# THE APOCALYPTIC ASPECT OF ST. MICHAEL'S CULT IN ELEVENTH-CENTURY ISTRIA[1]

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When studying the interconnection between St. Michael's cult and the apocalyptic expectations around the year 1000, one must be aware of the layers of meanings that St. Michael accumulated during the previous centuries, and of the complex theological, social and political nature of the Christian apocalyptic worldview. One can fall into the trap of oversimplifying both by assessing St. Michael as exclusively apocalyptic in the period in question and describing Christian expectations of the *Parousia* solely in terms of *fear* and *trembling*.

In the following study, I will offer first a brief overview of the development of the Michaeline cult. Then I will describe two main Christian views on the interpretation of the Apocalypse. Finally, I will address the issue of assessing tenth- and eleventh-century Christians as ridden with fear of the imminent Last Judgment.

## The development of the Michaeline cult and the various aspects of Michaeline identity

St. Michael was not only venerated among Christians but was already known to Judaism.[2] His name is derived from Hebrew (מִיכָאֵל, translit. Micha'el) and translates as "Who is like God," which can be understood both as a statement and a rhetorical question. In the Jewish scriptures, both canonical and apocryphal, Michael is represented as the champion of the Jewish people, defending them against the malevolent spiritual beings (Dan 10,13; 10,21; 12,1) and as the apocalyptic agent, chief of the heavenly hosts, responsible for binding evil and purifying God's people with cleansing waters (1 Enoch 10,11; 54,6; 67, 8–12).

Thus, already in pre-Christian times there were at least two distinct roles ascribed to him, the protective and the apocalyptic. In the early Christian times, Asia Minor served as the point of dissemination of the cult toward the west, especially the sanctuary at Chonae in Phrygia where Jews, "pagans" and Christians

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[1] This paper is based on "The Apocalyptic Aspect of St Michael's Cult in Eleventh-Century Istria," MA thesis (Central European University, 2017).

[2] John Charles Arnold, *The Footprints of Michael the Archangel: The Formation and Diffusion of a Saintly Cult, c. 300–c. 800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 9.

engaged in thaumaturgic water rituals invoking Michael's healing powers.[3] In Christian understanding, healing not only referred to the physical body, but also to the mind and the soul which were always in danger of being corrupted by a false doctrine. This aspect became increasingly important after the ecumenical councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, when bishops attributed to St. Michael the role of protecting orthodoxy.[4]

St. Michael's healing abilities in both senses of the word were further transformed in his sanctuary near Constantinople, Michaelion, where a high state official received a healing of his feet. By healing the official's feet, which were, in turn, understood as the *salus imperii*, St. Michael also became the "healer," or rather the protector of the integrity of the Empire – the *archistrategos*.[5] By the time the Archangel's cult reached the west, with his apparition at Monte Gargano in Puglia, it already possessed three distinct facets: the apocalyptic, the healing and the protective.

At Monte Gargano, as Giorgio Otranto has stated, St. Michael's healing powers were given prominence. Just like the sanctuaries in the east, the sanctuary at Gargano was situated in a *locus amoenus* with a healing water source. However, this time an important change took place: the Archangel chose a high hill and a cave for his dwelling – a place where heaven and earth meet – to mediate between God and humans.[6]

At Gargano, another eastern trait of the Archangel came to the fore – his protective role. With the arrival of the Lombards and the formation of the Duchy of Siponto in the seventh century, the Archangel became their national protector and the symbol of their military supremacy. From the eighth century, the Franks adopted the Byzantine and Lombard understanding of St. Michael.[7]

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[3] Arnold, *The Footprints*, 43.

[4] Glenn Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 145–6.

[5] Arnold, *The Footprints*, 6, 38.: "Angelic foot healings accomplished in a church built by Constantine demonstrated that imperial patronage of the Archistrategos assured the security and of the Christian empire."

[6] Giorgio Otranto, "Il santuario di San Michele sul Gargano: un modello diffuso in Italia e in Europa," in *I santuari d'Italia. Puglia*, ed. Giorgio Otranto and Immacolata Aulisa (Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2012), 26.: "Essa [la montagna] è quasi un punto d'incontro, una frontera tra cielo e terra, tra il visibile e l'invisibile (…) Diventa, in definitiva, luogo ierofanico per eccellenza."

[7] Daniel F. Callahan, "The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel and the 'Terrors of the Year 1000'," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 182.

