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Liturgical Vestments in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Mural Paintings of Dubrovnik and Elaphiti Islands – a Contribution to the Study of “Adrio-Byzantinism” on the Eastern Adriatic

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Summary

The paper deals with liturgical vestments represented on fragmentarily preserved figures on the walls of the so-called Byzantine basilica found in the archaeological excavations under Dubrovnik Cathedral, and the saints depicted in two churches on the Elaphiti Islands in Dubrovnik aquatorium: St John's in Šilovo Selo on Šipan and St Nicholas' on Koločep. An iconographic analysis shows that the vestments in question belong to the Eastern type of liturgical dress, and the elaboration on their origin, meaning and development provides some additional information for interpretation and dating of the paintings. Given conclusions are then observed in specific historical context of eleventh

and twelfth century Dubrovnik, its traditions, dynamic relations with Byzantium and Rome, but also in the context of already recognized cultural contacts with the southern regions of the Apennine peninsula. Finally it is pointed to some further directions for re-addressing the problem of “Adrio-Byzantinism” in eleventh and twelfth century art and architecture of southern Dalmatia, but also to the need for examining the validity of the concept, its possible aspects, meanings and manifestations, in a wider socio-cultural context; which, after all, defines the underlying ideas of the visual imagery employed.

Key words: *liturgical vestments, “Adrio-Byzantinism”, medieval painting, Dubrovnik, Šipan, Koločep*

The enthusiasm to elaborate on the question of saintly vestments depicted in eleventh and twelfth century mural paintings of Dubrovnik and Elaphiti Islands was encouraged by a few discussions with our colleagues during the last few years, and the topic came back into focus with recent explorations of the archaeological finds from Dubrovnik Cathedral.¹ The correct identification of the liturgical vestments of saints depicted in the so-called Byzantine basilica, which was found in 1980-ies under the Baroque Cathedral in Dubrovnik, but also in two small churches on the Elaphiti islands in Dubrovnik *aquatorium* – the church of St John in Šilovo Selo on the island of Šipan and the church of St Nicolas on the island of Koločep, are of certain relevance for a comprehensive interpretation of the paintings themselves, but should also contribute to the overall understanding of the historical context in which they were created. The intention behind this paper is to deal with the topic in an extensive way and in appropriate detail, and to adequately substantiate some of our conclusions about the type, origin and meaning of the liturgical vestments depicted in the three mentioned churches. This short survey, we do hope, will help

clarifying still present dilemmas about the mentioned issue and also be an initial contribution to some further studies of the phenomenon of “Adrio-Byzantinism” on the eastern Adriatic coast, which was re-introduced into scholarly discourse about twenty years ago, specifically in the context of southern Dalmatian mural painting.²

Liturgical vestments represented in the “Byzantine basilica” under Dubrovnik Cathedral

Lower parts of the bodies of four saints, actually lower parts of their garments, are the remaining fragment of mural paintings that once decorated the apsidal wall of the so-called Byzantine basilica excavated under the Baroque Cathedral in Dubrovnik (fig. 1).³ It has been suggested that the depicted saints, who actually just made part of a larger composition, are Fathers of the Church; and this interpretation has been accepted in scholarly research. Identification of individual saints has never been a matter of particular interest, because their identities actually cannot be deduced on the basis of so



a



b



c



d

1 Dubrovnik, “Byzantine basilica” – remains of the paintings on the apsidal wall (a); details: first (b), third (c) and fourth (d) figure from the left (the arrow points to the partly visible *encheirion*)

Dubrovnik, “bizantska bazilika” – ostaci zidnih slika na apsidalnome zidu (a); detalji: prva (b), treća (c) i četvrta (d) figura slijeva (strelica pokazuje na djelomično vidljivi *enhirion*)

fragmentarily preserved figures.⁴ However, the represented liturgical vestments, particularly their type, give possibilities for certain conclusions. Should they be associated with Western or Eastern prototypes and models – is an issue that has been of certain interest for all researchers dealing with the paintings, and also recognized as one that should be closely related to the problem of their dating.⁵ So here we will try to define precisely the individual parts of the presented liturgical vesture, in order to corroborate our thesis that they belong to the Eastern type of episcopal attire.⁶

As can be discerned from the poorly preserved fragments of the wall paintings, each of the saints wears a long tunic and some kind of mantle above it. They should be identified as *sticharion* (στικχάριον), a plain long-sleeved tunic worn by both deacons and priests in the Eastern Church, and the outer vestment called *phelonion* (φαιλόνιον, φελόνιον). *Sticharia* are comparable to albs (*albae*) worn in the Western

Church, but as opposed to them they are not covered with any kind of outer garment that would correspond to Western dalmatic (*dalmatica*).⁷ It is interesting that *sticharia* of the four saints in Dubrovnik Cathedral are depicted in different colours and with no common ornament of *clavi* (*potamoi*, ποταμοί), typical decoration of a bishops’ tunic,⁸ but in the case of the two figures in the middle are instead decorated with a string of “pearls”, which might be even some kind of free interpretation of the mentioned ornament (fig. 1a, c).⁹ The *phelonia*, which the four figures wear above *sticharia*, are outer garments corresponding to Western chasuble (*casula*).¹⁰ They are quite ample and long, and could be considered the older type of *phelonia*, which can be compared to a number of tenth, eleventh and twelfth century examples known from monumental or miniature painting (fig. 2, 3).¹¹ From the long narrow bands of cloth running down the middle of the figures one should differentiate two priestly



a



b

2 Menologion of Basil II (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613) – St Gregory of Neocaesarea (a); Ohrid, St Sophia – Roman Popes (b); Kiev, St Sophia – Church Fathers and Deacon St Lawrence (c)

Menologij Bazilija II (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613) – sv. Grgur Neocezarejski (a); Ohrid, Sv. Sofija – rimski pape (b); Kijev, Sv. Sofija – Crkveni oci i đakon sv. Lovro (c)

