

TWO ICONS OF MEDIEVAL HVAR

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Analysing two venerated icons from Hvar on the homonime Adriatic island, the autor describes relations between traditional icon painting with stylistic and iconografic innovations in Late middle ages. The Virgin Hodigitria from the Hvar Cathedral is described within the context of the benedictine Adriatic workshops at the end of the 13th century. The Virgin Glykofilousa from the church of Virgin Kruvenica near Hvar belongs to the group of Carmelitan icons from the first half of the 14th century.

The relationship between tradition and innovation has a particular significance for two medieval icons of St. Mary worshipped in the city of Hvar on the island of the same name in Croatia. In fact, in icon painting iconography has been continued for centuries in the repetition of the same schemes and in a particularly prominent connection between its traditional, almost petrified elements and stylistic innovations.

What determines the icons is their cultural context which defines them not only within a particular religious locality, but also within their general environment. Icons in the West are devotional and cult images, freed from the liturgical apparatus which strictly delimits icons in the Orthodox Church. In the 6th century Pope Gregory the Great suggested a different function of holy images, interpreting them as educational means for the illiterate and for the encouragement of piety¹. It could be statistically proved that it was the icons that promoted the most important and oldest Christian cults in the Western church. Although the present icon of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, also called *Salus populi*, has come down only from the 13th century, it has been registered that the icon of St. Mary the Great was carried in processions as a sign of gratitude for the termination of the plague at the time of Gregory the Great².

The present flourishing cults of the Virgin Mary in Dalmatia can be followed continually from the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century (being mostly attached to the icons from Trsat, over those from Zadar, Šibenik and Split to the icon of Our Lady of Porat in Dubrovnik). Such veneration of the icons in Western medieval devotion results from their original function as interpreted by the Orthodox Church. According to John of Damascus, and later Basil the Great and other Byzantine theologians, the veneration of icons is addressed to the original image, that is to say, to the saint represented in the icon.³ That is why holy images, consecrated by the Holy Ghost, have the same properties and powers as the saints represented by them, and whose recorded or imagined similarity has been faithfully preserved and transferred by the portraits. The icons can therefore perform all the supernatural wonders attributed to them, and which in fact are per-

formed by the saints. They fly, float, cry and heal. The belief in the miraculous power of the icons has remained in the Western Church to the present day, though their veneration was rejected already from the 8th and 9th century⁴. The far-reaching echo of the primal piety and belief in the miraculous and supernatural powers of the icons has been preserved in the West to the present day, so that for centuries cults of icons have been thriving and developing. Particularly icons of the Virgin Mary are worshipped. The Virgin is venerated through them as a mediator and supporter, a protector and the mother of all, the mother of the Church, a mediator of grace, a source of redemption, a champion of hope, the mother of grace, the mother of consolation, the handmaid of the Christians, the mother of good advice, the queen of peace, the health of the sick, the door to heaven⁵.

In the context of tradition and innovation the icon of the Virgin, known as *The Virgin of Hvar* or *Hektorović's Virgin* is particularly interesting. It is kept in the cathedral of the town of Hvar. In a number of documents from the 14th to the 17th century it was recorded that chapels were built and moved, and altars changed in order to accommodate the icon. It is interesting that a special chest was made in 1612 in order to facilitate the icon's transport to Venice, where it was to be repaired⁶.

This icon, worshipped as *Our Lady of Carmel* since the beginning of the 17th century, is now placed in the centre of the altar in the southern aisle of the cathedral, in the chapel of the Hektorović family, which is marked by their coat of arms on the outside of the southern wall. At the time of the turbulent changes in the Catholic Church, which was marked by meetings of councils, and numerous decisions, its cult as a universal protector, *Our Lady of the Assumption*, or *the Great Lady* as it is mostly called in Dalmatia, became *Our Lady of Carmel*. This cult of Our Lady, one of the most popular cults in Dalmatia at the time, and one of the best known cults of the revival that followed the council of Trento, is based on the worship of the Souls of the Purgatory. The emphasis on the pure Catholic doctrine of the Purgatory, and the proclamation of the delivery from Purgatory of all those who wear a scapular, meant a great deal for the pious people.



Fig. 1. *Virgin with Child, Hvar Cathedral*

Many votive gifts are presented to the icon of *Our Lady of Carmel* in Hvar. As the inscription in front of its ornamented baroque altar reads, it is a bequest by the brothers Budimir and Hektor Hektorović, close relatives of the well known Croatian Renaissance poet Petar Hektorović, made in 1686. Following one of their orders the Venetian stone cutter Leonardo Negri made a multicolored altar from Venetian marble, stone from Trogir and fragments of stone taken from houses in Hvar. The altar's structure resembled a wide baroque stage⁷. In the middle of the altar is the icon of the Blessed Virgin placed in a luxuriously carved frame. It was made in Venice by a little known woodcutter, Michelangelo Albarini, the same one who made the sepulchre of St. Prospero for the cathedral in Hvar in 1674.

Although the Hektorović brothers were donors of the altar, it was actually Ivan Franjo Lupis, a nobleman from Hvar, who lived in Venice, who commissioned both the frame and the altar. The Hektorović brothers have entrusted the choice of artist and the supervision to him. This is plainly corroborated by the letters and reports preserved, by which he sent the sketches and plans to the brothers Hektorović. In all the letters of this correspondence, which was published by C. Fisković⁸, it is explicitly stated that the old and venerated icon of the Virgin would be taken great care of.



Fig. 2. *Virgin with Child, Split, Our Lady of Bellfry*

The altar today is only one of a series of many where the icon was worshipped during the various phases and changes of the cathedral in Hvar. But precisely this manifold itinerary within the consecrated area, reconstructed from numerous documents, bears witness to the power of the cult and the public veneration of the town's patron. People prayed in front of the icon all the time and took it out of the sanctuary to be carried in processions at times of greatest danger.

Among the known effigies of the Blessed Virgin in Dalmatia from the Duecento⁹, this icon stands out by its intensely peculiar traits. The colour scheme, which is entirely unconventional, the freely flowing lines of the graphic design, some bizarre details of ornament and line, separate it in both space and time from the nearest "Painting School of Split", and especially from the Romanesque icons of Zadar. Its large format of 89 x 59 cm obviously places it into the category of altar and cult effigies. The fact that it has been in the cathedral of Hvar for a long time, that altars were made for it during the various phases and changes of the church, tells a great deal about the intensity with which it was venerated. A long time ago G. Gamulin wrote about the icon, attributing it first to the school of Pisa from the middle of the 13th century¹⁰ and afterwards to the mosaic makers who worked in St Mark's church in Venice in the second half of the 13th century. The mosaics are better known as Pope Innocent III's mosaics¹¹. The researches have so far overlooked a piece of evidence which defines the icon quite unequivocally. In a small volume of the archives of Hvar¹² the benefice of Hvar and Vis *Sta Maria de Buce*, refers to the little island of Biševo in front of the island



Fig. 3. *Virgin with Child, S. Maria di Pulsano (lost)*



Fig. 4. *Virgin with Child, Nort Carolina Museum of Art*

of Vis and its cult of the Virgin. The evidence given by the canon and poet from Hvar, Ivan Ivanišević in 1650¹³, clearly settles every possible dilemma about that name. Ivanišević mentions the chapel *Santa Maria de Buce, nunc de Carmeni nuncupata* in the cathedral of Hvar, which was part of the mentioned benefice. It is very interesting that the venerated image of the Virgin, or as he says *Dicta Gloriose dei Matris* was kept on the altar behind a lintel which also had the image of the Virgin on it¹⁴. Describing the chapel Ivanišević solves the problem of the relationship between the old Benedictine church of St. Mary and the new cathedral of St. Stephen the Pope: *translatum ex alia capellola que erat inter capellam maiorem et capellam veterem beate Mariae, sublatum tempore ampliacionis*. The obvious origin of the cult of this Virgin on the island of Biševo, indicated by the name *de Buce* (the name of the island occurs also in the forms Busi, Buse) is therefore not irrelevant.

