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*SIGILLUM DOMINI TRIPCO COMES AULAE: ZLATNI PEČATNI PRSTEN IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA U ZAGREBU*

**UDK: 904:739.1"653"**

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Zlatni pečatni prsten pronađen je pod nepoznatim okolnostima u Bosni u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća te je poklonjen tadašnjem Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu. Prsten je izvrsno sačuvan, na glavi se nalazi potpuni grb s legendom dok je karika ukrašena u gotičkom stilu - vegetabilnim i zoomorfnim motivima i profilaktičnim latinskim natpisom. Vlasnik prstena bio je Tripe Buća (Triphon Buche), dubrovački trgovac i dvorski službenik bosanskog kralja Tvrtka I. Kotromanića. U radu se donose podaci i analogije vezani uz tip prstena, analizira se natpis i raspravlja o grbu te obrazlaže identifikacija s tom uglednom i istaknutom povijesnom osobom druge polovine četrnaestog stoljeća.*

*Ključne riječi: zlato, pečatni prsten, Bosna, Tripe Buća, Tvrtko I., kasni srednji vijek*

*SIGILLUM DOMINI TRIPCO COMES AULAE: THE GOLD SIGNET RING FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN ZAGREB*

**UDC: 904:739.1"653"**

**Original scientific paper**

*A gold signet ring was discovered under unknown circumstances in Bosnia in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was donated to the National Museum in Zagreb. The ring is superbly preserved; its bezel features an entire coat of arms with legend, while the hoop is adorned in the Gothic style, with plant and zoomorphic motifs and a prophylactic Latin inscription. The ring's owner was Triphon Buche (Tripe Buća), a merchant from Dubrovnik and an official in the court of Bosnian King Tvrtko I Kotromanić. The paper provides data and analogies pertaining to the ring type, an analysis of the inscription, and a discussion of the coat of arms and an explanation its identification with this respected and distinguished historical figure of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Key words: gold, signet ring, Bosnia, Triphon Buche, Tvrtko I, Late Middle Ages*

## Uvod

Jedan raskošno ukrašen zlatni pečatni prsten s natpisom čuva Srednjovjekovni odjel Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (inv. br. S-3380). Točno mjesto i okolnosti njegovog pronalaska nažalost nisu poznati, no zna se da potječe iz Bosne. Prsten je tadašnjem Narodnom muzeju darovao Fidelis Höpperger<sup>1</sup> koji ga je pronašao *negdje u Bosni*, i to moguće u trećoj četvrtini 19. stoljeća, budući da Šime Ljubić 1887. godine navodi da ga je Höpperger našao davno.<sup>2</sup> U starim knjigama koje sadrže popise darovanih i otkupljenih predmeta koji su pristizali u fundus Narodnog muzeja, podaci o prstenu nažalost nisu pronađeni.<sup>3</sup> Prvi broj koji je prsten imao u općem muzejskom inventaru je P-10857, a formiranjem Srednjovjekovnog odjela sredinom 20. st., izlučen je iz Pretpovijesnog odjela te je inventiran brojem S-3380. Javnosti je bio predstavljen jedino na izložbi »Spomenici zlatarstva od prethistorije do srednjeg vijeka iz zbirki Arheološkog muzeja« koja je bila

<sup>1</sup> Fidelis Höpperger (1822.-1896.) rođen je u Tirolu, a na nagovor zagrebačkog nadbiskupa Haulika 1853. g. dolazi u Zagreb na službu profesora u sjemeništu. Od 1857. g. do svoje smrti (1896. g.) bio je superior Kuće matice sestara milosrdnica u Zagrebu i upravljao je svim podružnicama i zavodima. Bio je utemeljitelj i doživotni predsjednik Katoličkog dječićkog društva (Vilenica 2006, 458, 459). Da je povremeno boravio u Bosni govori i podatak o posjetu prilikom posvećivanja sarajevske prvostolnice 1889. g., gdje je došao u društvu J. J. Strossmayera i drugih visokih crkvenih dužnosnika, ali i činjenica da su sestre milosrdnice imale škole u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Livnu, Banja Luci, Travniku, Dolcu kraj Travnika, Derventi, Maglaju, Zenici i Brčkom (J. L. 1889, 286, 288, 289, bilj. 3.) koje je zasigurno s vremena na vrijeme obilazio.

<sup>2</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Arhiv AMZ, sign. 8, Inventar iz raznog starijeg vremena; sign. 23, Opis darovah od 1855. do 1864.; sign. 86, Knjiga darovah od 1908. do 1913.

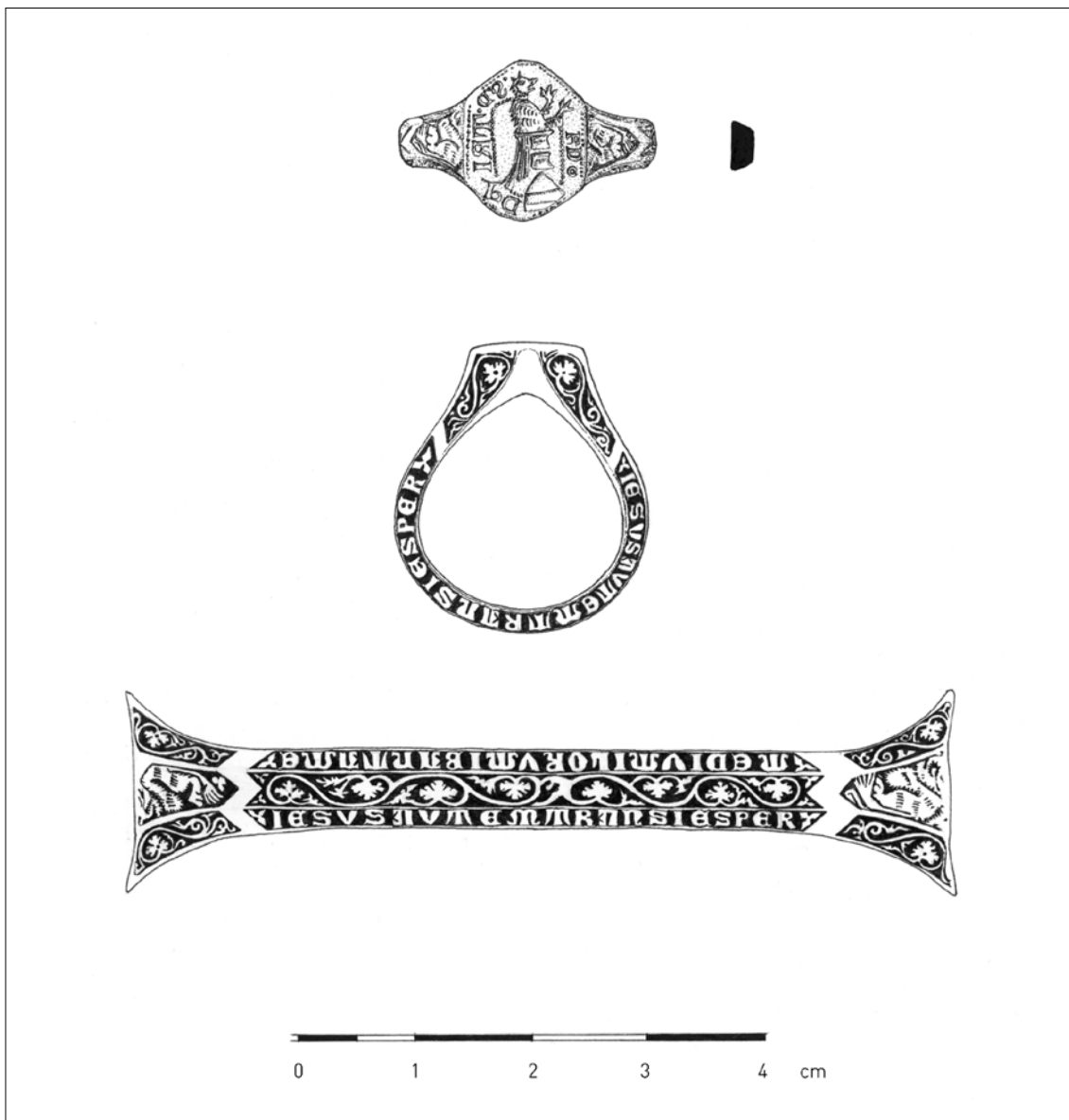
## Introduction

A lavishly adorned gold signet ring with inscription is kept in the Medieval Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. No. S-3380). Unfortunately, the precise site and circumstances of its discovery are not known, but it is known for certain that it originated in Bosnia. The ring was donated to the National Museum of the time by Fidelis Höpperger,<sup>1</sup> who found it *somewhere in Bosnia*, possibly in the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since in 1887 Šime Ljubić wrote that Höpperger found it long before.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, no data concerning the ring have been found in the old logs containing lists of donated and collected items which made their way into the National Museum's collection.<sup>3</sup> The first number which the ring had in the general museum's inventory was P-10857, but after the formation of the Medieval Collection in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was removed from the Prehistoric Collection and inventoried under number S-3380. It was only presented to the public in the exhibition "Monuments of Goldsmithery from Prehistory to the Middle Ages in the Archaeological Museum's Collec-

<sup>1</sup> Fidelis Höpperger (1822-1896) was born in Tyrol, and at the urging of Zagreb Archbishop Haulik, he came to Zagreb in 1853 to serve as a professor at the seminary. From 1857 until his death (1896), he was the superior of the Mother-House of the Sisters of Mercy in Zagreb, and he administered all of its branches and institutes. He was the founder and life-long president of the Catholic Apprentice Association (Vilenica 2006, 458, 459). That he occasionally spent time in Bosnia is indicated by the information on his visit for the dedication of the Sarajevo Cathedral in 1889, where he came in the company of J. J. Strossmayer and other high church dignitaries, and also by the fact that the Sisters of Mercy had schools in Sarajevo, Mostar, Livno, Banja Luka, Travnik, Dolac near Travnik, Derventa, Maglaj, Zenica and Brčko (J. L. 1889, 286, 288, 289, note 3), which he certainly toured from time to time.

<sup>2</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>3</sup> AMZ archives, sign. 8, Inventory from various earlier periods; sign. 23, Description of donations from 1855 to 1864; sign. 86, Log of donations from 1908 to 1913.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Prsten, Bosna, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. S-3380 / Ring, Bosnia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. No. S-3380 (crtež / drawing by Miljenka Galić)

postavljena 1969. godine u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>4</sup>

Prsten je vjerojatno ubrzo po darovanju i objavljen uz svoje ključne podatke i interpretaciju<sup>5</sup> te su se s njim mogli

<sup>4</sup> *Spomenici zlatarstva* 1969. Prsten se u ovome katalogu ne spominje, međutim, iz dokumentacije Srednjovjekovnog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu poznato je da je bio izložen.

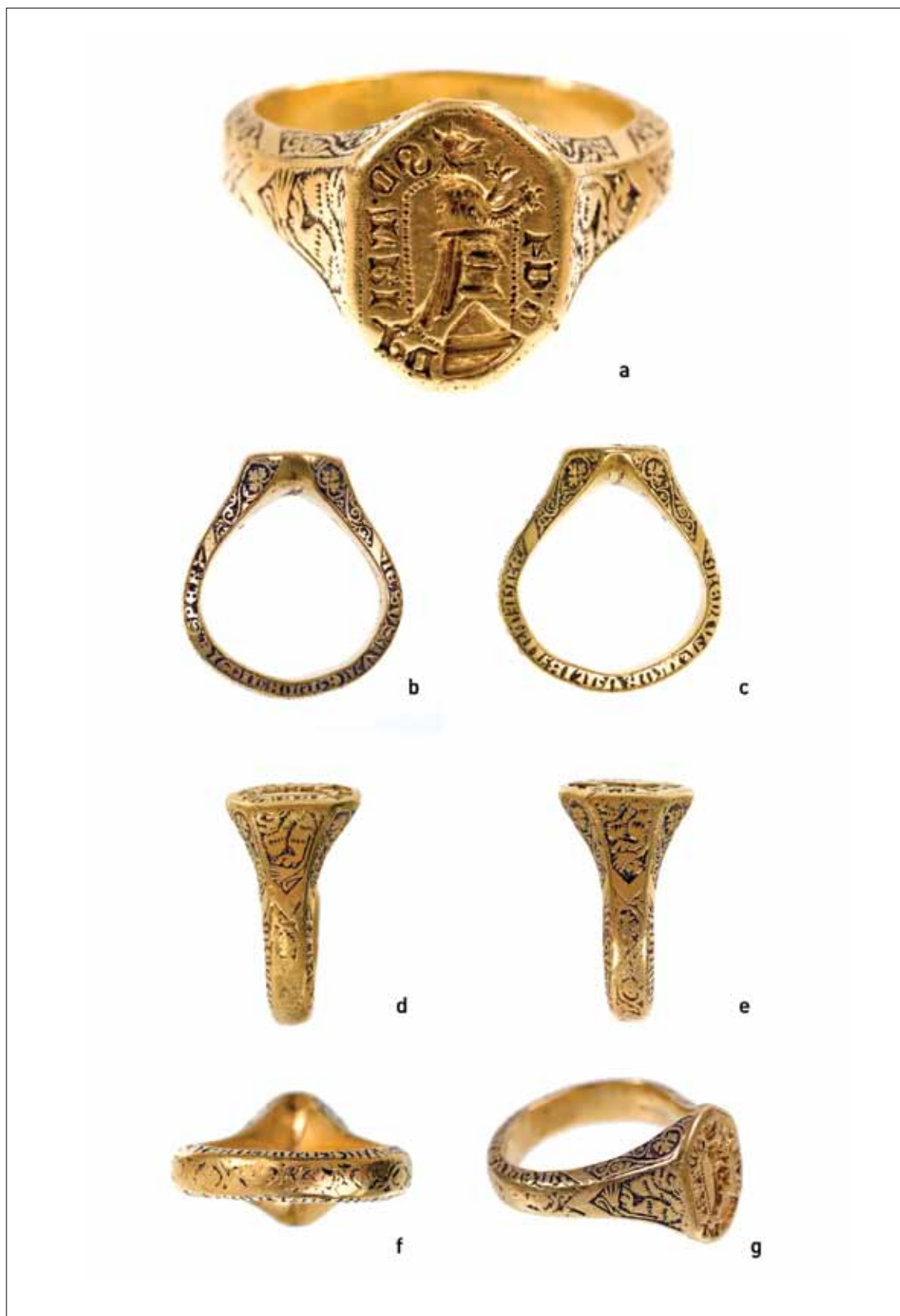
<sup>5</sup> Ljubić 1887.

tion,” which was set up in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1969.<sup>4</sup>

Probably quite soon after its donation, the ring was published with its key data and an interpretation<sup>5</sup> and thus other, similar rings from

<sup>4</sup> *Spomenici zlatarstva* 1969. In this catalogue, the ring is not mentioned. However, according to the documentation of the Medieval Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the ring was indeed exhibited.