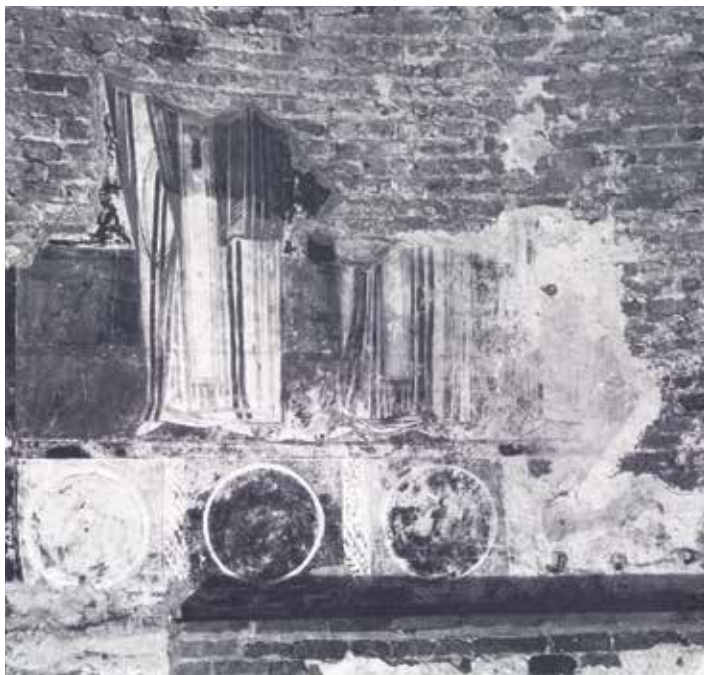


c

over the *sticharion*, and under the *phelonion*, by all priests, symbolizing the priesthood itself.¹² The shorter and broader one, worn over the *phelonion*, is *omophorion* (ὠμοφόριον), an episcopal insignia; it is decorated with four or five crosses (*poloi*), which are not visible in this case because of poor preservation of the figures. *Omophorion* could be considered an equivalent to Western *pallium*, although its use was a privilege of all bishops in the East.¹³ The *epitrachelia* that can be seen on Dubrovnik saints (fig. 1a, b, c, d) are decorated with simple horizontal stripes, crosses and rhomboid rosettes, and according to their simple ornamental motifs could be compared to certain examples of liturgical vesture known from tenth and eleventh century pictorial representations.¹⁴ According to symmetrically arranged ornaments, the *epitrachelia* worn by Dubrovnik saints seem as if they may have the two bands fastened together.¹⁵ On the two saints on the left and the last one on the right we can recognize the lower ends of *omophoria* (fig. 1a, b, d). The fourth saint must have also been

and episcopal insignia. The longer, ornamented one, reaching down the *sticharia* is *epitrachelion* (ἐπιτραχήλιον), an Orthodox equivalent to Western stole (*stola*). It is worn

depicted with this episcopal insignia, although it cannot be seen (fig. 1c); as we know, *omophorion* was often depicted being carried over the left arm (see fig. 2a, c, 3b).



a



b

3 Torcello, Santa Maria Assunta – remains of the paintings on the apsidal wall (a); Vaste (Lecce), Santi Stefani Crypt – St Basil the Great, St Nicholas and St Gregory Nazianzen (b)

Torcello, Santa Maria Assunta – ostaci zidnih slika na apsidalnome zidu (a); Vaste (Lecce), Kripta Santi Stefani – sv. Bazilije Veliki, sv. Nikola i sv. Grgur Nazijanski (b)



4 Dubrovnik, “Byzantine basilica” – remains of the paintings in the southern (a) and northern aisle (b)
Dubrovnik, “bizantska bazilika” – ostaci zidnih slika u južnom (a) i sjevernom brodu (b)

Completely bypassed in former studies and references to the liturgical dress of Dubrovnik saints were the pieces of white, decorated cloth hanging along the side of their bodies. The mentioned piece of decorated cloth is specifically episcopal insignia of the Eastern Church – the so-called “liturgical handkerchief”, *encheirion* (ἐγχείριον), worn tucked into the bishop’s *zone* on his right side (fig. 1, 2, 3b). The first known representations of *encheirion* are found in Menologion of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613, fig. 2a); during the twelfth century it became covered in gold embroidery, and by the late twelfth century it developed into a stiff square embroidered *epigonation* (ἐπιγονάτιον).¹⁶ Compared to some other eleventh or twelfth century examples, the *encheiria* of Dubrovnik saints show the more traditional, simple decoration, in accordance with simple ornamentation of priestly *epitrachelia*.

Although written sources confirm a very early usage of these three episcopal insignia (*omophorion*, *epitrachelion* and *enchei-*

ron), the study of corpus of Byzantine miniatures and mural paintings has shown that in some older, ninth or tenth century visual representations, Eastern bishops and patriarchs were depicted only with an *omophorion*, or with the *omophorion* and *epitrachelion*, and without the *encheirion*.¹⁷ However, during the eleventh century it became common for the bishops to be represented with all these three episcopal insignia,¹⁸ and the saints from Dubrovnik Cathedral seem to be represented with the awareness of this eleventh century practice. So the depicted liturgical vestments should be considered to be in accordance with the proposed dating of the paintings to the second half, or last third of the eleventh century.¹⁹

When discussing the liturgical vestments of saints represented in the so-called Byzantine Basilica in Dubrovnik we should also mention the saintly figures depicted in the southern and the northern aisle of the church (fig. 4a, b).²⁰ Although the vestments of the saint in the southern aisle



5 Dubrovnik, “Byzantine basilica” – remains of the paintings in the arcosolium tomb attached to the southern wall of the church
Dubrovnik, “bizantska bazilika” – ostaci zidnih slika u grobnici-arkosoliju prigradaenoj uz južni zid crkve

are not so clearly recognizable as those of the saints in the main apse, and his garments could be easily mistaken for a simple tunic and *pallium*, ancient dress of generic kind commonly depicted on Christian saints and apostles,²¹ the visible insignia, however, seem to indicate his episcopal rank, and he is dressed according to the Eastern liturgical fashion. The white stripe running over the lower tunic (*sticharion*) and below the mantle (*phelonion*) can be identified as an *epitrachelion*, and richly ornamented yellow handkerchief falling down his right thigh should be the *encheirion*. There is no typically Western dalmatic. The iconographic details of the poorly preserved paintings in the northern aisle give us much less opportunity for a more detailed analysis; nevertheless, the garments of the depicted figures seem to be of similar character as the ones discussed above.

Different type of liturgical vestments, or, to be more precise, of (archi)episcopal insignia, the meaning of which will be a topic for some future discussion, can be noticed on the figure of a prelate on the fragmentarily preserved painting in one of the monumental tombs attached to the southern wall of the first basilica, dated to the first half of the twelfth century, actually before 1142 (fig. 5).²² The character of these paintings has already been recognized as “Latin”, due to some typical formal traits of Romanesque style.²³ The figure standing next to the central figure (Christ or Virgin?), wears a narrow strip of cloth marked with small crosses. It should be identified as

a *pallium*, a piece of typically Western liturgical clothing that indicates the person’s archiepiscopal (metropolitan) rank.²⁴ One should also suppose that the depicted vestments are a rather faithful representation of those that belonged and were actually worn by the buried prelate.

Liturgical vestments represented in St John’s on Šipan and St Nicholas’ on Koločep

Liturgical vesture of saints depicted on the walls of the churches of St John in Šilovo Selo on the island of Šipan and St Nicholas on the island of Koločep, have also been of certain interest to the researchers dealing with the mural paintings in Dubrovnik region. Among other things that have been considered, ranging from the concept of church decoration to certain formal aspects of the paintings or some iconographic solutions, there were also some individual parts of saintly vestment; some valuable conclusions have already been made,²⁵ and here we can add a few additional remarks and also offer some additional explanations.

