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Martyrs, relics, and bishops: representations of the city in dalmatian translation legends

MARTYRS, RELICS, AND BISHOPS: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CITY IN DALMATIAN TRANSLATION LEGENDS[*]

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Analysing a group of Dalmatian translation legends, the author traces the "image" of the city in these accounts and addresses the problems connected with the usage of these narratives for inquiries into early medieval urban history. The Translationes, a hybrid hagiographic sub-genre connecting the hagiographic Vitae and historically more reliable forms such chronicles, were often disregarded in historiography as sources of low historical value. Besides the notorious "unreliability" of the genre, neglect of these texts was equally due to inadequate approaches to their reading. Although these documents indeed contain little "historical" data, they are nevertheless a precious source for the investigation of medieval urban identities. Tracing the chosen narrative elements and the structure of the legends, the author aims at detecting the conceptual patterns, such as the image of the city as an expression of the significance of the translations of the relics and their relation to the cities' past.

1. INTRODUCTION: THE CONCEPTS AND THE SOURCES
1.1. "Cities of stone" and "cities of men"

The traditional distinction between the city as a material (topographical or physical) category and as a spiritual (social, religious, or symbolic) category seems no longer to be in use. Yet, despite the obvious problems of the concept itself, I find the ancient categories still to be useful as a starting point for discussion. It is apparent why present-day research on early medieval cities deals primarily with the "material" aspect of the phenomenon and not the "spiritual". As E. Dupré nicely observed: "La città 'fisica' è senza dubbio quella che più facilmente si può constatare e misurare; per questo la massima parte degli studi storici sul fatto urbano riguardono proprio essa e non l'altra, la città 'vivente.'"[1]

When there is a notorious lack of written sources, as in the case of Dalmatia, it is an ungrateful enterprise to venture onto the slippery ground of concepts such as *mentalité* or "self-perception." Theoretically, however, this is no reason to flatten a complex reality into "partial, simplified visions" by "attributing importance only to specific aspects, such as archaeological-topographical data, or the consideration of purely juridical-institutional or economic-social facts."[2]

1.2. The city as a concept: civitas and urbs

Having in mind the distinction between the "material" city and the "living" city, one has to admit that the historical city is, of course, both, and neither of the two approaches has the right to claim primacy in explaining the phenomenon in its entirety. However, in order to inquire into the relevance of translation legends as historical sources for early medieval urban history, one has to keep in mind the "dualistic tradition" which, starting with the Classical authors, defined the city, or *civitas*, as a community of citizens.

Beginning with Cicero's *conventicula hominum, quae postea civitates nominatae sunt*[3], following its reflection in St Augustine, for whom the city is *non muros urbis, sed mentes ipsius civitatis,*[4] one reaches the precise Isidore of Seville and his definition, according to which the *urbs ipsa moenia sunt, civitas autem non saxa, sed habitatores vocantur.*[5] This Isidorian definition of the city *sub specie viventium* is, I believe, not only a historical *curiosum,* but a useful concept and starting point. Moreover, it was R. Lopez who (now already 50 years ago), following this tradition, poetically defined the city as *stato d'anima.*[6]

Presupposing the existence of the particular "image" or "idea" of the city as a symbolic construct of a particular community, I would dare to make a further step and ask the following questions: How did the early medieval Dalmatian *cives* perceive or imagine their *urbs*? Or, on a more practical level: is it at all possible to trace at least fragments of the supposed image?[7] Approaching the latter question first, I will take the deductive path, by presuming that there is no community without an idea of itself and an interpretation of its own history and space. As a further step, these questions will be applied to a particular corpus of texts: a group of translation legends originating in Dalmatian (and Istrian) early medieval towns. Therefore, the aim of this paper is twofold: to trace the image of the cities as found in these particular sources and to inquire into the epistemological value of such an analysis, as well as the relevance of its results for the history of early medieval Dalmatian cities.

1.3. Written and non-written evidence

In the attempt to add a historian's share to the prevailingly archaeological and art historical discussion, this analysis moves towards evaluating the possible relations between the written evidence and archaeological finds. On a different level, it will also discuss the relations between the physical, topographical determinants of early medieval Dalmatian cities and their symbolic and religious image – an aspect of the "idea of the city." Any attempt to establish a relation between the rare written sources and the equally rare urban archaeological finds in the case of Dalmatia is a daunting, if not entirely impossible, task. Moreover, the following research is, to be clear at the outset, based on a rather thin data set,

and there is not much hope for the discovery of an elaborate and colourful picture of early medieval Dalmatian cities yet. Still, I am convinced that the results of such an inquiry would raise our sensitivity to particular aspects of medieval urban history. That is, what lies hidden behind this research is the question of the role that interaction between the "physiognomy" of the particular city (its topography and history) and the symbolic (basically religious) vision of the city, played in the formation of the self-perception of the *civitates* in the Early Medieval period.

2. PROBLEMATIC TEXTS: *TRANSLATIONES* AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE
2.1 Between history and fiction

Translation legends have too often been disregarded by historians as sources of "low historical value." It would probably be unjust to blame them, but the form of their questions has certainly determined the answers. Truly, the *translationes*, "in many ways hybrids between the purely literary *vitae* and the more 'historical' forms of medieval writing like chronicles and annals,"[8] can hardly be read as the mere description of reality. Indeed, "the difficulties involved in using hagiographical materials for the reconstruction of history are notorious,"[9] yet it would be an injustice to discard these texts as mere fictional apocrypha or naïve clerical propaganda.[10]

The central issue in interpreting these texts traditionally seems to have been the problem of the interplay between so-called historical reality and so-called literary fiction. Lacking any *a priori* or reliable apparatus to discern one from another, however, it seems that the basic thing to be done is scrutinize the text scrupulously, combining historical contextualisation with some sort of literary method such as narrative analysis. In other words, what seems to be the common starting point of both approaches is to see what the texts exactly contain. The *translationes* are, almost as rule, composed of particular *topoi* or literary common places. In historians' view, this fact has often been taken as proof that *translationes* are not useful as historical sources. However, it might also be claimed that inquiry into the usage and the place of *topoi* in the text might lead to the opposite conclusion. The texts in question are indeed constructed of different "borrowings" and commonplaces, but the particular elements were used because they served certain purposes.[11] The usage of particular *topoi* and their arrangement certainly made sense for those who composed them, as well as for their audiences.

2.2. The problems of historical analysis

Written evidence for Dalmatian cities from the Early Middle Ages (roughly 7th – 11th c.) is not only scarce but also quite obscure. This is particularly true of the hagiographic accounts. In an attempt to analyse Dalmatian early medieval *translationes*, besides the general problems connected to the genre, one has to face many particular difficulties. Basic methodological problems are the following:

1) The precise dating of these allegedly late antique or early medieval legends is hardly possible, since the texts are as a rule only preserved in much later manuscripts, thus excluding the possibility of formal, codicological, and paleographical analysis. 2) For most of these texts no scrupulous philological analysis (and usually none at all) has been undertaken. Moreover, in the cases of the texts that were analysed, the results point to their rather "compiled/accu-

mulated" nature, thus making the search for the text's supposed "original" groundless, if not impossible. 3) As the result of such a situation, the stage of the research at which a historian arrives through observing (but also holding in abeyance!) these problems is that of the analysis of the very contents of the texts. Provided that no proper philological analysis is undertaken or new manuscripts are discovered, the only possible point of departure is therefore only at that "third level", that is, from a sort of "middle position" ñ not exactly knowing where the texts come from nor for whom they were meant.

2.3 How to read the Translationes: A proposed approach

Keeping in mind both the problems concerning the translations as a genre and those of the particular texts, I propose two (in the end hopefully convergent) approaches: "historical" (referring to the possible historical contents or context)[12] and "literary" (referring to the narrative elements and structure of the text)[13]. Since most of these texts have already received a certain degree of attention from the former perspective, here I will mostly inquire into the latter aspect.[14]

The point of departure here is the presumption that the significance of the particular elements or *topoi* has its origin in the "mental fabric" of the society in which they were used. Following this presumption, one assumes that there was a "reciprocal relationship between the *topoi* used in fiction and the perception of reality." In other words, "it is not only the reality that forms the *topoi*, but also the *topoi* are patterns that form the perception of reality, that is to say, one shapes the reality in the process of perception according to the patterns that one has in mind. In a further step, *topoi* have a role in constructing a story to tell."[15] Therefore, the proposed approach is close to what is called, in the study of folklore, *Erzählforschung* or the "study of narration,"[16] that is, the identification of the basic narrative elements and the interpretation of their position in the text. What is proposed here is essentially a type of narrative analysis that aims at understanding the accumulation of the material in the texts not as an attempt to discover the Ur-form of the text nor to discern between the factual and fictitious elements, but to try to trace how the texts were constructed. For this inquiry I have chosen only a few out of a large number of possible elements. These were not the only possible subject of inquiry nor the only relevant ones; however, I believe that the selection indeed promises to advance our understanding of the usage of *translationes*.[17] The selected elements to be investigated are: (1) the language of the space of the translations (the place where the relics come from; the space between the place of origin and the "target" cities), and (2) the language concerning the participants in the translation (the "master of ceremonies" of the translation; the types and the roles played by the other participants in the event).

