

NINSKA SVJEDOČANSTVA
O BISKUPU NATALU
(1436. – 1462.),
APOSTOLSKOM LEGATU
U BOSNI

THE EVIDENCE FROM NIN
CONCERNING BISHOP
NATALIS (1436 – 1462),
APOSTOLIC LEGATE TO
BOSNIA

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ABSTRACT

U članku se obrađuju dva povijesna artefakta iz sredine 15. stoljeća, jedan biskupski grb i jedan masivni prsten s grbom i natpisom pape Pija II. (Enea Silvio Piccolomini). Oba artefakta izravno se dovode u vezu s ninskim biskupom Natalom koji je svoju pastoralnu službu u Ninu obnašao od 1436. do 1462. godine. Grb je nekoć bio uzidan nad ulazom u nekadašnju biskupsku palaču, a prsten s papinskim grbom izravno je svjedočanstvo o službi apostolskog legata u Bosni koju je u posljednjim godinama svojega života Natal obnašao.

Ključne riječi: **Biskup Natal, 15. stoljeće, papa Pio II., apostolski legat, Nin**

ABSTRACT

The article deals with two historical artefacts from the mid-fifteenth century: an episcopal coat of arms, and a large ring with a crest and inscription of Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini). It argues for a direct connection between both artefacts and Bishop Natalis, who carried out his pastoral duties in Nin from 1436 to 1462. The coat of arms used to be set into the wall above the entrance to the former Episcopal Palace, and the ring with a papal crest is a direct testimony of Natalis' service as an apostolic legate to Bosnia, a responsibility with which he was entrusted during the final years of his life.

Key words: **Bishop Natalis, fifteenth century, Pope Pius II, apostolic legate, Nin**

Kao student povijesti i arheologije proveo je Franjo Smiljanić mnoge dane na terenskim istraživanjima u Ninu iskazujući neprestano živi interes za njegovu srednjovjekovnu povijest. Često smo se tamo nalazili i provodili ugodno vrijeme u diskusijama oko vrlo različitih pitanja povezanih uz ovaj, za srednjovjekovnu hrvatsku povijest toliko važan lokalitet. U Ninu se u tim raspravama naše druženje produbljivalo, prerastajući u dugogodišnje prijateljstvo. Upravo stoga, i u sjećanje na naše zajedničko sazrijevanje, prilažem ovaj uradak, tematski povezan uz Nin, kao uspomenu na dragog prijatelja.

Sjeverno od župskog stana u Ninu, u ogradnom zidu pored ulaza u dvorište privatne kuće uzidan je jedan srednjovjekovni biskupski grb. Koliko je meni poznato, prvi ga spominje Luka Jelić u svojoj poznatoj raspravi o spomenicima grada Nina. Grb je u Jelićevo doba bio uzidan nad glavnim vratima negdašnje biskupove palače u Ninu. Evo Jelićeva citata: “početkom XVI. vijeka uslijed turskoga opsijedanja s gradom je i palača nastradala, a s izmakom ovog vijeka bila je i ruševinom, te je tek za biskupa Jurja IV. Perkića (1690. – 1703.) obnovljena, kako se razabire po njegovom grbu uzidanom nad glavnim vratima. Na štitu u sredini kruglja, a na njoj šesterokračna zvijezda; nad štitom EP(iscopu)S N(on)A(e).”¹ Isti grb spominje i Ivo Petricioli ne zamjećujući da ga je već objavio Jelić. Vrijedi prenijeti Petriciolijev sažeti opis: “Zanimljiv je gotički grb s biskupskom mitrom, širok 35, visok 47 cm, sa sigloma EPS NA i polumjesecom sa šesterokrakom zvijezdom u štitu. Nalazi se sekundarno uzidan sjeverno od župske kuće.”² Naime, primjedbe dvojice zaslužnih znanstvenika nisu baš u suglasju. Moglo bi se čak pretpostavljati da nije riječ o istome grbu, mada obojica spominju jednake heraldičke elemente (šesterokraka zvijezda i polumjesec). Ipak, za identifikaciju je najvažnija sigla, EPS NA, koja je kod obojice ista. Kako je Jelić došao do zaključka da je riječ o biskupu Jurju IV. s prijelaza 17. u 18. stoljeće, možemo samo nagađati. Jelić grb zatiče nad glavnim ulazom u nekadašnju biskupsku palaču (danas župski dvor), a Petricioli ga zatiče na drugom mjestu, nedaleko župske kuće. Na njegovoj je fotografiji vidljivo da je zajedno s grbom uzidan u neposrednoj blizini i jedan gotički kapitel (Sl. 1). Na istom su mjestu i danas. U međuvremenu je međutim donji krak zvijezde na grbu dijelom ot-

