Mosaics, frescoes, icons], ed. O. S. Popova (Moscow: Severnyi palomnik, 2006), 813-876. The author discusses the interchange between ascetic and emotional components of Byzantine art through Russian art of the pre-Mongolian period.

[96] On the aesthetics of emotional expressionism, see Henry Maguire, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 111-139).

[97] Olga Sigismundovna Popova, "Drevnerusskaya zhivopis i Vizantia", in *Problemy Vizantijskogo iskusstva: Mozaiki, freski, ikony*, 822-823.

connotation (Fig. 39-46). The second group contains figures with large noses, somewhat squinted eyes, and chubby faces (Fig. 47-51). Far from being intellectualized, these figures are simple and exhibit awkwardness in their poses. These figures mostly belong to narrative scenes, although there are some exceptions. The comparison of these figures also shows similarities in the solution of particular body parts and in several cases an amazing facial resemblance.

It would be far-fetched to claim that these churches were painted by the same master or the same workshop as the church of Saint Chrysogonus, however, the stylistic qualities they show allows one to date all four to the same period. The three Apulian churches were dated to the eleventh or the twelfth century,[98] mostly on account of style, but were recently re-dated[99] to the middle of the thirteenth century.[100]

---

[98] For the dating of San Lorenzo, see M. Luisa Semeraro Herrmann and Raffaele Semeraro, *Arte Medioevale nelle lame di Fasano*, (Fasano: Schena editore, 1996), 139; for the dating of Santa Cecilia see Nino Lavermicocca, *Gli insediamenti rupestri del territorio di Monopoli* (Bari: Istituto di storia dell'arte, 1977), 85.

[99] I got this information through personal communication with Roberto Rotondo. Cf. Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "Quando abitavamo in grotta," in *Atti dei I. Convegno internazionale sulla civilita rupestre*, ed. Enrico Menesto (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2003), 126, who dates the churches to the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

[100] Except for Santa Cecilia, which was not part of the study. However, the dating of Santa Cecilia was proposed according to stylistic similarities to the church of San Biago in San Vito Dei Normanni, which was also recently re-dated. Prof. Linda Safran, personal communication.

## Chapter 3: CONNECTIVITY TO SOUTHERN ITALY

When searching for cultural transfers, the obvious thing that one needs to take into account is the geographical factor. The geographical proximity of Dalmatia and Italy, that is, the fact that they share a sea, already suggests contact. This having been said, it would be absurd to present a claim for artistic an connection between Dalmatia and Southern Italy as an idea new, or revolutionary - this connection has long ago been indicated in historiography.[101] However, there is still much to be elaborated on the issue.

The influence of Southern Italy is most frequently mentioned in the context of southern Dalmatia, particularly the area of Dubrovnik, which is an argument based in the historically well-attested trade relationship it had with Apulia.[102] Particularly when it comes to interpreting Romanesque architecture in southern Dalmatia, the Apulian influence has been emphasized to such an extent, that Marinko Tomasović thought it necessary to warn that underlining the one-sidedness of Apulian influence on church-building of southern Dalmatia gives the impression of the superiority of the former over the latter, which then becomes a passive absorber of certain impulses.[103]

Tomasović continues his text by elaborating on features of southern Dalmatian churches which differ from the Apulian ones, and argues in favor of a local tradition[104]. While such an approach is valid for architecture considering the quantity of preserved monuments, it is much harder to do so with monumental painting, where there is so little material preserved.

---

[101] Cvito Fisković, "Contatti artistichi tra la Puglia e Dalmazia", in *Per una Storia* ed. P. F. Palumbo et al., 72, states that this notion has existed ever since the end of the eighteenth century, although he makes no reference to an original source.

[102] In 1275 the Republic of Ragusa issued a rule that all economic transactions had to be written down and notarized. The notary book of Tomasino da Savera from 1277 is a result of this rule, and it is completely specialized in credited contracts, Ignacij Voje, "Ekonomske veze između Dubrovnika i Dalmacije u 15. stoljeću" ("Economic relations between Dubrovnik and Dalmatia in the fifteenth Century") *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): 380.

[103] Marinko Tomasović, "Romanička arhitektura na južnom dijelu istočnog Jadrana i problem isticanja utjecaja apulijskog graditeljstva" (Romanesque Architecture on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic and the problem of emphasizing the Apulian influence in church-building), *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3 (2006): 128.

[104]Ibid., 157.

The Elaphiti frescoes, briefly discussed above, have also been identified as a *consequence* of relations with Apulia.[105] Igor Fisković frequently mentions this connection, although the comparative material he proposes is elsewhere. He defines the frescoes as "Adrio-Byzantine";[106] the same term which he uses for the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus, emphasizing that this has nothing to do with the "allegedly Byzantine (iconographic) program."[107] In a somewhat contradictory manner, he suggests Sant Angelo in Formis as a potential point of reference, and ascribes all three cycles from the Elaphiti to a "mediocre master who, considering all the clichés he was employing, might have been familiar with the miniatures from the scriptorium of Monte Cassino."[108]

I believe Fisković was right in identifying and emphasizing the connection with Southern Italy. It needs to be noted, though, that establishing a connection between the reform activity of the Benedictines in Southern Italy[109] and frescoes in isolated areas, in small churches the function of which has not been determined can be misleading. Granted, very little is known about ways in which medieval artists moved and which stimulants they might have had to execute particular commissions,[110] which leaves the possibility for such a comparison. However, I believe analogies much closer to the Elaphiti frescoes can be found on the territory of Apulia, and I would like to draw attention to the monastic church of Santa Maria della Cerrate.

---

[105] For a different interpretation that the artists came "from the east" see Željko Peković, *Četiri elafitske crkve* (*Four churches of the Elaphiti Islands*), 77.

[106] Igor Fisković, "Un contributo al riconoscimento degli affreschi Adriobizantini sulla sponda croata meridionale", Hortus Artium Medievalium 4 (1998): 71.

[107] Igor Fisković, "O freskama", 25.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Igor Fisković elaborates a connection of Monte Cassino to the Benedictine abbey on Lokrum; also a small island in the archipelago of Dubrovnik, although located south-east of the city, rather than north-west where the Elaphiti lie. Ibid. Another Benedictine Abbey was situated on the Ombla River in west of the city. The abbey was also associated to Monte Cassino, Viktor Novak, "La paleografia Latina e i rapporti dell' Italia meridionale con la Dalmazia" in *Una Storia*, 41.

[110] For a reconstruction of two major waves of artist migrations, see Hans Belting, "Byzantine Art among the Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 6.

Rather than iconographic, the similarities are pictorial and refer to the balance of the ascetic and emotional qualities I addressed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, one should note the similarities between the ornament on the window of the apse of Santa Maria della Cerrate and the one on the vault of the church of Saint John the Baptist (Fig. 57-58). Although they are not identical in shape, their geometry and the combination of three identical colors suggests that they might have followed the same series of templates.

### Reconstructing the connection pattern

If one seeks exclusive for monastic relations with Southern Italy, then urban Zadar with a strong monastic tradition would be the more obvious candidate than rural areas around Dubrovnik. Namely if an institution existed on the coast of Dalmatia that might have been impacted by the Reform, this would be a large and influential Benedictine monastery, such as Saint Chrysogonus. As I have elaborated above, there are few documents from the archive testifying to trans-regional communication, so for now it is impossible to claim either in favor of this interpretation, or against it. Based purely on style, one can safely dismiss the connection to Sant Angelo in Formis for the influence on the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus, but should take it into consideration for the case of the cycle of Saint Mary.

Indications of earlier cultural transfers from Southern Italy to Zadar can be seen in the cases of the two late eleventh-century manuscripts – the so called Čika's and Većenega's Books of Hours - that have been linked to the same monastery -- the Benedictine abbey of Saint Mary. The Većenega manuscript is now kept in the Academy of Science in Budapest, whereas Čika's is located in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the history of neither of them can be traced prior to the nineteenth century. There are no direct physical traces pointing to the patrons. However, codicological analysis strongly points to Zadar, as both manuscripts were written in

a specific Beneventan script.[111] Finally, the papal bull discussed in the previous chapter should also be observed in terms of monastic interchange.