Somewhere in the same century, insular Irish theology developed a more mystical interpretation, assigning him the duty of a *psychopompos*, the one who leads the soul to its judgment after death.[8]

His apocalyptic role, the focus of the present paper, did not receive attention solely around the millennium. The main written source of Christian apocalyptic inspiration was the Book of Revelation, written around the turn of the first century CE. St. Michael is described there as waging war against Satan and his angels in heaven (Rev 12). This brings us to the second point that concerns the nature of Christian belief in the Second Coming of Christ (*Parousia*). Early Christians expected Christ's immediate return and considered the Roman State as their archenemy, especially in the wake of different persecutions.

After Christianity became a *religio licita*, Christian apocalyptic impetus subsided, and the assessment of the Empire changed. However, throughout Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, two parallel currents of apocalyptic exegesis existed. One, championed by St. Augustine, resisted the temptation to calculate the precise date of Christ's coming, and the other, reflected in the work of the Venerable Bede, saw in specific political events and natural calamities the coming end.[9]

Finally, regarding the sentiment Christians held toward the Last Judgment, Richard Landes has warned that one should avoid thinking about a fear-ridden, paralyzed medieval Christian society, but should rather use the term "apocalyptic expectations."[10] Even in the Book of Revelation, not all apocalyptic expectations were destructive and full of anguish. Christians expected the tribulations of the Last Days, but at the end of them, they also foresaw the New Jerusalem descending from heaven to earth, and the harmony between the Creator, human beings and the cosmos.

**St. Michael's cult in eleventh-century Istria**

I underlined the importance of understanding the multifaceted nature of the Michaeline cult in the Middle Ages and the complex nature of Christian belief

[8] Ibid.

[9] Johannes Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time around the Turn of the Year 1000," in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 31.

[10] Richard Landes, Johannes Fried, and Daniel F. Callahan present a third paradigm in apocalyptic studies that emphasizes the "apocalyptic expectations of the year 1000" rather than "fears and trembling." See *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950–1050*, ed. Richard Landes et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

in *Parousia* because without it, it would be difficult to comprehend the meanings that the cult developed in a specific geographical location and set in a determined historical context. In my thesis, the specific geographical region I focused on was eleventh-century Istria and the Michaeline churches that had been constructed there in the period from the sixth to eleventh centuries.

My choice to focus on Istria in the eleventh century and to map churches dedicated to St. Michael built there in the period between the sixth and eleventh centuries reflects three important aims of the thesis. Firstly, a thorough assessment of the meanings the cult assumed in specific periods and contexts is not possible with the fragmentary information regarding the number, density and geographical location of Michaeline churches. My work is only a humble contribution to the project of mapping St. Michael's churches in Europe, long present in the Italian, French and German studies of the cult, and somewhat less so in Central European countries including Croatia.[11]

Secondly, I intended to investigate whether Istria, a bordering region of the Holy Roman Empire in the eleventh century, indeed participated in the rising regional and European interest in the cult of St. Michael around the millennium. In the eleventh century alone, four churches were constructed anew and dedicated to St. Michael which significantly surpassed the number of Istrian Michaeline churches built from the sixth to ninth centuries [Figure 1].[12] All four had international significance in that they were (reformed) Benedictine or pilgrimage churches with the support of influential founders and benefactors behind them.

Finally, in Croatian scholarship, when dealing with St. Michael's churches, most scholars focused on specific churches but did not tackle the meanings that the cult assumed in specific locations and historical contexts. I analyzed

[11] Tomislav Marasović undertook the project of mapping early medieval churches in Dalmatia, including around thirty Michaeline churches, and published the results in his monumental four-volume work, *Dalmatia praeromanica*. His is one of the pioneering works in mapping early medieval churches on the eastern Adriatic.

[12] The chronology of the Istrian Michaeline churches: Sts. Michael and Clement near Pula, monastic church (mid-sixth century); St. Michael near Višnjan, monastic church (mid-ninth century); St. Michael and the Virgin near Limska Draga, monastic church (the smaller church dates from the mid-sixth century; the larger construction from 1040s); St. Michael near Bale, monastic church (after 1040); Sts. Peter and Michael, monastic church (after 1040); St. Michael, Banjole near Vodnjan (c. 1100). One Michaeline church near Pazin in central Istria is mentioned only in the written sources, where the *ante quem* is 1178, but since no remains have been found up to date, it is impossible to know whether it was from before the twelfth century. See Ivan Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* [Benedictines in Croatia and in other Croatian Lands], vol. 3 (Zadar, Split: Benediktinski priorat TKON, 1965), 113.