3. THE LEGENDS

The texts chosen for this analysis are not the only preserved or relevant ones, though they are probably the most significant. This is especially true of the legends from Zadar, the early medieval capital of Byzantine Dalmatia, and Split, the heir of Salona and later the ecclesiastical metropolis of Dalmatia and Croatia. The *translationes* of the relics of the patron saints of these two cities present the core of the material scrutinized here. Other text used for the comparison is that of the *translatio* of St Euphemia in Rovinj. The

basic parameters for the dating of the translations, text traditions, and editions consulted are the following:

1. The Legend of the translation of St Anastasia (*Narratio historica circa translationem sanctae Anastasiae*) has been preserved only in 17th-century manuscripts. Different elements are dated from the 9th through the 15th centuries.[18] The legend claims that the translation took place in 804.

2. The ("third") translation of the blessed Chrysogonus the Martyr (*Translatio beati Grisogoni Martyris*).[19] The text is preserved in a manuscript dating possibly from the 13th century, but re-written in the 15th.[20] The core of the text is dated to the late 9th to early 10th century.[21] In the text itself there is no dating of the exact time of translation, but the text mentions the relics of St Anastasia as already being venerated in Zadar, which implies the beginning of the 9th century as the *terminus post quem*.

3. The reflection of the translations of Sts Domnius and Anastasius (*De translatione sanctorum Domnii et Anastasii*) as preserved in Archdeacon Thomas' *Historia Salonitana*. Registred in 13th-century manuscripts, the narrative of the *translatio* was attested at least in the early 10th century.[22] The text dates the translation in the reign of Bishop John of Ravenna in the mid-7th century.

4. An extended version of the translations of the relics of Sts. Domnius and Anastasius (both Latin and Croatian versions are preserved in 16th-century manuscripts).[23] The dating of the translation is the same as in *Historia Salonitana*, that is mid-7th century.

5. The Translation of St Euphemia (*Translatio corporis beate Eufemie*) is an allegedly early medieval legend preserved in a 13th-century manuscript.[24] The legend dates the translation to the 10th century, in time of Emperor Otto (probably Otto I, 936-973). However, there is also a local tradition, attested at least in the 17th century, which dates it in the year 800.[25]

4. THE ELEMENTS AND THE STRUCTURE

The relics of St Anastasia (who, according to her *Passio*, was of Roman origin) arrived at Zadar from Sirmium, where she died, via Constantinople.[27] St Chrysogonus (also a Roman nobleman according to the same tradition), was executed in Aquileia. Interestingly, the author of the *translatio* fails to mention this from the start and instead describes how the relics were discovered near Zadar, in the place called *Iadera vetula*.[28] The relics of St Anastasius and St Domnius, the former of Aquileian origin and the latter from Antioch, were brought to Split from nearby Salona. Relics of St Euphemia were brought to Rovinj from Chalcedon in Asia Minor. These narratives show clear analogies.

First, all of the cities in question were once *gloriosae civitates*, not by chance important centres of political authority and power. It is not necessary, I believe, to stress both the historical importance and the symbolic significance of the cities in question: Rome, Constantinople, Salona, Sirmium, Aquileia, Antioch, and Chalcedon.[29] All of these cities were not only important political centres, but were also sanctified by the presence of the relics of martyrs, thus acquiring a new power – Christian and spiritual.[30] The "smooth" transformation from Pagan to Christian is nicely illustrated by Archdeacon Thomas, who, stressing the dignity of ancient Salona (both pagan and Christian), says that it was an archbishopric metropolis "where once pagan *protoflamini* were", and that it was also "the capital of Dalmatia and Croatia".[31]

Second, examining the language used to describe the cities and their destinies in the *translationes*, the reader cannot fail to observe an ambivalent attitude towards these *metropoles* of the deceased empire. Besides noting their significance, there is also a clear moral accusation of their pagan or improper Christian past. Many of the cities in question were destroyed, in one way or another, "by the will of God for the sins of their inhabitants." Sirmium was "besieged,

MARTYR	MARTYR'S ORIGIN	RELICS' ORIGIN	DESTINY of the CITY	RELICS' DESTINATION	PARTICIPANTS	
S. Anastasia	(Rome) Sirmium	Sirmium (Constantinople)	destroyed by the barbarians	Iadera (Zadar)	bishop Donatus	"people of every class, rank and gender"
S. Chrysogonus	(Rome) Aquileia	Iadera vetula	ruined (?)	Iadera (Zadar)	Bishop	"honest woman", 7-years old boys, citizens
S. Domnius	Antiochia	Salona	destroyed by the barbarians	Spalatum (Split)	bishop John of Ravenna	citizens, small boys,
S. Anastasius	Aquileia	Salona	destroyed by the barbarians	Spalatum (Split)	bishop John of Ravenna	citizens: "people of every age"
S. Euphemia	(Rome) Chalcedon	Chalcedon	relics taken away	Mons Rubeus (Rovinj)	*	monks, inhabitants pious virgin

Analysed elements

5. THE ANALYSIS
5.1. Between the past and the present cities

The statements about the places where the relics were taken from and brought through seem to have an important meaning for the perception of the place where the relics are intended to end up.[26] Therefore, starting in a sort of *cataphatic* way, namely by inquiring into what cities are not, I propose a close reading of the language used to describe the places from which the relics came, the surroundings through which they were transported, and, finally, the cities in question where they ended up.

plundered daily, and finally destroyed by the barbarians."[32] Salona was, according to *Quarta Translatio*, "horribly destroyed and abominably overthrown."[33] Archdeacon Thomas, having previously narrated the destruction of Salona in detail, briefly refers to it in his version of the *translatio* by mentioning the "disordered and ruined episcopal basilica" and "piles of burned ashes on which thorn-bushes and brushwood grew."[34] The fate of Aquileia, although not described in the legend, was thought to be the same. In the case of the fictive *Jadera vetula*[35] near Zadar, nothing is openly stated about the destruction, but the mention of the fields where the city once stood and the image of "many remaining graves"

is, I think, quite telling.[36] In the case of Chalcedon (and partially Constantinople), the divine discontent manifested itself not through barbarian destruction, but through God's decision to simply remove the relics.

As the texts themselves make clear, the true reason behind the destruction of the cities lay not so much in the external causes as in the sinfulness of their citizens.[37] The sinful behavior of the citizens leading to the destruction of the cities is therefore the true cause of their fall, and the "external forces" only serve as a tool for the tragic outcome. For years, the citizens of Sirmium lived in the "excessive and deepest sins"[38] In his *Historia Salonitana*, Archdeacon Thomas confirms this image for Salona with many details: besides "civil disorder," "there was no rightful administrator to control the wickedness," "Venus was polluting every citizen," "lust made the youth grew weak," etc.[39] Although this description does not in fact appear in the account of the *translatio*, it is part of the same narrative and thus provides a clear reference point for the later events. As the course of history ran differently for Constantinople and Chalcedon (both bein important symbolic places in Christian sacred geography), their destiny in the text is, of course, different from that of the destroyed cities. Still, even in these two cases there is a clear language of accusation; the citizens of Chalcedon were "careless about God," "lacking in good deeds," and "lethargic in their zeal for the illumination in things Divine and of light."[40] As for Constaninople, the legend tells how the relics of St Anastasia were brought to the city by the citizens of Sirmium (as promoters of her will). Still, they would not display them, but had rather "hidden her so that she would not be stolen."[41] Although Rome does not play a major role in the legends of St Anastasia and St Chrysogonus, the fact that the city is mentioned in *Translatio S. Anastasiae* is telling: quoting the words of Lucanus, the author of the legend observes how Rome herself provides an evil example of brotherly *discordia*.[42]

Obviously, the history of events - *res gestae* - perceived in the legends as a seemingly chaotic succession of find their true meaning in the deep stream of the "true history," the providential history of salvation. The Biblical inspiration of this (eschatological and highly teleological) negative view of the city as both a symbol and a source of sinfulness should be strongly emphasized. The narrative of Sodom and Gomorrah is just one of the most widespread examples.[43] Moreover, the first city mentioned in the Bible is the one established by Cain after he killed his brother.[44] In light of this, the rhetoric of the authors of the legends must not be understood as a mere display of biblical erudition or historical antiquarianism. In fact, it is exactly the Scripture that provides one of the keys to the reading of these *translationes*. This perspective is nicely illustrated by the words of St Paul when he speaks about the Old Testament: "all these things happened to them by way of example, and they were described in writing to be a lesson for us."[45] The clerics who compiled the *translationes* were, by their education and world views, deeply aware of these relations. Therefore the *topos* of "urban sinfulness" in these texts is not simply a scholastic exegetical game. The central problem of the sin of *discordia* in the city reveals the deepest concerns of a medieval society "always on the verge of chaos."[46]

THE SPACE TO BE CROSSED: IMAGES OF DANGER?

