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O dva limoška medaljona iz Moćnika dubrovačke katedrale

Rad tematizira dva limoška medaljona iz dubrovačke katedralne riznice interpolirana na dva moćnika: ruku sv. Fuske (XXVIII.) i ruku sv. Lovrijenca (CLII.). Relikvijari su ukrašeni s po jednim emajlnim medaljonom nastalim u limoškim radionicama (opus lemovicense). Limoški medaljoni poslužili su kao dragocjene aplikacije na moćnicima umjesto dragog kamenja. Taj postupak izvoza gotovih izrađevina koje bi se potom aplicirale na druge umjetnine bio je vrlo uobičajen. Oba dubrovačka moćnika ruku pripadaju tipu „ruke govornika“ (engleski „speaking reliquary“ ili njemački „sprechenden“). Ranije su datirani u kraj 12. i početak 13. stoljeća, a u ovoj objavi oni se precizno datiraju u razdoblje 1180. – 1190. godine. Moćnik ruke sv. Lovrijenca zabilježen je u prvom sačuvanom inventaru Moćnika dubrovačke katedrale iz 1335. godine. Autori su se osvrnuli na do sada poznate primjere limoških umjetnina iz Hrvatske i susjednih područja. Dva dubrovačka limoška medaljona iznimno su vrijedni primjeri širenja umjetnina francuskih radionica na jug, a uz apulijske primjerke iz prekomorske Italije predstavljaju najjužnije sačuvane primjerke u jadranskom bazenu.

Ključne riječi: *Dubrovnik, opus lemovicense, emajl, relikvijar, riznica.*

Two Limoges medallions in the Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral

This paper examines two Limoges medallions from the Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral, which are incorporated into two reliquaries: the reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca (XXVIII) and the reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence (CLII). Each reliquary features a single enamel medallion crafted in the Limoges workshops (opus lemovicense), which served as a precious appliqué, instead of a gemstone, on the reliquary. This was a very common practice in the export of finished products at the time, which would then be applied to other works of art. Both arm reliquaries from Dubrovnik belong to the “speaking reliquary” type (German: sprechenden), and were previously dated to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of 13th century. This study however refines the dating of the Limoges medallions to a narrower period, namely from 1180 to 1190. The reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence was recorded in the earliest preserved inventory of the Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral from

1335. The authors also reviewed other known examples of Limoges art in Croatia and neighbouring regions. The two Limoges medallions from Dubrovnik are particularly valuable examples of the dissemination of artwork from French workshops to the south, and along with the Apulian specimens from Italy, they are the southernmost preserved specimens in the Adriatic basin.

Keywords: *Dubrovnik, opus lemovicense, enamel, reliquary, treasury.*

Uvod

Početak 12. stoljeća Limoges postaje glavno središte proizvodnje polikromiranih emajla. Evolucija *champlevé* emajliranja u Francuskoj tijekom posljednjih četiriju desetljeća 12. stoljeća usko je povezana s pokroviteljstvom vladara Plantageneta, tadašnjih gospodara Akvitanije, usponom kulta sveta u srednjem vijeku i s važnošću predmeta osobne pobožnosti. Nedostatak podataka o organizaciji radionica i prostornom i vremenskom okviru njihova djelovanja otežava precizno datiranje limoških emajla. Ipak, na temelju istraživanja provedenih posljednjih godina, možemo se složiti da se njihov razvoj odvijao između 1150. i 1220. godine. Limoški emajli postali su poznati nakon osnivanja prvih radionica u lokalnim samostanima u 1200-tim godinama, a razvijena izvozna trgovina omogućila je distribuciju vjerskih i crkvenih predmeta u crkvene riznice diljem Europe. Smješten na mnogobrojnim trgovačkim i hodočasničkim rutama, Limoges je imao uspješno gospodarstvo i bogate samostane, koji su stvorili idealne uvjete da izrada emajla postane primarna gradska industrija. Stoga je Limoges bio glavno europsko središte izrade emajla do 1371. godine, kada je engleski vojskovođa Eduard Crni Princ napao grad. Postoji snažna veza između emajla iz Limogesa i onih mosanske škole iz doline Meusea u današnjoj Belgiji. Obje tradicije favorizirale su tehniku *champlevé* i imale su slične sheme boja (plava, žućkasto zelena, bijela i crvena) iako su limoški emajli bili tamniji i manje izražajni.¹

Primjeri umjetnina izrađenih u Limogesu na području Hrvatske i okolnih zemalja

U riznicama dalmatinskih biskupija do sada nisu uočeni sačuvani primjeri limoškog emajla, izuzev nesačuvanog zadarskog pastorala koji je stradao tijekom bombardiranja Zadra u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Zadarski nalaz limoškog pastorala, pronađen u grobu u benediktinskoj crkvi sv. Krševana u Zadru, koji se do Drugog svjetskog rata čuvao u Arheološkom muzeju Zadar, bio je jedini publicirani primjerak, no nikad nije preciznije datiran. Autori rada smatraju da taj nestali pastoral s prikazom sv. Mihovila koji ubija zmaja pripada standardnoj limoškoj produkciji koja je kolala onodobnom Europom i datiraju ga u razdoblje od oko 1220. do 1235. godine temeljeći svoju tvrdnju na identičnim primjerima

¹ Ruotolo 1991, str. 15–25.

Introduction

In the beginning of the 12th century, Limoges became the main centre for the production of polychrome enamels. The evolution of the *champlevé* enamelling technique in France during the last four decades of the 12th century was fundamentally linked to the patronage of the House of Plantagenet, who were at that time the rulers of Aquitaine, but also to the rise of the cult of saints in the Middle Ages and to the importance of objects of personal devotion. The lack of information about the organization and geographical location of workshops and artists, both in time and in space, makes it difficult to precisely date Limoges enamels. However, by taking into consideration the research that has been conducted in recent years, we can still agree that it developed between 1150 and 1220. The art of Limoges enamels gained prominence after the first workshops were established in local monasteries during the 1200s and a flourishing export trade soon distributed these religious and ecclesiastical items to church treasuries throughout Europe. Limoges, strategically located along major trade and pilgrimage routes, enjoyed a prosperous economy and was home to wealthy monasteries. These favourable conditions allowed enamelling to emerge as the city's primary industry. As a result, Limoges became a leading European centre for enamel production until 1371, when the city faced a devastating attack by the English military commander Edward the Black Prince. Limoges enamels share a notable connection with those of the Mosan school, originating from the Meuse Valley in present-day Belgium. Both traditions employed the *champlevé* technique and featured similar colour palettes of blue, yellow-green, white and red. However, Limoges enamels are characterized by darker tones and a more subdued expressiveness compared to the works of the Mosan school.¹

Examples of Limoges artworks in Croatia and surrounding regions

In the treasuries of Dalmatian dioceses, no preserved specimens of Limoges enamel have been identified so far, with one notable exception: the crosier from Zadar, which has not been preserved, but was destroyed during the bombing of Zadar in World War II. The Zadar find of a Limoges crosier,

¹ Ruotolo, 1991, 15 – 25.



Sl. 1. Limoški pastoral iz Svetoga Krševana u Zadru, nestao tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata, (preuzeto: iz N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, *Prošlost Zadra 2*, Posebna izdanja Filozofskog fakulteta Zadar, 1976, 272, tabla 36.)

Fig. 1. Limoges crosier from the Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar, lost during World War II (taken from: N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409, Prošlost Zadra 2, Special edition of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar, 1976, 272, pl. 36.)

iz njujorškog Metropolitan muzeja u SAD-u, pariškog Louvrea i Rijksmuseuma te na primjerima iz francuskog grada Amiens.² Također, ovaj pastoral pripada standardnim primjerima koji su dospjeli u srednjovjekovni grad Zadar.