<sup>5</sup> Ljubić 1887.



Sl. / Fig. 2: (a-g) Prsten, Bosna, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. S-3380 / (a-g) Ring, Bosnia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. No. S-3380 (snimio / photo by Igor Krajcar)

kasnije uspoređivati neki slični prsteni iz bosanskih i srpskih muzeja.<sup>6</sup> Od te je objave prošlo već 126 godina, a iako je ona u mnogočemu relevantna, određene je spoznaje o prstenu potrebno revidirati, nadopuniti te osvježiti novim usporedbama i tumačenjima, posebice fotografijama i crtežom.<sup>7</sup> Ovaj je prsten od višestrukog značaja i iznimne je vrijednosti. On predstavlja luksuzan primjerak pečatnih prstena i rad je vrhunskog majstora. Njegova izuzetno dobra sačuvanost omogućila je čitanje legende i natpisa te jasno prepoznavanje heraldičke kompozicije i ostalih dekorativnih elemenata. Zbog navedenih značajki on stoga postaje zanimljiv i dragocjen osim u sferi arheologije, i na polju heraldike i sfragistike, epigrafije, povijesti i umjetničke obrade metala. Sretna okolnost što je prsten moguće pripisati poznatoj i istaknutoj povijesnoj osobi koja je djelovala u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća daje mu još veću važnost.

### Opis prstena, analiza grba i natpisa

Prsten je masivan i lijevan je iz komada zlata. Karika je nepravilnog kružnog (kruškolikog) oblika i trapezoidnog presjeka (sl. 1, sl. 2 b, c). Puna i masivna glava izdiže se iz karike dok vrat nije posebno naglašen. Glava je osmerokutna, iako je u svojem donjem dijelu zbog istrošenosti poprimila zaobljeni oblik (sl. 2 a). Traka izvedena gustim nizom točkica (tzv. bisera), koja se pojavljuje između

Bosnian and Serbian museums could later be compared to it.<sup>6</sup> 126 years have passed since its publication, and even though the publication is relevant in many aspects, some knowledge on the ring must be revised, supplemented and refreshed by new analogies and interpretations, particularly by photographs and sketches.<sup>7</sup> This ring has manifold significance and exceptional value. It constitutes a luxurious example of a signet ring and it is a product of a master craftsman. Its exceptionally good state of preservation allows a reading of the legend and inscription, and clear identification of the heraldic composition and other decorative elements. These features make it interesting and precious not only in the sphere of archaeology, but also in the fields of heraldry and sigillography, epigraphy, history and artistic metallurgy. A fortunate circumstance is that the ring can be attributed to a known and distinguished historical personality who was active in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, according it even greater importance.

### Description of ring, analysis of coat of arms and inscription

The ring is massive and cast from a piece of gold. The hoop is irregularly circular (pear-shaped) with trapezoidal cross-section (Fig. 1, Fig. 2 b, c). The full and massive bezel rises from the hoop, while the neck is not particularly prominent. The bezel is octagonal, even though its lower portion has acquired a rounded form due to wear (Fig. 2 a). The band is rendered with a dense series of dots (so-called pearls), which appear between the

<sup>6</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252; Milošević 1990, 125, 126.

<sup>7</sup> Crtež koji donosi Š. Ljubić djelomično je idealiziran i nepotpun (Ljubić 1887, 99). Glava prstena prikazana je u obliku osmerokuta oštrih rubova a prikazan je samo pečat – zrcalna slika, a ne pogled na glavu prstena. Središnja traka karike, ukrašena floralnim motivom, nije prikazana na crtežu plašta prstena, a njezina oštećenost je vjerojatno tomu i razlog. Na ovom je crtežu ona dana u potpunosti jer je djelomično rekonstruirana.

<sup>6</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252; Milošević 1990, 125, 126.

<sup>7</sup> The sketch published by Š. Ljubić is partially idealized and incomplete (Ljubić 1887, 99). The ring's bezel is depicted as an octagon with sharp edges, and only the mirror image of the seal is shown, but not a view of the ring's bezel. The middle band of the hoop, adorned with a floral motif, is not shown on the sketch of the ring's body, probably due to the damage to it. In this sketch it is shown in full because it has been partially reconstructed.

legende i samog ruba prstena, u gornjem dijelu ukazuje da je glava nekada bila, ili trebala biti osmerokutna, dok je u donjem dijelu ta traka slabije vidljiva. Glava je postavljena okomito na kariku, a po njezinoj dužini ugravirana je heraldička kompozicija. Pečatni simbol smješten je unutar okvira istovjetnom vanjskome, no s nešto gušćim i dubljim ubodima. Vjerojatno je i taj okvir trebao biti osmerokutan, no nepotpun je jer ga vučja glava u gornjem te štit u donjem dijelu sijeku, tj. prelaze liniju okvira. Iza tog unutarnjeg okvira, uz rub prstena smještena je legenda. Dimenzije prstena su: visina: 2,55 cm, širina karike: 2,31 cm, dužina glave: 1,44 cm, širina glave: 1,1 cm, debljina karike: 0,25 cm i težina 18,637 g.

Pečatni simbol čini potpuni grb koji se sastoji od štita, kacige s plaštem i perjanice – odnosno dodatka na gornjem dijelu kacige. U donjem dijelu smješten je štit trokutastog oblika, malo izdužen tako da je samo donja trećina trokutasta. Polje štita podijeljeno je kosom desnom gredom, a cijeli je štit nagnut u lijevu stranu.<sup>8</sup> Na desni ugao štita naslonjena je duboka kaciga s naglašenim otvorom za oči. S njezine desne strane prikazan je jednostavan plašt s malo nabora, koji seže do linije točkastog okvira. Na kacigu je postavljena perjanica, u ovome slučaju u obliku vuka. Prikazano je poprsje vuka okrenutog u lijevu stranu s podignutim prednjim nogama i raširenim šapama. Krzno mu je naglašeno, uši podignute a čeljust otvorena.

Legenda je ispisana slovima gotičke majuskule i moguće ju je čitati na dva načina (s minimalnim razlikama koje ne utječu na njezino tumačenje). Slova teku od desnog gornjeg kuta u smjeru kazaljke na satu. Prva, i vjerojatnija, varijanta je .S.D.

<sup>8</sup> Kod opisivanja heraldičke kompozicije opisuje se orijentacija na pečatu a ne na prstenu, odnosno negativu (sl. 3).

legend and the very edge of the ring, indicating that the in the upper portion the bezel once was, or should have been, octagonal, while in the lower portion this band is less discernible. The bezel is set vertically on the hoop, and the heraldic composition is engraved on its length. The seal symbol is situated inside a frame identical to the external frame, but with somewhat denser and deeper stippling. This frame was probably also supposed to be octagonal, but it is incomplete as the wolf's head in the upper section and the shield in the lower section lie over it, i.e., surpass the boundary of the frame. The legend is situated behind the internal frame, along the edge of the ring. The dimensions of the ring are as follows: height: 2.55 cm, width of hoop: 2.31 cm, length of bezel: 1.44 cm, width of bezel: 1.1 cm, thickness of hoop: 0.25 cm and weight 18.637 g.

The seal symbol is made of a full coat of arms consisting of an shield, helm with mantling and crest – i.e. appendices to the top of the helm. In the lower section there is a triangular shield, slightly oblong so that only the lower third is triangular. The field is divided by a diagonal bend, and the entire shield is tiled leftward.<sup>8</sup> A deep helm with a prominent eye slot leans against the right corner of the shield. To its right, there is a simple mantle with a few folds, which extends to the line of the dotted frame. The helm has a crest, in this case shaped like a wolf. The wolf's upper body is shown turned leftward with raised forelegs and paws spread. The fur coat is prominent, the ears are raised and the jaw is gaping.

The legend is written in Gothic majuscule letters and it can be read in two ways (with minimal differences that do not influence its interpretation). The letters run clockwise from the upper right-hand corner. The first, and most likely, variant is .S.D. TRIPCO CA. The

<sup>8</sup> When describing heraldic compositions, the orientation on the seal is described rather than on the ring, i.e., its reverse image (Fig. 3).

TRIPCO CA. Druga je varijanta .S.D. TRIPCI (O) CA.<sup>9</sup> Izraz kojim se označuje pojam pečata u ovom su slučaju slova, odnosno kratica S. D. - *Sigillum domini*. Ime vlasnika najvažniji je dio legende i glasi TRIPCO ili TRIPCI. U odnosu na *Sigillum domini* ispravno bi bilo označiti ime u genitivu, dakle Tripci, što bi išlo u prilog takvom čitanju imena, odnosno drugoj varijanti gdje su C i I spojeni u jedno slovo.<sup>10</sup> Stoga bi kružić, odnosno ono što tumačimo kao O u prvoj varijanti, ovdje bio samo znak koji razdvaja ime od titule, a ono i jest ipak nešto manje veličine od ostalih slova. Titula vlasnika označena je slovima CA - *Comes aulae*, što se odnosi na dvorskog kneza.<sup>11</sup> S obzirom na to da je slovo C u imenu i u tituli jednako napisano, izglednija je ipak prva varijanta čitanja imena. Za interpunkcijski znak korištena je točka.

Karika je trapezoidnog presjeka a sve su tri vanjske plohe bogato ukrašene, dok je unutrašnja strana neukrašena. Promatrajući ju kao rašireni plašt, ona je ravna traka koja se na krajevima (ramenima) prema spoju s glavom trapezoidno širi (sl. 1). Podijeljena je na tri vodoravna polja. Vanjska polja središnjeg dijela trake nose natpis a središnje je ukrašeno vegetabilnim motivom, dok su vanjska polja ramena ukrašena vegetabilnim a središnje zoomorfnim motivom. Oni su međusobno odijeljeni (rameni ukras i središnji dio karike) praznim, neukrašenim prostorom koji se u plaštu ocrta poput cik-cak

<sup>9</sup> Općenito, sadržaj legendi na pečatima sastoji se od tri elementa: naznake da se radi o pečatu, imena vlasnika pečata i vlasnikove titule (Anđelić 1970, 113). Prema toj formuli ova je legenda potpuna.

<sup>10</sup> Zbog latinskog se jezika često na grbovnim legendama susreće nespretnost u transkripciji narodnih imena i glasova, pogrešna upotreba padeža pa čak i miješanje latiničnih i ćiriličnih slova (Anđelić 1970, 113).

<sup>11</sup> O ovom tumačenju bit će riječi kasnije.

second variant is .S.D. TRIPCI (O) CA.<sup>9</sup> The expression indicating the concept of a seal in this case consists of the letters S. D. – *Sigillum domini*. The name of the owner is the most important part of the legend, and it is TRIPCO or TRIPCI. In relation to *Sigillum domini*, it would be correct to give the name in the genitive, that is, Tripci, which would support such a reading of the name, i.e. the second variant in which the C and I are rendered as a single letter.<sup>10</sup> In this case, the small circle, which has been interpreted as the letter O in the first variant, is only a symbol separating the name from the title, and it is in fact somewhat smaller in size than the other letters. The title of the owner is indicated by the letters CA – *Comes aulae*, which pertains to a prince in a royal court.<sup>11</sup> Given that the letters C in both the name and title are uniformly written, the first reading of the name is still more likely. A dot is used as a punctuation mark.

The hoop has a trapezoidal cross-section and all three external surfaces are richly adorned, while the internal side is unadorned. Viewing it as a spread-out surface, it is a straight band which expands at its ends (shoulders) toward the connection with the bezel in form of a trapezoid (Fig. 1). It is divided into three horizontal fields. The external fields of the band's midsection bear an inscription, the middle one is adorned with a plant motif, while the external fields of the shoulders are adorned with plant motifs and the middle one with zoomorphic motifs. The shoulder ornament and the central part of the hoop are separated from one another by an emp-

<sup>9</sup> Generally, the content of legends on seals consists of three elements: an indication that it is a seal, the name of the seal's owner and the owner's title (Anđelić 1970, 113). Based on this formula, this legend is complete.

<sup>10</sup> Due to the use of Latin, often the legends on coats of arms contain awkward transcriptions of ethnic names and phonemes, erroneous use of grammatical cases and even the intermingling of Latin and Cyrillic letters (Anđelić 1970, 113).

<sup>11</sup> More about this interpretation will be said subsequently.

linije. Vegetabilni motiv čini valovita kontinuirana grana s listovima vinove loze. Zoomorfni motiv koji se pojavljuje u središnjem ramenom polju nije toliko prepoznatljiv, no vjerojatno je riječ o lavu.<sup>12</sup> Karika je ukrašena nielom koji je vrlo dobro očuvan, a ponajviše se vidi u ramenom pojasu. To i ne čudi jer je taj dio prstena izdignutiji i nikada se ne nalazi u doticaju sa susjednim prstima, odnosno s unutarnje strane, uz dlan, gdje su uslijed nošenja prsteni obično najviše izlizani.<sup>13</sup> Na početku i kraju sva tri središnja polja nalazi se znak u obliku trolista, na vanjskim sa svake strane po jedan, a na središnjem po dva trolista sa svake strane. Natpis na karici pisan je također gotičkom majuskulom na latinskom jeziku i u cijelosti glasi: IESUS AUTEM TRANSIE(N)S PER MEDIUM IL(L)ORUM IBA[N]T AME(N). Riječ je o biblijskom tekstu iz Evanđelja po Luki (Djelovanje u Galileji, Isus u Nazaretu, glava 4,30), a rečenica u hrvatskom prijevodu Biblije glasi: *Ali on prođe između njih i umakne*.<sup>14</sup>

Navedene ga karakteristike oblikom, ukrasima i tehnikama izrade svrstavaju u viteški tip prstena, koji svoj naziv duguje uglavnom društvenom sloju kojemu su njihovi vlasnici pripadali.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Životinji je prikazan donji dio tijela s naglašenim krznom, a vidljiva je jedna noga i rep. Takav dugačak rep, koji je doduše prikazan raščlanjeno pa izgleda poput četiri prsta, moguće je poistovjetiti s lavljim repom koji ima takav specifičan čuperak na završetku repa. Također vidi se jasna razlika u prikazu šape i repa (sl. 2 d, e).