As a student of history and archaeology, Franjo Smiljanić spent many days at Nin doing field-work and he continuously expressed a passionate interest in its medieval history. We often arranged to meet there and shared pleasant times discussing a wide variety of issues linked to this extremely important site for Croatian medieval history. These Nin-based discussions bound us together and we gradually became lifelong friends. Because of this, and in remembrance of our joint maturation, I am presenting this article in the memory of my dear friend, with the subject matter that focuses on Nin.

To the north of the vicarage at Nin, set in the perimeter wall next to the entrance to the front yard of a private house, is a medieval episcopal coat of arms. As far as I know, it was mentioned for the first time by Luka Jelić in his well-known study of the monuments of Nin. In Jelić's day, the coat of arms was still located above the main door of the former Episcopal Palace at Nin. This is what Jelić wrote: “The palace and the town itself were badly damaged in the early sixteenth century, during the Ottoman Turk siege of Nin, and by the end of that century the palace became a ruin. It was renovated during the office of Bishop Juraj IV Perkić (1690 – 1703), as can be discerned from his coat of arms, which is in-built above the main door. At the centre of the shield is a sphere containing a six-pointed star; above the shield are the letters EP(iscopu)S N(on)A(e).”¹ The same coat of arms was also recorded by Ivo Petricioli without him being aware that it had already been published by Jelić. Here it is opportune to quote Petricioli's concise description: “Of interest is a Gothic coat of arms with an episcopal mitre, 35 cm wide and 47 cm tall, with the letters EPS NA, and a shield containing a crescent with a six-pointed star. It was re-used in a wall to the north of the vicarage.”² It is obvious that the comments of these two worthy scholars do not agree. It could even be assumed that they were not referring to the same coat of arms, even though both mention identical heraldic elements (a six-pointed star and crescent). However, for purposes of identification, the most important element is the inscription EPS NA, which is the same in both authors. We can only guess how Jelić arrived at the conclusion that the coat of arms was that of Bishop Juraj IV from the turn of the eighteenth century. Jelić saw the coat of arms above the main entrance to the former Episcopal Palace (the present-day vicarage), while Petricioli spotted it in a different place, not far from the vicarage. He also published the photograph which shows

1 L. JELIĆ 1902: 107.

2 I. PETRICIOLI 1969: 310-312.

1 L. JELIĆ 1902: 107.

2 I. PETRICIOLI 1969: 310-312.

klesan, a na Petriciolijevoj je fotografiji još uvijek bez te intervencije.