There is no doubt that the represented liturgical vestments, like the ones depicted in Dubrovnik basilica, speak of the Eastern tradition. The four saints represented in medallions on the apsidal wall of the church of St John in Šilovo Selo on Šipan (fig. 6a–d) were, in our opinion, quite convincingly rec-



6 Šipan, the church of St John in Šilovo Selo – medallions with busts of saints on the apsidal wall (the arrows point to the *polystaurion* and the *omophorion*)

Šipan, crkva sv. Ivana u Šilovom Selu – medaljoni s poprsjima svetaca na apsidalnome zidu (strelice pokazuju na polistavrion i omofofor)



7 Gospel lectionary (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 250v) – patriarch wearing the *polystaurion* (Exaltation of the Holy Cross, a); Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 6), bishops wearing the *polystaurion* (to the left from the Enthroned Virgin, b)

Evangelistar lektionar (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 250v), patrijarh odjeven u polistavrion (Uzvišenje sv. Križa, a); Homilije Jakova iz Kokkinobaphosa (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 6) – biskupi odjeveni u polistavrion (lijevo od Bogorodice na prijestolju, b)

ognized as Fathers (four Great Doctors – as they will be called in later times) of the Eastern Church (St Basil the Great, St John Chrysostom, St Gregory Nazianzen and St Athanasius of Alexandria). It is still visible that the fourth saint from the left wears an *omophorion* (fig. 6d), and the poorly visible decorated garment on the third saint from the left should be identified as *polystaurion* (πολυσταύριον) (fig. 6c).²⁶

The depicted *polystaurion* should also be considered in the context of changes and innovations in liturgical fashion of the Eastern Church to see whether it could become one of the additional clues for dating and interpretation of the paintings. The *polystaurion phelonion*, a *phelonion* ornamented with multiple crosses, should be considered a kind of “privileged vestment”, originating at the highest levels of the Church hierarchy.²⁷ It must have come into use during the eleventh century, since the first visual representations are preserved in late eleventh and early twelfth century manuscripts, and it is mentioned in written sources from the beginning of the twelfth century.²⁸ In probably the earliest visual representation of this privileged liturgical vestment, the late eleventh century Gospel lectionary Vat. gr. 1156, *polystaurion* is worn by the patriarchs (fig. 7a), and in the early twelfth century *Dogmatic Panoply* of Euthymios Zygabenos (Vat. gr. 666) only John Chrysostom is privileged with crosses on his *phelonion*.²⁹ All the Three Hierarchs of the Eastern church, St Gregory Nazianzen, St Basil the Great and St John Chrysostom, are for the first time represented wearing the *polystaurion* somewhere in the second quarter of the twelfth century (Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos, Vat. gr. 1162, fig. 7b).³⁰

This short analysis of liturgical vestments of saints represented in the medallions on the apsidal wall corroborates the thesis that they should probably be identified as four

Great Fathers (Doctors) of the Eastern Church, although their particular individual identity can only be guessed on the basis of poorly preserved fragments.³¹ However, the third saint from the left could be identified as St John Chrysostom according to his facial features and also according to his outer garment, the *polystaurion*, in which he was depicted from the early twelfth century (fig. 6c). The represented liturgical vestments would thus also suggest that the beginning of the twelfth century should be considered the *terminus post quem* for dating of the paintings; nonetheless, keeping in mind that the iconographic solutions employed in a small church in Šilovo Selo most probably followed some already well affirmed models, and not the latest innovations in Byzantine ecclesiastical fashion and iconography, a somewhat later dating should be accepted.³² So the dating to the middle of the twelfth century proposed recently, primarily on the basis of formal features of the paintings,³³ could be accepted as quite plausible and is substantiated by the type of saintly garments.

Finally, we have to turn our attention to the saints represented on the walls flanking the apse in the Elaphiti churches: the deacons St Stephen and St Maurus (fig. 8 a–c). There are no doubts about their identity, which is confirmed by fragmentary Latin inscriptions.³⁴ Of our interest here are the actual signs of their diaconal duty. The young saints are clad in simple white tunics, already recognized as deacons’ *sticharia*.³⁵ What remains to be discussed are the narrow bands of cloth marked with crosses, running down the left side of their body. They are diaconal stoles, or *orarion* (*orarion* – ὀράριον), the primary insignia of deacons’ particular status, and are worn according to the Eastern practice. According to the Roman custom, the deacon wears the stole under the dalmatic, but the *orarion* of the Byzantine rite remains



8 Šipan, the church of St John in Šilovo Selo – saint on the right wall flanking the apse, St Stephen (a); Koločep, the church of St Nicholas – saints on the walls flanking the apse, St Maurus (b) and St Stephen (c); the arrows point to the *orarion* and *pyxis*
 Šipan, crkva sv. Ivana u Šilovom Selu – svetac na desnomo zidu koji flankira apsidu, sv. Stjepan (a); Koločep, crkva sv. Nikole – sveci na zidovima koji flankiraju apsidu, sv. Mauro (b) i sv. Stjepan (c); strelice pokazuju na orar i piksidu



9 Exultet Ms. Cas. 724 (B I 13) III (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense) – A bishop gives a rotulus to a deacon (a); Lighting of the Paschal candle (b)
 Exultet Ms. Cas. 724 (B I 13) III (Rim, Biblioteca Casanatense) – Biskup predaje rotulus đakonu (a); Paljenje uskrzne svijeće (b)

visible; it is about two meters long, worn above the tunic, put over the left shoulder and hanging free down the chest and back during most of the liturgy (fig. 2c). However, it should be mentioned that a number of eleventh and twelfth century representations (in manuscripts from Campanian *scriptoria*, but also in monumental painting) prove that in southern Italian regions the diaconal stole was worn in the

same way, regardless whether the practiced rite was Greek or Roman, most probably due to Byzantine influence in the region (fig. 9a, b).³⁶ A small cylindrical box (*pyxis*), one of the common attributes of deacons and quite often represented in Byzantine painting,³⁷ is held by the Elaphiti figures in their left hand, and it can be assumed that in their right hand there was an incense-burner.³⁸

“Adrio-Byzantinism” on the eastern Adriatic coast – old issues and new approaches

The intention behind this paper was in the first place to clarify some dilemmas, still actual, related to the character of liturgical vestments that can be discerned from the fragmentarily preserved paintings in the archaeological remains of the so-called Byzantine basilica under Baroque Dubrovnik Cathedral, and then also to examine the character of the liturgical vestments represented in the two small churches on the Elaphiti islands and to ascertain whether some analogies can be drawn.

The analysis carried out has shown that partially visible garments of the saints represented on the wall of the central apse, as well as on the saints in the side aisles of Dubrovnik basilica, are episcopal vesture of the Eastern type, and in that respect, the assumption that the saints in the sanctuary should be identified as Church Fathers seems to be quite plausible.³⁹ The depicted liturgical vestments show certain features that were quite common in the eleventh century, so their iconography seem to be in accordance with the proposed dating of the paintings to the second half, or last third of the eleventh century.⁴⁰

The liturgical vestments represented in the two small churches on the Elaphiti islands are indeed typologically related to those from Dubrovnik basilica, and, like some other iconographic solutions, also point to the Eastern models and traditions. Some details discernible on the liturgical vestments of the figures depicted in the medallions on the apsidal wall of St John's in Šilovo Selo, which may with all probability be identified as four Great Fathers (Doctors) of the Eastern Church, clearly confirm a later date, which is in accordance with the dating proposed on the basis of formal characteristics of the paintings, to the middle of the twelfth century.⁴¹

The conclusions drawn here about the character of liturgical vestments of represented saints, which point to Eastern, i. e. Byzantine models, and also the identification of the saints represented in the sanctuary of the church in Šilovo Selo as four Greek Church Fathers, seem to be quite intriguing in the context of socio-political changes in eleventh and twelfth century Dubrovnik and its surroundings, as well as in the context of dynamic relations with the Roman church.⁴² They could also be further discussed with reference to the proposed dating of the paintings, as well as their interpretation within the context of the Reform of the Western Church.⁴³