<sup>13</sup> I ovaj je prsten djelomično oštećen u donjem dijelu (sl. 2 f) što je, zbog odlične sačuvanosti na ostalom dijelu karike, uspješno rekonstruirano na crtežu (sl. 1).

<sup>14</sup> Nakon što je Isus u Nazaretu izjavio da nije dan prorok nema priznanja u svome zavičaju, mnoštvo se u sinagogi razljutilo i istjeralo ga iz grada. Dovedi su ga na rub brijega na kojemu je sagrađen grad u nadi da ga strmoglave. No Isus je sigurno prošao kroz njih (*Biblija* 1974, 987).

<sup>15</sup> Milošević 1990, 124, 125; Ivanić 1998, 15.

ty, unadorned space which is delineated on the surface as a zigzag line. The plant motif consists of a wavy uninterrupted branch with grape leaves. The zoomorphic motif which appears in the central shoulder field is not as recognizable, but it probably depicts a lion.<sup>12</sup> The hoop is adorned with niello which is very well preserved, and mostly visible in the shoulder belt. This should not be deemed unusual as this part of the ring is raised and never in contact with neighbouring fingers, and it is on the inside, along the palm, where rings normally exhibit the most wear.<sup>13</sup> A trefoil-shaped symbol is located at the beginning and end of all three middle fields, with one each on the external side and two trefoils on each side on the middle field. The inscription on the hoop is in Latin, also written in Gothic majuscule, and reads in its entirety: IESUS AUTEM TRANSIE(N)S PER MEDIUM IL(L)ORUM IBA[N]T AME(N). This is the biblical text from the Gospel of Luke (The Ministry in Galilee, Jesus in Nazareth, chapter 4:30), and the sentence in King James Version of the Bible reads: *“But he passing through the midst of them went his way”*.<sup>14</sup>

These features, in terms of shape, adornment and rendering techniques, indicate that this is a knightly ring, which generally owes its designation to the social class to which its owners belonged.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The lower part of the animal's body, with a prominent fur coat, one leg and its tail, is visible. Such a long tail, which, to be sure, is articulated in such a way that it resembles four fingers, can be identified as a lion's tail which has such a specific tuft at its end. Also visible is a clear difference in the portrayal of the paw and tail (Fig. 2 d, e).

<sup>13</sup> This ring is also partially damaged in its lower section (Fig. 2 f) which was, due to the excellent state of preservation of the rest of the hoop, successfully reconstructed in a sketch (Fig. 1).

<sup>14</sup> When in Nazareth, Jesus declared, *“Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country”*. The crowd in the synagogue was angry and expelled him from the city. They took him to the edge of the hill on which the city was built, hoping that they might throw him down headlong. But Jesus safely passed through the crowd (<http://www.king-jamesbibleonline.org/Luke-Chapter-4/>) (8.10.2013.)

<sup>15</sup> Milošević 1990, 124, 125; Ivanić 1998, 15.





Sl. / Fig. 3: Otisak pečatnog prstena / Imprint of the signet ring (izradila / made by Slađana Latinović; snimio / photo by Igor Krajcar)

### Srodna građa

Nekoliko je elementa prema kojima treba utvrditi analogije ovome prstenu, a to su oblik prstena, odnosno njegov viteški tip, heraldička kompozicija na glavi prstena te natpis na karici. Ipak, legenda i grb najvažniji su elementi koji su ključ za identifikaciju nositelja prstena. Ukratko će se ukazati na one najvažnije usporedbe za svaku pojedinu karakteristiku. Natpis, dekorativni elementi i upotreba niela ocrtaavaju zapadni<sup>16</sup> i mediteranski stil, osobito čest u Italiji,<sup>17</sup> dok heraldička kompozicija najviše sličnosti pokazuje s grbovima s područja Bosne i Hercegovine te drugih, južnih dijelova bivše Jugoslavije. Općenito, srebrno i zlatno prstenje u srpskim i bosanskim zemljama stilski je isto, osobito ono s kraja 14. i početka 15. stoljeća,<sup>18</sup> a ti će se upravo i razmatrati.

<sup>16</sup> Zapadni utjecaji koji se šire Balkanom u 14. i 15. stoljeću dolaze iz tri moguća pravca: s juga Italije preko Dukljanskog primorja i Zete, drugi (i nama u ovome slučaju najvažniji) ide sa sjevernih jadranskih obala, preko Venecije i Dubrovnika, a treći iz srednje Europe preko Ugarske (Radojković 1973, 207).

<sup>17</sup> Dalton 1912, xxii; 39/231, 41/239, 48/283, 138/877, 878, 879, 142/895; Ivanić 2008, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Radojković 1973, 214.

### Similar artefacts

There are several elements on which analogies to this ring should be based, and these are the shape of the ring, its knightly type, heraldic composition on the bezel and the inscription on the hoop. Nonetheless, the legend and coat of arms are the most crucial elements to identifying the ring's bearer. The most important comparisons for each individual feature will be briefly presented. The inscription, decorative elements and use of niello indicate the western<sup>16</sup> and Mediterranean style, particularly common in Italy,<sup>17</sup> while the heraldic composition bears the greatest similarity to the coats of arms from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other, southern parts of the former Yugoslavia. In general, silver and gold rings in the Serbian and Bosnian lands are stylistically identical, particularly those originating from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>18</sup> and these will in fact be considered.

The closest analogy is a ring kept in the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. No. 2170; Fig. 4). Its find-site is similarly not known,<sup>19</sup> and it has been dated to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. D. Milošević pointed out their simi-

<sup>16</sup> Western influences which spread through the Balkans in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries came from three possible directions: the first from southern Italy through the Dioclean littoral and Zeta, the second (and most important in this case) running from the northern Adriatic coast, via Venice and Dubrovnik, and the third from Central Europe via Hungary (Radojković 1973, 207).

<sup>17</sup> Dalton 1912, xxii; 39/231, 41/239, 48/283, 138/877, 878, 879, 142/895; Ivanić 2008, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Radojković 1973, 214.

<sup>19</sup> A mistake found its way into the work by M. Čorović-Ljubinković when she wrote the inventory number from the National Museum in parenthesis next to the description of this ring and Ljubić's citation and linked this to the photograph of the ring from an unidentified site. Later, citing her, Đ. Janković wrote of this ring that it originated in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is inaccurate (Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 176, note 20; Fig. 16; Janković 1989, 151, 161, Pl. IV/3).



Sl. / Fig. 4: Prsten, nepoznato nalazište, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 2170 / Ring, find-site unknown, National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 2170 (Ivanić 1998, 45, sl. / Fig. 22)

Najbližu analogiju predstavlja prsten koji se čuva u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu (inv. br. 2170; sl. 4). On također potječe s nepoznatog nalazišta,<sup>19</sup> a datiran je u prvu polovinu 15. stoljeća. Na njihovu se sličnost osvrnula 1990. g. D. Milošević.<sup>20</sup> Tehnike izrade su im iste, kao i oblik (karika i okomito postavljena glava) koji pokazuje minimalne razlike - karika je pravilnijeg kružnog oblika, pa su ramena nešto šira a glava niže postavljena. Heraldika kompozicija sastoji se od kacige iznad koje je prikazana vučja glava. Grb je pripisan crnogorskoj plemićkoj obitelji Balšić, ili nekom od njihovih velikaša. Ornamenti na karici vrlo su slični, a također sadrži latinski natpis ispisan gotičkim pismom, koji nije u potpunosti čitljiv, no tumači se kao *Ave mani toracia* (Zdravo ukrasu ruke). Taj natpis nije detaljno opisan, stoga nije jasno teče li on na oba

<sup>19</sup> U radu M. Ćorović-Ljubinković potkrala se greška kada je uz opis našega prstena i Ljubićev citat u zagradi napisala inventarni broj iz Narodnog muzeja i povezala s fotografijom tog prstena s nepoznatog nalazišta. Kasnije, citirajući nju, Đ. Janković uz taj je prsten napisao da potječe iz Bosne i Hercegovine, što je netočan podatak (Ćorović-Ljubinković 1975, 176, bilj. 20; sl. 16; Janković 1989, 151, 161, T. IV/3).

<sup>20</sup> Milošević 1990, 125, 126, kat. br. 175; Ivanić 1998, 15, 45, sl. 22.

larly in 1990.<sup>20</sup> Their rendering technique is the same, as is the shape (hoop and vertically set bezel), which exhibits minimal differences: the hoop has a more regular circular shape, so the shoulders are somewhat wider while the bezel is set lower. The heraldic composition consists of a helm with a wolf's head depicted above it. The coat of arms has been attributed to the Balšić family of Montenegrin nobles, or one of their magnates. The ornaments on the hoop are very similar, and this ring also bears a Latin inscription written in Gothic script, which is not entirely legible, but it has been interpreted as *Ave mani toracia* ("Hail the adornment of the hands"). This inscription has not been described in detail, so it is not clear whether it runs on both external fields or not. The legend on the bezel is written in Cyrillic, and it is also unclear. The demi-wolf is depicted on the left shoulder in the external fields, while in the middle field there is a rosette with a curved leaf. On the right shoulder, a wolf is depicted in all three fields.<sup>21</sup> On this ring, a considerable difference between the ornaments on the hoop and on the bezel is discernible. It is entirely obvious that the coat of arms and legend on the bezel were engraved subsequently, and that

<sup>20</sup> Milošević 1990, 125, 126, cat. No. 175; Ivanić 1998, 15, 45, Fig. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Milošević 1990, 126.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Prsten, Arnautovići (BiH), Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, inv. br. 620 / Ring, Arnautovići (Bosnia-Herzegovina), The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv. No. 620 (Anđelić 1980, 222)

vanjska polja plašta ili ne. Na glavi je legenda pisana ćirilicom, i također je nejasna. Na lijevom ramenu u vanjskim poljima prikazano je poprsje vuka, a u srednjem polju rozeta sa savijenim listom. Na desnom ramenu vuk je prikazan u sva tri polja.<sup>21</sup> Na ovome se prstenu vidi velika razlika u izvedbi između ukrasa na karici i na glavi. Sasvim je očito da su grb i legenda na glavi urezani naknadno, i da su djelo nekog lokalnog zlatara koji je manje vješt od onoga koji je urezivao pečatni simbol na našem prstenu iz Bosne. No oblik, tehnika izrade, ukras na karici i slova pokazuju pak veliku sličnost između dva prstena pa se može pretpostaviti i njihovo isto porijeklo, odnosno radionica.

S prstenom pronađenim u Arnautovićima kod Visokog u Bosni i Hercegovini također nalazimo dosta sličnosti (inv. br. 620; sl. 5). Riječ je o masivnom pečatnom srebrnom prstenu s osmerokutnom glavom na kojoj je urezana gotovo identična heraldička kompozicija. Ona se sastoji od štita na kojemu je kaciga s plaštem, a nad kacigom poprsje vuka s uzdignutim prednjim nogama, raširenim šapama,

<sup>21</sup> Milošević 1990, 126.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Prsten, Novo Brdo (Kosovo), Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 3381 / Ring, Novo Brdo (Kosovo), National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 3381 (Zečević 2006, 202/79)

they are the work of a local goldsmith who was less adept than the one who engraved the seal symbol on the ring from Bosnia. However, the shape, rendering technique, ornament on the hoop and letters demonstrate a considerable similarity between the two rings, so one may assume a common origin, i.e., the same workshop.

Considerable similarities can also be seen in the ring discovered in Arnautovići near Visoko in Bosnia-Herzegovina (inv. No. 620; Fig. 5). This is a massive silver signet ring with an octagonal bezel on which a virtually identical heraldic composition is engraved. It consists of a shield on which there is a helm with mantling, and a demi-wolf above



Sl. / Fig. 7: Prsten, nepoznato nalazište, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 1422 / Ring, find-site unknown, National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 1422 (Milošević 1990, 127/177)

otvorenom čeljusti i naglašenim krznom. I. Čremošnik ovaj je prsten pripisala obitelji Radojević te s rezervom datirala u 15. stoljeće.<sup>22</sup> Budući da Radojevići i Radosalići pripadaju velikaškoj obitelji Pribinića, tako se u kasnijoj literaturi taj prsten pripisuje velikašu iz roda Pribinića. P. Anđelić iznio je pretpostavku da bi nositelj toga prstena mogao biti Brajko Pribinić koji je umro oko 1392. godine i bio pokopan s navedenim prstenom.<sup>23</sup>

U opljačkanom grobu unutar katedrale na kosovskom znamenitom lokalitetu Novo Brdo pronađen je srebrni prsten istog tipa (inv. br. 3381, sl. 6). Karika mu nije ukrašena, dok je heraldička kompozicija na osmerokutnoj glavi<sup>24</sup> gotovo identična – štit, kacija i poprsje vuka otvorene čeljusti.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252, T. III/6. Obitelji Radojević pripisan je jer je mjesto nalaza pripadalo njihovom teritoriju kao i zbog prikaza vuka na stećku Radića Radojevića, odnosno vjerojatnije kneza Radoja Radosalića (Čremošnik 1951, 252; Janković 1989, 152, 161, T. IV/7).

<sup>23</sup> Anđelić 1980, 222-223; 223, bilj. 47.

<sup>24</sup> Autorica ju doduše opisuje kao *šestougaonu*, s čime se ne bih složila (Zečević 2006, 202).