Ipak, arheološkim istraživanjima i slučajnim nalazima na području Hrvatske otkriveno je još primjera limoškog zlatarstva. Prije svega, takav primjer predstavlja raspelo iz katedrale sv. Jakova u Udbini, pronađeno položeno na prsima pokojnika u grobu 443, koje je u objavi bilo datirano na kraj 13. stoljeća, uz pretpostavku da je korišteno kao oltarski križ. Autor rada o raspelu iz Udbine najcjelovitije do sada, u okviru hrvatske znanstvene literature,

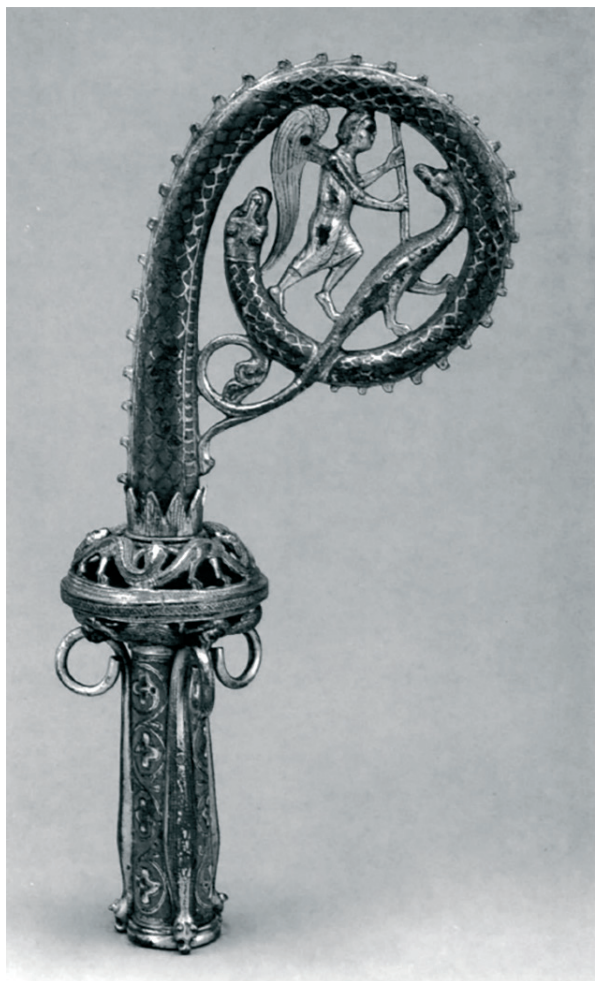
which had been discovered in a grave at the Benedictine Church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar and was housed in the Archaeological Museum of Zadar prior to its destruction, was the only published specimen, though never precisely dated. The authors of this paper attribute the lost crosier from Zadar, which depicted St. Michael slaying the dragon, to the standard Limoges production and date it to approximately 1220–1235. Their conclusion is supported by identical examples housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Louvre in Paris, the Rijksmuseum, and a specimen from Amiens in France.² Similar examples are found in numerous European museums, placing the Zadar crosier within the group of standard Limoges production that circulated throughout medieval Europe at that time. This crosier is a representative piece of the standard type that eventually reached the medieval city of Zadar.

However, archaeological research and chance finds in the territory of Croatia have revealed several specimens of Limoges goldsmithing. One of the most significant finds is a crucifix from the Cathedral of St. James in Udbina, discovered on the chest of a deceased person in grave 443. Upon its publication, it was dated to the end of the 13th century and believed to have served as an altar cross. The author of the paper on the crucifix from Udbina produced the most comprehensive study of Limoges imports in Croatia to date in Croatian scientific literature. However, the authors of this paper propose that the Krbava crucifix should be dated slightly earlier, to the beginning of the 13th century. Their argument is based upon a closely related specimen found in the Octave Pincot Collection in Paris.³ In addition to the Udbina crucifix, there is another crucifix that has been discovered in a private collection in Žman on the island of Ugljan. This piece is believed to have ties to the Benedictines of Zadar and their estate in Telašćica. Furthermore, in Croatia, a Limoges appliqué recently found near Vinkovci in Slavonia has also been documented and examined. Currently housed in the Vinkovci City Museum, this artefact likely originated from a crucifix or reli-

² Chancel - Bardalot, 1996, 324, 325.

³ Vučić, 2020, 161 – 170. In his pioneering work on Limoges enamel in Croatia, the author included all the older literature (Klaić, Petricioli 1976, 272, pl. 36; Vežić 1993, 197–202.) Carlier 2023, Paris, 2023, 66 – 67.

² De Chancel – Bardalot 1996, str. 324–325.



Sl. 2. Pastoral, Sveti Mihovil ubija zmaja, Metropolitan muzej, New York, 1220 – 1230., (preuzeto iz: *Enamels of Limoges 1100 – 1350*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996. 324.)

Fig. 2. *Crosier, St. Michael slaying the dragon*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1220 – 1230, (taken from: *Enamels of Limoges 1100 – 1350*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996, 324.)

obradio je limoški import u hrvatskim zemljama. Autori ovog rada smatraju da bi krbavsko raspelo trebalo datirati nešto ranije, na početak 13. stoljeća, temeljeći tvrdnju na bliskom primjeru iz zbirke Octave Pincot iz Pariza.³ Osim raspela iz Udbine, treba istaknuti i raspelo koje je zatečeno u privatnoj zbirci u Žmanu na otoku Ugljanu, koje se dovodi u vezu sa zadarskim benediktincima i njihovim posjedom u Telašćici. U Hrvatskoj je do sada obrađena i jedna limoška aplika, nedavno pronađena kod Vin-

³ Vučić 2020, str. 161–170. Autor je u svom pionirskom radu o limoškom emajlu u Hrvatskoj donio svu stariju literaturu (Klaić, Petricoli 1976, str. 272, T. 36; Vežić 1993, str. 197–202). Carlier 2023, str. 66–67.

quary and was found at the Karadžičevo site, which is dated to the 13th century.⁴

In the Bulgarian medieval city of Veliko Tarnovo, a Limoges appliqué was discovered at site Trapezitsa Hill, within the archaeological remains of a sacred monument. This artefact appears to depict St. John the Evangelist and was likely part of a processional crucifix or a reliquary.⁵ The author who published this find noted that the Limoges figurine depiction from Bulgaria could not be directly associated with the Byzantine cultural sphere. As previously suggested, the find from Bulgaria most likely represents the figure of St. John the Evangelist, either as part of a *Deisis* depiction on a crucifix or as a saintly figure if it originates from a reliquary casket. This archaeological find should not be considered an isolated case, as there were numerous Dubrovnik churches present in Bulgaria. Interestingly, the author was unaware of the existence of Dubrovnik colonies in Bulgaria or the agreement between Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Asen II and the Dubrovnik Commune from 15th June 1253, and hence the possibility of Dubrovnik's cultural influence, as well as other direct Crusader impacts in the Second Bulgarian Empire during the time of the Latin Empire.⁶ For instance, there is a historical record about the burial of a distinguished crusader in the Armenian church of Surp Kevork in Plovdiv, which at the time was a Greek church. In Bulgaria, Dubrovnik merchants lived either permanently or temporarily in Sofia, Tarnovo, Nikopol, Silistra, Plovdiv, Vidin, Provadia, Shumen, Varna and Razgrad. They had their churches in Sofia, Tarnovo, Provadia and Nikopol, while also maintaining frequent interactions with the Catholic community in Chiprovtsi. Between the 13th and 18th centuries, the people of Dubrovnik were present in Bulgaria with their churches and their artworks, which emerged as a kind of *koine* of the Western European tradition and the Eastern tradition.⁷ This was also a time of intense political ties under Tsar Ivan Asen II, who fluctuated between the Eastern and Western Churches. His wife was Anna

⁴ Piteša 2015, 261–265.

⁵ Rabovyanov 2021, 205 – 20.