The facts about the existence of a Benedictine cell on the island of Biševo dedicated to St. Silvester are well known in Croatian historiography. It was founded in 1050 by Ivan Gaudencijev from Split, and was handed over to the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary on the Tremiti islands in the pres-

ence of prince Berigoj of the Narentani. This island monastery north of Monte Gargano was to organize the monastery on Biševo in the same way as its other cells¹⁵. The connections of these Italian Adriatic islands with Dalmatia were very strong up to the Quattrocento. The largest island of the archipelago is named St. Dujam¹⁶, who was the first bishop of Salona, while one of the islands is also called Schiavonesca (i.e. Croatian). In all Dalmatia, according to older sources quoted by I. Ostojić, the icon of Our Lady on the Tremiti islands was well known and venerated throughout the Middle Ages. Dalmatians went on pilgrimages to the icon and made vows to it across the sea, many Croats even became monks in the abbey¹⁷. At the beginnings of the 13th and 14th centuries the abbey on the Tremiti was ravaged by pirate ships from Omiš two times¹⁸. The Biševo monastery was an independent devotional legacy in 1145. It received the protection of Pope Alexander III, and Manfred duke of Taranto together with Konrad king of Naples, extended their protection over the legacy of Biševo in 1258. At the time when the traffic along the transversal Adriatic sea routes was very lively, the importance of the little island was quite obvious. Around 1289 the monks of Biševo moved to the nearby Komiža on the island of Vis, which monastery is first mentioned in documents from 1264¹⁹, although the Benedictine church in Komiža was consecrated by Pope Alexander III on his way to Venice as early as 1177²⁰.

The monastery of St. Nicholas in Komiža belonged, like the entire island of Vis, to the municipality of Hvar. In the 13th century there was a Benedictine monastery in Hvar, dedicated to St. Mary. *Sta Maria de Liesna* is mentioned in documents of 1218 and 1238 as a place where the citizen of Split and Dubrovnik met and made peace after a controversy. Citizen of



Fig. 5. *Virgin with Child, Bari, Pinacoteca Provinciale (from Ciurcitano)*

Dubrovnik made peace here also with the citizen of Zadar. St. Mary of Hvar is mentioned in the Statute of the city of Dubrovnik in 1272. The fact that the greatest and most important Dalmatian communities solved their conflicts in this particular place is very significant. The last wills preserved come from the 13th century and witness to the great esteem shown to St. Mary in Dalmatia. This concerns the citizen of Trogir in particular, who left numerous legacies to this monastery.

In 1278 there is mention of a city that has to be rebuilt, and the orders of the Venetian government in 1292 required it to be enclosed by walls²¹. The bishopric of Hvar was founded in 1145, its first bishop's seat having been in Stari Grad, in the church of St. Stephen the Pope. It was founded during a turbulent series of events and clashes between the bishoprics of Split and Zadar. At the beginning of the 13th century the seat was moved to Hvar where it was first mentioned in documents in 1242. It is certain that the existing Benedictine church of St. Mary was in the beginning used as the cathedral, because the new cathedral is mentioned only in 1326. The oldest documents of the bishopric mention the cathedral first under the name of St. Mary's Assumption and only much later under its present title of St. Stephen the Pope.

It can thus be suggested that this icon of the Virgin Mary, which definitely comes from the island of Biševo, was linked precisely to this church and monastery of *St. Mary de Liesna*. By the establishment of the bishop's seat in Hvar at the end of the 13th century, it temporarily assumed the function of the cathedral. Otherwise it would not have been possible to logically explain the continuing veneration of the church by the people of Hvar and Dalmatia and the esteem they felt for it, which is evident from the many votive gifts bestowed on it. The icon of the Virgin with the Child most certainly had a place



Fig. 6. *Virgin with Child, Bari, Pinacoteca Provinciale (from Giovinazzo)*

of honour in the cult. It continued to be worshipped in the new cathedral in Hvar, which was to a large extent built on St. Mary's church, and the significance of the icon for its cult did not diminish to the present day, despite all the changes of the cathedral.

The foundation and veneration of the cult which must have come from Biševo, otherwise the words *de Buče* would not be emphasized so much (it is possible that there was an interim stage of in Komiža while the Benedictines were closing and establishing their monasteries in the triangle Biševo-Komiža-Hvar at the end of the 13th century²²), was evidently connected with the social and political events on Hvar during the 13th century. At that time a new city was founded on the site of the present city of Hvar, the bishopric was moved, a new community organized with a tendency to centralize the administration of other parts of the island of Hvar and the island of Vis. A new political class was born in a forceful opposition to the other, predominantly rural, parts of the island. The process was completed at the end of the 13th century, and the cult object, in this case the image of the Virgin Mary, certainly conferred legitimacy and significance to the new administrative and religious centre, as it was customary at the time of the establishment and confirmation of individual bishoprics and metropolitanates. The Benedictine church of *St. Mary de Liesna* is situated under the northeastern part of the cathedral and part of the bishop's garden. As recently conducted archaeological research of the cathedral's presbytery has shown, this church has an important late antique level.

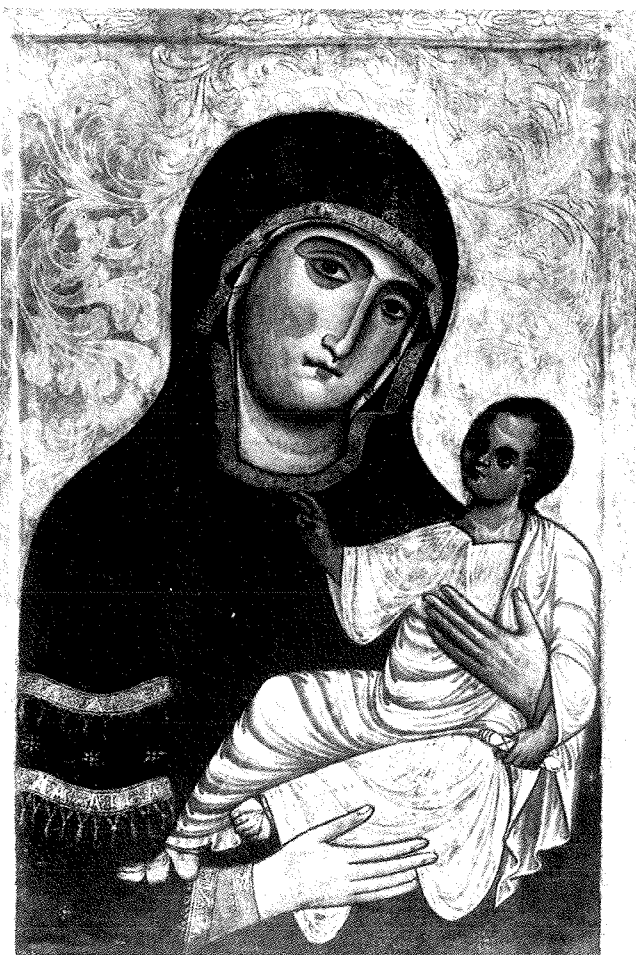


Fig. 7. *Virgin with Child, Trani Chiesa del Carmine*



Fig. 8. *Virgin with Child, Hvar church of Virgin Kruvenica*

The icon of the Virgin with the Child falls outside the traditional schemes and icon painting of the 13th century²³. Though the type of the *Hodigitria* is immediately recognizable, the traditional iconography is somewhat changed. The Virgin does not point at Jesus with her right hand, as it is customary in numerous *Hodigitrias*, implying that he is the saviour, but holds him with this hand, grasping his body from below. Jesus does not sit in his mother's lap with legs stretched out. His legs are raised, particularly the left one. Among the contemporary *Hodigitria* icons, there is a smaller group of an almost identical iconographic scheme, concentrated predominantly in ancient Romanesque churches of the province of Apulia in Southern Italy, and in several American museums, which acquired them only more recently²⁴. Such icons of the 13th century are kept in Ciurcitano, Trani, Bari. Though the iconography is identical there are clear stylistic differences within the group. The Virgin from Hvar is distinguished from the Apulian icons by its artistic freedom, powerful brush strokes, emphasized colours. Among the icons from the western side of the Adriatic, the greatest similarity can be found in the icon stolen from the former Benedictine monastery S. Maria di Pulsano. This monastery on the coast of Monte Gargano has generated and again accepted the Benedictine abbeys of St. Mary and St. Michael on the island of Mljet.