<sup>25</sup> Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, kat. br. 79.

the helm with raised front legs, outspread paws, a gaping jaw and a prominent coat of fur. I. Čremošnik attributed this ring to the Radojević family, and cautiously dated it to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> Since the Radojević and Radosalić families belonged to the Pribinić magnate family, this ring was attributed to a magnate from the Pribinić line in the more recent literature. P. Anđelić speculated that the ring's bearer could have been Brajko Pribinić, who died around 1392 and was buried with this ring.<sup>23</sup>

A silver ring of the same type (inv. No. 3381, Fig. 6) was discovered in a looted tomb inside the cathedral at the notable site of Novo Brdo in Kosovo. The hoop is not adorned, while the heraldic composition on the octagonal bezel<sup>24</sup> is almost identical: an shield, helm and demi-wolf with jaws agape.<sup>25</sup>

Another gilded ring from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade bears a heraldic composition similar to the ring being discussed herein (inv. No. 1422; Fig. 7). Its hoop is different, but the oblong octagonal bezel is also set on it vertically. The depicted coat of arms is framed by two lines behind which, at the bezel's edge, an inscription runs. The coat of arms consists of an shield, helm and demi-wolf with forelegs raised. Its inscription (*My dear ring*) suggests that the ring was personal, possibly with a prophylactic character.<sup>26</sup>

In the well-known Dalton ring catalogue, a total of seven rings with the same inscription

<sup>22</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252, Pl. III, 6. It was ascribed to the Radojević family because its find-site was in their territory and because of an image of a wolf on the monolithic tombstone (*stećak*) of Radić Radojević, or, more likely, Prince Radoje Radosalić (Čremošnik 1951, 252; Janković 1989, 152, 161, Pl. IV/7).

<sup>23</sup> Anđelić 1980, 222-223; 223, note 47.

<sup>24</sup> The author, however, described it as *hexagonal*, with which I would not agree (Zečević 2006, 202).

<sup>25</sup> Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, cat. No. 79.

<sup>26</sup> Milošević 1990, 127, cat. No. 177.



Sl. / Fig. 8: Plašt prstena, nepoznato nalazište / Ring mounting, find-site unknown (Dalton 1910, 39/231)

Još jedan pozlaćeni prsten s početka 15. st. iz beogradskog Narodnog muzeja nosi sličnu heraldičku kompoziciju poput prstena o kojemu govorimo (inv. br. 1422; sl. 7). Njegova je karika drugačija, no izdužena osmerokutna glava također je postavljena okomito na nju. Prikazani grb uokviren je sa dvije linije iza kojih, uz rub glave, teče natpis. Grb se sastoji od štita, kacige i vučjeg poprsja s uzdignutim nogama. Njegov natpis (*Moj mili prsten*) sugerira da je prsten bio osobni, vjerojatno zaštitnog karaktera.<sup>26</sup>

U čuvenom Daltonovom katalogu prstenja ukupno je predstavljeno sedam prstena s istim natpisom, uz poneke varijacije, što ga čini jednim od statistički najzastupljenijih natpisa.<sup>27</sup> Šest ih je zlatnih a pripadaju skupini pečatnih (s umetnutim gemama ili s urezanim grbovima) i amuletih prstena. Svi su talijanske proizvodnje i datiraju u 14. st., osim jedinog srebrnog koji potječe iz 15. stoljeća.<sup>28</sup> Osvrnut ćemo se na neke od njih. Zlatni prsten s nešto kompleksnijim natpisom (*Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat Iesus nomma tuo s(alus)*) izvedenim urezanim lombardskim slovima potječe iz Italije. Iako je tipološki prsten različit - karika je trokutasta u presjeku, ramena su šuplja, a glava je ovalna s umetnutom gemom, tekst i slova vrlo su bliski naše-

are presented, with some variations, which makes it one of the statistically most common inscriptions.<sup>27</sup> Six of them are gold and belong to the group of signet rings (with inserted gems or engraved coats of arms) and amulet rings. All are Italian products and dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, except for the sole silver ring which has been dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> I shall consider some of them. The gold ring with a somewhat more complex inscription (*Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat Iesus nomma tuo s(alus)*) rendered in engraved Lombard letters originated in Italy. Although typologically different - the hoop has a triangular cross-section, the shoulders are hollow, while the bezel is oval with an inserted gem, the text and letters are very similar to the ring considered herein and reflect the style and trend of its time (Fig. 8).<sup>29</sup> A very luxurious signet ring with an arched hoop and with this same inscription and stylistic features on a niello base has been found in Greece, in the Peloponnese, and is kept in the British Museum (AF. 568, Fig. 9). It is richly adorned on both the outside and inside of the hoop and on the octagonal bezel with a legend reading S(IGNUM) DE ZENO DONAT(I). Besides the inscription *Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat eloi*, which is not the sole inscription, it also features plant motifs and two heraldically portrayed mythological winged beasts. The ring is Italic in origin, attributed to the Venetian

<sup>26</sup> Milošević 1990, 127, kat. br. 177.

<sup>27</sup> Dalton 1912, 362.

<sup>28</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231; 41/239; 48/283; 138/877, 878, 879; 142/895.

<sup>27</sup> Dalton 1912, 362.

<sup>28</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231; 41/239; 48/283; 138/877, 878, 879; 142/895.

<sup>29</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231.





Sl. / Fig. 9: Prsten, Peloponez (Grčka), The British Museum, inv. br. AF. 568 / Ring, Peloponnese (Greece), British Museum, inv. No. AF. 568 (©Trustees of the British Museum)

mu i odražavaju stil i trend toga vremena (sl. 8).<sup>29</sup> Vrlo raskošan pečatni prsten s karikom lučnog tipa te s istim natpisom i stilskim karakteristikama na nielo podlozi pronađen je u Grčkoj, na Peloponezu a čuva se u British museumu (AF. 568, sl. 9). Bogato je ukrašen s vanjske i unutrašnje strane karike i na osmerokutnoj glavi s legendom koja glasi S(IGNUM) DE ZENO DONAT(I). Osim natpisa *Iexus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat eloi*, koji nije i jedini natpis, prikazani su i vegetabilni motivi te dvije, heraldički prikazane, mitološke krilate zvjeri. Porijeklo prstena je italsko, pripisano venecijanskim radionicama.<sup>30</sup> Brojni su i talijanski prsteni s drugačijim natpisima, što je, dakako, osobni izbor pojedinca koji ga nosi, ali koji također sadrže slične stilske karakteristike. Osobito se to odnosi na podjelu karike na dva ili tri vodoravna polja koja sadrže natpis i dekorativne elemente.<sup>31</sup> Istovjetne stilske karakteristike, osim ovalne glave s umetnutom gemom, i identičan natpis ima prsten pronađen

<sup>29</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231.

<sup>30</sup> Dalton 1912, 41/239; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1) (27.5.2013.).

<sup>31</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/230; 43/254; 44/258.

workshops.<sup>30</sup> There are also numerous Italian rings with different inscriptions, which was, obviously, the personal choice of the individual who wore them, but which also contain similar stylistic features. This particularly pertains to the division of the hoop into two or three horizontal fields containing the inscription and decorative elements.<sup>31</sup> Identical stylistic features (besides the oval bezel with inserted gem) and an identical inscription can be found on a ring discovered not far from Bucharest and kept in Romania's National Museum (No. 101915). It has been dated to the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> Also noteworthy is another Italian-produced gold ring of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which, by all indications, is a knightly type. The sketch is not sufficient for an unambiguous assertion, although the rectangular cross-section of the (unadorned) hoop, octagonal bezel with an almost identical composition – shield, helm, mantling and crest (hound?) and a framed legend along the longer side of the bezel, undoubtedly exhibits the same stylistic-typological features as our ring from Bosnia.<sup>33</sup>

The origin of the inscription on the hoop, and by all indications the goldsmith's workshop or at a minimum the master craftsman, can therefore be sought in neighbouring Italy. Although this inscription also appeared in other European countries and on other types of jewellery, the most similar analogies with a combination of the inscription and other stylistic features can be found precisely in Italy. The textual elements which pertain to Jesus appear on numerous amulets from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Often the words of Jesus are used, or the Greek letters

<sup>30</sup> Dalton 1912, 41/239; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1) (27.5.2013.).

<sup>31</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/230; 43/254; 44/258.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/PCN/clasate/Detailu.asp?k=F9DE438BAB7411DAA0605254ABDD25F5> (27.5.2013.).

<sup>33</sup> Dalton 1912, 44/255.

nedaleko od Bukurešta koji se čuva u rumunjskom Nacionalnom muzeju (br. 101915). Datiran je u drugu polovinu 14. stoljeća.<sup>32</sup> Vrijedi spomenuti još jedan zlatni prsten talijanske proizvodnje 14. stoljeća, koji, po svemu sudeći, pripada viteškom tipu. Crtež nije dostatan za stopostotnu tvrdnju, međutim četverokutni presjek (neukrašene) karike, osmerokutna glava s gotovo identičnom kompozicijom – štit, kaciga, veo i perjanica (pas?) te uokvirena legenda uz rub duže strane glave, pokazuje nesumnjivo iste stilsko-tipološke karakteristike s našim prstenom iz Bosne.<sup>33</sup>

Porijeklo natpisa na karici, a po svemu sudeći i zlatarsku radionicu ili barem majstora, možemo dakle tražiti u susjednoj Italiji. Iako se natpis javlja i u drugim europskim zemljama i na drugim vrstama nakita, upravo se najsličniji primjerci s kombinacijom natpisa i ostalim stilskim karakteristikama nalaze u Italiji. Tekstualni elementi koji se odnose na Isusa pojavljuju se na brojnim amuletima od trinaestog sve do početka šesnaestog stoljeća. Često se koriste Isusove riječi, ili pak grčka slova alfa i omega, ili pak navodi iz evanđelja. Tako se i Isusov prolaz (*Jesus autem* ...) odnosi na Isusa koji je uz Božju pomoć prošao kroz neprijatelje i sigurno nastavio svoje putovanje u Galileju. Ta se biblijska rečenica (*Jesus autem*) obično koristila kao amulet za sigurna putovanja morem ili kopnom, a posebno protiv napada pljačkaša.<sup>34</sup> Trgovci, vojnici i putnici običavali su nositi te riječi tijekom putovanja uvjereni da će njihovim nošenjem biti blagoslovljeni božanskom zaštitom.<sup>35</sup> Ova se formula pojavljuje i na raznim

alpha and omega, or even quotes from the Gospels. Thus, Jesus passing through (*Jesus autem* ...) pertains to Jesus passing through his enemies with God's help and safely continuing his journey to Galilee. This biblical passage (*Jesus autem*) was normally used as an amulet for safe journeys by land or sea, and particularly to defend against attacks by robbers.<sup>34</sup> Merchants, soldiers and travellers normally bore these words when travelling, convinced that by this they would be blessed with divine protection.<sup>35</sup> The same formula appears on various other jewellery, with the aim of protecting travellers from bandits and other misfortunes.<sup>36</sup> Generally, prophylactic inscriptions, which protected their bearers from evil, were common in the (High and Late) Middle Ages, and they generally consisted of religious or some other magical names or invocations.<sup>37</sup>

The above examples show that the variants of the knightly ring type and signet rings in general with similar heraldic compositions were not rare in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., and, particularly, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the territory of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republic of Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Croatia. Such a distribution is the result of the intense activity of the Janjevo workshop known far and wide and its assumed branches in northern Serbia whence most of these rings came. Noteworthy in the evaluation of the ring being discussed here-

<sup>34</sup> Dalton 1912, 138.

<sup>35</sup> Skemer 2006, 89, 90.

<sup>36</sup> Lightbown 1992, 99; Skemer 2006, 90, ft 43. The same inscription also appeared on the reverse of the English royal (gold) coins from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> to late 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth) (Kenyon 1884, 17, 19, 23-27, 35, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48-50, 57-60, 75-78, 83, 84, 93-94, 96-97, 99, 100, 106, 109, 112-114, 124, 126). I would like to thank my colleague Miroslav Nađ for assisting me with this numismatic topic.

<sup>37</sup> Lightbown 1992, 98.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/PCN/clasate/Detaliiu.asp?k=F9DE438BAB7411DAA0605254ABD D25F5> (27.5.2013.).

<sup>33</sup> Dalton 1912, 44/255.

<sup>34</sup> Dalton 1912, 138.

<sup>35</sup> Skemer 2006, 89, 90.

drugim nakitnim oblicima s ciljem da zaštiti putnike od lopova i nesreća.<sup>36</sup> Općenito su profilaktični natpisi, koji su štitali nositelja od zla, bili česti u (razvijenom i kasnom) srednjem vijeku, a koristila su se uglavnom religijska ili neka druga magična imena ili formule.<sup>37</sup>

Iz navedenih primjera pokazalo se da varijante viteškog tipa prstena te općenito pečatnih prstena sa sličnim heraldičkim kompozicijama nisu rijetke u drugoj polovini 14., a osobito početkom i u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, Republike Srbije, Kosova, Makedonije i Hrvatske. Takva je distribucija rezultat snažnog djelovanja nadaleko poznate janjevačke radionice i njezinih pretpostavljenih ogranaka u sjevernoj Srbiji iz kojih je potekla većina tih prstena. Za vrednovanje prstena o kojemu je riječ važno je istaknuti da je veći broj tih prstena izrađen od srebra, a tek pokoji je zlatan, uglavnom ukrašen još i nielo tehnikom.<sup>38</sup> Stoga ga činjenica da je izrađen u zlatu s vrlo vješto urezanim grbom i legendom, koju je usput, i moguće identificirati, s pravom svrstava među najdragocjenije od svih spomenutih. Osim toga, na navedenom području Balkana prsteni s takvim kompleksnim natpisom nisu standardni. Iz druge perspektive ustanovili smo da su talijanski prsteni koji nose isti

<sup>36</sup> Lightbown 1992, 99; Skemer 2006, 90, ft 43. Isti se natpis pojavljuje i na reversima engleskog kraljevskog (zlatnog) novca od sredine 14. do kasnog 16. st. (Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Edward IV., Henry VII, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth ) (Kenyon 1884, 17, 19, 23-27, 35, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48-50, 57-60, 75-78, 83, 84, 93-94, 96-97, 99, 100, 106, 109, 112-114, 124, 126). Zahvaljujem kolegi Miroslavu Nađu što mi je pomogao oko ove numizmatičke teme.

<sup>37</sup> Lightbown 1992, 98.

<sup>38</sup> Milošević 1990, 19, 121-129; Ivanić 1998, 56; Zečević 2006, 202, kat. br. 79; Acović 2008, 215; Maneva 2007, kat. br. 46.

in is that a high number of these rings were made of silver, and only some of gold, generally also decorated by niello technique.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the fact that this one was made of gold with a very skilfully engraved coat of arms and legend, which may incidentally also be identified, rightfully puts it in the more valuable among all those mentioned. Additionally, rings with such a complex inscription are not standard in this area of the Balkans. From another point of view, I have ascertained that the Italian rings bearing the same biblical inscription are almost as a rule gold, and this combination of material, inscription, ornamentation and shape demonstrates that the person who commissioned and owned the ring stood shoulder to shoulder with the contemporaneous European elite of wealthy merchants and high officials.