*Fig. 1. From the north: a) Sts Peter Michael on Kras (after 1040), b) St. Michael sotto terra (before 853), c) St. Michael near Limska Draga (c. 1040), d) St. Michael near Bale (after 1040), e) St. Michael near Vodnjan (end of the eleventh century), f) Ss Michael and Clement near Pula (mid-sixth century), g) St. Michael near Pazin (uncertain dating, before 1178).*

all Michaeline churches built from the sixth to eleventh centuries in Istria, their geographical locations, architectural typologies and artistic programs in their historical contexts, and explained where and why I recognized apocalyptic tendencies. It is in the Camaldolese monastic church of St. Michael near Limska Draga that I found these most explicit, for which reason I decided to focus on it almost exclusively in the present paper.

## St. Michael's monastic church near Limska Draga

St. Michael's monastic church near Limska Draga was the first one dedicated to the Archangel in Istria after a break of almost two centuries. As I remarked in the previous chapter, there are only two Michaeline churches dating from the sixth to ninth centuries, the monastic church near Pula built in the mid-sixth century, and the monastic church near Poreč built from the mid-ninth century. The dramatic increase in the number of dedications to St. Michael in the eleventh century provided the reason to investigate whether it was due to heightened apocalyptic expectations around the millennium.

The monastic complex near Limska Draga (Bay of Lim) still exists today, although in a fragmentary state. It is located in a relatively isolated area in the County of Vrsar, several hundred meters from the high cliffs of the Bay of Lim and in the middle of a forest – a typical choice of landscape both for a Michaeline church and for a Benedictine monastery.[13] The complex possesses two churches; the larger dedicated to St. Michael was built in the 1040s, and the smaller Virgin's church dates from the mid-sixth century [Figure 2, 2a].[14]

The larger one, that dedicated to St. Michael, is a single-spaced building, with a single tall, semi-circular apse in the east and an open timber roof. This structure was added to the northern wall of the smaller Virgin's church, also a single-spaced building, which then became a type of external crypt.[15] The artistic

[13] Compare this with other European sanctuaries dedicated to St. Michael, such as Monte San Michele (Monte Gargano) in Puglia, Italy; Mont-Saint-Michel in Normandy, France; San Michele in Chiusa, Italy; Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, France, etc.

[14] There is an ample discussion on the dedication of the church. Ana Deanović, Igor Fisković and Nikolina Maraković wrote on the subject. See Ana Deanović, "Ranoromaničke freske u opatiji Sv. Mihovila nad Limskom Dragom" [Early Romanesque frescoes at St. Michael's Abbey above Limska Draga], *Bulletin JAZU* 9–10 (1956): 18; Igor Fisković, "Nova viđenja oko benediktinskog samostana na Limu" [New insights regarding the Benedictine monastery at Lim], *Izdanja HAD-a* 18 (1997): 240; Nikolina Maraković, "Zidno slikarstvo u Istri od 11. do 13. stoljeća: Revalorizacija lokalne umjetničke baštine u europskom kontekstu" [Wall painting in Istria from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries: Reassessing the Local Cultural Heritage in the European Context], Ph.D. dissertation (University of Zagreb, 2009), 49–50.
I relied on Maraković's interpretation, which states that there are no written sources that demonstrate the exact dedication of either of the churches, but that it should be understood as a double dedication and a single whole.

[15] Sunčica Mustač, *Samostan Sv. Mihovila nad Limom – konzervatorska podloga* [The Monastery of St. Michael above Lim – Conservation assessment] (Pula, Poreč: Konzervatorski odjel u Puli, 2014), 14.

