

# Saint Tryphon's reliquary casket in Kotor. A contribution to the study of the iconography\*

Valentina Živković\*\*

Institute for Balkan studies, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade

UDC 739.033/.034(497.16 Kotor)

739.046.3:27-36 Trifun, sveti

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/ZOG1943185Z>

Оригиналан научни рад

*The paper analyses late Gothic and early Renaissance imagery on the reliquary casket of Saint Tryphon kept in the Kotor Cathedral. The iconography of the torture and death scenes of the young martyr Tryphon, as well the representation of the architecture on the model of the town of Kotor in the hand of Saint Tryphon opens up the possibility of interpreting this reliquary in a historical context. The paper proposes an interpretation of the iconography of the scenes on the reliquary casket as part of the constructed memory of the Ottoman siege of Kotor under the command of kapudan pacha Hayreddin Barbarossa (1539) and the Venetian defense of the town. A similar way of creating memories through juxtaposing images of Turks, members of the Holy League and Kotor's devotees under the protection of Saint Tryphon has been recorded in poetry, chronicles, and epistles.*

*Keywords: Kotor (Cattaro), Saint Tryphon, reliquary, Venetian Republic, Hayreddin Barbarossa, Gian Matteo Bembo*

The relics of the patron of Kotor, Saint Tryphon, are kept in a reliquary in the shape of a casket made of silver over wood and with a slightly concave roof (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Reliefs with six scenes of the torture and death of the young martyr Tryphon from Phrygian Campsada are presented on the silver sheet covering the chest. On the large front sides there are two narrative scenes on rectangular panels, and only one on the narrower, lateral sides. There is a sequence of the following narrative scenes separated by finely shaped semi-columns: Saint Tryphon drawn and quartered by horses, Saint Tryphon's flagellation, Saint Tryphon tied to a column, the torture of Saint Tryphon by fire, the stoning of Saint Tryphon, and the death (by beheading) of Saint Tryphon. The figure of Saint Tryphon with a palm branch and model of the town of Kotor in his hands is twice carved in relief on the longer sides of the casket roof. The holy pa-

tron of the town of Kotor is shown very frontally, dressed in a toga and a cloak. The hieraticity of the composition is completed by two figures of dragons surrounding the saint. There are carved medallions with symbols of the Evangelists in palm branches on the triangular fields which flank the two panels with the representation of Saint Tryphon. Pelicans surrounded by zoomorphic and vegetal motifs of dolphins and acanthus leaves are found on the narrow sides of the casket.<sup>2</sup> This involves a traditional medieval form of the reliquary casket which was typical for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> There are parallels to this on the Dalmatian coast, at least for the basic form of a reliquary with narrative scenes, which can also be seen on the Tomb-Shrine of Saint Simeon, displayed in the church of St. Simeon in Zadar and commissioned by Queen Elizabeth Kotromanić (c.1339–1387).<sup>4</sup>

Due to the fact that there are no primary documents related to the origin of Kotor's reliquary casket (the time and workshop where it was created) it was analyzed primarily based on its stylistic features. Considering that the reliefs are set apart by a mixture of late medieval and early Renaissance stylistic and iconographic elements, it has been proposed that this is the work of local goldsmiths originating around the year 1500.<sup>5</sup> However, it must be stressed that the circumstance which exacerbates any attempt of dating based on style is the fact that these works were created on the cultural fringe, and thus the appearance of late Gothic elements during the entire sixteenth century can be expected. Undoubtedly, a more dependable dating method is provided by the iconographic elements on the reliefs of the reliquary casket. Way back in 1938, don Ivo Stjepčević noticed that Saint Tryphon was presented as holding a model of the town on which the

\* The paper is a result of research on the project *Medieval heritage of the Balkans: institutions and culture* (no. 177003) supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

\*\* [valentina.zivkovic@bi.sanu.ac.rs](mailto:valentina.zivkovic@bi.sanu.ac.rs)

<sup>1</sup> Disproportionate to its importance, the reliquary casket has no extensive history of research. The most important studies are: I. Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, Split 1938; C. Fisković, *O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora*, Spomenik SAN 103 (1953) 96; B. Radojković, *Remek dela kotorskog zlatarstva u katedrali Svetoga Tripuna*, in: *800 godina katedrale Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru* (1166–1966), ed. M. Milošević, Kotor 1966, 90; R. Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. idem, Zagreb 2009, 189–190.

<sup>2</sup> For the description of the composition v. Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 189–190.

<sup>3</sup> *Treasures of heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Bagnoli et al., London 2011.