⁶ Foretić 1980, 86; Lučić 1991, 66; Božilov 2005, 147; Božilov 2010, 1 – 138; Tadić 1937, 46; Manken 1960, 126; Lučić 1979, 53, 54; V.B. Lupis 2021, 83–106; Večeva 2005, 147.

⁷ Gergova 2003, 79 – 86.; Muradyan and Čavušan 2018, 4; *Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Holy Church St. Kevork – St. George temple – Plovdiv*, Plovdiv, 2015, 2.

kovaca u Slavoniji, točnije na lokalitetu Karadžićevo koji se datira u 13. stoljeće. Ta se aplikacija čuva u Vinkovačkom gradskom muzeju, a pretpostavlja se da potječe s raspela ili relikvijara.⁴

U bugarskom srednjovjekovnom gradu Velikom Trnovu, na položaju Trapezitsa, unutar arheoloških ostataka sakralnog spomenika pronađena je limoška aplikacija na kojoj je po svemu sudeći prikazan sv. Ivan evanđelist, a pripadala je kompoziciji ophodnog raspela ili moćnika.⁵ Autor koji je objavio ovaj nalaz nije ga mogao povezati s bizantskim kulturnim krugom. Ako se radi o prikazu *Deisisa* s raspela, kako smo već istaknuli, prikazani lik vjerojatno predstavlja sv. Ivana evanđelista, a ako je aplikacija bila dio kovčežića za relikvije, ona prikazuje neodređeni svetački lik. Ovaj arheološki nalaz ne bi trebao biti iznimka, jer su se u Bugarskoj nalazile brojne dubrovačke crkve. Autor nije bio upućen u činjenicu o postojanju dubrovačkih kolonija u Bugarskoj ni sporazuma bugarskog cara Ivana Asjena s dubrovačkom komunom 15. lipnja 1253. kao ni mogućnosti dubrovačkog kulturnog utjecaja, ali i drugog izravnog križarskog utjecaja u Drugom Bugarskom Carstvu za vrijeme postojanja Latinskog Carstva.⁶ Postoji tako, na primjer, povijesna činjenica o ukupu uglednog križara u armenskoj crkvi Surp Kevork u Plovdivu, koja je tada bila grčka crkva. U Bugarskoj su dubrovački trgovci živjeli ili stalno ili bi povremeno boravili u Sofiji, Trnovu, Nikopolju, Slistriji, Plovdivu, Vidinu, Provadiji, Šumenu, Varni i Razgradu. Imali su svoje crkve u Sofiji, Trnovu, Provadiji i Nikopolju, a brojni su bili doticaji s katoličkom zajednicom u Čiprovcima. U razdoblju od 13. do 18. stoljeća Dubrovčani su u Bugarskoj bili prisutni sa svojim crkvama i umjetninama koje su nastajale u svojevrsnoj *koine* zapadnoeuropske i istočne tradicije.⁷ Također, to je bilo vrijeme intenzivnih političkih veza cara Ivana Asjena II., koji je lavirao između Istočne i Zapadne Crkve. Njegova supruga bila je Ana Marija od Ugarske (1204. – 1237.), kći Andrije II. Arpadovića i Gertrude od

Maria of Hungary (1204–1237), a daughter of Andrew II of the Árpád dynasty and Gertrude of Merania, and the sister of King Béla IV and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. Her grandmother was Agnes of Antioch from the House of Châtillon, the daughter of Raynald of Châtillon. Anna Maria's marriage to Tsar Ivan Asen II occurred under dramatic circumstances, as her father was forced to marry her off after being captured on his return from the Crusades in 1218. Given this backdrop, the appearance of a Limoges artwork during this era is not surprising, since the Second Bulgarian Empire was oscillating between the East and West until the restoration of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235. This crucial event secured the independence of the Bulgarian Church and marked the end of Uniate ties with the West.

The Greek monastery of Dionysius in south-eastern Europe houses a Limoges gospel cover. The Greek specimen is dated in the publication to the 13th/14th century. However, based on strong comparative specimens from the former Nodet collection in Paris and Switzerland, as well as the now-lost gospel cover from Berlin, this piece can be more precisely dated to the period between 1190 and 1200, but also on the slightly later specimen from the Jean-Charles Seguin Collection.⁸ The dark-toned enamel coloration and the specific figuration of the characters are distinctive features of Limoges enamel at this developmental stage. Therefore, the Greek specimen, with its Crucifixion composition, can be associated with a reliquary in the Louvre Museum that also features a similar Crucifixion scene. The Louvre collection also houses a reliquary depicting the Massacre of the Innocents, where the back features six medallions of angels, which also appear on the side panels. Notably, the stylization and chromatics of the angelic figures are exactly identical to those depicted on the Greek gospel cover and also correspond precisely in terms of time. A Portuguese reliquary from Sé de Viseu from the same period (1190 -1200) features a Crucifixion composition on the front of the casket that closely resembles the Greek specimen, with a dark tonality. The same collection also holds another reliquary—a casket with a Crucifixion depiction of similar tonality but with

⁴ Piteša 2015, str. 261–265.

⁵ Rabovyanov 2021, str. 205–220.

⁶ Foretić 1980, str. 86; Lučić 1991, str. 66; Božilov 2005, str. 147; Božilov 2010, str. 1–138; Tadić 1937, str. 46; Manken 1960, str. 126; Lučić 1979, str. 53–54; Lupis 2021, str. 83–106; Večeva 2005, str. 147.

⁷ Gergova 2003, str. 79–86; Muradyan, Čavušan 2018, str. 4; *Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Holy Church St. Kevork – St. George temple – Plovdiv*, Plovdiv 2015, str. 2.

⁸ Ballian 1997, 361–362, no. 9.32; Carlier 2023, 38–41; Descheemaeker 1999, 115–123.; Gauthier, Antoine, Gaborit-Chopin 2011, 12; De Chanalcel - Bardalot, 1996, 280.

Meranija. Ona je bila sestra kralja Bele IV. i svete Elizabete Ugarske, a njezina baka bila je Agnesa od Antiohije iz dinastije Châtillon, kćerka Renea od Châtillona. Njezin otac bio je prisiljen dati je za ženu bugarskom caru nakon što je uhićen na povratku iz križarskog rata 1218. godine. Stoga pojava limoške umjetnine upravo iz ovog razdoblja ne bi trebala čuditi s obzirom na to da je Drugo Bugarsko Carstvo laviralo između Istoka i Zapada sve do obnove Bugarske patrijaršije (1235.), kojom je osigurana neovisnost bugarske Crkve i čime su prekinute unijatske veze sa Zapadom.

U jugoistočnoj Europi, u grčkom samostanu Dionisiosu čuva se jedan limoški okov evanđelja. Taj primjerak u objavi je datiran u 13./14. stoljeće, a na temelju vrlo dobrih komparativnih primjera iz bivše pariške Nodet kolekcije, primjera iz Švicarske i danas nestalog okova evanđelja iz Berlina možemo ga precizno datirati između 1190. i 1200. godine, dok je nešto kasniji takav primjer onaj iz zbirke Jana-Charlesa Seguina.⁸ Koloristički emajl zagasitih tonova i figuracija likova predstavljaju jasno prepoznatljivije značajke ovog razvojnog stupnja limoškog emajla, pa tako grčki primjer s kompozicijom Raspeća trebamo povezati s moćnikom iz Louvrea s istim prikazom. U Louvreu se čuva i moćnik Pokolja nevine dječice, na čijoj se stražnjoj strani nalazi šest medaljona anđela, koji se pojavljuju i na bočnim stranama. Stilizacija anđeoskih likova i kromatika posve su identične rješenju s okova evanđelja iz Grčke, koji se i vremenski potpuno podudara. Portugalski moćnik iz Séde Viseu, datiran u isto vremensko razdoblje (1190. – 1200.), na prednjoj strani škrinjice ima kompoziciju Raspeća blisku onoj na grčkom primjeru tamnog kolorita. U istoj kolekciji čuva se i druga škrinjica s moćima na kojoj se nalazi prikaz Raspeća u sličnom tonalitetu, ali s izvjesnim odstupanjima u kompoziciji anđela u gornjoj zoni središnje pločice.⁹ Grčku kompoziciju možemo pouzdano datirati u posljednje desetljeće 12. stoljeća, a posebno je zanimljiva jer predstavlja rijedak primjer apliciranja na liturgijski predmet Istočne Crkve.