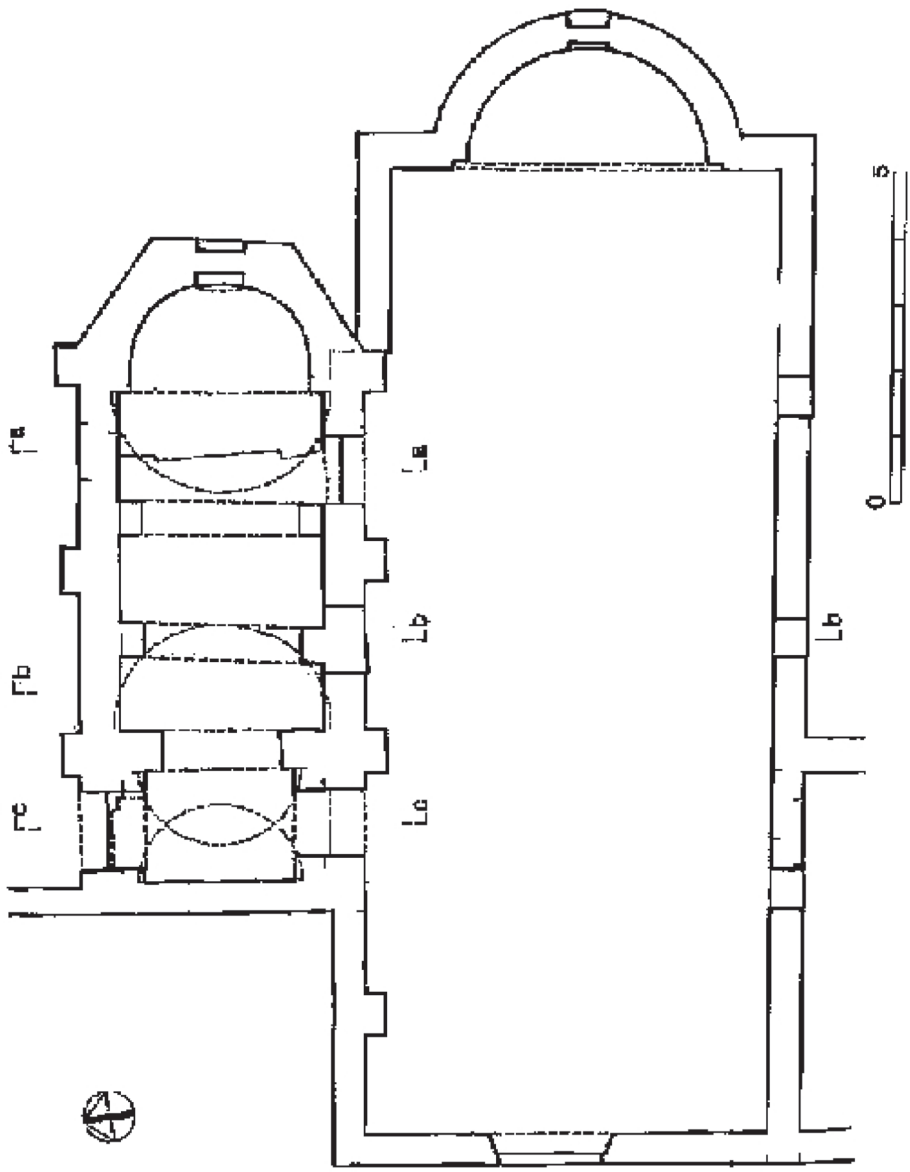


*Fig. 2. St. Michael near Limska Draga, ground-floor plan (according to Igor Fisković)*

*Fig. 2a St. Michael near Limska Draga, eastern apse.*
*Courtesy of Ms. Kristina Gergeta, Cultural Heritage Conservation Office, Pula.*

program of the larger church suffered so much damage that the only part of it still visible is contained on the sanctuary walls.

In the apse itself, from left to right, scenes from the Martyrdom of St. Stephen are still recognizable. On the right lateral wall there is an episcopal figure identified as St. Maurus, a local martyr and the bishop of Poreč, and on the left lateral wall, Ana Deanović in the 1950s could still see a figure of a holy monk dressed in a dark habit whom she identified as St. Benedict [Figure 3, 3a].[16] Earlier, in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, local lumberjacks used the church as a storage for logs and possibly tore down the western wall, since what we can see today is a twentieth-century reconstruction.[17] Thus, we cannot know if indeed there was a depiction of the Last Judgment, an iconographic theme traditionally reserved for western walls in the Latin Church.

[16] Deanović, "Ranoromaničke freske," 18.
[17] Mustač, *Samostan Sv. Mihovila*, 16.

