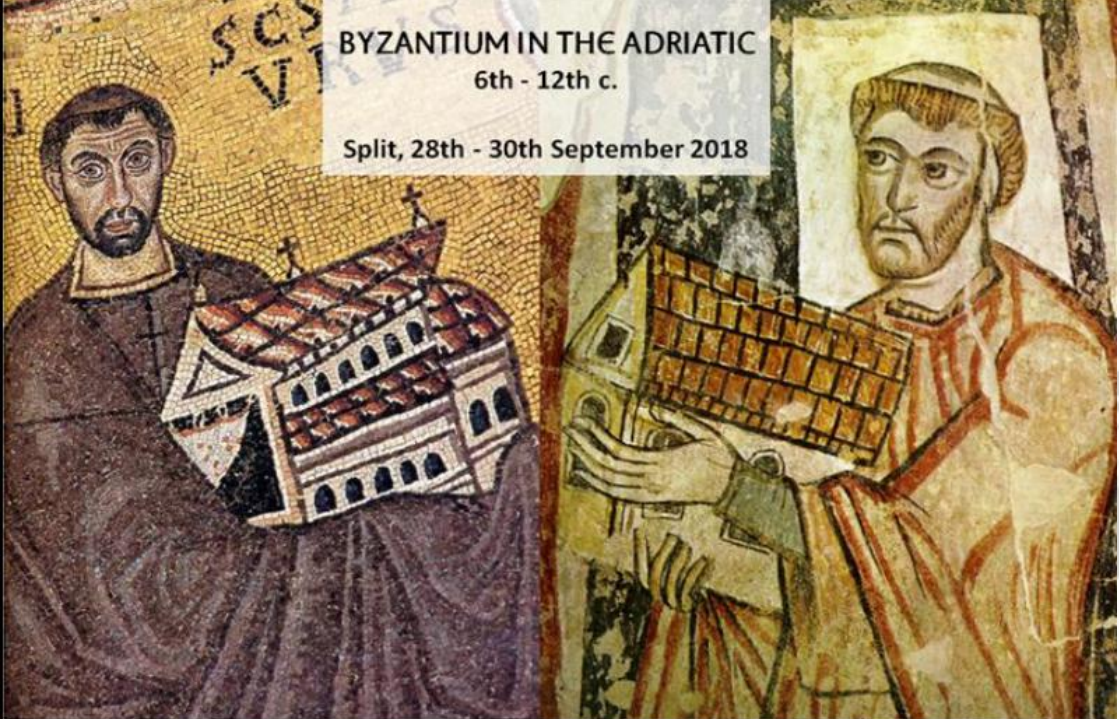


BYZANTIUM IN THE ADRIATIC

6th - 12th c.

Split, 28th - 30th September 2018



**BYZANTIUM IN THE
ADRIATIC
FROM THE 6TH TO 12TH
CENTURY**



Programme & Abstracts

Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments
Split, Croatia, 28-30 September
2018

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

BYZANTIUM IN THE ADRIATIC

FROM THE 6TH TO 12TH
CENTURY

Programme & Abstracts

Conference organized by

Croatian Society for Byzantine Studies,
Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social
Sciences, University of Split,

&

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social
Sciences, University of Zagreb



Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments
Split, 28-30 September

2018

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PROGRAMME

Friday, September 28

Arrival and registration (9:00-10:00) (Venue: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments)

Opening ceremony and opening remarks (10:00-10:30)

Hrvoje GRAČANIN (University of Zagreb)

Ivan BASIĆ (University of Split)

Gloria VICKOV (Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Split)

Tomislav ĐONLIĆ (Head of the Administrative Department for Social Activities, Split-Dalmatia County)

Keynote lecture (10:30-11:30)

Judith HERRIN (King's College, London)

“The Cosmographer of Ravenna and his World View”

Coffee break (11:30-11:45)

Book presentations & Round table discussion ‘New Winds in Early Medieval Adriatic?’

Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic: Byzantium, the Carolingians and the Treaty of Aachen (812). Edited by Mladen Ančić – Jonathan Shepard – Trpimir Vedriš. London–New York: Routledge, 2018.

Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire. Edited by Ante Milošević – Danijel Dzino – Trpimir Vedriš. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018. [Series East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450, vol. 50].

Presented by Mladen ANČIĆ (University of Zadar), Ivan BASIĆ (University of Split), Danijel DZINO (Macquarie University, Sydney), and Trpimir VEDRIŠ (University of Zagreb).

Lunch break (13:00-15:00)

Afternoon sessions (15:00-17:00)

SESSION I: DEFINING BYZANTIUM IN THE ADRIATIC CONTEXT (15:00-16:30)

Sauro GELICHI (Università Ca' Foscari, Venice)

“The Identity of Venice and the Byzantine World”

Neven BUDAK (University of Zagreb)

“Zadar as Byzantium in Dalmatia”

Milena REPAJIĆ (University of Belgrade)

“Beyond the National Narrative: Towards a New Paradigm in Approaching Byzantine Balkans Peripheries”

Discussion

18:30 Book presentation (venue: Institute for Scientific and Artistic Work of Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Milesi Palace, Trg braće Radića 7, Split)

Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire: New Evidence, New Approaches (4th-8th centuries). Edited by Marianne Sághy – Edward M. Schoolman. Budapest: CEU Press, 2017.

Presented by Hrvoje GRAČANIN (University of Zagreb) and Ivan BASIĆ (University of Split)



20:00 Opening of the exhibition “The Eastern Adriatic and Byzantium” (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments)

Saturday, September 29

Morning sessions (9:30-13:30) (Venue: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments)

***SESSION II: ORIGINS AND SUBSTRATUM OF THE 'ADRIOBYZANTINE'
POLITEÍA – THE 'GOLDEN AGE OF JUSTINIAN' (9:30-11:00)***

Alexander SARANTIS (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen)

“The Geopolitical Role of Dalmatia in Justinian’s Balkan and Gothic Wars”

Emanuela FOGLIADINI (Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Settentrionale, Milano)

“Christological Themes in select apse mosaics from sixth-century Byzantine Adriatic”

Maria Cristina CARILE (Università di Bologna)

“Artistic Culture in Ravenna between the 6th and the 8th Century: Visual Strategies enacted in the Changing Picture of the Byzantine Adriatic”

Discussion

Coffee break (11:00-11:30)

***SESSION III: THE EARLY BYZANTINE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE IN THE
MATERIAL AND TEXTUAL RECORD (11:30-13:30)***

Nikolina URODA (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split)

“Early Byzantine Monasticism in Central Dalmatia”

Morana ČAUŠEVIĆ-BULLY – Sébastien BULLY (Université Bourgogne
Franche-Comté, Besançon / CNRS, Dijon)

“The Ecclesial complex of Martinšćica (island of Cres, Kvarner
Archipelago): Archaeological Evidence for the Byzantine Occupation
Phase”

Ante MILOŠEVIĆ (Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split)

