

Anita Jambrek

**CASE STUDY OF ROYAL PIETY IN FOURTEENTH CENTURY - THE  
STORY OF THE SHRINE OF SAINT SIMEON**

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

Central European University

Budapest

May 2014

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by

Anita Jambrek

(Croatia)

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Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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External Supervisor

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

Budapest, May 2014

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**Signature**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*Everything will turn out right, the world is built on that.* Is the Quote from *Master and Margarita* a lie? It seems so, especially at four in the morning, when only birds and you are awake. However, as in everything, there is a grain of truth in it. To hope that everything will be all right, sometimes is the only thing which one can rely on. For the help and the hope of getting to better days, I have to thank my parents. For all the support they have given me over the years. They had a choice to run away, and hide somewhere with the cat, but they did not, they stood by me, even though escaping with the cat certainly sounds as a better move (mum, dad, there is still a chance, run!). I have to thank my two friends, whom I found on the very first day, and they could not get rid of me (or I of them, historical interpretation is needed). My dear Ivan, who experienced so many tantrums from me that it is a miracle that he did not run away with my parents and my cat. My dear Holger, who also saw me at my best and at my worst. He is a drama-queen like me, so he would not be allowed to join this cool crowd of my parents, the cat, and Ivan. Many thanks go to Igor, who I hope preserved my distressed messages, especially from the last month, when my sense started to abandon me. I also wish to thank him for the proof-reading, and the best comments on my text. The Star Trek, Star Wars and Game of the Thrones comments unfortunately could not enter the body of the text, but take my word for it, they are awesome! I wish to thank all the colleagues who bothered to read my text, who sat with me on MA thesis seminars, and gave suggestions. Special thanks go to my dear friend Silvija, who even 400 kilometers away could not be saved from the torture of reading this. And my dear Irena, who gladly read through it probably laughing at my abuse of articles and vocabulary.

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e-mail in which he wrote that “the science does not stop here”, it came at a time when I was ready to set everything on fire - the text, the laptop, and the shrine. I also wish to thank Suzana Miljan, who sent me the articles I needed and Marianne Sággy for providing me with her unpublished text. And of course, the librarians in the ELTE library, especially Bori, the master of scanning, who should be credited for the quality of the images.

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All the mistakes are due to me and that is why, my dear reader, I carry (and you should too) this hope that everything will be all right.

For Aaron (1986-2013); May you rest in peace.

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## INTRODUCTION

When with many reproaches the ban<sup>1</sup> charged them with the murder of King Charles<sup>2</sup>, the elder queen at once fell to her knees, and raised her hands in supplication, and said “Be merciful, my lord ban, be merciful!”<sup>3</sup>. These are the famous last words which the Hungarian Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić (1339-1387) allegedly said before being strangled by the conspirators; these are the words of pleading and desperation, nothing powerful or royal in them. However, this story leads to the end of her reign, her life, and a new chapter in Hungarian history -- another change of dynasty on the royal throne, and political upheaval along with it. In an even more dramatized description, she was not only blamed for her “sins” during her reign -- “she organized a few cruel expeditions against her own homeland” -- but also that she “managed” to “hurt this land on the eve of Turkish threat, and to bring it to a state of constant blood vendettas”.<sup>4</sup> This dramatization of her reign was not written by a medieval chronicler, nor by a scholar, but by the prominent twentieth century literary figure Miroslav Krleža<sup>5</sup>; his foreword to the catalogue of “Gold and Silver of Zadar and Nin” is one of the most exciting texts one can read about Queen Elisabeth.<sup>6</sup> One should keep in mind that this attitude towards the queen and her reign comes from a novelist whose mission was to make everything sound more interesting and dramatic than it actually was. However, a subtle

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<sup>1</sup> John of Horvati; he held the title of ban of Mačva from 1376-81 and 1385-86; he and his two brothers – Ladislavus and Paul, the bishop of Zagreb -- led the baronial opposition against the queens and the palatine Nicola Garai, who was the principle supporter of Elisabeth Kotromanić. János Thuróczy. *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), footnote 13, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Charles of Durazzo (1354-1386), king of Naples (Charles III) and of Hungary (Charles II), son of Duke Louis of Durazzo from a younger branch of the House of Anjou. With the support of King Louis the Great (1342-1382) he became the king of Naples in 1381 and was invited to Hungary in 1385. He managed to get self crowned, but after forty days of rule, he was killed by men loyal to Queen Elisabeth. See János Thuróczy. *Chronicle*. Footnotes 3 and 4; Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen* (London: I. B. Tauris), 195-199.

<sup>3</sup> Thuróczy. *Chronicle...*, 35; also the title of the book of Hungarian historian Erik Fügedi. *Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj...* [Mercy my Ban, Mercy...] (Budapest: Helikon, 1986)

<sup>4</sup> Marijan Grgić, ed., *Zlato i srebro Zadra i Nina* [The Gold and Silver of Zadar and Nin] (Zagreb: Turistkomerc, 1972), 13.

<sup>5</sup> Miroslav Krleža (1893-1981), leading twentieth-century Croatian writer and prominent cultural figure during the Yugoslav period.

<sup>6</sup> Marijan Grgić, ed., *Zlato i srebro...*

negative portrayal of the queen remains among scholars. As János Bak points out, this scapegoat mentality connected to Hungarian queens was not only in the minds of historians, but also deeply embedded in the mind sets of contemporaries.<sup>7</sup> Even so, he also warns that the chronicler Johannes Thuróczy in a way denied the scapegoat character of Elisabeth's death.<sup>8</sup>

The reader of this work should be aware that I have a tendency to an anachronistic style of presenting the case, even in my introduction. The point of my work is not to deal with the end of her life, but the highlight of it. Because of the lack of written sources it is difficult to reconstruct her life and her reign. Following the "classical periodization" her life can be divided in pre- and post-influence of Elisabeth the Elder (1342-1370; 1370-1376)<sup>9</sup>. The early life is hard to reconstruct because of the lack of evidence, and the post-influence period is usually marked by the rebellion against her. The basic information which is known is that she was the daughter of Stjepan II Kotromanić (1292-1353) and Elisabeth of Kuyavia (1315-1345); and she married Louis the Great in 1353. The most vocal source about her life and her act is the gift of the shrine of Saint Simeon (fg.I.I.).

To reflect the title of this thesis my focus will be on the royal piety and the story of the shrine. Not promising to solve century old problems, I wish to re-examine them, and with the help of new methodological approaches, offer some new solutions. Hence, my case will be treated as a story to be told, to use a subtitle from the work of Henk Van Os, this example is a "treasury of stories".<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Janos M. Bak, "Queens as Scapegoats in Medieval Hungary," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 223-234.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. J. Thuroczy saw the killing of the queen as lawful punishment for the murder of Chares of Durazzo, whose death in turn he interpreted as divine retribution for his sins against the queens, 231, fn. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Gabor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic cults in Medieval Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Eva Śnieżynska-Stolot. "Queen Elizabeth as a Patron of Architecture", *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1974): 23-32; "Studies on Queen Elisabeth's Artistic Patronage", *Critica d'Arte*, 1979, 23-32; Brian McEntee, "The Burial Site Selection of a Hungarian Queen: Elizabeth Queen of Hungary (1320-1380), and the Óbuda Clares' Church," MA Thesis, Central European University, 2004.

<sup>10</sup> Henk Van Os. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages 1300-1500* (Princeton: Merrell Holberton, 1994).

## CHAPTER ONE: The Cities of Saint Simeon Prophet – The Beginning of the Cult on the Adriatic Sea

*Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace:  
Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum  
Quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum:  
Lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuae Israel.<sup>11</sup>  
(Luke 2:29-32)*

The Song or Canticle of Simeon is a part of the liturgy even today. The memory of the old man holding Jesus persisted throughout the Middle Ages; the canticle was repeated at every mass, the story about the presentation in the temple was probably recounted on the feast day of Saint Simeon<sup>12</sup> and the Candle mass (or The Presentation of the Lord, The Meeting of the Lord, or The Purification of the Virgin), and there are depictions of him holding Jesus – the most famous depiction that Giotto in 1320. As described in the Gospel of Luke (2:25):

Now there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon, and this man was righteous and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed to him by the Holy Spirit that he would not see the death before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came into the Spirit into the temple, and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him according of the custom of the Law he took him up in his arms and blessed God and said 'Lord now you are letting your servant depart in peace, according to your word for my eyes have seen your salvation that you have prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and for the glory to your people of Israel.' And his father and his mother marvelled at what was said about him. And Simeon blessed them and said to Mary his mother, 'Behold, this child is appointed for the fall and rising of many of Israel, and for a sign that is opposed, so that thoughts from many hearts can be revealed.'

This story from the Bible contains the only information we know about the life of Saint Simeon. As his *vita* was not preserved one can only trace the journey of his relics. The first

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<sup>11</sup> *Master, now you are dismissing your servant in peace, according to your word; for my eyes have seen your salvation, which you have prepared in the presence of all peoples, a light for revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel.*

<sup>12</sup> In scholarship one can find him with "nickname": Prophet, Just, and in Croatian *Bogoprimec*, which can be translated as the one who held God.

translation was made from his grave in Jerusalem to Constantinople in the sixth century, where it stayed until the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

To fast-forward from these Biblical times to the centuries of the mid-Middle Ages and the area of the Adriatic Sea. Three Adriatic cities built cults around the body (or in connection to the figure) of Saint Simeon. Dubrovnik (Ragusium, Ragusa), Zadar (Iader, Zara), and Venice. These cities, whose histories intertwined throughout the Middle Ages, all have traces of the veneration of Saint Simeon. In the cities of Zadar and Venice traces of the veneration still live on, but in Dubrovnik only two reliquaries (of a hand and a head) are preserved, and the cult of Saint Simeon never took hold as it did in Venice and Zadar. The reasons for the cult of Saint Simeon being “unsuccessful” in Dubrovnik will be examined in the next chapter. To this day historians and art historians point to the rivalry and similarity of the cults in the comparative examples of Venice and Zadar. That rivalry was largely based on the problems of nineteenth and twentieth century relations between the two cities; medieval sources do not record any form of rivalry with regards to the body (which also does not mean that there was none).<sup>14</sup> The development of all three cities is quite similar; they were certainly connected<sup>15</sup> throughout the Middle Ages; Venice played a dominant role, while (especially) Ragusium and Zadar played important roles in the second part of the fourteenth century. The goal of this chapter is to present what is preserved from these cities, while in a later part I plan to analyze the remains.

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<sup>13</sup> Daniel Farlati. *Illyricum sacrum-Ecclesia Iadertina, Vol. V.* (Venice, 1775), 608-9. Introduction chapter for more information.

<sup>14</sup> During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a question on the authority over the city of Zadar. Italian and Croatian scholarship took the contemporary situation and incorporated it in the medieval one. I would like to note that the rivalry between two cities about the two bodies of Saint Simeon can possibly be dated earlier, in the seventeenth century. There is some evidence that the Venetians tried to sort out the situation by forcing the nobility of Zadar to admit that the body of Saint Simeon was a gift from them. If I could find the confirmation for this in sources that would also mean that this possibly had influence on the writings of Lorenzo Fondra and the first monograph about Saint Simeon in Zadar.

<sup>15</sup> For the general history of Venice and the conquering of Dalmatia: Frederic C. Lane. *Venice, a Maritime Republic* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1991); John Julius Norwich. *A History of Venice.* (London: Penguin Books, 1983); Gherardo Orthali, Cracco, Giorgio, Cozzi, Gaetano, Knapton, Michael, ed., *Povijest Venecije* [History of Venice] (Zagreb: Antibarbarus, 2007); Lovorka Čoralić, *U gradu Svetoga Marka* [In the city of Saint Mark] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2001).

### *The city of Saint Blasius – Ragusium*

Ragusium, the medieval republic which rose to fame during the Late Middle Ages, played an important part in connecting eastern and western trading routes in the Adriatic and beyond. Its favourable position and strong diplomacy played a key role in its rise as a trading centre. However, the city's history before this rise is marked by the dominance of foreign powers, first of the Byzantine Empire, and later of the Republic of Venice; one could argue about the Hungarian rule in the city from 1358, but that rule can only be described as nominal. The city did recognize the Hungarian king as their natural sovereign, but there was no factual control over Ragusium. The early thirteenth century presented a shift of power in the Adriatic basin. As the power of the Byzantine Empire weakened, Venice took over the role of the empire, and on the way to Constantinople, the Venetians managed to conquer the eastern Adriatic coast. While in Zadar, Venetian rule was marked by rebellions of the citizens, in Ragusium they took a more pragmatic approach. They paid an annual tribute to the Venetians and for it they were protected from the rulers of the neighbouring territories of Rascia and Hum. In the period from 1205 to 1399 they managed to acquire, through negotiations, purchase or military campaigns, a significant portion of neighbouring territories and islands.<sup>16</sup> In these acquisitions the building of churches and spreading the cults of Ragusian patron saints played a major role.<sup>17</sup> The most important saint and the symbol of the city was certainly Saint Blaise. As some scholars like to point out, the cult of Saint Blaise was comparable to the cult of Saint

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<sup>16</sup> For more details see Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808*. [History of Dubrovnik until 1808] (Ljubljana: 1980); Zdenka Janeković Römer, *Višegradski ugovor temelj Dubrovačke republike* [The Treaty of Visegrád the foundation of the Republic of Dubrovnik] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2003); Josip Lučić, "Prošlost Dubrovačkog primorja do dolaska pod Dubrovačku Republiku god. 1399", [The past of the littoral coast of Dubrovnik until advent of the Republic of Dubrovnik in 1399] ] *Zbornik Dubrovačkog Primorja i otoka* 1 (1986); Josip Lučić, "Stjecanje, dioba i borba za očuvanje Dubrovačkog primorja 1399.-1405." [Acquisition, division and the struggle to keep Dubrovnik's Littoral from 1399 to 1405], *Arhivski vjesnik* 11-12 (1968-1969): 99-201; Robin Haris, *Dubrovnik: A History* (London: Saqi, 2006); Zoran Ladić, *Last Will: Passport to Heaven: Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with Special Attention to the Legacies pro remedio animae and pias causas*, (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012).

<sup>17</sup> See more about this phenomenon in Ana Marinković, "Teritorijalno širenje Dubrovačke komune/republike i crkve njezinih svetaca zaštitnika" [Territorial spread of the commune/republic of Dubrovnik and the churches of its patron saints], *Anali Dubrovnika* 45 (2007). 219-234.

Mark in Venice.<sup>18</sup> The cult penetrated into secular sphere, becoming the city's symbol and an integral part of the city's identity. The procession on the feast day of Saint Blaise was organized by the city government and included the whole community. Throughout centuries the role of Saint Blaise continued to grow; his image integrated on the coins, seals, and banners affirmed him as a symbol of Ragusium. Even though the cult of Saint Blaise was (and still is) the center of Ragusian sacral (and secular) life, that did not stop the city of Ragusium in the acquisition of more relics. The earthquake of 1667 seems to have destroyed all the material evidence of the cults and relics which were kept in Dubrovnik, but the inventories of churches, in this case the inventories of the cathedral church from 1335, 1350, and 1500 illuminate the extension of Ragusium collection of relics. One of the first historians of the church history of Dubrovnik, Seraphinus Maria Cerva, had recorded these inventories.<sup>19</sup> He also recorded what was already missing in his time from the inventories, exactly fifty-one relics were lost during the earthquake, and for one of them (the Statue of Peter the Apostle, in which certain relics were kept) a more precise fate is known, it melted during the fire of 1706.<sup>20</sup> The first cults of saints mentioned in Dubrovnik are Saint Peter, Saint Lawrence, and Saint Andrew, their hagiography was closely connected to the dispute between the churches of Ragusium and Kotor for supremacy over the nearby territories.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Zdenka Janeković Römer, "Javni rituali u političkom diskursu humanističkog Dubrovnika" [The public ritual in the political discourse of humanistic Dubrovnik], *Radovi. Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 29 (1996): 74.

<sup>19</sup> Serafin Marija Cerva, *Prolegomena za svetu Dubrovačku metropoliju*. [Prolegomena for the holy metropolitan see of Dubrovnik], ed. Relja Seferović, (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> The editor of Cerva's work warns that there is a possibility that all the relics are not lost, just that Cerva marked the ones which were not named. Because in some of the boxes there are more bones mixed and it is not possible to determine precisely to whom they belonged. Serafin Marija Cerva, *Prolegomena*, 511-2, nn.107, and 113.

<sup>21</sup> As the legend notes, the three brothers appeared two times in the dream of some women in Kotor, but their visions were laughed at, so the brothers decided to call the citizens of Ragusium. The citizens of Ragusium reacted promptly and went for the sacred bodies. This *translatio* story is also accompanied with miraculous elements such as a light taking the citizens to the brothers' bodies. Even though the bodies were thrown to the dogs, they were found complete and together in one grave; also, the boat which came to collect them could not move away from the shore until they returned for the missing finger, and so on. The dating of their coming to the city is too complicated to explain in this short overview; what can be said for certain is that their cult was well established from the fourteenth century. Even though the legends speak of whole bodies being found, the church inventory just confirms accounts on the body parts (arm, leg, head, and so on) of the brothers, which



Other saints mentioned are Saints Serge and Bacchus<sup>22</sup>, Hilarion<sup>23</sup>, Zenobius and Zenobia<sup>24</sup>, Pancras, Nereus, Achilleus, Domitilla,<sup>25</sup> and Petronilla<sup>26</sup>. For some of them there is material evidence such as preserved reliquaries, some are included in the calendars of the feast days, and some of them are just known from the first chronicles of Ragusium. The relationship of Ragusium towards the relics can be described as a collectors' one. The richness of the inventories and the preserved reliquaries show how successful they were in collecting relics. In this impressive "collection" Saint Simeon the Prophet appears with his *translatio*-legend, two reliquaries, and a cult closely connected to his figure. The earliest written source mentioning the body of Saint Simeon the Prophet being brought to Ragusium is by Miletius<sup>27</sup>, a poet from the twelfth or thirteenth century. His original work was lost, but it was preserved in the chronicle of one of Ragusium's noblemen, the poet and chronicler Nicolai de Ragnina (1494-1582).<sup>28</sup> His work "Li annali della nobilissima republica di Ragusa/Annali di Ragusa del magnifico ms. Nicoló di Ragnina" is regarded as one of the best sources for early Ragusian history, in which he recorded all the legends about the city which circulated until

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were mixed among themselves in a strange way. For the legends see Nicolai de Ragnina, *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai di Ragnina* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1883), 211; Stephano Razzi, *La storia di Ragusa*, 57-59.

<sup>22</sup> Saint Serge and Bacchus were fourth-century Roman Christian soldiers revered as martyrs and saints.

<sup>23</sup> Saint Hilarion (c.291-c.371) abbot, monastic pioneer of Palestine. David Farmer. *Dictionary of Saints*.(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 235.

<sup>24</sup> Saint Zenobious and Zenobia were third century martyrs. For Zenobius, *Ibid.* 525.

<sup>25</sup> Pancras, Nereus, Achilleus, and Domitilla are venerated as martyrs in the Roman Catholic Church. They are usually mentioned together, or in pairs: Nereus and Achilleus, *Ibid.*, 362.; Pancras of Rome, *Ibid.* 387.

<sup>26</sup> Saint Petronilla is an early Roman martyr. *Ibid.* 406.

<sup>27</sup> Miletius' biography is not known to us. This poem was used by Nicolai de Ragnina, and the verses can be found throughout his chronicle, however, someone in the seventeenth century put them together in the form of a poem. This version was later used by historians, most notably by Danielle Farlati in his seminal work *Illyricum sacrum*. In the Master thesis of Lovro Kunčević. *The Foundation Myths of Medieval Ragusa*. Budapest. 2003. footnote 59, page 39, he deals with the problem of datation and authorship of Miletius. Pointing out that his name can possibly testify about his Slavic origin (his name could be Latinized from the Slavic name: Mile, Mileta), also his preoccupation with the relics are pointing out to the possible church function, and he is referring to the Ragusium as Dubrovnik, which is started to be used only in the late twelfth century; all of these arguments let to the conclusion that Miletius wrote in the thirteenth century. More about this problem: Natko Nodilo. "Prvi ljetopisci i davna historiografija dubrovačka" [The first chronicles and the old historiography of Dubrovnik]. *RAD.* 65 (1883): 92-128. Radoslav Katičić. "Aedificauerunt Ragusium et Habitaverunt in Eo. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa". [Aedificauerunt Ragusium et Habitaverunt in Eo. Following the oldest record of Dubrovnik]. *Staro Hrvatska Prosvjeta.* 18 (1988): 5-38.