#### On the signet ring and its owner

Signet rings are often mentioned in Late Mediaeval wills and inventories,<sup>39</sup> which means that they remained in use over extended periods, being preserved as familial bequests.<sup>40</sup> The actual value of the gold or silver is not the only reason for this, as there was also the sentimental value reflected in the personal and familial symbols depicted on them.<sup>41</sup> From the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward, jewellery was worn by all wealthier

<sup>38</sup> Milošević 1990, 19, 121-129; Ivanić 1998, 56; Zečević 2006, 202, cat. No. 79; Acović 2008, 215; Maneva 2007, cat. No. 46.

<sup>39</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>40</sup> A good example of this is the ring from the cemetery in Vodoča (Macedonia). Additionally, it is one of the rare examples of this type of ring which has a find context (grave 489). The ring has been dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it was used for two or three generations, and buried in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Maneva 2007, cat. No. 46).

<sup>41</sup> Despite some damage, the vaunted degree of preservation of the example considered herein suggests that it was not used very long, or that it was exposed to favourable conditions until its discovery.



biblijski natpis gotovo u pravilu zlatni te je tom kombinacijom materijala, natpisa, ukrasa i oblika naručitelj i vlasnik prstena pokazao da je ravnopravan sa suvremenim europskim elitnim krugom bogatih trgovaca i visokih dužnosnika.

### O pečatnjaku i vlasniku

Pečatni se prsteni često spominju u kasno-srednjovjekovnim oporukama i popisima,<sup>39</sup> što znači da obično ostaju u upotrebi kroz duži period, čuvajući se kroz obiteljsku ostavštinu.<sup>40</sup> Nije samo materijalna vrijednost zlata ili srebra razlog tomu, već i sentimentalna vrijednost koja se odražava kroz osobne i obiteljske simbole prikazane na njemu.<sup>41</sup> Od druge polovine 14. st. nakit nose svi imućniji ljudi, a posebno trgovci i zanatlije, koji se ponekad i nadmeću u luksuzu s vlastelom. Prstenje izrađuju u srebru i zlatu s urezanim natpisima, dok se na pečatnjacima pojavljuju heraldički elementi ili pak umetnute antičke geme.<sup>42</sup> Uspostavom grbovlja, pečatne heraldičke prstene usvajaju svi koji imaju pravo nositi oružje. U Italiji oni postaju česti u 14. st., a u ostalim su zemljama češći u 15. stoljeću.<sup>43</sup> Nakit je općenito u 15. st. brojan i skupocjen, a o tome svjedoče brojne ostave, arhivski podaci iz dubrovačkih arhiva kao i zanimljiv podatak poljskog putopisca koji je među svom srednjovjekovnom vlastelom posebno istaknuo bosanske i

people, particularly merchants and craftsmen, who sometimes competed in luxury with the nobility. Rings were made of silver and gold with engraved inscriptions, while heraldic elements or even inserted gems from Antiquity appeared on signet rings.<sup>42</sup> With the establishment of heraldry, heraldic signet rings were adopted by everyone who had the right to bear arms. In Italy, they became common in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while in other countries they were more frequent in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> Jewellery in general was numerous and expensive in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, to which many hoards testify, as well as data from the Dubrovnik archives and the interesting information provided by a Polish travel writer who among all of the Mediaeval landed nobility especially emphasized Bosnian and Serbian knights, who wore unusual attire, expensive gear and rich jewellery.<sup>44</sup> Coats of arms in their full significance, and particularly the whole ones, spread from the west and it can be said that they arrived rather late and slowly in the territories that were under Byzantine influence. In the territories discussed here, they appeared in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, earlier in Bosnia than in Serbia.<sup>45</sup> The most significant features of the western influence on the Bosnian and Zachlumian seals are the seal images with symbolic meaning and the Latin letters and language in the legends.<sup>46</sup> As a rule, seals were possessed by those who exercised or represented public authority. These were primarily people who held the highest authority, i.e. rulers.<sup>47</sup> Large seals were used exclusively on documents with a public character, while the remaining, medium-size and smaller ones (signet rings) were used by rulers to certify official documents, and also to validate entirely private attestations, letters, authoriza-

<sup>39</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>40</sup> Dobar primjer za to je prsten iz groblja u Vodoči (Makedonija). On je osim toga i jedan od rijetkih primjeraka toga tipa prstena koji ima svoj kontekst (grob 489). Prsten je datiran u 15. stoljeće, no korišten je kroz dvije ili tri generacije te je zakopan u 16. stoljeću (Maneva 2007, kat. br. 46).

<sup>41</sup> Unatoč određenim oštećenjima, stupanj očuvanosti kojim se diči naš primjerak, sugerira ipak da i nije bio dugo upotrebljavan, ili je pak do pronalaska bio izložen povoljnim uvjetima.

<sup>42</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>42</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>44</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Ćorović-Ljubinković 1975, 171, 177.

<sup>46</sup> Anđelić 1970, 105.

<sup>47</sup> Anđelić 1970, 83.

srpske vitezove koji su nosili neobična odijela, skupocjenu opremu i bogat nakit.<sup>44</sup> Grbovi u punom svom značenju, a posebno oni potpuni, šire se sa zapada i može se reći da su prilično kasno i sporo stizali na područja koja su bila pod bizantskim utjecajem. Na prostorima koja razmatramo, oni se pojavljuju od druge polovine 14. stoljeća, u Bosni ranije nego u Srbiji.<sup>45</sup> Najznačajnije karakteristike zapadnog utjecaja na bosanske i humske pečate pečatne su slike simboličkog značaja te latinsko pismo i jezik u legendama.<sup>46</sup> Pečate su po pravilu imali nositelji ili predstavnici javne vlasti. To su prije svega nositelji najviše vlasti, dakle vladari.<sup>47</sup> Veliki pečati upotrebljavaju se isključivo na ispravama javnog karaktera, dok ostali, srednji i mali (pečatni prsteni) služe vladarima i za ovjeravanje službenih isprava, ali i za potvrđivanje sasvim privatnih priznanica, pisama, punomoći i sl. I velik broj ostale vlastele imao je svoje pečate, kao i bosanski biskupi i franjevački vikari u 14. stoljeću. Kada je ispravu trebalo ovjeriti u drugom mjestu tada su punomoćnici sa sobom nosili pečate svojih naredbodavaca i njima ovjeravali dokumente. Često je pečatnjak služio kao legitimacija kojom je trebalo dokazati status punomoćnika i istinitost usmenih poruka.<sup>48</sup> Srednjovjekovni prsteni s heraldičkim predstavama često su sadržavali natpise, a poput našega, poznato ih je nekoliko (uglavnom s nepoznatih nalazišta, vjerojatno u Srbiji) s imenom vlasnika. Neki od njih su Radoslavov, Božikov, Jovov i Dragojev prsten, ili primjerice onaj čelnika Gradislava, vojvode Ivana itd., a nošeni su u razdoblju između druge polovine 14. do druge polovine 15. stoljeća.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 171, 177.

<sup>46</sup> Anđelić 1970, 105.

<sup>47</sup> Anđelić 1970, 83.

<sup>48</sup> Anđelić 1970, 84, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 173, bilj. 9; 175; Milošević 1990, 90, 91, kat. br. 98; 91, 92, kat. br. 99; 97, 98, kat. br. 115; 99, kat. br. 117; 118, 119, kat. br. 161; 119, 120, kat. br. 162.

tions, etc. A high number of the remaining landed nobility had their own seals, as well as the Bosnian bishops and Franciscan vicars of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. When a document had to be validated at another location, then the proxies would carry with them the seals of their superiors and stamp documents with them. Often the signet ring served as a form of identification which verified the status of the proxy and the truthfulness of orally-conveyed messages.<sup>48</sup> Mediaeval rings with heraldic depictions often bore inscriptions, and like the one considered herein, several of them feature the name of the owner (generally from unknown sites, probably in Serbia). Among others, there are rings of Radoslav, Božik, Jovo and Dragoje, or, for example, that of the chief Gradislav, Duke Ivan, etc., and they were worn during the period between the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. and the latter half of 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

Ljubić's prompt interpretation of the legend and attribution of the ring from Bosnia to a person named *Triphon Buche de Catharo*<sup>50</sup> are results of his active studying of Venetian archives.<sup>51</sup> This was probably the reason why he did not spend much time considering its stylistic features, the inscription on the hoop and so forth, rather he mostly dealt with the ring's bearer. It is therefore worthwhile recalling his interpretations, which served as a starting point for further confirmations and/or refutations. Š. Ljubić linked this ring to the Bosnian court, which is certainly supported by its find site (although not precisely identified) and the chronological framework (Late Mediaeval) to which the ring belongs, based on its type. The ring's owner, Tripko of Kotor, as Ljubić called him, was the Bosnian

<sup>48</sup> Anđelić 1970, 84, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 173, note 9; 175; Milošević 1990, 90, 91, cat. No 98; 91, 92, cat. No 99; 97, 98, cat. No 115; 99, cat. No 117; 118, 119, cat. No. 161; 119, 120, cat. No. 162.

<sup>50</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>51</sup> Ljubić spent time in Venice and gathered materials from the Venetian archives which were later published in ten volumes, and which contain transcripts of documents in Latin (Ljubić 1868-1891).

Ljubićeva promptna interpretacija legende i pripisivanje prstena iz Bosne osobi pod imenom *Triphon Buche de Catharo*<sup>50</sup> rezultat je njegovog aktivnog djelovanja na polju proučavanja mletačkih arhiva.<sup>51</sup> To je vjerojatno i bio razlog što se nije previše bavio stilskim značajkama, natpisom na karici i sl., već ponajviše nositeljem prstena. Podsjetimo se stoga njegove interpretacije koja je poslužila kao polazište za daljnje argumentiranje i/ili demantiranje. Š. Ljubić ovaj je prsten povezo s bosanskim dvorom, čemu svakako ide u prilog mjesto nalaza (iako ne znamo koje je to točno) te vremenski (kasnosrednjovjekovni) okvir u koji prsten tipološki pripada. Vlasnik prstena, Tripko Kotoranin, kako ga Ljubić naziva, bio je nadkomornik bosanski za vrijeme vladanja Tvrtka I,<sup>52</sup> a trgovačkim vezama Kotora i Bosne te svojevremenom Tvrtkovom vladavinom Kotorom objašnjava njegovo porijeklo. Grb je zbog prikaza vuka pripisao moćnoj zetskoj dinastiji Balšić.<sup>53</sup> Prihvatimo li te činjenice kao rješenje, jer sumnja u osobu koju više puta spominju povijesni izvori nije utemeljena, problem se pojavljuje prilikom identifikacije grba. Usprkos Ljubićevoj, nipošto lošoj pretpostavci potkrijepljenoj numizmatičko sfragističkim izvorima, te se dvije činjenice – Tripko, tj. Tripe Buća i Balšići - ne mogu nikako povezati, stoga je ili prsten pripisan krivoj osobi ili grb krivoj obitelji. Jer ukoliko se radi o dvorskom knezu bosanskome, a tu tezu slijedimo, zašto bi njegov pečat nosio prikaz grba obitelji Balšić, s kojom, usput,

protovestiary during the reign of Tvrtko I,<sup>52</sup> while the trade ties between Kotor and Bosnia and Tvrtko's one-time rule over Kotor explain his origin. The coat of arms featuring a wolf was attributed to the powerful Balšić dynasty of Zeta.<sup>53</sup> If these facts are accepted as a solution – because doubts concerning the person mentioned several times in historical sources are not founded – a problem emerges when attempting to identify the coat of arms. Despite Ljubić's hypothesis, by no means untenable, backed by numismatic and sigillographic sources, these two facts – Tripko, i.e. Triphon Buche and the Balšićs – cannot be linked in any way, so either the ring has been attributed to the wrong individual or the coat of arms to the wrong family. For insofar as its owner was a Bosnian courtly knight, and this hypothesis is accepted herein, why would his seal feature the Balšić family coat of arms, with whom, incidentally, Tvrtko I did not have particularly good relations, in fact they were rather adversarial, mostly in respect of Kotor.<sup>54</sup> The next problem is that the coat of arms of the Buch(i)a family, to which Triphon belonged, also does not correspond to the coat of arms on the ring (Fig. 10).<sup>55</sup> It should also be noted that it does not exhibit any particular similarity to Tvrtko's coat of arms, since on his coat of arms, as those of his successors, the basic heraldic symbol is the lily.<sup>56</sup> Did Tripko of Kotor have his own coat of arms, or was this some modified royal coat of arms? An attempt, at least partial, will be made to explain this. Thanks to the level of processing, particularly of the Dubrovnik Archives, much more is known today about Triphon and the Bucchia family. Additionally, the body of published coats of

<sup>50</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>51</sup> Ljubić je boravio u Veneciji i sakupljao građu iz mletačkih arhiva koja je kasnije objavljena u deset svezaka, koji donose prijepise isprava na latinskom jeziku (Ljubić 1868.-1891.).

<sup>52</sup> Ljubić navodi i za vrijeme vladanja Jelene Grube (supruga Stjepana Dabiše), međutim tu funkciju Tripe prestaje obavljati Tvrtkovom smrću 1391. g. kada ga zamjenjuje Žore Bokšić (Ljubić 1887, 100; Tošić 1974, 35).

<sup>53</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>52</sup> Ljubić stated also during the reign of Jelena Gruba (the wife of Stjepan Dabiša), however, Tripe ceased performing this function after Tvrtko's death in 1391 when he was replaced by Žore Bokšić (Ljubić 1887, 100; Tošić 1974, 35).

<sup>53</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>54</sup> Klaić 1882, 154, 164.

<sup>55</sup> Heyer 1995, Taf. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Anđelić 1970, 22, 95-96.