“Byzantine Components in the Past of Bribir (*Varvaria*)”

Dragana KUNČER (Institute of History, Belgrade)

“Latinophony in Salona at the End of the Sixth Century”

Discussion

Lunch break (13:30-15:30)

Afternoon sessions (15:30-18:00)

***SESSION IV: CONTINUITY & DISCONTINUITY OF BYZANTINE
PRESENCE IN THE 'DARK CENTURIES' (15:30-17:30)***

Daniel SYRBE (Radboud University, Nijmegen)

“Between Rome and Constantinople. The Bishops of Dalmatia and the Adriatic in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages”

Trpimir VEDRIŠ (University of Zagreb)

“The Cult of ‘Byzantine’ Saints in Early Medieval Dalmatia Between Rome and Constantinople”

Danijel DZINO (Macquarie University, Sydney)

“After the Apocalypse: The Byzantine *kleissourae* in 7th- and 8th-century Dalmatia”

Ivan BASIĆ (University of Split)

“Imperial Vocabulary on the Move: Bishop Theodore of Catania and the Origins of the Early Medieval ‘Adriobyzantine’ Discourse of the Adriatic Basin”

Discussion

Coffee break (17:30-18:00)



20:00 Gala dinner for the participants (Venue: to be announced)

Sunday, September 30

Morning sessions (9:30-13:30) (Venue: Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments)

***SESSION V: TRANSMISSION OF TEXTS AND THE BYZANTINE
PERCEPTION OF THE EASTERN ADRIATIC (9:30-11:30)***

Łukasz RÓŻYCKI (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

“Peintre du Chaos without Painting. The Presentation of the Adriatic Coastland in the Work of Theophylact Simocatta”

Milenko LONČAR (University of Zadar)

“The Dalmatian Chapters of the *De Administrando Imperio* in the Recent Literature”

Irena CVIJANOVIĆ (Institute of History, Belgrade)

“Cities and Communications on the Eastern Coast of the Adriatic Sea in Medieval Arabic Travelogues”

Tamara MATOVIĆ (Institute for Byzantine Studies, Belgrade)

“Latin and Greek Diplomatic Formulas: Searching for Translations, Variations, and Transplantations”

Discussion

Coffee break (11:30-12:00)

***SESSION VI, PART 1: LATIN & SLAVIC BYZANTINISMS – THE
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF IDEAS, ART FORMS, AND CULTURAL
PRACTICES (12:00-13:30)***

Teodoro DE GIORGIO (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

“The Medieval Representation of the Warrior Christ and Its Influence in the Art of the Eastern Adriatic coast (6th-12th centuries)”

Meri ZORNIJA (University of Zadar)

“A New Perspective on 11th-century Sculpture in Southern Dalmatia”

Magdalena SKOBLAR (London)

“What Do You Call an Icon?’ – Evidence for the Adriatic before 1204.”

Discussion

Lunch break (13:30-15:30)

Afternoon sessions (15:30-19:00)

***SESSION VI, PART 2: LATIN & SLAVIC BYZANTINISMS – THE
TRANSFER AND RECEPTION OF IDEAS, ART FORMS, AND CULTURAL
PRACTICES (15:30-17:00)***

Desi MARANGON (Università di Padova)

“Byzantine Influence on Latin Lettering: The Circulation of Hybrid
Inscriptions in Venice and the Case of the *Pala d’oro*”

Srdan ŠARKIĆ (University of Novi Sad)

“Between Byzantium and the Adriatic Cities (Considerations on Some
Institutes of Serbian Mediaeval Law)”

Marko RIMAC (University of Split)

“Byzantine Influence on Medieval Croatian Land Surveying and
Measurements”

Discussion

Coffee break (17:00-17:30)

SESSION VII: THE KOMNENOS' RENAISSANCE OF THE 12TH CENTURY
(17:30-19:00)

Mladen ANČIĆ (University of Zadar)

“*Dux nomine Reles*: How did Emanuel Komnenos’ Imperial Machine Function?”

Marko PETRAK (University of Zagreb)

“*Catapanus* in 12th-century Kotor”

Dubravka PRERADOVIĆ (Lyon)

“Consecration of the St. Tryphon Cathedral in 1166: The Cult of Saint and Relics Venerated in Kotor Around the Middle of the 12th Century”

General discussion and the closing of the conference (19:00-20:00)

ABSTRACTS

Mladen Ančić

Department of History, University of Zadar

Dux nomine Reles: How Did Emanuel Komnenos' Imperial Machine Function?

The starting point of this discussion is the story told by the chronicler of Split, Thomas the Archdeacon. Among many other stories Thomas used in his work, one is about a certain Duke Relja – *dux Relles*. Thomas speaks of a mysterious duke who attacked his city, Split, whose attack was repelled by the citizens. The story is clearly situated in the timeframe that covers Byzantine rule in Dalmatia during the 1160's and 1170's. Because he speaks about events that happened almost a century before his time, Thomas simply reproduces his source without providing context. That led him to the conclusion that Relja, who was clearly called *uir Slavigena* in his source, must have been a local Croatian strongman – *quidam Chrouatorum dux*. My contention is that Thomas misunderstood his source and that *dux Relles* was in fact the commander of the Serbian detachment that took part in the Byzantine expedition to Dalmatia in 1165. After a small Hungarian detachment captured Niceta Caloupha, the Byzantine administrator of the newly acquired province of Dalmatia in 1166, *dux Relles* evidently tried to take advantage of the situation and acquire territory for his overlord, the Serbian grand *župan* Stefan Nemanja. Discussing relevant sources covering those events sheds new light on the subject of the military organization of Emanuel Komnenos' expeditions.

Ivan Basić

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Split

Imperial Vocabulary On the Move: Bishop Theodore of Catania and the Origins of the Early Medieval “Adriobyzantine” Discourse of the Adriatic Basin

The imperial legacy of Byzantium manifested itself along the Adriatic rim in various aspects, not all of them studied equally in current scholarship. The sources range from official and literary texts, inscriptions, seals, and so on to archaeological artifacts, objects of art and lexical features, all of them pointing to remnants of a Byzantine political and social presence and its *longue durée* in the region, representing a sort of Adriobyzantism or Latin Byzantism, an intellectual product of a marginal Byzantine cultural zone. Coincidentally, these sources enable a better understanding of the scope and nature of the Byzantine substrate across the entire early medieval Adriatic region.

An intellectual product *par excellence* of these cross-cultural influences were Latinized traces of Byzantine loanwords (a sort of Adriobyzantism in their own right) among the populace of Venice and Dalmatia, observed, e.g., by Gottschalk of Orbais ca. 840-848, and thoroughly studied recently. The phrases mentioned by Gottschalk (*imperium nostrum*, *regnum nostrum*, *dominatio nostra*) are actually appropriated lexical Byzantinisms of the imperial court denoting the person of the emperor and his office (ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, τὸ κράτος ἡμῶν). They represent the influence of diplomatic formulas in the charters issued by the Byzantine imperial chancery. The evident penetration of Byzantine courtly language via this “majestic discourse” suggests a regular reception of Byzantine documents in the Adriatic provinces of the empire as well as regular communication between the local élites and Constantinople in relation to ceremonies involving imperial ideology. At the same time neighboring regions (Venice, Istria, Dalmatia) were exposed to the same phenomena (by way of Greek documents and travels); moreover, they shared a common linguistic background (vulgar Latin and Proto-Romance). What lay in the background of Gottschalk’s observations on their syntax were in fact complex mechanisms of Byzantine culture.