<sup>28</sup> There is not much preserved about the life of Nicolai de Ragnina. He is most known for his collection of Croatian Petrarchian poems published as *Nikša Ranjina Miscellany*.

his time. As scholars have already noted, Nicolai de Ragnina does not make any critical evaluation of his sources or any attempt to put them in any kind of chronological order.<sup>29</sup> However, it was used by Serafino Razzi<sup>30</sup> in the making the first published history of Dubrovnik. He relied heavily on the chronicle, but he also corrected and supplemented Ragnina's work, although he also made some mistakes.<sup>31</sup> The reason why I am referring to Razzi's work is that he treated sources with criticism, and he is also the one who followed Miletius verses and agreed that the body of Saint Simeon came to Ragusium.:

*Tempore post multo, quo praesidente Tribuno,  
 Judice Basilio Rhagusa quo regebatur,  
 Centum anno mille nostrae currente salutis  
 Quiquaginta novem etiam voluntate divina,  
 Septima tunc erat Jani. De cruce signatus  
 Teutonicorum unus procerum ab Hieroslymis urbe  
 Attulit Simeonis Rhagusam honorabile corpus  
 Prophetae, qui dixit: vos rogo, fratres audite:  
 Nunc, Deus, dimitte servum tuum in pace,  
 Quod sancti Viti cum honore locarunt in aede.  
 Incognito sic nomine multo tempore stetit  
 Usque Leonardi tempus Archipraesulis: inde  
 Nobili Damiano Zade narravit proprium nomen,  
 Quem et curavit coecum, et a phantasmate mutum,  
 Sum Simeon dicens, qui Christum in ulnas recepi,  
 Quem Virgo poperit, et post partum virgo permansit.  
 Post modicum tempus translatum in Virginis aede  
 Telluris arcane est sub Altare majori,  
 Temporibus nostris qui fecit miracula multa  
 Postea requirunt tanto charitatis ardore  
 Pro quadam causa suum revisere corpus  
 Multorum obitu stetit sententia Patrum,  
 Qui procul dubio tunc subiverunt ad eum.*

<sup>29</sup> Stjepan Krasić, "Život i djelatnost Serafina Razzija" [Life and Work of Serafino Razzi], *Tisuću godina uspostave Dubrovačke (nad)biskupije* [A thousand Years of the foundation of Ragusium (arch)bishopric], ed. Želimir Puljić and Nidiljko A. Ančić (Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, Crkva u svijetu Split, 2001), 147

<sup>30</sup> Serafino Razzi was born December 13, 1531, in San Casciano, Italy. He was a member of the Dominican Order, which contributed to his exceptional education, eventually becoming a doctor of theology. He came to Ragusium in 1587 where he was appointed vicar general of Ragusium's Dominican congregation. He also had the honour of sitting in the archbishop's see for four months (1588), until the new archbishop was appointed. During his time in Ragusium, he researched Ragusian history throughout the monasteries and private libraries and archives and he also questioned his contemporaries. The product of his efforts are two works connected to Ragusian history: *La Storia di Ragvsia*, published in Lucca in 1595, and *Narrazioni o vero storia degli Arcivesovi di Raugia*, which was not published. Ibid. , 126, 141-144

<sup>31</sup> For example, the number of the bishops in Ragusium varied, Razzi notes forty-nine bishops and archbishops in the period from 980 to 1589, while Cerva lists fifty-five bishops, Daniel Farlati introduced four bishops from Epidaurus and sixty-two bishops from Ragusium. See more examples: Ibid. ,150

*Exince reliqui timentes ne morrentur,  
Flectuntur non ire: sic diem usque praesentem  
Venturam Christii gloriam, qui maxime spectans  
Stat illic arcano media in Virginis aede.*<sup>32</sup>

Nicolai de Ragnina also expanded these verses and expanded, invented, or retold the story of Saint Simeon's body coming to Ragusium. In his version, in 1160 the body of Saint Simeon, accompanied by miracles and God's will, came to Ragusium. A German pilgrim/crusader, after his expedition in Jerusalem, came to Epidaurus where he stayed for a long time, waiting to continue his journey. When they again started their journey, they were blown to the port of Dubrovnik by the contrary wind, where they stayed for few days. They again tried to sail away, but as soon as they reached the port of Gravosa (Gruž), God's will did not allow them to leave the territory of Ragusium. Because of that, the German pilgrim decided to confess to the archbishop of Dubrovnik, handing over the relic body and saying if they will not be able to leave the city for a year, they would leave the body under the authority of the church of Dubrovnik. The body was immediately put in the church of Saint Vito with the other relics, where his name was not known for a long time. After that, the German, with the help of a good wind went back, first to Venice, and then to his native country, never to return. Ragnina ends with the story, how the community wanted that this precious body is carried around in the year of 1200, when the city of Jerusalem was captured by the Christians, in the year of 1099, from the caliphs. For all those people who bear a red cross over the right shoulder and because of that they are called crusaders, from a word cross, from the time of pope Urban II (1088-1099), waves of people sung to this prophet, this verses written below (the verses of Miletius are written next, which you can see above).<sup>33</sup>

Scholarship has already tried to solve this problem of the multiplicity of the body of Saint Simeon. There were suggestions that the body in question belongs to someone else (e.g.,

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<sup>32</sup> Matas, *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> Ragnina, *Annales*, 215-217.

Farlati)<sup>34</sup>, that the body from Ragusium was sent to Zadar (e.g. Razzi)<sup>35</sup>, and the easiest solution that there was no body at all in Ragusium, and that poet Miletius made it all up (e.g., Luka Jelić)<sup>36</sup>. Perhaps these hypothesis could be correct, but I would rather pose the question of why the cult of Saint Simeon the Prophet never took hold in Ragusium?<sup>37</sup> Interestingly, a traditional hagiographical story survived until the sixteenth century, and there is also material evidence -- the reliquary of the hand and head of Saint Simeon. The older reliquary, at least by the stylistic dating, is the hand. Its height is: 48.5cm, width of the base: 6.44cm; made from gilded silver, with a medallion carrying the image of Saint Theodore (the iconography of the image points to the eleventh century), the hand reliquary was repaired after the earthquake of 1667 and a band was added to it with the inscription: “BRACHIVM SANCTII SIMEONIS IVSTI PRONPNETAE”.<sup>38</sup> The hand reliquary is mentioned in the inventory of the church of Saint Stephen on Pustijerna (fg.II.I.) from 1335.<sup>39</sup> The reliquary of the head of Saint Simeon (height: 10.4 cm, wide: 18.3; fg. II. III.) is noted in the earliest inventory of the church of Velike Gospe (Saint Mary Major).<sup>40</sup> It has a domed shape, decorated with the

<sup>34</sup> Daniele Farlati, Jacobo Colleti, *Illyricum Sacrum – Ecclesia Ragusina*, vol. 4 (Venice, 1775), 42.

<sup>35</sup> Serafino Razzi, *Povijest Dubrovnika* [History of Dubrovnik] (Dubrovnik: Matica Hrvatska, 2011).

<sup>36</sup> Luka Jelić. “Moći svetog Šimuna Bogoprimea u Zadru. Hagiografska povijesna studija” [Remains of Saint Simeon in Zadar. Hagiographical historical research], *Rad Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 145 (1901).

<sup>37</sup> To that I will come back at the end of the chapter.

<sup>38</sup> *Arm of Saint Simeon the Prophet*

<sup>39</sup> Vinicije Lupis, “Moćnik Dubrovačke prvostolnice,” [Reliquary of the cathedral church of Dubrovnik, PhD dissertation. (Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2003), 251. See more about the Byzantine influence on art: Vinicije Lupis, “O kasnobizantskim zlatarskim likovnim utjecajima u Dubrovniku” [About the late Byzantine goldsmith and art influences in Dubrovnik], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 34 (2007): 355-377. Ragusium was divided into six parts: Pustijerna, Saint Blasius, Saint Nicholas, Saint Peter, and *Kaštel* (Castello). Pustijerna is one of the oldest parts of the suburbs of Dubrovnik. It is situated on the peninsula near the old city port, and the ruins of the church of Saint Stephen are on the westside; it was already mentioned in the tenth century. About Pustijerna see Nada Grujić, “Dubrovnik – Pustijerna. Istraživanje jednog dijela povijesnog tkiva grada” [Dubrovnik-Pustijerna. Research of one of the parts of historical body of the city], *Radovi Institut za povijest umjetnosti* 10 (1986): 7-39, <http://www.ipu.hr/uploads/documents/1326.pdf> (16.02.2014). Ivana Lazarević. “Granice dubrovačkih seksterija” [The Boundaries of Dubrovnik’s *saxteria*]. *Analiz Dubrovnik* 50 (2012): 63-74. About the church of Saint Stephen see Željko Peković, *Crkva Sv. Stjepana u Pustijerni* [The Church of Saint Stephen in Pustijerna] (Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2012).

<sup>40</sup> Historians do not agree about the whereabouts of the church and *saxteria* of Saint Mary. Because of the earthquake in 1667 it is hard to pin-point where would the aforementioned church be. For the *saxteria* it is presumed that it was situated between *Široka ulica* and today’s church of Saint Vlaho. (Lukša Beritić. “Ubikacija nestalih gradjevinskih spomenika u Dubrovniku” [Locating the lost architectural monuments in Dubrovnik]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 10 (1956), p.19. While Željko Peković is situating it around the cathedral and the castello of cathedral. Željko Peković. *Dubrovnik – nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovnog*

inscription: “†SIMMEONIS PROFETA”. The boundary belt (wide: 4.2cm) is covered with motifs of vine and acorns. On the inside of the metal band there are six medallions portraying: Saint Blasius (fg. II. III.), Saint John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, Saint Simeon (fg. II. IV.), and Saint John. All the characters are portrayed in the style of *bizantineggiante*.<sup>41</sup> By the stylistic analysis, the reliquary was made in the thirteenth century by an unknown master from Ragusium.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, there is no data on where the reliquaries were kept exactly in the churches (just in the treasury or were they carried around in procession on the feast day of Saint Simeon or put on the altar), so we do not know how they were represented to the citizens of Ragusium during the Middle Ages. All this evidence suggests that there was some tradition of the cult of Saint Simeon, but it is impossible to reconstruct exactly how was it shaped in the city. One can notice there are bits and pieces of the cult, the material evidence being most vocal about the presence of Saint Simeon (at least parts of him) in the city. While the legend mentions the whole body, there is no material evidence in the shape of a casket or a tomb to attest to this claim. However, one should be careful, because the body was allegedly stored in the church of Saint Mary, which collapsed during the earthquake, so maybe there was some material evidence with which we are not familiar. The story does not end here. There is another cult closely connected to the figure of Saint Simeon in Ragusium – the cult of Jesus diapers (*Sacer paniculus Christi*)<sup>43</sup>. According to the legend, the Diapers came in the ninth or in the first half of tenth century in Dubrovnik.<sup>44</sup> They were brought in a chest by an Albanian priest and were given to a priest in

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*grada*. [Dubrovnik – beginning and development of medieval city] (Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998), p. 43-44.

<sup>41</sup> Italian term to describe art works done in Byzantine style.

<sup>42</sup> Vinicije Lupis, “O moćnicima u obliku glave iz Moćnika dubrovačke prvostolnice nastalima do kraja XIV. stoljeća” [About the head reliquaries from the treasury of the cathedral church of Dubrovnik made before the end of the fourteenth century], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 36 (2009): 361.

<sup>43</sup> There is also mention of them in Rome, Venice, Assisi, and Spoleto.

<sup>44</sup> It was presumed that the Diapers were brought in the ninth century and rediscovered in the eleventh century. For more on this, see Nella Lonza. *Kazalište vlasti ceremonijal i državni blagdani Dubrovačke republike u 17. i 18. stoljeću*. [The Theater of the government, ceremonial and public holidays of the Republic of Dubrovnik in

Dubrovnik. As he was not aware of what was in the chest, he buried it under the church of Saint Vito. Even though there was unusual light around it, no one knew what was hidden under the ground. When they finally found it and opened the chest, in it were the Diapers and the certificate about their authenticity. The archbishop decided to keep it for himself, and on his deathbed he left them to his sister, who was the abbess of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Simeon, where they were kept until 1380.<sup>45</sup> From that day the word about the diapers spread and they started to be venerated. Because the legend of the transfer of the Diapers into the cathedral has its own legend and it is connected to Queen Elisabeth, I will deal with it in the last chapter.<sup>46</sup>

### *The City of Saint Mark – Venice*

The maritime Queen, whose influence marked the Central Middle Ages, especially in the Adriatic basin but also in the whole Mediterranean, had risen to its full fame from early 1200s. Venice had similar developmental trajectory to Ragusium. Being a subject of the Byzantine Empire it slowly regained its independence, and in this process conquered the cities which stood in her way. The Fourth Crusade, extensively discussed in scholarship, was certainly the crucial point in Venetian history.<sup>47</sup> The Fourth Crusade not only changed the political and economic situation of Europe, but it was also of the defining moments in the religious life of medieval Europe. The numerous relics that had been brought from the East

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17 and 18 century] (Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti: Zagreb, Dubrovnik, 2009). p. 247

<sup>45</sup> The monastery was first mentioned in 1108, Tadija Smičiklas. *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Slavoniae* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1904), vol. 2, 20

<sup>46</sup> More about the cult in Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti*, 247-252; Richard F. Gyug. "The Church of Dubrovnik and the Panniculus of Christ: Relics between East and West (and Men and Women) in Medieval Dalmatia," *Medieval Cultures in Contact*, ed. Richard Gyug, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 59-85. Joško Belamarić, "Sveti Vlaho i dubrovačka obitelj svetaca zaštitnika" [Saint Blasius and the family of patron saints of Dubrovnik]. *Tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije*, pp. 703-732

<sup>47</sup> Some of the works: Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow: Longman, 2003); Donald E. Qualler, *The Fourth Crusade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997); Thomas F. Madden, ed. *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions* (Hampshire: Ashgate 2008), Christopher Tyerman. *God's War. A New History of Crusades* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006). Donald M. Nicol. *Byzantium and Venice: a study in diplomatic and cultural relations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Filip Van Tricht. *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204-1228)*. (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2011).

flooded the West. The lists and descriptions of stolen items from Constantinople attest to the proportions of the booty; church treasury inventories are also valuable sources for this influx of holy material, although all of the objects in them did not survive. The role of the Venetians in collecting this booty is notorious. They managed to capture the most valuable pieces of art and also the most valuable pieces of relics such as: the ampoule containing the blood of Christ, the arm of Saint George, parts of the head of Saint John the Baptist, and so on. Among this booty one can find one more familiar relic, the body of Saint Simeon. Andrea Dandolo (1306 – 1354)<sup>48</sup> noted in his chronicle the translation of the body:

*Plebey ecciam veneti, nomine Andreas Balduino et Angelus Drusiaco, de oratorio sancte Marie, adherente ecclesie sancte Sophie, corpus sancti Simeonis prophete cum labore auferunt, quod Veneciam delatum, in ecclesia antiquitus sub Sancti vocabulo fabricata reponunt.*<sup>49</sup>

Until recently no one knew on which data Dandolo's story relies; it was presumed that he took it from local tradition. However, research conducted by Italian historian Paolo Chiesa<sup>50</sup> brought to light a manuscript containing the whole, quite detailed story. The framework of the story is that the parish of Saint Simon in Venice organized the theft of the body of Saint Simeon. During the looting of Constantinople, seven men, known by the names: Andrea Balduino, Pietro Steno, Marino Calbo, Leonardo Steno, Angelo Durazo, Nicola Feretro, and Leonardo Mauro were inspired by the Holy Spirit not to steal gold and silver, but to find the body of Saint Simeon the Prophet and take it to Venice. They ventured around the city, finally locating the body in the church of Saint Sophia (the smaller one), and decided to take

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<sup>48</sup> The doge of Venice from 1343 to 1354. He was trained as a professor of law at the University of Padua. Before becoming doge he was a procurator in the basilica of San Marco. During his reign, Venice lost the war with the Hungarian King Louis the Great (1326 – 1382) and was struck by an earthquake in 1348 and by an epidemic of the plague lasting until 1350.

<sup>49</sup> Andree Dandoli, "Cronica per extensum descripta," *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Ester Pastorello XII, 1, (Bologna, 1942), 280. "Also citizens of Venice, named Andreas Balduino and Angelus Drusiaco, orator of the church of saint Mary, supported him to the church of Saint Sophia, where with an effort they took the body of Saint Simeon the Prophet, which they carried down to Venice, and placed it in the church of Saints which was made in ancient time."

<sup>50</sup> Paolo Chiesa found the thirteenth and fourteenth texts in one Milanese codex containing different hagiographical legends, among which was the *translatio* of Saint Simeon. He published his findings in: Paolo Chiesa, "Ladri di reliquie a Constantinopoli durante la quarta crociata", *Studi Medievali*, Ser. 3, vol. 36 (1995).

it on Palm Sunday when most of the citizens would be distracted. When they found the crypt, they started to argue who would open it and take the body. As time passed, Balduino finally found the courage and broke open the stone containing the sarcophagus where the lead ark was, and when they opened the ark a pleasant smell filled the chamber, which undoubtedly meant that God and the saint approved of their venture. However, there was still a question of getting back to the ship with the body and going back to Venice, which proved to be a difficulty. Because the citizens promptly found out that the body was stolen, there was a ban on sailing, so the Venetians were forced to hide the body in the boat. Finally they were allowed to sail and they transferred the body to Venice in the boat of Angelo Durazo.<sup>51</sup> Except for this vivid hagiographical tale there is more evidence about the presence of the body of Saint Simeon in Venice. In the church of San Simeone Grande there is an effigy (fig. II. V.) representing the saint, and above it an inscription:

*In Christi nomine, Amen. Anno incarnationis MCCCXVII, mense februarii, die IIII, indictione prima, translation corporis/ sanct Symeonis prophete facta fuit de quadam archa in hoc altare posita, in qua CXIII annis/ steterat, ut in translatione de Constantinopoli in MCCIII huc facta et scripturis autenti/cis plenius continetur, in hoc excelentissimum sepulchrum, per venerabilem patrem dominum/ Iacobum Dei gratia episopum Castellanum cum quisbusdum aliis convicinis episcopis procu/rante cum Dei auxilio Bartholome Ravachaulo eiusdem ecclesie plebano sine aliqua ecclesie/pecunia propter quod supplicat idem plebanus huius ecclesie capitulo ac universe convicini/ ut per Christi misericordiam in suis sacrificis et orationibus semper sit in eorum memoria/ Visitet quilibet libenter hec preciosa corpora quia ex inde XL dies diebus sungulis relaxantur deiniuncta sibi penitentia a domino patriarcha de Alexandria de ordinari licencia/ Celavit Marcus opus hoc insigne Romanus laudibus non parcus est sua digna manus.*<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> The text of the legend translated into English and an interpretation of it can be found in: David M. Perry, “The *translatio Symonensis* and the Seven Thieves: A Venetian Fourth Crusade *Furta Sacra* Narrative and the Looting of Constantinople”, *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 89-112 .

<sup>52</sup> The inscription can be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, octobris, IV, 20; Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura Veneziana Gotica, 1300-1600*, vol. 1 (Venice: Alfieri Edizioni d'Arte, 1976), 152. Marco Romano (end of the thirteenth century to 1319) was an Italian sculptor working in Tuscany, Lombardy, and Venice; the only work which is preserved is the tomb of Saint Simeon in the church of San Simeone Grande. About the sculptor see *Alessandro Bagnoli, Marco Romano e il contesto artistico senese fra la fine del duecento e gli inizi del trecento (catalogo della mostra)* (Milan: [Silvana Editoriale](#), 2009), In the name of Christ. Amen. The year of resurrection 1317, fourth of February, first indictione, translation of the body of Saint Simeon happened here to this tomb where



Under the sculpture there is an old sarcophagus with the inscription: *HIC STETIT CORPUS BEATI SYMEONIS PROPHETE ANNIS CENTUM ET XIII*<sup>53</sup>, while under the cover is inscribed: *ISTUD EST CORPUS/ S. SYMEONIS PROPHETE/PORTATUM DE CON/STANTINOPOLO AD/HUNC LOCUM MCCIII*.<sup>54</sup> As these inscriptions and sarcophagus show, there was a certain break in the cult from the time the body was brought into Venice and then again rediscovered and venerated.<sup>55</sup>

### *The city of Saint Chrysogonus – Zadar*

A fortunate geographic and strategic position helped the city of Zadar rise as a political, economic, and religious centre in medieval Dalmatia.<sup>56</sup> Throughout the Middle Ages there were constant disputes regarding control of the city. The main rivals -- the Hungarian kings, Venice, and the Croatian nobility (in this case the Šubići kindred<sup>57</sup>) -- tried and in some cases succeeded in taking control over it. The city shared a common destiny with Ragusium, being subjected to the rule of Venice from 1202. Ragusium managed in a way to balance out the influence of Venice, Zadar did not. Scholars have written extensively on the conquest of Zadar in 1202 by the crusaders<sup>58</sup>, so I will not go into the details. The city had remained under Venetian control until the Hungarian King Louis the Great (1342-1382) captured it in 1358. This situation lasted until 1409, when Zadar was sold back to Venice. Like the other

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the altar is; in which he was (kept) for a hundred and fourteen years, while he was brought from Constantinople in 1203, the full and authentic description are contained in this marvelous tomb.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. Here lies the body of Saint Simeon for a hundred and fourteen years.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. This is the body of Saint Simeon who was brought here from Constantinople 1203.