When it comes to commercial interchange, scholarship agrees that it was Dubrovnik that had strong trading relations with Apulia, rather than Zadar. Dubrovnik was also much more prosperous when it came to trade. Its geographic position and the relationship it managed to negotiate with Venice allowed Dubrovnik to trade freely both with the East and the West. Zadar was, on the other hand, under Venetian rule, which among other things must have reflected unfavorably on trade, although it was only in the fourteenth century that one notices a constant Venetian trade-related pressure on Zadar.

Nada Klaić states that it is hard to trace any kind of trading activity in Zadar before the second half of the twelfth century, when this line of business started to be documented.[112] Documents from the oldest notary books suggest that there were Italian cities from territories other than Southern Italy that had significant input in the trading activity of Zadar -- Pisa and Ancona -- as confirmed by trading agreements from 1188 and 1258, respectively.[113] Trade relations between Apulia and Zadar in the thirteenth century have not been the object of a detailed study. The trading activity of Zadar in the Middle Ages has become a field of major interest in recent scholarship, however, it focuses primarily on the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.

---

[111] This is a complex issue that cannot be discussed in length in this thesis. For more information, see Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, Central European University, 2011.

[112] Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 423. Other authors imply earlier initiation dates for the notarization of economic activity. Sabine Florine Fabianec, "Gospodarstvo" (Economy), in *Povijest Hrvata, svezak II: Hrvatske zemlje od sredine XII. stoljeća do kraja XIV. stoljeća* [History of the Croatian people: volume II; Croatian lands from mid thirteen to the end of the fifteenth century] Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2015. Hereafter *Povijest Hrvata,* briefly refers to documentation of trade in the eleventh century. Tomislav Raukar, "Prilog poznavanju sistema prihoda dalmatinskih gradova u 14. stoljeću" [A contribution to the study of systems of income of Dalmatian cities in the fourteenth century], Historijski zbornik 21/22, (1968/1969): 346, states that the earliest documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries only refer to port tax.

[113] Pisa and Ancona were not the only Italian cities with which Zadar traded. It also had strong economic relations with Genoa and Florence, but that can be seen in records only from the second half fourteenth century onwards. Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 434.

Merchants were not yet a professional stratum in thirteenth century Zadar,[114] nor was trade a privilege of a certain social group.[115] Trading activity therefore refers to a variety of goods, and salt was one of the most important ones. Economic ties with other Dalmatian cities were strong and interchange frequent, especially with Dubrovnik.[116]

It is possible that trading connections resulted in artistic connections - as well - and that the connection between Zadar and Apulia was mediated through Dubrovnik, which had strong connections with both. An instance where a mediated relationship is present in sources the case of a man from Dubrovnik renting a ship from five men from Zadar for the purpose of trading wood in Apulia.[117] Zadar was in constant need of wheat, which was frequently supplied from Apulia through Dubrovnik.[118] However, records of unmediated connections can also be found, such as that of a Zadar merchant who was granted the right by Charles I of Anjou to supply wheat from Bari.[119] I am certain that a detailed look into notary books of both Zadar and Dubrovnik would reveal many more similar examples.

No detailed study has yet been done on the contact between Zadar and Southern Italy. However, even while reading secondary literature about Zadar, one often comes across cases of *habitatores* from Apulia, a certain *cives[120]* who had come from Apulia[121] or Apulian

---

[114] I am very grateful to Prof. Sabine Florine Fabijanec who allowed me to take a look at her yet unpublished article. Sabine Florence Fabijanec, "Gospodarstvo" (Economy), in *Povijest Hrvata.*

[115] Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 423.

[116] Granted, the only publication found that deals exclusively with 13th century trade on the territory of Dalmatia is written from a perspective of Dubrovnik. A significant portion of the text refers to economic relations of Dubrovnik with Zadar, but does not reveal much about the relations of Zadar with other Dalmatian cities. Josip Lučić, "O pomorskim vezama Dubrovnika sa Zadrom i ostalim gradovima Dalmacije u 13. stoljeću" [About maritime connections of Dubrovnik with Zadar and other Dalmatian cities in the thirteenth century], *Pomorski zbornik* 4 (1966): 355-379.

[117] Ibid., 363.

[118] Ibid., 358.

[119] Sabine Florence Fabianec, "Gospodarstvo", in *Povijest Hrvata*. Information traced in *CD* VI (1272-1290), ed. Tadija Smičiklas, Zagreb (1908), doc. 285, 339.

[120] The Statute of Zadar is more lenient towards foreigners in allowing them to become legal citizens then are the Statutes of Šibenik and Split. Tomislav Raukar, "Cives, Habitatores, Forenses u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima" [Cives, habitatores, forenses in medieval cities of Dalmatia], *Historijski Zbornik* 29 (1977): 143.

[121] Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 432.

notaries;[122] examples that are presented to serve as evidence of arguments completely unrelated to Zadar -- Apulian relations. Nevertheless, if these instances are taken as showing an Apulian presence in Zadar, they can be taken as clues that strengthen the argument for artistic connections.

The most telling evidence of artistic connections is naturally the visual material itself. In this respect certain examples found in churches in Southern Italy show remarkable resemblance to the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar. However, the complexity of the Southern-Italian territory must be discussed first.

### The complexity of the Southern Italian territory

The factor that all so-called Mezzogiorno regions have in common is the historical fate of having been conquered by the Normans during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Equally important, they share the common ground of major cultural interconnections formed in specific ways for each region. The overlapping of Greek and Roman culture was one of the crucial factors in the territory. The presence of the other two ethnicities/denominations, namely, the Muslims and the Jews, made the situation all the more complex.

Quite a lot has been written on the tension of Greek-Latin co-habitation that became especially vibrant after major power-shifts happened as a result of the Fourth Crusade. Even earlier, these relations can be tracked in borderline territories and peripheries, one of which was Southern Italy.[123] There the entanglement of the two churches, supported by imperial figures, can be seen through a variety of sources, attesting Latin bishops placed in Orthodox sees and vice versa.[124]

---

[122] Branka Grbavac, "Notari kao posrednici između Italije i Dalmacije: studije, službe, seobe između dvije obale Jadrana" [Notaries as mediators between Italy and Dalmatia: studies, services, migrations between the two Adriatic coasts], *Acta Historiae* 16, (2008): 514-515.

[123] Curiously, this territory has been often been excluded from such debates.

[124] For more information on this phenomenon, see Laud, G. A. *Latin Church in Norman Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 494-520.

The relations of laity are much more obscure, due to the lack of textual sources, yet scholars are nowadays more and more leaning towards concluding that these people not only lived side by side, but lived with each other in intermixed communities.[125]

All the material I presented in the previous sub-chapter, with the exception of one document, is related to Apulia, rather than other Southern Italian regions, and so are the frescoes that I will discuss as comparative material to the Saint Chrysogonus cycle. I use the wider view of Southern Italy in order to emphasize the cultural ties, rather than the administrative ones, and not because I want to expand my search for connections to other regions of the Mezzogiorno.

Apulia was, besides Basilicata and Calabria, one of the three regions under Byzantine rule prior to the Norman Conquest, which naturally significantly reflected on art, in both the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine periods. Specific political and social circumstances allowed Byzantine traditions to last for centuries after the official rule of the empire ended, merging with traditions of Western centers much closer than Constantinople.

Great regional differences of the Mezzogiorno - as well as the significant inter-regional ones were reflections of a variety of political and social factors, and natural conditions.[126] In this sense, tracing trade connections of Dalmatia with Apulia is a useful first step, but not precise, which probably has to do with imprecision of textual sources.[127] Tangible borderlines between the regions are hard to draw, which is why the territory is often treated as a unit in publications.

---

[125] Linda Safran, *Art and Identity in Southern Italy*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). The author of this newly published book deals with the cohabitation of Greeks, Latins and Jews in the territory and argues that all three denomination groups were part of the same community.
[126] For instance, the geographical characteristics of particular areas; the rocks in Apulia are softer than those in Calabria, Annabel Jane Wharton, *Art of Empire*, 131.
[127] Josip Kolanović, "Prilog povijesti Šibenskih hodočašća u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [A contribution to history of Šibenik pilgrimages in the Late Middle Ages] *Croatica christiana periodica* 6, no. 9 (1982): 19-20, writes about the voyages of Šibenik pilgrimes and mentions a destination of a Saint Bernard in Apulia; which cannot be properly located.