This paper tackles the following questions: what generated the said discourse? What kind of “local knowledge” (in Geertz’s sense) lies behind these lexical peculiarities? Can these linguistic features be placed in a wider comparative context with special attention to other marginal, peripheral areas of Byzantium in the West? The Eastern Empire ceased to be functionally bilingual in the 7th century at the latest, notwithstanding some survivals of Latin-speaking subjects of the emperor (e.g., Thessalonica). These survivals of Latin had died out gradually by the end of the 7th and early 8th century, so the only ones among Byzantine subjects still using it were those living along the coasts of the Adriatic and Ionian seas: Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, southern Italy and Sicily; at the same time, these are areas where the influence of Greek terminology was particularly strong. A case in point is the Sicilian Bishop Theodore of Catania, who attended the Nicaean Council in 787. Before that, in 785, he was a member of an imperial embassy sent to Rome by the strategos of Sicily on the orders of Constantine VI. Theodore’s account of his travels, i.e., his manner of speech when referring to his lord, the emperor, offers a new example of the same phraseology, betraying the influence of transpersonal forms of imperial office. This conciliar text – until now unnoticed in historiography – is examined here, further developing arguments on the penetration of Byzantine culture into the contacts between the Adriatic basin and the imperial metropolis.

Neven Budak

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Split

Zadar as Byzantium in Dalmatia

The question of a Byzantine presence on the eastern Adriatic coast in the early Middle Ages is still very intriguing and without sure answers. To what extent was the authority of the Eastern Empire real and not just nominal? What was the theme of Dalmatia really? What was the relationship between Croatian rulers, Dalmatian cities, and emperors? A separate problem is the role of Zadar as the most important center. Can we assume that Zadar took over the role of Dalmatian metropolis instead of Salona? What role did the Church play in this regard and did other reasons exist for elevating Zadar to the detriment of Salona? Was Zadar too Westernized to be considered Byzantine? In this paper, I try to answer these questions, bearing in mind that the scarcity of written and archaeological sources does not allow the desired security in the conclusions. The civil and ecclesiastical aspect of the development of the city will be followed until the great changes brought about by the rule of the kings Petar Krešimir IV and Zvonimir.

Maria Cristina Carile

Dipartimento di Beni Culturali, Alma Mater Studiorum – Università di Bologna

Artistic Culture in Ravenna Between the Sixth and Eighth Century: Visual Strategies in the Changing Picture of the Byzantine Adriatic

After the Gothic wars and the return of Ravenna to Byzantine rule in 540, the city played a growing role on the Adriatic, impacting the development of arts in the lands on the opposite sides of the sea as much as inland, and, from the last quarter of the sixth century, on the Pentapolis. This is attested in the mosaics of the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč as well as in the spread of Ravenna's funerary and architectural sculpture in Dalmatia and to the south from Rimini as far as Ancona. Until the Lombard conquest of the eighth century, through the outposts of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, Byzantium had a preferential route to Europe. It was precisely through Ravenna that its influence spread on artistic and visual culture. Seventh-century Ravenna's primary political and military role as the seat of the exarchate, however, did not leave much artistic evidence. Indeed, at that time Ravenna's architecture, mosaics, and sculpture show a great change in quality, size, and materials. The arts in general seem to have suffered a certain decline, as if the artistic workshops which were active in the sixth century, hired many less-skilled artisans or even disappeared. Although artistic production did not stop, it decreased. This is attested in church architecture, for instance, by increasing reductions in size. But it is also visible in 7th-century monumental mosaics, where glass and gold tesserae were used sparingly. Such a phenomenon might have been determined by new social dynamics or by the changed equilibrium of trade in the Adriatic and larger Mediterranean. It might also have been influenced by a change in taste and the acceptance of new trends. In that period, however, the arts mostly showed a continuous use of iconographies and motifs that had found their routes in the sixth century. That visual language was of Byzantine and Mediterranean tradition and expressed the culture and intents that learned patrons belonging to the Byzantine élites wanted to convey to the people. Conversely, it also demonstrated that people living in Ravenna and its areas of influence were still able to decipher messages conveyed by art. Indeed,

although showing an evident decline in quality and technique, 7th-century visual evidence for Ravenna can be defined as the expression of a wide Byzantine culture that had been shaped in the 6th century. In spite of its changes, such a culture did not die in the city, in the areas under its influence or on the other side of the Adriatic. After the Lombard conquest of Ravenna and the end of Byzantine rule in 751, the situation does not seem to have changed much in the city. Although the evidence is scant, the élites seemingly continued to build on a visual language of Byzantine traditions, restoring earlier mosaics and buildings as if to keep their illustrious Byzantine past alive.

This paper traces the major developments of the arts in Ravenna between the sixth and eighth century, exploring their impact on the surrounding areas – namely, inland and on the Pentapolis – and on the opposite coast of the Adriatic. This analysis will render a picture of the changes that appear to have occurred within and outside the city during and after Byzantine rule. It will clarify the impact of Byzantium and a culture of Byzantine tradition not only in the arts, but on the visuality enacted by the élites and received by the people living in these territories.

Irena Cvijanović
Institute of History, Belgrade

Cities and Communication on the Eastern Coast of the Adriatic Sea in Medieval Arabic Travelogues

Arabic historians and geographers have preserved data about cities and communication along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea during Byzantine rule. Previous research on Byzantium and medieval cities has been based on Greek and Latin sources and generally neglected the Arabic ones. Arabic writers paid close attention to the history of the Byzantine Empire, being the largest Mediterranean country, which left its mark on the lives of other medieval countries. Invasion by the Saracens and the route of the First Crusade along the Adriatic coast are also described by Arabic historians. The army of the Byzantine Emperor Basil I arrived in Dubrovnik to save the city from the Saracens. Raymond IV, count of Toulouse, marched with the Crusades from Istria along the coast of Dalmatia on his way to Constantinople, where he swore an oath of friendship to the Byzantine emperor, Alexius I. During the Crusades, Idrisi, the best known Arabic geographer, wrote his famous work on the court of the Norman king, Roger II of Sicily, in which he listed the main routes and cities along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea.