Tvrtko I. i nije održavao posebno dobre odnose, već su naprotiv bili u sukobu, ponajviše oko Kotora.<sup>54</sup> Iduća je nevolja što niti grb obitelji Buch(i)a iz koje potječe Tripko, također ne odgovara grbu na prstenu (sl. 10).<sup>55</sup> Spomenimo usput da posebnu sličnost ne pokazuje niti s Tvrtkovim grbom, budući da je na njegovom grbu, i na grbovima njegovih nasljednika ljljan osnovni heraldički simbol.<sup>56</sup> Je li Tripko Kotoranin imao svoj vlastiti grb ili je riječ o nekom modificiranom kraljevskom grbu, nastojat će se, barem djelomično, objasniti. Zahvaljujući stupnju obrađenosti, posebice Dubrovačkog arhiva, danas puno više znamo o samome Tripku i obitelji Bucchia. Također, korpus objavljenih grbova, pečatnih prstena i druge građe s heraldičkim elementima daleko je veći nego u vrijeme kada je prsten prvi put objavljen, što, dakako, ne uvjetuje sigurno i ispravno rješenje. Ipak, činjenice koje ukazuju na poistovjećivanje prstena sa spomenutom osobom dovoljno su jake te će se u tome smjeru i argumentirati. Tko je, dakle, bio Tripko, vlasnik ovog luksuznog zlatnog prstena? Tripko, odnosno Tripe (Petrov) Buća bio je uspješan i ugledan Dubrovčanin, rodom Kotoranin, koji je djelovao u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća.<sup>57</sup> Bucchie<sup>58</sup> su bili istaknuto kotorsko plemstvo<sup>59</sup> koje je tijesno surađivalo s

arms, signet rings and other items containing heraldic elements is far greater than at the time the ring was first published which, to be sure, is no guarantee of a certain and correct solution. Nonetheless, the facts which indicate that the ring can be linked to the aforementioned individual are sufficiently strong to justify arguments in this vein. Who, then, was Tripko, the owner of this luxurious gold ring? Tripko, or Tripe (Triphon, son of Peter) Buche was a successful and respected citizen of Dubrovnik, born in Kotor, who was active in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> The Bucchias<sup>58</sup> were distinguished members of the Kotor nobility,<sup>59</sup> who worked closely with the people of Dubrovnik and who had influence in the Serbian court, participating in diplomatic and political affairs in Serbia during the Nemanjić dynasty.<sup>60</sup> The Buche family also included, besides Tvrtko's *protovestiaros*, the famed *protovestiaroi* of Emperor Dušan (Nikola and Mihailo), Emperor Uroš (Petar and Trifun), Princess Milica and Despot Stefan (Ivan).<sup>61</sup> Triphon Buchia was born in 1341, and in 1365 he moved to Dubrovnik. The name Tripko or Trifun<sup>62</sup> appears fre-

<sup>54</sup> Klaić 1882, 154, 164.

<sup>55</sup> Heyer 1995, Taf. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Anđelić 1970, 22, 95-96.

<sup>57</sup> Njegovu je iscrpnu biografiju objavio kroz dva rada Đuro Tošić (Tošić 1974, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> Buća, Bucchia, Bucha, Buchya; pogr. Bucho; slav. Bučić; hrv. Buća; lat. Buchius varijante su pod kojima se susreće njihovo ime, dok kroničari o rodu Bucchia pišu *di Cattaro, da Cattaro, Catharensis* (Vekarić 2012, 146; 146, bilj. 1173).

<sup>59</sup> Rod Bucchia pripada mlađim vlasteoskim rodovima. Zbog zasluga za stjecanje poluotoka Pelješca dubrovačko su plemstvo dobili prije dolaska u Dubrovnik. Bucchia nikad nije bio brojani rod. Godine 1400. bila je samo jedna njihova *casata* koja se u prvoj polovini 15. st. razgranala u četiri *casate*. Nešto više od 20 g. bili su bez plemstva, a plemstvo obitelji ponovno stječe Tripe (Petrov) 1388. godine (Vekarić 2012, 146, 147, 151).

<sup>57</sup> His exhaustive biography has been published in two works by Đuro Tošić (Tošić 1974, 2007).

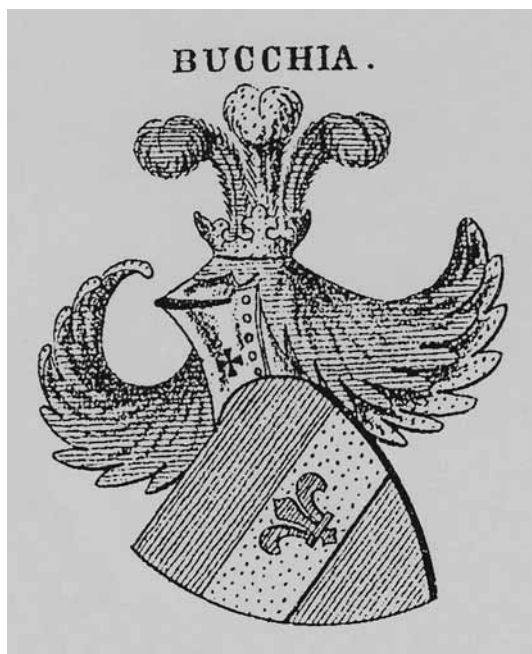
<sup>58</sup> Buća, Bucchia, Bucha, Buchya; incorr. Bucho; Slav. Bučić; Cro. Buća; Lat. Buchius are the variants of their surname, while chroniclers wrote of the Bucchia family as *di Cattaro, da Cattaro, Catharensis* (Vekarić 2012, 146; 146, note 1173).

<sup>59</sup> The Bucchia family was among the younger families of landed nobility. In return for their efforts to acquire the Pelješac Peninsula, they were granted the nobility status in Dubrovnik prior to their arrival in the city. The Bucchia were never a numerous family. In 1400, they had only one lineage which in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century branched into four lineages. For slightly over 20 years they were without a noble station, while nobility was once more acquired for the family by Tripe (son of Peter) in 1388 (Vekarić 2012, 146, 147, 151).

<sup>60</sup> Vekarić 2012, 146; Tošić 1974, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Acović 2008, 115.

<sup>62</sup> In the documents, his name is written in several variations, as follows: Triphon, Triphoni, Tripe and Tripko (Tošić 2007, 84, 86, 90; Ljubić 1887, 100).



Sl. / Fig. 10: Grb Bucchia / Bucchia coat of arms (Heyer 1995, Taf. 22)

Dubrovčanima i koje je imalo utjecaja na srpskome dvoru sudjelujući u diplomatskim i političkim poslovima nemanjičke Srbije.<sup>60</sup> Rodu Buća su, osim Tvrtkovog protovestijara, također pripadali slavni protovestijari cara Dušana (Nikola i Mihailo), cara Uroša (Petar i Trifun), kneginje Milice i despota Stefana (Ivan).<sup>61</sup> Tripe Buchia rođen je 1341. godine, a 1365. godine preselio se u Dubrovnik. Tripko ili Trifun<sup>62</sup> često je ime u kotorskim spomenicima, a u rodu Buća nasljedno je obiteljsko ime – to su ime nosili njegovi djed i unuk.<sup>63</sup> Prvi se put oženio 1367. godine Katarinom iz plemićkog roda Volcasso/Volkasić, s kojom je imao troje djece.<sup>64</sup> Nakon njezine smrti ponovo se oženio 1373. godine s Tomušom (Tomussa) iz

<sup>60</sup> Vekarić 2012, 146; Tošić 1974, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Acović 2008, 115.

<sup>62</sup> U dokumentima njegovo se ime navodilo u nekoliko varijanti, a to su Triphon, Triphoni, Tripe i Tripko (Tošić 2007, 84, 86, 90; Ljubić 1887, 100).

<sup>63</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99; Tošić 1974, 26; Vekarić 2012, 148.

<sup>64</sup> Kako je Volcasso bila jedna od najutjecajnijih *casata* Gučetićeva klana, rod Bucchia se pridružio tome klanu (Vekarić 2012, 147).

quently on Kotor monuments, and in the Bucche family it was an inherited familial name: his grandfather and grandson also had this name.<sup>63</sup> He was married the first time in 1367 to Katarina from the Volcasso/Volkasić family of nobles, with whom he had three children.<sup>64</sup> After her death, he married again in 1373, to Tomuša (Tomussa) from the Menčetić family, with whom he also had three children.<sup>65</sup> At the beginning of his career, he procured grain for Dubrovnik in Apulia and performed various intermediary activities between Bosnia and Dubrovnik.<sup>66</sup> Archival data first link him to Bosnia at the end of 1381, when he served as Dubrovnik's emissary to the Bosnian king, and the impression he made and his distinguished familial background, influenced his further career. He was first mentioned as the *protovestiaros* of Bosnian King Tvrtko I on 27 April 1386.<sup>67</sup> He performed various other tasks (traded, brought artisans to Bosnia, engaged in politics, etc.), and most often he travelled to Dubrovnik as Tvrtko's emissary.<sup>68</sup> He held this post until Tvrtko's death (in March 1391), when he probably immediately returned to Dubrovnik, where, as an influential landowner and feudal magnate, he continued to engage in trade and provide credit to citizens of Dubrovnik and Kotor. He probably died at the very end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, because the last document in which he is mentioned is dated 1399.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99; Tošić 1974, 26; Vekarić 2012, 148.

<sup>64</sup> Since Volcasso was one of the most influential *casata* of the Gučetić clan, the Bucchia family joined the clan (Vekarić 2012, 147).

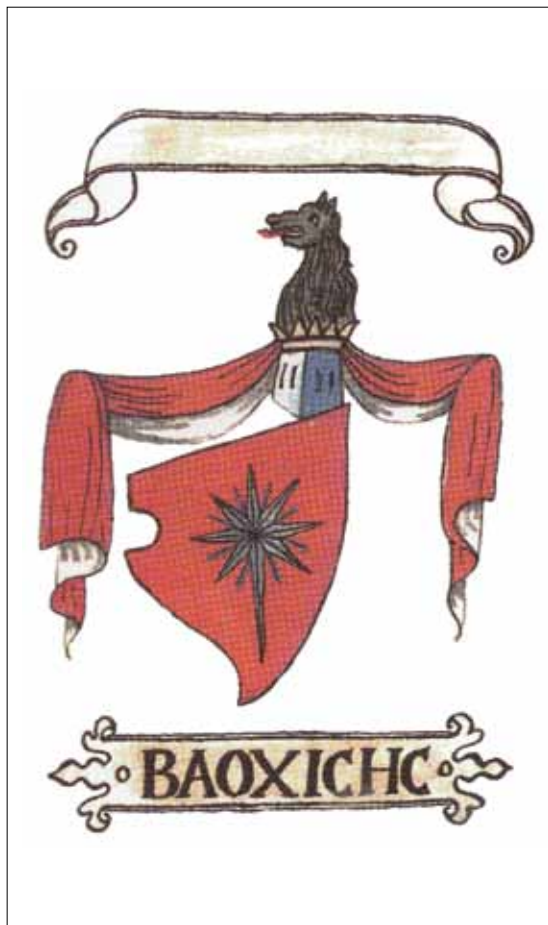
<sup>65</sup> Tošić 1974, 38; Tošić 2007, 84, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Tošić 1974, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Tošić 1974, 28, 29. Tvrtko wanted to organize the Bosnian court using the Serbian court as model, and he took on many court positions, services and ceremonies, including, among others, the post of *protovestiaros*. The *protovestiaros* has its origins in the Byzantine court, and this official managed finances. Tripe was Tvrtko's second *protovestiaros* (Tošić 1974, 30).

<sup>68</sup> Tošić 1974, 31, 32.

<sup>69</sup> Tošić 1974, 35-37; Tošić 2007, 96.



Sl. / Fig. 11: Grb Balšića, Fojnički grbovnik / Balšić coat of arms, Fojnica Armorial (Acović 2008, 223)

roda Menčetić s kojom je također imao troje djece.<sup>65</sup> U početku svoje karijere u Apuliji je nabavljao žito za Dubrovčane te obavljao razne posredničke poslove između Bosne i Dubrovnika.<sup>66</sup> Arhivski podaci prvi put ga krajem 1381. g. dovede u vezu s Bosnom kada je bio u službi dubrovačkog poslanika kod bosanskoga kralja, a dojam koji je na njega ostavio te zasigurno i ugledna obiteljska pozadina, utjecali su na njegovu daljnju karijeru. Kao protovestijar bosanskoga kralja Tvrtka I. prvi se put spominje 27. travnja

<sup>65</sup> Tošić 1974, 38; Tošić 2007, 84, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Tošić 1974, 27.

The coat of arms depicted on the ring is a full coat of arms consisting of a heraldic shield, helm with mantling and a crest, which constitutes the zenith of the developmental line of coats of arms. Full coats of arms were only used as symbols of individuals or families.<sup>70</sup> The use of a coat of arms with helm spread through the Balkan Peninsula from the west, and did not go farther east than the Serbian lands.<sup>71</sup> The helm depicted is a deep type with a prominent eye-slot, which normally also appears on the Kotromanić and Vlatković coats of arms.<sup>72</sup> It has already been noted that the legend on the bezel and the inscription on the hoop are written in Gothic majuscule. It can be observed on the Bosnian and Zachlumian seals from the onset of the 14<sup>th</sup> century until the 1450s or 1460s, and in the view of some it is the most decorative script ever used in epigraphy.<sup>73</sup> The ornament on the hoop is rendered in niello technique, and the motif used on this and similar rings was selected from the general Mediterranean repertoire, and these are normally palmettes or grape vines, ribbons and sometimes monograms.<sup>74</sup> In this case, the wolf depicted on the coat of arms constitutes the most confounding problem. In seeking an answer to the portrayal of the wolf on the seal image, Šime Ljubić pointed out its similarity to the depictions on the coins of the Balšić family of Zeta, specifically those issued by Đurađ II Stracimirović and Balša III.<sup>75</sup> The demi-wolf facing left is in most

<sup>70</sup> Anđelić 1970, 93. The oldest full coat of arms tied to Bosnia is that of Pavao Šubić, which appeared at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. But the first ascertained original Bosnian coat of arms is associated with the name of Tvrtko I (Anđelić 1970, 93).

<sup>71</sup> Janković 1989, 147. On Bosnian coins, the helm above the shield was shown as of Tvrtko's ascension to the throne as king in 1377, and in Pomorje (*Littoral region*) on the coins of Balša II (1378-1385), until his final heir (Janković 1989, 153, 154).

<sup>72</sup> Anđelić 1970, 94.

<sup>73</sup> Anđelić 1970, 120.