It should be noted that the territory of Salento in eastern Apulia (the very "heal of the boot") was predominantly Orthodox throughout the Middle Ages.[128] This is also the area that triggers the greatest interest among Byzantinist art historians. Both the Byzantine and post-Byzantine art of Salento have been extensively published, with particular emphasis on several churches - such as Santa Cristina in Carpignano, Santa Maria della Cerate in Lecce, and San Pietro in Otranto - which have acquired a must-know status when it comes to Southern Italian wall painting.

The fact that these cycles have received so much interest has to do with the urban context in which they are placed - and the fact that visual evidence of Byzantine traditions is scarce in urban centers of Apulia, as in Southern Italy in general – when it comes to both architecture and interior decoration. Rural areas are much more fruitful in this respect, and it is rock-cut churches outside urban centers that provide rich fresco painting material. This material still remains largely unexplored, partially due to the quantity, and partially because of the inaccessibility and questions of ownership which hinder research.[129] There are several hundred locations with rock cave churches only in Apulia, and these locations are in area of particular towns or cities, which significantly multiplies the number of sites; it is hard to say by how many because of their uneven distribution. Since other regions exhibit the same phenomenon, there might be thousands of such churches in the territory of the *Mezzogiorno*. Naturally, not all of them have preserved monumental painting, and those that have are often in poor condition, but they are nevertheless sources that tell more about Byzantine painting in Southern Italy - than the monuments in the cities do.

---

[128] G. A. Laud, *Latin Church in Norman Italy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 233.

[129] Many of these rock-cut churches are part of private estates and closed to the public, or have irregular in-season-only opening hours.

47

The usage of rock-cut churches in Apulia is still mysterious. Preserved inscriptions suggest that they were used by laity.[130] This is supported by evidence of agrarian activity often found around a church, and the existence of a so called common room, where it is assumed that the users gathered. It needs to be noted that, while all three regions that were part of the Byzantine Empire exhibit a large concentration of rock-cut churches, their usage by laymen is considered to be a particularly Apulian phenomenon. Namely, in Basilicata and Calabria such churches are ascribed to monastic communities.

The theory of the so-called *"civilizations of the rocks,"*[131] defined by Cosimo Damiano Fonseca, according to which the churches are parts of lay settlements that at some point fled the cities, still seems to carry weight in Italian scholarship. The geography of the area, specific type of ravines with multitudes of caves *does* allow such an interpretation. The sites would then be part of the *incastellamento*, the process of retreating from the cities into the countryside and either fortifying the village, or finding a suitable natural protection.[132]

However, the churches have so far been discussed mainly from the art historical point of view and I have found no publications dealing with archeological material, although excavations on one site are going on at the moment and the results will be published within a couple of years.[133] With a lack of archeological interpretation, the only source of dating for these sites are the frescoes. No fresco cycle of the rock-cut churches' fundus is dated earlier than the ninth century, which does not imply that there was no human presence prior to that, but so far there is no hard evidence pointing to the idea that the users of these churches were indeed settled in the nearby caves. At the same time, traces of two or occasionally even three

---

[130] For an insightful study on patronage in Southern Italy, see Linda Safran "Public Textual Cultures: A Case Study in Southern Italy", 121. Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/888629/Public_Textual_Cultures_A_Case_Study_in_Southern_Italy. Last accessed May 2014.

[131] In Italian: "civilizacione rupestri".

[132] The process started to occur already in Late Antiquity; in the fifth century and lasted throughout the Medieval period., Jean Marie Martin, "Settlement and Agrarian Economy, in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Laud and A. Metcalfe, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 28.

[133] Information received by Roberto Rotondo through personal communication.

cycles of painting dating from the ninth to the eighteenth century in many of these churches do prove a long-term human presence around the caves.

As the term suggests, these rock-cut churches are natural caves which have been altered to make them larger and to make their walls more suitable for painting. It is hard to generalize about them, as they are all unique; they differ in size, shape, and extent of alteration (Fig. 46-50). While some are small and crude, others show features that one can find in urban built churches, such as arches, blind arches and occasionally even transepts and aisles. The inventory[134] of these churches suggests that the liturgy was conducted in some of them, and judging by the presence of the iconostasis, their users were of the Orthodox rite, at least in the cases where the iconostasis does appear. Yet it is dangerous to generalize about religious denominations: judging by inscriptions, hagiography and iconography, the patrons were Greek in some cases, and Latin in others, and so were the artists executing the frescoes.[135]

Apulia is often described as *different* than the other two post-Byzantine regions, and this statement refers, among others things, to the rock-cut churches. Namely, while rock-cut churches in Apulia are interpreted as part of lay settlements, those of Basilicata and Calabria are considered monastic.[136] In traditional scholarship the rock-cut churches have been accepted as monastic by default, and considered a part of hermitism in Orthodox Christianity.[137] This one-dimensional view on the use of rock-cut churches has long been abandoned; notably in the case of Apulia, where the inscriptions in particular suggest usage by laymen.

I have found no publication that deals with the rock-cut churches of Calabria and Basilicata as a separate phenomenon, nor a publication which provides a meaningful

---

[134] For more information about the inventory, see Franco dell'Aquila, Aldo Messina, *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, (Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 1998), 37-82 (esp. 60-70). Hereafter *Le chiese rupestri.*

[135] Linda Safran, "Scoperte Salentine", *Estratto dalla rivista Arte Medievale* 2/7, (2008), 70 (69-94)

[136] Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri." In *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, ed. Franco Dell'Aquila and Aldo Messina, (Bari: M. Adda, 1998), 129.

[137] Alba Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*, (Roma: Collezione Meridionale, 1939) interpreted the Apulian rock-cut churches as monastic.

explanation for the monastic use of these churches. Even the general publications refer much more to Apulian examples those of Calabria and Basilicata. It appears that both regions need to be studied further in order to answer the question of the use of the rock-cut churches in a comprehensive way.

The most problematic aspect of the "civilizations of the rocks" theory is the assumption of complete isolation. Even if one accepts the idea of laymen settling in cave-villages, there is still no argument to suggest that they lived segregated from the rest of the world. If nothing else, the frescos within the rock-churches suggest some kind of economy, especially in cases where one deals with multiple layers. Furthermore, the little visual evidence that there is in urban centers corresponds to the frescoes in rock cave churches iconographically, and - in the cases of chronological proximity – stylistically as well. It is therefore logical to assume that the frescoes from rock-cut churches reflect art from missing from the urban centers.

The scarcity of written sources related to the rock-cut churches and their interpretation as part of the "civilizations of the rocks" theory has perpetuated a gap in scholarship. Namely, art history alone cannot begin to solve the social and religious questions that these sites pose, whereas social historians and historians of religion dealing with the territory of Southern Italy largely focus on textual sources and do not go into this problem.[138] Only recently have certain large steps have been undertaken,[139] but to get a comprehensive picture of the matter, one would need proper archeological results.

Patricia Skinner argues in favor of good co-operation between Apulian towns - rather than political competiveness - and also states that there was a tight bond between the towns and rural areas.[140] By the end of the first millennium, a number of fortified villages on the

---

[138] Neither G.A. Laud, A. Metcalfe *The Society of Norman Italy*, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), nor G. A. Laud, *Latin Church in Norman Italy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), mention the rock cave churches.
[139] See footnote 126.
[140] Patricia Skinner, "Room for Tension: Urban Life in Apulia in the 11th and 12th Centuries", *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 150-151. (Hereafter *Room for Tension*).

Adriatic coast had developed into ports[141] and frequently traded with the other side of the sea, while their communication with the inland of the territory seemed to have been much less vibrant.[142] How this type of activity reflected on art is a matter of one can only judge through visual examples.