It is not only that the cities were destroyed by God's will, but according to the legends one gets the impression that the whole "external," non-urban world is in God's disfavour. Many dangers await the citizens who leave the city in order to acquire the relics. The inhabitants of Split carrying the relics of St Anastasius and St Domnius from Salona feared that they would be attacked by the Slavs.[47] In the account of the translation of St Chrysogonus to Zadar, the mere appearance of the neighbours of Zadar (with the evocative name *Myrmidones*!) causes fear among the citizens.[48] The barbarian *Myrmidones* and Slavs, however, were not the only dangers lying in wait for the citizens once they were outside the security of their walls. The ship that transported St Anastasia's relics to Zadar was attacked by demons howling in the air and trying to stop the martyr.[49] What we would call natural elements do not seem to have been more benevolent towards the citizens. The boys carrying St Domnius' relics were tormented by the burning sun; the merchant in the legend of St Chrysogonus was saved from the stormy sea, and the dwellers of Rovinj were surprised by a storm such as they had never seen before. All these images fit well the pattern of the medieval reception of the space outside the city as "a space that is, unmarked by human action, hence inhabited by demons, and by evil" as shown for the later period by C. Frugoni.[50]

THE NEW CITY

The crossing of the symbolic borderline between the two worlds is often strongly stressed by the last obstacle at the entrance of the town: arriving at Zadar, the boys carrying the relics of St Chrysogonus are stopped at the city gates and cannot proceed[51]; the relics are taken into the city only after three influential citizens make their vows to the martyr. The symbolic importance of the gates is also emphasized in the legend of St Anastasia; while the relics of the martyr are solemnly entering the city, a man, coming too close to them, falls dead "just outside the city gates."[52] After that event, the frightened citizens, at the sight of such a marvel, decide to immure the gates so that they are closed *in finem saeculorum*.

When the relics, after having defeated all obstacles and perils, finally enter the city, the reader feels as if he may breathe again. The language depicting the urban atmosphere, in contrast to the language of external space, is that of joy and order. The citizens regardless of age, rank, or gender joyfully greet the *adventus* of the martyr.[53] Their hierarchical description denotes the ideal order of the society.[54] The situation, in which people of all walks of life gather around the relics is often described in a terminology of rejoicing similar to that of the Psalms, the prophets speaking of the restoration of Sion, or accounts of Jesus' solemn entrance in Jerusalem.[55] Following the arrival of the martyr, churches are built, repaired, or decorated.[56] The citizens make generous donations to the martyr on a more practical level: they give their fields, vineyards, islands, villages, silver, fancy vestments, etc.[57] The city where the martyr, by Divine Providence, decides to stay and work his benevolent miracles is in fact not described physically. It is represented rather as a spiritual and social category; a place of joy and order ñ a place for humankind.

THE OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLDS

According to the image suggested by the *translationes*, the Christianisation (not only in its strictly religious sense) of "civilised space" of the early medieval Dalmatian cities has already taken place. However, their surroundings still

remain alien and dangerous. In this perspective, the *translationes* reflect the ancient theme of the opposition between the urban (civilised) and the rural (barbaric),[58] confirming the opinion that during the period of transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, "the idea of the city as an entity different from the countryside was never lost"[59]. Historically, however, this opposition could hardly be the opposition of Christian vs. Pagan. *Translationes* are understandably, heavily biased towards the *interpretatio Christiana* and therefore should be taken with great caution if used as proof of the scope and quality of the "Christianisation of the place, time, and social memory."[60] Taken together, it seems that in the core of these narratives there is rather a symbolic perception of space divided between Good and Evil than a description of historical "reality".

The perils of passing through the territory between the cities of origin and the cities where the relics were intended to end up marks the opposition between these two symbolic spaces. The surroundings, hostile in nature, full of looming ruins, populated by barbarians and demons, are juxtaposed with the interior of the city, which is "the place for the churches, and for humankind, which belongs to God, with walls denoting the separation from surrounding space."[61] The intrinsic opposition between the walled city and its uncivilized, rough countryside is expressed through "the awareness of the contrast, denotated by the walls, between order and chaos, organised space and savage nature," and therefore "every violent death, every event that disturbs the peaceful unfolding of a life regulated by laws, "did in fact take place outside."[62] All these observations support the opinion that *translationes* largely reflect the "idea of the city" rather than its historical description.[63]

However, having in mind the point that "space defines, and is defined by the society living in it", and that "changes can be made either in physical or in mental structures,"[64] the "ideal" should not be considered as subordinate to "reality". It should not be interpreted only in terms of secondary "superstructure" or accident. The "idea of the city", the heavenly Jerusalem, through the activity of the living Church, the true *civitas*, gradually transformed the physical structure of the *urbs* and materialised in stone. The size and the position of the churches built to house the martyrs are therefore no mere "matter of topography". With all their powerful symbolic meanings and connotations, they, have the key position in the dynamic interplay between the "city of stone" and the "city of men" as they belong to both categories.

5.2. The participants

In order to proceed from the spaces and buildings towards the persons participating in the translations, one has to confirm the statement that "if these sources do reflect a broader social reality, credit went to the builders of churches, not the maintainers of walls."[65] If the same was not true for most of the surviving buildings and epigraphic inscriptions, one would be tempted to disregard the *translationes* as too obviously propagandistic. Yet, although translation legends indeed describe a dangerous world in which citizens should care more about military issues than pious bishops, old ladies, and immature boys, these narratives reserve the central role exactly for them. Two major types of roles played in the narratives of translation: that of the "master of ceremonies,"[66] the bishop, and a diverse, though in the terms of function homogenous, group of persons who play an active and vital role in the act of translation.

The bishop's role in translation

As has been widely confirmed in other regions in the period of Late Antiquity and the Early middle Ages, it was mainly bishops who moved the relics to episcopal sees, principally as an act of reconstructing the see's memory and authority.[67] These two aspects are most obviously present in the accounts of the translations of Sts Domnius and Anastasius, where Bishop John is presented as the first archbishop of Split, who, through the translation of the Salonitan relics, confirmed the continuity between Salona and Split. According to *Translatio S. Anastasiae*, Bishop Donatus of Zadar interceeded between Charlemagne and Emperor Nicephorus and the account stresses his role almost equally as that of the martyr Anastasia. For obvious historical reasons, however these aspects are absent from *Translatio S. Euphemiae*.[68]

To what extent is the image of the bishops the result of the hagiographers' attempts to glorify them, and how much does that image reflect the real importance of the bishop in the society? If one is to trust these texts, the bishop was the central figure in the city. Moreover, it is generally accepted that from the fifth century on, the bishop took over the traditional role of leadership in the cities of the Western part of the Roman Empire and that the "presence of an episcopal court made the difference between life and death for an urban center"[69]. Yet the actual power of the bishops in particular regions is still a matter of scholarly debate.[70] Analysing here the image of the bishop in the first place, and not deciding about its historical credibility, one discovers aspects that, even if not "historical" data, are still highly relevant for research and for understanding the position of the bishop in medieval Dalmatia.

Other participants: the humble and the powerless

Translations of relics were "orchestrated" by the bishop, but technically, they were always carried out by the powerless, almost marginal, members of the society. This role of the humble *humiles* (children, a virgin, the elderly) is a however not only a common hagiographic *topos* but an important Biblical element pregnant with meaning. The common usage of the motif is very telling and almost speaks for itself.

The relics of the martyr are almost by rule discovered by a humble person who, after the discovery, runs to the bishop to inform him about his finding. In the legend of St Chrysogonus, it is an old lady collecting herbs who hears the voice of the martyr and quickly runs to tell the bishop.[71] Although the saints usually reveal themselves to pious and humble individuals, it is most often the bishop who approves the contact with a saint. In these terms, it is the the bishop who through "recognizing the martyr" becomes an interpreteur of his will. Moreover, some of the legends clearly underline the liturgical nature of the event by describing the bishop being vested or behaving as if celebrating the liturgy.[72] In cases where there is no bishop, such as the legend of St Euphemia, the *topos* is also present, although keeping only a part of its symbolical meaning. In that example, the relics are first discovered by hermits and later guarded by a pious virgin.