It is undeniable that Byzantine traditions must have been well established in Dubrovnik area. However, we still cannot name all of those traditions precisely, or answer to the question to what extent and in what kind of forms and variations they survived in the micro-regional context. It has already been concluded, referring in the first place to certain formal traits of the paintings in Dubrovnik basilica, that the East-West Schism did not cause an instant break with traditions and did not result in an evident duality between Eastern and Western forms of expression; and following this statement the problem of labelling “Western” and “Byzantine” components in pre-Romanesque and Romanesque art in

the area has also been actuated. In the case of paintings from the islands of Šipan and Koločep, a kind of “compilatory” practice has been recognized in previous research, the one that points to the “mixed culture of the Italo-Greek world”,⁴⁴ and to a painter who was probably of southern Italian origin and who, specifically concerning the iconography, kept with some traditional, even “archaic” solutions.⁴⁵

A number of details, concerning the placement and organization of scenes in church interiors, formal and iconographic traits of the paintings, the choice and ways of representation of individual figures etc., may be further explored and interpreted in this light. It is undeniable that the paintings in question manifest some forms of expression that speak of Byzantine traditions, concerning not only the iconography, but also their formal traits. We could further explore the “neoclassicism of ‘Hellenistic’ origin” and “acceptance of certain experiences of eastern Mediterranean painting” that were recognized in the paintings under Dubrovnik Cathedral, or further elaborate on “duality” of visual expression, use of diverse pictorial models and “second-hand Byzantinisms”, emphasized for the Elaphiti paintings in past research. We could also bring up the question of already established analogies between the Elaphiti paintings and some examples of southern Italian mural painting, to which a few additional examples could be added.⁴⁶ Formal analysis of the paintings necessarily also brings us back to the problem of identification of individual “handwritings” in the Elaphiti paintings, or rather the use of diverse pictorial models by a single painter, which is an issue that certainly has to be re-addressed in the future.⁴⁷

Particularly interesting seems to be the already mentioned question of terms – “traditional”, or “archaic”, in painting schemes of the time and the iconographic solutions employed, and whether these terms could be applied when explaining the type of represented liturgical vestments. Is there any ground to see any of them as “archaic”; should any of them be explained as simply copied from pictorial models at hand; on the other hand, should they be considered “traditional”, familiar and understandable to the local community, and did they, and to what extent, correspond with physical realities and vestments actually worn by the clergy? It would be surely hard to imagine that painted images were entirely unresponsive to political and cultural realities of the time, as well as to their manifestations that presented themselves in church interiors and in liturgical rites, which were their most important staging ground. Indeed one should wonder to what extent the type of depicted liturgical vestments, and the choice of depicted images in general, corresponded with those actualities, because they certainly had a symbolic significance and should be seen as an indicator of allegiance of a certain area to the political, cultural and traditional values of the Empire. So, even if some of those traditions were transferred to the area of Dubrovnik via southern Italy, the depicted figures must have been, nevertheless, an indication of attachment to certain social and cultural values, and it would be hard to believe that they were just a pure convention copied by some fresco painter from an outdated book of designs.

Still, opinions on these issues may vary, and that is precisely why further research is sorely needed. That research will have to include, among other, more conclusive and more insightful historical studies of this epoch in the region, a comprehensive collaboration in a study of distribution of specific cultural patterns related to Byzantium on the Eastern Adriatic, and also a thorough investigation of local customs and practices in the regions where Byzantine political sovereignty or church jurisdiction is documented, or where Byzantine elements can be recognized in individual socio-cultural traditions.

The figures of the supposed Church Fathers in the sanctuary of the “Byzantine basilica” in Dubrovnik may have been conceived according to some traditional iconographic solutions and *exempla*, but certainly according to visual prototypes comprehensible and acceptable to the audience. Searching for iconographic comparisons in the regions where Byzantine traditions were persistent and strong, we could refer to southern Italian wall painting, where the figures of Greek Fathers were considerably popular, and the theme recently studied; keeping in mind that southern Italy makes a specific case of Byzantine historical presence and presents a quite complex amalgam of socio-cultural traditions.⁴⁸ Referring to southern Italian monumental painting, one may also mention some later examples of Greek Fathers represented together with Latin bishops;⁴⁹ or Latin bishops depicted wearing contemporaneous Byzantine episcopal insignia.⁵⁰ Coming back to the apsidal paintings in Dubrovnik basilica, our conclusions are unfortunately limited by their poor preservation and we can only speculate about the lost part of the apsidal composition (to the left from the centrally placed cathedra) or about the individual identity of the painted figures; the only thing that is quite undisputable is the Eastern type of clothing still visible on the wall. The reasons for such an iconographic choice, as well as the questions concerning the nature of liturgical rites performed, become even more interesting in the context of their proposed dating to the second half or even last third of the eleventh century (around 1076), so in the period following the Great Schism and the period of strong relations with Rome, but also the period of important changes in political relations with Byzantium.⁵¹ Generally speaking, Western orientation of the Church could not mean a sudden break with Eastern traditions or even continuous reception of new impulses from the East, and the Eastern reminiscences could have even conveyed a particular intentional meaning.⁵² As it has been indicated, in the years following the Great Schism Dalmatian bishoprics continued to follow the traditions and customs of the Eastern Church, and, although Dubrovnik diocese was meant to be one of the strongholds for spreading the Roman jurisdiction through Balkanian inlands, Roman Curia had considerable problems with implementing the ideas of the Papal Reform and establishing its authority in Dubrovnik metropolitan see.⁵³ The paintings on the apsidal wall of Dubrovnik basilica should thus with all probability be interpreted in the context of well rooted traditions and customs of the Eastern Church, which seem to be still quite strong at the time of their execution. Whether in this light we may also reconsider their dating, or whether the iconographic solutions employed may be ad-

ditionally accounted for in some other terms, is a matter still to be discussed in the future.⁵⁴

Similar questions could be raised about some iconographic solutions employed in the Elaphiti churches, especially concerning the figures of the four Great Fathers (Doctors) of the Eastern Church depicted in the medallions of St John's on Šipan. Placing and meaning of their images in the church interior, as well as the placement of the figures of deacons in both Elaphiti churches, are in accordance with what we consider Eastern models, but also in accordance with iconographic solutions common in southern Italian painting where Greek influences and traditions were continuous and strong. The diaconal stole represented according to the Eastern practice does not have to be of particular importance because, as it has already been indicated, it was worn in the same way in southern Italian regions, regardless whether local religious rites followed Greek or Roman customs (fig. 9). However, the reasons for depicting the Greek Fathers seem to be more interesting. The painter (or painters) who worked in the Elaphiti churches⁵⁵ probably was of southern Italian origin, and the concepts of church decoration must have been imagined according to some familiar schemes. However, at the same time they correspond perfectly with local architectural typology, from which it can be concluded that analogous concepts should have been more widely employed and also understandable and acceptable to the patrons. Further comparative studies with contemporaneous southern Italian painting might be of particular value in this context, especially concerning the persistence of Eastern models and traditions in places where Roman rite was practiced, and even implementation of Reform ideas well documented. As it has been indicated, around the middle of the twelfth century Dubrovnik featured as the key exponent of Papal policy in the area, and the relations with Rome were quite strong. So it all brings us back to the question of local traditions, local customs, their possible variations and their relation to the visual imagery employed, and the question of concepts and schemes possibly “imported” by an itinerant painter.