<sup>55</sup> At this moment it is impossible for me to say more about the cult except this basic information. Most of the scholars talk about the cult of Saint Mark, so until I find out more, I will restrain myself from commenting on it.

<sup>56</sup> Zoran Ladić, *Last Will...*, 53-54; Trpimir Vedriš, "Martyr and Knight: The Cult of Saint Anastasia and Saint Chrysogonus in Medieval Zadar," MA thesis, Budapest, 2004; Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409* [Zadar in the Middle Ages until 1409] (Zadar: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet Zadar, 1976); Vitaliano Brunelli, *Storia della città di Zara. Dai tempi piu remoti sino al 1409 compilata sulle fonti e integrata da tre capitoli sugli use e costumi* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1974).

<sup>57</sup> For more see Damir Karbić, "The Šubići of Bribir: A Case Study of Croatian Medieval Kindred," MA thesis, Budapest, 2000.

<sup>58</sup> For an overview on the fall of Zadar in the Fourth Crusade in Croatian historiography see Hrvoje Gračanin and Igor Razum, "Toma Arhiđakon i križarstvo" [Thomas the Archdeacon and the Crusades] *Povijest u nastavi* 10, no. 1 (2012): 45-64.

cities, Zadar also had the great tradition of collecting relics. Collections of silver and gold reliquaries of four patron saints had put Zadar on the map as a prestigious pilgrimage place in medieval times. The main patron saint was certainly Saint Chrysogonus; holding a similar place as Saint Blasius in Ragusium and Saint Mark in Venice, he became the symbol of Zadar. His image was incorporated on the banners, seals, and coins; processions in his honour were conducted annually.<sup>59</sup> Like the other two cities, it also claims the body of Saint Simeon. While there is a written tradition for Ragusium and Venice from the period when the body was transferred, there is none in the case of Zadar. The first to record the vernacular story and two historical notes connected to the *translatio* was Zadar's poet, historian, and nobleman Lorenzo Fondra. His work, written in the seventeenth century, "Istoria della reliquie di San Simeone di Profeta che si venera a Zara" is the only and earliest work to retell the local tradition about the saint's body coming to Zadar. All the later writers use his versions of the hagiographical narrative for the reconstruction of the cult. In his work, one can find three versions of the *translatio*, two of them practically the same and recorded more as a historical text, and the third a true hagiographical legend. The two short versions record, for which he says that he found in an old note (*in un' antica nota*)<sup>60</sup>; record that a fleet captain from Zadar, Marino Cedullinis<sup>61</sup>, went to the Holy Land with thirty ships and returned with the

<sup>59</sup> For more about his cult see Vedriš, "Martyr and knight...;" "Zadarski hagiografski ciklus: hagiografska analiza latinskih legendi o sv. Anastaziji i sv. Krševanu," [Hagiographic cycle of Zadar: hagiographic analysis of Latin legends about Saint Anastasia and Saint Chrysogonus] PhD dissertation, Zagreb, 2009; Mladen Ančić, "Translatio beati Grisogoni martyrs kao povijesno vrelo" [The *Translatio beati Grisogoni martyrs* as a historical source], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 25 (1998): 127-138.

<sup>60</sup> Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria della...* 66.

<sup>61</sup> The family Cedullinis was a noble family from Zadar. Its name was recorded on the list of names of the noble families in Zadar from 1283 and 1384. There surname one can find in more variations: Cedulinis, Cedulimus, Cedolini, Cedulinus, Ciedulini, Zadulini, Zadulinus, Zandulinus, Zedolinus, Zedolino, Zedolinus. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century they were an important part of Zadar's religious, cultural, and political life. Some of the more prominent family members was Jerko, who contributed in the peace making between Venice and Omiš in 1279; Domald, who was an ambassador of the kin Šubići in making peace with Venice in 1277; Vito is mentioned in 1326 as one of the donors for the reliquary box of Saint Chrysogonus; and Francis who was one of the nobles in charge in the making of the shrine in 1387. More on them: Jelena Kolumbić. "Grbovi Zadarskih plemićkih obitelji"[The Coat of Arms of Zadar's noble families]. *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*. 47. (2005): 27-98. For a work on Zadar's nobility in the earlier periods, see Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "The Formation of Dalmatian Urban Nobility: Examples of Split, Trogir, and Zadar," Budapest, 2004.

body of Saint Simeon. The second narrative is identical, just the name and year differ, noting that the person in question was Francis Cedulinis and the year was 1273. The hagiographical legend is far more interesting than these dull notes. Tradition records that a merchant ship was coming back from the Holy land and on its way through the Adriatic was caught in a great storm. Because the weather was getting worse, they were forced to throw everything from the ship, but that still did not help. Their helm and sails had broken, they were left without tools, strength, or hope; it seemed like their end was near. However, this was not the work of the storm, but of demons, who tried with all their power to drown the ship and the holy cargo which was in it. With the help of divine providence they managed to survive and get to the port of Zadar. When they came to Zadar, one of the noblemen who had given all of his possessions to the sea had managed to keep the most valuable one for himself – the body of Saint Simeon. While the ship was under repairs, the nobleman got sick, and was taken to the hospital of a monastery in the suburbs of Zadar. When he got to the monastery, he told the monks that the corpse he has is the corpse of his brother and that he is returning with him to Venice. Nevertheless, he gave permission to the monks to bury his alleged brother in the graveyard near the monastery. As days passed his condition was getting worse, and as he saw his time coming to an end, he said to the monks that after his death they should go through his papers, and in them they would find interesting and valuable information. Not long after that he died, the monks found a piece of paper in the purse around his neck that said that the body they had buried was not of his brother, but of Saint Simeon. The monks decided to keep the relic for themselves, so in the middle of the night they went to the cemetery to retrieve it. But, one more miracle occurred; three city rectors had an identical dream in which Saint Simeon informed them about his corpse being at the cemetery. At the same time all three

rectors went there, only to see the monks digging up the body. The rectors took the body and carried it back to the city, where it was examined and approved for veneration.<sup>62</sup>

The earliest material evidence for a cult of Saint Simeon in Zadar is a stone sarcophagus from the end of thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>63</sup> The church in which the body was kept during the Middle Ages – Santa Maria Maggiore -- was demolished in the sixteenth century to build a defensive wall. During the eighteenth century and the excavation of the church, three inscriptions were found:

*Ex voto D.P.O.M. Simeoni Divo. Pacharivs PR. F. F. MCCLXXVIII.,  
Simeon Ivstvs, qui filio meo sal. MCCLXXIX and  
Anno MCCCIX. Simeoni sancto. P. Andr. R. C.*<sup>64</sup>

They do not reveal a great deal, but if one considers them as genuine records they show that the cult was established by the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>65</sup> In this chapter I will not deal with the most vivid material evidence, the chest of Saint Simeon, the gift of Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić.

### *Unequal rivals<sup>66</sup> with the same friend*

Hagiography is quite simply “writings about the saints.” It is a word of relatively modern vintage coined from Greek roots: *hagios*, that is, holy, or by, extension saint, and *graphe*, that is writing. The sorts of the literature which fits under the rubric of hagiography are extremely varied, including Lives of saints, collections of miracle stories, accounts of the discovery or movement

<sup>62</sup> In the version which Danielle Farlati notes, the body was put in two caskets, one made from wood, another from marble, and it was carried around the city in procession. See Danielle Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum*, 82. However, this cascket made of cypres is later mentioned in the work of Lorenzo Fondra, and on that problem I will return later in the text. The three representations on the golden chest, attest to this version, the only difference in the visual representation and the hagiographical tale is that in the representation it is the saint who is saving the ship, not the God. Of course, this small change in details can be result of two factors; first the chest is dedicated to the saint Simeon, and of course he has a prominent role in every miracle, and second is it is impossible to visualize the divine providence. (fg. II. VI.)

<sup>63</sup> For more see Ana Munk, “Somatic Treasures. Function and Reception of Effigies on Holy Tombs in Fourteenth Century Venice”, *Ikon* 4 (2011):193-210.

<sup>64</sup> Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*, 394; “By vow D.P.O.M. to saint Simeon. Pacharius. PR. F. F. 1278”; “Simeon the Just, who saved my son, 1289”; “Year 1309. Saint Simeon. P. Andr. R. C.”

<sup>65</sup> There are two monuments which I did not consider in this part; the first is the stone relief, made by Paulus de Sulmon, of the Queen kneeling in front of Saint Simeon, this I will comment in the conclusion. And the second one is one coin with an image of Saint Simeon, Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria della reliquie...* Appendix; Litografia, no. V.

<sup>66</sup> Part of the title is borrowed from the book by Bariša Krekić, *Unequal Rivals: Essays on Relations Between Dubrovnik and Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2007).

of relics, bulls of canonization, inquests held into the life of a candidate for canonization, liturgical books, sermons, and visions. Hence it is best to consider hagiography not so much as a single genre, but as a collection of genres, many of which are represented in the text below. It is only possible to understand the term, and the works included in this collection, with reference to the Christian concept of sanctity.<sup>67</sup>

The scholarship about hagiography is vast and the interest of historians has not ceased since the seventeenth century and the seminal work by Jean Bolland, the “Acta Sanctorum”.<sup>68</sup> From that time the study of the lives and cults of saints has changed drastically.<sup>69</sup> From the first monographs, which treated hagiographical sources as historical ones, to those that completely discarded them as pure fiction. Today there is a more moderate approach, focusing on the context and the reception of the texts (but also art works and other material evidence connected to saints) and trying to reconstruct the relationship between the saint and the community.<sup>70</sup>

During the Middle Ages hagiography was the main branch of European literature, the texts about saints were (and stayed) a vital part of Catholic and Orthodox Europe.<sup>71</sup> This literary genre can be divided into subgenres: the *vita* (lives of saints), the *miraculo* (the wonders of saints), the *translatio* (the translation of saints), and the *passiones* (the passions of saints).

Each of these sub-genres has common places (*topoi*) that characterize them.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Head, *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), XIV.

<sup>68</sup> Jean Bolland (1596-1665), a Jesuit priest and Flemish hagiographer. He is best known for the compilation of the first five volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. The *Acta Sanctorum (Acts of the Saints)* is an encyclopedic text collection examining the lives of the Christian saints. For More on the history and scholarship of hagiography see Patrick Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1996).

<sup>69</sup> For a new approach to the question of very definition of hagiography see: Anna Taylor. “Lives and Afterlives: Medieval Historians and Hagiography”. *Religion compass* 7 (2013): 1-14.

<sup>70</sup> Seminal works about the topic of saints, sainthood, and hagiography are: Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Early Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Andre Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Hippolyte Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints: An Introduction to Hagiography* (Place: Kessinger Publishing, 2007 –new edition); Sofia Boesh Gajano, *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in eta preindustriale* (Rome: L.U. Japadare, 1984); Barbara Abou-El-Hai, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orleans 800-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski and Timea Szell, *Images of Sainthood in Medieval Europe* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1991); and one of the newest editions: Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

<sup>71</sup> Robert Bartlett. *Why Can the Dead...*, 504

The legends from Ragusium, Venice, and Zadar can be put in the category of *translatio*.<sup>72</sup> The form of the *translatio* was shaped as the need for an explanation because the growing number of relics around the Europe was on the rise. The translation of the Holy Cross by Empress Helen provided a model for the future texts of *translatio*. The key elements in this genre are: the search for the relic, the miracles upon its discovery, the difficulties of moving it, and its joyful and honoured reception. It is not required that all of these elements are included and the sequence of events can change. All three legends follow a similar pattern, however, the Venetian legend can be also categorized in the special sub-genre of *translatio-furta sacra*.<sup>73</sup>

Already discussed by scholarship, there is not a great deal to be extracted from these hagiographical records, all of these versions contain traditional motifs of the *translatio*. The questions I will pose are: Why did the cult not take hold in Ragusium and how come cities that are so close to each other claim the same saint?<sup>74</sup>

The multicorporeality of saints is persistent throughout the whole Middle Ages. The seven heads of John the Baptist are notoriously (ab)used example for it, but to agree with the majority of scholars, the most important factor is that the community believes they have the real saint. Which raises the question of this cult developed in the cities of Venice and Zadar? Material sources are more direct and vocal about the problem of the veneration of the saint. Who the audience was and how much they were familiar with these legends is not known. It can be presumed that they were an integral part of the liturgy on feast days and that was the moment when the community was introduced to them.<sup>75</sup> The most important part in the formation of the cult were the miracles. All three legends talk about it, while one of the

<sup>72</sup> More about *translatio* as a genre see: Martin Heinzemann. *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979). Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Hypollite Deelahaye pointed to the example of San Savino in Spoleto, Fermo, Moselice, Chiusi, Faenza; in this moment I am unfamiliar with the relationship between these cities, so I cannot make a comparison, it should be left for the future research. Deelahaye. *The Legends...* 58.

<sup>75</sup> I will deal with the case of Zadar in other chapter.

inscriptions in Zadar directly refers to a son saved/healed by the saint.<sup>76</sup> The phenomenon of healing miracles occupies the majority of studies about saints, as well as studies involving the history of medicine and concepts of a cure.<sup>77</sup> My hypothesis is that all three cities had their own patron saints which were symbolically integrated into the political and daily life of the community. Saint Simeon was a “practical” saint to whom one could come and ask for help in the more everyday sphere. The knowledge of the various communities about the other bodies of the saint certainly existed,<sup>78</sup> but it does not mean that the whole community was aware of that fact. Which leads to a more interesting question is why Zadar became such a popular destination for the pilgrimage? How did others outside the community find out about the body? My opinion is that two factors played key roles. First, the fact that the body of Saint Simeon in Zadar was whole and intact was certainly a matter of great pride for Zadar. The description by Pietro Casola testifies to the notion that the body was whole and in perfect condition:

Andai con li altri peregrini, però che cossi era ordinato, ad una giesia de Santo Symeone, unde cantato lo vespero, fu monstrato lo corpo de santo Symeone, reliquia dignissima e la più bella che mai vedesse, né in Roma né altroe. Nam se fe vede tuto integro non li manca cosa del mondo, non in el volto, non in le mane, non in li pedi; tene la boca aperta e di sopra non li sono denti; de questo non me ne maraviglio, perché era vegissimo, quando moriti ... E quanto più guardava, tanto più me pariva cosa stupenda, eo maxime che me ricordava el tempo de la sue morte, che non poteva esser manco de MCCCC°LXXXX°III anni.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> See footnote 44.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead ...*, 349

<sup>78</sup> The trade connections between Venice, Ragusium, and Zadar were strong (Tomislav Raukar, *Srednjovjekovne ekonomije i hrvatska društva* [Medieval economies and Croatian societies] (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, 2003), and after 1409 and the capture of Zadar, the duke of the city got the keys of the shrine of Saint Simeon, Lorenzo Fondra, *Istoria della... 130.*)

<sup>79</sup> Anna Paoletti, *Viaggio a Gerusalemme di Pietro Casola* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2001), 119-20. I went with the other pilgrims according to arrangement to the church of Saint Simeon, where after vespers were sung the body of Saint Simeon was shown – a very remarkable relic – certainly the most beautiful I ever saw, either at Rome or elsewhere. The body is perfectly preserved, there is nothing in the world lacking, either in the face or in the hands or in the feet. The mouth is open, and in upper jaw there are no teeth; I was not surprised at that, because he was very old when he died. ... And the more I looked the more it seemed to me a stupendous thing, most of all when I remembered the time of his death which could not be less than one thousand four hundred and ninety three years ago. [https://archive.org/stream/canonpietrocasol00casouoft/canonpietrocasol00casouoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/canonpietrocasol00casouoft/canonpietrocasol00casouoft_djvu.txt) (18.12.2014). Pietro Casola was in Zadar on 8 June 1494.

One of the pilgrims in the sixteenth century noted that Saint Simeon's circumcision was noticeable.<sup>80</sup> A more interesting pilgrim story is by H. De Rochechourat (1461), who on his journey to the Holy Land, left a description of his time on the Adriatic coast and his visit to the body of Saint Simeon:

*Dies Martis, quievimus in portu Hiadre, descendimus ad terram mane, pro celebracione divinatorum. Ivimus primam ad ecclesiam sancti Symeonis (!). Ibi vidimus corpus gloriosi prophete, qui Christum receipt in Templo; dignissima res est. Corpus est integrum, except pollice dextro, quem regina quedam Ungarie abstraxit.*<sup>81</sup>

These descriptions can be added to those German pilgrims<sup>82</sup>; all of them point out three things: in Zadar is the body of Saint Simeon, who held the lord Jesus in his hands and said *Nunc dimittis*, and the body is whole (and beautiful). One of the pilgrims, Felix Fabri, goes into quite explicit details, describing what he heard about the body and what did he saw:

Am 4. Tag/war Sonntag/war kein gut Wetter in dem Meer/Also fuhren wir wider in die Statt/da las ich Mes in unserm Conuent/und as Darinn/Nach dem giengen wir Pilgrin durch die Statt zu den Kirchen/denn es gar schone hubsche Kirchen in der Statt hatt/und ist sonderlich ein schönes Munster uber S. Simeonis/des alten/Grab/der das Kindlin Jesus in seine Arm schlos/und das *Nunc dimittis* machte/der ligt da Leiblich/des Grab schlos man uns auff/und lies uns in sehen/Die Augenlocher und der Mundt steckt im voll Baumvolle. Ob die Zunge in seinem Mund noch grun/frisch und unverwesen sey/als ich von etlichen Pilgrin gehort habe/weys ich nicht/Denn so nahe/das wir im den Mundt mochten auffbrechen/kamen wir ihm nicht.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> The pilgrim in question is Ludwing Von Rauter, who visited Zadar in 1569. Below I will return to his testimony about the position of the stone sarcophagus and the shrine, Šime Jurić, "Putovanje jednog Nijemca duž dalmatinske obale 1569. godine" [The journey of a German along the Adriatic coast in 1569], *Zadarska revija* 27 (1978): pages 274-284; Ivo Petricioli, *Stari Zadar u riječi i slici* [Old Zadar in words and pictures] (Zadar: Narodni muzej, 1999), 64.

<sup>81</sup> One of the medical reports claims that the finger, parts of the arm, and parts of the leg were missing, Luka Jelić, *Moći Sv. Šimuna*, 218-220). "On Tuesday, we came to the port of Zadar, and in the morning we went to the land to the mass. First, we went to the church of Saint Simeon [! There was no church of Saint Simeon in Zadar at that time], where we saw the body of the glorious prophet, who received Jesus in his hands in the Temple; it was well worth it. The body is intact, except the right thumb, which some Hungarian queen took, Jelić, *Ibid.*, 212-13; ft.5.

<sup>82</sup> The testimonies can be found in the article by Krešimir Kužić, "Njemački hodočasnici 15. i 16. stoljeća o Zadru" [German pilgrims of the fifteenth and sixteenth century about Zadar], *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU Zadru* 50 (2008): 82-98

<sup>83</sup> "On the fourth day it was Sunday, there was no good weather on the sea. Therefore we went back to the city, where I read the mass in our convent (*und sad Darinn*). Afterwards we made a pilgrimage through the city to the churches, because there are really nice, and there is a particularly beautiful church above Saint Simeon the Elder's grave, who embraced the child Jesus and said the *Nunc dimittis*; there his body lies. The grave they opened for us and let us see. His cavity of the eye and his mouth were full of cotton. Whether the tongue in his mouth was still green, fresh, and not rotten, as I heard from numerous pilgrims, I do not know. For we did not come close enough to be able to [open] his mouth. The pilgrimage took place in 1484.



This notion of expecting the state of the body is a sign of previous pilgrims visiting the body and sharing their experience of it. Not all the descriptions agree on the wholeness of the body, but they point out the excellent condition it was in. I think that Luka Jelić rightly pointed to this; the body was not integral, but it was so well preserved that it amazed medieval pilgrims.<sup>84</sup> The relic-body was a “first-class” relic in the medieval period; the phenomenon of the “complete” and “incorrupt” body had a special meaning in Christianity: uncorruptness was interpreted as a gift of divine grace.<sup>85</sup> With these pilgrim descriptions one should keep in mind that they came with certain expectations about how the relic should look, and there is also a question of how close they came to the body. There is even a record of an “unsuccessful” pilgrim, who did not even see it: *...und giengen in die Statt/hetten Sanct Simeon gern gesehen/da war der außgeritten der die Schlüssel darzu hett...*<sup>86</sup>

Another key factor might have been the location of the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. It was near the main port, and the port would have been the main centre of dissemination of the news that Zadar owned this exceptional relic. The location of the church<sup>87</sup> is preserved in the work of Federico Bianchi:

Era questo tempio situate dappresso la porta principale della marina, ovvero del porto, che ora dicesi di s. Rocco, ma che ne' tempi antichi appellavasi porta dell' arsenale, che la vicino esisteva una volta; ed in seguito porta di s. Simeone, dopoche in questo tempio fu collocate la reliquia del santo.<sup>88</sup>

One can only suppose that if someone came to the city by sea and decided to enter the city, the first (or the last) stop could certainly have been the church of Santa Maria Maggiore and

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<sup>84</sup> Luka Jelić, p. 222

<sup>85</sup> Arnold Angenendt. “Relics and Their Veneration,” *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*. (Ed. Martina Bagnoli), p. 21

<sup>86</sup> “...and we went to the city, wanting to see Saint Simeon, but the person who has the keys was not there,” Krešimir Kužić, “Njemački hodočasnici...”, 82

<sup>87</sup> The description of the church will be in a later chapter.