### Visual evidence of connection

Monumental art of Apulia is consensually called Byzantine, but it in fact shows a variety of features that are on the borderline of the East and the West. This can be seen as a result of the physical remoteness of the region from Constantinople and its proximity to Rome, but is also largely depended on a specific socio-religious environment in the area. Studies in the hagiography of the area show that both Eastern and Western saints were venerated,[143] and one can often find depictions and inscriptions of both in the same church. Especially in the province of Salento, a place of extreme cultural interchange, one sees a variety of examples of inter-denominational use of churches, as well as other public spaces. Epigraphic evidence shows that Jews, Latins, and Greeks not only lived in the same territory, but did so as part of the same community.[144]

Although the province of Bari had a different demographic situation, the visual evidence from the rock churches seems to reflect the iconographic and stylistic patterns of Salento.[145] From the perspective of rock-cut churches, the area has been much less studied then the Salento province, which is why I cannot present a meaningful overview of the characteristics of the territory, or the give an outline of the demographic structure, however the

---

[141] Jean Marie Martin, "Settlement and Agrarian Economy", in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G.A. Laud and A. Metcalfe, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 28.
[142] Patricia Skinner, "Room for Tension", 153.
[143] Linda Safran, "The Art of Veneration: Saints and the Villages in the Salento and the Mani", in Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantine (IV-XV siècle), ed. Jacques Lefort, Cecile Morrisson and Jean Pierre Sodini (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005).
[144] Linda Safran "Public Textual Cultures: A Case Study in Southern Italy", 115.
[145] Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri." In *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, 129.

three churches I have examined do provide some clues on how the cultural interchange was reflected in art.

The inscriptions in the churches of Santa Cecilia, San Lorenzo and Lama d' Antico are not extensive and certainly do not reveal crucial information about patrons, but one thing is significant: They are in two languages – Greek and Latin. It is hard to say to what extent the inscriptions are a reflection of the denomination of patrons and to which of the artists, especially since Greek inscriptions prevail, although the Greek population was not in the majority. In Lama d'Antico the names of the bishops depicted in the blind arches are written in both Greek and Latin, and I believe that it is cases such as this where one can claim that people of both denominations were using the church.

As in all cases of fragmentarily preserved evidence, it is hard to establish a meaningful *developmental* line for the frescoes of the rock-cut churches. This goes for the Bari province in particular, but also for the wider Apulian area, and the Southern Italian territory in general. At this point it seems to me impossible to distinguish meaningfully between iconographic patterns of the three post-Byzantine regions. Marina Falla Castelfranchi states that the appearance of the Deesis in apses of Apulia suggests a funerary character[146] for these churches and is a sign of laymen's patronage. However, one can see the Deesis scene in rock-cut churches of Calabria and Basilicata with the same frequency as in Apulia.

Generally speaking, the rock-cut churches in Southern Italy reveal a re-occurring pattern of Byzantine iconography with a peculiar circumstance: Narrative scenes are frequently absent from these cycles. Devotional images of saints, often supported by donor inscriptions, are the dominant theme in the rock-cut churches. It has been claimed that this is more true for the Apulian area then for Calabria and Basilicata, and that the rock-cut churches of these two

---

[146] It is most likely this argument that caused the interchangeable usage of the terms "church" and "crypt" when referring to the rock-cut churches.

52

regions have richer narrative programs, and fewer devotional representations.[147] However, the examples from around Matera, the capital of Calabria, exhibit just the opposite, which shows that it is extraordinarily difficult to establish fully functional criteria to delineate differences between the regions, at least in terms of iconography.

Most rock cave churches with preserved painting have the Deesis scene depicted in the apse (providing that the church has an apse.)[148] The scene often appears in the most usual iconographic manner – featuring Christ between the Virgin and John the Baptist, although there are plenty of variations, including the Angel Deesis, the Great Deesis, and the replacement of the figure of John the Baptist with another saint (Fig. 51 a-d). There are cases of both the Virgin and John the Baptist being replaced by other saints, such as in the one of San Marco near Fasano, where Christ is flanked by saints Cosmas and Damien.[149] This is exactly what happened in the apse of the church of Saint Peter in Zadar briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, except that there one of the saints flanking Christ is most likely the patron saint of the church.

The same thing can be applied to the Deesis in the northern apse of the church of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar if one accepts that the central figure is Christ, who seems a more plausible candidate than Saint Chrysogonus. The occurrence of two Deeisis scenes has also been attested in Apulia, in the church of San Nicola in Casalrotto. One Deesis is in the apse, and the other one is depicted on the lateral wall as an individual scene unrelated to the apse program. It has been argued that the latter has a devotional-funerary purpose,[150] just like the

---

[147]Which constitutes an argument for their monastic usage, Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri." In *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, 133.

[148] The church of Santa Cecilia near Monopoli, for instance, does not.

[149] Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "Quando abitavamo in grotta," in *Atti dei I. Convegno internazionale sulla civilita rupestre*, 112, says that this is not very unusual, but that does not appear before the beginning of the 13th century, which is a *terminus post quem* for this church.

[150]Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri", in *Le chiese rupestri,* 138.

small Deesis with the archangel from Saint Chrysogonus,[151] although these two are not the same Deesis type, because the one in San Nicola presents the figures in full size.

One of the most unusual variants of the Deesis scene is the one from the Lama d'Antico, depicting Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, but who is also placed in a mandorla and surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists. In this way, the image is both a Byzantine Deesis, and a western Majestas Domini (Fig 52).

The icon from Pisa brought into discussion as the parallel to the representation of the Archangel Michael from the church of Saint Chrysogonus likewise shows the idea of a scene on a borderline between Byzantine and Western, which is essentially the same as in the case of the Deesis/ Majestas Domini from Lama D'Antico. Furthermore, the idea of Saint Michael with a disc that does not show *what it is supposed to* may not have existing templates, but discs with figures can be found on other scenes. An example of this can again be seen in the church of San Biagio, where two figures in discs feature in the Annunciation scene (Fig 53). They have been interpreted as prophets, and their appearance in the scene seems to fall beyond of the usual iconographic cannon, which might suggest that they were placed there with some kind of devotional purpose.

It has been argued that the absence of bishops in apses of Apulian rock cave-churches (which is also true for the other two regions) presents a peculiarity of the area compared to other territories with Byzantine traditions.[152] This is certainly true, but I cannot help wondering to which extent one can regard it as a purposeful alteration of the canon. The apses are rather small and in order to depict the bishops, the scale of the images would have to be seriously reduced. Furthermore, the apses of the rock cave churches are irregular, and it is often impossible to distinguish where the calotte stops, and the register bellow starts. Finally,

---

[151] See footnote 86. The unevenness of the surface exactly in places that mark the borderline of the scene support such an argument.
[152] Marina Falla Castelfranchi, "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri", in *Le chiese rupestri,* 130.

although the bishops are absent from the apse, they were most likely not omitted, but depicted elsewhere – as one can see in the case of Lama d'Antico (Fig 54). The same can be said of the church of Saint Chrysogonus, where the saints depicted are not bishops, and bishops were moved to the northern wall. There are no clues to help identify the three figures remaining from what was probably a much longer line, but their placement in the northern wall of the church might be lead with a similar devotional idea as in Apulian churches.

The absence of narrative scenes could be the current state rather than a general principal, as most of the cycles are preserved only fragmentarily. The program of the church of San Biaggio in San Vito Dei Normanni, which is the best preserved of all the rock-cut churches' cycles, depicts mostly narrative scenes, and might be a good illustration of this point.

The only Nativity scene I found in the rock-cut churches of Apulia comes from there, and unfortunately does not show parallels in iconographic particularities to the Nativity scene in Saint Chrysogonus - neither is Joseph placed on the wrong side, nor is there anything unusual in the depiction of shepherds (Fig 55 a-b).[153] It rather reveals some particularities of its own: namely, the absence of the choir of angels above the cave, and the fact that the angel leading the Magi is upside down.

Another Nativity representation from the wider period is in a different medium-- sculpture -- and comes from the portal of the church of Santa Maria della Cerrate in Lecce (Fig. 54),[154] which Linda Safran brings into connection with Epiros.[155]Although it does not represent a typical case of the Byzantine Nativity,[156] it can, on a conceptual level, be compared to the

---

[153] The representation of baby Jesus has been completely destroyed so one cannot say anything about the way he was depicted.

[154] Valentino Pace, "La chiesa di Santa Maria della Cerrate e i suoi affreschi", in *Obraz Vizantii: Sbornik statei v cest' O.S. Popovoi* [The Image of Byzantium: A collection of Articles in the honor of O.S Popova], ed. Anna Vladimirova Zakharova, (Moscow: Severnyi Polomnik, 2008), 379.

[155] Linda Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links between Epiros and Apulia in the 13th Century: The Problems of Sculpture and Wall Painting", Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/905195/Exploring_Artistic_Links_Between_Epirus_and_Apulia_in_the_Thirteenth_Century_The_Problem_of_Sculpture_and_Wall_Painting, last accessed May 2014, 458.