The conclusions drawn from the study of forms and types of liturgical vestments depicted in eleventh and twelfth century paintings in Dubrovnik area is a pointer in iconographic analysis and interpretation of painting in the region. Some of the conclusions presented in this paper corroborate some already stated hypotheses about the paintings; whether they will be used as a clue for further reconsiderations of their dating, attribution, or their interpretation in concrete historical context, is a matter still to be seen. However, the presented conclusions may become a valuable piece of information for illuminating what seems to be a rather complex contextual framework in which the eleventh and twelfth century art of southern Dalmatia was conceived and created, and also for questioning the ways in which the painters coming from other socio-cultural contexts used their models and well known imagery; finally, to what extent that models and imagery conformed, or possibly already corresponded with local traditions, customs and practices. All in all, the so-called Adrio-Byzantinism (or Adrio-Bysantinism) in the art and architecture of southern Dalmatia seems to be far

from an obsolete concept, or sufficiently explored and closed topic. New approaches from different angles should make it actual again, and not only in the field of art history. A wider platform of researchers interested in different fields of study

is still required to question the concept in a wider context; to further explore, to adequately re-consider and re-evaluate the numerous aspects of Byzantine social and cultural heritage on the Eastern Adriatic coast.

Notes

1 We are especially thankful to prof. emeritus Igor Fisković, whose interest in the subject matter encouraged us to publish our views *in extenso*. This paper was originally intended for a publication prepared in his honour; however, the text exceeded the limits set up by the editor. By recent explorations we are referring to the project *Pontes Adriatici – Network of Cultural Exchange in the Adriatic Basin* (lead by Igor Fisković, 2014), and also the educational-research project of the Department of History of Art (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb) and the Parish of “Velika Gospa” in Dubrovnik, currently in progress (lead by Tin Turković, started in 2015). The archaeological finds of monumental decor excavated in 1980-ies under the Baroque Dubrovnik cathedral is being inventorized, catalogued and prepared for publication.

2 IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Adriobizantski sloj zidnog slikarstva u južnoj Hrvatskoj*, in: *Rađanje prvog hrvatskog kulturnog pejzaža* (ed. M. Jurković, T. Lukšić), Zagreb, 1996, 371–386; IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Un contributo al riconoscimento degli affreschi «adriobizantini» sulla sponda croata meridionale*, in: *Hortus artium medievalium* 4, Zagreb – Motovun, 1998, 71–83. The author employs the term in his recent writings as well (IGOR FISKOVIĆ /note 4, 2009; note 4, 2010, 190–191/). The term “Adrio-Byzantinism” was actually coined by Danish architect Ejnar Dyggve, who tried to establish a term which could define specific cultural development in the Adriatic basin determined by the presence of Byzantine culture in the region (See EJNAR DYGGVE, *Eigentümlichkeiten und Ursprung der frühmittelalterlichen Architektur in Dalmatien*, in: *Actes du XIII^e Congrès International d’Histoire de l’Art*, Stockholm, 1933, 109–111; EJNAR DYGGVE, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1951, *passim*). See also ŽELJKO RAPANIĆ, *Ima li dvojbe oko termina “adriobizantizam”?* (Are there any Doubts about the Term “Adrio-Byzantinism?”), in: *Zbornik Tomislava Marasovića* (ed. I. Babić, A. Milošević, Ž. Rapanić), Sveučilište u Splitu – Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, Split, 2002, 171–182.

3 For the earliest research see JOSIP STOŠIĆ, *Sažeti prikaz istraživanja, nalaza i problema prezentacije pod katedralom i Bunićevom poljanom u Dubrovniku*, in: *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 12, 1986, 241–248; JOSIP STOŠIĆ, *Prikaz nalaza ispod katedrale i Bunićeve poljane u Dubrovniku*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 12, Zagreb, 1987 (1988), 15–38; JOSIP STOŠIĆ, *Istraživanja, nalazi i problem prezentacije pod katedralom i Bunićevom poljanom*, in: *Obnova Dubrovnika 1979–1989*, Dubrovnik: Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika, 1989 (1989a), 326–335; JOSIP STOŠIĆ, *Slijed oblikovanja sakralnog središta u Dubrovniku*, in: *Dubrovački horizonti XXI/29*, 1989 (1989b), 56–59. For the complete history of research and diverse interpretations of archaeological finds, as well as for the theories about the location of the oldest Dubrovnik cathedral see DANKO ZELIĆ, *Arhitektura starih katedrala*, in: *Katedrala Gospe Velike u*

Dubrovniku (ed. K. Horvat-Levaj), *Studije i monografije Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 46, Dubrovnik: Gradska župa Gospe Velike – Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2014, 30–64. For recent interpretations see also IVANA TOMAS, *Srednjovjekovne jednobrodne crkve s kupolom južne Dalmacije i Boke Kotorske*, doctoral dissertation, Zagreb, 2014, 23–60.

4 For previous research and some opinions about the paintings see JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1987); JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1989a), 329; JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1989b), 58; IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Romaničko slikarstvo u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1987, 31–32; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1996); IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1998); NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ, *Između Europe i Mediterana*, in: *Prvih pet stoljeća hrvatske umjetnosti*, catalogue of the exhibition (Klovičevići Dvori Gallery), Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevići Dvori, 2006, 29–30; ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ, *Četiri elafitske crkve (Quattro chiese delle isole Elafite)*, Dubrovnik: Omega engineering – Split: Centar Studia mediterranea pri Filozofskom fakultetu, 2008, 72–81; IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *O freskama 11. i 12. stoljeća u Dubrovniku i okolici*, in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33, Zagreb, 2009, 17–36; IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Zapažanja o srednjovjekovnim freskama u Dubrovniku i okolici*, in: *Dubrovnik 21/2*, Dubrovnik, 2010, 163–200; TATJANA MIČEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ, *Bizant u srednjovjekovnome zidnom slikarstvu od Budve do Kvarnera*, doctoral dissertation, Zagreb, 2012, *passim* (25–28, 119, 287–291); IGOR FISKOVIĆ, *Likovna oprema i umjetnine starih katedrala*, in: *Katedrala Gospe Velike u Dubrovniku* (ed. K. Horvat-Levaj), *Studije i monografije Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 46, Dubrovnik: Gradska župa Gospe Velike – Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnost, 2014, 69–113.

5 They were initially recognized as typically Western; see JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1987), 20, 22; JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1989a), 329; JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1989b), 58. For some preliminary conclusions see also IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 1987), 32; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1996), 373–375; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1998), 72–73; NIKOLA JAKŠIĆ (note 4), 29–30. In his more recent studies I. Fisković points out that the mentioned liturgical vestments cannot be classified as strictly Western or Eastern, but then accepts the idea that they may be closer to Eastern types. See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 19; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 171; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 79–80. T. Mičević-Đurić recognizes the episcopal *omophoria* and *epitachelia*, although she does not go into further distinctions. See TATJANA MIČEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 119, 287–289.

6 For liturgical vestments in Eastern and Western Church see, for ex. JOSEPH BRAUN, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herderische Verlagshandlung, 1907; ATHANASIOS PAPAS, *Liturgische Gewänder*, in: *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* V, Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1993, 741–775; WARREN T. WOODFIN, *The Embodied Icon*.

Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium, Oxford University Press, 2012; BERNARD BERTHOD, *Le pallium, insigne des évêques d'Orient et d'Occident*, in: *Bulletin du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens* 78, 2001, 14–25; MAUREEN C. MILLER, *Vestire la chiesa. Gli abiti del clero nella Roma medievale*, Rome: Viella, 2014.