<sup>88</sup> This church (Santa Maria Maggiore) was situated right next to the main gate of the port of the marina or the harbour, which is today called Saint Rocco, while in the olden times it seems it was the gate of the Arsenal, which existed at one time; and subsequently led to the port of Saint Simeon, where his relic was placed in this church.

the body of Saint Simeon. Paulus de Paulo notes the visit of Albrecht IV (1395 – 1404) on 24 November 1398:

*Die 24. Mensis novembris applicuit ad portum Iadrae cum duabus galeis Venetorum a sepulcro Domini excellens dux Austriae), filius quondam domini Alberti ducis Austriae, ad quem recipiendi, et convitandum ad civitatem fuerunt missi ad galeam eius per regimen civitatis dominus Philippus de Georgiis regius admiratus, dominus Crescolus de Zadulinis miles, domunus Tibaldus de Nassis legum doctor, ser Andreas quondam Nicolai de Grisgonis, ser Simon Detrici et ego Paulus de Paulo, cui fuit commissum de receptatione et convocatione preaedicti principis, qui ea descendens, introivit civitatem et audita missa in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae maioris super altare Sancti Simeonis, ascendes galeam, recessit a portu.<sup>89</sup>*

Also, the constant liveliness of the port and interaction of merchants, sailors, pilgrims, and so on could have contributed to the spread of the information that the body was in Zadar's possession.<sup>90</sup> Additionally, one more "anomaly" should be noted, and that is the constant reference of pilgrims to the church of Saint Maria Maggiore as the church of Saint Simeon. As far as I am aware, sources from Zadar refer to the church by its consecration name; this pilgrimage-nicknaming is a clear sign of the power and influence of Saint Simeon.<sup>91</sup> However, the problem of Ragusium and its claims still remains. I would rather avoid going into discussion about the existence of another body or that the Ragusians had just "imagined". I would prefer to concentrate on the fact that there was a tradition which claimed this cult. The material evidence, especially the arm reliquary from the eleventh century, contributes to the recognition that there had been devotion to Saint Simeon since early on.

Where were the origins? How did this reliquary come into existence and how was its used? I

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<sup>89</sup> On 24 November (interestingly it is a feast day of Saint Chrysogonus) two galleys returning from Jerusalem to Venice, on them the glorious duke of Austria, came to the port of Zadar. For the reception and hosting of them, Philippus de Georgis, knight Crecolus de Zadulinis, teacher of law Tibaldus de Nassis; Andreas son of the late Nicolai de Grisgonis, Simon Detrici, and me, Paulus de Paulo, were commissioned with reception of the before mentioned duke, who came down (from the galley), entered the city and heard mass in the church of Saint Mary the Great, over the altar of Saint Simeonis; after that he went back to the galley, and left the port. Šišić, Ferdo. "Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskog" [Chronicle of Paulus de Paulo, patrician of Zadar] *Vjesnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonskog-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*. Zagreb, str. 26.

<sup>90</sup> Krešimir Kužić points out that few of the pilgrims travelled with the same ship's company; there should be further research into this question. Kužić. "Njemački hodočasnici..." p. 68, ft. 21. Also, the dissemination of the information should be taken into consideration, as one can see in the Fabri's description, he had heard about the green, fresh tongue of Saint Simeon. The information had evidently been exaggerated.

<sup>91</sup> The name and the naming itself had a certain power. For more: see Bartlett. *Why Can...* 95.

do not know, except that it was used to hold a piece of a saint's arm. The general theory about reliquaries emphasises the fact they are used as the means to transport a relic and are meant to honor it. In the words of Cynthia Hahn, they are "mediation between relics and audience".<sup>92</sup> My opinion is that the key factor was missing in Dubrovnik -- the audience. Why the audience was not interested in the cult of Saint Simeon hard to explain. The Miletius verses and the version of Nicola di Ragnina probably never fully penetrated into the community. Clearly for a successful cult a few criteria must be assembled: saint and his relic, a hagiographical tale which will confirm the authenticity of the relics, and, most importantly, capture the interest of the people. This multiplication of bodies or fragments of the relics seems to the modern mind, as R.N. Swanson put it – ridiculous.<sup>93</sup> I would use another term – schizophrenic; any attempt of any kind of chronology in this matter of transferring bodies leads to more discrepancies and incongruities. The medieval mind apparently did not mind these discrepancies and was able to live with them. In the further research, I believe there is a possibility to see a relationship between "dynamic" saints, such as Saint Mark, Saint Blasius, and Saint Chrysogonus versus a "static" Saint Simeon.<sup>94</sup> I would not discard this tradition from Dubrovnik as a simple invention of a poet, and there is no time, or space to go more into depth. All three cities have too rich a tradition of cults of saints which need to be considered in depth for an interpretation; this chapter is just a framework of it.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Cynthia Hahn. "What Do Reliquaries Do For Relics?" *Numen* 57 (2010): 291.

<sup>93</sup> Ronald N. Swanson. *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215-1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160.

<sup>94</sup> By the "dynamic" saint I refer to saints who were presented as part of the community identity, whose figures represented the city itself; the "static" saint is one with a more secular role, who incorporates himself by other means into the community. Of course, the boundaries between them are not clear-cut, this idea needs much more research.

<sup>95</sup> In further research it would be interesting to consider that the relic of the body of Saint Simeon can be also seen as a part of a second "wave" of relics coming from Byzantium, In the first wave, in the ninth and the tenth century, the bodies of the most important saints in the Adriatic Sea were transferred: Saint Mark, Saint Anastasia, and Saint Blaise. However, the connotations were different (Holger Klein, "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 283-314

## CHAPTER TWO: Zadar's Pantheon of Helpers – Saint Simeon

*Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, qui tribulant me?  
Multi insurgent aduersum me.*<sup>96</sup>  
(Psalms 3:2)

After the (over)complicated situation of the cult-making in the Adriatic Sea, let us turn to the more “practical” functions of saints’ relics and to the community of Zadar.

Fear of many things affected people’s behavior during the Middle Ages. Fear of wars and diseases, and in the end the death which they brought, was a part of medieval daily life.<sup>97</sup>

This fear brought something new, the need for a protector from everyday difficulties. This protector was not just an ordinary human being, but he or she was situated in two realms: heavenly and earthly. Saints were the protectors of the common folk in the Middle Ages. They were the ones on whom one could rely in a crisis situation, from whom one could seek (and get) help and protection when in desperate need. Most importantly they were a bridge between God and ordinary people.<sup>98</sup> Saints’ relics were a desired “commodity” in medieval society not just for devotional purposes, but also for economic (e.g., “pilgrimage-tourism”) purposes.<sup>99</sup>

The city of Zadar (fg. III.I) was no exception to this need for saintly protection. Everyday ills common to all medieval cities were also present in Zadar; however, two traumas caused deeply rooted fear in its citizens. The first was the conquest of the city by crusaders in 1202, and the second was the siege and conquest by the Venetians in 1345-1346.<sup>100</sup> Two preserved

<sup>96</sup> Also the first line in the Anonymus work *Obsidio Iadrensis*. More in the footnote 5.

<sup>97</sup> Anne Scott, Cynthia Kosso, ed.. *Fear and its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Tournhout: Brepols, 2002), xix-xx. Jean Delumeau. *Sin and Fear: the Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Century*. (New York: Saint Martin Press, 1990.)

<sup>98</sup> Robert Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead...* 103.

<sup>99</sup> Patrick Geary, “Sacred Commodities: The Tirculation of Medieval Relics,” *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 169-191.

<sup>100</sup> Rebellions against Venices were the leitmotif in Zadar’s medieval history. I am highlighting these two events for two reasons; first, sources about them are rich , and, second, both had strong impacts on the city. Zadar first came under the authority of Venice in 1115, from which Zadar liberated itself in 1159 with support from the Hungarian kings. This was not enough, however, as Venetians once again came to rule over the city. In that period there are three recorded rebellions of Zadar, but they did not able to displace the Venetians. In 1182, Zadar got the chance to free itself from Venice and was successful, with this period of freedom lasting until

and extensive descriptions of Zadar's misfortunes are recorded in the chronicle of the French nobleman Villehardouin<sup>101</sup> and in the *Obsidio Iadrensis*.<sup>102</sup> In such situations of constant rebellion and uncertainty, the citizens of Zadar found protection in their own "pantheon" of saints and holy relics. One German pilgrim, Konrad Von Grünemberg, wrote down all the things he saw:

In Zadar the four saints are buried: Saint Simeon, who held our Lord in the Temple; one Hungarian queen has made a beautiful, golden sarcophagus for him, but saint Simeon did not want to lie in it, that is why he is resting in the stone grave, completely closed. His church, however, is suitably built with see-through tower, which is filled from bottom to top with carved sculpture. Except him, in the city there are buried Saint Donatus and Saint Anastasia, and also Saint Chrysogonus. Further here is the head of Saint George and the finger of Saint John, the one which pointed to our Lord Jesus Christ; also there is a shirt still soaked with sweat of Saint Chrysogonus, worn by him on the day when his was beheaded. In the city there is the head of Saint Mary Magdalene. Also there is a part of a sponge, with which the thirst of our Lord Jesus Christ was quenched, when he was crucified.<sup>103</sup>

One of the patrons who is missing from this extensive list is Saint Zoilo, who is considered as the fourth protector of the city.<sup>104</sup> As in the case of Ragusium, Zadar also had its fair share of holy relics; when misfortune struck the citizens had a choice which saint they would ask for help. In the rebellion of 1345/6 they chose Saint Chrysogonus.<sup>105</sup> The religious fervor of the city can be seen in its relatively early promotion to the status of archdiocese (1154), the

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1202. In 1242 there was another rebellion against Venice, but already in 1243 the Venetians regained control over the city. The year 1311 brought another successful rebellion in Zadar, at which point it came under the rule of the Croatian nobleman Pavao Šubić Bribirski. The rule of the Šubići did not last long; already in 1313 the city was again under Venice. For the best overview of Zadar's history available in English see the introduction of Damir Karbić & Miroslav Kurelac in Branimir Glavičić, et al., ed. *Obsidio Iadrensis* (Zagreb: Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 2007), 53-60.

<sup>101</sup> Petar Skok, ed. *Tri starofrancuske hronike o Zadru u 1202. godini* [Three Old French chronicles about Zadar in 1202] (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti: Zagreb, 1951). Villehardouin's, Robert of Clari's, and Martin de Canal's chronicles are in the Old French with Croatian translations.

<sup>102</sup> See note 118.

<sup>103</sup> Edo Pivčević, *Jedno svjedočanstvo o hrvatskim gradovima iz 1486. godine* [A testimony about Croatian cities from 1486] (Mladost: Zagreb, 1988), 190-191.

<sup>104</sup> The city protectors are: Saint Anastasia, Saint Chrysogonus, Saint Simeon, and Saint Zoilo; Saint Donatus is not considered a city protector; he is remembered as the one who brought the body of Saint Anastasia to Zadar. Interestingly he does not mention Saint Zoilo, even though he was situated in the same church as Saint Simeon, however, most of the German pilgrims refer to Saint Zoilo as Saint Ioel. I am not sure how this mistake came about. The interpretation that it is the case of simple misreading seems plausible. For more see Krešimir Kužić. "Njemački hodočasnici..."p. 75

<sup>105</sup> This vivid description can be found on page 170 of *Obsidio Iadrensis*.

strong monastic community, and the rich artistic church production (even though everything is not preserved). To add to these notions, the cults of the various saints in Zadar were the most important part of shaping the space and time of the city. Little is preserved in the written sources about the interaction between the saints and citizens. Besides a few notes which testify to the interaction, one is not in a position to reconstruct how all of these cults functioned. Last wills and testaments, name-giving practices, a few records of pilgrimage and art production are the strongest evidence of the cults' activity.

The most important evidence of the cult of Saint Simeon is preserved in the form of the golden shrine, commissioned in 1378 by Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić, and decorated by various scenes with Biblical, historical, and personal motifs. In the next chapter I will deal in more detail with the act of donation and the royal side of the chest and the story, while this chapter focuses on the representations of the Zadar community and its relationship with the saint.

The shrine is of a prismatic shape with a roof on top.<sup>106</sup> Its dimensions are 1.92 m by 0.625 m by 1.27 m in height. It is made of gilded silver and weighs 240 kg. On the top there is a representation of the Saint Simeon lying down. The whole shrine is covered with vines; there are heraldic symbols of the Anjou dynasty on the sides. These dimensions and material certainly contribute to an impressive display. In the beginning the chest (and the first sarcophagus with the body) was situated in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Zadar.

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<sup>106</sup> The scholarship on the shrine is vast. For a full overview see Ivo Petricioli. *Saint Simeon Shrine in Zadar* (Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i umjetnosti, 1983), 29-32. The first descriptions of the shrine were done by: Lorenzo Fondra. *Storia della profeta...* Danielle Farlati. *Illyricum sacrum*. First analysis were done by: Rudolf Eitelberger von Ederger. *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens*. (Vienna, 1861); T. G. Jackson. *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*. Vol I, (Zadar, 1877); Alfred Gotthold Meyer. *Szent Simon Ezüstkoporsója Zárában* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos, 1894). Péter Gerecse. *Szent Simeon ezüst koporsója Zárában* (Budapest: Franklin Ny, 1895); Giuseppe Praga, "Documenti intorno all'arca di San Simeone in Zara e al suo autore Francesco da Milano" *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia*. 53 (Rome, 1930). Giuseppe Praga, "La suppellettile serica ed aurea dell'arca di San Simeone in Zara" *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia*, XIII (Rome, 1932). Luka Jelić. "Zadarska raka sv. Šimuna Bogoprimea" [The Shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar] *Glasnik matice Dalmatinske* I (1901): 271-283; 370-396. Grgo Oštrić. *Zlato i srebro Zadra*. [The Gold and Silver of Zadar] (Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951). Marijan Grgić. *Zlato i srebro Zadra i Nina*. [The Gold and Silver of Zadar and Nina], (Zagreb: Turistkomerc, 1972). Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo*. [Goldsmith] (Zadar: Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2004). The one I used, I will refer in this and the later chapter.

Carlo Federico Bianchi's description of it is the only thing, which is preserved about the church:

This church was 25 by 18 meters, not including the grand chapel, which was 12 by 7 meters and covered by the dome. Eight large arches, supported by stone pillars, separated the main nave from the side aisles. The presbytery was divided from the rest of the church by a grand arch where a gilded iron gate was situated. Around the semicircular apse a choir was elevated; or a marble baldachin, carried by four columns made from oriental marble; underneath was the altar with a ciborium made of gilded wood in which the Eucharist was kept. In front of the altar was a choir with 32 seats made of stone. The organ was had a good sound and was appreciated. At the end of the right aisle, to the north, was the chapel of Saint Simeon the Prophet. In 1368 the plan was manufactured in his honor; there, on the left hand, was the altar of B.V. (*Beati Virginis*), which was maintained by the congregation of priests. In the old times there were also the altars of Saint Pellegrino, Saint Martin, and Saint Nicholas (the school for sailors), and later the altars of the Holy Spirit, Saint Jerome, and Saint Zoilo with his sarcophagus. On the front of the chapel of Saint Simeon, which was decorated with five coats of arms, the inscription was carved which seems mistakenly reported: *Laurentius Periander*<sup>107</sup> IADRAE ARCHIEPISCOPUS DEOSCULATVS EST PRIMVS S. SIMEONIS CORPVS SVM EREMITIS ACTRIBVS JADRAE RECTORIBVS CLERO INDE AC POPVULO DECOTIS AMATORIBVS DEFERENTES PIGNVS AD S. MARIAM PRESBYTERORVM VBI JACENT MONMENTA NOSTRRVM MAJORVM., In 1399 with donations of the believers, a magnificent bell tower was built, decorated with columns and busts of the saint protectors Simeon, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, and Zoilo, above them one could read: "On the day of 8 June 1399, I, Paulus di Paulo with the blessing of D.(.) archbishop, put the first stone of the bell tower in honour of God and Saint Mary and Saint Simeon (with the piety of believer)." On the second floor the inscription reads: "In the building of the tower, the faithful are calling, Lady Mary with Old Simeon to be gracious. Dessae de Cattopagna."<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Laurentius Periander was the archbishop of Zadar from 1245-1287. Bianchi does not explain why does he thinks that the inscription is erroneous, what makes it stranger, he claims that the body of Saint Simeon was between 1273 and 1278 in the city. His reasoning is hard to explain. Bianchi. *Zara Christiana*. p. 394

<sup>108</sup> Avveva questo tempio 25 metri di lunghezza, e 18 di larghezza, non compresa la cappella maggiore, ch'era lunga 12 e larga 7 metri e coperta da cupola a volto reale. Otto grandi archivolti, sorretti da pilastri di pietra, separavano la nave principale dalle laterali. Il presbiterio era diviso dalla chiesa mediante un grand' arco, munito di dorato cancello di ferro. Sul diametro dell'abside semicircolare elevavasi la tribuna, o baldachino di marmo, portato da Quattro colonne di marmo orientale, sotto il quale eravi l'altare col ciborio di legno dorato per la custodia della ss.eucaristia. Dinanzi l'altare era collocate il coro, tutto di pietra con 32 sedili. Non mancava di organo, che anzi era uno dei piu sonori ed apprezzati. In capo della navata destra laterale, cioe a borea, v'era la cappella dell'arca di s. Simeone Profeta, fabbricata di piñata nel 1368 in onore di lui; in quella a mano manca l'altare della B.V. mantenuto dalla congregazione dei preti. V'erano pure in antico tempo nella prima gli altari di s. Pellegrino, di s. Martino e di s. Nicolo colla scuola de' marinaj, e nella seconda quelli dello Spirito Santo, di s. Girolamo e di s. Zoilo colla sua arca. Sopra il volto della cappella di s. Simeone, il quale era fregiato di cinque stemmi, di cui s'ignora il titolo, era scolpita la seguente iscrizione, che sembra il qualche parte erroneamente riportata: LAVRENTIVS PERIANDER... Nel 1399 colle obblazioni de' fedeli fu innalzato un magnifico campanile, ornate di colonne e di busti dei santi protettori Simeone, Anastasia, Grisgono e Zoilo, sopra di cui si leggeva quanto segue: DIE VIII JVNII MCCCXCIX EGO PAVLV DE PAVLO CVM BENEDCTIONE D. ARCHIEPISCOPI POSVI PRIMVM LAPIDEM TVRRIS CAMPANARIAE AD HONOREM DEI ET B. MARIAE AC SANCTI SIMEONI P.F. (*pietate fidelium*) Nel secondo piano eravi una

During the sixteenth century (sometime in the 1570s) the church was demolished in order to build a defensive wall. At that point the chest, the stone sarcophagus, and it seems the wooden casket were separated and moved to the church of Saint Rocco and the monastery of Saint Mary (a problem which I will discuss further below).

The shrine remained there until the seventeenth century, when it was moved to the church of Saint Stephen, which is today the church of Saint Simeon.<sup>109</sup> The shrine and sarcophagus are still kept there, and every year on 8 October the shrine is opened and the body of the saint becomes visible. The shrine contains historical-hagiographical representations which can be divided in three thematic groups: the translation of the saint's body, the relationship between the royal family and the saint, and the relationship of the community of Zadar with the relic. The interpretation of the iconographical programme is more or less systematized in the literature, although some of the representations are still debated. In this chapter I will focus on the healing and miraculous representation of the saint; interestingly the iconography of these representation has never been questioned. From the first monograph about the chest to the last one everyone agreed what the images represented. In observing the chest three representations are the most "eye-catching": The presentation of the Christ in the Temple; greeting King Louis the Great in Zadar, and the queen's inscription. The presentation of the Christ and the Queen's inscription are the most "visible" because of their central position on the each side, while the king's visibility comes through because of the size of his figure and the high relief. My suggestion is to look at the shrine as a narrative construct, so that the first part of the narrative is the text of the *translatio*<sup>110</sup> and the three images dedicated to it. That narrative is interrupted by the image of the "Presentation in the Temple". The story continues

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iscrizione lapidaria del seguente tenore: IN FABRICA TVRRIS AD VOCATOS FIDELES MARIA DIVA CVM SENE SIMEONE SINT PRIPITII DESSAE DE CATTOPAGNA. Federico Bianchi. *Zara Christiana*. pp.391-392. For the detailed overview of the building activity: Ivo Petricioli. *Srednjovjekovnim graditeljima u spomen*. [In memory of medieval builders]. (Književni krug: Split, 1960), pp. 189-196.