[156]Ibid., 457.

portal of the cathedral in another Dalmatian center – Trogir (Fig 56). The two share similarities in terms of style, which should be seen in the larger framework of the connections between the so-called Master Radovan's portal and sculpture from Apulian churches – an issue that has already been the object of some study.[157]

Although there are no documented artistic transfers from Apulia to Zadar, nor Dalmatia in general, it is the similarities of artifacts found on different sides of see that should be observed as evidence of such transfers.

---

[157] Pina Belli D'Elia, "Presenze pugliesi del cantieri delle cattedrale", in *Master Radovan*, 39-58.

# CONCLUSION

There is no easy art historical explanation for the frescoes at St. Chrysogonus. If the iconographic particularities from the Nativity scene do not find direct parallels in the Apulian rock-cave churches, this can be ascribed to the fragmentary state of frescoes, but also to the state of research. The large body of frescoes from Southern Italy, relatively unknown, may provide substantial comparatives at a later date.

The placement of Joseph on the right rather than the left side of the composition can be found in Byzantine examples, although the left hand side is a more common solution. However, his proximity to Christ is unparalleled in Byzantine examples that I know of, and it could be a decision based on the considerably elongated horizontal outlook of the composition, which made it impossible to depict Joseph below the Magi, or place him far from the cave. The evangeliary of Trogir shows a similar pattern. Although Joseph is placed on the left side of the representation, his is equally close to the cave as Joseph from the church of Saint Chrysogonus. Since both the location of this figure in relation to Christ, and the drapery of the shepherds are peculiarities in common for both representations, one might be tempted to call it a matter of local tradition. In order to develop this into an argument, additional examples are needed. However, since in the portal of the cathedral in Trogir the Magi are placed on the right side of the representation, it is evident that compositional changes of the Byzantine Nativity scene happen in Dalmatian examples.

Therefore, it can be said that the frescoes of the church of Saint Chrysogonus show a pattern of Byzantine tradition in iconography that merges with certain Western elements according to local demands. The same occurrence can be seen in the rock-cut churches of Southern Italy. Furthermore, comparative analysis demonstrates stylistic similarities between the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus and the three fresco cycles in the province of Bari. Based on

57

this I have proposed that the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus were executed around the same time as the three rock-cut churches in question.

The reconstruction of the fresco program of Saint Chrysogonus cannot be done based on such a small percentage of the preserved material. If one accepts that the fifteenth century Annunciation fresco was a repetition of the older scene (in theme, although not in layout), then it is possible to claim that the missing representations in the upper register would have featured other scenes from the Christological cycle. This claim has not enough substantiation to be turned into an argument.

But if the program of Saint Chrysogonus cannot be reconstructed, parallels with the rock-cut churches in Apulia can still be drawn. The persistence of the Deesis scene is in common to both the former and the latter, but this feature is hardly unique for frescoes of Byzantine tradition. Another aspect is more significant. I have argued that the rarity of narration in Southern Italian frescoes could be a consequence of the state of preservation. The argument can be reversed to say that there are no more narrative scenes in the church of Saint Chysogonus, but that the current state shows the combination of devotional representations and narrative scenes, as demonstrated by the presence of the Nativity, the Archangel and Deesis, and the severely damaged row of bishops.

The common features of the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus and the rock-cut churches in Southern Italy provide a solid clue for the study of Zadar-Apulian relations in the Middle Ages, although the connection is blurred by the great difference in socio-religious context between the two regions. It may seem that the frescoes in rock-cut churches should not be compared to a monastic church in an urban setting, but the fact that the rock-cut churches were used by laymen, rather than monastic communities, implies that their frescoes mirror the monumental cycles from urban centers, the great majority of which has been lost.

The cycles that have been preserved in urban centers in Apulia suggest that it is not possible to make a clear distinction between tendencies in monumental painting in the cities, and those in rural areas. Therefore, although the frescoes in the church of Saint Chrysogonus are comparable to those of Santa Cecilia near Monopoli, Lama d' Antico and San Lorenzo near Fasano, they should not be brought into connection with these churches per se, but with the missing cycles from urban centers that these churches most likely reflect; centers which are in Apulia all situated on the coast and function as port-cities.

Little is known about the relationship of monumental painting and liturgy in the Latin rite[158] or whether painting even had a role in liturgy. In this sense, even the religious separation becomes arbitrary. The attitudes of audiences towards images are likewise obscure. Even if one accepts Anthony Cutler's opinion that the "majority of Western artists… (of the twelfth and thirteenth century)… neither knew, nor cared about the art of the Greeks,"[159] this in no way implies that the perception of Latin patrons or Latin audiences of the "art of the Greeks" was negative nor that commissioning a Greek artist to paint a Latin church would have been considered inappropriate.

As a rare example of monumental painting from the period preserved on the Dalmatian soil, the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus present a part of the puzzle of the cultural transfers in the Mediterranean basin, and should be observed as such. Which way this artistic transfer happened is a matter about which one can only speculate. After taking into consideration several different aspects of contact between the two coasts, as well as the general political situation in Zadar at the time, two different solutions can be provided.

The first one involves the idea that a direct artistic transfer occurred. Given that the comparison between the frescoes of Saint Chrysogonus and the ones in the rock cave churches

---

[158] Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 72-3.

[159] Anthony Cutler, *Byzantium, Italy and the North: Papers on Cultural Relations* (London: The Pindar Press, 2000), 480.

in the province of Bari do not show the same hands of the master, this theory cannot be substantiated with visual evidence. However, it seems plausible that the involvement of Frederic II in the political matters of Zadar and his attempt to establish a connection with other cities in the cost of Dalmatia around the year 1240 resulted in intensified contact between the two regions, which also reflected on art. The portal of master Radovan, dated to exactly this period (1243), and the fresco in the cathedral of Zadar, dated only a couple of decades later, show, each in its medium, connections to Apulian examples. It should not be excluded that there must have been a variety of transfers around this period and that the church of Saint Chrysogonus presents one such example.

On the other hand, it can be argued that the transfer was indirect, and that it most likely came through Dubrovnik: the city that was much more competitive than Zadar in terms of trade, as well as geographically closer to Apulia. Furthermore, the connections between Dubrovnik and Apulia have been frequently emphasized in historiography. Although the scarceness of sources does not allow one to meaningfully analyze the contact before the thirteenth century, the visual material from the Elaphiti churches suggests that artistic transfers were occurring long before that.

The topic of relations of Apulia and Zadar and cultural transfers that occurred as a consequence certainly requires more research. The Apulian area, rich in visual evidence and understudied in its larger part, provides the possibility of broadening the comparative material which may result in finding direct iconographic parallels to the ones in Saint Chrysogonus. Moreover, aspects outside the scope of this thesis - such as pilgrimage, hagiography and epigraphy – should be taken into account to get a clearer image.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Primary sources:**

Bianchi, Carlo Federico. *Zara cristiana*. Zadar: Tipografia di G. Woditzka, 1877.

Brunelli, Vitaliano. *Storia della cita di Zara*. Trieste: Lint, 1974.

Iveković, Ćiril M. *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru* [*The Church and the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar*] Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1931.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. I, no. 5.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. I, no. 12.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. I, no. 12a.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. VII, no. 82.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XIV, no. 176.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XV, no. 80.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XVIII, no. 34.

The State Archive of Zadar, *Documents of the Archive of St. Chrysogonus*, Caps. XV, nb. 87.


**Secondary literature:**

Antoljak, Stjepan. "O arhivu Sv. Krševana kroz stoljeća" ["On the Achive of Saint Chrysogonus through the Centuries"]. In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru*, [*One Thousand Years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar*], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 9-19. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Babić, Ivo. "Zadarski knez Petronja i njegova kći Stana." [The Zadrian count Petronja and his daughter Stana]. *Opuscula Arheologica* 23/24, no. 1, (2000): 317-325.

Bavčević, Ivo. "Klaustar samostana Sv. Krševana u Zadru". In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru*, [*One Thousand Years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar*], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 179-196. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990

Belting, Hans. "Byzantine Art among the Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 3 – 28.

Castelfranchi, Marina Falla. "La decorazione pittorica delle chiese rupestri." In *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, ed. Franco Dell'Aquila and Aldo Messina, 129-143.

Bari: M. Adda, 1998.