7

See JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 92–101; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 743–745.

8

It is not known when exactly the coloured *sticharia* came into use. The *potamoi* (meaning „rivers“; originate from antique *clavus* bands), at first generally used, by the Middle Byzantine period became restricted to the *sticharion* of the bishop, and by the 12th century described as a strictly episcopal, or even strictly patriarchal prerogative. Only in post-Byzantine period were *sticharia* occasionally patterned or decorated with embroidery (see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 96–97; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 743–745; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 6, note 5, 9–10, 15, with bibliography).

9

To our knowledge not a common detail in Byzantine painting.

10

For a description and liturgical function as well as the changes of its form and usage through time see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 234–239; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 753–756; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 11–12, with cited bibliography.

11

The comparative examples are numerous. In miniature paintings one could refer to the Bible of Leo the Patrician (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. gr. 1B), Menologion of Basil II (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613), or Homilies of Gregory Nazianzen (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 510) etc. In monumental painting comparisons could be made with representations in the church of St Sophia in Ohrid or St Sophia in Kiev, but also with representations in numerous churches on the Apennine peninsula – Torcello Cathedral, Santi Stefani in Vaste (Lecce), Chiesa dell' Ospedale in Scalea (Cosenza) (see *La pittura in Italia. L'altomedioevo*, (ed.) Carlo Bertelli, Milano: Electa, 1994) etc. Nevertheless, one should be cautious about the extent to which paintings may be taken as proofs of the actual changes in liturgical fashion. See JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 238; BERNARD BERTHOD (note 6).

12

About the vestment, its development, character and usage see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 601–608, 707–710; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 748–750; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), *passim*, esp. 10–11, 104–107.

13

For the origin, symbolism and usage see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 664–674, 707–710; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 760–764; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 15–16, 104; BERNARD BERTHOD (note 6).

14

T. Mičević-Đurić already noticed some similarities with the ornaments of saintly dresses in Santi Stefani in Vaste (Lecce) (fig. 3b) and Santa Marina e Cristina in Carpignano (see TATJANA MIČEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ /note 4/, 27). Further comparisons could be established with other southern Italian paintings and also with certain representations in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts (Menologion of Basil II, Codex Taphou 14 etc.). Vestments with

figural embroidery were made probably from the second half of the 12th century, although in monumental painting they are represented for the first time more than a century later. See WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 32–45.

15

Actually, this became common in later times. See ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 748; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 10–11. For comparison, see the *epitrachelia* of the saints in Santi Stefani, Vaste (Lecce) (fig. 3b).

16

See JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 550–554 (also for the first written evidence of *encheirion* and the earliest usage and representations); ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 759, 760; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 16–17.

17

See, for example, depictions in The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzen (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. gr. 510) or the majority of depictions in the Menologion of Basil II (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1613).

18

An interesting study on the matter is NICOLE THIERRY, *Le costume épiscopal byzantin du IX^e au XIII^e siècle d'après les peintures datées (miniatures, fresques)*, in: *Revue des études byzantines* 24, 1966, 308–315. See also JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), *passim*; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), *passim*. For a comparison see also the supposed Church Fathers in the central apse of Torcello Cathedral (beginning of the 11th c.), who are depicted in accordance with the earlier tradition (they wear *omophoria*, *epitrachelia* are not visible and it seems also there are no *encheiria*, and there are also vertical stripes on their *sticharia*) or the saints in Santi Stefani in Vaste, represented with all the three episcopal insignia (fig. 3a, b). Later mosaic in the southern apse of Torcello Cathedral also well presents the change in liturgical clothing, and illustrates the difference between Eastern and Western liturgical vestments.

19

The paintings were usually dated after 1054. For the latest opinion on their dating to the last third of the 11th century, possibly around 1076, see IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 19, 22, note 19; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 81, 85. For some interesting conclusions also relevant for the question of dating see IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 169–172.

20

See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 18; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 170–173; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 77, 80.

21

One should differentiate between the *pallium* as a type of cloak in Roman times, and the *pallium* as an (archi)episcopal insignia. See below.

22

See JOSIP STOŠIĆ (note 3, 1987), 20; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 1987), 40; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 21–22, 31, note 37; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 175–176; TATJANA MIČEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 291–293; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 85.

23

See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 21–22; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 175–176.

24

T. Mičević-Đurić identified it as a stole (see TATJANA MIČEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ /note 4/, 291). However, in order to make a precise distinction among different pieces of clerical vesture (for

which stole is sometimes used as a kind of generic term) indicating not only the ecclesiastical order but also the more specific position in the Church hierarchy, it should be recognized as a Western *pallium*. For its origin, type, symbolism and usage see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 620–676; BERNARD BERTHOD (note 6); MAUREEN C. MILLER (note 6), *passim*.

25

Especially in TATJANA MIĆEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 119–120, 122–123, 294–303. For some previous conclusions see IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1996); IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1998); ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4); IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009); IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010).

26

For the identification of saints and *polystaurion* see TATJANA MIĆEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 119–120, 295. It has been suggested that the figures could represent the Church Fathers in IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1998), 75. Due to poor visibility of the paintings other identifications were also proposed (Prophets or Evangelists). See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1996), 377, 383; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 23; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 181; ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4), 64–65. However, these would not be represented in liturgical attire.

27

It is the first vestment that differentiated its wearer also by the rank of his see. For the introduction, usage, and the earliest visual representations of *polystaurion*, as well as later changes see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 237–238; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 754–755; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 15, 20–25 and on.

28

For the 12th century written sources see WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 21.

29

In a copy of the Vatican manuscript, Moscow Syn. Gr. 429, St Gregory Nazianzen is also depicted with a *polystaurion*, presumably on the logical basis that he, too, had been Patriarch of Constantinople (see WARREN T. WOODFIN /note 6/, 21, note 75).

30

See WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 21.

31

T. Mićević-Đurić was not explicit about the order of the depicted saints because of poor preservation of the paintings. TATJANA MIĆEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 295.

32

In this context the dating proposed by Ž. Peković to the second half of the 11th century, and labelling the paintings early medieval, is hardly acceptable (See ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4), 21, 24–25, 79).

33

See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 22–23 and on; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 178–180 and on.

34

See ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4), 32–36, 60–63. Both figures are preserved in St Nicholas' on Koločep – St Maurus (S/AN/CTVS M/A/VROS) on the northern side and Stephanus (STE/PHANOS/) on the southern side from the apse. In St John's in Šilovo Selo on Šipan, only the saint on the southern side of the apse, St Stephanus (S/TEPH/ANOS), is clearly recognizable, but it can be supposed that on the northern side there was St Maurus, like in the church of St Nicholas on Koločep.

35

See TATJANA MIĆEVIĆ-ĐURIĆ (note 4), 123.