Grb je uklesan u vapnenački blok visok 47, a širok 35 cm. Po obodu je uokviren motivom izmjeničnih dentikula (koje se u struci uobičavao nazivati "žioka na raboš"). Unutar jednostavnoga gotičkog grba su polumjesec i šesterokraka zvijezda. Nad štitom je heraldička oznaka dostojanstva, biskupska mitra sa štolom koja se spušta uz grb. Uz mitru krupnom je kapitalom uklesana sigla EPS lijevo, a NA desno (Sl. 2). Morfološke osobine reljefa tipično su gotičke i u suglasju su s tipološkim osobinama grba. Nema sumnje da je riječ o jednom gotičkom grbu, vjerojatnije iz 15. nego kasnog 14. stoljeća. I motiv "žioke na raboš" upravo je karakterističan za klesarstvo Dalmacije u sredini i drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća, najčešće je klesan po obodima portala, ali i na drugim arhitektonskim elementima. Dovoljno se prisjetiti onih u Splitu koji su nastali u radionicama Jurja Dalmatinca i Andrije Alešija, primjerice portali palače d'Augubio, Papalićeve i Marulićeve palače i drugih.³ Upravo bi stoga vlasnika ninskoga grba trebalo tražiti među biskupima 15. stoljeća. U takvoj situaciji naravno od iznimne je pomoći sigla EPS NA koju ni Jelić ni Petricioli nisu iskoristili. Petricioli ju samo navodi ne nudeći objašnjenje, dok Jelićevo razrješenje kratice u *episcopus nonae* ne daje nikakve rezultate jer je i bez toga bilo jasno da je riječ o grbu jednog od ninskih biskupa.⁴ Sigla se ipak odnosi na sasvim konkretno ime biskupa, i to je ime NA(talis). Naime, ninska je katedra, nakon smrti biskupa Ludovika, dodijeljena 6. veljače 1436. godine ... *de persona fratris Natalis de Venetiis, ordinis carmelitorum, in sacra pagina magistri, ad ipsam ecclesiam (nonensi) electi*.⁵ Uskoro je uslijedila uplata pristojbe apostolskoj komori protokolirana u Firenci 19. ožujka iste godine: ... *dominus Natalis, episcopus Nonensis, solvit florenos XXXVI, solidos V, denarios VI*.⁶ Natalis je bio biskupom Nina u dugom vremenskom razdoblju od 1436. do 1462. godine, dakle punih četvrt stoljeća. Iz perioda njegova pontifikata međutim nije ostalo sačuvano mnogo povijesne građe. Poznat je njegov prosvjed zadarskim rektorima u svezi s posjedom *Cetiglavaz* koji je zadarska komora prodala Jakovu iz Bologne,

the coat of arms built in the wall alongside a Gothic capital (Fig. 1). In the meantime lowermost point of the star has been cut off while Petricioli's photograph shows it without this intervention.

The coat of arms was carved in a limestone block which is 47 cm high and 35 cm wide, with a framing motif of alternating dentils running along its outline. Within a simple Gothic crest are a crescent and a six-pointed star. Above the shield is the heraldic sign of an episcopal dignitary, a mitre with a stole, the ends of which descend on either side of the crest. The mitre is flanked by the letters EPS to the left and NA to the right which have been carved in large capitals (Fig. 2). The morphological characteristics of the relief are typically Gothic and correspond to the typological features of the coat of arms. There is no doubt that it is a Gothic coat of arms, more likely to be of a fifteenth-century date than of a late fourteenth-century one. The motif of dentils itself is characteristic of Dalmatian sculpture of the mid- and late-fifteenth century and it features most frequently along the edges of portals, but is also present in other architectural elements. It suffices to call to mind those at Split which were produced in the workshops of Giorgio da Sebenico (Juraj Dalmatinac) and Andrea Alessi, such as the portals on the d'Augubio Palace, the Papalić Palace, the Marulić Palace and others.³ Based on this, the owner of the Nin coat of arms should be sought among the fifteenth-century bishops. In such a context, of utmost help is, naturally, the inscription EPS NA, which was not considered by Jelić or Petricioli. Petricioli merely recorded it without offering an explanation while Jelić's restitution of abbreviated text as *episcopus nonae* does not yield any insight because, even without it, one can see clearly that this is a coat of arms of a bishop of Nin.⁴ The inscription, nonetheless, refers to a specific bishop by the name of NA(talis). After the death of Bishop Ludovik, the Nin see was assigned on 6 February 1436 to ... *de persona fratris Natalis de Venetiis, ordinis carmelitorum, in sacra pagina magistri, ad ipsam ecclesiam (nonensi) electi*.⁵ Soon after this, a payment of a fee was credited to the Apostolic Chamber and processed in Florence on 19 March of the same year: ... *dominus Natalis, episcopus Nonensis, solvit florenos XXXVI, solidos V, denarios VI*.⁶ Natalis was the Bishop of Nin for a long period of time, from 1436 to 1462,

3 D. KEČKEMET 1988: 29 i dalje.

4 Više iznenađuje činjenica da Jelić početkom 20. stoljeća nije uopće bio u stanju stilski razlikovati gotički grb od nekoga baroknog.

5 *Camera Apostolica* 1: 377.

6 *Camera Apostolica* 1: 377.