The iconographic similarity of the Virgin of Hvar and the icon of Pulsano poses the question about the prototype. But as regards style, the two are completely different. The Italian icon is artistically much more powerful and impressive, and with its dark and dense materiality its style approaches the Romanesque icons of the Virgin Mary from Zadar²⁵. Folds

around the knees and the ornamental ribbon is repeated in both icons to the minutest details. As in the Italian icon so in the icon from Hvar, the left hands of the Virgin and Jesus come out of the same sleeve. The draperies on the icon from Apulia are folded emphatically, while in the icon from Hvar they become autonomous curves. The same happens on the robe of Jesus where the characteristic brooch in the Italian icon becomes a low cut in the one from Hvar, and the wide cloak on the one is only a narrow ornamental ribbon on the other. It is as if the icon of Hvar was literally copying and reinterpreting all the ornaments of the Madonna of Pulsano, but in a more liberal way. The ornamental line almost becomes an end in itself. The characteristic robe of the Virgin, such as her *chiton*, does not have the firm mass of the one from Apulia, which must have been red, judging by its description²⁶. The ornaments are the customary small stars, monochromatic and simple, as in the two Romanesque icons of the Virgin Mary from Zadar²⁷.

While the whole group of icons from Apulia have the same garments — a dark blue *maphorion* covered with tiny pearls, or the characteristic golden ribbons with a fringe on the shoulders, in the variant from Hvar the border becomes stiff, linear, it is broken, and red with grey folds and stains suggesting shading, while the liberal brush strokes are repeated in concentric loops on the shoulder. The golden tassels become sharp grey lines. The folds on the chest, usually emphasized by a double black and white line, have become a zigzag. The ornament of a part of the *maphorion* covering the head, variegated with minute ornaments — lines, dots, and peculiar worm-like loops is particularly bizarre. Instead of the charac-



Fig. 9. *Virgin with Child, S. Maria al Morocco Tavarnelle*

teristic homogeneous white radiating tint around the eyes, mouth and chin of all the other icons, here these parts are covered by white hatches and characteristically red circles on the cheeks.

Another icon, but this time from the 14th century, has the identical iconographic scheme as the icon from Hvar. It is particularly interesting for the Croatian art history, because it comes from Zadar and is now kept in the museum of the city of El Paso in the United States²⁸. Till the beginning of the 19th century, when the monastery was closed down, it stood on the altar of the Dominican church in Zadar. But the central part of a triptych from a demolished church in the part of Zadar called Varoš, with the effigy of the Virgin with the Child, is attributed to the so called "Master of the St. Elsinio" from the end of the 14th century²⁹. It also shows the Virgin in an almost identical iconographic scheme. We can only guess whether it was painted after another older icon from Zadar or whether it was influenced by the Virgin of the Dominican church. But it is certain that there was an icon of the same scheme as of that from Hvar in Zadar as well.

The icon from Hvar has a particularly conspicuous outer edge with barely preserved fragments of a painted trimming. Its painted surface is deeply set into the panel under the frame, which therefore protrudes. The trimming shows traces of red, blue and grey colour, while the shape of the ornament can only be guessed at. The edge of the icon of the Madonna from Giovignano is similar³⁰, freely illuminated by plant ornamentation in brilliant colours. Its blue background, the precious *lapis lazuli*, is identical to the one in the icon from Hvar. The other icon from Apulia of the same type, Madonna di Curcignano, is also set in a wooden panel³¹.

The influence of the South Italian painting on this icon from Hvar cannot be denied, but what defines it among the other icons is its own individual expression. The prototypes



Fig. 10. *Virgin with Child, Bruxelles, coll. Stoclet*

from Apulia have been reinterpreted freely. The painter who can so far be recognized only by this icon of the virgin, evidently had contacts with the Dalmatian icons of that time — particularly with those in Split and Zadar. This is shown by the reformulation of a number of details of Our Lady of the Belfry from Split³². An example is the folds of the *maphorion* on the shoulders and over the head which has similar ornaments. The artistic finish of Our Lady of the Belfry, the meticulously painted details with the numerous interwoven ornamental lines, stars, and chrysography, renders it monumental almost reaching entropy. Its painter is an outstanding master who is well acquainted with the shaping of volume by means of light and shadow. The author of the icon in Hvar, who uses almost the same ornaments as in the icon from Split, uses it in a completely different manner. All his strokes are hard and firm. There is no fine twist of monumental lines bringing out the volume, but an autonomous play of intertwining notches, lines, and curves. He did not use shading. His light parts are grey or white webs. A free and wide brush stroke uncovers the extent of the surface and the sweeping movement. The folds become curved lines painted after the almost same pattern. This is most prominent in the lower part of the body of Jesus, where folds and the ornamental trimming of the cloak's hem, adorned with little squares, do not correlate. As if a staff was leaning against Jesus' leg, functioning as a dividing line between the upper ochre red cloak and the blue dress, rotating like a whirlpool. The extraordinary artistic expressiveness of this icon is a result of a certain freedom of expression of an autonomous and simple chromatism. It is this spontaneous expression, the particular Romanesque twelfth century mannerism that makes it so special.

It is difficult to believe that the painter was a chance artist. He must have belonged to a particular artistic circle. The undisputed origin of the Virgin from Hvar from the island of



Fig. 11. *Virgin with Child, Notre Dame de grâce Cambrai*



Fig. 12. *Virgin with Child, Alessandria Cathedral*

Biševo, points to the Benedictine monks. The origin of the icon together with its stylistic and iconographic features distinguishes it from the circle of mosaic layers of the cycle of the Passion of Innocentius III from St Mark's church in Venice, as suggested by G. Gamulin. He based his attribution on the size of the surfaces and the ornamental lines characteristic for mosaics and frescoes. But the painter of the slightly rustic Virgin from Hvar, was incapable of painting an anatomically neat right arm of Jesus. It is raised to bless in the manner *alla greca*, with the thumb and ring finger touching, but the fingers are malformed and twisted. Such an artist can hardly belong to the mosaicists who have laid the classically beautiful mosaics of St. Mark's. He belongs to a different cultural circle. Because the same features are found on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, I would like to point out a particular common denominator of the painting on both sides of the Adriatic, rather than applying the customary term used by Garrison Adrio-Byzantine painting.

That common denominator is on its own a negative definition, since it refers to the stylistically hybrid works lacking the pure characteristics of Byzantine, Venetian, Siennese or Tuscan painting. In the complex political and cultural interaction of the East and the West, the Adriatic sea must have had the role of a stable connection, both its western and its eastern coasts with the chains of cities situated there. Instead of using loose definitions of the Adrio-Byzantine art, which is stylistically determined on ground of the interactions existing in the Adriatic area, I prefer a narrower determination of the style and locality of single works of art or groups of them. The group of Romanesque icons of the 13th century and the later Gothic icons of the 14th century could be defined as the Benedictine circle

of the Central and Southern Adriatic. The Benedictine monasteries on the Adriatic coasts from Italy to Croatia have always had a decisive role in the development of art. A particular role was played by the monastery of St. Mary on the Tremiti islands. This small group of islands in front of the coast of Apulia always served as a kind of cultural bridge in the Adriatic. The Benedictine monks from the Tremites played an important role in the establishment of a monastery on the island of Biševo, as well as on the island of Lokrum near Dubrovnik. Judging by historical sources it contained a school of painting from the 11th century on, where pictures ordered by many distinguished Apulians used to be painted. In 1063 Gerard, the bishop of Siponto and Montesanangelo gave one third of his salt-works for a richly decorated tunic and an icon to be used in the above mentioned church. Four years later the same bishop, accompanied by abbot Adam and Candelarius, a notary, again paid with a third of the salt-works an "*ycona superaurata ubi sculpta est ymago sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae*"³³. Without suggesting that all 12th and 13th century Dalmatian and Apulian icons of the Blessed Virgin originated in this particular artists' workshop, I would like to point out the importance of the Benedictine painters' workshops. According to the paintings preserved, it is certain that there was one such workshop in Split³⁴ and another one in Zadar³⁵. The icon of the Virgin from Hvar originated in the region of the islands in the Central Adriatic. We can only speculate about it having been painted on the island of Biševo in a small cell with one or three monks. But its Benedictine origin is certain as well as



Fig. 13. *Virgin with Child, Zagreb, Mimara Museum*



Fig. 14. *Virgin with Child, Bitonto Cathedral*

the origin of other known pictures of the Virgin from the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century in Dalmatia and Apulia.