U muzejskim kolekcijama u Italiji čuvaju se brojni primjeri umjetnina iz limoških radionica.

variations in the composition of the angels in the upper zone of the central panel.⁹ The Greek composition can be confidently dated to the last decade of the 12th century and is especially noteworthy as a rare example of application to a liturgical object of the Eastern Church.

In Italy, numerous examples of artworks from Limoges workshops are preserved in museum collections. Notable examples in northern Italy include processional crucifixes in the parish church of Sclaunico, the church of San Floriano in Illegio and the museum Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata in Milan. Further examples can be found in the Museo e Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples, as well as in several other Italian collections, particularly in Lombardy.¹⁰ The influence of Limoges imports even led to an entire production of local imitations. On the other side, i.e. across the Adriatic, there is also a recently published monograph, *La Puglia e Limoges* by Antonella Ventura, in which this Italian art historian analyses six Limoges artworks in the Apulian region with which the Dubrovnik commune had strong cultural, ecclesiastical and economic ties during the medieval period, as well as occasional political connections during two Norman historical episodes in Dubrovnik. The six liturgical objects examined in Ventura's work originate from Barletta, Bisceglie, Bari, Altamura and Lecce. All Limoges artworks in Apulia are dated to the end of the 12th and the first three decades of the 13th centuries. It is particularly important to note that the reliquary casket from Altamura, adorned with a decorative crest featuring embedded circular medallions, closely mirrors the coloration, form and dating of the late 12th century. This reliquary from Altamura in Apulia is part of a group of related reliquaries housed in significant collections, including the Milanese Museo Poldi Pezzoli, the Museo di Bargello in Florence, Pisa's Opera del Duomo, Siegerburg, the Museum of Saint Servatius, the Louvre in Paris and the Musée Départemental des Antiquités in Rouen. The Apulian group is exceptionally significant because, alongside the influence of the Benedictine order and the brief Norman rule in Dubrovnik, it was through Apulia that Limoges imports could have arrived in medieval Dubrovnik.¹¹

⁸ Ballian 1997, str. 361–362, br. 9.32; Carlier 2023, str. 38–41; Descheemaeker 1999, str. 115–123; Gauthier, Antoine, Gaborit-Chopin 2011, str. 12; De Chancel – Bardalot 1996, str. 280.

⁹ Machado Santos 2020, str. 9–26.

⁹ Machado Santos, Porto 2020, 9 – 26.

¹⁰ Gaberscek 2009, 73. – 81.

¹¹ Ventura 2022, 1 – 25.



Sl. 3. Limoški majstor, 1190. – 1200., Okov evanđelja iz Samostana Dionisios/MonήΔιονυσίου (preuzeto iz: Anna Ballian /Μπαλλιαν/Αννα Μπαλλιάν, Ἐπέκδοση στάχωσης πρώτο μισό 13ον καί 14ος αι. Μονή Διονυσίου/ Book cover, 1st half of 13th and 14th centuries Dionysius Monastery], u/in: [Thesauri tou Agiou Orous], u/in: A. Karakatsanis (ur./ed.), Thessaloniki Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki 1997, 361-362, br. 9.32.)
 Fig. 3 Limoges master, 1190– 1200, Gospel cover from the Dionysius Monastery/ ΜονήΔιονυσίου (taken from: Anna Ballian /Μπαλλιαν/Αννα Μπαλλιάν, Ἐπέκδοση στάχωσης πρώτο μισό 13ον καί 14ος αι. Μονή Διονυσίου/ Book cover, 1st half of 13th and 14th centuries Dionysius Monastery], u/in: [Thesauri tou Agiou Orous], u/in: A. Karakatsanis (ur./ed.), Thessaloniki Museum of Byzantine Culture, Thessaloniki 1997, 361-362, no. 9.32.)

Tako se na području sjeverne Italije čuvaju ophodna raspela u župnoj crkvi u Sclauniccu i crkvi San Floriano u Illegiu kao i u milanskom muzeju Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Aplicata, Museo e Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte u Napulju i cijelom nizu talijanskih kolekcija, ponajviše na području Lombardije.¹⁰ Limoški import inicirao je i produkciju lokalnih kopista. Nasuprot tome, s druge strane Jadrana nedavno je izdana monografija *La Puglia e Lomoges Antonelle Ventura*, u kojoj talijanska povjesničarka

¹⁰ Gaberscek 2009, str. 73–81.



Sl. 4. Limoški majstor, 1190. – 1200., Škrinjica moćnik Muzej Louvre (preuzeto iz: Jean – René Gaborit u: *Enamels of Limoges 1200 – 1350*, New York, 1996, 172. – 173.)

Fig. 4. Limoges master, 1190– 1200, reliquary chasse from the Louvre Museum (taken from: Jean – René Gaborit in: *Enamels of Limoges 1200 – 1350*, New York, 1996, 172. – 173.)

In addition to its sporadic appearances in the area of Kievan Rus, the furthest group of Limoges artworks is the one from Bethlehem, which is kept in the Terra Sancta Museum of the Custody of the Holy Land. The Limoges artworks in the Holy Land originate from the period of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and include a crosier from the 12th century and two candlesticks from the 12th/13th centuries, which were part of the furnishings of the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem.¹²

The reliquaries of Dubrovnik

This broader overview of Limoges artworks from Croatia and neighbouring regions and the cultural sphere of medieval Dubrovnik seeks to explore the reasons behind the appearance of this distinctive form of medieval art in Dubrovnik. As mentioned in the introduction, the Treasury of the Cathedral of Dubrovnik contains two important reliquaries: the reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca (XXVIII) and the reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence (CLII). Each

¹² Alliata 2013, 334; Piccirillo, 2013, 335.



—Sl. 5. Limoški majstor, 1180. – 1900., Škrinjica moćnik Sv. Tome Becketa, Muzej Louvre, (preuzeto iz: Jean – René Gaborit u: *Enamels of Limoges 1200 – 1350*, New York, 1996, 162.)

Fig. 5. Limoges master, 1180 – 1900, reliquary chasse of St. Thomas Becket, Louvre Museum, (taken from: Jean – René Gaborit in: *Enamels of Limoges 1200 – 1350*, New York, 1996, 162.)

umjetnosti analizira šest limoških umjetnina u prekomorskoj pokrajini Apuliji, s kojom je dubrovačka komuna u srednjovjekovnom razdoblju imala intenzivne kulturne, crkvene i gospodarske veze, pa čak i političke, za vrijeme dviju normanskih povijesnih epizoda u Dubrovniku. Ukupno se radi o šest liturgijskih predmeta koji potječu s lokaliteta Barletta, Bisceglie, Bari, Altamura i Lecce. Sve limoške umjetnine u Apuliji datirane su na kraj 12. stoljeća i u prva tri desetljeća 13. stoljeća, a posebno je važna relikvijarna škrinjica iz Altamure s ukrasnom krijestom i ugrađenim kružnim medaljonima bliskog kolorita i forme, datirana na kraj 12. stoljeća. Taj primjerak pripada skupini srodnih relikvijara koja uključuje relikvijare iz milanskog Museo Poldi Pezzoli, firentinskog Museo di Bargello, pizanskog Opera dell’Duomo, iz Siegerburga, Muzeja Sankt Servatiusa, pariškog Louvrea i ruenskog Musée Départemental des Antiquités. Apulijska skupina iznimno je važna jer je, uz utjecaj benediktinskog reda, ali i kratkotrajne normanske vlasti u Dubrovniku, upravo putem Apulije limoški import mogao stići u srednjovjekovni Dubrovnik.¹¹