Morana Čaušević-Bully

Université Bourgogne Franche-Comté / UMR Chrono-environnement,
Besançon

Sébastien Bully

CNRS / UMR ARTEHIS, Dijon

The Ecclesial Complex of Martinščica (on the Island of Cres in the Kvarner Archipelago): Archaeological Evidence for the Byzantine Occupation Phase

The ecclesial complex of Martinščica is situated in the eponymous bay of the Punta Križa peninsula, a territory that belonged to the antique *civitas* of Apsorus, and undoubtedly later to the early medieval *kastron* of Opsara, as mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The archaeological research conducted on the site since 2014 clearly demonstrates the existence of an important complex formed by a 3rd century maritime villa and an Early Christian cross-shaped church along with a lateral chapel.

In the present state of research, the cross-shaped church, presumably dedicated to Saint Martin, is contemporary with the last phases of the occupation of the villa, which can be dated between the 6th and 7th century. Even if the precise dating of its construction still needs to be determined, the architectural remains rather seem to refer to a building from the end of 5th or the 6th century. Nonetheless, it is now certain that the church itself has been subject to various transformations, seen through varied material evidence such as liturgical furniture and the construction of multiple annexes. These archaeological data can now be dated between the 6th and the beginning of the 9th century. And it is precisely to the beginning of the 8th century that a Byzantine notarial seal discovered on the site can be dated.

All the documentation acquired to date raises the question of the nature of the occupation of the site, which we will cautiously suggest as monastic in the Early Byzantine period. This “interpretative reading” of the site brings us back to a close regional context where we also consider the presence of other monastic communities.

Teodoro De Giorgio

Istituto Italiano di Scienze Umane, Firenze (Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa)

The Medieval Representation of the Warrior Christ and Its Influence in the Art of the Eastern Adriatic Coast (6th to 12th centuries)

In the second half of the 5th century, Jesus Christ began to be represented as a warrior in armor shown crushing a lion and a serpent/dragon. This particular iconography, which originates from verse 13 of Sapiential Psalm 91 (*Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*), had great popularity throughout the Middle Ages, in particular in Ravenna in the age of Justinian I. This paper analyzes this unusual representation of the warrior Christ (offering an in-depth study of the origin, symbolic and cultic meaning, functions and fortune of this unusual iconography) and its influence in the art of the Eastern Adriatic coastal area. This iconography in the context of sacred art led to the origin of a decidedly military figurative current, which marked the beginning of the representations of holy warriors starting from the end of the sixth century.

Danijel Dzino

Departments of Ancient History & International Studies (Croatian Studies),
Faculty of Arts, Macquarie University, Sydney

After the Apocalypse: The Byzantine *kleissourae* in 7th- and 8th-century Dalmatia

This paper focuses on the insufficiently known and controversial period of the 7th and 8th centuries in Dalmatia. The scholarship, with only a few exceptions, generally assumes that the end of Late Antiquity and the collapse of East Roman rule in Dalmatia was brought about by migratory movements of slavophone groups, known in that period as the Sklavenes. In accordance with such a view, material culture of 7th and 8th century outside the coastal cities is ascribed to these migrants from the North.

Drawing upon the earlier research of A. Milošević, N. Jakšić and Ž. Rapanić, the paper offers a different interpretation of this period, focusing on the hinterland of Dark Age urban settlements on the Eastern Adriatic: Zadar and Split-Salona. The paper reinterprets the material culture of the Ravni Kotari and the hinterland of Split and provides arguments in favor of the continuous existence of an imperial frontier in this area. This frontier was part of the early Byzantine military districts – *kleissourae* – which continued to exist after the 7th-century imperial collapse all the way to early 9th century, when these military districts ceased to exist after the Byzantine-Carolingian war, which ended with the Peace of Aachen in 812.

Emanuela Fogliadini

Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Settentrionale, Milano

Christological themes in Selected Apse Mosaics from the 6-century Byzantine Adriatic

This paper addresses a crucial question: religious representation in the apse mosaics of 6th-century Byzantine Christian churches. The goal is to present a selection of their iconographies in respective spaces of worship before the so-called iconoclastic controversy (726/730-843), to investigate the ways some iconographic models spread or were adapted in specific contexts in order to understand the reasons why different iconographical schemas were installed in strategic areas along the Adriatic coastal road, and how images served as instruments to construct and/or to express a particular theological theory. The paper focuses on three important Byzantine apse mosaics from the 6th century: the Virgin and Child in the Eufrasian Basilica in Poreč; the Christ in the Basilica of Saint Vitale; and the Transfiguration and Saint Apollinare in the Basilica of Saint Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna. The churches selected are characterized by images, often well-preserved, and elaborate cycles of mosaics, which contributed to the great development of Christian iconography.

The apse mosaic of the Eufrasian Basilica in Poreč shows the Virgin and Child with angels, saints, clerics, laymen, and Bishop Eufrasius. Above the head of the Theotokos is the *dextera Dei* with a jewelled crown. In the Basilica of Saint Vitale, Christ offers a crown of martyrdom to Saint Vitale and accepts a model of the church from Bishop Ecclesius, its founder. Christ is youthful and beardless, with short hair, dressed in imperial purple. Beneath his feet lies a fertile landscape and the four rivers of Paradise. In the beautiful polychrome apse mosaic of the Basilica of Saint Apollinare in Classe, are the Transfiguration of Christ – embodied by a gemmed cross with a small head of Christ in the center – with Elijah and Moses, and in the lower register Saint Apollinare with twelve lambs, symbols of the twelve apostles.

The apse is the focal point of everyone entering the building. A careful comparative study of these four different artistic expressions – each placed in the same architectural position – can help to specify any shared

iconographical aspects among the contemporary mosaic apses in interconnected areas around the Adriatic, can help to evaluate the meaning of the choice of different iconographical subjects, and can help to show the different ways various Christian communities adopted to visualize the Christological themes and doctrines typical of the period.



Sauro Gelichi

Centro Interuniversitario per la Storia e l'Archeologia dell'Alto Medioevo,
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università Ca' Foscari, Venezia

The Identity of Venice and the Byzantine World

Over time, historiography has emphasized the close relationship between Venice and the Byzantine world. This relationship of dependence (of Venice on Byzantium) was involved in the forms of the political structures of this community, in the economic relations and in material components. Venice also reflected Byzantium in the architectural forms of its churches and, more generally, in the urban landscape. In reality, a different reading of the available written sources and a new analysis of archaeological and architectural remains suggests relationships of a very different nature and meaning. Thus, rather than depending on Byzantium itself, Venice depended on an idea of Byzantium elaborated over time. Tracing the ideological reconstruction of an identity makes it possible to understand how much real value these relationships had (when they existed) and how they reverberated in the lagoon community (when this happened). This paper focuses on some traditional paradigms, in particular archaeological ones (architecture, sculpture, aspects of material culture) and compares them with the contemporary ones in Byzantium, recognizing similarities, differences and/or dependencies. The end result is that Venice is much less “Byzantine” than it seems or wants to appear. Furthermore, the attitudes to food and the objects linked to conviviality (like the funerary ideology) do not have many similarities with Byzantium. Much of the “Byzantine” patina visible today in the architecture of the city is partly the result of the robberies following the Fourth Crusade. In essence, before the twelfth century, Venice and its community were closer to the behavior of the societies of the Italic Terraferma than to Byzantium.