The problem of the dating of the icon from Hvar has not been addressed so far. Gamulin first suggested a date around the middle of the Duecento, and later between 1200 and 1230. The icons of Split are dated at about 1270 and those from Zadar at about the middle of the century. The basic questions for the solution of the problem are whether the icon of the Virgin from Hvar could have originated before or after the icons from Split and how much they influenced it and vice versa. If under some basic and generally accepted assumptions about the development of style Our Lady of the Bellfry is accepted as a classical achievement of Romanesque art, then it can be viewed as the source of the mannerism of the Virgin from Hvar, not the other way round. Historical data about the closure of the monastery on the island of Biševo, about the church of St. Mary *de Liesna*, the establishment of a new bishop's seat, and the foundation of the city, date this icon at the very end, the last two decades of the 13th century.

In order to solve the problem of the icon from Hvar it seems that questions have to be asked about Romanesque painting in Dalmatia. Thus it will come into focus through new analysis and data on connections between the two coasts of the Adriatic. The painting of icons is obviously linked to the Benedictine cults of the Virgin Mary. The 13th century icons were new creations of prototypes, which in the liturgical and artistic sense originated in the Benedictine monasteries on the Italian coast, just as a century earlier the Italian monasteries developed from those on the opposite side of the Adriatic. At approximately the same time, and on both sides of the sea,

pictures of the Virgin were given a place of honour in the Benedictine churches. The fresco of *Deisis* in the church of the small township of Gornji Humac on the island of Brač³⁶ will also have to be defined with respect to the relation of the firm monochromatic and monolithic icons of the Virgin from Zadar and the Apulian icons from Andria, Pulsano, and Madonna della Madia with the icons from Split.

* * *

Beside the icon of the Virgin another icon in Hvar is worth mentioning, the Virgin with the Child from the first half of the 14th century. It is interesting in the context of traditional iconography and its semantic and morphological innovations. The icon was placed in the church of Our Lady of Kruvenica on a hill above the city. It stood on the main altar of the church, which is dedicated to the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, as the inscription on the front of the church says, under a Baroque silver frame³⁷. The holiday of this church is, however, Candlemass, February 2nd, which is the most venerated festivity of the Virgin Mary in the Venetian Republic next to the Annontiation. And, as Edward Muir showed, beside its basic religious significance, it also had a worldly, almost national significance. The popular name of Our Lady of Kruvenica has owing to its archaic form always motivated numerous interpretations. Newer onomastic research has shown that the name derives from the word *horugva*, an ancient Slavonic word for flag. It refers to the flag-pole positioned in a strategically important place, where it continually stood from the Illyrian fort to the 13th century Venetian castle³⁸. The church itself was first mentioned in 1542, when it was built by the lord of Hvar and the governor of the castle on the municipal es-



Fig. 15. *Virgin with Child, Lucera Cathedral*



Fig. 16. *Virgin with Child by Donato Bizamano, Barletta, S. Sepolcro*

tate. The benefice of this church was exempt from other pastoral duties. It did not have any property, but was sustained by alms³⁹. Its owner was in fact the Venetian state, which marked this religious place by a large stone flagpole in front of the church, adorned with the official image of a lion.

According to a local popular belief the painting of the Virgin with the Child was found in a supernatural way, which only enhanced its esteem. The people offered numerous votive gifts to the icon. The historian of the church of Our Lady of Kruvenica, father A. Karneo, considers the belief of the wonderful discovery of the picture unfounded. He maintains in his book *Relazione sul santuario della beata Vergine del Monte vulgo Kruveniza sopraposto alla citta di Lesina*, which was printed in Venice in 1862, that it was brought from Venice at the time of the church's construction. As the veneration of the picture increased and the cult of the Virgin spread, the church became increasingly limited in space for the crowds that visited it. It was therefore adapted and extended, and its altar was changed several times from the 17th century onwards. During the epidemic of yellow fever in 1805, the picture was displayed in the church of the Benedictine nuns, and the end of an epidemic of cholera in 1855 is attributed to the supplication of the icon. A small format copy of Our Lady of Kruvenica kept in the Museum of the Benedictine nuns in Hvar, is an evidence of the popularity of its cult. The major public cult was thus transformed into a private one. A small picture for private use came about through the reduction of the size of the icon with the same theme and form.

Our Lady of Kruvenica represents the type *Glykophilousa* (Humility, Umiltà). In distinction to the *Eleousa* type which is not strictly hierarchic as a *Hodigitria* with an emphasis on the

divine nature of the images, but stresses the emotional relationship between Mary and Jesus, the *Glykophilousa* emphasizes this emotional component even more. The embrace is closer, the bodies more foregrounded. Jesus clings more firmly to his mother, embraces her with both arms, grasping her *maphorion* and hand. She holds him and seizes his legs as he plays in her lap. Such a type of the Virgin is popular in the paintings of the 13th and 14th centuries.

The usual and well known scheme of the *Eleousa* and *Glykophilousa* often emphasizes the emotional contact of mother and child, who is stretching in her embrace. Of the three types of the Virgin, said to be the work of St. Lucas, the *Eleousa* type does not emphasize the divine nature as a *Hodigitria* does, but rather foregrounds human nature.

It is not only the tender embrace, as it is usually interpreted, nor only the image of human relationships, but a representation whose theological essence is the predetermination and expectation of the Passion. For this reason the convulsive embrace is an appeal for protection. The movement by which Jesus embraces his mother and clings to her is clearly indicated just as is Mary's tender submission to his destiny.

Within the *Glykophilousa* type there is a whole series of subtypes, which emphasize the movement. The known types are the *Kardiotissa*, *Kykotissa*, *Pelagonitissa*, *Amolyntos*. The first subtype has been named by an icon venerated in the monastery of Kardios on Crete. It shows the child with his head thrown back, lifting and spreading his arms to embrace his mother. Jesus is in fact shown from the back, and with a look directed towards the angels in the upper corners of the picture⁴⁰. The similarity with the type of Virgin Mary *Amolyntos* (of the Passion, della Passione) is quite obvious. It was par-

ticularly well liked by painters of the Creto-Venetian school, whose child forcefully twists in his mother's arms while the angels hold the instruments of Passion⁴¹. A subtype of the *Glykophilousa* is the *Pelagonitissa* or Our Lady of Pelagonia. In distinction to the *Kardiotissa*, in which Jesus is bending his head backwards and embracing his mother with both arms, in this icon he is throwing himself on his back and his look is directed out from the picture. With his left hand he holds his mother's cheek, while his right hand is behind his back⁴².