_____."Quando abitavamo in grotto." In *Atti dei I. Convegno internazionale sulla civilita rupestre*, ed. Enrico Menesto. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 2003.

Caviness, Madeline Harrison. *"*Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers." In *Companion to Medieval Art*, ed. Conrad Rudolph. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

Cutler, Anthony. "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), 145-154.

_____. *Byzantium, Italy and the North: Papers on Cultural Relations*. London: The Pindar Press, 2000.

Deanović, Ana. "Romaničke freske u Sv. Krševanu" [Romanesque Frescoes in St. Chrysogonus]. *Peristil* 2 (1957): 114-123.

D'Elia, Pina Belli. "Presenze pugliesi del cantieri delle cattedrale", *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba: zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Trogiru 26-30. rujna 1990. godine* [Master Radovan and His Age: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Trogir, June 26-30, 1990], ed. Ivo Babić, 39-58. Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1994.

Dell'Aquila, Franco, Aldo Messina. *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*. Bari: Mario Adda Editore, 1998.

Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Art and the West*. New York: NYU Press, 1970.

Đurić, Vojislav. *Vizantijske freske u Jugoslaviji.* [*Byzantine Frescoes in Yugoslavia*]. Belgrade: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavija, 1975.

Eastmond, Anthony. "The Limits of Byzantine Art" in *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. Liz James, 313– 322. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.

Fabijanec, Sabine Florence. "Gospodarstvo" (Economy). In *Povijest Hrvata, svezak II: Hrvatske zemlje od sredine XII. stoljeća do kraja XIV. stoljeća* [History of the Croatian People: volume II: Croatian lands from mid-thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth Century]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2015.

Fisković, Cvito. "Contatti artistichi tra la Puglia e Dalmazia." In *Per una Storia delle relazioni per le due sponde adriatiche*, ed. P. F. Palumbo et al. Bari: Grafiche Cressati, 1962.

_____.*Dalmatinske freske* [Frescoes of Dalmatia]. Zagreb, 1965.

Fisković, Igor. *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj.* [Romanesque Painting in Croatia]. Zagreb, 1987.

_____. "Zidno slikarstvo Radovanova doba u Dalmaciji" [Wall Painting in Dalmatia at the Age of Radovan]. In *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba: zbornik radova međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Trogiru 26-30. rujna 1990. godine* [Master Radovan

and His Age: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Trogir, June 26-30, 1990]*, ed. Ivo Babić, 201-216. Trogir: Muzej grada Trogira, 1994.

_____. "Un contributo al riconoscimento degli affreschi Adriobizantini sulla sponda croata meridionale". *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 4 (1998): 71-84.

_____. "O freskama 11. i 12. stoljeća u Dubrovniku i okolici" [On eleventh- and twelfth-century frescoes in Dubrovnik and the area"]. *Radovi instituta povijesti umjetnosti* 33 (2009): 17-36.

Gračanin, Hrvoje, Igor Razum. "Toma arhiđakon i križarstvo" [Thomas the archdeacon and the Crusades]. *Povijest u nastavi* 10, no. 1 (2012): 45-64.

Granić, Miroslav, Stjepan Obad and Ivo Petricioli. *Tisuću godina svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One Thousand Years of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar]. Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija, 1990.

Grbavac, Branka. "Notari kao posrednici između Italije i Dalmacije: studije, službe, seobe između dvije obale Jadrana" [Notaries as Mediators between Italy and Dalmatia: Studies, Services, Migrations between the two Adriatic Coasts"]. *Acta Historiae* 16 (2008):

Iveković, Ćiril M. *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru* [*The Church and the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar*]. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1933.

Klaić, Nada. "Nekoliko riječi o kartularu samostana Sv. Marije u Zadru" [A Brief Reference to the Cartulary of the Monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar]. *Historijski zbornik* 9 (1968): 501-515.

Klaić, Nada, Ivo Petricioli. *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409]. Zadar: Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, 1976.

Kolanović, Josip. "Prilog povijesti Šibenskih hodočašća u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [A contribution to History of Šibenik pilgrimages in the Late Middle Ages"]. *Croatica christiana periodica* 6, no. 9 (1982): 13-36.

Laud, G. A. *Latin Church in Norman Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Lavermicocca, Nino. *Gli insediamenti rupestri del territorio di Monopoli*. Bari: Instituto di storia dell'arte, 1977.

Lazarev, Viktor Nikolaevich. *Istorija vizantijskoj živopisi* [History of Byzantine Painting]. Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1986.

Lossky,Vladimir. "Nativity of Christ." In *The Meaning of Icons*, ed. Leonid Aleksandrovich Ouspenski, Vladimir Lossky, 157-164. Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982.

Lučić, Josip. "O pomorskim vezama Dubrovnika sa Zadrom i ostalim gradovima Dalmacije u 13. stoljeću" ["About maritime connections of Dubrovnik with Zadar and other Dalmatian cities in the thirteenth Century"]. *Pomorski zbornik* 4 (1966): 355-379.

_____. "Povijesni dokumenti Svetokrševanskog samostana i vladavina Petra Krešimira IV" ["The historical documents of the archive of Saint Chrysogonus' Monastery and the rule of Petar Krešimir IV"]. In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One Thousand Years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar]. Ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 59-78. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Maguire, Henry. "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art". *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974): 111-139.

Marasović, Tomislav "Stambena kuća u Trogiru Radovanova doba" [A residential house in Trogir from the age of Radovan]. In *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba* [Master Radovan and his age], ed. Ivo Babić, 193-200. Trogir: Muzej Grada Trogira, 1994.

Martin, Jean Marie. "Settlement and Agrarian Economy." In *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. G. A. Laud and A. Metcalfe, 17-47. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Medea, Alba. *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi*. Rome: Collezione Meridionale, 1939.

Mohorovičić, Andrija. "Srednjovjekovni samostanski kompleks Svetog Krševana u Zadru, žarište evropskih kulturnih strujanja na tlu Hrvatske" ["The Medieval Monastic Complex of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar: A Focal Point of European Cultural Streaming on the Croatian Territory"]. In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One thousand years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 5-8. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Mouriki, Doula. *Studies in Late Byzantine Painting*. London: The Pindar Press, 1995.

Mustač, Ivan. "*Cartula traditionis Ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni Martiris* iz 986. godine" [*Cartula traditionis Ecclesie Beati Chrysogoni Martiris* from the year 986]. In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One thousand years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 21-34. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Nagy, Josip. *Sv. Krševan i njegova crkva i samostan u Zadru* [St. Chrisogonus, his church and monastery in Zadar]. Zagreb: Croatia Sacra, 1931.

Novak, Grga and Vjencislav Maštrović. *Grad Zadar: Presjek kroz stoljeća*, [The city of Zadar: A cross-section through centuries]. Zadar: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1966.

_____. *Kulturna Baština samostana Svete Marije u Zadru* [The cultural heritage of the Monastery of Saint Mary in Zadar]. Zadar: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1968.

Novak, Viktor. "La paleografia Latina e i rapporti dell' Italia meridionale con la Dalmazia." In *Per una Storia delle relazioni per le due sponde adriatiche*, ed. P. F. Palumbo et al. Bari: Grafiche Cressati, 1962.

Ostojić, Ivo. *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [The Benedictine Order in Croatia and our other regions]. Split: Benediktinski priorat Tkon, 1963.

Pace, Valentino. "La chiesa di Santa Maria delle Cerrate e i suoi affreschi." In *Obraz Vizantii. Sbornik statei v cest'* O.S. Popovoi [The image of Byzantium: A collection of articles in honor of O. S. Popova), ed. Anna Vladimirova Zakharova, 377-398. Moscow: Severnyi Palomnik , 2008.

Parani, Maria. *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography 11$^{th}$-15$^{th}$ cc.* Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Peković, Željko. *Četiri elafitske crkve* [Four Elaphite Churches]. Split: Studia Mediterranea Archeologica, 2008.

Peričić, Eduard. "Samostan Svetog Krševana kroz lik i djelovanje njegovih opata" [The Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar through the image and activity of its abbots"]. In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One thousand years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 79-108. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Petricioli, Ivo. *The Cathedral of St. Anastasia*. Zadar: Zadar archbishopric, 1985.