<sup>74</sup> Ivanić 1998, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

1386. godine.<sup>67</sup> Obavljao je i razne druge poslove (trgovao, dovodio zanatlije u Bosnu, bavio se politikom i sl.), a najčešće je u ulozi Tvrtkovog poslanika odlazio u Dubrovnik.<sup>68</sup> Na tome je položaju do Tvrtkove smrti (ožujak 1391.) kada se najvjerojatnije odmah vratio u Dubrovnik, gdje se kao moćan zemljoposjednik i feudalac i dalje bavi trgovinom te kreditiranjem Dubrovčana i Kotorana. Umro je vjerojatno na samome kraju 14. stoljeća, jer zadnji spis koji ga spominje potječe iz 1399. godine.<sup>69</sup>

Grb prikazan na prstenu pripada potpunim grbovima koji se sastoje od heraldičkog štita, kacige s plaštem i perjanice, što predstavlja vrh razvojne linije grbova. Potpuni grbovi upotrebljavaju se samo kao simboli pojedinaca ili obitelji.<sup>70</sup> Upotreba grba s kacigom širi se na Balkanski poluotok sa zapada, a ne prodire dalje na istok od srpskih zemalja.<sup>71</sup> Prikazana kaciga dubokog je tipa s naglašenim izrezom za oči, kakve se obično i pojavljuju na grbovima Kotromanića i Vlatkovića.<sup>72</sup> Spomenuto je već da su legenda na glavi i natpis na karici prstena pisani gotičkom majuskulom. Ona se bosanskim i hum-

<sup>67</sup> Tošić 1974, 28, 29. Tvrtko je po uzoru na srpski, želio urediti i bosanski dvor te je preuzeo mnoga dvorska zvanja, službe i ceremonijal, a između ostaloga i službu protovestijara. Ta je služba bizantskog porijekla, a protovestijar se bavi finansijskim poslovima. Tripe je bio drugi Tvrtkov protovestijar (Tošić 1974, 30).

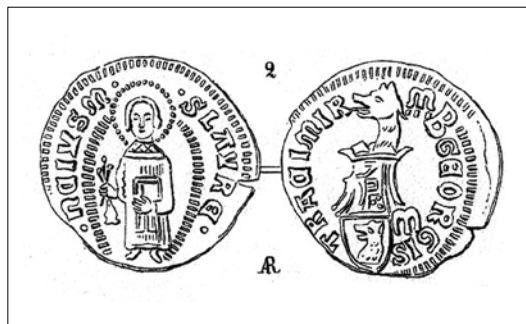
<sup>68</sup> Tošić 1974, 31, 32.

<sup>69</sup> Tošić 1974, 35-37; Tošić 2007, 96.

<sup>70</sup> Anđelić 1970, 93. Najstariji potpuni grb vezan uz Bosnu je grb Pavla Šubića nastao krajem 13. st. No prvi pouzdano utvrđeni i izvorno bosanski grb vezan je uz ime kralja Tvrtka I. (Anđelić 1970, 93).

<sup>71</sup> Janković 1989, 147. Na bosanskim novcima kaciga iznad štita prikazuje se od Tvrtkovog proglašenja za kralja 1377. g., a u Pomorju na novcu Balše II. (1378.-1385.), pa sve do njegovog posljednjeg nasljednika (Janković 1989, 153, 154).

<sup>72</sup> Anđelić 1970, 94.



Sl. / Fig. 12: Novac Balšića / Balšić coins (Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV)

cases placed above the helm and mantling, however on these images the forelegs are not shown as they are on the coat of arms on the ring, with rather prominent outspread paws. Also, the shield located beneath the helm and mantling on the Balšić coins bears the same depiction of a wolf, as opposed to the diagonal bend that appears on the ring's coat of arms (Fig. 12).<sup>76</sup> Only a wolf's head is depicted on Balša's seals of 1379, which was, in fact, the heraldic symbol of the Balšićs.<sup>77</sup> But the wolf has been attributed to the Balšićs quite often, whether depicted as only a head or the entire upper body.<sup>78</sup> In addition to the Balšićs, the wolf was a common heraldic symbol in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and besides this ring, it also appears on the monolithic tombstone of Radić Radojević (a confidant

<sup>76</sup> Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV, 2-10. Later, after the appearance of similar compositions on rings, this problem of a coat of arms depicting a wolf with jaws agape above the helm and its similarity to the Balšić coat of arms was recalled by M. Ćorović-Ljubinković (1975, 176, note 20), which was also referred to by D. Acović (2008, 202, note 505).

<sup>77</sup> These are heraldic monuments on which recognizable heraldic motifs stand outside of the context of the crest or shield (Acović 2008, 192).

<sup>78</sup> Đ. Janković also touched upon this when describing the silver medallion from Kosovo on which there is a demi-wolf with raised forelegs and paws outspread. Instead of the Balšićs, he attributed it to Đurađ Branković, alluding that it was more likely a lion (Janković 1989, 155; 162, Pl. V/8).

skim pečatima prati od početka 14. pa do šestog ili sedmog desetljeća 15. stoljeća i predstavlja, smatraju neki, najdekorativnije pismo koje se ikad upotrebljavalo u epigrafiji.<sup>73</sup> Ukras na karici izveden je u nielo tehnicu, a motiv koji se koristio na ovome i na sličnim prstenima biran je iz općeg mediteranskog repertoara, a to su obično palmeta ili vinova loza, mašna a ponekad i monogrami.<sup>74</sup> Vuk na grbu u ovome nam slučaju predstavlja najveći problem. Tragajući za odgovorom oko prikaza vuka na pečatnoj slici Šime Ljubić upozorio je na sličnost s prikazima na novcu zetske obitelji Balšić i to Đurđa II. Stracimirovića i Balše III.<sup>75</sup> Poprsje vuka okrenutog ulijevo u većini je slučajeva prikazano iznad kacige i plašta, međutim na tim prikazima nisu istaknute prednje noge, koje su na grbu prstena prikazane, i to s dosta naglašenim raširenim šapama. Također, štit koji se nalazi ispod kacige i plašta na novcu Balšića nosi istu predstavu vuka, za razliku od kose grede koja se pojavljuje na grbu prstena (sl. 12).<sup>76</sup> Na Balšinih pečatima iz 1379. g. prikazana je samo glava vuka, što i jest heraldički simbol Balšića.<sup>77</sup> No vrlo se često vuk pripisivao Balšićima, bilo da je prikazana samo glava ili cijelo poprsje.<sup>78</sup> Osim

of King Tvrtko II from 1420),<sup>79</sup> a ring from Arnautovići, and the coats of arms of Vladislav Hercegović and Vlatko, the Duke of St. Sava.<sup>80</sup> Later, however, the animals on the coats of arms of Vladislav and Vlatko were differently interpreted as lions, or griffons.<sup>81</sup> Previously, certain other signet rings with images of wolves from the National Museum in Belgrade were mentioned. The old element of Tvrtko's (the ban's, or Kotromanić's) coat of arms is an shield with a bend, while only later was the lily symbol introduced to the royal coat of arms.<sup>82</sup> However, one seal of Tvrtko II is known on which there is a bend without lilies (Fig. 13).<sup>83</sup> In this sense, a link may be established between the image of a shield on Triphon's ring and the Kotromanić's, since the bend constitutes an archaic Kotromanić coat of arms, which obviously was not forgotten even in later times. The wolf, as we have seen, is a heraldic animal that can often be found on Late Mediaeval coats of arms, so in this sense it does not represent some sort of unusual symbol. However, the question of the tie to Triphon Buche, Tvrtko's *protoves-tiarios*, is more difficult to answer. The only trace that now indicates some sort of coherent link leads to Tripe's first marriage. Katarina was from the Volkasić (Volcasso) family of nobles, which was the most influential in the Gučetić clan. Since the Buches joined their clan, the conclusion can be drawn that the familial ties encouraged the maintenance of good relations and joint interests.<sup>84</sup> There are no data on their coat of arms, but due to

<sup>73</sup> Anđelić 1970, 120.

<sup>74</sup> Ivanić 1998, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>76</sup> Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV, 2-10. Kasnije je, nakon pojave sličnih predstava na prstenju, na taj problem grba koji prikazuje vuka s otvorenim čeljustima iznad kacige, odnosno njegove sličnosti s grbom Balšića podsjetila M. Čorović-Ljubinković (1975, 176, bilj. 20), što je i D. Acović također doveo u vezu (2008, 202, bilj. 505).

<sup>77</sup> Riječ je o heraldičkim spomenicima kojima se prepoznatljivi heraldički motiv nalazi izvan konteksta perjanice ili štita (Acović 2008, 192).

<sup>78</sup> Toga se dotaknuo i Đ. Janković opisujući srebrnu plaketu s Kosova na kojoj se nalazi vučje poprsje s uzdignutim nogama i raširenim šapama. On ju je umjesto Balšićima pripisao Đurđu Brankoviću aludirajući da je vjerojatnije riječ o lavu (Janković 1989, 155; 162, T. V/8).

<sup>79</sup> This was a monolithic tombstone (*stećak*) from Zabrdje near Kiseljak which mentions in the inscription Radoje, the grand prince of Bosnia (1405-1420). The demi-wolf with paws outspread is depicted on the helm inside a circular field. It has been dated between 1405 and 1420 (Janković 1989, 152; 161, Pl. IV/7).

<sup>80</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252.

<sup>81</sup> Anđelić 1970, 77, 78, Fig. 55; 79, Fig. 57; 80, Fig. 58; 81, Fig. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Anđelić 1970, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Anđelić 1970, 41, No. 17, 42.

<sup>84</sup> Vekarić 2012, 147.



kod Balšića, vuk je čest heraldički znak u Bosni i Hercegovini, a uz ovaj prsten, nalazi se još i na stečku Radića Radojevića (pouzdanika kralja Tvrtka II. iz 1420. g.),<sup>79</sup> prstenu iz Arnautovića, zatim na grbu Vladislava Hercegovića te Vlatka, Hercega od sv. Save.<sup>80</sup> Kasnije su međutim drugačije interpretirane životinje na Vladislavljevom i Vlatkovom grbu i pripisane lavu, odnosno grifonu.<sup>81</sup> Ranije su spomenuti i neki drugi pečatnjaci s prikazom vuka iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu. Stari element Tvrtkovog (banskog, odnosno Kotromanića) grba je štit s kosom gredom, dok se tek kasnije na kraljevski grb uvodi simbol ljiljana.<sup>82</sup> No poznat je jedan pečat Tvrtka II. na čijem se štitu nalazi kosa greda bez ljiljana (sl. 13).<sup>83</sup> U tom se smislu može uspostaviti veza između prikaza štita na Tripinom prstenu i Kotromanića, budući da kosa greda predstavlja arhaičan grb Kotromanića, koji očito nije bio zaboravljen niti u kasnijim vremenima. Vuk je, vidjeli smo, heraldička životinja koju je često moguće sresti na kasnosrednjovjekovnim grbovima pa u tom smislu on ne predstavlja neki neuobičajeni simbol. Međutim, na pitanje o povezanosti s Tripom Bućom, Tvrtkovim protovestijarom, teže je odgovoriti. Jedini trag koji zasada nagovještava neku suvislu poveznicu vodi nas prema Tripinom prvome braku. Katarina je potjecala iz plemićke obitelji Volkasić (Volkasso) koja je unutar Gučetićeveg klana bila najutjecajnija. Kako su se i Buće priklonile njihovom klanu možemo zaključiti da



Sl. / Fig. 13: Pečat Tvrtka II. / Seal of Tvrtko II (Anđelić 1970, 41, sl. / Fig. 17)

the root of their surname, which is the Old Slavonic origin of the noun for wolf (*vuk*),<sup>85</sup> it is possible that the wolf was in fact their symbol. Anything beyond this is pure speculation: whether Tripe retained this symbol to commemorate his deceased spouse and the firm ties with her family, or whether some branch of the Buches to which he belonged himself assumed this symbol.

Significant to interpretation of the legend is the fact that Triphon held the title of *dominus*, which often appears before his name in the written sources, and also the title of knight (*miles*) which was held by a very small number of people in Mediaeval Bosnia.<sup>86</sup> Nothing particular needs to be said about the name, but the owner's title nonetheless creates certain doubts. Ljubić interpreted it as *comes*

<sup>79</sup> Riječ je o stečku iz Zabrđa kod Kiseljaka koji u natpisu navodi Radoja, velikog kneza Bosne (1405.-1420.) Na kacigi unutar kružnog polja prikazano je poprse vuka s raširenim šapama. Datiran je između 1405. i 1420. godine (Janković 1989, 152; 161, T. IV/7).

<sup>80</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252.

<sup>81</sup> Anđelić 1970, 77, 78, sl. 55; 79, sl. 57; 80, sl. 58; 81, sl. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Anđelić 1970, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Anđelić 1970, 41, br. 17, 42.

<sup>85</sup> Skok 1973, 635, 636.

<sup>86</sup> Tošić 1974, 31.

su obiteljske veze potaknule održavanje dobrih odnosa i zajedničkih interesa.<sup>84</sup> O njihovom grbu nema podataka, no zbog korijena njihovoga prezimena, koje je staroslavensko porijeklo imenice *vuk*,<sup>85</sup> moguće je pretpostaviti da je upravo *vuk* bio njihov simbol. Dalje je puko nagađanje - je li *Tripe* zadržao taj simbol zbog uspomene na pokojnu suprugu i čvrste povezanosti s njezinom obitelji, ili je pak neki ogranak *Buća* kojemu je i sam pripadao preuzeo taj simbol.

Za tumačenje legende značajan je i podatak da je *Tripe* imao titulu *dominus* koja se u izvorima često nalazi ispred njegovog imena, ali i titulu viteza (*miles*) koju je imao vrlo mali broj ljudi u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni.<sup>86</sup> O imenu ne treba posebno govoriti, međutim, vlasnička titula stvara ipak određene nedoumice. *Ljubić* ju je interpretirao kao *comes aulae*, odnosno dvorski knez.<sup>87</sup> Ta se tvrdnja može, ali i ne mora prihvatiti. *Tripina* titula i primarna obveza na dvoru bila je *prothovestiarus*, kako se i najčešće spominjao u ispravama, međutim, kao čovjek od povjerenja obavljao je i razne druge poslove te je nesumnjivo visoko kotirao na dvoru i mogao je imati takvo dvorsko dostojanstvo. *Comes aulae* doslovan je prijevod za zvanje dvorskoga kneza, a razne su inačice koje imaju isto to značenje – *praefectus aulae*, *palatinus*, *maestro de la corte*.<sup>88</sup> Svakako je moguće da je i navedena kombinacija bila upotrebljavana. Prema pravilu na kraju legende dolazi vlasnikova titula, u suprotnome mogli bismo pomisliti da je *CA* kratica koja se odnosi na porijeklo vlasnika, s obzirom na to da je često spominjan kao *de Cataro* ili *de Catharo*.