Once discovered, the gathered people usually cannot move the relics. The symbolic obstacle is the turning point where the bishop reveals his authority, wisdom, and humility by choosing from among the "smallest ones" those who will

proceed with the task. In the story of St Chrysogonus, the bishop, after the body of the martyr could not be taken out of a grave, chooses two seven-year-old boys, who not only manage to lift the relics, but carry them easily to the city gates.[73] Similarly, John, the bishop of Split, seeing that a group of sturdy young men cannot move the sarcophagus of St Domnius, calls upon the children, "gathered as boys do to see the spectacle," to assist and carry the sarcophagus.[74] The meaning of this action is made clear by the compiler: God wants immaculate relics to be transferred only by immaculate hands.[75]

Not intenting to elaborate it in much details, it is clear that the *topos* of the connection between the bishop and the *humiles* is highly significant and provides an inspiring direction for further research. One direction of research might inquire into the symbolic role of the innocent in the context of the dangers connected with the crossing of symbolic borders.[76] The innocent ones are pure enough to risk crossing them. This is, however, only one of the aspects of the role of the humble and powerless in translation narratives. These groups are categories traditionally connected to the role of the bishop in society. The connection between the bishop and the powerless is an important motif in the rhetoric of episcopal power.[77] Textually, and in a spiritual sense, one does not need to repeat that the *topos* also bears strong Scriptural connotations.[78]

Although it is impossible here to analyze all these issues in more detail, it is important to stress the rich spectrum of rhetorical devices used to depict the integrative role of the bishop in the *civitas*. The bishop is often addressed as the *pastor bonus*, a benevolent intercessor and humble peacemaker. He is also depicted as a good father of the urban community. Despite dealing with "contemporary and worldly powers," the bishop's authority does not stem from a worldly source, but exactly the opposite; the bishop is presented as powerful, not because of his wealth or political talent, but because he is holy.[79]

6. INTERPRETATION

On the basis of the present analysis, one is stimulated to pose a question: do the selected Dalmatian *translationes*, with all the stress on both their accumulated and constructed nature, have any relevance as the historical sources after all? Or, in other words, do these narratives refer at all to real events, or are they simply fictional/ideological constructs? They are probably both, and in order to interpret the obvious parallelisms between these texts, one might be tempted to read them both as reflections of similar historical experiences or as a clear display of the literary patterns of the genre. However, the problem with this conclusion is that the ratio between the two seems to be impossible to determine. If that is so, however, and there are no means of discerning one from another, should not the very concept of the clear distinction between fact and fiction be taken with great suspicion, if not completely discarded?

6.1. On historicity

After all has been said, one may still be tempted to see in these narratives a reflection of some historical events that happened in early medieval Dalmatian cities ñ and not completely without reason. The image of "pockets of civilisation" preserving the memory of their Classical past while surrounded by barbarian neighbours and mired in an atmo-

sphere where the surrounding nature is seen as dangerous while the only order lies inside the narrow space of the walls of the city appeals to our perception of the early medieval Dalmatian cities. Apart from its narrative or symbolic connotations, the mention of the ruined Classical cities does not have to be read necessarily only as a literary *topos*, but also as a reflection of the reality of the early medieval urban Dalmatians. We are probably quite right in supposing that they knew well the sight of the huge ruins whose "dark outlines," in the poetic words of V. Fumagalli, "loomed up in the empty expanses of country."[80] Following these observations, one might examine different, possibly fruitful historical aspects worth of attention.

For example, speaking of the early medieval city, one of the interesting points is certainly the "language of urbanism" attested by the diverse terminology. According to *Translatio S. Anastasiae* along the sea route from Constantinople, *in Dalmatia,* there are many *villae, oppida,* et *civitates.*[81] Zadar is, of course, a *civitas.* The relics of St Chrysogonus are brought to *istam provinciam pro amore accolarum istius civitatis.*[82] St Domnius and St Anastasius are brought to Split *ad suam civiétatem.*[83] In the *translatio* of St Euphemia, Rovinj is designated only as *castrum* (*iuxta castrum, extra castrum*) or described as a hill surrounded by walls (*iuxta murum...*).[84] The aspect is not without interest, because once again the traditional terminology not only reflects the awareness of different levels of urbanisation but clearly differentiates between the episcopal sees, however humble they might have been, and other settlements.

Along with these rather "technical" terms, one also cannot neglect the presence of diverse historical persons in the accounts. Besides all those anonymous personalities there are indeed many "celebrities" mentioned: Charlemagne, Emperor Otto I, Venetian dux Benenatus, Iadertine bishop Donatus, etc. But the central problem with trusting them as historically authentic lies in the very fact that they were so well known. Therefore, even these "obviously" historical *realia* should be used with a great caution. The appearance of authentic names or places should not delude one to trust them uncritically. Indeed, there are many historical elements to be found in the *translationes* and one is permitted to suppose that some of them have a certain historical validity (especially if confirmed by other types of sources). Still, their usage and position in the texts almost certainly does not simply reflect realities but rather memory on them.

On the theoretical level, one should answer the question about the possibility of using all these "historical elements" in either a historical or a literary analysis.[85] The idea that these *realia*, "seemingly unmotivated from the point of view of the narration," were included in the narration simply because they happened is indeed a tempting one. However, while this solution would grant credibility to certain aspects of *translationes*, one should not forget the other solution, which explains these elements as only seemingly unmotivated and historical, and which in fact might be interpreted in terms of the "reality effect".[86] Altogether, without considering how these *realia* or *pseudo-realia* are organised, besides being aware of the textual logic of these narratives, a scholar will always be tempted either to trust them uncritically or discard them as too full of nonsense to be of any use.

6.2. Need for the literary approach

The above mentioned liturgical context is not accidental but vital in the question of the relation between the narra-

tive and the ritual performance of translation. The feast of translation is a ritual performed yearly in order to commemorate the original and sacred event of the translation. Is it not possible that the legends somehow do reflect the "real events," although probably not the one referred to but rather its later repetition through the liturgical performance?[87] If it is accepted that there is a certain portion of reality in the description, one will also be tempted, following the basic structure of the different obstacles facing those who set out to take the relics to the city, to refer to certain anthropological models of ritual as a means of neutralising the danger of crossing the symbolic border between the two worlds.[88] The presupposition that "anthropological experience" might help in the analysis of medieval narratives (thinking of "history as a foreign country") is absolutely legitimate and possibly fruitful; however, it is an aspect that would require a discussion of its own. One should not be too easily impressed by the idea that, however inspiring, an "anthropological reading" might be used as any sort of proof for the historicity of the narratives. Moreover, the relatively recent trends in cultural anthropology which borrow rhetorical analysis from literary theory and, consequently, interpret cultural events as texts, would rather point to the importance of the semantic and narrative structures of *translationes* than their historicity.

Besides opening the question of the *translatio* as a ritual, the liturgical context brings us, at least theoretically, close to the important question of the identities of those who composed the texts and the audiences for whom they were meant. Theoretically, I say, because for some of these texts the answer to these questions might seemingly be easily given through the application of the concept of the textual community. Still, however legitimate and justified the idea was, I am afraid that, with our present knowledge of the history of early medieval Dalmatia that would be too daring.

Speaking of those whose interests and world views *translationes* present, by now it has hopefully become clear that the way the legends present, the Slavs, for instance, is not necessarily a reflection of the relations between the early medieval *cives et Sclavi*, but possibly a proposition of "how to see the Slavs." Following these lines, one might and ask then, how, after all, is it possible to discern between the fictious and the real in these accounts? And is it really necessary to discriminate between the two? If one wants to inquire into the image that the writer of the legend wanted to create in the first place, the distinction loses its importance.

Even in order to get closer to history, one might take a risk and start by accepting the fact that the *translationes* are not a window into early medieval urban history (which text is?), but a kind of distorting mirror. Consequently, an inquiry into the formal ways in which these narratives hide/reveal reality seems to be a good path towards appreciating *translationes* more than as simple reservoirs of distorted data compiled by clerical propaganda. I believe that this "necessary shift," an exposure to the dangers of the "linguistic turn," does not necessarily have to lead scholars to the "deconstruction of the sources ending with nothing to inquire,"[89] but can raise their sensitivity to the richness of the different aspects of these valuable texts.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The legends analysed here are indeed fragile and confusing sources, but they are also almost the only narrative evidence about early medieval Dalmatian cities. Yet, in order to profit from their usage it is impossible to read these texts in a single key. It is definitely not that of traditional positivist or Marxists historians, but neither exclusively and ultimately literary one.[90] It is apparent why it is not possible to appreciate these sources properly using only narrow traditional historical methods. Lacking the original manuscripts, and before the scrupulous philological analysis of the extant texts is undertaken, it is also impossible to date them precisely. Therefore, the historian is left to start the research from a middle position: not exactly knowing when they were written, who wrote them for whom, and for what purpose.