<sup>109</sup> Description of the movement of the shrine in 1632 can be found in Lorenzo Fondra, *Istoria delle...* pp. 208-213; also the comment of the editors, p. 208, footnote: 2.

<sup>110</sup> Reviewed in the previous chapter. See my comment on the images in footnote number 80. For a description of the images see Ivo Petricioli. *Škircija Svetog Šimuna*. p. 13-14.



with the interaction among the royal family, the queen, the saint, and the community of Zadar. Above these images, there are three representations which can be categorized as showing the relationship between the community of Zadar and the relic of Saint Simeon. When the shrine is open, one can see three more representations, dedicated to the saint and his miracles.

As noted above, saints were omnipresent in the everyday life of the medieval community. They were not just protectors and helpers, but they participated in all kinds of mundane activities. The first representation<sup>111</sup> in the upper narrative of the shrine attests to this. One sees a group of men standing over the shrine, the two in front are talking with each other and one of them is holding a hand over the saint's body (Fig. III. II). In the background one sees a priest who is watching the whole situation. On the same image but in the next scene (Fig. III.III), the character holding a hand over the saint's body is seen collapsed on the ground, dead. The interpretation of this image is that the man has perjured himself and that is why he has been punished. Taking an oath over the relic was quite common in the medieval period.<sup>112</sup> Two written examples are extant from Zadar about this practice. One is an oath taken by the ruling council of Zadar over the hand of Saint Chrysogonus;<sup>113</sup> the other is connected to the relic of Saint Simeon. In 1412 litigation between Cosa de Begna and Grigorio filio Mergani; Grigorio, requested from Cosa to take an oath about his accounts over

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<sup>111</sup> For the description and interpretation I am using: Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja sv. Šimuna...* and Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo*.

<sup>112</sup> Robert Bartlett. *Why Can the Dead...* Patrick J. Geary. *Furta Sacra...* Godefridus J.C. Snoeck. *Medieval Piety from Relics to Eucharist: a Process of mutual Interaction*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). Henk Van Os. *The Way to Heaven. Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages*. (Baarn: de Prom, 2000). James Robinson. *Finer Than Gold: Saints and their Relics in the Middle Ages*. (London: British Museum Press, 2011). Charles Freeman. *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe*. (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>113</sup> Ivo Petricioli. *Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti u Zadru* [Permanent exhibit of church art in Zadar], (Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti: Zadar, 1980), 69) I found the information that Paulus di Paulo notes that they took an oath on the arm of Saint Chrysogonus in 1392; however, in the work of Paulus di Paulo, this oath is mentioned on 18 July 1384: *Die 18. mensis iulii contracta fuit unitas inter dominum Thomam de Sancto Georgio, Dalmatiae et Croatiae banum, et commune civitatis Iadrae, semper ad fidelitatem sacrae coronae regni Hungariae et dominarum nostrarum reginarum, scilicet Mariae reginae Hungariae, dominae Edvigae sororis eius, ac dominae Elizabeth matris earum, quae unio fuit firmata sacramento praestito eodem die super brachio Sancti Grisogoni martyris et alias res super altari in ecclesia Sanctae Barbarae...*

the body of Saint Simeon.<sup>114</sup> Unfortunately, how the case ended is not known, and whether Cosa actually swore on the body of the saint, but it shows that this practice was really used.<sup>115</sup> The central representation faces the interior of the church; on one side is a woman, interpreted as a mother, and a man, interpreted as her son, who is kneeling and praying to the saint (fg. III. IV.). Next to the woman and her son there is an artist holding a hammer and chisel working on the one of the columns of the shrine. It has been interpreted as a self-portrait of the artist. The whole scene is interpreted as a mother encourages her son to give thanks to the saint. I would like to point out that in this way the artist represents himself as a witness to all of these events. Furthermore, in all of the images (except that of the queen stealing the finger and the priest stealing the leg) the shrine is seen elevated, standing on four columns. In this image one actually sees the artist finishing the last column (fg. III. V.). Below I pose the question of what the shrine stood on; this image could be the answer – on the four columns.

The last scene is the only one which has caused some disagreement in its interpretation. There was no change in the meaning of the scene, but art historians disagreed over a number of characters shown on it. In this scene (fg. III. VI.) three priests are standing around the body of the saint. One is pointing with his forefinger at the other and it seems like he is warning him. The other is holding the arm of the third priest, who is looking at the saint's body. In the far right corner a character is holding onto the saint's leg, and it appears that as that moment he has taken ill. This final scene is similar to the first representation. However, the character is not being punished for (presumably) trying to steal the leg of saint. Interestingly enough,

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<sup>114</sup> In Croatian scholarship, Antonio Krekich has pointed out that this kind of oath was taken in the churches of Saint Anastasia, Saint Simeon, and Saint Plato, by the altar where the relics were located. However, he is not quoting his source, and as already mentioned the body of Saint Simeon was placed in the church of Saint Maria Maggiore. The present day church of Saint Simeon was known during the Middle Ages as the church of Saint Stephen. It is possible that during his writing he was led by the current placement of the body. Also, he was dealing with the *Curia consolum et maris*, so it is possible that his statement was based on this document. More in his article Antonio Krekich. "La Curia Consulum et maris del comune medioevale Zaratino e alcuni suoi atti". *Atti e memorie della Societa Dalmata di storia patria* 1 (1926): 148-171

<sup>115</sup> *Curia maior civilium*. Državni Arhiv Zadar. (Kutija 5, fascikl 12, fol 18-18')

there are two attempts to steal the body parts of the saint, one the queen's and the other one this unknown priest's. Both perpetrators are from the upper strata of society, which may indicate two things. First, that just the upper strata of society was able to come into close contact with the body; and second, which I think is more likely, that everyone is punished for their crime, no matter who they are. An analogy can be seen in the familiar image of the "Dance of Death" (*Danse Macabre*), where the same destiny -- death -- is foreseen for all.<sup>116</sup> Also, one would suppose that the theft of the saint's body parts would be a graver crime than perjury, but, one cannot give a precise answer to why the perjurer is punished more severely. It could be that the "thefts" of the body parts were unsuccessful, and maybe that is why the only punishment is that someone gets sick for their troubles. Furthermore this could have served as a warning to others hoping to dissuade them from future attempts.

On special occasions (in modern times on the feast day of Saint Simeon) the front part of the shrine is opened three more representations can be seen (fg. III. VIII.). This part shows the miracles of the saint. The first image shows three characters in the interior of the church. Two of them are holding the third one. One of them is pressing his stomach, while the other is pressing his chest, and a demon in the shape of a dragon is coming out of his mouth. In the same image, on the next scene, one can see the middle character kneeling in front of the shrine and thanking the saint for his help. The second representation shows a fisherman in his boat, pulling the body of a young boy from the sea; in the second scene the boy is placed on the chest, most likely by his mother, and in the end one sees the boy brought to life and praying in front of the shrine. The last representation is the most intriguing (fg. III. IX.). In the first two representations the saint is presented as an invisible force, as a friend who can perform miracles, and one can come to him to express his gratitude. In this representation the

<sup>116</sup> The "Dance of Death" is an artistic genre, which presents allegory about the universality of death, no matter one's station in life. Elina Gertsman. *The Dance of the Death in the Middle Ages. Image, Text, Performance*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010). James C. Clark. *The Dance of the Death in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. (Glasgow: Jackson, 1950). Alberto Teneti (ed.). *Humana Fragilitas: The themes of Death in Europe from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century*. (Clusone, Italy: Ferrari Editrice, 2002).

saint becomes physically present. The first scene shows a priest standing in the pulpit with an open book and with his hand touching the Blessed Virgin with the baby Christ on her arm; next to this scene is a representation of the dead Christ. It is thought that this represents a heretical priest who is speaking wrongly about the Madonna. In the next scene we see the saint, ready to take his revenge, standing over him with a sword in his hand while the priest is lying in bed (fg. III. X.). All of these representations were standard miracle works of saints in the Middle Ages. Exorcisms were commonly performed, and this image attests to the general description of the ritual, especially the demon leaving the human by the mouth.<sup>117</sup> The second image, the revival of a young boy, is also typical for the genre. As mentioned above, this contrast between being an invisible force and a friend and having a physical presence is quite strong. Additionally, this contrast is reinforced by the saint holding a sword. After two representations of a benevolent and helpful saint, the last one hits quite hard on the fact that aggravating the saint can be a physically dangerous act.

The images on the shrine dedicated to relationships with the relic and the saint's miraculous help are a standard part of hagiographic representations. They were used as a didactic means to educate the illiterate on the proper way to treat a relic. As has been shown in recent decades, the visual was not the only means used to educate the common folk, but sermons, extra-liturgical drama, and popular literature were also used to spread ideas.<sup>118</sup> We cannot understand these images as medieval people understood them. Their mentality, perception, and the way in which images are set to be in the temporal and spatial realm is illogical to the modern mind; which presents a real difficulty for interpretation. However, these images are

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<sup>117</sup> Literature on demonology, possession, and exorcism is quite vast, some titles include: Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits. Divine and Demonic possession in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 2003); Alain Boureau, *Satan the Heretic. The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Éva Pócs, Gábor Klaniczay, ed. *Demons, Spirits, Witches* (CEU: Budapest, 2005-2008), vol I-III; Martine Ostorero, *Le diable au sabbat: littérature démonologique et socelliere (1440-1460)* (Società Internazionale per lo Studio del Medioevo Latino: Florence, 2011); Norman Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons. An Inquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (Meridian: New York, 1975).

<sup>118</sup> Margaret M. Miles. *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture*. (Beacon Press: Boston, 1985).

quite clear cut, bearing simple messages. The upper part can be interpreted as the didactic part of the chest. It sends a clear message of how the relic of the saint should be treated. The middle representation, the piety of the man with his mother, which shows that the proper way to say “thank you” to the saint is through prayer. Two images are warnings about what happens to people when they do not act properly towards the saint and his relic. The inner part of the shrine can be explained as a memory container for the saint’s miracles. The last image is quite explicit as to what power the saint actually possesses. At the beginning of this chapter I referred to the problem of constant fear in the medieval period, and this shrine has that fear incorporated, but for a different function. First, I would like to point out the apparent symmetry between the images that promote gratitude and the miraculous nature of the saint and the images which are meant to provoke fear. On the upper side there are two images with “fear” content and one with gratitude; in the interior part the situation is reversed. In this way a balance is achieved between two spheres, helping and punishing.

One crucial problem still needs to be dealt with. When was the inner part opened if it is known that the body was kept in the stone sarcophagus? Was it opened at all? Did anyone ever see the interior of the chest? In 1497 there were five additions to the inside of the chest by Thomas de Martino (fg. III. XI.). In the center there is again the “temple scene”; on the left there are Saint Donatus and Saint Chrysogonus, and on the right Saint Anastasia and Saint Zoilo. In this way all the saints of Zadar were incorporated in one art piece. Why would they make an addition to the inner side of the shrine, if it was not visible? Even though, we do not have substantial evidence that it was incorporated in that time into the shrine.<sup>119</sup> However, a more pressing matter is where the shrine was situated? From what is known from pilgrim records, the body was kept in the stone sarcophagus, as Konrad Von Grumberg testified, even Lorenzo Fondra admitted that is not sure that the body was transferred to the

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<sup>119</sup> Petricioli. *Škrinja Sv. Šimuna*. p. 22-23

shrine.<sup>120</sup> The oldest record of building the chapel of Saint Simeon in the church is preserved in Paulus di Paulo, who, on May 28 and June 8 1397, wrote down:

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of said month May, with the current rectors in our mandate, the stones are brought for the construction of the chapel of Saint Simeon, and on the Friday, 8<sup>th</sup> of next June, they will begin the work on the foundations to be amplified; for which the first stone, I Paulus, with the priest blessing, laid.<sup>121</sup>

The building of the chapel commenced in 1397, the building of the bell tower in 1399. It seems that it was still a work in progress by the time Pietro Casola (1484) visited the church:

The Church is very beautiful. In the choir there are as many as ten very handsome stalls. The choir is only finished in one part. I calculated that they will finish the rest in the time because what is already finished is new. High above the place where the said most holy relic is kept there is ark, all of silver-gilt, on which the presentation of Christ in the Temple is sculptured. In the Middle of the ark there is an inscription in Latin which records how the queen of Hungary caused it to be made.<sup>122</sup>

What exactly did he mean by “high above”? As stated above, on the day when he visited the church it was a holiday, and the body was “out” and accessible to all. In the next century, a year before part of the church (1569) was demolished, another record says:

...(in Zadar) there are many beautiful churches and monasteries. In one there is a body of Saint Simeon, incorrupt, in stone tomb above the ground...Next to tomb, there is a shrine made from yellow brass, which was made by a queen. She gave the commandment to put the body in the shrine, but the next day the body was again discovered in the stone grave, and the shrine was empty.<sup>123</sup>

Eighty years had passed from one description to the other. However, it seems plausible that the shrine was situated on the floor next to the stone tomb just for the sake of practicality (given the weight of 240 kilograms), not so much for security reasons. As already pointed out, Casola visited the church during a holiday, so maybe because of this extraordinary

<sup>120</sup> Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria della...*p.

<sup>121</sup> “Die lunae 28. dicti mensis madii, ma existente rectore cum praedictis de nostro mandato inceperint portari lapides et calx, pro fabrication capellae Sancti Simeonis Iusti, et die veneris 8. mensis iunii proxime venture incepit laborari fundamentum pro ipsa capella amplianda, cuius fundamenti primum lapidem ego Paulis cum episcopali benedictione posui.”

<sup>122</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/canonpietrocasol00casouoft/canonpietrocasol00casouoft\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/canonpietrocasol00casouoft/canonpietrocasol00casouoft_djvu.txt) (05.05.2014.)

<sup>123</sup> Jurić, “Putovanje jednog Nijemca...”

situation they decided to elevate the shrine so it could be more visible. Still, the question remains, on what would the shrine have stood at that time? The answer may lie in the scene with the self-portrayal of the artist and the piety of the mother and son. The four columns could be also the work of the artist, and they could have stood on or behind the altar, probably depending on their height. Similar examples of this kind of solution to the problem can be seen in Italy, for example, the tomb of Saint Margaret of Hungary (fg. III. XII). Still, this is not the end of the complications; when the church was being torn down, Lorenzo Fondra noted that the body was then in a wooden casket: “Fu allora levalo nell’ arca di cipresso il corpo di s. Simeone, e riposte nella sagrestia.”<sup>124</sup> This is interesting for several reasons. First, in the *translatio* he wrote, he does not mention this casket made of cypress, while Farlati in *Illyricum sacrum* does. Second, why would the body now be in a wooden casket and when was it moved from the stone one? The editors of his work tried to shed light on to it, but mostly what they did was add an another knot to an already entangled story. In the writing of the priest George from Trogir:

A’ 6 luglio dell’anno medesimo (1571) fu trasportata l’arca do san Zoilo nella sagrestia, ed agli 8, giorno di domenica, vi fu recato il corpo di san Simeone. Del 1581, ai 10 d’aprile (cioe dieci anni dopo) fu trasferito il corpo di san Simeone nella cappella di san Rocco, ed il giorno appresso vi fu portato quello di san Zoilo...<sup>125</sup>

Thus, chronologically they first transferred the shrine of Saint Zoilo and then the body of the Saint Simeon to the sacristy of the church, which remained standing for some time. Now the problem is what did they transfer the body of Saint Simeon in? Maybe it is just a question of style and the author did not wanted to repeat the word *arca*; but the question of the wooden casket remains an open one. At least at that moment one can say where the golden shrine was – in the monastery of Saint Mary. For security reasons they decided to move it there; and they

<sup>124</sup> The body of Saint Simeon was then moved in the ark of cypress to the sacristy. Fondra, *Istoria delle...*, 179.

<sup>125</sup> “On the 6<sup>th</sup> of the July that year (1571) we transported the shrine of Saint Zoilo to sacristy, and at the 8<sup>th</sup>, the Sunday, we transferred the body of Saint Simeon. In 1581, on the 10<sup>th</sup> April (ten years later) we transferred the body of Saint Simeon to the chapel of San Rocco, and on the next day we brought Saint Zoilo also.” Ibid., 180, ft. 1

also recorded how it was positioned at that time: "...che solleva star nella cappella sopra l'altar di quell glorioso corpo."<sup>126</sup> That the shrine was above the altar is in accordance with the testimony of Casola. It is hard to explain why the other testimony notes the shrine on the ground, the remark of Lorenzo Fondra about Saint Simeon being moved from church to church and from shrine to shrine (*Fu piú volte tratto da un'arca nell' altra, trasportato da luogo a luogo, da chiesa a chiesa, e nel lunghissimo corso di questo tempo infinite volte esposto all' adorazione*)<sup>127</sup>; it seems more than just a poetic lament.

For all of this there could be a simple answer: the body was kept in the stone sarcophagus for security reasons, and the golden shrine was put over the altar. However, this simple solution is hindered by another source. The German pilgrim, Johannes Tucher, noted in 1480: "...da ligt S. Simon grando/der unsern HERRN Gott gehalten hat auff seinem Arm zu der Beschneidung/das ist gar ein schöner herrlicher Körper unverwesen/und hut da gehalten/mit dreyen Schlüssen beschlossen."<sup>128</sup> It is not by chance that the golden shrine has three locks. Is he referring to the golden shrine? Or were the church and chapel locked in some way? There is no obvious answer to this problem and further research is needed.

Returning to the community of Zadar and its relationship with the relic, what is clear from the images is that all of the *topoi* of the ills of medieval times and the aid which the saint can provide are represented on the shrine. This chapter may seem anachronistic without explaining the donor of this shrine and the master who made it. The next chapter will pose more questions about it. Do not deceive yourselves that the story of the shrine ends here, this is only as strange as it might sound - the beginning.

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<sup>126</sup> "...it was raised above the altar in the chapel of that glorious body." Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 255.

<sup>128</sup> "...here lies Saint Simeon the Great who held our LORD God in his arms for circumcision; that was a truly beautiful, splendid body, not rotten and well preserved there, locked with three keys."



### CHAPTER THREE: Thief, Donor, Potentate, and Mourner – the Story of the Shrine

*...et non erat illis filius eo quod esset*

*Elisabeth sterilis et ambo processissent in diebus suis.*

(Luke 1:7)

*...post hos autem dies concepit Elisabeth uxor*

*eius et occultabat se mensibus quinque dicens*

*quia sic mihi fecit Dominus in diebus quibus respexit*

*auferre obprobrium meum inter homines.*

(Luke 1:24-25) <sup>129</sup>

In the first chapter, we saw an example of a German pilgrim coming to see the body of Saint Simeon and expecting a fresh, green tongue in the saint's mouth. In the second chapter, the two nobles in their agitation, are expecting that the relic "forces" the truth out in their trial. Can one speak of the expectations of medieval royalty in a similar manner?

The story finally begins. Answers and far more questions will be posed in this chapter, which is dedicated to Queen Elisabeth Kotromanić and her act of donation of the shrine. As in previous chapters, this story is far from clear-cut, so the explanations will be even further from that. I will continue in an anachronistic style in presenting the story, but it will all make sense in the end.

In the previous chapter, I dealt with all the images, which have a simple iconography, clear-cut messages, and were not discussed in so many details, while the images discussed in this

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<sup>129</sup> But they were childless: Elisabeth was barren and they were both in their advanced years. Some time later his wife Elisabeth conceived and for five months she kept saying herself: "The Lord has done this for me, now it has pleased him to take away the humiliation I suffered in public. These lines are from the gospel of Luke. The story is about the cousin of Mary, Elisabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, who could not conceive for the long time. It seemed as appropriate allusion to this case. My gratitude goes to Igor Razum, an expert in gospels, who brought this interesting analogy to my attention.

chapter received a greater attention from art historians.<sup>130</sup> The “Queen’s” side of the chest has posed so many questions, yielded a greater range of explanations, and stirred far more interest in scholarship. However, before the Queen’s side, there is one more image on the shrine which deserves attention, and which is rendering difficult any kind of simple answers to these matters. As I mentioned, one of the most eye-catching images is the one portraying King Louis the Great (1342-1382) and his entrance into Zadar (fg. IV. I.).<sup>131</sup> Adjacent to the Temple scene there is a narrative which does not conform to the other narratives on the shrine. It does not make a coherent tale in combination with the other images, but it stands on its own. The event on the image is set in front of the city walls, which are decorated with the Angevin coat of arms and in the background one can see the towers decorated with the shell tile. In front of the walls, one can see two parties. On the left side there is the party of Zadar’s community led by the archbishop. While the archbishop is standing, a group of five citizens is kneeling in front of the King, and behind the back of the archbishop one can see a woman and possibly a child. On the right side is the king with his entourage. Behind him there is a noble who is pointing his finger at the king. While between them, one can notice one female character; who is interpreted as Queen Elisabeth. In the far right corner there are two ships filled with men, under the Angevin flag. This scene would be easy to interpret, except for a small detail on it – the shrine of Saint Simeon. By the way in which it is presented it is quite clear that the body is being carried into the city. The explanations for this scene vary, from one that the community of Zadar brought the relic to the king, to another that the king

<sup>130</sup> For these images I have used: Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja Svetog Šimuna.*; Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo.*; Ana Munk, “The Queen and Her Shrine: An Art Historical Twist on Historical Evidence Concerning the Hungarian Queen Elisabeth, née Kotromanić Donor of Saint Simeon Shrine,” *Hortus Artium Medievalium*. 10 (2004),: 253-261. Marina Vidas, “Elizabeth of Bosnia, Queen of Hungary, and the Tomb-Shrine of Saint Simeon in Zadar: Power and Relics in Fourteenth Century Dalmatia,” *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008):, 137-175.