*Fig. 3. St. Michael near Limska Draga, interior, eastern apse. Wall paintings, after mid-eleventh century. Courtesy of Ms. Kristina Gergeta.*

As the iconographic program on its own could not reveal anything regarding the dedication to St. Michael and the apocalyptic connotations, I turned to the written sources, both hagiographic and diplomatic, to investigate the presence of apocalyptic elements in the lives and deeds of the monastery's founders and benefactors.[18]

**St. Romuald, St. Michael and the monastery near Limska Draga**

Traditionally, it is believed that St. Romuald founded the monastic community near Limska Draga. Even today, there is a small cave several hundred meters away from the monastery called the Cave of St. Romuald. And indeed, there is an episode in the hagiography of St. Romuald in which he travels to Istria

[18] Hagiographic source: Colin Ralph Phipps, "St Peter Damian's *Vita beati Romualdi*: Introduction, Translation, Analysis," PhD dissertation (King's College London, 1988). Diplomatic source: Pietro Kandler, *Codice diplomatico istriano I*, http://www.scriniumadriae.it/rdi/baseweb.php (accessed October, 2017).

*Fig. 3a Martyrdom of St Stephen on the apse wall and St Maurus on the right. Source: http://revitas.org/hr/turisticki-itinerari/freske/sv-lovrec-klostar,10/sv-mihovil,61.html, accessed April 12, 2018.*

in the years immediately following the millennium to withdraw from worldly occupations. Peter Damian informs us that Romuald stayed near Poreč for three years "[…] in one of which [years], he built a monastery, but for the other two remained enclosed."[19]

This episode from the life of St. Romuald pointed me in the direction of apocalyptic content because, as Johannes Fried argued, apocalyptic expectations in the hagiographic texts can be recognized in the general call for penance, virtuous deeds and the hermitage, which all abound in St. Romuald's *Vita*.[20] Furthermore, there are three additional references in the *Vita* which point to the connection between the cult of St. Michael, St. Romuald and the apocalyptic expectations of the period. The first is the vital role St. Michael himself played in the spiritual formation of St. Romuald, the second is St. Romuald's relationship

[19] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 252. Note that I am referring to the foundation of a monastic community, not the monastery itself, since the archaeological evidence does not allow an earlier date for the construction of the larger church of St. Michael than 1040.
[20] Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time," 23.

with the apocalyptic Emperor Otto III and the last is the "apocalyptic" visions of St. Romuald.[21]

St. Michael was present in the life of St. Romuald when the latter decided to follow the perfect way of the hermitage and went to the Benedictine monastery of St. Michel at Cuxa, where he spent several years under the protection of the *archistrategos*. Later, after he had returned to Italy, he began founding reformed communities of hermits dedicated to the Rule of St. Benedict but living a life of strict penance. One community at the monastery of San Michele at Bagno posed a serious threat to Romuald's faithfulness and perseverance in converting people to strict obedience to Christ and the Rule, but the Archangel's closeness diverted Romuald from such unholy thoughts.[22]

The last example of Romuald's connection with St. Michael comes through Romuald's relationship with the Emperor Otto III. Namely, Romuald sent Otto III on a pilgrimage to Monte Gargano, the oldest and most important Michaeline shrine in Western Europe, to expiate his sins and in the hope of converting him to hermitage.[23] Peter Damian stated that St. Romuald had high expectations of Otto III regarding the emperor's spiritual path, which I interpreted in my thesis in the context of the Legend of the Last Emperor.[24]

The Legend of the Last Emperor, together with the Myth of the World Unity, represent meliorist tendencies in the medieval apocalyptic tradition. According to these, as articulated in the sibylline prophecy contained in the Tiburtine Oracle about the life and deeds of the Last Emperor, his rule will bring peace for the Church, encourage the conversion of Jews and pagans and finally bring together all nations. Having accomplished all this, he would proceed to Jerusalem to renounce his crown before the Lord and usher in the Last Days.[25]

Lastly, there are two visions of St. Romuald in the *Vita* which could be understood in apocalyptic terms. One regards his conversion at the church of Sant' Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna, and the other occurred during his hermitage

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[21] Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam, 2008), 57–60. Miladinov does not reject outright the plausibility of Otto III's promise to renounce his crown in Jerusalem and enter the hermitage. Whether the emperor honestly wished to do so or not is not important for this argument. However, it is crucial that Peter Damian and Bruno of Querfurt in his *Vita Quinque fratrum*, the second contemporary source that brings up this topic, portray him in such a manner.

[22] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 152.

[23] Callahan, "The Cult of St. Michael," 185. See also: Miladinov, *Margins*, 59.

[24] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 195–203.