The above mentioned "kinetic" types of the *Glykophilousa* most probably show the convulsion of fear and the premonition of the passion which was annunciated to Jesus by Simon. The icon of Our Lady of Kruvenica, though one of the "kinetic" Virgins of some twenty European icons with the same iconography, obviously points to a specific iconographic type, different from the other *Glykophilousas* mentioned. The mother embraces the child firmly on her left side. Her head is lightly inclined to the left. She is shown down to her waist, dressed in a dark red *maphorion* with a characteristic gold-embroidered hem ribbon. Her orange *chiton* patterned with winding golden embroidery barely shows under the cloak. A himation is thrown over the transparent *chiton* of Jesus, which is crumpled in parallel waves under the Virgin's hands. It is falling down the right leg of the child with an almost serrated edge. Jesus is leaning on his mother's hand in the same way in all icons, firmly clutching her cloak with one hand (different than in the *Pelagonitissa* and *Kardiotissa*), gripping her chin with the other. His left leg is raised high and leans on his mother's forearm, while the right leg is relaxing. It is obviously not a mere embrace, but a cramp, of fear and pain. Jesus is afraid, and does not look at his mother, but out of the picture. He sees suffering, and in a fearful cramp he firmly leans against his mother's body seeking protection and reassurance.

The whole group of icons from the end of the 13th to the 17th century which have the same iconography as the Kruvenica from Hvar, is sharply defined without any difference in the scheme: the posture and slant of the head and the limbs, consistently represented garments with their folds that agree to the slightest twists. In all of them Jesus wears the characteristic transparent garment. The icon from Tavarnella near Pisa is a 13th c. icon⁴³, the other, 14th century icons apart from the Kruvenica are to be found in the city of Alessandria in Piemont, Italy, and in the collection Stocklet in Brussels⁴⁴. The icons were painted between the 15th and 16th centuries, and even as late as the 19th century. They are found in numerous cities of Apulia, such as Bitonto, Barletta, Lucera⁴⁵, Brindisi⁴⁶, Altamura⁴⁷, Ruvo⁴⁸, Conversano⁴⁹, Grottaglie⁵⁰. Two lost icons are known from Garrison's catalogue⁵¹, and one is exhibited in the Mimara Museum in Zagreb⁵².

But the best known icon of this type is certainly the one in Cambrai in Belgium. According to belief it was presented to Cardinal de Brogny at the council of Constance (1414) by Greek priests. In 1426 the cardinal gave the Virgin to his secretary Pury de Bruille, who was soon to become archdeacon in Cambrai. The icon was first exhibited in the cathedral of Cambrai in 1451, when it became an object of veneration. It was considered to be the miraculous icon of St. Lucas from Hodegon. Both the icon and the cult that developed around it influenced the Flemish painters of that time, so that a whole series of its replicas were painted in Flanders during the Quattrocento⁵³.

The oldest icon of this group is apparently the one from Tavarnello near Pisa, which I know from an inferior photograph showing a stern face with large fixed eyes, still shaped in the Romanesque style. It can be dated at the end of 13th

century⁵⁴. The forms in the icon from the church of the Blessed Virgin in Cambrai are large and plastic, the leg of Jesus is firm and realistic. It is free of all formal elements of Byzantine painting. Panofsky therefore attributed it to the painting of Siena in the Trecento⁵⁵.

The iconographic type of the icon is older than the Virgin of Cambrai. Such a Virgin with the Child has been unknown in Byzantine painting so far. The stylistic parameters of the other 14th century icons of this type are defined by soft complexions, rounded volumes, expressive colour schemes and rich folds, particularly those of the chiton of Jesus. This type of the *Glykophilousa* has influenced many Florentine terracotta Madonnas of the Quattrocento, whose importance was entirely different from that of the icons⁵⁶.

In the icon of Our Lady of Kruvenica the child in his mother's embrace is twisting and throwing himself backwards, pressing his round face against the mother's, grabbing her chin with his right hand with a highly specific gesture, while the left hand is firmly clutching the *maphorion*. The round and puffed cheeks, the round protruding chin, and the small nose under deeply set eyes and distinct arched brows are, in fact, revealing fear, not tenderness. The child is convulsively leaning and pushing against his mother with all his might, stretching like all small children do, tugging at the mother's clothes, reaching for her chin. Terrified, he seeks physical closeness, protection and reassurance. The left leg is raised high in a gesture of resistance and tension, while the folds of the garment that has slipped down show a naked thigh. The leg is pressing against the Virgin's right underarm, the right leg is relaxed. The Virgin's beautiful face is inspired by a gentle and mournful expression of the sad dark oval eyes. The perfectly shaped bodies with characteristic darkened pink areas in the shaded parts, pronounced round cheeks gently curving towards the neck, distinctly individualized features with characteristically furrowed "double" chins, are prominent in the corpus of the Dalmatian icons. The shapes of garments and draperies are painted in a superficial and conventional manner, except for a small part of the transparent dotted garment of Jesus, whose azure transparency and a loose quivering serrated curve reveal the hand of an exquisite master. The bony hands with prominent linear knuckles and the calf of Jesus' raised left leg, the bared right hand with which he holds his mother's chin (with all the modelling having vanished), give the impression of having been shaped by adding up the knuckle segments which are divided from one another by curving lines.

All the icons of the same type as of Our Lady of Kruvenica are stylistically different except the one from the Italian city of Alessandria in Piemont. They could be attributed to the same hand. Their modelling is different from the others, it is more voluminous, more plastic. The garments do not cover the body indifferently, but the body stretches the cloth, the fabric being palpable under the draperies. The faces are characteristically shaped: the cheeks are ruddy, the nose is outlined with a black line, not a white one, the eyes have several layers of wrinkles and are very narrowly set, the chins are indented while in the other icons they are smooth. The draperies are transparent and the cloak meanders in the shape of an "S". G. Gamulin attributed Our Lady of Kruvenica to the so called Master of the Virgin of Trsat together with the icons of Our Lady of Pojšani from Split and of the icon in the church of the Holy Ghost in Šibenik. His attribution was based on the zig-zag ornamentation of the halo⁵⁷. The stylistic analysis has shown that the icon of Kruvenica has no stylistic similarities with these icons, except for the most general traits, and thus cannot be the work of the artist who painted the triptych in

Trsat⁵⁸. Compared to the Stocklet Virgin, also attributed to the same master by Gamulin⁵⁹, the free modelling style of the bodies and draperies in the icon from Hvar is quite conspicuous. It is much softer and less linear than in the picture from Brussels. In the icon of Kruvenica the painting technique is much more prominent than the graphic, which is dominant in the Stocklet Virgin. This can be particularly well noticed in the draperies. The hem of the Virgin's cloak in the icon from Hvar is not embroidered in detail and with precision with pseudo-Kuffic lettering, but is freely coloured in the same way as the loincloth of Jesus. It is painted by ample brush strokes so that traces of the brush are clearly visible. The robes of the child in the icon of Brussels have linear draperies, still in the imitation of the Byzantine style. The icons differ in their representation of the bodies. The Stocklet Virgin has prominent white portions on the protruding parts of the body, and olive green shadings on the neck and joint curvatures. In the Kruvenica icon these places are toned by darkening or lightening them without white flashes or shades, but by gentle changes of shades of the same colour. A fine pink shade of the face increases in intensity to become a glowing red of the firm cheeks. Such a technique can be noticed on the wrists of the Virgin's left hand of a plastic shape. But Jesus' raised leg still displays the graphically indicated muscles, which is clearly an archaic vestige. The improvements in the form of the child in the icon from Hvar, in comparison with the one from Brussels, are the transparent dotted draperies, under which a firm and round child's arm is showing. The icon from Brussels is probably older because of its archaic quasy Byzantine style, and can be dated at the end of the 13th century. Nevertheless, it stands outside the Byzantine painting, except for the typology of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Byzantine traits are easily noticeable in the *lumeggiature* and stiff folds of three icons of the same type,

which are nevertheless painted in a recognizable post-Byzantine style of the 15th and 16th centuries. They originate from the South of Italy, Bitonto, Lucera and Barletta. The last one has been attributed to Donato Bizamano from Crete, who also worked on the Croatian side of the Adriatic⁶⁰.