36

Orarion is grasped with three fingers of the right hand and used for signalling during the liturgical service. For the deacon's vestments, their origin, usage and symbolism see JOSEPH BRAUN (note 6), 585–588, 602–608, 707–710; ATHANASIOS PAPAS (note 6), 745–748; WARREN T. WOODFIN (note 6), 5–9, 107–108, 121, 188–191 and on; MAUREEN C. MILLER (note 6), 17. For comparison see the analysis of liturgical vestments represented the 11th century paintings in the church of St Martin in Sveti Lovreč Pazenatički (Istria). (NIKOLINA MARAKOVIĆ, *Le pitture murali nella chiesa di San Martino a San Lorenzo del Pasenatico: nuove interpretazioni di un capolavoro pittorico di XI secolo in Istria*, in: *Hortus artium medievalium* 16, 2010, 311–332). However, it would be interesting to explore the iconography of diaconal vestments in other Italian regions in the same period (see, for example the representation of local saints from the church of San Decenzio in Pesaro, now kept in Museo Civico). Also, it has been indicated that the placement of the figures of deacons in the Elaphiti churches reflects Byzantine schemes (IGOR FISKOVIĆ /note 4, 2009/, 24; IGOR FISKOVIĆ /note 4, 2010/, 182).

37

Examples are numerous. The same attribute is seen also in fig. 2c.

38

See ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4), 32–33, 61–63.

39

The motif is found in apsidal decoration of churches in which the Orthodox rite was practiced as well as in cultural spheres of strong Byzantine influence and conforming to Byzantine traditions. See, for example VALENTINO PACE, *Una rara presenza: i vescovi greci. L'iconografia e la devozione come aspetti della "maniera greca"*, in: *Le plaisir de l'art du Moyen Âge: commande, production et réception de l'œuvre d'art; mélanges en hommage à Xavier Barral i Altet* (ed. R. Alcoy, D. Allios, M. A. Bilotta, et al.), Paris: Picard, 2012, 806–812.

40

See above, note 19.

41

See above, note 33.

42

Bibliography on the subject matter is quite extensive. For a historical survey see VINKO FORETIĆ, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808*. Prvi dio: Od osnutka do 1526., Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1980, 15–54; ROBIN HARRIS, *Dubrovnik. A History*, London: Saqi, 2003, pp. 33–45. For some specific questions concerning the socio-political situation and relations with the Roman church during the 11th and 12th century see IVICA PRLENDER, *Rimska kurija prema rubnim prostorima Zapada na istočnojadranskoj obali tijekom XI. i XII. stoljeća*, in: *Historijski zbornik LXII*, 1, 2009, pp. 1–27; IVICA PRLENDER, *Crkva i država u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku*, in: *Tisuću godina Dubrovačke (nad)biskupije: zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije/metropolije (998–1998.)* (ed. Ž. Puljić, N. A. Ančić), Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat – Split: Crkva u Svijetu, 2001, 325–338; IVICA PULJIĆ, *Upostava dubrovačke metropolije*, in: *Tisuću godina Dubrovačke (nad)biskupije: zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije/metropolije (998–1998.)* (ed. Ž. Puljić, N. A. Ančić), Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat – Split: Crkva u Svijetu, 2001, 15–56.

- 43
See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), *passim*; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 169–170; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 81–83.
- 44
The painter, among other, uses both Latin and Greek inscriptions.
- 45
For these conclusions see IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), *passim*; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 177–191.
- 46
See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1996), *passim*; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 2, 1998), *passim*; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), *passim*; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), *passim*. These discussions will be left for some other occasion.
- 47
For the already proposed conclusions compare ŽELJKO PEKOVIĆ (note 4) and IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010). Facial types of the figures and peculiarities of their execution (especially if we compare the poorly preserved faces of saints in the medallions on the apsidal wall of St John's in Šilovo Selo to those in the apsidal conch) reveal considerable differences. As it has been suggested, the differences might be due to the employment of diverse pictorial models. These issues will be dealt with extensively on some other occasion.
- 48
See VALENTINO PACE (note 39). The author also notices that a systematic presence of the figures of Greek Church Fathers in monumental context of central-northern Italy in the mentioned period is almost unknown. A rare exception would be the apsidal paintings in the Cathedral of Torcello (fig. 3a). For a wider historical context see also the extant bibliography of ANNICK PETERS-CUSTOT, especially her book *Les Grecs de l'Italie méridionale post-byzantine (IX^e–XIV^e siècle) : une acculturation en douceur*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 420, Rome: École française de Rome, 2009.
- 49
They occur in the early medieval period, and in 12th century Sicily Greek and Latin bishops presented together made part of an iconographic programme insisting on the balance between Eastern and Western church. See VALENTINO PACE (note 39). It has also been suggested that the iconographic programme emphasizing the Greek bishops in Cappella Palatina in Palermo (as opposed to the Cathedral in Monreale) may be an indication of the practiced Orthodox rite (note 17). Considerably later and quite significantly, Greek and Latin Fathers (the Great Doctors) will be depicted in the Baptistery in Venice. As the author claims, such a practice was almost inexistent in the East. However, the church of St Sofia in Ohrid, consecrated in the period preceding the Schism, treasures portraits of Roman Popes represented together with Eastern Patriarchs and local archbishops (fig. 2b).
- 50
See the 12th century mosaics in the Cathedral of Cefalù and Cappella Palatina in Palermo, or the mosaics in the south apse of Torcello Cathedral. The Holy Bishops represented in Torcello Cathedral (St Gregory, St Martin of Tours, St Augustine and St Ambrose) are particularly interesting because of evident differences in their liturgical dress (Eastern and Western in type), which would be interesting to account for. For comparison, see the figures of St Nicholas and St Hermagoras on the apsidal mosaic of St Mark's in Venice. In this context it would also be interesting to analyse the liturgical vestments represented on the Last Judgement scene in the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis.
- 51
1074 is emphasized as the year of final break with Constantinople and 1076 as the year of establishment of new Cathedral Captol in IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 19, 22, note 19; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 170. For a wider context see VINKO FORETIĆ (note 42), 15–54; ROBIN HARRIS (note 42), 36; ANTE GULIN, *Srednjovjekovni dubrovački kaptol*, in: *Tisuću godina Dubrovačke (nad)biskupije: zbornik radova znanstvenog skupa u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije/metropolije (998–1998.)* (ed. Ž. Puljić, N. A. Ančić), Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat – Split: Crkva u Svijetu, 2001, pp. 175–196; IVICA PRLENDER (note 42, 2009), 4–16.
- 52
Such as has been suggested for some examples of southern Italian painting. See VALENTINO PACE (note 39). For the abbey of Montecassino, as one of the most studied examples that could be taken into consideration, see HERBERT EDWARD JOHN COWDREY, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius. Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*, Oxford University Press, 1983.
- 53
See IVICA PRLENDER (note 42, 2001), 329; IVICA PRLENDER (note 42, 2009), 4–16.
- 54
As it has been indicated, in the last third of the 11th century there were also papal efforts to promote unity and restore good relations between Eastern and Western Church. See HERBERT EDWARD JOHN COWDREY (note 52), 133, 218.
- 55
Fragments of paintings of the same character were also discovered in the archaeological excavations under Dubrovnik Cathedral. See IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2009), 20; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2010), 189; IGOR FISKOVIĆ (note 4, 2014), 81, 85.