Uz sporadično pojavljivanje na prostoru Kijevske Rusi, najudaljeniju skupinu limoških umjetnina predstavlja ona iz Betlehema, koja se čuva u Mu-

reliquary features a single enamel medallion crafted in the Limoges workshops (*opus lemovicense*), which served as a precious appliqué, instead of a gemstone, on the reliquary. This was a very common practice in the export of finished products at the time, which would then be applied to other works of art. Both arm reliquaries from Dubrovnik belong to the “speaking reliquary” type (German: *sprechenden*). They were previously dated to the end of the 12th century and the beginning of 13th century, and in earlier publications, they were also associated with Mozan workshops, which is now corrected in this work.¹³

XXVIII. The reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca

The brachial of St. Fosca in the current form belongs to a group of late Gothic reliquaries with bands. These bands were made by using the “pierced” technique, a method applied to many other reliquaries, forming a distinct subgroup.¹⁴ The hand itself is poorly modelled, with a stylized rosette in the centre of the inner side of the palm. This rosette consists of several petals, one section of which is adorned with finely chiselled Gothic tendrils. On the upper side of the palm, a Romanesque medallion from the Limoges school is attached. This medallion, crafted using the *champlevé* enamel technique, features blue, green and yellow tones and has a diameter of 4.2 cm. The reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca (XXVIII) is further decorated with an enamel plaque from the Limoges workshops, serving as a precious appliqué on the reliquary, as a substitute for a gemstone. This practice of exporting finished enamel pieces to be applied to other artworks was common during this period. Very similar examples of medallions featuring the same motif and colour palette were applied to the reliquary casket of the Three Kings in the Cathedral of Cologne (1181–1230).¹⁵ A medallion of the same origin is attached to the

¹³ V.B. Lupis 2003., 187 – 188, 251, 252; V. B. Lupis 2005, 129 – 148; V.B. Lupis 2015, 31, 45; V.B. Lupis 2007, 355 – 378.

¹⁴ In the publication by Stjepan Skurla (*Moćnik stolne crkve dubrovačke (...)*, Dubrovnik, 1868, p. 21), this reliquary is listed as the reliquary of the arm of an anonymous saint. Antun Liepopili in his paper (*O dubrovačkom Moćniku razjašnjenje nekih pitanja*, Dubrovnik, 1934, p. 10), lists reliquary XXVIII as the reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca.

¹⁵ Kluckert 1997, 374.

¹¹ Ventura 2022, str. 1–25.

zeju Kustodije Svete zemlje. Ta skupina potječe iz razdoblja Jeruzalemskog Kraljevstva, a tvore je pastoral iz 12. stoljeća i dva svijećnjaka iz 12./13. stoljeće koji su pripadali opremi bazilike Porođenja u Betlehemu.¹²

Dubrovački moćnici

U ovom širem osvrtu na limoške umjetnine iz Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja te kulturnog kruga srednjovjekovnog Dubrovnika pokušao se dati okvir razloga pojavljivanja ovog specifičnog vida srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u Dubrovniku. U dubrovačkoj riznici (Moćniku) čuvaju se dva moćnika: moćnik ruke sv. Fuske (XXVIII.) i moćnik ruke sv. Lovrijenca (CLII.), a oba su ukrašena s po jednim emajlnim medaljonom nastalim u limoškim radionicama (*opus lemovicense*), koji su poslužili kao dragocjene aplikacije na moćnicima umjesto dragog kamenja. Taj postupak izvoza gotovih izrađevina koje bi se potom aplicirale na druge umjetnine bio je vrlo uobičajen. Dubrovački moćnici ruku pripadaju tipu „ruke govornika“ (engleski „speaking reliquary“ ili njemački „sprechenden“). Prvotno su datirani u kraj 12. i početak 13. stoljeća te su u ranijim objavama bili povezivani s mozanskim radionicama, što se u ovom radu ispravlja.¹³

Moćnik ruke sv. Fuske (XXVIII.)

Brahijarij sv. Fuske u današnjem obliku pripada skupini kasnogotičkih moćnika s trakama izvedenim „na proboj“, koje su aplicirane na većem broju moćnika, a koje stvaraju posebnu definiranu podskupinu.¹⁴ Šaka moćnika je loše modelirana, sa stiliziranom rozetom u sredini unutrašnje strane dlana. Rozetu čini više listića, od kojih je jedan dio vrlo fino cizeliran gotičkim viticama. S gornje strane dlana pričvršćen je romanički medaljon limoške škole, promjera 4,2 cm, izrađen u tehnici emajla *champlevé* u plavim, zelenim i žutim tonovima. Moćnik ruke sv. Fuske ukrašen je emajlnom plo-

reliquary of the hand of Saint Lawrence (CLII). The reliquary is shaped like a bishop's glove, incorporating imported enamel reliefs from the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries. Like the hand of St. Fosca, the hand in this reliquary is poorly shaped, which indicates a certain “archaeology” of reliquaries, which, over the centuries, had been repaired and received new layers. Surrounding the hand is a wide, high-quality ribbon with vine tendrils, a motif also found on the vertical band along the *abajour* and the medallions at the centre of the leaves. A ribbon of identical design appears on the reliquary of St. Anthony the Abbot (XXXI) in the same treasury.¹⁶ The reliquary of the arm of St. Anthony the Abbot (XXXI) is certainly one of the most interesting items in the Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral and attributed to the *Master of the 2nd fantastic bestiary*. This reliquary truly represents the pinnacle of preserved Dubrovnik goldsmithing in Croatia during its time, and is closely related to the heraldic bestiary and the art of working with metals in court sfragistics, with Dubrovnik being a major and important centre for this art. The hypothetical *Master of the 2nd fantastic bestiary* was in the fullest sense an artist that belonged to the international Gothic, with a rich artistic ensemble of motifs reflecting the complex medieval artistic imagination. Most of this group of reliquaries have their origins in the churches of St. Clare and St. Stephen at Pustijerna. The unknown Dubrovnik goldsmith had a most complex iconographic programme at his disposal, with a fantastic array of animals and figural portrayals of sophisticated courtly life and falconry.¹⁷ This analysis also links the reliquary of St. Fosca to the same goldsmith, who worked in the last quarter of the 14th century. At the bottom of the reliquary of St. Fosca (XXVII) is a particularly rich and elaborate embossed ribbon with three graduated segments. The first segment features stylized flowers, followed by tendrils and clover adorned with acorns. The same ribbon with clovers appears on several reliquaries, but it should be noted that the most interesting example of older Dubrovnik goldsmithing originates from the Church of St. Nicholas at Prijeko in Dubrovnik. Previously complete-

¹² Alliaia 2013, str. 334; Piccirillo 2013, str. 335.

¹³ Lupis 2003, str. 187–188, 251–252; Lupis 2005a, str. 129–148; Lupis 2015, str. 31, 45; Lupis 2007, str. 355–378.

¹⁴ U objavi Stjepana Skurle (*Moćnik stolne crkve dubrovačke (...)*, Dubrovnik 1868, str. 21) ovaj moćnik je naveden kao moćnik ruke anonimnog svetca. Antun Liepopili u raspravi (*O dubrovačkom Moćniku razjašnjenje nekih pitanja*, Dubrovnik 1934, str. 10) navodi moćnik XXVIII. kao moćnik ruke sv. Fuske.

¹⁶ One of the co-authors of the work has just now recognized the affiliation of this reliquary to the group of the *Master of the 2nd fantastic bestiary* and corrects his previous claims (V.B. Lupis, 2015, 219–228).

¹⁷ Lupis 2006. 190.