3 D. KEČKEMET 1988: 29 f.

4 It is more surprising that, in the early twentieth century, Jelić was not at all able to tell the difference between the style of a Gothic coat of arms and a Baroque one.

5 *Camera Apostolica* 1: 377.

6 *Camera Apostolica* 1: 377.

a za koji je biskup Natal tvrdio da je pripadao njegovoj biskupiji, temeljem isprave bana Rolanda ninskom biskupu Samsonu iz 1266. godine.⁷ Toponim u obliku u kojem je zapisan, dakle *Cetiglavaz*, zapravo je koruptela, a odnosi se na srednjovjekovno selo zadarskog distrikta, zapisano na različite načine u više srednjovjekovnih dokumenata (*Vciteglianas*, *Vcitegliauas*, *Vcitegliesello*, *Uciteglie sello*, *Vcitegl*, *Ocitegl* i sl.). Riječ je o posjedu čiji je srednjovjekovni oblik morao glasiti *Učitelja vas* ili *Učitelja selo*, a nalazio se na mjestu današnjeg Islama Latinskog u blizini Zelenog hrasta, o čemu sam pisao na više mjesta.⁸

Važniji je svakako u povijesnim vrelima spomen ninskog biskupa u 1459. godini kada ga u svojim dnevnicima spominje papa Pio II. (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), veliki humanist na Petrovoj katedri. Ne navodeći doduše našem biskupu ime, papa se prisjeća dolaska trojice bogumila u Rim. To je onaj povijesni trenutak u kojem je po nalogu bosanskog kralja Stjepana Tomaša veliki broj bogumila prisilno prešao na kršćanstvo, a oni koji na to nisu pristali bili su protjerani iz kraljevstva. U toj su prigodi bila odvedena u Rim trojica istaknutih bosanskih bogumila, a tamo ih je doveo upravo ninski biskup kojemu papa Pio II. ne spominje osobno ime, ali je jasno da je to upravo naš Natal.⁹ Trojicu bogumila u Rimu ispitivao je kardinal Juan de Torquemada o čemu je sastavljeno izvješće sačuvano u više rukopisa. U nas je jedan objavio F. Rački,¹⁰ a drugi kasnije D. Kamber.¹¹ Razvidno je dakle da je papa Pio II. u tom trenutku, ako ne i ranije, računao na usluge ninskog biskupa Natala u provođenju svo-

that is, for as long as a quarter of a century. However, few historical sources remain from his period in office. We know that he lodged a complaint with the rectors at Zadar in connection with the estate of *Cetiglavaz*, sold by the Zadar Chamber to a certain Jacobus da Bononia, which Bishop Natalis claimed to have belonged to his diocese on the basis of a deed issued by *ban* Roland to the Bishop Samson of Nin in 1266.⁷ The recorded place name, that is, *Cetiglavaz*, is in fact a corrupt form of the name of a medieval village in the district of Zadar, the transcription of which varies in a number of medieval documents (*Vciteglianas*, *Vcitegliauas*, *Vcitegliesello*, *Uciteglie sello*, *Vcitegl*, *Ocitegl* and so on). This was an estate the medieval name of which must have been *Učitelja vas* or *Učitelja selo*, and it was located at the site of present-day Islam Latinski and in the vicinity of Zeleni Hrast, about which I have written on more than one occasion.⁸

Among the historical sources, a more important record concerning the Bishop of Nin occurs in 1459, when he is mentioned in the diaries of Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini), the great humanist who occupied the See of St Peter from 1458 to 1464. Without naming our bishop, the Pope nonetheless remembered the arrival of three Bogomils in Rome. This occurred at the historic moment when, following the decree of King Stjepan Tomaš of Bosnia, a large number of Bogomils were converted to Christianity by force; those who refused to do so were exiled from the kingdom. On that occasion, three prominent Bosnian Bogomils were taken to Rome, and the person who led them there was the bishop of Nin who was clearly our Natalis, even though Pope Pius II does not mention his name.⁹ The three Bogomils were questioned in Rome by Car-