<sup>84</sup> Vekarić 2012, 147.

<sup>85</sup> Skok 1973, 635, 636.

<sup>86</sup> Tošić 1974, 31.

<sup>87</sup> *Ljubić* 1887, 100.

<sup>88</sup> *Truhelka* 1901, 103, 104.

*aulae*, or knight of the court.<sup>87</sup> This assertion can, but need not, be accepted. *Tripcon's* title and primary duty in the court was *prothovestiarus*, and he is mentioned in the documents most often as such. However, as a trusted individual, he performed various other duties and was undoubtedly held in high regard in the court and he could have had such courtly prestige. *Comes aulae* is a literal translation of the post of knight of the court, while there are other variants which have the same meaning: *praefectus aulae*, *palatinus*, *maestro de la corte*.<sup>88</sup> It is certainly possible that the aforementioned combination was also used. According to the accepted rule, the owner's title comes at the end of the legend. Otherwise, it can be assumed that *CA* is an abbreviation for the owner's place of origin, given that he was often designated as *de Cataro* or *de Catharo*.

Seal stamps were made by the more skilful goldsmiths, who could manage the engraving of often complicated seal designs in hard materials, as reverse images. Besides seals, these master craftsmen also made casts for the minting of coins, and they made signet rings and similar items.<sup>89</sup> This type of ring with such rendering and adornment of the hoop was produced by European workshops, and such items were imported/delivered to other regions on commission, while, it would appear, local goldsmiths engraved familial coats of arms and legends subsequently. A comparison of the letters on the hoop and bezel indicates considerable similarity, and the precision and detail with which the coat of arms was rendered point to the work of a highly-talented master craftsman, regardless of whether he was a local goldsmith or possibly an itinerant artisan.<sup>90</sup> The Italian origin

<sup>87</sup> *Ljubić* 1887, 100.

<sup>88</sup> *Truhelka* 1901, 103, 104.

<sup>89</sup> *Andelić* 1970, 102.

<sup>90</sup> A specialized seal engraver and top-level artisan from the best school of that era, which according to some hypotheses operated in Paris, worked in *Tvrčko's* court (*Andelić* 1970, 103).

Izradom pečata bavili su se zlatari, i to oni vješiji, koji su se mogli upustiti u graviranje često kompliciranih pečatnih slika u tvrdom materijalu, i to u negativu. Osim pečata ti su majstori radili i kalupe za kovanje novca, izrađivali pečatno prstenje i sl.<sup>89</sup> Tip prstena s ovakvim načinom izrade i ukrasom karika pripada europskim radionicama te su se takvi primjerci po narudžbama uvozili/dopremali u druge krajeve, dok su, čini se, naknadno domaći zlatari urezivali obiteljske grbove i legende. Uspoređujući slova na karici i glavi primjećuje se velika sličnost, a preciznost i pedantnost kojom je izveden grb ukazuje na rad također vrhunskog majstora, bilo da je riječ o nekom lokalnom zlataru ili možda putujućem majstoru.<sup>90</sup> Talijansko porijeklo prstena, odnosno rad talijanskog majstora, samo je odraz vremena u kojemu su postojali snažni trgovački, ali i brojni drugi međusobni interesi. Dobre odnose s Venecijom imao je i Tvrtko I. kao i njegovi nasljednici (Dabiša, Ostoja, Tvrtko II., Stjepan Tomaš). Mlečanima je bila zajamčena slobodna i sigurna trgovina i u Kotoru i svim ostalim dijelovima bosanskog kraljevstva, a ona se, dakako, živo i odvijala.<sup>91</sup> Međutim, postoje i indicije da je Tripe četiri godine (1382.-1386.) boravio u Novom Brdu<sup>92</sup> te mogućnost da je tamo došao u kontakt s nekim vrsnim, vjerojatno putujućim zlatarom, koji mu je mogao prodati prsten ili samo urezati predstavu na glavi.

<sup>89</sup> Anđelić 1970, 102.

<sup>90</sup> Na Tvrtkovom dvoru radio je specijalizirani pečatorezac i vrhunski umjetnik iz najbolje škole toga vremena, koja je prema nekim pretpostavkama djelovala u Parizu (Anđelić 1970, 103).

<sup>91</sup> Brković 2011, 52-59. Isprava kralja Tvrtka I. Mlečanima (23.8.1385., Sutjeska) kojom im potvrđuje sva prava koja su ih otprije imali u gradu Kotoru (Brković 2011, 52-55), Isprava kralja Ostoje (22.4.1404.) kojom mletačkim trgovcima daje prava i povlastice u pogledu trgovine po Bosni (Brković 2011, 56-59).

<sup>92</sup> Tošić 2007, 86.

of the ring, or the work of an Italian craftsman, is only a reflection of the time in which there was strong trade and many other mutual interests. Tvrtko I and his successors (Dabiša, Ostoja, Tvrtko II and Stjepan Tomaš) maintained good relations with Venice. Free and safe trade was guaranteed to the Venetians in Kotor and all other parts of the Bosnian kingdom, and it certainly proceeded vigorously.<sup>91</sup> However, there are also indications that Triphon spent four years (1382-1386) in Novo Brdo,<sup>92</sup> and it is possible that while there he came into contact with some highly-skilled, possibly itinerant goldsmith who could have sold him the ring or simply engraved the composition on its bezel. The interpretation of the inscription *Iesus autem* suggests that it belonged to a person who spent a great deal of time travelling, and given Triphon's duties prior to his service in the Bosnian court, and also during that time, when he generally went back and forth from Dubrovnik to Bosnia (mostly often probably to Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska), the selection of this prophylactic inscription was entirely appropriate and suited to his lifestyle.

A ring of this type could only be worn by a distinguished, highly-placed individual, a noble, feudal magnate, or court official, and in this regard it should be assumed that it was found in a place such as a church or monas-

<sup>91</sup> Brković 2011, 52-59. A document from King Tvrtko I to the Venetians (23 Aug. 1385, Sutjeska) whereby he confirmed all rights for them which they enjoyed previously in the city of Kotor (Brković 2011, 52-55), Document from King Ostoje (22 Apr. 1404) whereby Venetian merchants are granted rights and privileges with reference to trade in Bosnia (Brković 2011, 56-59).

<sup>92</sup> Tošić 2007, 86.

Tumačenje natpisa *Iesus autem* sugerira pripadnost osobi koja je dobar dio svog vremena provodila na putu, a s obzirom na Tripine dužnosti prije službe na bosanskom dvoru, ali i za vrijeme trajanja, kada je uglavnom boravio na relaciji Dubrovnik - Bosna (najčešće vjerojatno Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska), odabir tog natpisa zaštitnog karaktera sasvim je prigodan i priliči njegovom načinu života.

Prsten ovakve izrade mogao je jedino nositi neki istaknuti, visokopozicionirani pojedinac, plemić, feudalac ili dvorski službenik, a u skladu s tim trebalo bi pretpostaviti da je pronađen na nekome mjestu poput crkve ili samostana te da je riječ o grobnom nalazu.<sup>93</sup> Međutim, Tripe Buća se nakon završene službe u Bosni vratio u Dubrovnik, pa se može očekivati da je negdje u okolici i pokopan. Stoga se nameće pretpostavka da je prsten morao na dvoru i ostaviti kako ga ne bi eventualno zloupotrebjavao. Ipak, poznato je da je i nakon što je razriješen funkcije protovestijara, tu titulu zadržao te se u nekim izvorima spominje kao *olim prothouestiario (jednom protovestijar)*. Kada je točno umro i gdje je pokopan Tripe još uvijek nije poznato.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Ako uzmemo u obzir da su dva slična prstena, iako nipošto raskošna kao ovaj jer su prije svega srebrni, pronađena unutar grobova u katedrali u Novom Brdu i crkvi u Arnautovićima (Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, kat. br. 79, Čremošnik 1951, 252, T. III, 6), a znajući da takvo grobno mjesto nije mogao imati bilo tko, jasno je da je taj prsten mogao nositi jedino netko tko je posjedovao vrlo visoki status ali i veliko bogatstvo. Tripe je kao trgovac iz plemićke obitelji i svojevremeno kraljeva desna ruka s titulom viteza, sve to i posjedovao.

<sup>94</sup> Tošić 1974, 36.

tery and that this was a grave good.<sup>93</sup> However, Triphon Buche returned to Dubrovnik after the end of his service in Bosnia, so it can be assumed that he was buried somewhere in the vicinity. This imposes the hypothesis that he had to leave the ring with the court to prevent its misuse. Even so, it is known that even after he was dismissed from the post of *protovestiaros*, he retained this title and in some sources he is mentioned as *olim prothouestiario* ("once a *protovestiaros*"). When Triphon died and where he was interred remains unknown.<sup>94</sup>

### Conclusion

We have before us a ring of exceptional value based on the following characteristics: from the standpoint of artistic crafts, it is the product of an exceptionally skilled and precise craftsman with impeccable mastery of contemporary engraving techniques, both in terms of the inscription and the niellated plant and zoomorphic motifs. It has been preserved in virtually its original form, with minor damage to the lower portion of the hoop, which has enabled a comprehensive reading of the inscription on the hoop and the legend on the bezel, and the identification of the heraldic composition, while its material value – a weight of 18.637 grams of gold – speaks for itself. The heraldic features in the form of a full coat of arms used, by all indications, for official purposes, combined with the magical

<sup>93</sup> Taking into account that two similar rings – although by no means as luxurious as this one primarily because they are made of silver – were discovered in tombs in the cathedral in Novo Brdo and the church in Arnautovići (Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, cat. No. 79, Čremošnik 1951, 252, Pl. III, 6), and knowing that not just anybody could be interred at such a site, it is clear that this ring could have been worn only by someone who had a very high position but also great wealth. As a merchant from a noble family and a king's "right-hand man" who bore the title of knight, Triphon had all of this.

<sup>94</sup> Tošić 1974, 36.

## Zaključak

Pred nama je prsten čija se izuzetna vrijednost temelji na sljedećim karakteristikama. S umjetničko-obrtničkog stajališta on predstavlja rad izuzetno vještog i preciznog majstora koji je savršeno vladao suvremenim tehnikama graviranja kako natpisa tako i vegetabilnih i zoomorfnih motiva koji su ispunjeni nielom. Očuvan je u gotovo izvornom obliku, s manjim oštećenjima u donjem dijelu karike, što je omogućilo cjelovito čitanje natpisa na karici i legende na glavi, kao i jasno raspoznavanje heraldičke predstave, dok o materijalnoj vrijednosti - težina od 18,637 grama zlata govori sama za sebe. Heraldičko obilježje u obliku potpunog grba, upotrebljavano, po svemu sudeći, u službene svrhe, u kombinaciji s magijskim karakterom natpisa ne sreće se često na prstenju. Prstenje ovoga tipa puno je kompleksnijeg značenja koje nadilazi osnovnu estetsku funkciju nakita. Iz njegovog se sadržaja crpe podaci koji svjedoče o osobi i vremenu kojemu je pripadao. U našem je slučaju on odraz potrebe, ali i mogućnosti koje je imao nositelj prstena kao bliski kraljev suradnik iz plemićke obitelji, a one su kako na financijskom tako i na kulturnom i na trendovskom polju bile na najvišem nivou. Na osnovi ranije iznesenih podataka o Tripinom životu i radu, a potkrijepljeno i nalazima sličnih suvremenih prstena, ovaj je prsten moguće vrlo precizno datirati i to u drugu polovinu osamdesetih i sam početak devedesetih godina 14. stoljeća. Prsten je rad neke talijanske radionice (Venecija?), dok je heraldički prikaz s legendom na glavi najvjerojatnije po narudžbi vlasnika naknadno urezan na bosanskom dvoru.

Uz dužnu zahvalnost *prečastnom gosp.*<sup>95</sup> Fidelisu Höppergeru što je prsten poklo-

character of the inscription, is not often encountered on rings. Rings of this type have a much more complex significance which surpasses the basic aesthetic function of jewelry. Information on the person and the time to which it belonged can be discerned from its content. In this case, it is a reflection of the need, and also the opportunities that the ring's bearer had as a close associate of the king from a noble family, and these were at the highest level whether they concerned finances, culture or fashion. Based on the previously noted data on Triphon's life and work, backed also by finds of similar contemporaneous rings, this ring may be precisely dated to the latter half of the 1380s and the very beginning of the 1390s. The ring is the product of an Italian workshop (Venice?), while the heraldic design with legend on the bezel were probably subsequently engraved in the Bosnian court at the owner's request.

With all due gratitude to the *most reverend*<sup>95</sup> Fidelis Höpperger, who bequeathed the ring to the National Museum of the time in Zagreb, and taking into consideration the fact that the discovery of the ring itself and its journey to the Museum belong to an entirely different era, we can nonetheless testify to the importance of the archaeological context for a clearer illumination of the problem. Some additional information would certainly enrich our knowledge, particularly the actual find site, which would provide an answer to the question of how and why Triphon's ring ended up where it did. The gathering and preservation of data is exceptionally important, because each piece of recorded information is useful – if not at the moment, then perhaps for future research.

<sup>95</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>95</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

nio tadašnjem Narodnom zemaljskom muzeju u Zagrebu te uvažavajući činjenicu da pronalazak samog prstena i njegov put do Muzeja pripadaju jednom sasvim drugom vremenu, ipak ponovno svjedočimo važnosti arheološkog konteksta u jasnijem rasvjetljenju problema. Uz još poneki podatak bili bismo svakako bogatiji, posebno s mjestom pronalaska koje bi i dalo odgovor kako je i zašto Tripin prsten završio na tome mjestu. Prikupljanje i čuvanje podataka iznimno je važno, jer svaka zabilježena informacija je korisna. Ako i ne trenutno, možda za buduća istraživanja.

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