čicom iz limoških radionica koja je poslužila kao dragocjena aplikacija umjesto dragog kamenja, što je bila uobičajena praksa. Vrlo slični primjeri medaljona istog motiva i kolorita aplicirani su na relikvijarnoj škrinji s prikazom svetih triju kraljeva u kelnskoj prvostolnici (1181. – 1230.).¹⁵ Medaljon istog podrijetla nalazi se pričvršćen na moćniku ruke sv. Lovrijenca (CLII.). Moćnik je oblikovan poput biskupske rukavice uporabom uvoznih emajlnih reljefa s kraja 12. i početka 13. stoljeća. Šaka je i na ovom primjeru loše modelirana, što govori o stanovitoj „arheologiji“ moćnika koji su se stoljećima popravljali i tako dobivali nove slojeve. Uokolo šake aplicirana je široka kvalitetna vrpca ukrašena motivom vitica vinove loze, koji se ponavlja i na okomitoj traci uz *abajour* te na medaljonima u središtu listova. Identična vrpca nalazi se i na moćniku ruke sv. Antuna opata (XXXI.) koji se nalazi u istoj dubrovačkoj riznici,¹⁶ gdje je svakako jedan od zanimljivijih primjeraka. Ovaj moćnik, koji se pripisuje *Majstoru II. fantastičnog bestijarija*, uistinu predstavlja vrhunac sačuvanog dubrovačkog zlatarstva u hrvatskim zemljama svoga vremena, a blizak je heraldičkom bestijariju i umjetnosti obrade kovina dvorske sfragistike, čije je veliko i značajno središte bio upravo Dubrovnik. Hipotetski *Majstor II. fantastičnog bestijarija* koristi bogat likovni ansambl motiva složene srednjovjekovne likovne imaginacije te u punom smislu pripada umjetnosti internacionalne gotike. Spomenuta skupina moćnika većinom potječe iz crkava sv. Klare i sv. Stjepana na Pustijerni. Nepoznati dubrovački zlatar raspolagao je najsloženijim ikonografskim programom, koji je uključivao složeni fantastični životinjski svijet i figuralne prikaze sofisticiranog dvorskog života i lova na sokolove.¹⁷ Ovom analizom moćnik sv. Fuske također je pripasan istom zlataru, koji je djelovao u posljednjoj četvrtini 14. stoljeća. Na dnu moćnika sv. Fuske nalazi se osobito bogata iskucana vrpca s trima stupnjevanim segmentima. U prvom su prikazani stilizirani cvjetovi, u drugom vitice, a u trećem trolisti sa žirovima. Ista vrpca s trolistima nalazi se na više moćnika. Valja istaknuti da iz crkve sv. Nikole na Prijekom potječe najzani-

ly unknown to scientific circles, it is the cover of the matrikule (register) of the Butchers' Fraternity (*San Nicolo dei Beccari*)¹⁸ from 1378, which was kept in the Church of St. Nicholas in Prijeko until the mid-20th century. The same clover-patterned ribbon frames the cover, just as it does on the reliquary of St. Fosca (XXVI). Inside each clover, as well as on the vertical ribbon of the reliquary of St. Fosca and in the centre of the medallion on the base, is an octagonal silver medallion featuring an antiquized seated female figure (possibly Demeter) holding a sphere in her hand (three have been preserved as well as one positioned on the ribbon next to the hand). The vertical ribbon contains five preserved octagonal medallions, all crafted using the cold-stamping technique. These rare antiquized medallions may have been added during later interventions in the 15th century, possibly by Dubrovnik's official cutter of moulds for the minca coins, the small Dubrovnik currency. It is particularly intriguing that these antiquized medallions were applied to a Gothic ribbon. The medallion covers the bottom of the reliquary, around which the inscription reads: "+BRACIVM. SANTE. FUSCHE. VIRGINIS. ET. MARTIRIS". The central medallion is of exceptional interest, as it belongs to the Gothic imaginary world of symbols, depicting four birds (pelicans) that allude to Christ's blood sacrifice. At the centre of the medallion is the aforementioned antiquized figure of the Madonna, which seems as it has been taken over from an ancient model. This reliquary stands as an excellent example of what could be called the "archaeology" of reliquaries, which had been repaired and have received new layers over the centuries.¹⁹

CLII. The reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence

The Romanesque reliquary in the shape of the arm of St. Lawrence (CLII.) has been recorded in the earliest preserved inventory of the Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral in 1335.²⁰ Interestingly, this reliquary is also mentioned in Stjepan Skurla's publication from 1868, albeit as the reliquary of the arm of St. Vitus (*Brachium s. Viti Mart.*).²¹ Further

¹⁵ Kluckert 1997, str. 374.

¹⁶ Jedan od koautora rada tek je sada uvidio pripadnost ovog moćnika skupini *Majstora II. fantastičnog bestijarija* i ispravlja svoje dosadašnje tvrdnje (Lupis 2015, str. 219–228).

¹⁷ Lupis 2006, str. 190.

¹⁸ Lupis 2005, 33 – 44; Lupis 2015, 256 – 258.

¹⁹ Lupis 2003, 187, 251 – 251; Lupis 2007, 355 – 377.

²⁰ Lupis 2005, 129 – 148; Lupis 2015, 31, 45. Lupis 2003, 187, 251 – 251; Lupis 2007, 355 – 377.

²¹ Skurla 1868, 28.



Sl. 6. Nepoznati romanički zlatar i Majstor fantastičnog bestijarija II., moćnik ruke sv. Fuske (XXVI), Moćnik dubrovačke prvostolnice: cijeli moćnik. Detalj šake, medaljon i baza moćnika (V. B. Lupis)

Fig. 6. a, b, c, d. Unknown Romanesque goldsmith and Master of the 2nd fantastic bestiary, reliquary of the arm of St. Fosca (XXVI), Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral: whole reliquary, detail of the hand, medallion and base of the reliquary (V. B. Lupis).

clarifications and corrections to Skurla's account were provided by Dubrovnik canon don Antun Liepopili in his book *O dubrovačkom Moćniku razjašnjenja nekih pitanja* (On the Dubrovnik Treasury: Clarifications of Certain Questions), printed in Dubrovnik in 1934. In this work, Liepopili employed sharp analysis and insightful commentary to resolve numerous ambiguities about the Dubrovnik reliquaries from the Treasury, sometimes also referred to as the Holy Treasury. He was arguably the first to approach the reliquaries with an analytical perspective, moving beyond a mere focus on their historiography. In *Listu Dubrovačke biskupije* (Bulletin of the Diocese of Dubrovnik) from 1908, issues no. 1 and 3, and later in his book on the Treasury, he published the earliest preserved inventory from 1335. He meticulously described the manuscript through archival research, providing it in full, including an accurate interpretation of the reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence (CLII).²² At the bottom of the reliquary of the hand of St. Lawrence (CLII.), which is 44 cm high with a base width of 6.8 cm, is a medallion featuring the bust of a male saint with Hellenistic features, most closely resembling St. John the Evangelist from a *deisis* composition on a processional cross. It represents an exquisite example of Adriatic-Byzantine goldsmithing applied to a brachial reliquary from the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. The hand itself, sculpted with Romanesque plasticity, was modelled using a cast of an actual hand. The base of the brachial reliquary (44 cm in height, 6.8 cm in base width) features a ribbon adorned with Romanesque-stylized vine tendrils, crafted through embossing. The forearm is smooth and unadorned, with a perforated monofora-shaped opening at its centre. Between the opening and the ribbon near the edge, runs an almost indecipherable inscription: 'BRACHIVS. SAC. LAVRENTII.' Below it lies another faint cursive inscription of identical content, similar to those commonly found among reliquaries. The wrist is wrapped by a narrower ribbon, also decorated with stylized vine tendrils. The silver hand of the reliquary, repaired after 1667 (subsequent repairs of the fingers), features an intriguing applied enamel medallion measuring 4 cm in diameter. This medal-