Dragana Kunčer
Institute of History, Belgrade

Latinophony in Salona at the End of the Sixth Century

As is the case with all the other regions of Romania where Latin was transformed into the new Romance idiom, the question of the exact time when this transformation occurred can also be raised in relation to the eastern Adriatic coast. There are some opinions that the Latin diasystem remained intact on the Dalmatian coast until the end of the Exarchate of Ravenna in AD 751 (Muljačić). Other researchers – without specifying the time – have stressed the significant influence Slavic migrations had on the linguistic rupture and on the emergence of a new Romance idiom (Kramer). Some researchers have merely labelled the issue “difficult” and provided no precise answers (Ursini).

In this paper I try to define a *terminus post quem* for such a Romance development by determining the time when the Latin language with its proper features was still in use. Based on a compilation of about forty letters of Pope Gregory I (590-604) addressed to the bishops of Salona or concerning the problems of Salonitan bishops it is argued that Latin, on the eve of Slavic migrations, was the language spoken not only by clerical and civilian elite of Salonitan society, but also among the wider population in Salona and, presumably, by the wider population in other Dalmatian cities.

Milenko Lončar

Department of Classical Philology, University of Zadar

The Dalmatian Chapters of the *De Administrando Imperio* in Recent Literature

During the last two decades, several new perspectives in scholarship have appeared trying to solve the problems raised by the account of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his treatise *De Administrando Imperio*, chapters 29-36. This paper presents an overview, mainly from the philological point of view, of recent literature pertaining to that issue, focusing on authors such as Tibor Živković, Danijel Džino, and Mladen Ančić.

Desi Marangon

University of Padova, PhD program in Historical, Geographical,
Anthropological Studies

Byzantine Influence on Latin Lettering: The Circulation of Hybrid Inscriptions in Venice and the Case of the *Pala d'oro*

The *Pala d'oro* is the high altar retable located in the church of San Marco in Venice, considered one of the most refined and accomplished works of Byzantine enamel. Commissioned in Constantinople at the time of the alliance between Venice and Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1118), it was restored by Doge Pietro Ziani in 1209, just after the Fourth Crusade, and again in 1343 during the reign of Doge Andrea Dandolo one hundred years before the fall of Constantinople.

The enamel inscriptions of the *Pala d'oro* are among the earliest known items of evidence of the paleographical phenomenon defined by the Italian scholar Armando Petrucci as “*Scrivere alla greca*”, referring to Western epigraphic sources or manuscripts in Latin alphabets infused with Greek letter forms. This Byzantine influence on Latin letters produced a sort of hybrid alphabet that lasted in Venice until the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire; it can be detected on mosaics, icons, and stone inscriptions, most of them located in the church of San Marco. Considering the history of the *Pala d'oro* through an epigraphic lens also means reflecting on the history of the relationship between Venice and Byzantium.

The aim of this paper is to consider the insertion of Greek features in Venetian inscriptions within the broader historical context, reflecting on political and artistic aspects, and focusing on the circulation and assimilation of material culture with Byzantine characteristics in Venice during the 12th century. The case of the *Pala d'oro* and its peculiar hybrid lettering allows an exploration of a new sphere of Byzantine influence in Venice and therefore on the Adriatic area.

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Latin and Greek Diplomatic Formulas: Searching for Translations, Variations, and Transplantations

This communication highlights the parallels between diplomatic formulas found in private documents written in medieval towns on the Eastern Adriatic and Byzantine documents, especially those conserved in archives of the Mount Athos monasteries. Some formulas are very archaic, written in the Greek *koine* language, and can be traced back to prototypes in Egyptian papyri. Under Hellenistic influence, Byzantine documents encompassed numerous, at that time already well known and frequently used, phrases in contracts and wills. Some of them related to legal institutions and procedures, but many of them lost any actual legal meaning. Partially through Byzantine experience, these characteristic patterns also became usual in any written private deed in Latin documents written in Byzantine towns on the Eastern Adriatic coast. Some formulas persisted not only during the time of Byzantine supremacy, but continued in use throughout the medieval period.

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The Byzantine Component of the Past of Bribir (*Varvaria*)

Numerous and diverse archaeological remains on Glavica hill in Bribir attest that in the past the inhabitants of this settlement (the prehistoric and ancient *Varvaria* and medieval *Breberium*) had frequent and intense contacts with different and distant Mediterranean regions and also with those in deeper inland. Here, contacts with the Byzantine sphere, which can be traced more-or-less continuously from Justinian's era to the 12th century, are discussed. Starting with a monumental rotunda with eight apses and ending with the many specimens of weapons and military equipment in Dalmatia, special attention is paid to the contexts in which these artifacts were found at the locality, ultimately answering the question of how and under what historical circumstances they were deposited on Bribir's Glavica.

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Catapanus in 12th-Century Kotor

The goal of this contribution is to analyse the presence of Byzantine governmental structures in 12th-century Kotor. According to the surviving charter from 1166 related to the dedication of the Cathedral of St. Tryphon, it is known that under the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos the city of Kotor was part of the *ducatus* (δοκάτον) of Dalmatia and Dioclea. More precisely, the charter mentions a certain “kyr Izanacius,” *dux Dalmatie atque Dioclie*, who was present in person at the dedication ceremony.

Apart from the *ducatus*, there are no direct sources related to the question of whether Kotor was also a component of some other Byzantine state structure in the 12th century. All until now, there was only one possible indirect trace: the first of the *testes* of a Kotor donation act from 1124 bore the name *Bucinus catapanus*. There has not been a unanimous interpretation among historians regarding the meaning of the word *catapanus*. Some authors have claimed that *catapanus* was merely a personal name, while others have argued that *catapanus* was indeed Byzantine *κατεπάνω*, an important function of the Byzantine state. Only recently (2016), when a judgment issued by the *consules* of Kotor dated between 1154 and 1181 was published for the first time, was the mention of a certain *Petrus catapanus* found among *nomina testium*. This new finding undoubtedly expands the possibility that a catepanate really existed as a Byzantine structure in 12th-century Kotor.

Building upon these facts, this contribution tries to answer questions such as: what could the nature of the possible *κατεπανίκιον* have been; whether it is probable that the seat of the *catapanus* was in Kotor; what kind of relation could have existed between the *dux Dalmatie atque Dioclie* and the *catapanus*, and other considerations.