<sup>131</sup> This entrance is presumed to be happening in 1358 when the city was recaptured by the King. However, we do not have any written records about the greeting of the King, the known fact is that he did not enter the city through the port, but on the other (land) side. This could be also be interpreted as a confirmation where was the church of Santa Maria Maggiore situated - near the port (more about it in Chapter I.) The only written evidence about the greeting of Hungarian kings in Dalmatian cities, is preserved in the chronicle of Archdeacon Thomas of Split in *Historia Salonitana*. In it he gives the description of the greeting King Andrew II by the community of Split. p.161.

returned the relic from Venice. Not one of these explanations has confirmation in written sources, and similar examples are given for the both scenarios. One of them is the greeting of Emperor Frederick III by the citizens of Basel, who also carried out their relics before him.<sup>132</sup> For a second example, there are cases of Venice and Genoa taking the relics from the cities on the eastern Adriatic coast such as Trogir and Novigrad in Istria.<sup>133</sup> In this case, the comparative material is not as helpful as it could be.

Going further in the image analysis, the one which brought all the chaos and confusion for the interpretations is certainly the portrayal of Queen Elisabeth stealing the saint's finger (fg. IV. II. & IV.III.). The image is divided into two scenes situated in a basic architectural structure which represents a building – the church in which this act is taking place. The roof of the building is composed of the dome in the middle and two towers on each side. In the first scene there is a large group of nobles (interestingly enough, there are more characters in this scene than in the scene of greeting the king<sup>134</sup>) one of whom is dressed as a knight and the other is a woman dressed in a luxurious dress; decorated with a belt. The woman is holding the index finger of the left hand, while the other man is turning his back to her, and pointing with both hands in the opposite direction. There is a huge crowd behind them and three characters stand out from this mass. All three are wearing caps decorated with ostrich feathers and it seems they are commenting on something. In the far right corner one can see the situation they are commenting on - the same female person is holding her fist over the body of Saint Simeon. The very first interpretation of this scene brought out the only legend

<sup>132</sup> Julien Chapuis, "A Treasury in Basel" *Treasury of Basel Cathedral*. Timothy B. Husband (ed) (New York: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 22.

<sup>133</sup> Nikola Jakšić, *Zlatastvo*, 105; Nikola Jakšić. "Škrinja Svetog Šimuna – zadarska arca d'oro od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata" [The chest of Saint Simeon – a golden chest: from hagiographical model to political study] In press. Here Jakšić gives two examples of Venetians stealing and returning relics. One example is from Trogir and the other is from Zadar in connection to Saint Chrysogonus. One of the main arguments of the article is how King Louis returned the relic of Saint Simeon in Zadar. One of the main arguments of the article is how the King Louis returned the relic of Saint Simeon in Zadar, as the article is still not published, I would avoid going into details and presenting his ideas.

<sup>134</sup> On the concept and history of bystanders: Beate Fricke & Urte Krass. "The Public in the Picture: An Introduction" in *The Public in the Picture: Involving the Beholder in Antique, Islamic, Byzantine and Western Medieval and Renaissance Art*. (Zürich-Berlin: Diaphanes, 2015), pp. 7-22.

connected to the shrine and images. The local tradition, recorded by Lorenzo Fondra, preserved the memory of Queen Elisabeth with her entourage of knights and other dignitaries coming to Zadar and visiting the body of Saint Simeon. At one moment she decided to take the saint's left finger, and she hid it in her breast. The next moment when she had stood up from the altar, it seemed as though the day went dark, and her mind was darkened. She tried to run from the church, but she did not know where she was going, she could not find the exit, she did not speak coherently, her mind was full of apparitions and horrors; and she seemed as though she had lost her mind. However, she realized her wrongdoings, and she knelt in front of the altar and in tears asked for forgiveness. The priest who was there, took the finger from her chest, and returned it to its rightful owner. At that moment the queen came back to her senses and with her knights and the others present she could bear witness to another miracle. The finger was joined with the hand; like it had never been removed from it. When they all saw that, they drew the rings and the jewels from their fingers and gave them to the saint.<sup>135</sup>

Later interpreters posed the question, of whether the female figure on the shrine could be identified with the Queen. The main reason was that the person is not wearing a crown, so it should not be a royal, but a noble woman. Some of them went as far as to identify this noble woman as the wife of Paul I Šubić – Margaret, who is giving an oath over the body, because she was accused of infidelity. This interpretation was based on the inscription on the chest of one of the characters which reads “va...vant”, and which cannot be interpreted.<sup>136</sup> The most frequently repeated objection to the interpretation of this character as the Queen, is why would she allow to be presented like that? And that might lead us to another question, who was the master-mind of the idea behind this presentation? Did the Queen herself chose what will be presented, was it the master who made the shrine, or the nobleman left in charge of

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<sup>135</sup> Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria della...*97-98

<sup>136</sup> Luka Jelić went so far that he actually made up names for the characters. Luka Jelić. “Moći sv. Šimuna...” 180-183.

the production? To these questions I will return later in the chapter, but I firmly believe that this scene holds the key to the answer.

The next scene portrays a standing Saint Simeon holding out his right hand and receiving the shrine from the kneeling Queen, and her three daughters: Catherine, Mary, and Jadwiga (fg. IV.IV.). The scene is arranged by the rules of symmetry; on the one side is the saint (receiver of the gift), in the middle the shrine (the gift), and on the other side the Queen (the donor), and her “gifts” (the daughters). As the whole scene is taking place in a non-decorated space, the detail on the ceiling becomes more prominent. As identified by Croatian art historian Joško Belamarić, the detail in question is an ostrich egg.<sup>137</sup> In church symbolism it carries a double meaning. First, it represents the Virgin birth of Jesus because of Job’s comment that the ostrich lays his eggs in the earth and leaves them to hatch themselves. Second, it represents an analogy for Christ’s resurrection.<sup>138</sup> This small detail on the image gives another view-point for the donation, mostly residing in the personal sphere, and the queen’s wish for a male heir.

As already indicated, the inscription (fg. IV.V.) is one of the most prominent on the shrine.

Written in gothic majuscule it reads:

*Symeon hic iustus Jesum de Virgine natum  
ulnis qui tenuit, hac archa pace quiescit,  
Hungarie regina, potens, illustris et alta,  
Elyzabet iunior quam voto contulit almo.*

*Anno milleno, treceno octuageno.*

*Hoc opus fecit Franciscus de Mediolano.*<sup>139</sup>

The inscription gives all the relevant information. The donor, who is described as powerful, glorious and exalted; the year of completing the production of the shrine - 1380; and at the end the master who produced it - Franciss of Milan. This inscription is constituting a break in

<sup>137</sup> Joško Belamarić. “*Ovum struthionis* – simbol i aluzija na anžuvinskoj škrinji Sv. Šimuna u Zadru i na pali Pierra della Francesca za Federica da Montefeltra” [*Ovum struthionis* – symbol and allusion on the Angevin shrine of Saint Simeon in Zadar and on the picture Pierro della Francesco for Federico da Monatefeltro]. *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*. 32. (1992). 321-349.

<sup>138</sup> *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*. 4 (Freiburg: Herder, 1994) 218.

<sup>139</sup> Petricioli, p. 18. “Simeon, the Just, who in hand held Jesus born by Virgin Mary, he is peacefully resting in this shrine, which was brought by a gentle vow Queen of Hungary, powerful, glorious and exhaled Elisabeth the Younger, Year One Thousand Three Hundred Eighty. This was done by Franciscus de Milano.”

the pictorial narrative, and affirming the donation in the written form.<sup>140</sup> The written word is a powerful tool in a representation. However, is it effective? This was an illiterate society to which these words did not represent anything. As I will return to this problem later, even the people who could read it, clearly did not.

The last image in the Queen's cycle is the "Death of Ban Stjepan Kotromanić" (fg. IV.VI.). As with the first image, the interpretation of this scene has varied throughout the scholarship. The scene is divided in two spaces; on one side there is a space separated by a curtain; and on the other, the space is situated under an arcade which stands on columns. In the "space with a curtain" there is a bed on which an older man is lying, Saint Simeon is standing over him and holding his hands on the man's head. Behind the bed there are two women standing, one is interpreted as Queen Elisabeth, and the other is an unknown woman holding a candle. By the bed there is a boy dressed as a knight and kneeling, as though he were turning to the other space. In that church space, the same boy appears (originally it was thought there are two different characters) kneeling in front of the shrine of Saint Simeon and praying. The very first "interpretation,"<sup>141</sup> done by Lorenzo Fondra, recorded that the person in question is King Louis the Great. This did not fit for chronological reasons; the shrine was presumably made in 1380 as the inscription says. Even though, I will not attempt to re-date the shrine, it is worthwhile to note that in 1383, when the Queen came to Zadar, the key of the shrine was first given to Ban Stephano de Lindua<sup>142</sup> (on 31 October), and later Vladislavus<sup>143</sup> (*castellanus et vicarius Iadrae*) gave the key to Paulus di Paulo<sup>144</sup> in the name of the Queen.

<sup>140</sup> Munk, "The Queen and Her..."p. 258.

<sup>141</sup> I would argue, how much this is an interpretation done by him, or the tradition he recorded.

<sup>142</sup> Stjepan II. Lacković, he was ban of Croatia and Dalmatia two times; first time from 1371-2, second time from: 1383-4, he was also a count in Zadar.

<sup>143</sup> Vitaliano Brunelli. *Storia Della Città di Zara: dai tempi più remote sino al 1409 compiata sulle fonti e integrate da tre capitoli sugli usi e costumi.* (Trieste: Edizioni LINT, 1974), 490.

<sup>144</sup> Paulus de Paulo was a noble man from Zadar living in the fourteenth century. He was appointed as a judge in Zadar from 1373-1408, and a duke in Trogir, Šibenik, and Pag. He is most famous for his chronicle *Memoriali de Pauli de Paulo patritii Iadrensis (1371-1408) Digessit Ferdinandus nob. Šišić* (Zagreb: Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, 1904).

Paulus noted that he was the first rector to receive it.<sup>145</sup> If the shrine was finished in 1380, does that mean that no one until 1383 had the keys that could open it? After this digression we should return to the reasons why the person in question is not Louis the Great. Coming back to the chronological problem of Louis the Great, the shrine was commissioned in 1377, and completed by 1380; the king died in 1382, this discrepancy in the years should not be overlooked. The other reason is the presence of the boy. It is known that the royal couple did not have a son, only daughters, so it would be strange to have a male figure at the deathbed of the King. The prevailing opinion now is that the person in question is Ban Stjepan Kotromanić (1320-1353)<sup>146</sup>, the father of Elisabeth; and the young boy is interpreted as her cousin Tvrtko (1353-1391)<sup>147</sup> (the ban's nephew), who later became the first king of Bosnia. The shrine itself offered a range of explanations for this donation, which were less constricted than dealing with written sources. Be that as it may, there is also a charter preserved, about the commissioning of the shrine. Lorenzo Fondra, was the one who re-wrote the charter. He was not interested in the whole text, or perhaps the charter was already in a bad condition, as he rewrote just the main information<sup>148</sup>: 1377 the work was commissioned; this was done by

<sup>145</sup> Paulus de Paulo. 16 of November 1383.

<sup>146</sup> Nada Klaić. *Srednjovjekovna Bosna*. [Medieval Bosnia] (Zagreb: Eminex, 1994). Sima Ćirković. *Istorija srednjovjekovne bosanske države*. [The History of Medieval Bosnian State] (Belgrade: SKZ, 1964). Mladen Ančić. *Putanja klatna. Ugarsko-hrvatsko kraljevstvo i Bosna u XIV. stoljeću*. [Trajectory of the pendulum. Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and Bosnia in XIV century] (Zadar: Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Mostar, 1997).

<sup>147</sup> Vladimir Ćorović. *Kralj Tvrtko I Kotromanić* [The King Tvrtko I Kotromanić] (Belgrade: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1952)

<sup>148</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae*. doc. 210 (Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1927), p.296. Also Danielle Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum – Ecclesia Iadertina*. Vol. V. 1775, p. 100. The full order can be found in Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja Svetog Šimuna*. pp. 105-106. 1377. indictione XV., die dominico, 5 julii. Regnante serenissimo principe et domino nostro naturali domino Lodovico, dei gratia rege Hungarie, Polonie et Dalmatie, etc. etc. Tempore reverendissimi patris domini Petri de Matafaris archiepiscopi Iadrensis, et egregii et potentis viri domini Raphaelis de Surdis de Placentia, civitatis Iadre comitis. Cum illustissima principissa et domina nostra naturalis domina Elisabeth, regina Hungarie, Polonie, et Dalmatie, et gloriosi domini nostri regis Hungarie consors, divino spiritu mota visitare voluisset corpus beati Simeonis Iusti in sua fideli civitate existens, quo viso humili compassione commota non jacere, ut conveniens est, idcirco Iadre post discessum suum destinavit mille marcas argenti, causa ipsi beatissimo corpori sanctis Simeonis Iusti fabricandi arcam unam argenteam, in qua dictum corpus sanctum reponatur et conservetur, ut dictum est, et pro dicto opere citius conficiendo eadem domina regina nostra per suas gratiosas litteras scripsit fidelibus suis Iadrensis dominis Francisco de Georgio, Maffeo de Matafaris, et Paulo de Georgio, strenuis militibus suis regiis, et ser Gregorio de Civallelis, et Francisco de Cedulinis, ut ipsi, prout citius fieri possit, dictam arcam perficere curent. Qui strenui milites dominus Franciscus, dominus Maffeus,

the Queen's representatives, after she had visited the body of Saint Simeon and saw that it had not been kept in a dignified manner. For this task, five members of Zadar's community, of which three were royal knights: Francisco de Georgio<sup>149</sup>, Maffeo de Matafari<sup>150</sup>s, and Paulo de Georgio<sup>151</sup>; and two noblemen: Gregorio de Civavillis<sup>152</sup> and Franciscus de Cedulinis<sup>153</sup> (who were absent at that time) were assigned to oversee the production of the shrine. The artist who was acquired for the task, was Francis of Milan, son of Antonio; and *habitor* of Zadar. One thousand silver marks were given for this enterprise. The reason written down in the charter was refuted by historians and art historians, some simply arguing that this could not be the reason. I fully agree that the situation, motivation, and reasoning behind it are more complicated than the simple statement that "the body was not kept decently", however, here I would pose certain questions. What did the Queen see when she visited Zadar and the body? The body was kept in a stone sarcophagus. It is a simple stone sarcophagus, the front side is carved with the image of the saint lying on a pillow, while a little angel with a censor is above him. The rim of the sarcophagus is decorated with a simple interlace pattern. The dating of the stone sarcophagus sets it at the end of the thirteenth century. The rim part of it is definitely of an earlier date (fg. IV. VII.).<sup>154</sup> My hypothesis is that they used an earlier tomb (similar to ones that can still be seen on the forum of Zadar,

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dominus Paulus, uti fidelissimi regie majestatis, tam suis nominibus, quam nomine ser Georgii de Civavellis, et ser Francisci de Cedulinis, qui absentes erant, cupiens regia mandata pro parte adimplere, se region nomine convenerunt cum magistro Francisco aurifice quondam Antonii de Mediolano, nunc habitante ladre, pro dicto opere conficiendo in hoc modo, videlicet quod dictus magister etc.etc.

<sup>149</sup> Family de Georgiis is one of the oldest noble family in Zadar, it was formed during XII and XIII century, while during the confrontation between Venice and Zadar in the fourteenth, they played an important political role. Because of the loyalty towards the king Louis the Great; Francisco de Georgio became a royal knight and the count of Trogir. See more: Jelena Kolumbić. "Grbovi Zadarskih plemićkih obitelji" [The Coat of Arms of Zadar's Noble Families]. *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti Hrvatske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti Zadar*. 47, 2005. pp. 41-2.

<sup>150</sup> Family de Matafaris was one of the most prominent noble families in Zadar. During the fourteenth century they gave two Zadar's archbishops: Nicolo (1333-1367) and Peter (1376-1398); while at the same time the family rose as merchants, and owners of salterns. Ibid. 67-9.

<sup>151</sup> See footnote 20.

<sup>152</sup> Family de Civavillis is one the oldest noble family in Zadar, their name can be found in the lists of nobles from 1283 and 1384. Ibid. pp.55-56.

<sup>153</sup> The family de Cedulinis as the aforementioned family of Civavillis, can be found in the lists of nobles. From XII to XVII century they were influential in religious and cultural life of Zadar. Ibid.pp.54-55.

<sup>154</sup> The marble sarcophagus: Petricioli. *Stalna Izložba...* 54.



near the church of Saint Donat), and redecorated it. Its size and decoration are not impressive, certainly this was never meant to be carried around in any sort of procession, but the positive side to it is the security and relative practicality (to this argument I will return). It is a matter of how one accepts the argument of the charter. Certainly it is not expected that the Queen would “pour out her soul” on a piece of paper and elaborate on all the reasons, but this charter had such a small audience that the reason for the improvement of the resting place of such a valuable relic, should not be completely discarded. Another question which comes to mind is how this process of ordering and hiring the artist came about. Clearly, the Queen’s representatives in conjunction with the representatives of Zadar were in charge of doing the “practical” work, finding, compensating, and in the end monitoring the artist. This is the only work preserved from the artist Francis of Milan. One cannot tell much about his life. A few documents are preserved about his activity that testify about taking a goldsmith as an apprentice and selling a small vineyard; the most detailed one is his last will. On April 16 1388, he verified his last will at the public notary Articutius, the reason for this was not an illness, but he was preparing to go to Venice, and the fear of a dangerous sea voyage led him to this decision. From it, one finds out, that he did not have children, his wife’s name was Margaret; he left a chalice to the church where he planned to be buried, to the monastery of Saint Nicholas he left 12 *libar*, to the church of Saint Stephen a wax candle in the value of one ducat, and another wax candle to the chapel of Saint Simeon in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Pertaining to his last years in Zadar, it is known that he was involved in a judicial process with another goldsmith; and that he was selling his house in Zadar, to buy a new one in the district.<sup>155</sup> On July 5, 1377, the five aforementioned nobles of Zadar and Francis of Milan, made a contract, in which he promised to make a shrine like he presented on a “paper” model. On the shrine there would be all the “forms, pictures, signs and miracles; and the

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<sup>155</sup> Petricioli, 12.

presentation of the Lord Jesus Christ". The Queen's representatives left the money with the two nobles: Johannes de Galo<sup>156</sup> and Bartolo de Cipriano<sup>157</sup>, and they were the ones who gave the silver to Francis. The shrine was supposed to be done in a year.<sup>158</sup> However, as can be seen on the inscription on the shrine, it took three years to finish the project. The question is how much was the patron involved in the process of making the shrine, and how familiar was she with its program? Judging by the documents, her involvement was limited to financing the shrine. Seeing the back of it, one cannot exclude her influence over it, but the representation of her stealing the finger does not fit into it. Whether it was one of these nobles, or the artist, who came up with this idea; is hard to tell; however, in my opinion the emphasis was more on the miracle of the saint, than on the queen stealing the finger. Another saintly miracle fits much better into the whole program of the shrine, than the theft. One more curiosity about the making of the shrine, the sacred element in the form of a priest is completely excluded or the sources are silent. Usually in the case of making sacral art they were present as advisors, here, not one is mentioned.<sup>159</sup> However, I presume that with the scene Presentation in the Temple, and possibly the donating scene, there was some priestly intervention. It is clear that the program of the shrine is carefully thought out, but it is a problem to deduce whether one among the involved parties came up with it or was it more of a group effort. The story about the queen stealing the finger, would not been half as interesting, if there were no allusions to the queen's (mis)treatment of the relic(s).

One document, from 1455, recorded by Lorenzo Fondra and Danielle Farlati, notes the questioning of Novachus de Milco.<sup>160</sup> What is interesting in it is that the witness is an 88 year old man, who remembered that the Queen had come in 1380 to take the shrine with her. This

<sup>156</sup> The family Gallo (Gallis) is the noble family from Zadar, its rise started during the thirteenth century. They had a prominent role in the political life of the medieval Zadar. Kolumbić. Ibid. p.63.

<sup>157</sup> The family Cipriano is mentioned in Dalmatian cities: Zadar, Trogir, and Split. During the fourteenth century they were mostly mentioned as town-officials in Zadar. Kolumbić. Ibid. pp. 40-1.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid. 10.