7 G. PRAGA 1936: 85.

8 N. JAKŠIĆ 1985: 329-334; N. JAKŠIĆ 1985a: 335-352; N. JAKŠIĆ 2000: 89-97.

9 *Rex Bossinae sub idem fare tempus, ut piaculum traditae Turchis Synderoviae (Smederevo) purgaret ac suae religionis fidem faceret – sive, quod multi crediderunt, avaritiae obtentu-Manichaeos, qui erant in regno suo quamplurimi, nisi batismun Christi acciperent, e Regno migrare coegit substantia relicta. Duo (ili duodecim) circiter milia baptizati sunt. Quadraginta aut paulo plures, pertinaciter errantes, ad Stephanum Bossinae duce[m] perfidiae socium confugere. Tres principes haereseos in aula regis potentes episcopus Nonensis vinctos ad Pontificem duxit. Quos Pius per monasteria relegatos edoceri christianum dogma curavit. Iohannes cardinalis Sancti Sixti saepius ad se vocatos instruxit persuasitque tandem, abiuratis erroribus, Ecclesiae Romanae, quae nec falleret nec falleretur, documenta suscipere. Reconciliatos ad Regem remisit. Duo in fede permansere; tertius. More canis ad vomitum rediens, ex itinere dilapsus ad Stephanum confugit.* E. S. PICCOLOMINI 2008: 881.

10 F. RAČKI 1882: 2-21

11 D. KAMBER 1932.

7 G. PRAGA 1936: 85.

8 N. JAKŠIĆ 1985: 329-334; N. JAKŠIĆ 1985a: 335-352; N. JAKŠIĆ 2000: 89-97.

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je politike u Bosni. Papa je, kao što je poznato, bio aktivni pokretač nove križarske vojne, pa je u tu svrhu sazvaio sabor koji se održao u Mantovi tijekom 1459. godine.¹² Tamo su bili nazočni i izaslanici kralja Matijaša Korvina među kojima i hrvatski ban Stjepan Frankopan, a jednako tako i bosansko izaslanstvo, ali se pojedinačna imena ne spominju.¹³ Jedan je od njih zasigurno bio Trogirani Nikola Teste kojega drugi izvori spominju među izaslanicima.¹⁴ U svakom slučaju, ninskoga je biskupa Natala papa Pio II. imenovao apostolskim legatom kod bosanskog kralja 28. prosinca 1460. godine.¹⁵ U trezoru ninske crkve sačuvan je masivni prsten s grbom pape Pija II., razvidno prsten apostolskog legata biskupa Natala (Sl. 3).¹⁶ Povjerenu mu odgovornu službu međutim Natal nije obnašao isuviše dugo. Naime, na putu u Bosnu u siječnju 1461. godine biskup je pao s konja i zadobio smrtno rane, pa je uskoro umro. O tome temeljem izvora u Vatikanskom arhivu izvješćuju i B. Pandić i J. Neralić. Oboje prenose vijest o tome da je pokopan u blizini utvrde Bistrice (Livno) 28. siječnja 1461.¹⁷ Promakla im je međutim činjenica da je podatke objavio G. Praga još 1934. godine, i to iz domaće izvorne građe sačuvane u bilježnicama zadarskog notara N. Benedictija. Naime, zadarski je nadbiskup Maffeo Valaresso (1450. – 1494.) tražio da se sastavi dokument o oporuci biskupa Natala, i to temeljem svjedočanstva fra Mariana de Senisa koji je bio Natalov službeni pratitelj na putu u Bosnu. Upitan o datumu i mjestu gdje se događaj odigrao, fra Marian je odgovorio da se to odigralo u Bosni na lokalitetu Trešan 28. siječnja.¹⁸

Nije mi bila namjera ulaziti u složene probleme oko diplomatskih aktivnosti koje je poduzimao papa Pio II. u godinama koje su neposredno prethodile padu Bosne. U svakom slučaju, imeno-