Dubravka Preradović
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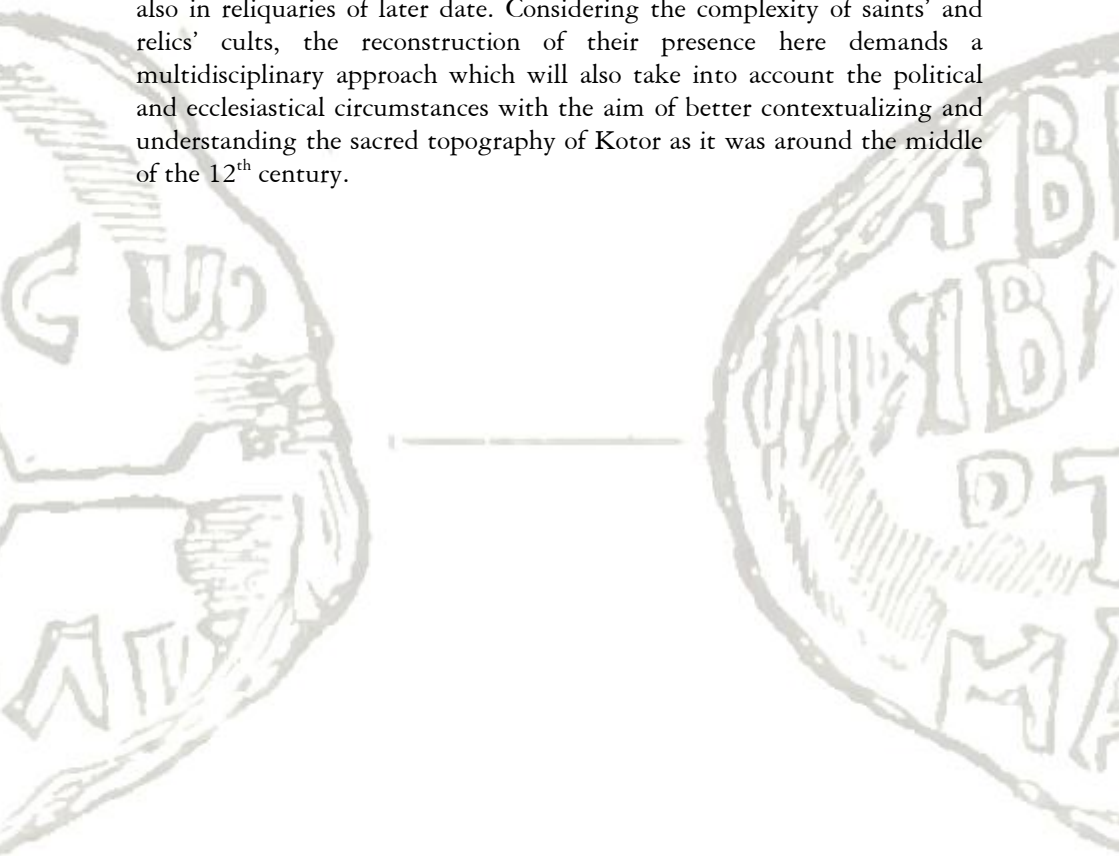
The Consecration of the St. Tryphon Cathedral in 1166: The Cult of a Saint and Relics Venerated in Kotor Around the Middle of the 12th Century

The newly built cathedral of Kotor was consecrated on June 19, 1166. The bishop of Kotor, Maio, consecrated the church in the presence of the local southern-Dalmatian bishops, abbots, and archimandrites, kyr *Izanacio*, the dux of Dalmatia and Doclea, *priores* of Kotor and Arbanon, as well as all the citizens of Kotor. This and other valuable information comes from the charter written on parchment, today preserved in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. The same document reveals that Bishop Maio consecrated the main altar to Saint Tryphon and to the saint-martyrs Primus and Felicianus. Lazarus, bishop of Arbanon, consecrated the left altar to the Virgin Mary and the Innocents and John, bishop of Ulcinj consecrated the altar on the opposite side to the twelve Apostles and the martyrs John and Paul. This event took place during the pontificate of Pope Alexander and the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos.

This document pictures *in nuce* the administrative and ecclesiastical history of the city of Kotor and its episcopal seat. Indirectly, it casts light on the nature of the Byzantine presence on the Adriatic during its brief rule over Dalmatia in the years between 1165 and 1180. The significant presence of seven abbots underlines the importance of Benedictine communities in the city and in the region. In contrast, the fact that no archbishops attended the consecration of the cathedral and that Bishop Maio was assisted by only three bishops can be explained by the particular position of the Kotor diocese, at the time oscillating between Dubrovnik and Bari. Finally, and of the most concern here, the charter gives important insights on the saints venerated in the cathedral and in the city, indicating a significant presence of saint martyrs originating from Rome as a new layer in the pantheon of locally venerated saints.

This charter is a starting point for reconstructing the cult of saints and relics venerated in Kotor around the middle of the 12th century. Important

data are to be found in other written sources from the same period – notably in the recently published twelfth-century Pontifical from Kotor (St. Petersburg, BRAN, F. 200) and in the well known liturgical Missal of Kotor (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin–Preussischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Ms. lat. fol. 920) – as well as in monuments and archaeological finds *in situ*, but also in reliquaries of later date. Considering the complexity of saints' and relics' cults, the reconstruction of their presence here demands a multidisciplinary approach which will also take into account the political and ecclesiastical circumstances with the aim of better contextualizing and understanding the sacred topography of Kotor as it was around the middle of the 12th century.



Milena Repajić

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Beyond the National Narrative: Towards a New Paradigm in Approaching Byzantine Balkan Peripheries

“Nations do not exist in the Middle Ages” is a statement most historians will agree with worldwide. This statement, however, often does not go further than a disclaimer and the subsequent text on medieval history is woven into a national narrative. That is still the mainstream approach in most Balkan historiographies, where a teleological search for the origins of nations is the key to studying Byzantine history. Byzantine politics in the Balkans is compartmentalized into the research into the Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, etc. medieval past(s), thus blurring our knowledge of Byzantine policies on the one hand, and of development of the Balkans region(s) and its politics on the other. A good example of this is the case of the Serbian politics on the Adriatic and the immediate hinterland that researchers almost exclusively put in the framework of the history of “Serbian lands” (as far as the Morava River), rather than the history of the Adriatic. An additional problem is a lack of theoretical reflection, indicated in loose terminology using modern notions of “state,” “independence,” “sovereignty,” “international recognition,” and others when describing the Middle Ages without the necessary definitions of what those terms might designate. Scholars throughout the Balkans and abroad have made significant progress in the past decade, paving the way for further research. This paper dwells on the theoretical challenges and possible new frameworks for researching Byzantium in the Balkans, as well as the Balkans themselves within wider European medieval history. First, we need a different perspective on Byzantine politics, particularly on the way it changed in the 12th century considering the new results of the Byzantine republican tradition and the Komnenian shift towards family rule. More importantly, I suggest a paradigm shift from the national narrative towards the study of kinship, regional, and municipal structures (the latter being particularly relevant in the Adriatic). Combined, the two might provide a starting point for further discussion on the history of the Balkan periphery in the Byzantine context.