²² This list is kept in the State Archive in Dubrovnik (DAD), Ecclesiae et Monasteriae, ser. XIV. 1. *Reliquiae s.s. corporum repertae in Ecclesiae Cathedrali S. Mariae Maioris d.d. 1335*. fol. 1-7.

mljiviji primjerak starijeg dubrovačkog zlatarstva, koji je dosad bio potpuno nepoznat znanstvenoj javnosti. Riječ je o okovu matrikule Bratovštine mesara (*San Nicolo dei beccari*)¹⁸ iz 1378. godine, koja se u crkvi čuvala do polovice 20. stoljeća, a upravo njezin okov obrubljuje ista vrpca kojom je dekoriran moćnik sv. Fuske. Unutar svakog trolista, kao i na okomitoj vrpici moćnika sv. Fuske, te usred medaljona na bazi pričvršćen je osmerostrani medaljon od srebra s antikizirajućim sjedećim ženskim likom (Demetra?) koji u ruci drži kuglu (preostala su tri takva medaljona i jedan na vrpici uz šaku). Na okomitoj vrpici nalazi se pet sačuvanih osmerostranih medaljona, koji su izrađeni tehnikom hladnog tiještenja. Rijetki antikizirajući medaljoni možda su nastali kao plod naknadne intervencije iz 15. stoljeća, a čini se da bi mogli biti djelo dubrovačkog državnog rezača kalupa za mince, sitni dubrovački novac. Zanimljivo je apliciranje antikizirajućih medaljona na gotičku vrpцу. Medaljon pokriva dno moćnika uokolo kojeg teče natpis „+BRACIVM. SANTE. FUSCHE. VIRGINIS. ET. MARTIRIS“. Središnji medaljon iznimno je zanimljiv jer pripada gotičkom imaginarnom svijetu simbola i prikazuje četiri ptice (pelikana) aludirajući na Kristovu krvnu žrtvu. U središtu medaljona nalazi se već spomenuti lik Gospe, koji kao da je preuzet s nekog antičkog predloška. Ovaj moćnik također je izvrstan primjer stanovite „arheologije“ moćnika koji su se popravljali kroz stoljeća i time dobivali nove slojeve.¹⁹

Moćnik ruke sv. Lovrijenca (CLII.)

Romanički moćnik u obliku ruke sv. Lovrijenca (CLII.) zabilježen je u prvom sačuvanom inventaru Moćnika dubrovačke katedrale iz 1335. godine.²⁰ Valja istaknuti da se ovaj moćnik spominje i u objavi Stjepana Skurle iz 1868. godine kao moćnik ruke sv. Vida (*Brachium s. Viti Mart.*).²¹ Dopunu podataka koje je pružio Stjepan Skurla i njihove ispravke približio je dubrovački kanonik dum Antun Liepopili u knjizi *O dubrovačkom Moćniku razjašnjenja nekih pitanja*, tiskanoj u Dubrovniku 1934. godine. Britkim jezikom i pronicljivo, Antun Liepopili razriješio je brojne nedoumice o dubrovačkim relikvijarima iz Moćnika, ponekad zvanog i Sveta blagaj-



Sl. 7. Medaljoni s limoške škrinjice (1180. – 90.), Metropolitan Museum, New York, (preuzeto iz: *Enamels of Limoges 1100 – 1350*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996. 152, 153.)
Fig. 7. Medallions from a Limoges chasse (1180–90), Metropolitan Museum, New York, (taken from: *Enamels of Limoges 1100–1350*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1996, 152, 153.)

lion matches the dimensions of the one found on the reliquary of St. Fosca (XXVIII.). It is an enamel on a copper base with cross-shaped ornamentation in red, yellow, white, light blue and green colours. The medallion belongs to the Limoges workshops, renowned for their *champlevé* enamel technique, and is part of a series of medallions and ribbons that were acquired all across Europe at that time and later applied to goldsmith objects. The reliquary casket from the Louvre Museum with medallions affixed to it was made between 1180 and 1190. The medallions were also made in the *champlevé* technique and exhibit a similar palette of colours (light and dark blue, yellow, green and white) and a similar shape of the butterfly wings as in Dubrovnik.

An entire series of medallions of this type, with its distinctive colour scheme, is found on the rel-

¹⁸ Lupis 2005b, str. 33–44; Lupis 2015, str. 256–258.

¹⁹ Lupis 2003, str. 187, 251; Lupis 2007, str. 355–377.

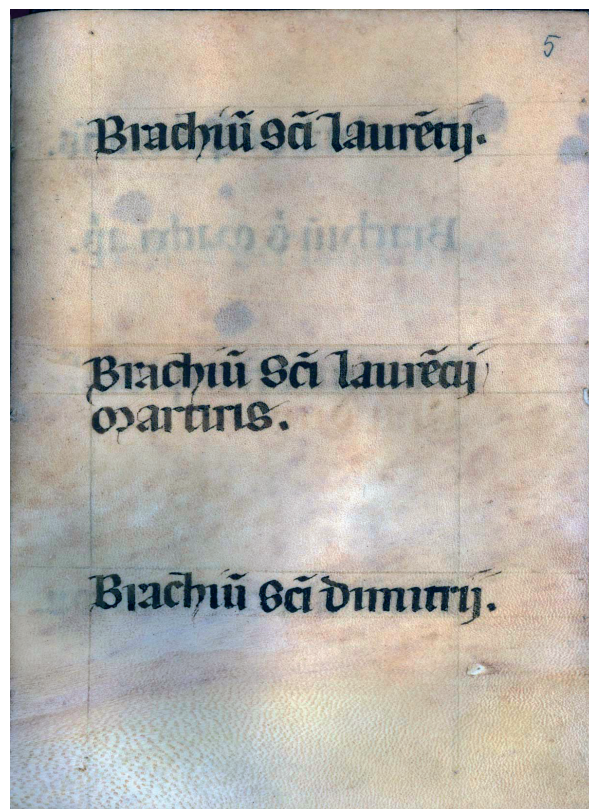
²⁰ Lupis 2005a, str. 129–148; Lupis 2015, str. 31, 45; Lupis 2003, str. 187, 251; Lupis 2007, str. 355–377.

²¹ Skurla 1868, str. 28.

na. Može se reći da je on jedini moćnicima pristupio analitički, a ne baveći se samo njihovom historiografijom. U *Listu Dubrovačke biskupije* iz 1908., u broju 1. i 3., a potom i u svojoj knjizi o Moćniku Liepopili je objelodanio prvi sačuvani popis iz 1335. godine. Arhivistički je opisao rukopis i donio ga u cijelosti, a za moćnik ruke sv. Lovrijenca dao je ispravno tumačenje.²² Na dnu moćnika ruke sv. Lovrijenca, visine 44 cm i širine baze 6,8 cm, smješten je medaljon s poprsjem muškog svetca helenizirajućih crta, najbliži prikazu sv. Ivana evanđelista iz kompozicije *Deisisa* s nekog ophodnog križa. Taj medaljon je iznimno lijep primjer adriobizantskog zlatarstva apliciran na jednom brahijariju s kraja 12. i početka 13. stoljeća. Plastika šake tog brahijarija pripada romaničkom oblikovanju, a za kalup je poslužio model stvarne šake. Na bazi brahijarija nalazi se vrpca s romanički stiliziranim viticama vinove loze, izvedena iskucavanjem. Podlaktica je glatka i neobrađena, jedino je po sredini perforirana otvorom u obliku monofore. Između otvora i rubne vrpce teče gotovo nečitljiv ugreban natpis „BRACHIVS. SAC. LAVRENTII“. Ispod njega smješten je jednako nečitljiv kurzivni natpis istog sadržaja, kakav se često susreće na moćnicima. Zapešće je ovijeno užom vrpcom s motivom stilizirane vitice vinove loze. Na srebrnoj šaci moćnika, popravljenog nakon 1667. (naknadni popravci prstiju), nalazi se zanimljiv aplicirani emajlni medaljon promjera 4 cm, istih dimenzija kao i onaj ranije spomenuti s moćnika sv. Fuske. Riječ je o emajlu na bakrenoj podlozi s križnim ornamentom crvene, žute, bijele, svijetloplave, bijele i zelene boje. Ovaj medaljon pripada limoškim radionicama *champlevé* emajla i ubraja se među brojnije medaljone i vrpce koji su se kupovali širom onodobne Europe i aplicirali na zlatarske predmete. Na škrinjici iz Muzeja Louvre, nastaloj između 1180. i 1190. godine, pričvršćeni su medaljoni izrađeni u tehnici *champlevé*, u kombinaciji svijetlo i tamno plave, žute, zelene i bijele boje. Taj spektar boja i oblici leptirova krila također se pojavljuju u Dubrovniku.