<sup>159</sup> Madeline H. Caviness. "Anchoress, Abbess, and Queen: Donors and Patrons or Intercessor and Matrons" *Art in the West and Medieval Audience* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001) 105

<sup>160</sup> Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria della...* p. 123. Danielle Farlati. *Illyricum Sacrum*. p. 101..

document poses a number of problems. First, the context of it is completely unclear. At that point the city of Zadar was under Venetian rule. One can only presume why did the Venetians question this old man and what was the point of this testimony. Hypothetically they might have wanted to put the relic under stricter control.<sup>161</sup> Were they in search of witnesses to justify their move? It is hard to explain, without going into deeper research of the situation in Zadar during the fifteenth century. This document could have been easily discarded and overlooked: first for the chronological reasons the Queen was not in Zadar in 1380; and because the Queen ordered a gird for the chapel of Saint Simeon in 1384.<sup>162</sup> One can suppose if the gird for the chapel is being made, it is to secure the shrine at that place. But there is one more note about the Queen and the mistreating of the relic. “Accusations” against her were forged in Dubrovnik, in connection with the Diapers of Jesus. The story says that the nuns who were keeping the diapers would cut out a piece for future mothers, and the Diaper would repair itself. However, one day the “heretical”<sup>163</sup> queen, Elisabeth Kotromanić came, and took part of the diaper and it did not mend itself.<sup>164</sup> The city government took this as a sign, to take away the Diapers from the monastery and the nuns, and to deposit them in the cathedral treasury. In the case of Dubrovnik it is quite clear what the intention of the story

<sup>161</sup> More interesting information of this document is mentioning of the four angels who were holding the shrine, and when the Queen came they were also hidden by the nobility of Zadar. At 1455 the Venetians decided to move those angels to a “safe” place; which sounds as *euphemism* for melting it down. Federico Bianchi in *Zara Christiana* is probably referring to those angels. p.393

<sup>162</sup> Representative of the Queen made an agreement with a smith Venturio about making the gird for the chapel on 26 of July 1384. Petricioli. Ibid. p. 11.

<sup>163</sup> Possible answer to why they are referring to her as a heretical can lie in two historical facts, if the legend was made up at the end of fourteenth century, that was the time when Dubrovnik was at war with the Bosnian king Stephen Ostoja (1398-1404 & 1409-1418) regarding the territory around Dubrovnik, so called *Terre nove*. Similar situation happened in the beginning of the sixteenth century; however, territory in question was Konavle, and the fight was against the Bosnian family Radinković and family Hranić; so maybe these led to such a characterization. I have to thank to my dear friend and a real expert on history of Dubrovnik - Antun Koncul for warning me about these facts. The other answer is that a characterization as a heretical is connected to her Bosnian origin.

<sup>164</sup> In the eighteenth century an anonymous emissary recorded the same legend, however, with a different protagonist. In his version, the woman in question is Jewish. but the structure of it remained the same. For this discrepancy one would need to research the source and the time that this change occurred. Another version: Maja Novak, “Organizacija vlasti i odnos crkve i države u Dubrovniku u XVIII stoljeću” [Organization of the government, and the relationship between the church and the state in Dubrovnik in the eighteenth century], *Anali Historijskog Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 8-9 (1962): 413-438; the legend involving Queen Elisabeth in Nikola Ragnina. *Annali di Ragusa*, 198-99; Nella Lonza, *Kazalište vlasti...*, 248.

was – to justify the transfer to the treasury, and to keep the relic under closer surveillance. Also noteworthy are two things in these stories: the memory of “thief”-queen, and her constant connection to healing relics - the Diapers of Jesus were also used as an aid for women to conceive.

Scholars have refuted the reasons to be read in the charter for this valuable gift, and taken two approaches to this. First, the political character of it, and secondly the personal reasons. The argument for the political character of this gift is reflected in two hypotheses. The first one is the intention to strengthen the rule over Zadar and in connection to it the use of the relics as means of propaganda for the new dynasty. The second one is the Queen’s role in this act, her wish to free herself from the influence of her mother-in-law, the notorious Elisabeth the Elder<sup>165</sup>; and to present herself, as the inscription says, as: powerful, glorious, and potent. The first reason has been slowly abandoned. The need to exert more control over Zadar does not fit into the political situation of the time. Zadar remained faithful to the Angevin dynasty to the very end, more precisely until they were sold back to Venice in 1409. They were among the first who swore an oath to Queen Mary (1382-1387), and later to her husband Sigismund (1387-1437).<sup>166</sup> As previously stated, during the rule of Venetians there were quite a few rebellions, but the Angevin rule was a more peaceful time for the city. The propaganda part should not be so easily discarded; it was a vital part of any government. It is attested in more ways that the Angevin family frequently used cults of saints to build their power-base, and to publicly display power.<sup>167</sup> Even though I concur with the notion that the shrine is a vessel to

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<sup>165</sup> See the introduction ft.8.Marianne Sághy. “Heaven and Earth: The Madonna, Saint Gerard, and Angevin Kingship. The Rediscovery of Medieval Paintings at the Shrine of Saint Gerard in Budapest” (In press. Thanks to Marianne Sághy who let me see it before the publication). Margaret B. Freeman. “A Shrine for a Queen”. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*. 21 (1963): 327-339.

<sup>166</sup> Paulus de Paulo notes on the 24 of May 1390 of giving an oath to the Sigismund and his wife Mary over the silver cross, in which were some saintly relics. (*omnes dictam pacem super unam crucem arfenteam, in qua erat certae reliquaia sanctorum*).

<sup>167</sup> Andrée Vauchez. *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Gábor Klaniczay ; “The efforts of the Canonization of Saint Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period”. *Hunagrian Historical Review*. 2 (2013): 313-340. Samantha Kelly. *The New Solomon. Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and the Fourteenth Century*. (Brill: Leiden, 2003).

diffuse the Angevin message and affirm their rule by visual means (fg. IV. VIII.); the question remains why 1377? If this was done by the Queen alone does this imply that she was already counting down the last days of her husband, and preparing herself for ruling? Usually, such acts of donations are done when the Queen becomes widowed; in this case she had a period of five years to wait for that event. Which, also brings up another question, and that is the funding for the gift.<sup>168</sup> Usually after the death of the king, the queens would get their dowry, which is not a possible answer for this case, so where did the money come from? There are records about gifts to the queen and the king by the city of Trogir in 1360. However, the gifts for the queen<sup>169</sup> were only silver cups; while the gift for the King were 240 ducats. The question of financing remains open. The personal reasons of the Queen had been brought up a few times to the attention of the scholars.<sup>170</sup> During the first seventeen years of her marriage to Louis the Great she did not produce an heir to the throne. That is why she decided to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Simeon, so she could seek out the help of the saint. The saint came through, because she gave birth to three daughters, however, it did not fulfill her greatest wish – a male heir. This personal motivation sounds as a romantic story, but, here one should also ask if the wish for an heir to the Kingdom is a personal motive?

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<sup>168</sup> Some of the works on finances and queens: Margaret Howell. *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998). Ibid. "The Resources of Eleanor of Provence as Queen Consort" *English Historical Review* 102 (1987), 372-93. John Carmi Parsons. *Eleanor of Castille: Queen and Society in Thirteenth Century England* (New York: Saint Martin Press, 1995). Kristen Geaman. "Queen's Gold and Intercession: The Case of Eleanor the Aquitaine" *Medieval Feminist Forum* 46,2 (2010), pp. 10-33. Theresa Earenfight. "Royal Financiers in the Reign of Maria of Castile, Queen-Lieutenant of the Crown of Aragon, 1432-53" in Theresa Earenfight(ed). *Women and Wealth in Late Medieval Europe* .(Baingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010)

<sup>169</sup> Irena Benyovsky Latin. *Srednjovjekovni Trogir. Prostor i društvo*. [Medieval Trogir. Space and Society] (Hrvatski Institut za Povijest: Zagreb, 2009). Even though, as it was pointed out by Ivan Lucić Lucius in the work *Povijesna svjedočanstva u Trogiru*, p. 617. the Queen in question here is Elisabeth the Elder, it is recorded that she was in that point at Zadar, trying to amend some church business. However, it gives a clue that the gifts for Queens were material goods, while the King got the money.

<sup>170</sup> Aformentioned Luka Jelić. *Zadarska raka*. Joško Belamarić. *Ovum stratorum*. Massin Le Goff et al. *L'Europe d'Anjou*.

I think that a more moderate approach to this donation<sup>171</sup> should be employed, not just to search for the reason for this gift, but to observe the whole picture, or as much of it as the sources are revealing. To expand on the question posed in the beginning of this chapter, are the expectations of royalty so incomparably different from those of the common men? Is royal piety purely a reflection of their secret agenda to propagate themselves and their dynasty? Of course, it would be naive to think that there was no agenda behind it, but how much was it present, and more importantly, how effective was this propaganda?

When one is dealing with a female donor, the path to reconstructing the act differs from a male donor. Historiography on the subject of women as donors has flourished in the last few decades. The concept that women were detached from exercising power during the Middle Ages is long surpassed and as more examples show, gift-giving and cultural patronage by medieval women was not as rare as it previously seemed to be. This change in the view of women and their way of exercising power came with the reconsideration of the definition of power. In traditional accounts it was always connected to law and force, which is regarded as a male territory that presumed women were powerless and marginal.<sup>172</sup> However, modern

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<sup>171</sup> The topic of gifts, gift-giving, donations, and donors has a rich scholarship; unfortunately, there is not enough space to present every phenomena separately. One should start with the seminal work of Marcel Mauss. *The Gift: the form and the reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge, 1989). Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Lester K. Little, *Religious poverty and the profit economy in medieval Europe* (London: P. Elek, 1978). Arnoud-Jan A. Bijsterveld, *Do ut des. Gift Giving, Memoria, and Conflict Managment in the Medieval Low Countries* (Hiversulm: Verloren, 2007). Esther Cohen & Mayke B. De Jong. *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, Gifts in Context*. (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Emma Campbell. *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography*. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer 2008). Gadi Algazi, Valentin Groebner & Bernhard Jussen (eds). *Negotiating the Gift: Pre-Modern Figurations of Exchange* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2003). Arjun Appadurai. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. (Camridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Annette B. Weiner. *Inalienable Possession The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Maureen C. Miller. "Donors, Their Gifts, and Religious Inovation in Medieval Verona" *Speculum*, 66, 1 (1991), pp. 27-42. Holger A. Klein. "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 58, (2004), pp. 238-314

<sup>172</sup> Mary Erler, Maryanne Kowaleskii, ed. *Women and Power in the Middle Ages* (Athens, GA :University of Georgia Press, 1988), 1. One should also take into the consideration the work of Clifford Geertz and Michel Foucault who argued that the power is not constituted just by institutions and armies, but also through words, images and rituals. Kevin Sharpe. "Sacralization and Demystification. The Publicization of Monarchy in Early Modern England" in Jeroen Deploige & Gita Deneckre(eds). *Mystifying the Monarch: Studies on Discourse, Power and History*. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 99. Paul Strohm. "Queens as

historiography tends to avoid these clear-cut definitions, and tries to track down how power was manifested in different manners. Royal women and members of high society were prime examples for this kind of research.<sup>173</sup> Being in the proximity of power, but not in direct possession of it, they devised a way to express it in a not so ordinary manner. This expression came through cultural patronage, which offered a variety of projects to be sponsored - ranging from founding a monastery to sponsoring a book. In the case of royal patronage, the boundaries between the public and private spheres got blurred as so often the case was that the reasons for patronage were closely interlinked with each other.<sup>174</sup> Artistic patronage, being the same for men and women, was used as a means of creating legitimacy, demonstrating authority, connecting with other kingdoms or the past, to reward existing allies, or establishing new alliances. In understanding artistic promotion the key factor is that it required a meaningful commitment of funds and thus was always a deliberate choice.<sup>175</sup> How does the theory work in practice, and on this example? To employ more theory; this act can also be seen as a “votive complex”.<sup>176</sup> The whole act can be dissected into smaller sections: the queen taking a pilgrimage journey; which was one of the ways to show herself in public, and publicly promote her piety; making a vow to the saint – *do ut des*<sup>177</sup>; and after that if the condition had been fulfilled, the vow should be redeemed. If one takes into

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Intercessors” in *Hochon’s Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth Century Texts*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 95-121.

<sup>173</sup> More on queens in the medieval period: Anne J. Duggan ed, *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: proceedings of a conference held at King’s college London, April, 1995* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997). John Carmi Parsons, *Medieval Queenship* (Stroud: Sutton, 1995). Theresa Earenfight. *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). Marion Facinger. “A Study of Medieval Queenship: Capetian France, 987-1237” *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 5 (1968), 3-48. Elena Woodacre. *Queenship in the Mediterranean: Negotiating the Roles of the Queens in the Medieval and Early Modern Era*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillian, 2013)

<sup>174</sup> June Hall McCash, ed. *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

<sup>175</sup> Therese Martin, ed. *Reassessing the Roles of Women as “Makers” of Medieval Art and Architecture* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

<sup>176</sup> Hugo Van Der Velden. *The Donor’s Image: Gerrard Loyet and the votive portraits of Charles the Bold*. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). 212. More on ex-voto: David Freedberg. *The Power of Images. Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989), pp. 136-155. Ronald W. Lightbown “Ex-voto’s in Gold and Silver: A Forgotten Art” *The Burlington Magazine* 121(1979): 352-357+359

<sup>177</sup>“I give that you may give”. The concept derives from Roman law. It is used as the obligations ensuing from reciprocation, *Ibid.* 97

consideration that the queen made a vow wishing to have children, and the saint came through; the gift was a necessary part of fulfilling the agreement. Either way, the shrine is not the only gift the queen gave. One can find more of her gifts in the shrine, which can be put in the category of *oblaciones* and honorary gifts (fg. IV. IX.)<sup>178</sup>: the golden chalice (fg.IV.X.) decorated with the Angevin coat of arms and six characters (Christ, the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, Saint Catherine, Saint Stephen the King, and Saint Elisabeth), a golden crown, and the veil (presumably the queen's) of which just one part is preserved.<sup>179</sup> The problem is that the date when these gifts were put in the shrine is unknown, supposedly this happened when the queen gave away the keys of the shrine in 1383.<sup>180</sup> Also there is no confirmation about their usage. For the chalice one can imagine that it could have been used for the feast-day masses. For the crown, there is a hypothesis about the custom of crowning the relics.<sup>181</sup> In the end, the usage of the veil remains a complete mystery. Nevertheless, this whole system of gifts shows the main tendency of supporting the cult and preserving the memory of the donor, the saint's assistance, and the special tie which was built between them.<sup>182</sup> As it seems, this shrine was never used during the Middle Ages for this purpose, that is to keep the body of the saint in it; but as previously defined as a vessel for a different messages, and most importantly as the memory creator and conservator. For the practical usage, it can be described as a small-treasury, storing the other gifts – twenty-three rings, one more veil with a Cyrillic inscription (“Georgij despot”)<sup>183</sup> and two more cloths from the sixteenth and

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid. 213-215

<sup>179</sup> Images and description of it: Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo*. 121-123. Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja Svetog Šimuna*. 23-24 (description); appendix no. 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65 (images).

<sup>180</sup> Petricioli. *Škrinja sv. Šimuna*. 11.

<sup>181</sup> Scott B. Montgomery & Alice A. Bauer. “*Caput sancti regis Ladislai*: The Reliquary Bust of Saint Ladislav and Holy Kingship in Late Medieval Hungary”, in *Decorations for the Holy Dead. Visual Embellishment on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, ed. Stephen Lamia & Elizabeth Valdez Del Álamo (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002).

<sup>182</sup> Hugo Van Der Velden. *The Donor's Image...* 258.

<sup>183</sup> When the cloth is “opened” it reads: *Sveti Simeone Bogoprimče moli Boga o rabe svoem. Georgie Despot*. [Saint Simeon the One Who Held God praying to the Lord about my kin. Georgie Despot.] It is presumed that it is a gift from Serbian despot Georgi Maksim and that was put there in 1421 or 1439, Petricioli, *Škrinja sv. Šimuna*. short title, 24.



seventeenth century.<sup>184</sup> Why did they not transfer the body into the shrine? There is no precise answer. One can assume primarily because of the security reasons; if the shrine were stolen, not only the valuable art piece would be lost, but also the relic in it. Also the question of practicality comes to mind. If there were more keys to the shrine, and the city government had them, it would mean that every time when someone would want to see the body that they would have to leave their work to go and unlock the shrine. Still there is the question of the previously mentioned German pilgrim, Johannes Tucher, who noted that the body is locked by the three locks.<sup>185</sup>

This shrine and the images on it present a memory system. The very material the shrine is made of – gilded silver<sup>186</sup> – renders it as a powerful visual tool. There are strong indications what kind of image the Queen wanted to portray with this art work, as strange as it sounds the inscription is the strongest portrayal of that image. Even though the inscription itself seems to be quite ineffective. Not one of the pilgrims referred to her with her name, all are referring to “some Hungarian queen”. One has to take into consideration that pilgrims came with their own agenda – seeing the body of the saint, unfortunately not to make notes about art-work surrounding them. This is also a hypothesis, but possibly because of the elevated status of the shrine, one could not read the inscription. As one could notice the letters are not separated, and to read it from below is making it even harder. The donation scene could actually have served as the strongest portrayal of the queen which would have been understandable to the wider audience. Her connection to the saint is undisputable in that scene; and being in close proximity to him (again he is not portrayed as an invisible friend, but as a living person)<sup>187</sup> would had the greatest effect on a medieval mind. The scene with the Queen stealing the

<sup>184</sup> Petricioli. *Škrinja Sv. Šimuna*. 24.

<sup>185</sup> Previous chapter. Ft.150.

<sup>186</sup> The precious materials were not used just because they were expensive and rare, but also because they were considered pure, Martina Bagnoli. “The Stuff of Heaven Materials and Craftsmanship in Medieval Reliquaries”, in *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martina Bagnoli, Holger Klein, et al. (London: The British Museum, 2010).

<sup>187</sup> Nice comparison is with the title of Patrick J. Geary. *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages*. (Cornell University Press: Ithaca&London, 1994).

finger, I would describe as the most influential one. Even though, one would assume just the negative influence of this image – and that assumption is valid as we have seen with the legend from Dubrovnik, and the document from Zadar. However, it remains as the only one for which the community of Zadar developed a “tradition”. I would argue that the intention of the image, and the story around it, was more to highlight the miraculous Saint, than to moralize about the queen’s act. Still the influence of the image and the story can be seen in the number of rings left by the visitors of the relic. While the strongest evidence is preserved in the testament of Mare Menčetić, who gave an order to make a silver forefinger to be put in the shrine.<sup>188</sup> That is how the shrine broke the barriers between itself and the observers; seemingly it gave a stimulus to the other women of the community to seek the help of the Saint, and a belief in miraculous finger. The last image in the queen’s cycle (“The Death of Ban Stjepan Kotromanić”) is the hardest to interpret, and scholars have shown there is no agreement in the interpretation. There are three lines to follow; in one this image serves as vindication of Ban Stjepan against the accusation that he was a heretic<sup>189</sup>, in another the queen was putting her family under the protection of the saint,<sup>190</sup> and in the third the queen’s family had a role in the consolidation of the Hungarian and Bosnian lands.<sup>191</sup> What makes the interpretation of this scene even more complicated are the known historical facts. The ban died twenty-four years before the chest was made and he did not die in Zadar; he is buried in the Franciscan church and monastery of Saint Nicholas in Mileševo (Mile, near Visoko in Bosnia). Seemingly it did not penetrate deeper into community, why, one can only presume. All the art-historical explanation of this scene are valid, they are plausible and in the combination with historical facts can be proved or disproved. However, I would continue on a different note, and that is the representation of the queen itself in all scenes. Not one of the

<sup>188</sup> If the forefinger was made, it was not preserved. Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo*. 105.

<sup>189</sup> Vidas, Elisabeth of Bosnia..., 164-166.

<sup>190</sup> Nikola Jakšić, *Škrinja Svetog Šimuna – zadarska arca d’oro od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborate* [The chest Of Saint Simeon – a golden chest from hagiographical model to political study], in press

<sup>191</sup> Munk, The Queen and Her Shrine...,259.

images reflect her portrayal from the inscription. In the first image she is stealing, then donating, and in the end mourning. It is noticeable that this art-work reflects quite a personal side of the queen, and this is the strongest hint that she was in some way involved in the creation of the program of the chest, the question remains as to how much.