dinal Juan de Torquemada, an occasion documented in a report which has been preserved in a number of manuscripts. In Croatia, one of these manuscripts was published by F. Rački,¹⁰ and the other, somewhat later, by D. Kamber.¹¹ From this, it is evident that, at that moment, if not before, Pope Pius II counted on the services of Bishop Natalis for the implementation of his policies in Bosnia. As is known, the Pope was an active instigator of the new Crusade and for that purpose he summoned a Church Council, which was held at Mantua during the course of 1459.¹² The council was attended by the envoys of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Croatia, amongst whom was the Croatian *ban* Stjepan Frankopan, and also by the Bosnian envoys whose individual names are not mentioned.¹³ One of them was certainly Nikola Teste of Trogir who was named in other sources as one of the envoys.¹⁴ In any case, Pope Pius II appointed the Bishop of Nin Natalis an apostolic legate to the Bosnian king on 28 December 1460.¹⁵ The treasury of the Nin Church houses a large ring with the crest of Pope Pius II, obviously the ring of the apostolic legate, Bishop Natalis (Fig. 3).¹⁶ However, Natalis did not carry out the important service with which he was charged for a long time. En route to Bosnia, in January 1461, the Bishop fell from his horse, was mortally wounded and died soon after. This event was recorded in sources now at the Vatican archives about which we learn from B. Pandić and J. Neralić. Both of them published the information that the Bishop was buried in the vicinity of Fort Bistrice (Livno) on 28 January 1461.¹⁷ However, they overlooked the fact that the same information had already been published by G. Praga in 1934, who had found it in the local primary sources, that is, in the records of the Zadar notary N. Benedicti. The Archbishop of Zadar, Maffeo Valaresso (1450 – 1494), asked that a document be made about

12 B. PANDŽIĆ 1998.

13 *Verum prius legati Bosnenses ex Mantua recesserunt quam proditio innotesceret, quae ad legatos Hungaros prius delata est. Ii fuerunt episcopi duo, Cenadiensis et Segniensis, et cum his Stephanus Croatiae comes ab origine romanus, Frangepania gente quae sanctissimum olim pontificem Gregorium produxit, praesulum decus ac normam; et tarvisinus quidam doctor, cui postea Pius apud Dalmatas episcopatum comisit.* E. S. PICCOLOMINI 2008: 446.

14 B. PANDŽIĆ 1998: 104.

15 J. NERALIĆ 1999: 111; J. NERALIĆ 2007: 263.

16 N. JAKŠIĆ – R. TOMIĆ 2004: 189.

17 J. NERALIĆ 1999: 111; J. NERALIĆ 2007: 263; B. PANDŽIĆ 1998: 110.

18 *Intrrogatus de loco, respondit quod hoc fuit in partibus Bosne loco vocato Tresan. Interrogatus de tempore, respondit, quod fuit die vigesimo octavo mensis ianuarii proxime elapsi.* G. PRAGA 1936: 100.

10 F. RAČKI 1882: 2-21.

11 D. KAMBER 1932.

12 B. PANDŽIĆ 1998.

13 *Verum prius legati Bosnenses ex Mantua recesserunt quam proditio innotesceret, quae ad legatos Hungaros prius delata est. Ii fuerunt episcopi duo, Cenadiensis et Segniensis, et cum his Stephanus Croatiae comes ab origine romanus, Frangepania gente quae sanctissimum olim pontificem Gregorium produxit, praesulum decus ac normam; et tarvisinus quidam doctor, cui postea Pius apud Dalmatas episcopatum comisit.* E. S. PICCOLOMINI 2008: 446.

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16 N. JAKŠIĆ - R. TOMIĆ 2004: 189.

17 J. NERALIĆ 1999: 111; J. NERALIĆ 2007: 263; B. PANDŽIĆ 1998: 110.

vao je apostolskog legata za kojega je vjerovao da dobro poznaje prilike na suprotnoj obali Jadrana. Razvidno je da mu se ninski biskup Natal učinio prikladnom osobom ponajviše iz razloga što je među Hrvatima boravio čitavih četvrt stoljeća, pa se s bosanskim kraljem mogao vjerojatno sporazumjeti i na njegovu, dakle hrvatskom jeziku. Naime, tih istih godina koristio se papa i uslugama Nikole biskupa Modruškoga, porijeklom iz Kotora, kojega je također imenovao apostolskim legatom.¹⁹