Cijeli niz medaljona ovog tipa i palete boja nalazi se na moćniku s prikazom svetih triju kraljeva iz kelnske prvostolnice, koji najvećim dijelom pripada vremenu od 1181. do 1230. godine. U donjoj zoni

²² Ovaj popis čuva se u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku (DAD), *Ecclesiae et Monasteriae*, ser. XIV, 1, *Reliquiae s.s. corporum repertae in Ecclesiae Cathedrali S. Mariae Maioris d. d. 1335.*, fol. 1–7.

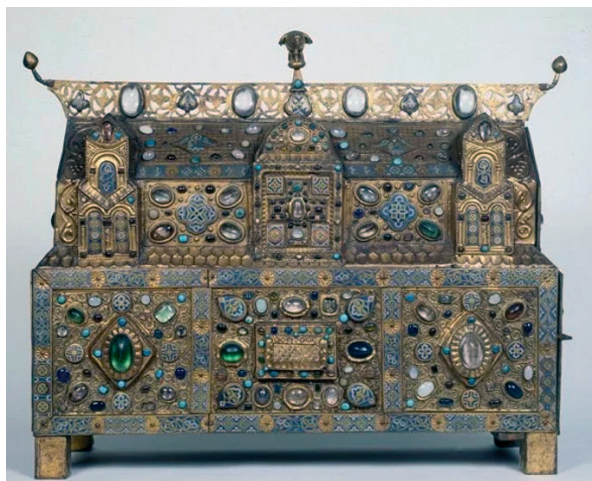


Sl. 8. Popis Moćnika dubrovačke katedrale iz 1335. godine (DAD-u, *Ecclesiae et Monasteriae*, ser. XIV.

1. *Reliquiae s.s. corporum repertae in Ecclesiae Cathedrali S. Mariae Maioris d.d. 1335.* fol. 5.) (V. B. Lupis)

Fig. 8. List of reliquaries of the Dubrovnik Cathedral from 1335 (DAD-u, *Ecclesiae et Monasteriae*, ser. XIV. 1. *Reliquiae s.s. corporum repertae in Ecclesiae Cathedrali S. Mariae Maioris d.d. 1335.* fol. 5.) (V. B. Lupis)

iquary of the Three Kings from the Cathedral of Cologne, most of which dates from the period between 1181 and 1230. In the lower section of the reliquary from Cologne, ribbons are adorned with four medallions, each in various colour variations similar to the Dubrovnik example, one of which is entirely identical to the Dubrovnik medallion. A strikingly similar medallion to the Dubrovnik piece is found applied to the reliquary shrine of St. Mary (1215–1238) in the Cathedral of Aachen, while a different colour scheme but the same motif appears on the reliquary chasse of St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1235/36–1249) in Elisabethkirche in Marburg. Luckily, the reliquary chasse of Ambazac (St. Anthony's Church), originally belonging to the Grandmont Abbey and precisely dated through archival sources to the period between 1180 and 1190,



Sl. 9. Limoški majstor, 1190. – 1200., Škrinjica moćnik Crkva Saint Anthony Ambazac (Haute – Vienne), pogled i detalji, a, b, c (preuzeto iz: Jean – René Gaborit u: *Enamels of Limoges 1200 – 1350*, New York, 1996, 208. – 212.)

Fig. 9. Limoges master, 1190–1200, reliquary chasse, Church of Saint Anthony Ambazac (Haute–Vienne), image and details, a, b, c (taken from: Jean–René Gaborit in: *Enamels of Limoges 1200–1350*, New York, 1996, 208–212.)

ovog moćnika smještene su vrpce s po četiri medaljona u više kolorističkih varijacija dubrovačkog primjerka, a jedan je i posve jednak tom primjerku. Medaljon koji je također vrlo sličan dubrovačkom primjerku nalazi se apliciran na relikvijarnoj škrinji Sv. Marije (1215. – 1238.) iz prvostolnice u Aachen-u, a primjerak drukčijeg kolorita, ali istog motiva zamijećen je na relikvijarnoj škrinji sv. Elizabete Ugarske (1235./1236. – 1249.) u Elisabethkirche u Marburgu. Škrinjica s moćima iz Ambazaca (crkva Saint Anthony), koja je izvorno pripadala opatiji Grandmont, a arhivskim izvorima precizno je datirana u razdoblje od 1180. do 1190. godine, upravo je primjerak blizak dubrovačkim primjerima, kako koloritom tako i motivima i oblikovanjem. Okrugli medaljoni aplicirani na površinu tog francuskog moćnika tako uz talijanske primjerke iz Apulije potvrđuju dataciju dubrovačkih primjeraka u isto vremensko razdoblje.

Kolorit kasnije postaje zagasit, a emajl *champlevé* tamniji i gušći. Dubrovački limoški medaljon

closely resembles the Dubrovnik examples both in terms of chromatics and design. The round medallions applied to the surface of the French reliquary exhibit similar chromatic features and motifs to those of Dubrovnik, further confirming the dating of Dubrovnik's medallions to the same timeframe, alongside similar examples from Apulia, Italy.

Over time, the colour palette of *champlevé* enamel became darker, and the enamel itself grew denser and more subdued. The Dubrovnik Limoges medallion once again confirms Dubrovnik's connection with broader European cultural trends at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. At the bottom of the reliquary is a medallion featuring the bust of a male saint with Hellenistic features, most closely resembling St. John the Evangelist from a *deisis* composition on a processional cross. It represents an exquisite example of Adriatic-Byzantine goldsmithing applied to a brachial reliquary from the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century. The hand itself, sculpted with Romanesque

iznova potvrđuje povezanost Dubrovnika s općeuropskim kulturnim strujanjima s kraja 12. i početka 13. stoljeća. Dva dubrovačka limoška medaljona iznimno su vrijedni primjeri širenja umjetnina francuskih radionica na jug, a uz apulijske primjerke iz prekomorske Italije predstavljaju najjužnije sačuvane primjerke u jadranskom bazenu.

plasticity, was modelled using a cast of an actual hand. The two Limoges medallions from Dubrovnik are exceptionally valuable examples, illustrating the spread of French workshops to the south. Together with Apulian examples from southern Italy, they represent the southernmost preserved specimens in the Adriatic basin.



Sl.10. a-b Nepoznati romanički zlatar, Moćnik ruke sv. Lovrjenca (CLII.), kraj XII. i početak XIII. stoljeća, Moćnik dubrovačke prvostolnice, pogled na cijeli moćnik, detalj, šake, limoški medaljon i reljef s baze moćnika. (Vinicije B. Lupis)

Fig. 10. a, b, c, d. Unknown Romanesque goldsmith, reliquary of the arm of St. Lawrence (CLII.), end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, Treasury of the Dubrovnik Cathedral, image of the whole reliquary, detail, hand, the Limoges medallion and the relief on the base of the reliquary. (V. B. Lupis)

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