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Byzantine Influence on Medieval Croatian Land Surveying and Measurements

Byzantine and Roman influence on measurement systems in medieval Croatia has already been postulated by different historians, but there have never been any attempts at confirmation. The author came to the question of length and area measures while analyzing field systems in the present-day Dalmatian hinterland. A hypothesis was established that field systems as recorded at the beginning of the 18th century were a reflection of a centuries-long evolution. This was concluded on the basis of several cases where field systems were presumed to be based on medieval surveying because premodern, i.e., medieval units called *ždribi* (a synonym of *baština*, *mansus*, *hoba*, *hufa*, *virgate*, *sessio* etc., meaning the area of one peasant/serf calibrated for the work of a pair of oxen) could still be identified there. Those units were recognized as possibly medieval because they were based on area measures used in the measurement systems of medieval Dalmatian urban communes (Zadar, Nin, Šibenik, Split, Trogir, and others). Leaving aside that question for future research, here the focus is on the question of measures alone. Comparing measures was a natural result of trying to establish which measures were used by the surveyors who established the field systems. Several area measures (*gonjaj*, *mina*, and *vreteno*) in Dalmatia had a common denominator 100, 144, 150, 225, or 400 square *rozga*, i.e., rods). After several combinations and recombinations of such ratios the analysis shows that a set of medieval area measures used in the Eastern Adriatic are derived from the Early Byzantine measure $\mu\acute{o}\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (888.73 m² according to Schilbach).

Łukasz Różycki

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Peintre du chaos without Painting. The Presentation of the Adriatic Coastland in the Work of Theophylact Simocatta

The purpose here is an in-depth analysis of how Theophylact Simocatta speaks of the coastal areas of the Adriatic Sea and the Western Balkans. Theophylact's work is one of the key sources for studying the 6th century, but he presents the events in a disorderly fashion; the resulting narrative is incomplete and demands extensive reconstruction. In his work, Theophylact rarely mentions events taking place in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula or eastern Italy, focusing rather on the clashes with the Slavs and Avars in Moesia. Nevertheless, he does occasionally include information about these other areas, sometimes using incorrect chronology, and at other times betraying his lack of understanding of the region's geography. Compiling all the information presented in *Historiae*, may make it possible to understand the series of events that led to the breakdown of Roman defense in these areas and to identify the role that the Adriatic coastland played in Emperor Maurice's political plans.

* The title is a reference to the piece by Ivan V. Krivouchine, "Théophylacte Simocatta, peintre du chaos," *Études Balcaniques* 1 (1994): 113–134.

Alexander Sarantis

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The Geopolitical role of Dalmatia in Justinian's Balkan and Gothic Wars

Modern accounts of the Gothic War tend to follow Procopius by focusing principally on the Italian theater of operations and devoting little space to Dalmatia. This owes much to Procopius' Belisarius-centred narrative and his lack of experience of Western Illyricum. Looking closely at the limited details he provides, however, it becomes clear that Dalmatia was in fact the main war zone in the first conflict between the eastern Roman and Gothic states from 535 to 540, where major battles were fought by the majority of both sides' armed forces. Moreover, the region continued to figure prominently in the war from 540 to 552 after it had been conquered by the Romans in 537. Its' importance is reflected in numismatic and archaeological evidence for a typical Justinianic projection of imperial control from Constantinople. This paper reconstructs Dalmatian military affairs in detail from 535 to 553. It places the region's strategic, political, and economic importance in a wider context, looking back to Gothic-Eastern Roman competition in Western Illyricum in the post-Attila era and the role of Dalmatia in a Balkan geopolitical context, and looking forward to the region's strategic role in the Gothic wars after 540 and the positions of coastal regions and bases in a wider Central and Western Mediterranean network. In addition to giving Dalmatia a more prominent role in Justinian's wars of re-conquest in the West, this paper also provides background for its future position as a Byzantine enclave in the early medieval Adriatic.

Magdalena Skoblar

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‘What Do You Call an Icon?’ – Evidence for the Adriatic before 1204

“Prima del 1200, niente” is how Pina Belli D’Elia described the situation in Apulia regarding medieval icons. The same assessment is mirrored across the Adriatic in Dalmatia, where the earliest preserved painted icons date from the same century. In fact, apart from Rome, the whole of the Latin West seems to have embraced icons simultaneously overnight as soon as they started coming in great numbers from Byzantium following the Crusaders’ capture of Constantinople in 1204. Taking into consideration Hans Belting’s statement that in the West “icons had neither a liturgical use nor a fixed position within the churches” together with the thirteenth-century surge in icon veneration in Italy and Dalmatia, I pose the following questions: Why were Byzantine painted icons appropriated so readily in these areas? Was it just their painterly qualities or was there something else?

I argue that the Adriatic was particularly responsive to the 13th-century wave of painted icons because it had already embraced Byzantine relief icons in the eleventh century. The difference in the artistic medium was no barrier. Materials and techniques used to make icons ranged from ivory and mosaic to metal, enamel, and marble. The divine spirit (*pneuma*) was what sanctified matter and released grace (*charis*). In fact, according to Bissera Pentcheva, as a result of the iconoclastic controversy relief icons had supplanted painted icons by the ninth century. I examine the material and written evidence for the existence of icons in the eleventh-century Adriatic, for example, the extant *Hodegetria* icon from Trani and the recorded commission of a gilt silver icon for Siponto Cathedral in 1069. When it comes to the opposite side of the Adriatic, I investigate whether Alexei Lidov’s interpretative model of spatial icons can be applied to Dalmatia or not. The aim here is to demonstrate that by the thirteenth century the Adriatic was conditioned by relief icons to embrace easily portable painted icons that reached its shores after the Fourth Crusade. Moreover, this area as a whole experienced a strong prestige bias towards Byzantine artifacts and I explore this phenomenon further.

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Between Rome and Constantinople. The Bishops of Dalmatia and the Adriatic in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, when different parts of the former Roman Empire politically and culturally drifted slowly away from each other, Dalmatia and the Adriatic functioned as an important bridge region, linking Italy and the Latin European West to the Balkans and the Greek East. From the 5th century, the local bishops of Dalmatia had taken on an important role not only as ecclesiastical authorities, but also as political players in the Adriatic region. Dalmatia and the Adriatic therefore offer an interesting case study of the balance of power and the modes of interaction between the local bishops and the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the Eastern and Western Mediterranean. In particular, the register of Gregory the Great (590-604), offers comparatively detailed insights into the different layers of political interrelations of local bishops, the bishop of Rome, and the imperial court in Constantinople. This paper discusses the intermediate position of the bishops in Dalmatia and the Adriatic region between Rome and Constantinople. Keeping in mind the methodological constraints of analyzing ecclesiastical politics from papal communications, a set of textual sources biased in many ways, it is argued that Gregory's letters indicate that the bishops of Dalmatia, especially the bishops of Salona, attained a comparatively independent position between Rome and Constantinople, the two most important centers of political gravity at the time. This specific position "in between" not only affected ecclesiastical and secular politics, it is also reflected in a specific understanding of the social role of a bishop. In particular, local ideas of the appropriate modes of behavior in episcopal office seem to have conflicted sharply with Gregory's ideal conception of the office of bishop. Gregory's register also demonstrates that the bishops of Dalmatia successfully strengthened their positions in ecclesiastical politics by playing off Byzantine secular authorities against the bishop of Rome. From a long-term perspective, managing their intermediate position between Rome and Constantinople was a crucial factor in securing a bishop's political role.