[25] Vučić, "The Apocalyptic Aspect," 30.

in Istria. St. Romuald's renunciation of worldliness at Sant' Apollinare is marked by apocalyptic imagery in which St. Apollinaris appears to him clothed in rays of sun and bringing incense to each altar in the church (compare this with Rev 8, 3).[26] In Istria, Romuald received a gift to foresee the future and understand the deep mysteries of the faith.[27]

The *Vita* is not an apocalyptic genre. It is hagiography and it does not provide explicit apocalyptic vocabulary, but it abounds in what Johannes Fried refers to as the meliorist expectations of the apocalyptic medieval tradition.[28] In conclusion, I maintain that the dedication of the church to St. Michael at Limska Draga stems from its connection with the community's founder who came to Istria with the aim of converting people to a strict and dedicated form of life in expectation of Christ's return.

Having analyzed the written sources, I can return to the issue of the iconographic program in the sanctuary of the church at Limska Draga. Igor Fisković suggested already in 1997 that the choice of the iconography stemmed from the spirituality of the founder.[29] At first, I was not convinced, especially because St. Romuald lacked the most important characteristic to be identified with the first deacon of the Church – he did not die as a martyr. However, on several occasions, Peter Damian described St. Romuald as a martyr *ex voto*, suffering at the hands of unruly brethren (San Michele at Bagno) and the religious establishment.[30]

If we understand Romuald's martyrdom in that manner, then the program of the monastic church and its dedication to St. Michael become an outstanding homage by the monastic community to their founder, St. Romuald. Moreover, the depiction of Sts. Benedict and Maurus on the lateral walls affirms the dual identity of the monastic community: it belonged both to the international order founded by St. Benedict and to the local diocese in Poreč.[31]

[26] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 48.
[27] Ibid., 253.
[28] Fried, "Awaiting the End of Time," 23.
[29] Fisković, "Nova viđenja," 243.
[30] Phipps, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 246–7.
[31] Maraković, "Zidno slikarstvo," 36–7.

## Engilmar, bishop of Poreč, and the monastery at Limska Draga

Later in the century, another prominent man became associated with this monastery – Engilmar, the bishop of Poreč. He came from the renowned monastery of Niederaltaich in Bavaria and became a bishop in Istria to oversee and control this borderland region, important for the stability of the Empire.[32] According to two diplomatic documents, from 1030 and 1040 respectively, Engilmar showed great interest in two Istrian Michaeline monasteries, the old, renowned Benedictine monastery near Pula and the one near Limska Draga.[33]

Engilmar exhibited different attitudes toward these monastic communities in that he donated lands and goods to the former, asking the brethren to pray continually for him, his predecessors and their episcopal office. Contrary to that, he demanded that the monastery at Limska Draga be subjected directly to the episcopal see of Poreč, which meant paying the full annual tithe. Such disparate attitudes reflect Engilmar's desire to connect with the prominent and renowned monasteries to secure the position not only for himself, but also for the episcopal see at Poreč, which furthermore meant securing the position of the Empire.[34]

The reason why I underlined Engilmar's role in the life of the monastery is to emphasize how fluid and interchangeable St. Michael's identity was. St. Romuald was devoted to the Archangel as his personal protector on the path to perfection in hermitage, but Engilmar was more preoccupied with practical, mundane matters and invoked the Archangel as the *archistrategos* to protect the integrity of his episcopacy and, thereby, the Empire.

## Other eleventh-century Michaeline churches in Istria

Although I selected St. Michael near Limska Draga as the focus of my thesis, I analyzed other Michaeline churches built from the sixth to eleventh centuries to demonstrate that multiple aspects of St. Michael's identity were present in eleventh-century Istria. The oldest Michaeline church in Istria which was still active and prosperous in the eleventh century, Sts. Michael and Clement near Pula, besides

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[32] Maurizio Levak, "Istra i Kvarner u ranom srednjem vijeku" [Istria and Kvarner in the early Middle Ages], in *Nova zraka u europskom svjetlu. Hrvatske zemlje u ranome srednjem vijeku (oko 550 – oko 1150),* ed. Zrinka Nikolić Jakus (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011), 407.

[33] Kandler, *Codice I*, 91, Anno 1030; 99, Anno 1040.