_____. Umjetnička baština samostana Sv. Krševana do 16. stoljeća [The artistic heritage of the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus until the sixteenth century], In *Tisuću godina samostana Svetog Krševana u Zadru* [One thousand years of the Monastery of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar], ed. Miroslav Granić, Stijepo Obad, Ivo Petricoli, 197-219. Zadar: Narodni List, 1990.

Popova, Olga Sigismundovna. *Problemy byzantijskogo iskusstva; mozaiki, freski, ikony.* [Problems of Byzantine art: Mosaics, frescoes, icons]. Moscow: Severny Polomnik, 2006.

Raukar, Tomislav. "Prilog poznavanju sistema prihoda dalmatinskih gradova u 14. Stoljeću" [A contribution to the study of systems of income of Dalmatian cities in the fourteenth century"]. *Historijski zbornik* 21/22 (1968/1969): 343-370.

_____. "*Cives*, *Habitatores*, *Forenses* u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima" ["*Cives*, *habitatores*, *forenses* in medieval cities of Dalmatia"]. *Historijski Zbornik* 29 (1977): 139-149.

Safran, Linda. *Art and Identity in Southern Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

_____. "The Art of Veneration: Saints and the Villages in the Salento and the Mani." In *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantine (IV-XV siècle)*, ed. Jacques Lefort, Cecile Morrisson and Jean Pierre Sodini, 179-192. Paris: Lethielleux, 2005.

_____. "Scoperte Salentine." *Estratto dalla rivista Arte Medievale* 2, no. 7, (2008): 69-94.

_____."*Byzantine* Art in Post-Byzantine Southern Italy? Notes on a Fuzzy Concept." "Fuzzy Studies: Symposium on the Consequence of a Blur," part 3. *Common Knowledge* 18, no. 3 (2012): 486-504.

_____. "Public Textual Cultures: A Case Study in Southern Italy." Academia.edu, https://www.academia.edu/888629/Public_Textual_Cultures_A_Case_Study_in_Southern_Italy. Last accessed May 2014.

_____. "Exploring Artistic Links between Epiros and Apulia in the 13th Century: The Problems of Sculpture and Wall Painting." Academia.edu. https://www.academia.edu/905195/Exploring_Artistic_Links_Between_Epirus_and_Apulia_in_the_Thirteenth_Century_The_Problem_of_Sculpture_and_Wall_Painting. Last accessed May 2014.

Schiller, Gertrud. *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*. vol 1. Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980-1991.

Semeraro, Herrmann M. Luisa, Raffaele Semeraro. *Arte Medioevale nelle lame di Fasano*. Fasano: Schena editore, 1996.

Skinner, Patricia. "Room for Tension: Urban Life in Apulia in the eleventh and twelfth Centuries." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 66 (1998): 159-176.

Strika, Zvjezdan. "*Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jadertinae* arhiđakona Valerija Pontea" [*Catalogus episcoporum et archiepiscoporum urbis Jadertinae* by Archdeakon Valerius Ponte]. *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU Zadru* 48 (2006): 82-184.

Šišić, Ferdo. *Zadar i Venecija od 1159-1247* [Zadar and Venice from 1159-1247]. (Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1900).

Tomasović, Marinko. "Romanička arhitektura na južnom dijelu istočnog Jadrana i problem isticanja utjecaja apulijskog graditeljstva" ["Romanesque architecture on the southern part of the eastern Adriatic and the problem of emphasizing the Apulian influence in church-building]. *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 3 (2006): 127-163.

Vežić, Pavuša. "Arhitektura romaničke katedrale u Zadru" [The Architecture of the Romanesque Cathedral in Zadar]. In *Majstor Radovan i njegovo doba* [Master Radovan and his age], ed. Ivo Babić, 229-240. Trogir: Muzej Grada Trogira, 1994.

Voje, Ignacij. "Ekonomske veze između Dubrovnika i Dalmacije u 15. stoljeću" ["Economic relations between Dubrovnik and Dalmatia in the fifteenth century"]. *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 10 (1977): 379-394.

Vojvoda, Rozana. "Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar and Trogir." PhD dissertation. Central European University, 2011.

Walter, Christopher. "Two Notes on the Deesis". *Revue des etudes byzantines* 26 (1968): 311-336.

_____. "Further Notes on the Deesis", *Revue des etudes byzantines* 28 (1970): 161-187.

Wharton, Annabel Jane. *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery*. London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988.

**FIGURES**



Fig. 1. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – view from the west (photograph by author).



Fig. 2. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – view from the east, http://proleksis.lzmk.hr/58319/. Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 3. The church of St. Anastasia, Zadar, http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zadarska_katedrala. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 4. San Nicola, Bari,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saint_Nicholas.
Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 5. The cathedral of San Sabino, Bari,
http://wikimapia.org/5840077/Cathedral-of-St-Sabinus.
Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 6. The cathedral of Sant'Eustachio, Matera (photograph by author).

Fig. 7. . The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – interior,
http://www.panoramio.com/photo/9012535. Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 8. The cathedral of San Sabino, Bari – interior,
http://www.officeoftourism.org/img/europe/ita/pug-ba-duomo.jpg.
Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 9. The cathedral of San Nicola Pellegrino, Trani – interior, http://www.dpeck.info/italy/italy2011c.htm.
Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 10. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – view
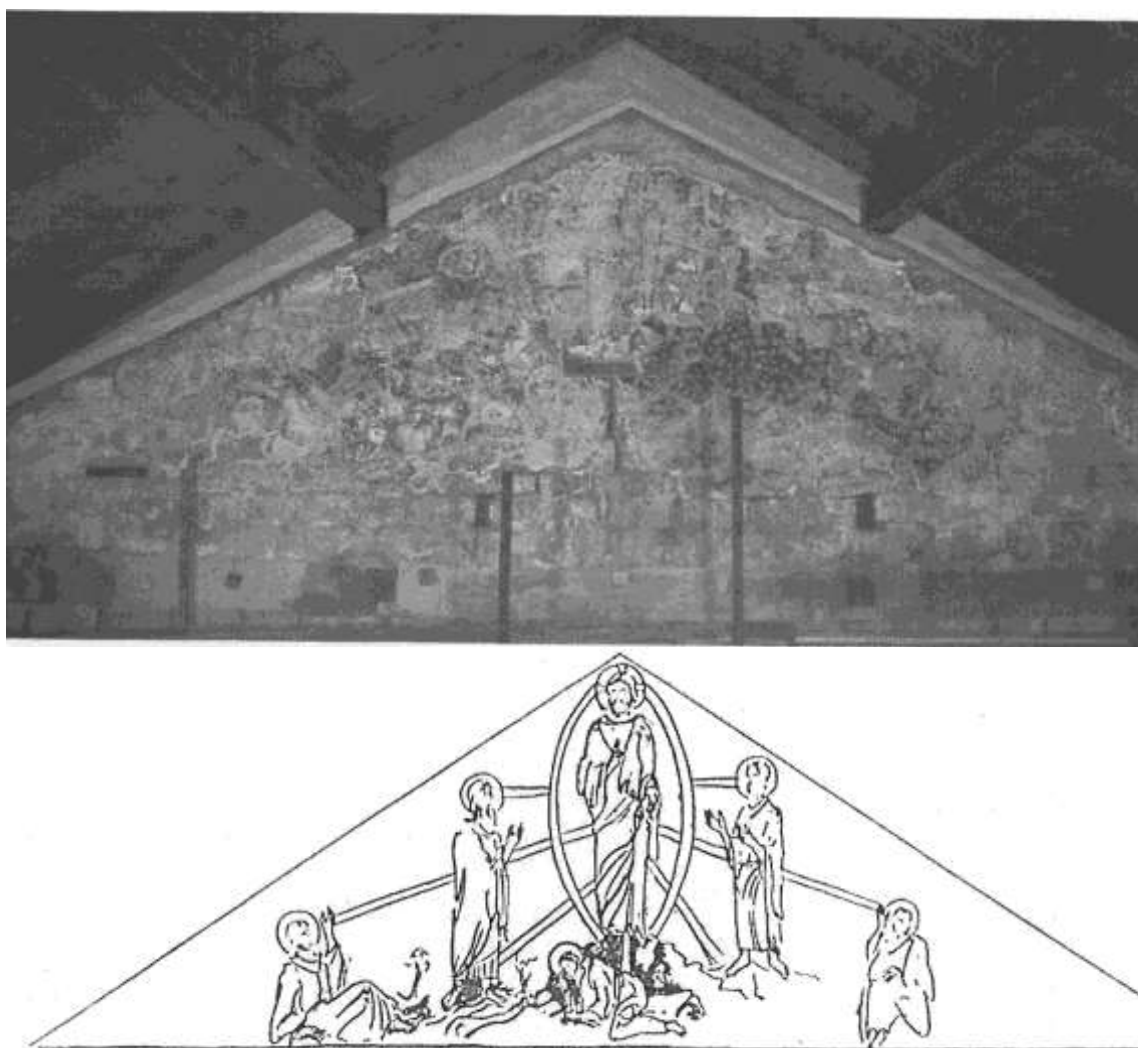on the northern apse and the northern wall (photograph by author).