Although a study of historical data in these texts should not be *a priori* neglected, what I see as fruitful and innovative in the proposed approach is the examination of the language, the elements, and the structure of the texts. This means a scrupulous "close reading" and an attentive analysis of the ways in which these narratives are constructed. This proposal is not meant to be as a *vinum novum in utres veteres,* a new and more subtle means of detecting "solid particles of historical truth," but primarily as a fresh reception of the very fabric of the text: its narrative patterns, its elements, and the ways in which they are interconnected. To summarize, borrowing the words of E. Said, it is in the first place important to "receive the texts in all their complexity," that it is, through a "close reading that would gradually locate the text in its time as part of a whole network of relationships," and that "seeing a text as a series of decisions and choices expressed in words"[91] would not diminish, but enrich our meditation on their historical background.

Keeping in mind that these legends express reality as their authors perceived it (and how they wanted others to see it), it is definitely impossible to read them as mere "historical" accounts. However, it would be mistaken to treat them as no more than a form of religious propaganda or fantastic fiction. These accounts clearly had social functions and expressed concerns of particular social groups. However, the need to read them in their contexts is heavily overshadowed by the fact that we do not really know much about their historical and social background. Therefore, a scholar intending to use them as a historical source is in danger of ending in a *circulus vitiosus* of irrelevant explanations.

Returning once again to the question of the possible relationship between hagiography and archaeology, one has to admit that, in these texts, the archaeologist and art historian will hardly find a guide to help them where to dig and which forms to analyse, respectively. Still, even if there are no genetic relationships between the two, one cannot fail to observe the obvious analogy between the objects of inquiry – the buildings and the texts. As Classical *spolia* were used in the construction of early medieval structures, classical motifs and entire quotations were, in much the same way, included in early medieval hagiographic accounts. The church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar provides a vivid *exemplum*: broken Roman columns in its foundations remind one of the fragment of Lucanus' *Bellum civile* incorporated in *Translatio S. Anastasiae*.[92] As the stone spolia were re-used in order to create new structures, ancient motifs and themes, both Classical and Biblical,[93] were used to construct the accounts of translations. In both cases this usage fit new and different religious, cultural, and social needs, while remaining indebted to the long and slow stream of the Classical tradition.

Telling the story of the *adventus* of the martyr, the central aim of the early medieval *translationes* was to bridge the gap between the universal hagiography (present in the form of Late Antique *Vitae* or *Passiones*) of the particular martyr, and his/her local cult. Consequently, *translationes*

might be read as a paradigmatic image of the town in transition. Having roots in the late Classical forms – in particular panegyrics delivered on the occasion of the *adventus* of an emperor or other dignitary[94] – *translationes* preserve the distant light of the rich Classical tradition.[95] They display an awareness of medieval society's links to the Classical past and, one might even say, ambiguous admiration for it. Taken as a whole, however, they represent different circumstances. The implicit image of the city traced in the *translationes* analysed here is not that of a Classical city, but rather that of a *conventiculum*, a small community enclosed in its walls and surrounded by hostile countryside. Whether it is only a mental construct or also a reflection of reality, this image fits well into the perception of a period when walls and churches most vitally defined the features of the urban landscape.

The narrative mechanisms applied in the translation legends in order to commemorate and perpetuate the rituals of the translations and stress the role of the ecclesiastical officials reveal not only the mental patterns or literary style of the ecclesiastical writers, but also point to contemporary urban power structures. The central issue of the legends, the *adventus* of the martyr, is reminiscent of past visits of dignitaries. Comparing the *adventus* of the emperor or other dignitaries with that of the relics, one might observe that the emperors, after all, "always went away, but the relics stayed for good."[96] There is a telling hagiographic *exemplum* of St John the Almsgiver, bishop of Alexandria, who, on his way to ask the emperor for help, was told in a dream not to waste his time because "while the emperor is far, far away, God is always close at hand."[97] In circumstances when the emperor was indeed farther and farther away, as is the case with early medieval Dalmatia,[98] it was apparent to the hagiographer that only God – *qui semper est gloriosus in sanctis eius,* as one of the legends states – was capable of organising the life of the city.

Translationes indeed seem to reflect changes that had taken place in the period of the late antique-early medieval transition, changes that "marked the emergence of an ancient theme ñ the ideal of a totally religious culture."[99] Even though the "real" power of the early medieval Dalmatian bishops is still debated, the legends, understandably, present them as the leaders of their communities. If this is just an ideal promoted by the episcopal circles, or indeed a distant echo of early medieval historical reality, the image of the Dalmatian city presented in the *translationes* analysed here is clearly that of a small community closed in its shell in times of insecurity. It is the image of the period when the bishop and the relics of the martyr placed in the episcopal church came to represent the central *foci* and the most secure guarantees of the survival and integration of some form of *civitas*.

[1] E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, *Problemi della città nell'alto Medioevo* in: La città nell'alto Medioevo (*VI. Settimana di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 10-16 aprile 1958*), Spoleto, 1959, p. 21.

[2] E. DUPRÉ THESEIDER, *op. cit.,* p. 21. "…attribuendo soverchia importanza ora a questa ora a quella indagine specifica, come lo scavo archeologico-topografico oppure alla considerazione puramente giuridico-istituzionale o al fatto economico-sociale."

[3] CICERO, *Pro Sestio* 91, 11.

[4] AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS, *Epistula ad Marcellinum* CXXXVIII, 16.

[5] ISIDOR HISPALENSIS, *Etymologiae*, XV, 2.

[6] R. S. LOPEZ, *La città dell'Europa post-carolingia*, in: I problemi comuni dell'Europa post-carolingia (*II Settimana di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, Spoleto 6-13 aprile 1954*) Spoleto, 1955, pp. 547-574. (Hereafter LOPEZ, *La città*)

[7] The term image is used here as an attempt to conceptualize the unmeasurable and imprecise reflection of the particular construct, something close to concept, mental or symbolic image

[8] P. GEARY, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1990, p. 10. (Herafter GEARY, *Furta Sacra*); M. HEINZELMANN, *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 33), Turnhout, 1979. This book is still a basic reference work in discussing *translationes* from a formal perspective.

[9] GEARY, *Furta sacra*, p. 9.

[10] Also the application of our mental categories do not seem to fit those of the writers of the legends. If one thinks about the translation of the relics as an expression of mere "osseolatry", it is certainly impossible to grasp the whole scale of the rich meanings of these texts. Cf. M. GRANIĆ, *O kultu sv. Krševana zadarskog zaštitnika* [On the Cult of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar], in: 1000 godina samostana svetog Krševana u Zadru [1000 Years of the Monastery of St. Chrysogonus], Zadar, 1990, pp. 35-58.

[11] Cf. GEARY, *Furta sacra*, p. 10. "Composed of *topoi* as they are, they are nonetheless differentiated in the choice and arrangement of *topoi*; and while little can be learned from *vitae* in the way of specific factual data, changes in religious devotion and attitude towards great variety of activities can be inferred from differences in subject matter, types of miracles, and structure of *vitae* of different periods."

[12] It should be stressed as perhaps the most important contextual fact about these stories that they were liturgical texts. Although this notion already situates them in a certain context, it is not enough to presuppose that liturgical usage would grant, by its conservative nature, the persistence of some archaic "originals". It also points in the direction of the possible authors and *impresarios,* as well as (although less clearly) their audiences, that is the particular social groups constituting the "textual community." Although both of these aspects (the texts' conservative nature and the notion of their *impresarios* and audiences) might justify, to a certain extent, the usage of the *translationes* as relevant early medieval sources, one would still need a good amount of positivism and even *naïvety* to believe that the texts as preserved are the product of the particular period. The share of knowledge of the "institutional" usage of the texts would still require a great deal of imagination to result in a close understanding of the particular "semantic system" built on the author-impresario-audience relations.

[13] I would wish to call it formal or structural here, using these terms only as descriptions for the approach, and trying to avoid reference to their already overburdened usage.

[14] Far from being the last word said on the historical *realia* or context, the very nature of these texts strongly demands that they should be approached as narrative constructs.

[15] Z. KISÉRY, *Applying Erzählforschung for reading St. Elisabeth's story in the Libellus de dictis quattuor ancillarum*, Unpublished paper, Budapest, 2004, p. 1. (Hereafter KISÉRY, *Applying Erzählforschung*).

[16] "The German term is sometimes translated as "folk tale studies," hinting at the origin of these kinds of studies, originally connected on the one hand to *Volkskunde* (ethnic studies) in Germany, and on the other hand to medieval studies, but as for its content, "folk tale studies" is slightly misleading, because it does not always [or necessarily] deal with folk tales." KISÉRY, *Applying Erzählforschung*, p. 2.