From the end of the 13th and to the 16th century a whole group of icons was produced which shared the same iconography but were different in style. Among them is Our Lady of Kruvenica from Hvar, a work of greater quality than the rest. It is difficult to say where the icons were created and on what prototype, but their concentration in the Adriatic area, outside the usual influence of Venetian painting, is perhaps indicative in some respect. They were probably designed after the oddest known icon of this type, called Madonna della Bruna, which is worshipped in the church of Carmini in Naples, and which is believed to have been brought from Palestine by Carmelite monks in ancient times⁶¹. The cult that evolved around this icon from Naples obviously contributed to the further diffusion of icons of the same type in Italy from the end of the 13th century, and one of them reached Hvar. Even today the largest number of them is worshipped as Madonna del Carmine, particularly in Apulia. But they are stylistically related to the painting of Siena, particularly of the 14th century. Among these paintings is Our Lady of Kruvenica. The graphic style and linearity of the garments is a late utilization of Byzantine traits, but the sad expression of the Trecento Madonnas from Siena is obvious in the gentle and rounded faces with ruddy prominent cheekbones. The group of icons which is distinguished by their expressiveness and represents the Western type of the St. Mary Glykophilousa, has developed as a blend and through mutual permeation of the Trecento from Siena, the painting of Southern Italy and a reworked Byzantine style.

¹ L. OUSPENSKY, *La théologie de l'icone*, Paris, 1982 p. 88.

² P. CELLINI, *La Madonna di S. Luca in S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1943, p. 40.

³ K. WEITZMANN, *The Origin and Importance of the Icons*, in K. VAJCMAN, A. VOLSKAJA, G. BABIĆ, M. HADŽIDAKIS, M. ALPATOV, T. VOINESKU, *Ikone*, Ljubljana, 1983, pp. 4-6.

⁴ L. OUSPENSKY, *op. cit.* p. 125.

⁵ The titles mentioned are taken from the prayer book of N. ČURČIJA, *The Healer, a Family Prayer Book for the Worshippers of Our Lady of Health*, Split, 1994.

⁶ C. FISKOVIĆ, *Albarini's Wood Carvings in Hvar*, Zbornik za likovne umetnosti 14, Novi Sad, 1978, pp. 261-176.

⁷ R. TOMIĆ, *Baroque Altars and Sculptures in Dalmatia*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 41, 47.

⁸ C. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.*

⁹ I. FISKOVIĆ, *The Romanesque Painting in Croatia*, Zagreb, 1987.

¹⁰ G. GAMULIN, *Our Lady with the Child of the School of Pisa in the Hvar Cathedral*, Peristol 3, Zagreb, 1960, pp.11-12.

¹¹ G. GAMULIN, *The Master of Our Lady from Hvar*, Mogućnosti 6, Split, 1966, pp. 664-666; *ibid.* *Un crocifisso del millecento e due Madonne duecentesche*, *Arte veneta XXI*, Venezia, 1967; *ibid.* *Our Lady with the Child in the Old Art of Croatia*, Zagreb, 1971, pp. 12-13; *ibid.* *La pittura su tavola nel tardo medioevo sulla costa orientale dell' Adriatico*, Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV, vol. II, Firenze, 1974, pp. 186-187.

¹² J. KOVAČIĆ, *Records of the Churches in Hvar*, Hvar, 1982, pp. 38-39.

¹³ A. JUTRONIĆ, *Ivan Ivanišević and the Visitation Books in Hvar*, Starine JAZU 51, Zagreb, 1962, pp. 157-196.

¹⁴ I. FISKOVIĆ, *Typology and Morphology of Altar Effigies in Dalmatia in 15th Century*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, 29, Split, 1990. p. 119.

¹⁵ I. OSTOJIĆ, *The Benedictine Order in Croatia*, II, Split, 1964, p. 374.

¹⁶ The Italian name of the island is S. Domino.

¹⁷ I. OSTOJIĆ, *op. cit.* pp. 374-377.

¹⁸ D. FARLATTI, *Illyricum sacrum I*, p. 508.

¹⁹ I. OSTOJIĆ, *op. cit.* p. 377

²⁰ M. OREB, *Pope Alexander III on Vis*, *Adrias* 4-5, Split 1993-1994, pp. 81-119.

²¹ N. PETRIĆ, *Les témoignages médiévaux sur le patrimoine tardoantique de Hvar*, *Hortus artium medievalium* 1, Zagreb 1995, pp. 187-194.

²² The church of St. Silvester has been rebuilt several times, and recent archaeological research has firmly established its early christian origin, something that was earlier only guessed at.

- ²³ I. FISKOVIĆ, *13th Century Panel Painting in Dalmatia*, in: *Studenica et l'art Byzantin autour de l'année 1200.*, Beograd, 1988 pp. 481-489.
- ²⁴ P. BELLI D'ELIA, mentions an icon in North Carolina in: *Fra tradizione e rinnovamento, Le icone dall' XI al XIV secolo*, in the catalogue of the exhibition *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento*, Bari 1988, p. 21.
- ²⁵ I. PETRICIOLI, *An Unknown Medieval Painting of the Virgin Mary in the Zadar Cathedral*, Peristil 3., Zagreb, 1960; idem, *A Newly Discovered Icon of the Virgin Mary in Zadar*, Zograf 6., Beograd, 1975.
- ²⁶ *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento*, catalogue no. 5, p. 106.
- ²⁷ I. FISKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* 1987, figs. 67, 83.
- ²⁸ The icon was identified by Joško Belamarić, who will publish this information shortly.
- ²⁹ I. PETRICIOLI, *The Painter of the Crucifix in Tkon*, Peristil 8-9, Zagreb, 1966.; In his Ph. D. Thesis, E. Hilje identifies this painter as Mcneghello de Canali.
- ³⁰ *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata*, pp. 53, 110-111.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 47, 107-108
- ³² Lj. KARAMAN, *Notes sur l'art byzantin chez les Slaves*. Recueil T. Uspenskiy -II. Paris, 1932; G. GAMULIN, *op. cit.* 1971, p. 128.
- ³³ Quoted after P. BELLI D'ELIA, *op. cit.* p. 21.
- ³⁴ Apart from the icons in the church of Our Lady of the Bellfry above the western gate of Diocletians palace, and those of the church Our Lady of Žnjan in the field near Split, the icon of the so called Our Lady of Sustjepan originally stood in the Benedictine church of St. Mary de Taurello. C. FISKOVIĆ, *An Unpublished Romanesque Madonna in Split*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 12, Split, 1960.; idem, *An Unpublished Madonna and the Wooden Crucifix from Split*, Peristil 8-9, Zagreb, 1966 (with extensive bibliography).
- ³⁵ The Romanesque paintings from Zadar are also mostly connected with the Benedictine monks and their cults. A significant assumption is that among the painters in Zadar at the end of 12th and the beginning of 13th century there can be discerned a possible activity of the Apulians Matthew and Aristide, sons of Zorobabela. Toma, the archdeacon of Split, was interested in them as heretics, but he calls them *pictores optimes*, who were active in Zadar and Bosnia. TOMA, THE ARCHDEACON, *Kronika*, Split, 1977. pp. 72-73.
- ³⁶ D. DOMANČIĆ, *A Medieval Fresco in Donji Humac on the Island of Brač*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 10, Split, 1956.
- ³⁷ The bishop of Hvar Bečić, tells in his record of the visitation in 1760 that the church was dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows, see BEČIĆ, BAH p.11
- ³⁸ J. KOVAČIĆ, *Records of Churches in Hvar*, p. 161.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ The inscription clearly determines the icon, which was kept in the monastery on Crete. It has become known owing to a copy by Angelos, a 15th century painter from Crete. K. VAJCMAN, M. HADŽIDAKIS, S. RADOJČIĆ, *Ikone*, Beograd, 1986, pp. 87, 224.
- ⁴¹ The best known icons of this type are signed by Nicholas Rizzo, a painter from Crete. They can be found in several Italian cities. One has been preserved in Ston on the peninsula of Pelješac in Croatia. C. FISKOVIĆ, *The Painter Angelo Bizamano in Dubrovnik*, Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji 11, Split, 1959.
- ⁴² There is a series of icons of this type from the 14th to 17th century preserved in Macedonia and Serbia. It is obvious, as suggested by the title, that it originated in the innermost areas of the Balkans. K. VAJCMAN, A. VOLSKAJA, G. BABIĆ, M. HADŽIDAKIS, M. ALPATOV, T. VOINESKU, *Ikone*, Ljubljana, 1983, pp. 175, 197. The westernmost replica, now in the Museum in Karlsruhe, Germany, comes from a Czech school of the 14th century. H. BELTING, *L'arte e il suo pubblico*, Bologna, 1986, p. 36.
- ⁴³ G. PASSAVANT, *Zu einigen toskanischen Terrakotta-Madonnen*, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, Firenze, 1987, XXXI 2/3, p. 203.
- ⁴⁴ This icon is identical with the others, only the sides are reversed: the child is placed on the right side of the Virgin.
- ⁴⁵ *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata*, exhibition catalogue, Bari, 1988, nos.34, 51, 64.
- ⁴⁶ *Confraternite, arte e devozione in Puglia dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, a cura di Clara Gelao, Electa Napoli 1994, pp. 235-236.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 245.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 248.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 260.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 281-282.
- ⁵¹ E.B. GARRISON, *Italian romaneseque panel painting*, Florence, 1949, nos. 70, 71.
- ⁵² The icon was bought in Paris in 1958 as a 15th century painting of the school of Padua. V. Zlamalik attributed it to Giusto de Menabuoi. See S. ŠTERK, *Ten icons of the Ante Topić—Mimara Collection*, Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora Hrvatske 1/2, Zagreb, 1987, p. 36.
- ⁵³ E. PANOFKY, *Early Dutch Painting*, London, 1971, p. 297; M.S. FRINTA, *Searching for an Adriatic Painting Workshop with Byzantine Connection*, Zograf 18, Belgrade, 1987; G. PASSAVANT, *Zu einigen toskanischen Terrakotta-Madonnen*, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, Firenze, 1987, XXXI 1/2, p. 203. The painter Petrus Cristus painted three, and Hayne, a painter from Brussels, 12 copies of the icon of Cambrai.
- ⁵⁴ GARRISON, *op. cit.* fig. 120; M. FRINTA, *op. cit.* pp.12-21; G. PASSAVANT, *op. cit.* pp. 197-236.
- ⁵⁵ E. PANOFKY, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁶ G. PASSAVANT, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁷ G. GAMULIN, *Il "Maestro della Madonna di Tersatto"*, Arte veneta XXXIV, Venezia 1980, pp. 18-25.
- ⁵⁸ Z. DEMORI STANIČIĆ, *The icon of the Holy Virgin of Trsat and its Master*, Umjetnost na istočnoj obali Jadrana u kontekstu europske tradicije, Rijeka, 1993, pp. 205-213.
- ⁵⁹ G. GAMULIN, *Il "Maestro della Madonna di Tersatto"*, p. 24.
- ⁶⁰ G. GAMULIN, *Madonna with the Child in Old Croatian Art*, Zagreb 1991, p. 150 (with all references from earlier writings on the theme).
- ⁶¹ C. GELAO, *Confraternite, arte, devozione in Puglia dal Quattrocento al Settecento*, exhibition catalogue, Electa Napoli, 1994, p. 70.