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Between Byzantium and the Adriatic Cities. Considerations on Some Institutions of Serbian Medieval Law

Serbian medieval law, developed under great influence from Byzantine (Greco-Roman) law from the early 13th century, but even yet it is not sure whether some institutions of Roman law penetrated medieval Serbia through the translation of Byzantine laws and legal miscellanies or from the statutes of the maritime towns on the Adriatic coast (Kotor, Budva, Bar, Ulcinj) that were part of the Serbian medieval state in the 14th century or from Dubrovnik. For example, chapter 149 of the Statute of the city of Kotor from 1316, entitled *De dote et parchivio* (*parchivium* or *perchivium*, from the Greek word προίξ, προῖκα = *prikia*, meaning dowry), expresses ideas from the legislation of Justinian, i.e., that a dowry is the wife's property. This principle was expressed more explicitly in the Statute of Dubrovnik from 1272: *Intentiones enim nostrae est, ut semper et in omni casu dos sive perchivium mulieris sit salvum*. The same idea is found in King Milutin's charter presented to St. George's monastery near Skopje around 1300, so the question of two different ways of reception is still open.

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Early Byzantine Monasticism in Central Dalmatia

Early monasticism on the Eastern Adriatic is often connected in the scholarship with the communities of Basilian monks, which were widespread on the territory of present-day Cappadocia from the 4th century on. Although there is no general plan of a Basilian monastery that could be applied to corroborate the attribution of a certain complex to the Basilian monastic community, many Croatian archaeologists and art historians have supported such connections without further investigation. One theory, also not corroborated by contemporary sources, is the speculation that Byzantine monks arrived on the shores of the Adriatic during the period of Iconoclasm, when monks were persecuted and some condemned to exile.

Several sites in central Dalmatia could be attributed to monastic communities in the period before and during the reign of Duke Trpimir (ca. 840/45–864), who is believed to be the ruler that brought the first monastic communities (Benedictines) to the territory of the early medieval Croatian duchy. These complexes have not been thoroughly studied and excavated; however, situated on the territory that remained under Byzantine rule, they all share common elements that could put them on the list of early monasteries.

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The Cult of “Byzantine” Saints in Early Medieval Dalmatia Between Rome and Constantinople

The influence of the Church of Constantinople should not be excluded when considering the interests of the Holy See in the former Illyricum (most notably on the Eastern Adriatic coast) that were supported by both the Carolingians and the emergence of the Slavic polities. The Dalmatian dioceses assumed the role of a bridgehead in the restoration of Roman influence *vis-à-vis* the growing influence of the Church of Constantinople and its suffragans in the Balkans by the end of the early Middle Ages. A great deal of visible evidence, however, seems to reflect a strong Byzantine presence in Dalmatian ecclesiastical affairs. A recent historiographic paradigm about the origins of the medieval ecclesiastical organization in Dalmatia diminishes its open claims for jurisdiction over Dalmatia, but Constantinople – in both a secular and ecclesiastical sense – was interested in promoting its position through the establishment of new Byzantine political and administrative units. In this context, a series of important relics were sent to strategically important places on the Adriatic between the early ninth and eleventh century. Lack of (primarily written) sources does not allow for firm conclusions so one has to rely on diverse items of contextual evidence such as liturgical traditions, later hagiographies, hagiotopography, and so on. The aim here is to question the traditional labelling of particular saints as Byzantine in an attempt to offer a more nuanced image of the interplay between Roman and Byzantine interests in early medieval Dalmatia. The focus is on the group of Byzantine saints whose relics were transferred to Dalmatia at the beginning of the ninth century as well as the recently detected “Roman layer” of Dalmatian saints. It is presumed that these complex relations cannot be understood outside the context of an important phase in negotiating the position of Dalmatian towns between the two powerful ecclesiastical centers between the late 8th and early 10th centuries.

Meri Zornija

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A New Perspective on 11th-century Sculpture in Southern Dalmatia

Pre-Romanesque sculpture from the Dubrovnik region, despite its peculiar ornamentation and motifs, has remained rather neglected in debates on the artistic expression in the Dalmatian Adriatic of the time. After of Miljenko Jurković's cogent analysis in the 1980s, which outlined a fundamental line of development from the 9th until the late 11th century, no further satisfactory interpretations or elaborations by other authors have followed, despite the fact that the number of researched localities with remnants of pre-Romanesque stone carvings has grown significantly and that the results have been adequately published.

In his analysis, Jurković briefly refers to the specificities of this sculpture compared to that of northern Dalmatia. Even though he mainly explained them through the unbroken continuity of stone carving since the early Christian period, he nevertheless briefly noted "a certain, albeit small, influence of Byzantium" as typical of this region. Elsewhere, however, he explicitly denied any direct influence of contemporary Byzantine art on the development of pre-Romanesque sculpture.

What can be added to the topic today, more than thirty years after his analysis? Are we now able to define with more precision the impact of contemporary Byzantine sculpture on early medieval stone carving in southern Dalmatia – an issue that has long been ignored? Here, I consider it appropriate to focus on this very aspect of southern Dalmatian sculpture, mainly from the 11th century, or – according to Jurković – the younger stage of the second Pelješac layer. The characteristically fine, stylized, and very rich vegetal and zoomorphic ornamentation, carved with a high level of skill, points to models in the sculpture of the Macedonian renaissance. This paper compares several examples of decorative motifs and cites analogies from Constantinople and Greece as well as Apulia and the northern Adriatic basin from Pomposa to Venice and further to Aquileia. The numerous new motifs – reinvented vegetal ornamentation with opulent, stylized palmettes in numerous variants, as well as a considerably

enlarged zoomorphic repertoire of different birds and quadrupeds in various positions, now anatomically far more convincing and enriched with fantastic beasts of Oriental provenance (gryphons) – are here juxtaposed to similar examples from contemporary Byzantine stone-carving workshops, which had access to Oriental textiles and drew their inspiration from them.

This paper also offers a preliminary answer to the question of the routes by which these said influences arrived in the Eastern Adriatic region – was it a direct or indirect impact of Byzantium...? In this context, the role of the South Italian Benedictines is considered, as the first monks of Dubrovnik were recruited from their monasteries, and there were artistic and ecclesiastical relations with Apulia which continued well into the 12th century (Kotor was suffragan to the archdiocese of Bari from the 11th century onwards). Additional influences may have come indirectly from the northern Adriatic region, spreading southwards via Zadar and Split, leaving traces especially in the last layer of southern Dalmatian sculpture on the island of Koločep. In this context, some isolated examples of 11th-century relief carving from the area of Boka Kotorska will be considered.

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