Sažetak

Nikolina Maraković – Tin Turković

Liturgijska odjeća na zidnim slikama 11. i 12. stoljeća na području Dubrovnika i Elafitskih otoka – prilog proučavanju “adriobizantizma” na istočnom Jadranu

U fokusu istraživanja bile su osobitosti liturgijskoga ruha svetaca prikazanih na zidnim slikama 11. i 12. stoljeća na dubrovačkome području – u tzv. bizantskoj bazilici u Dubrovniku, crkvi sv. Ivana u Šilovom Selu na otoku Šipanu te crkvi sv. Nikole na otoku Koločepu. Osnovni je cilj bio preispitati ili nadopuniti pojedine teze i pretpostavke iznesene u dosadašnjim istraživanjima, prvenstveno one koje se odnose na određivanje pripadnosti prikazanih liturgijskih odora zapadnom ili istočnom kulturnom krugu, a posljedično također uputiti na moguće daljnje smjernice istraživanja, kao i na potrebu daljnjih proučavanja problema “adriobizantizma” u umjetnosti i kulturi istočnog Jadrana.

Na apsidalnome zidu tzv. bizantske bazilike, pronađene u arheološkim istraživanjima 1980-ih godina ispod barokne dubrovačke katedrale, sačuvani su donji dijelovi liturgijskih odora četiri svetačka lika, a pitanje njihove pripadnosti istočnom ili zapadnom kulturnom krugu odmah je postalo predmetom interesa istraživača. Ovdje provedena analiza pokazuje da karakter prikazane liturgijske odjeće upućuje na istočne modele, odnosno bizantski kulturni krug, te da je riječ o tipičnoj biskupskoj odjeći: sveci su odjeveni u tunike – stihare (στιχάριον), preko kojih nose dugi plašt – felon (φαιλόνιον, φελόνιον); ispod plašta su vidljivi krajevi dekoriranog epitrahilja (ἐπιτραχήλιον), nad kojim se vidi i završetak omofora (ὠμοφόριον), a bočno su vidljivi i dekorirani enhirioni (ἐγχειρίον). Kako se prikazivanje biskupa sa sve tri insignije (epitrahilj, omofor i enhirion) uvriježilo upravo tijekom 11. stoljeća, prikaz u apsidi tzv. bizantske bazilike (koji se datira u posljednju trećinu 11. stoljeća ili oko 1076. godine) po svemu sudeći svjedoči o dobroj upoznatosti sa onovremenom praksom odijevanja u Istočnoj crkvi, a moguće je da su na apsidalnome zidu bili prikazani upravo Crkveni oci, kako je i bilo predloženo u ranijim istraživanjima. I odjeća fragmentarno sačuvanih svetačkih likova u sjevernom i južnom brodu crkve upućuje na isti kulturni krug. Izuzetak je, međutim, lik premeta na zidnoj slici u jednoj od monumentalnih grobnica uz južni zid bazilike, koji se datira nešto kasnije, u prvu polovinu 12. stoljeća.

Liturgijska odjeća svetačkih likova prikazanih na zidovima malih elafitskih crkava, Sv. Ivana u Šilovom Selu na Šipanu i Sv. Nikole na Koločepu, nije bila toliki predmet interesa u prethodnim istraživanjima, iako su neki dijelovi liturgijske odjeće bili ispravno identificirani. U medaljonima na apsidalnome zidu crkve sv. Ivana na Šipanu likovi svetaca vrlo su slabo prepoznatljivi, ali se još uvijek jasno razaznaju konture omofora i polistavriona (πολυσταύριον). Riječ je, dakako, opet o elementima liturgijske odjeće istočnoga porijekla, a identifikacija likova kao četiri Crkvena oca (naučitelja) Istočne crkve (sv. Bazilije Veliki, sv. Ivan Zlatousti, sv. Grgur Nazijanski i sv. Atanazije Aleksandrijski) predložena u dosadašnjim istraživanjima čini se opravdanom. Činjenica da je jedan od likova odjeven u polistavrion, koji je u bizantskoj umjetnosti te u pisanim izvorima poznat tek od kraja 11. i početka 12. stoljeća, dodatno učvršćuje već izneseni

prijedlog datacije zidnih slika polovinom 12. stoljeća. Naposljetku, likovi đakona (sv. Stjepana i sv. Maura) naslikani na zidovima koji flankiraju apsidu, odjeveni su u stihar, a preko njihovog lijevog ramena prebačen je orar (ὄράριον). I ovi detalji upućuju na tradiciju odijevanja u Istočnoj crkvi, iako je važno napomenuti da je đakonska odjeća istoga tipa nošena na širem prostoru južne Italije, neovisno o tome je li obred slijedio grčke ili rimske običaje.

Zaključci o karakteru liturgijske odjeće prikazanih likova, koja nedvojbeno upućuje na istočno, odnosno bizantsko porijeklo, čine se osobito značajnima u kontekstu naših saznanja o društveno-političkim promjenama koje su obilježile 11. i 12. stoljeće na dubrovačkom području te dinamike odnosa s Rimskom crkvom, osobito u kontekstu crkvenih reformi i nastojanja da se reformske ideje implementiraju na ovim prostorima. Velika Crkvena shizma, slabljenje veza s Konstantinopolom, kao ni uloga Dubrovnika u kontekstu provedbe papinske reforme, nisu mogli odrediti i trenutačni prekid sa bizantskim običajima i tradicijama, koje se jasno reflektiraju u likovnim prikazima u arheološkom sloju ispod dubrovačke katedrale. S druge pak strane, u zidnim oslicama malih elafitskih crkava, koji nastaju u vrijeme možda najintenzivnijih kontakata dubrovačke crkve s Rimom, razotkrivaju se također pojedini elementi koji pripadaju uvriježenim predodžbama bizantskoga svijeta, a upućuju na veze s “italo-grčkom” kulturom južnotalijanskoga podneblja, koja je ovdšnjim naručiteljima u konačnici ipak morala bila razumljiva i bliska.

Ovdje predloženim razmišljanjima potkrepljuju se neke već ranije iznesene teze o zidnome slikarstvu 11. i 12. stoljeća na dubrovačkome području, iznose se neki novi zaključci, a upućuje se i na važnost njihova daljnjeg proučavanja u u kontekstu povijesnih okolnosti u kojima nastaju. Nadovezujući se na neke od iznesenih zaključaka potrebno se vratiti i još uvijek nedovoljno rasvijetljenim pitanjima o naravi lokalnih tradicija i običaja, njihova utjecaja na likovno stvaralaštvo i načine uređenja liturgijskih prostora, ali i pitanjima koja se odnose na ulogu “putujućih” majstora koji na ove prostore nužno donose i prilagođavaju sheme uvriježene u drugim kulturnim sredinama, kao i na propitivanja u kojoj su mjeri oni bili podudarni s lokalnim predodžbama, običajima i liturgijskim praksama. Naposljetku valja zaključiti da se pitanje “adriobizantizma” (ili “adriobizantinizma”) u umjetnosti i arhitekturi južne Dalmacije pokazuje kao još uvijek vrlo aktualno i itekako vrijedno daljnjih promišljanja. U tome smislu nužno bi bilo uspostaviti i širu istraživačku platformu koja bi omogućila propitivanje toga koncepta iz različitih perspektiva i u mnogo širem društveno-kulturnom kontekstu, kako bi se proučavanju različitih aspekata bizantskoga nasljeđa pristupilo na što je moguće sveobuhvatniji način te kako bi se u suradnji stručnjaka različitih profila fenomene povezane sa stoljećima bizantske prisutnosti na istočnom Jadranu što temeljitije istražilo, interpretiralo i revaloriziralo.

Ključne riječi: liturgijska odjeća, “adriobizantizam”, srednjovjekovno slikarstvo, Dubrovnik, Šipan, Koločep