Za svojega dugog službovanja u Ninu Natal je razvidno poduzeo i obnovu ili pregradnju biskupske palače na koju je onda dao postaviti i svoj biskupski grb. Teško je na temelju sačuvanoga grba nagađati o majstorima koji su u gradnji sudjelovali. U svakom slučaju, na njemu isklesani elementi u suglasju su s našim poznavanjem klesarstva u Dalmaciji pred sredinu 15. stoljeća. Uz taj grb sačuvao se i biskupov prsten kojim je Natal dokazivao svoj status apostolskog legata pape Pija II. Vrlo masivan lijevani pozlaćeni prsten ukrašen je po obruču uokolo dvama grbovima u gotičkom štitu. Na jednoj je strani grb Piccolominijski s ključevima sv. Petra, a na suprotnoj papinska tijara. U dnu je prsten popraćen natpisom PAPA PIO, a vrhu mu je usađen dragulj, valjda smaragd. Pod njim uokolo izliveni su simboli evanđelista (Sl. 3). Tako su prsten i grb danas jedini materijalni svjedoci o Natalovu boravku u Ninu i o njegovoj službi koju je u ona burna vremena obavljao na našoj obali.

Bishop Natalis' will on the basis of the testimony of Friar Marian de Senis, who was the official companion to Natalis on his trip to Bosnia. In response to a question about the place and date of the accident, Friar Marian answered that it happened in Bosnia at the site of Trešanj on 28 January.¹⁸

My intention here was not to address the complex issue of diplomatic activities undertaken by Pope Pius II in the years immediately preceding the fall of Bosnia. In any case, he assigned the role of apostolic legate to the person he considered well acquainted with the circumstances on the other side of the Adriatic. It is obvious that, to the Pope, the Bishop of Nin Natalis seemed an appropriate person mostly because by that time he had spent a quarter of the century among the Croats, so he was probably able to communicate with the King of Bosnia in his own, that is the Croatian, language. Around the same time, the Pope utilized the services of Nikola, the Bishop of Modruš, who was originally from Kotor and whom the Pope also appointed an apostolic legate.¹⁹

During the long period of his office at Nin, it is obvious that Natalis either renovated or rebuilt the Episcopal Palace upon which he then had his coat of arms installed. Based on the preserved coat of arms it is difficult to surmise which master builders may have been involved in the project. In any case, the elements which are carved on it are in harmony with our knowledge of Dalmatian sculpture immediately prior to the mid-fifteenth century. Apart from the coat of arms, Natalis' episcopal ring, with which he would prove his status as the apostolic legate of Pope Pius II, has also been preserved. This very large cast and gilded ring is decorated with a crest set in a Gothic shield on either side. On one is the Piccolomini crest with the keys of St Peter, and on the other the papal tiara. At the base of the ring is the inscription PAPA PIO, and on the top is an inset precious stone, most likely an emerald. Below the stone are the evangelist symbols which have been cast in a circle (Fig. 3). Therefore, the ring and the coat of arms are today the only pieces of material evidence concerning Natalis' residence at Nin and the service he performed on the Croatian side of the Adriatic in those tempestuous times.

19 O Nikoli Modruškome postoji obimna literatura. Upućujem na M. KURELAC 1988. Kurelčeva ocjena biskupove uloge doživjela je međutim kritiku; v. M. ANČIĆ 1999.

18 *Intrrogatus de loco, respondit quod hoc fuit in partibus Bosne loco vocato Tresan. Interrogatus de tempore, respondit, quod fuit die vigesimo octavo mensis ianuarii proxime elapsi.* G. PRAGA 1936: 100.

19 There is a considerable amount of scholarly literature on Nikola of Modruš. I would like to highlight M. KURELAC 1988. However, Kurelac's assessment of the Bishop's role was criticized by M. ANČIĆ 1999.

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SL. 1. Gotički grb i kapitel u ogradnom zidu u Ninu
(foto: I. Petricioli, 1968.)

FIG. 1. Gothic coat of arms and capital in the wall of a
private house at Nin (photo: I. Petricioli, 1968)



SL. 2. Grb ninskog biskupa Natala u Ninu (foto: N. Jakšić, 2012.)

FIG. 2. Coat of arms of Natalis, the Bishop of Nin, at Nin (photo: N. Jakšić, 2012)



SL. 3. Prsten apostolskog legata pape Pija II. u Ninu
(foto: Ž. Bačić, 2004).

FIG. 3. Ring of the apostolic legate of Pope Pius II at Nin
(photo: Ž. Bačić, 2004)