[17] The inquiry might also have included other relevant elements, such as, the identity of the martyr whose relics were transferred, his/her gender, family background, social rank, etc.

[18] Here I use: *Translatio reliquiarum s. Anastasiae Byzantio Jaderam,* in: *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, MSHSM 7, (F. Rački, ed.), Zagreb, 1877, pp. 306-310 (Hereafter TSA).

[19] There are other accounts of translations preserved in Zadar: one which dates the translation of the relics to the mid-7th c., a tradition that the relics of St. Chrysogonus were brought to Zadar by Bishop Donatus at the beginning of the 9th c., and a later invention of St. Chrysogonus in the mid-11th c.

[20] The text was edited by Ć. M. IVEKOVIĆ, *Crkva i samostan sv. Krševana u Zadru* (Church and Monastery of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar), Djela JAZU (vol. 30), Zagreb, 1931, pp. 49-52 (Hereafter TSC), after the 15th c. ms. allegedly lost during the Second World War. However, the manuscript containing the *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* and *Passio S. Chrysogoni et S. Anastasiae* was found in London in 1997. It was purchased and returned to Zadar by ms. Flora Turner, and it is kept in the convent of St. Mary.

[21] R. KATIČIĆ, *Zadrani i Mirmidonci oko moći Sv. Krševana* [The Citizens of Zadar and Myrmidons around the Relics of St. Chrysogonus], in: Uz početke hrvatskih početaka [From the Beginning of the Croatian Beginnings], Split, 1993, pp. 191-201. See also: M. ANČIĆ, *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris kao povijesno vrelo* [The *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyris* as a Historical Source], in: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 25, 1998, pp. 127-138.

[22] This briefer version of the account of translations is preserved in Archdeacon Thoma's *Historia Salonitana*. Here: *De translatione sanctorum Domnii et Anastasii,* In: THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, *Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificium,* (O. Perić, transl.; M. Matijević Sokol, com.), Split, 2003, p. 50 (Hereafter HS).

[23] A younger, extended version of the legend, as found in Early Modern manuscripts, has been edited many times (in *Acta Sanctorum*, *Illyricum sacrum* etc.). Here I use: *De quarta translatione S. Domni,* in: *Legende i kronike* [Legends and Chronicles], (V. Gligo – H. Morović, ed.), Split, 1977, pp. 50-57 (Hereafter TSD).

[24] *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie* (Jubilarno izdanje u povodu 1200. obljetnice prenošenja moći sv. Eufemije u Rovinj), (A. Kliman et al., ed.), Pula, 2000, pp. 134-145 (Hereafter TSE).

[25] TSE, p. 117.

[26] M. CAROLI, *Bringing saints to Cities and Monasteries: Translationes in the Making of a Sacred Geography,* in: Towns and their territories between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (The transformation of the Roman world series, vol. 9.,G. Brogiolo et al., ed.), Leiden, 2000, p. 272 (Hereafter CAROLI, *Bringing saints*).

[27] Although the author of the legend knew that the relics where translated from Constantinople, he seems to neglect the role of the capital or the Byzantine authorities in the translation. He reports how, after the relics where brought from Sirmium to Constantinople (historically, at the 5th century), they were kept hidden by the citizens of Sirmium until Iadertine, Bishop Donatus, appeared in Constantinople (historically, the beginning of the 9th century).

[28] In the beginning, the compiler of the legend does not mention an Aquileian origin openly, but makes references to it: he mentions Presbyter Zoilus, known from the *Passio S. Chrysogoni* to be Aquileian, and also towards the end of the account gives a miracle-story of a merchant from Aquileia who evokes the martyr *qui iugulationem accepit in civitate nostra*.

[29] If Chalcedon might seem not to match rest in terms of Classical topography, one should remember the important Fourth Ecumenical council held in the city in 451. Moreover, the very decrees of the council start with the notion of "The sacred and great and universal synod … assembled in Chalcedon, metropolis of Bythinia, in the shrine of the saintly and triumphant martyr Euphemia…". N. TANNER, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, (Original text established by G. Alberigo, J.A.Dossetti et al.) London – Washington DC, 1990., p. 83.

[30] On the constructing of a new identity of Rome as the "city of martyrs" in the mid-4th c. see: M. SÁGHY, *Versek és vértanúk. A római mártírkultusz Damasus pápa korában, 366-384* [Poems and Martyrs. The Cult of the Martyrs in Rome under Pope Damasus, A. D. 366-384], Budapest, 2003; see also: F. LIFSHITZ, *The Martyr, the Tomb and the Matron: Constructing the (Masculine) Past as a Female Power Base*, in: *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (P. Geary, G. Althoff, J. Fried, ed.) Cambridge, 2000, pp. 311 – 341.

[31] HS, cap. III, 2. "… in metropoles uero prouintiarum, ubi erant archiflamines, archiepiscopos censuit statuendos." and "Domnium uero in Salonam direxit, que caput erat Dalmatie et Croatie."

[32] TSA, p. 307. "… a barbaris obsessa et diu expugnata, tandem destructa est."

[33] TSD, p. 52. "… post ejus diram destructionem, et detestabilem eversionem…".

[34] HS, cap. XII. "… abierunt Salonam ingredientesque basilicam episcopii confusa et dissipata omnia repererunt. Repletus enim erat locus ille ruinosis tectis congestique incendiorum cineres uepres iam et uirgulta produxerant ita…" A more detailed account of the destruction is presented in chapter VII.

[35] The term *Zara Vecchia* was later used for Biograd, the town where the inhabitants of Zadar found their contemporary homes after Zadar was destroyed by the Venetians and the Crusaders in 1202.

[36] TSC, p. 49. "…colligenda herbarum olera per loca campestria… pervenit… ad locum, ubi Jadera vetula vocabatur. Ibi namque erant infinite tumbe marmoree, in quibus recondita erant multa sanctorum corpora."

[37] For this and other connected topics it is almost impossible to cite all the relevant observations made by N. IVIĆ, *Domišljanje prošlosti: kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku povijest* [Fabulation of the Past: how did thirteenth century Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato made his Salonitan History], Zagreb, 1992.

[38] TSA, pp. 306-307. "Post multum vero temporis, multis jam elebentibus annis, peccatis nimiis iminentibus Smyrne civitati…"

[39] HS, cap. VII, 1 "Erantque in ea civiles discordie, nec satis arguto moderaimne regebatur. Non erat rector sapiens, qui refrenaret superbiam, qui puniret superbiam…"; "Preter hec uero imporba Venus omnem ordinem, omenm sexum et etatem absque ullo pudoris uelamine sordidabat"; "Dissolutio uoluptatis marcebat in iuuenibus, obstiantio auaritie rigebat in senibus, ueneficia in mulieribus, peruersitas in omnibus abundat", etc.

[40] TSE, p. 136. "Quod profecto fieri nemo sapientum aliter arbitrari potest, nisi quia illius civiitatis incole, sive pro perfecte Dei ignorantia, sive proborum actionum penuria, circa recta Divinaque lucis studia torpentes, hoc tanto lumine, decorari nullatenus merebantur."

[41] TSA, p. 307. "…Constantinopolim deferunt, et timentes ne furtive eis sublatum fuisset, absconderunt illud."

[42] TSA, p. 306. "Potest et hoc etiam ipsa Roma, cum adhuc parvium asylum esset, nobis praeferre exemplum. Romulus occidit fratrem suum Remum a quo postea Roma dicta est, ut ille nobilissimus poeta ait: Fraterno primi anaduerunt sanguine muri."

[43] Cf. Gen 19: 1-29.

[44] Cf. Gen 4: 17. "Cognovit autem Cain uxorem suam quae concepit et peperit Enoch et aedificavit civitatem."

[45] 1 Cor 19: 11. "Haec autem omnia in figura contingebant illis scripta sunt autem ad correptionem nostram." The stress is here on "figura," a term pregnant with meaning in its medieval usage.

[46] Cf. IVIĆ, *Domišljanje prošlosti,* pp. 104-107.

[47] HS, cap. XII. "… metuentes, ne forte impedirentur a Sclauis, cum celeritate magna Spalatum detulerunt."

[48] TSC, p. 51. "Cumque properassent ad civitatem Jaéderam, timor irruit super habitatores, nam putaverunt esse hostium falangas miseruntque ad illos velocem eaplaratorem, ut scirent, si forent hostilia agmina vel amici eorum."

[49] TSA, p. 307. "Daemones circumquaque per aera ululantes; alii clamabant dicentes: Ecce martyr Anastasia venit; ecce venit Christi martyr; alii autem quasi puerili voce stridentes clamabant: O martyr Christi Anastasia, ad quid venit torquere nos; quod tibi et nobis? Abi hinc, recede a nobis."