Na dvije srednjovjekovne Bogorodičine ikone koje se štiju u gradu Hvaru na istoimenom otoku, a koje se vrsnoćom ističu unutar korpusa ikona u Hrvatskoj, odnos tradicije i inovacije ima poseban značaj. Upravo je u slikarstvu ikona kao temi koja stoljećima traje u shemama koje se ponavljaju, posebno naglašena veza tradicionalnih i već gotovo petrificiranih elemenata te stilskih novina koje se neminovno javljaju. Ono što prvenstveno određuje ikone njihov je kulturni kontekst koji ih definira ne samo unutar odedenog sakralnog prostora već i sredine u kojoj se nalaze. Ikone su na Zapadu kultne devocijske slike oslobođene liturgijskog aparata koji ih unutar pravoslavlja strogo određuje.

U kontekstu tradicije i inovacije posebno je zanimljiva Bogorodičina ikona, poznata kao Hvarska Bogorodica ili Hektorovičeva Bogorodica, koja se u stolnici grada Hvara štije već niz stoljeća. Za nju su se, o čemu imamo potvrdu kroz niz dokumenata od 14. do 17. stoljeća, gradile ili premještale kapele, mijenjali oltari.

U kontekstu ostalih Bogorodičinih duecentističkih slika u Dalmaciji, ova se ikona ističe naglašenom osebnjuošću. Sasvim slobodni koloristički odnosi, grafizam slobodne linije, neki sasvim bizarni detalji ukrasa i šara, razlikuju je od prostorno i vremenski najbliže "Splitske slikarske škole", a posebno od zadarskih romaničkih ikona. Već davno ju je prof. Gamulin pripisao pizanskoj školi s polovice 13. stoljeća, a potom mozaičarima koji su u drugoj polovici stoljeća izvodili mozaike u crkvi sv. Marka u Veneciji. No dosadašnjim je istraživačima ove ikone promakao podatak koji je sasvim jasno određuje. U jednom se dokumentu u Biskupskom arhivu u Hvaru spominje hvarsko-viški beneficij *Sta Maria de Buče* koji označava mali otok Biševo ispred otoka Visa i njegovu Bogorodicu. Podatak kojeg 1650. godine donosi hvarski kanonik i pjesnik Ivan Ivanišević jasno razrješava svaku moguću dvojbu tog imena. Ivanišević naime, u hvarskoj katedrali, spominje kapelu *Santa Maria de Buče, nunc de Carmeni nuncupata* sa slikom Bogorodice koja je bila sastavni dio tog beneficija.

Biševski je benediktinski samostan i crkvu posvećenu sv. Silvestru 1050. godine osnovao Splitski Ivan Gaudencijev te u prisustvu kneza Neretljana Berigoja predao benediktinskoj opatiji Sv. Marije na Tremitima. I u Hvaru je u 13. stoljeću postojao benediktinski samostan posvećen sv. Mariji znan kao *Sta Maria de Liesna*. Moglo bi se predložiti da bi ova Bogorodičina ikona, uz biševsko porijeklo bila vezana uz ovu crkvu, koja uspostavljanjem novog biskupskog sjedišta u gradu Hvaru krajem 13. stoljeća, privremeno preuzima ulogu katedrale. Ikona Bogorodice s Djetetom zasigurno je u njoj imala počasno mjesto u kultu, a potom izgradnjom nove katedrale, koja je dobrim dijelom sagrađena nad crkvom sv. Marije, nastavila biti štovana.

Hvarska ikona Bogorodice s Djetetom izlazi izvan tradicionalnih shema i stila ikona 13. stoljeća. Iako se na prvi mah prepoznaje tip Hodigitrije, tradicionalna je ikonografija nešto izmijenjena. Bogorodica naime, svojom desnom rukom ne pokazuje Isusa — put spasenja — kao što je kod Hodigitrije uobičajeno, već ga, obuhvativši ga odozdo, tom rukom pridržava. Isus pak ne sjedi opruženih nogu u majčinom krilu. One su podignute, osobito lijeva. Među istovremim ikonama Hodigitrije izdvojila se manja skupina gotovo identične ikonografske sheme koncentrirana pretežno u drevnim romaničkim

crkvama Apulije. No uz identičnu ikonografiju jasne su stilske razlike unutar cijele skupine. Hvarska se Bogorodica od apulijskih razlikuje upravo po slikarskoj slobodi, neobuzdanom potezu, naglašenom koloritu. Najbližnja joj je ukradena ikona iz nekadašnjeg benediktinskog samostana S. Maria di Pulsano. Upravo je ovaj samostan na obali Monte Gargana iznjudrio i primio mljetske benediktinske opatije Sv. Marije i Sv. Mihovila.