There are two levels which can be observed: the intention and the effect, and they are only partly visible. One should be careful in interpreting this act solely as a political move as it does not fit chronologically. It is not possible to remove these people – even the queen -- from the context of the time when they lived. As I previously posed the question, were her expectations from the saint so different than those of other medieval people? Consequently, no. She sought help from the saint, she got the help, and she paid for it. To imply that she had a whole agenda to work the cult of Saint Simeon for her gain, in my opinion, is misleading. Her influence in certain parts of propagating the cult, and later in the building activity surrounding the chapel where the shrine was put<sup>192</sup> is indisputable. The choice of the cult of Saint Simeon was not random. However, I disagree with scholars who see this act as an attempt to differentiate the cults and the relic from the one in Venice. The Angevins were masters of propaganda, and they also used cults of saints to that goal, but the success of a cult lies in its audience. It lies in the hagiographical tale, in the miracles which a saint is willing to provide, and this shrine serves as a “memory box” for the saint’s deeds. The royal family was conjoined to this memory. I would argue that not just the royal family and the saint, but also the whole community of Zadar is in some way included in it. With the personal reasons, there should also be caution; the wish for a male heir was not just a personal problem – it was the problem of the whole kingdom. Book X, chapter XII of the history of Matteo Villani, brings a romantic version of the triumph of love. As he notes; King Louis the Great came with his Queen to Zadar in 1360. He loved her very much, but she did not give him children. So it is

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<sup>192</sup> Definitely there was a need to appropriate the space for this valuable art-work.

told that they remained a few months in the city, to build a monastery dedicated to Saint ... (empty space by Matteo Villani) and the Queen would take the vows and become a nun; so the King can go and find another woman. However, the love of the wife won out, and this just remained a *fama*.<sup>193</sup>Romantic as it is, it is historically semi-correct, the king was in Zadar at that time, but the sources attest only to his mother being with him. Probably it is the case of the interpolation of the names. Nevertheless, one still cannot stop from wondering how thin were the walls of the royal bedroom, when one is writing this *fama* relatively far away in Florence?

The coming of the Angevins to the throne was not a leisurely process. It is doubtful that Louis the Great forgot how his father got to the throne, and it is harder to believe that the pressure for an heir subsided at any time. Saints were the doctors of that time, there was no one better or more powerful (on the East Adriatic coast) than a saint who had held baby Jesus in his hands. Female royal piety should not be taken only as a medium of presenting ones power, the context of the time should be always kept in mind with the close observation of the “realistic” potential. This relatively small piece of art includes many medieval phenomena on it. It breaks the boundaries between time and space, and is ambiguous in many ways so that its greatest strength is the opportunity for the beholder to transform the information in the images. However, this greatest strength can be the downfall for historians, who sometimes see only what they want to see.

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<sup>193</sup>Matteo Villani (1283-1363); Italian historian from Florence. He continued to work on the *Nuova Cronica* which was written by his brother Giovanni. He wrote eleven books to it, his work was continued by his son Fillipo. *Storie di Matteo e Fillipo Villani*. Vol. II. (Milano, 1779) pp.631-2. Ivan Lučić Lucius. *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru*. [Historical testimony about Trogir] I. (Čakavski sabor: Split, 1979). 616.

## CONCLUSION

In the lapidary of the “Narodni muzej” in Zadar there is a stone relief<sup>194</sup> representing Queen Elisabeth kneeling in front of the shrine of Saint Simeon; on it there was also an Angevin coat of arms, and when the Venetians took over the city they most likely “battered” it off. Where was it situated? No one knows. When was it made? The dating is after 1386 because then the activity of the artist is recorded. Who made it? It is presumed that this is the work of Paulus of Sulmon.<sup>195</sup> These kinds of sources raise many more questions than they answer, sometimes comparative material helped in resolving the questions, sometimes it created even more confusion.

The shrine of Saint Simeon is not a small object, but the number of phenomena which surround it almost exceeds its weight. Every representation on the shrine takes one deeper into the medieval world, and one gets “stuck” in it trying to find some logic. The images cannot force one into certain messages<sup>196</sup>, their ambiguity gives one more space for interpretation, and the reconstruction of how they were perceived hundreds of years ago seems an impossible task.

One can notice that I refer to most of my sources as stories, not because I rate them so lightly (and sometimes I do), but because I consider them as something which was more imbedded in the local tradition. That being said, my interest was not to discover the true motivation of the queen, but to rethink her case as royal piety. I put more emphasis on piety itself than royalty; the reason is not that I think that one is more important or influential than the other, on the contrary, the beauty of this shrine is that it supports a multitude of explanations. All strict categories of political and personal can be forgotten here; as all the chronological or spatial discrepancies of the shrine, to quote Giles Constable:

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<sup>194</sup> It is made of stone, 225 cm long, and 118 cm wide.

<sup>195</sup> Ivo Petricioli. *Umjetnička baština Zadra* [Art Heritage of Zadar] (Matica Hrvatska: Zagreb, 2005), 141.

<sup>196</sup> Margaret Miles, *Image as an insight...*30.

People lived the past in very real sense, and the past, living in them, was constantly recreated in a way that made it part of everyday life. ... The bridges between 'was,' 'is,' and 'will be' were thus stronger in the Middle Ages than at other times in European history, and they enabled people to move easily between periods and to experience them without losing a sense of their integrity and reality.<sup>197</sup>

Further research on the cult of Saint Simeon is needed, chiefly on the local level, how it functioned in connection with other cults, and how it was built up in the community. Then the “international” relations can be questioned. The role and influence of Zadar’s families – especially the Cedulinis family (whose members are mentioned as the ones who brought the body), and Fanfogna<sup>198</sup> family (who are mentioned in connection to one of the miracles of Saint Simeon, and unfortunately did not fit into the text)<sup>199</sup> on how the cult was made and shaped. Added to that, testimonies from pilgrims would provide a more defined picture of the cult. In the end the function of the shrine as a memory creator was barely scratched in the thesis, especially the issue of who created this memory. In addition a reassessment of the shrine as an art work is needed, questions such as that the artist Franciscus of Milan, who was hired only because he was out of work at time and all the other artists were engaged in other projects<sup>200</sup> and the question of the original look of the shrine should be answered, which is “casually” mentioned by certain art historians<sup>201</sup>

All these remaining questions are left to make another story.

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<sup>197</sup> Giles Constable, “A Living Past: the Historical Environment of the Middle Ages,” *Culture and Spirituality in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), 49.

<sup>198</sup> Jelena Kolumbić, “Grbovi zadarskih plemića...”, 60-61.

<sup>199</sup> The miracle-story: Lorenzo Fondra. *Istoria delle reliquie*. (Appendix).

<sup>200</sup> Petricioli, *Škrinja Sv.Šimuna*.

<sup>201</sup> Mentioning the problem I found in the overview of the scholarship of the shrine in Ivo Petricioli, *Škrinja Sv...* Nikola Jakšić in *Zlatarstvo* writes about the restoration of the shrine in the 90s, however, he does not mention the results.

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### Images:

Figure I.I. Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru*. [The Shrine of Saint Simeon in Zadar]

Figure II. I. Lazarević, Ivana. "Granice dubrovačkih seksterija" [The Boundaries of Dubrovnik's *saxteria*]. *Anali Dubrovnik* 50 (2012), p. 67

Figure II.I; II., III. IV. Vinicije Lupis. "O moćnicima u obliku glave iz Moćnika dubrovačke prvostolnice nastalima do kraja XIV. stoljeća" [About the head reliquaries from the

treasury of the cathedral church of Dubrovnik made before the end of the fourteenth century], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 36 (2009), p. 355

Figure II. V.

Figure II. VI.; III. VI.; III. IX. Nikola Jakšić. *Zlatarstvo*. [Goldsmith] p. 98, 110, 114

Figure III. I. Grgić, Marijan. (ed). *Zlato i srebro Zadra i Nina* [The Gold and Silver of Zadar and Nin] Zagreb: Turistkomerc, 1972.

Figure III. XI. Curtesy of Béla Zsolt Szakács

Figure III. II. – IV.X. Ivo Petricioli. *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru* [The Shrine of Saint Simeon in Zadar] pp. 1-65

Figure IV. VII. Ivo Petricioli. *Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti u Zadru*. [Permanent exhibition of the church art in Zadar] Zadar, Zagreb: Turistkomerc, 1980. p. 54.

## APPENDIX

Figure I.I. The Shrine of Saint Simeon



Figure II. I. The plan of Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages

I. Lazarević, *Granice dubrovačkih seksterija*

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Slika 1. Povijesna podjela na seksterije prema Beritiću

Izvor: Josip Ličić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od VII st. do g. 1205*. Zagreb: Historijski institut JAZU u Dubrovniku, 1973: 16.

Figure II. II. Head reliquary of Saint Simeon in Dubrovnik



Figure II. III. Head reliquary of Saint Simeon in Dubrovnik – Saint Blasius detail



Figure II. IV. Head reliquary of Saint Simeon in Dubrovnik – Saint Simeon



Figure II. V. Effigy of Saint Simeon in Venice; Church of San Simeone Grande, Venice, Marco Romano





Figure II. VI. Image from the Shrine of Saint Simeon – Ship miracle



Figure III. I. Panorama of Zadar



Figure III. II. Oath taking – detail



Figure III. III. Oath taking – detail



Figure III. IV. "Mother, Son, and the Artist"



Figure III.V. "Mother, Son, and the Artist" – detail:



Figure III. VI. Image from the shrine of Saint Simeon – Stealing of the Saint's leg



Figure III. VII. Image of the shrine – opened



Figure III. VIII. Image of the shrine – “Exorcism”



Figure III. IX. Image from the shrine of Saint Simeon – Punishing the heretic

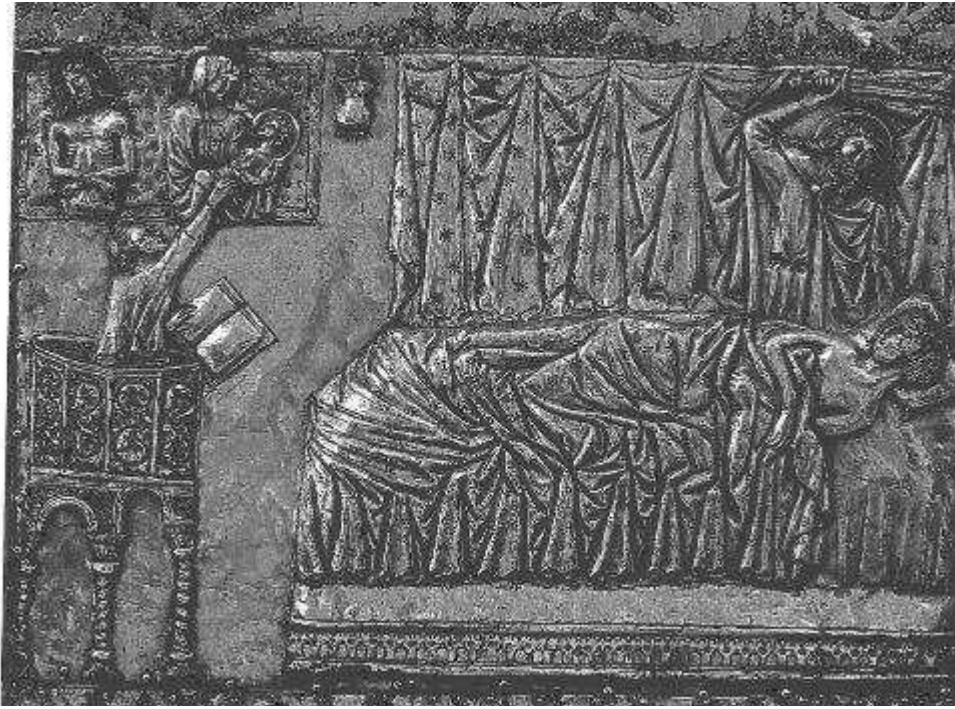


Figure III. X. Punishing the Heretic –detail: Saint with the Sword



Figure III. X. Image of Thomas Martinov, “Presentation scene”



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Figure III.XI. Reconstruction of the Altar of Saint Margaret

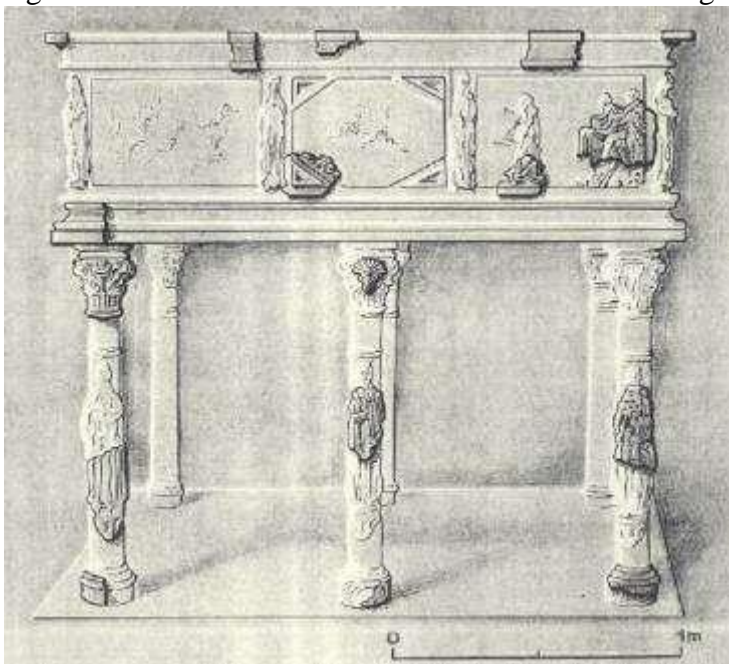


Figure IV. I. Entrance of the King Louis the Great in Zadar

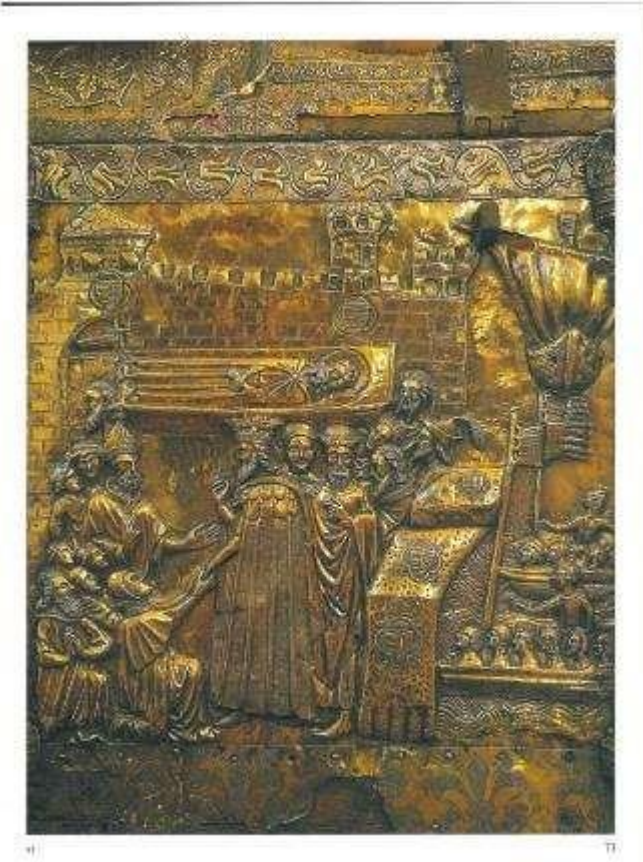


Figure IV. II. Queen stealing the finger



Figure IV.III. Queen Stealing the Finger – detail





Figure IV. IV. The Donation

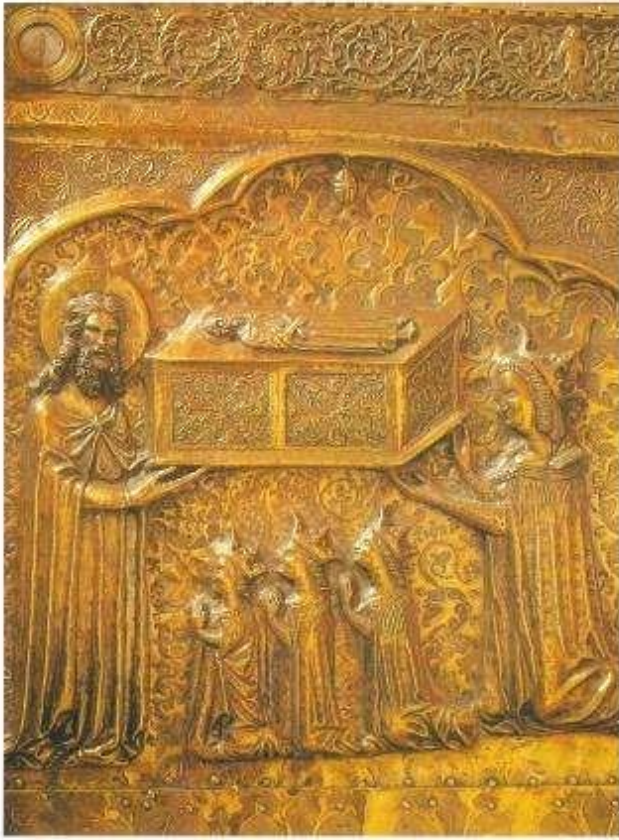


Figure IV. V. The inscription

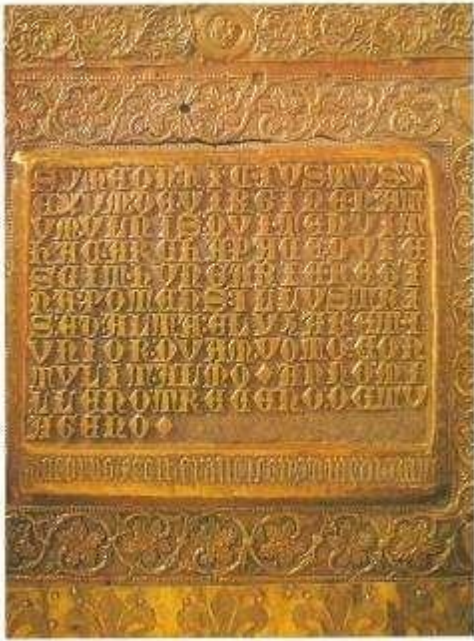


Figure IV. VI. Death of Ban Stjepan Kotromanić

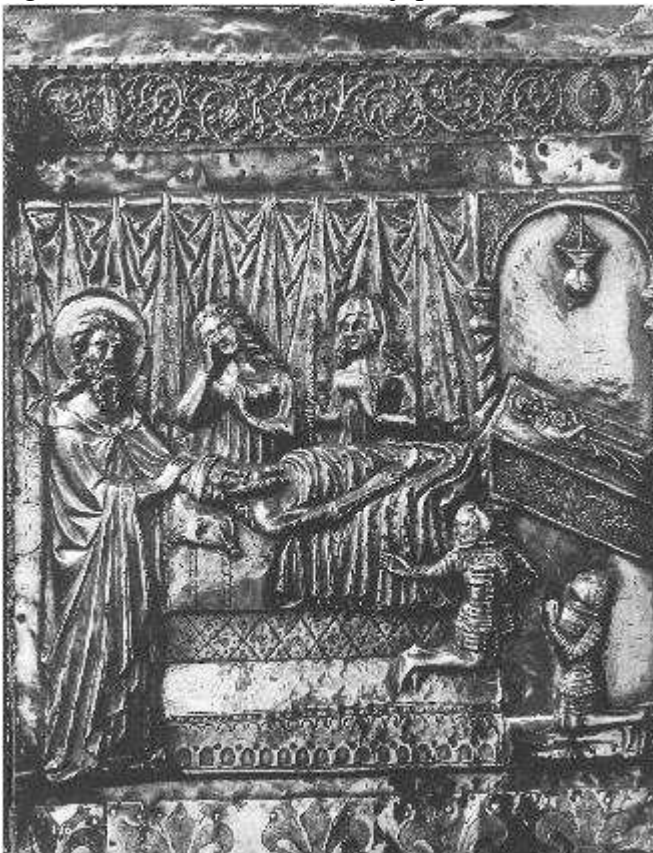
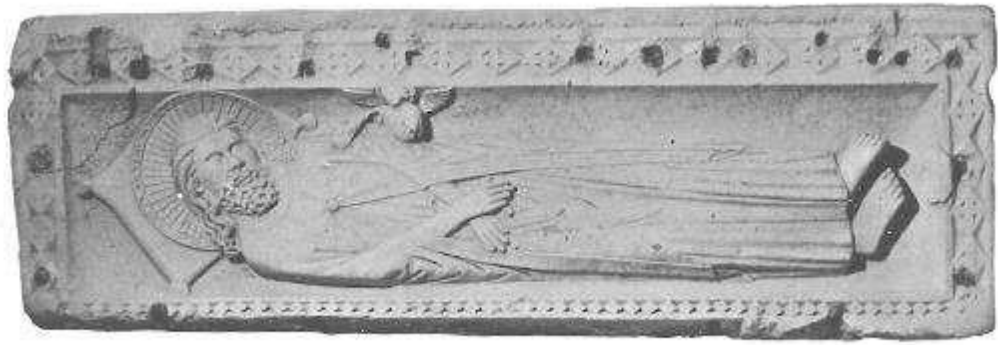


Figure IV. VII. Stone sarcophagus



16. SARCOPHAGUS OF ST. SIMEON

Figure IV. VIII. Angevin coat of arms



Figure IV. IX. The gifts in the Shrine



Figure IV. X. The Angevin chalice



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