[50] C. FRUGONI, *A Distant City. Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World* (W. McCuaig, transl.), Princeton, 1991, p. 10 (Hereafter FRUGONI, *Distant City*).

[51] TSC, p. 50. "… portaverunt eam ad portam civitatis et ultra eam non patuerunt movere. Venerabilis autem epiéscopus dixit pueris: Ex qua re fit, quod non ceptum iter peragitis? Illi dixerunt: Scias, domine pater, quod nequaquam amplius possumus viam carpere."

[52] TSA, p. 309. "…in terram ante ipsam portam expiravit".

[53] TSA, p. 308. "Omnis concurit aetas, omnisque sexus, omnis conditio exultat animo, manibus plaudant, vocibus clamant, laudibus resonant…" TSC, 49. "Episcopus autem hec audiens convocatis clericis simul cum populo cum magno gaudio…".

[54] TSA, p. 308. "Archipraesul … una cum clericis cujusque ordinis, ac luminaribus praeparatis praecedentibus, cum clericis, monachis, sanctimonialibus, ac ceteris viris religiosis, sequentibus vero militibus, cum praefato Benenato Duce Venetiarum, cantantes et psallentes, ac summis laudibus."

[55] TSD, p, 55. "Accedentibus vero cunctis ad suam civiétatem cum pretioso desiderato thesauro, occurrunt senes, infantes et Virgines, caeterique, qui remanserant in praeésidio civitatis…" Cf. Zec 8, 4-5. "senes et anus in plateis Hierusalem prae multitudine dierum et plateae civitatis conplebuntur infantibus et puellis ludentibus in plateis eius.". For the scene of Jesus entering Jerusalem cf. Luk 19, 37-38.; Mat 21, 15-16.etc.

[56] TSA, p. 308. "…donec illi aedem et aram, ubi illum conderent, praeparent."; TSC, 49. "Ceperunt struere basilicam in nomine eius, … conseécremus altare venerabile in nomine eius"; etc.

[57] TSA, p. 309. "Qui supradicti cives alii agris, alii vineis, alii insulis, alii villulis ditaverunt."†;†TSC, 50. "…si portari te sinis ad basilicam, que a nobis in tuo nomine constructa est super venerandum tuum altare bis binas pono argenteas tabulas. Secundus autem frater, qui Michea dicebatur, promisit ei dicens: Ego in die sollempnitatis (!) tue ornabo totam fabricam domus ecclesie flameis pannis sericis et albis carbasinis et ex niveis, coccinisque desuper contextis…" etc.

[58] For the relations between the towns and their surroundings in early medieval Dalmatia see: M. SUIĆ, *Odnos grad-selo u antici na istočnoj jadranskoj obali* [The Town-Village Relation on the Eastern Adriatic Coast in Antiquity], *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis,* 3-4, 1973, pp. 13-38; N. KLAIĆ, *Odnos grada i sela na istočnoj jadranskoj obali u ranom srednjem vijeku* [The Relations between Towns and Villages on the Eastern Adriatic Coast in the Early Middle Ages], *Jugoslovenski istorijski časopis* 3-4, 1973, pp. 65-71; I. GOLDSTEIN, *Byzantine Cities and Slavic Villages: The Case of the Eastern Adriatic in the Early Middle Ages*, in: *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinische Geschichte und Kultur* (Herausgeben von Lars M. Hoffman unter Mitarbeit von Anuscha Monchizadeh), Wiesbaden, 2005.

[59] C. LA ROCCA, *Public buildings and urban change in northern Italy in the Early medieval period*, in: *The City in Late Antiquity* (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, vol. 3, J. Rich, ed.), London – New York, 1992., pp. 172.

[60] J.-M. SPIESER, *The City in Late Antiquity: A Re-Evaluation*, in: *Urban and Religious Spaces in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium*. Aldershot, 2001, 5. If one wanted to trust these texts as a description of the early medieval Dalmatian rural surroundings as pagan, one would have to disregard many archaeological and art historical finds (especially interpretations with a tendency towards the early dating of the churches in the Dalmatian hinterland)

[61] FRUGONI, *Distant City,* p. 10.

[62] FRUGONI, *Distant City,* p. 11.

[63] One should note that all these narratives do not present a uniform image as might be suggested by this analysis. Historical contex and differencies (spatial and chronological) should seriously taken in consideration.

[64] CAROLI, *Bringing saints*, p. 259.

[65] J. HARRIES, *Christianity and the city in Late Roman Gaul*, in: *The City in Late Antiquity* (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, vol. 3, J. Rich, ed.), London – New York, 1992, p. 81. (Hereafter J. HARRIES, *Christianity and the city*). It is clear that these information distort the image of the reality. But, on the other hand, what should be done? Archeological and epigraphic sources present the same image so far and one has almost no evidence of other activities besides church building.

[66] I avoid P. Browns' otherwise useful term *impresario,* mainly due to its negative connotations. Cf. P. BROWN, *The Cults of the Saints: its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, Chicago, 1981.

[67] CAROLI, *Bringing saints*, p. 273.

[68] Rovinj was not an episcopal center, and it would make no sense to construct a story including the role of the bishop.

[69] P. GEARY, *Before France and Germany*, New York, 1988, 98.

[70] Current Croatian historiography prevailingly seems to be rather sceptical about the actual power of Dalmatian bishops in the Early Middle Ages. Still, the conclusions about their minor political role in Croatian historiography is, in my opinion, largely the result of the prevailing "rational paradigm" of 1970s and 1980s, stressing the idea of the self-government of communities of citizens. The issue is too complex to be discussed here and it would probably lead the analysis in an unwanted direction.

[71] TSC, p. 49. "Et statim fecit, sicut dictum fuerat illi, et cum ingenti gaudio ivit ad episcopum et seriaétim nunciavit ei omnia, que audivit."

[72] TSC, p. 50. "Episcopus auétem ornavit se sacris vestibus cum clericis, sicut mos est ad missarum officium, ac nisus est sublevare saluétarem tumbam."; TSA, 308. "Archipraesul vero Donatus quasi paratus ad celebrandum Missam."

[73] TSC, p. 50. "Initoque saluberriémo consilio fecit eam aprehendere duos pueros, qui septem erant annorum. Sine omni mora atque gravi onere portaverunt eam ad portam civitatis…"

[74] TSD, p. 54. "turbam puerorum imbecillem, quae ibi aderat puerili more ad spectaculum, in auxilium convocavit."

[75] TSD, p. 54. "Volens namque Divina gratia praemonstrare, ut sicut suum martyrem fecerat ab immaculatis manibus de terrae profunditate producere, ita a manibus innocentum traduceretur ad locum ordinatum a Deo."

[76] One might also point to the fact that in this context recent etnographic experience may still keep a certain interpretative value.

[77] For this issue in the period of Late Antiquity see: P. BROWN, *Poverty and Leadership in the Later Roman Empire* (The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures 2000), Hannover, 2002.

[78] The care of widows, infants, and the poor is one of the central tests for the rightfulness of the Chosen people in the Old Testament. Further enhanced through the teaching of Jesus, it became an important test and expression of *agape* in the Early Christian communities with all the richness of the textual reflection.

[79] This aspect was recently stressed by C. RAPP, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, vol. 37), Berkeley, 2005.

[80] V. FUMAGALLI, *Landscapes of Fear. Perception of Nature and the City in the Middle Ages* (S. Mitchell, transl.) Cambridge, 1994, p., 68.

[81] TSA, p. 308.

[82] TSC, p. 49.

[83] TSD, p. 55.

[84] TSE, p. 138.

[85] KISÉRY, *Applying Erzählforschung*, pp. 3-4.

[86] R. BARTHES, *The Reality Effect*, in: *The Rustle of Language*, (R. Howard, trans.), Berkeley, 1989, pp. 141-148. Quoted after KISÉRY, *Applying Erzählforschung*, p. 3, n.12.

[87] The details concerning the route where the relics are carried might help to enlighten this issue.

[88] All the intrinsic drama of a translation as reflected in the symbolic obstacles reminds one of the concept of liminality and that of ritual as a way of of neutralising the dangers connected to it. This danger of the crossing is stressed by many details in the legends: TSA – the demons oppose the ship and the Venetian *dux* tries to take away the relics; TSC – the obstacle is the unindentifiability of the grave, the boys are stuck outside the gates; TSD – the people cannot dig the body out of the grave, the boys carrying the relics are stopped by the sun and tortured by thirst; TSE – the heaviness of the body prevents the translation, also the impossibility of opening the sarcophagus. As the moving of the relics requires a sacral confirmation, it is primarily divine intervention which solves the problem through a miracle, and consequently presents the divine justification of the act of translation.