Ikonografska podudarnost hvarske i pulsanske Bogorodice otvara pitanje predloška. Stilski su one, međutim, sasvim različite. Talijanska je slikarski mnogo jača i upečatljivija, a svojom se tamnom zgusnutom materijom stilski približava zadarskim romaničkim Bogorodicama. Kao da Hvarska ikona sve ukrase pulsanske Bogorodice doslovno iscertava i prevodi, ali na daleko slobodniji način. No slikar koji, dosad, ostaje prepoznat samo po ovoj Bogorodici, imao je očite dodire i s dalmatinskim ikonama tog vremena — poglavito splitskim i zadarskim. Na to ukazuje prerada niza detalja splitske ikone Gospe od Zvonika.

Neosporno biševsko porijeklo hvarske Bogorodice bez sumnje upućuje na benediktince. Ono je, uz njezine stilske karakteristike i ikonografiju, odvaja od predložene pripadnosti krugu mozaičara ciklusa Pasije Inocenza III iz mletačke crkve sv. Marka. Svoju je atribuciju G. Gamulin temeljio upravo na širini ploha i ornamentalnosti linije karakteristične za mozaike i freske. No slikar pomalo rustične hvarske Bogorodice koji nije u stanju anatomski uredno naslikati Isusovu podignutu desnicu već prstiće deformira i prepliće, teško može biti bizantizirajući mozaičar klasične ljepote. On potječe iz drugačijeg kulturnog kruga, pretjerano bi bilo reći Apulije i Južne Italije obzirom da su iste pojavnosti jednako prisutne i na Istočnoj obali Jadrana. Radije bih ovom prilikom istaknula svojevrstan zajednički nazivnik tog slikarstva na obje strane Jadranskog mora, prije nego li dosad uvriježeni Garrisonov termin adriobizantskog slikarstva koji je u suštini negativna definicija. Umjesto preširokih određenja adriobizantizma, sklonija sam užoj stilskoj lokalizaciji pojedinih djela ili njihovih grupa. Možda bi se ova skupina romaničkih ikona 13. stoljeća mogla definirati terminom benediktinskog slikarskog kruga Srednjeg i Južnog Jadrana.

Problem datacije hvarske ikone dosad je bio otvoren. Gamulin je isprva datira oko polovice Duecenta, kasnije između 1200. i 1230. Splitske se pak ikone datiraju oko 1270. godine, a zadarske oko polovice stoljeća. Ukoliko prema nekim temeljnim opće prihvaćenim postavkama o razvoju stila, Gospu od Zvonika prihvatimo kao klasični doseg romaničkog slikarstva, onda ona može biti ishodište manirizmu Hvarske Bogorodice, a ne obrnuto. I povijesni podaci o napuštanju biševskog samostana, o crkvi Sv. Marije de Liesna, uspostavi novog sjedišta biskupije, utemeljenju grada, ovu ikonu datiraju pred sam kraj, u zdanje dvije decenije 13. stoljeća.

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Osim ikone Hvarske Bogorodice u kontekstu tradicionalnog slikarstva ikona i semantičkih i morfoloških inovacija koje se unutar njega javljaju, vrijedi istaknuti još jednu štovanu hvarsku ikonu Bogorodice s Djetetom iz prve polovice 14. stoljeća. Nalazila se u crkvi Gospe Kruvenice na brdu iznad grada. Pučko ime Gospe Kruvenice oduvijek je svojom arhaičnošću izazivalo brojna tumačenja. Novija su onomastička

istraživanja dokazala da potječe od riječi *horugva*, staroslavenske odrednice za zastavu. Odnosi se zapravo na stup za stijeg postavljen na strateški važnom mjestu koji u kontinuitetu traje od ilirske gradine do mletačkog kaštela iz 13. stoljeća.

Gospa kruvenice predstavlja tip *Glykofilouse* (Umiljenje, Umiltà). Za razliku od *Elouse* koja nije strogo hijeratična kao *Hodigitrija* u kojoj je naglašen divinitet već ističe čuvstveni odnos Marije i Isusa, *Glykofilousa* još više naglašava tu emocionalnu komponentu. Zagrljaj postaje čvršći, tjelesnost naglašenija. Isus se još čvršće privija uz majku, grli je objema rukama hvatajući je za maforion i ruku. Ona ga pak drži razigranog na krilu hvatajući mu nožice. Ovakav tip Bogorodice omiljen je slikarstvu Zapada 13. i 14. stoljeća. U njegovim se interpretacijama najčešće naglašava emocionalni kontakt majke i djeteta koje se proteže u njezinu zagrljaju. No nije to samo nježni zagrljaj niti isključivo humanizacija odnosa, već prikaz čija je teološka suština premeditacija i očekivanje Muke. Stoga je grčeviti zagrljaj traženje zaštite. Isusova je kretnja grljenja i priljublivanja uz majku jasno naznačena jednako kao i Marijino nježno mirenje s njegovom sudbinom.

I unutar *Glykofilousa* postoji cijeli niz podvrsta koje na isti način naglašavaju kretnju. Poznati su tipovi *Kardiotisse*, *Kykotisse*, *Pelagonitisse*, *Amolyntos*. Ovi "kinetički" tipovi *Glykofilouse* najvjerojatnije prikazuju upravo onaj grč straha i predosjećaj muke koju je Isusu najavio Šimun Bogoprimec. I ikona Gospe Kruvenice, iako se ubraja u "kinetičke" Bogorodice, obzirom na dvadesetak ikona identične ikonografije u Europi, očito ukazuje na definirani ikonografski tip koji se razlikuje od ostalih navedenih *Glykofilousa*.

Cijela skupina ikona iste ikonografije kao i hvarska Kruvenica, u rasponu od kraja 13. do 17. stoljeća, ikonografski je

strogo definirana bez razlika u shemi: položaj i nagib glave i udova, dosljedno poštovanje odjeće i nabora koji se podudaraju do najmanje krivulje. Najpoznatija među njima je ona u Cambraiu u Belgiji. No ikonografski je tip očito stariji od nje i nije nam zasad poznat unutar bizantskog slikarstva. Stilske odrednice ostalih ovakvih ikona 14. stoljeća definirane su mekoćom puti, zaobljenošću volumena, izražajnim koloritom te bogatstvom draperija, naročito prozirne tkanine Isusovog hitona. Upravo će ovaj tip *Glykofilouse*, kako dokazuje G. Passavant, utjecati na mnoge firentinske terakotne Bogorodice Quattrocenta čije će značenje biti sasvim drugačije od ikona.

Od kraja 13. pa do 16. stoljeća nastaje cijela skupina ikona iste ikonografije, ali različitog stila među kojima je hvarska Gospa Kruvenica kvalitetnije djelo. Njezinom bi se slikaru mogla pripisati i slika iz Alessandrije. Teško je reći gdje su nastajale i po kakvom prototipu, ali najvjerojatnije po najstarijoj poznatoj ikoni ovakvog tipa zvanoj Madonna della Bruna koja se štuje u crkvi Carmini u Napulju, a koju su po predaji Karmelićani davno donijeli iz Palestine. Kult nastao na ovoj napuljskoj ikoni očito je doprinio daljnoj difuziji tipa u Italiji od kraja 13. stoljeća, a jedna je potom došla i do Hvara. Najveći se broj i danas, naročito u Apuliji, štuje kao Madonna del Carmine. No stilski su one, poglavito skupina iz 14. stoljeća, u koje se ubraja i hvarska Gospa Kruvenica bliske sijenskom slikarstvu. Uz grafizam i linearnost odjeće kao daleki prežetak bizantizma, karakterističan je sjetni izraz sijenskih Bogorodica Trecenta očit u blagim i zaobljenim licima narumenjenih istaknutih jagodica. Na amalgamu međusobnog prožimanja sijenskog Trecenta, slikarstva Južne Italije i preradenog bizantizma, nastala je skupina ikona koja se svojom izražajnošću izdvaja i predstavlja zapadni tip Bogorodice *Glykofilouse*.