[34] Evan A. Gatti, "In the Apse or in between: The Benedictional of Engilmar and Traditions of Episcopal Patronage in the Apse at Poreč," in *Saintly Bishops and Bishops' Saints*, ed. John S. Ott and Trpimir Vedriš (Zagreb: Hagiotheca, 2012), 150.

being a Benedictine monastery, also served as the final resting place for Istrian nobility.[35] St. Michael played the role of *psychopompos* there, among other places.

The church at Limska Draga served as the typological model for two other Camaldolese churches which testifies to its singularity in eleventh-century Istria: the one on Kras, dedicated to Sts. Peter and Michael, and another near Bale. It is difficult to know if these churches also shared the apocalyptic connotations present in the prototype because the written sources are not explicit on the subject.[36]

At the very end of the eleventh century, the Archangel received another church near Vodnjan in a medieval village called Banjole. After the sixth-century church near Pula, this was the only monumental three-aisled church with three apses dedicated to St. Michael in medieval Istria. Sunčica Mustač suggested it was a pilgrimage church, since no remains of a monastery were found next to it, and it is too large to be a local parish church for such a minor village as Banjole.[37]

Mustač argued that the types of the sanctuary, deep and elevated, and the ambo reflected early Christian models, a fashion in Roman contemporary liturgical practices. Also, fragments of the relief sculpture, such as Christ showing his wounds to the Disciples, mirror contemporary sculpting practices in Apulia, such as the Christ *orans* found in the ruins of St. Peter's church at Monte Gargano.[38] Conclusively, this pilgrimage church was founded to promote Roman liturgical practices and, through that, the papal reform.[39] Therefore, St. Michael's role in this context was to protect and promote the papal position in German Istria in his fight for the rights of investiture.

[35] In Carolingian times, most probably at the turn of the eighth century, the monastic church received a cross-shaped funerary chapel dedicated to St. Clement, a Roman martyr. See Pavuša Vežić, "Memorije križnog tlocrta na tlu Istre i Dalmacije" [Christian *memoriae* of a Cruciform ground-floor plan in Istria and Dalmatia], *Ars Adriatica* 3 (2013): 34.

[36] For the church on Kras, see Kandler, *Codice I*, 119, Anno 1102. For the church near Bale, see Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, 147.

[37] Sunčica Mustač, "Ambo from the Church of St. Michael at Banjole near Peroj (Istria)," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 15/2 (2009): 425; Martina Barada and Sunčica Mustač, "Sv. Mihovil Banjolski – preliminarni rezultati istraživanja trobrodne bazilike" [St. Michael of Banjole – Preliminary results of the investigation of the three-aisled Basilica], in *I. Porečki susret arheologa – rezultati arheoloških istraživanja na području Istre*, ed. Miljenko Jurković (Poreč: Zavičajni muzej Poreštine, 2008), 157.

[38] Mustač, "Ambo from the Church of St. Michael," 426.

[39] Ibid., 424–6.

## Conclusion

St. Michael's cult had a rich history long before the millennium and it developed many facets, among them an apocalyptic one. In Michaeline and apocalyptic studies, the emphasis is often placed on his apocalyptic role in the context of heightened apocalyptic expectations around the millennium. My intention was to determine whether it was always the case that an eleventh-century St. Michael possesses apocalyptic connotations. I chose eleventh-century Istria as a case study because there were at least five active Michaeline churches there, one being from the sixth century and the other four constructed in the eleventh century.

I found apocalyptic elements at the church near Limska Draga because of its connection to St. Romuald who founded the monastic community there some years after the millennium. His hagiography abounds with references to St. Michael, calling to penance and hermitage and apocalyptic visions. I maintain that the church at Limska Draga was an homage to St. Romuald which explains both the dedication and the artistic program. It served as the starting point of the reformed Camaldolese order for the whole of Istria, which can be noted in the typology of two other monastic Michaeline churches, those on Kras and near Bale.

I also noted that the apocalyptic Michael was not the exclusive one present in Istria in the eleventh century. Other aspects of his centuries-old identity were equally represented there, such as his roles as the *psychopompos* in relation to the monastery near Pula, as the *archistrategos*, protecting the wellbeing and the integrity of the Empire as was the case with Bishop Engilmar, and finally as the protector of the papacy against the pretensions of the German investiture policies.

Mapping and analyzing St. Michael's churches in Istria from the sixth to eleventh centuries was only a minor contribution to the great task of understanding the Michaeline cult in Europe. In the future, my plan is to map Michaeline churches through the entire eastern Adriatic region, not only for the Early Middle Ages but extending the scope into the Late Middle Ages.