[89] Cf. G. M. SPIEGEL, *History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle ages*, in: *Speculum*. 65, 1990, pp. 56-86.

[90] Cf. A. CAMERON, *On defining the holy men*, in: *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* Oxford, 2002. "How to approach it: As religious history or as social anthropology or as a literary project? Are they incompatible? But if not, can they actually be separated, and *should* they be?".

[91] E. W. SAID, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, New York, 2004, pp. 61-62.

[92] Analogy would be even more significant if one was convinced that the church was initially built as the martyrium of St. Anastasia as proposed by some scholars.

[93] Adding here that "Biblical" was by the Early Middle Ages also Classical in a certain sense.

[94] GEARY, *Furta sacra*, pp. 10-11.

[95] Is one allowed to see in them even a sort of continuation of the genre of *laudes urbis*? This inspiring suggestion I owe to the comment of Zdenka Janeković-Römer.

[96] J. HARRIES, *Christianity and the city*, p. 94.

[97] P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity: AD 150-750*, New York, 1989, p. 187. (Hereafter BROWN, *World of Late Antiquity*)

[98] Especially if one accepts the interpretation of Byzantine influence in early medieval Dalmatia of R. Cessi followed by M. ANČIĆ, *The Waning of the Empire. The Disintegration of Byzantine Rule on the North Adriatic in the 9th Century,* in: *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 4, 1998, pp. 15-24.

[99] BROWN, *World of Late Antiquity*, p. 186.

MUČENICI, RELIKVIJE I BISKUPI: PRIKAZI GRADA U DALMATINSKIM LEGENDAMA O PRIJENOSU RELIKVIJA

— *SAŽETAK* —

Srednjovjekovne legende o prijenosu relikvija (*translationes*) jedan su od "hibridnih" hagiografskih podžanrova koji povezuje hagiografske životopise (*vitae*) ili opise mučeništva (*passiones*) s "povjesnijim" književnim oblicima kao što su kronike ili anali. Njihova je središnja uloga u "premošćivanju" jaza između univerzalne hagiografije pojedinoga sveca (vezane uglavnom uz mjesto njegova života ili mučeništva) i njegova mjesnog kulta. *Translationes* su, osobito u pozitivističkoj historiografskoj tradiciji, često bile odbacivane kao povijesni izvori sumnjive vrijednosti. Uz niz objektivnih razloga za takvo vrednovanje jedan od uzroka za njihovu površnu procjenu (bilo nekritičko prihvaćanje bilo potpunu diskvalifi-

kaciju) često je bio i neprikladan pristup njihovu razumijevanju. Naime ti tekstovi, kao što predstavljena analiza pokazuje, zaista rijetko kada sadrže pouzdane i "čiste" povijesne činjenice. Pa ipak *translationes*, kao rijetka ranosrednjovjekovna narativna svjedočanstva, predstavljaju dragocjen izvor za istraživanja identiteta srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradskih zajednica. Uočavajući ponajprije važnost njihova smještanja u žanrovski okvir autor ukazuje na opravdanost pristupa tim tekstovima kroz narativnu analizu njihova sadržaja. Kao "probni uzorak" ovdje su predstavljene pripovijesti o prijenosu relikvija sv. Anastazije (Stošije) iz Carigrada u Zadar, sv. Krizogona (Krševana) iz gradske okolice u grad Zadar, sv. Domnija

i sv. Anastazija (Staša) iz Salone u Split te sv. Eufemije iz Halkedona u Rovinj.

Opis prijenosa relikvija sv. Anastazije sačuvan je u zadarskome rukopisu iz sredine 17. st. pod imenom *Narratio historica circa translationem sanctae Anastasiae*. Iako sastavljač legende smješta prijenos u 804. godinu, dosadašnja istraživanja pokazala su kako je pojedine elemente moguće datirati od 9. do 15. st. Slično tome legenda o otkriću i prijenosu tijela sv. Krševana, iako, prema nekim pokazateljima ranosrednjovjekovna legenda s kraja 9. ili početka 10. st., sačuvana je, pod imenom *Translatio beati Grisogoni Martyris,* u znatno mlađemu rukopisu. Taj zadarski rukopis, iako poznat u starijoj literaturi, tek je nedavno pronađen u Londonu. I oko njegove datacije ne postoji jedinstveno mišljenje (različite prethodne interpretacije smještaju postanak rukopisa između 12. i 15. stoljeća). Opisi prijenosa splitskih gradskih zaštitnika sv. Anastazija i sv. Dujma smještaju događaje u sredinu 7. st. i povezuju ih s biskupom Ivanom Ravenjaninom. Iako potvrđene u drugim izvorima barem od 11. st., te su legende također sačuvane u znatno mlađim redakcijama. Kratak opis *De translatione sanctorum Domnii et Anastasii* u djelu *Historia Salonitana* Tome Arhiđakona sačuvan je u rukopisu iz 13. st., dok je proširena verzija legende, u svojemu hrvatskom i latinskom obliku, sačuvana u rukopisima iz 16. st. Odabran kao komparativni primjer iz istarskih gradova, prijenos sv. Eufemije u Rovinj pod imenom *Translatio corporis beate Eufemie*, također se predstavlja kao ranosrednjovjekovna legenda. Dok sama legenda datira prijenos relikvija u "vrijeme cara Otona" (vjerojatno Oton I. 936.-973.) mjesna ga predaja smješta u 800. godinu. Legenda je sačuvana u rukopisu iz 13. st.

Pretpostavivši da se u jezgri tekstova zaista radi o ranosrednjovjekovnim legendama, istraživač je suočen s činjenicom da ni jedna od njih nije sačuvana u svojemu "izvornomu" ranosrednjovjekovnom rukopisu, umanjujući tako svrhu kodikološke i paleografske analize kao sredstva datacije tekstova. Drugi ozbiljan problem pri pokušaju smještanja postanka legendi u određen povijesni kontekst jest činjenica da za većinu tih tekstova nije provedena temeljita jezična analiza. Međutim postavlja se pitanje: do kakvih bi se rezultata takvom analizom uopće i moglo doći? Naime ispitivanje sadržaja tekstova i uočavanje brojnih "anakronizama" ukazuje na "složeno-akumuliranu" narav samih tekstova, što dovodi u pitanje sam smisao potrage za nekim "izvornim oblikom" pojedine pripovijesti. Na temelju takva stanja, a pretpostavljaući kako bi upravo "pomno čitanje" moglo unaprijediti razumijevanje svrhe i uporabe legendi, predlaže se pokušaj, u biti "ahistorijskoga", čitanja odabranih tesktova. Predloženi pristup može se svesti na pokušaj čitanja legendi kroz analizu odabranih narativnih elemenata i otkrivanja njihova položaja unutar "tekstualnoga tkanja":

A) Prostor: Na temelju odabira gradova iz kojih relikvije dolaze, njihove sudbine i simboličkoga značenja problematizira se odnos srednjovjekovne zajednice prema antičkoj baštini, recepciji klasičnih i kršćanskih korijena vlastitoga identiteta te prema svjetonazorskoj pozadini legendi. Na temelju opisa prostora kroz koji se relikvije prenose uočava se simbolička percepcija izvangradskoga prostora kao stranoga, opasnoga i neprijateljskoga. S druge strane jezik kojim je opisan doček relikvija u gradu snažno podcrtava opreku između urbanoga i neurbanoga ambijenta.

B) Sudionici: Analizirajući tipove sudionika prijenosa, naglašava se središnja uloga gradskoga biskupa te se ukazuje na retoričke mehanizme kojim se biskup, na tragu kasnoantičke tradicije, povezuje s "neznatnim" članovima društva (konkretno, djecom i udovicama). Motiv veze biskupa i društveno mariginalnih (u moralnome smislu "bezgrješnih") pripadnika gradske zajednice naglašava nadnaravno izvorište njegova ugleda i položaja u društvu.

Uočavajući u predstavljenim legendama postojanje analognih narativnih struktura i zajedničkih konceptualnih uzoraka, razmatra se nadalje problem odnosa "historijskoga" i "fiktivnoga". Potvrđujući stav da navedene legende kao cjeline zaista nije moguće koristiti kao odraz povijesne stvarnosti te propitujući pristup tim legendama kao "skladištima zagubljenih i iskrivljenih povijesnih podataka", ukazuje se na plodnost uočavanja i vrednovanja same "konstruiranosti" legendi. Naime analiza načina na koji su različita klasična, svetopisamska i hagiografska "opća mjesta" uklopljena u pripovjednu cjelinu otvara put istraživanju uloge *translationes,* kao nositelja povijesne uspomene, u konstruiranju srednjovjekovnih gradskih identiteta.