71

Fig. 11. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – the Transfiguration scene: a. current state, b: ideal reconstruction by MiljenkoDomjan, The Croatian Conservation Institute, Report of the Restoration Campaign of 2011-2012, 25-26.

Fig. 12. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar – the northern apse calotte,
(photograph by author).



Fig. 13. The row of saints in the northern apse, detail - Cosmas and Damien,
(photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

73

Fig. 14. The row of saints in the northern apse, detail - unidentified saint (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

Fig. 15. The row of saints in the northern apse, detail - inscription held by John the Baptist (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).



Fig. 16. View on the triumphal arch - the Annunciation scene, (photograph by Ivan Srša).

Fig. 17. View on the northern wall – the archangel Michael, the Deesis and a part of the fragmented bishop scene (photograph by author).



Fig. 18. The southern apse calotte, Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru*, photograph 31.

Fig. 20. The southern wall – figure on a horse fragment, Ćiril M. Iveković, *Crkva i samostan Sv. Krševana u Zadru*, photograph 32.

Fig. 19. The Annunciation scene, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 21. The small Deesis scene (photo by Ivan Srša).

Fig. 22. The Archangel Michael (photo by author)

Fig. 23. The Archangel Michael, detail (photo by author).

Fig. 24. Icon of St. Michael, Pisa, Museo Nazionale San Matteo,
http://www.culturaitalia.it/viewItem.jsp?language=it&case&id=oai:scalarchives.com:0039659

https://www.academia.edu/913218/Pisa_bizantina._Alle_origini_del_culto_delle_icone_in_Toscana.

Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 25. The Nativity, detail – baby Jesus, (photograph by Ivan Srša).

Fig. 26. The Nativity, detail (photograph by author).



Fig. 27. The Nativity, detail (photograph by author).



Fig. 28. The Nativity, detail – the shepherds (photograph by author).

Fig. 29. The bell-tower
of the church of St. Mary
– Majestas Domini,
(photograph property of
the Croatian
Conservation Institute).



Fig. 30. San Angelo in Formis – Majestas Domini,
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sant%27Angelo-in-Formis-Christus-Pantocrator.jpg.
Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 31. The church of St Peter, Zadar – Deesis (photograph by author).



Fig. 32. The cathedral of St. Anastasia – Deesis (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).



Fig. 33. The cathedral of St. Anastasia – Deesis, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

81

Fig. 34.The church of St. John the Baptist, Šipan, Deesis, Peković, Željko. *Četiri elafitske crkve*, 62.



Fig. 35. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – Deesis. Željko Peković. *Četiri elafitske crkve*, 40.



Fig. 36. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – Archangel Gabriel, Ibid, 76.

Fig. 37. The church of St. Nicholas, Koločep – archangel Michael, Ibid.



Fig. 38. The church of St. John the Baptist, Šipan - archangel Michael, Ibid.





Fig. 39. (photograph by author)
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail.          b. Lama d' Antico, detail.

83

Fig. 40.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

b. The church of Santa Cecilia, Monopoli, detail (photograph by author).



Fig. 41.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

b. The church of San Lorenzo, Fasano, detail (photograph by author).

Fig. 42.

a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph property of the Croatian Conservation Institute).

b. Lama d' Antico, detail (photograph by Roberto Rotondo).





Fig. 43.

a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph by Ivan Srša).

b. The church of St. Cecilia, detail, (photograph by author).

85

Fig. 44.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail
b. Lama d' Antico, detail, (photograph by Roberto Rotondo)





Fig. 45.
a. The church of St. Chrysogonus, Zadar, detail, (photograph by author).
b. The church of San Lorenzo, detail, (photograph by author).

86

Fig. 46. St. Lorenzo, Fazano, exterior, (photograph by author).



Fig. 47. Lama D'Antico, exterior, (photograph by author).



Fig. 48. St. Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni, exterior, (photograph by author).

Fig. 49. Lama D'Antico, interior, http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/.
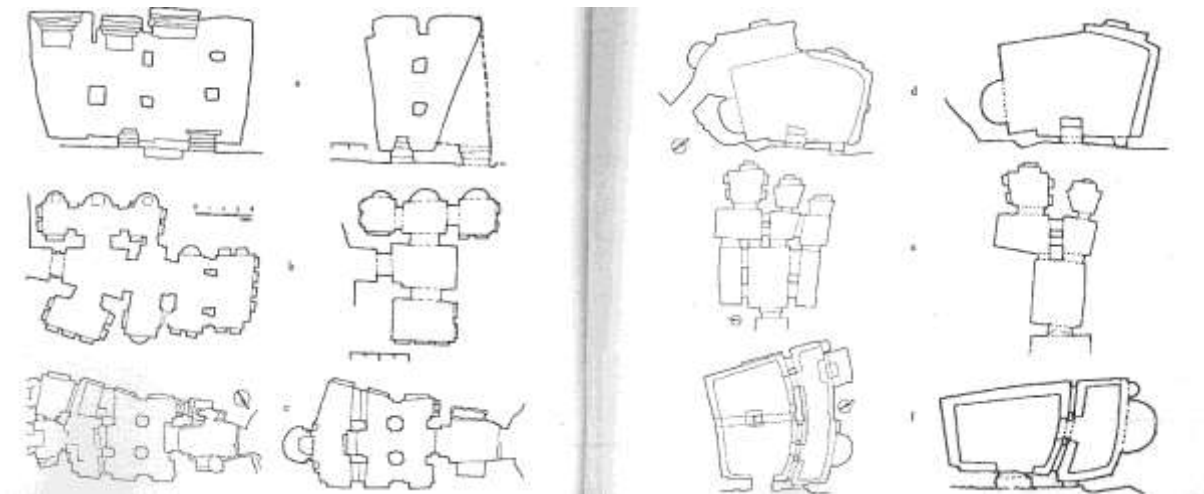Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 50. Some of the varieties of ground plans for rock-cut churches in Southern Italy, dell'Aquila, Franco dell'Aquila, Aldo Messina, *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, 34-35.

Fig. 51. Different solutions of the Deesis scene:



a.	San Matteo, Monopoli,
http://isegretidimonopoli.altervista.org/chiese-e-ambienti-rupestri.html. Last accessed May 2014.



b.	San Nicola, Mottola,
http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habitat_rupestre_di_Mottola. Last accessed May 2014.



c.	San Lorenzo, Fasano (photograph by author).



d.	San Zaccario, Monopoli, Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumentale Bizantina in Puglia,* 136.

89

Fig. 52. Lama d'Antico – the Deesis/Majestas Domini composition,
http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/. Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 53. Nativity, detail with medallions of prophets, San
Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni (photo by author)



Fig. 54. . Lama d'Antico – blind arches with
bishops, http://www.lamadantico.it/it/home/.
Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 55. Nativity, San Biagio, San Vito dei Normanni
a.     Photograph by author.                                   b.        Drawing, Franco dell'Aquila, Aldo Massina, *Le chiese rupestri di Puglia e Basilicata*, 56.





Fig. 57. Nativity. Portal of Santa Maria della Cerrate, Lecce, (photograph by Linda Safran).

Fig. 56. Nativity, portal of the cathedral of St. Lawrence, Trogir, http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datoteka:Trogir_cathedral_entrance.jpg. Last accessed May 2014.

Fig. 58. Apse, detail, Santa Maria della Cerrate,
http://ica.princeton.edu/images/tomekovic/st.03514.jpg.
Last accessed May 2014.



Fig. 59. Saint John the Baptist, Šipan,
vaulting, Željko Peković, *Četiri elafitske
crkve*, 54.

92