<sup>4</sup> I. Petricioli, *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru*, Zagreb 1983; A. Munk, *The Queen and her shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian queen Elizabeth, née Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon shrine*, Hortus Artium Medievalium 10 (Zagreb 2004) 253–262; M. Vidas, *Elizabeth of Bosnia, queen of Hungary and the tomb-shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar: power and relics in fourteenth-century Dalmatia*, Studies in Iconography 29 (2008) 136–175; N. Jakšić, *Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska arca d'oro*, Ars Adriatica 4 (Zadar 2014) 95–124.

<sup>5</sup> Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 189.

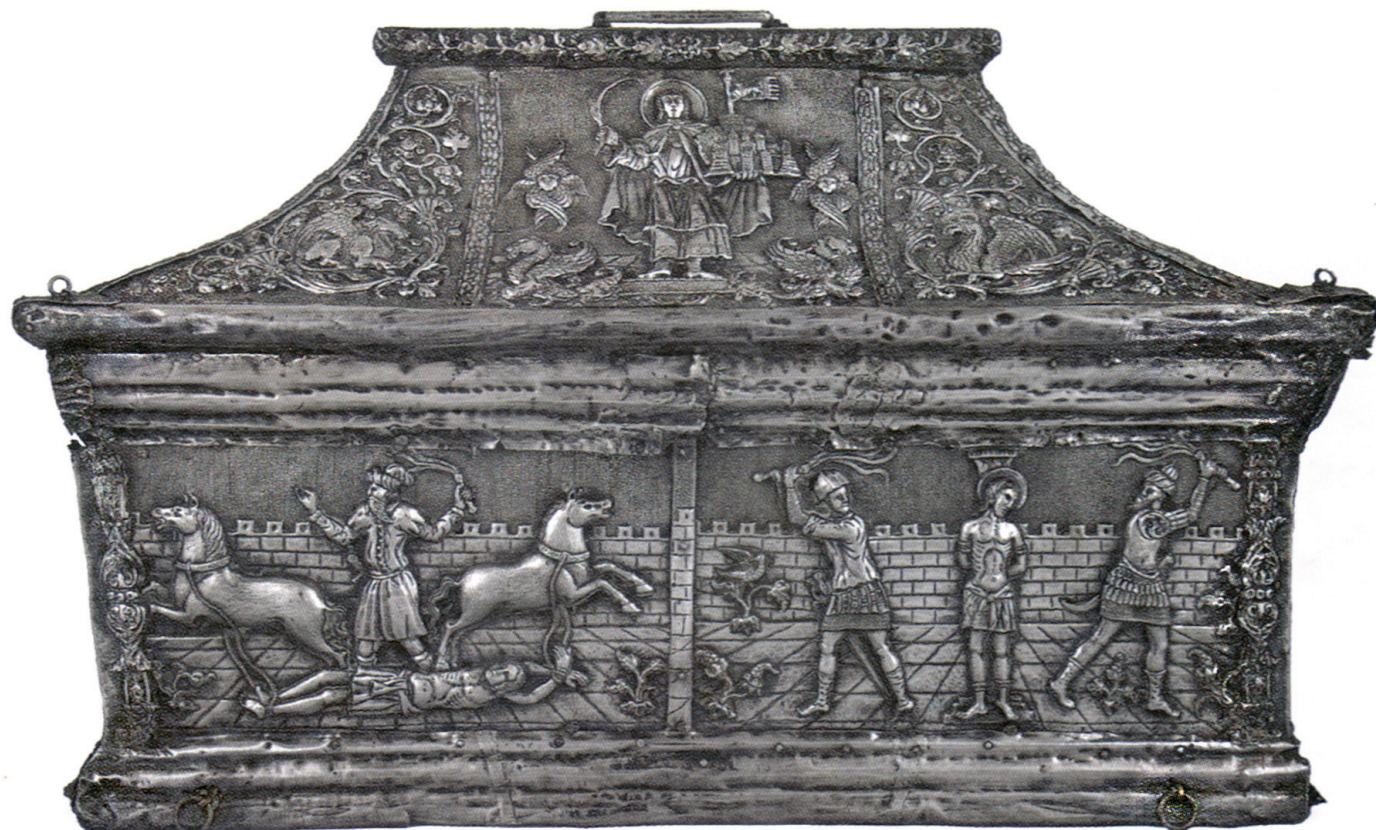


Fig. 1. Saint Tryphon's reliquary casket, Cathedral of St. Tryphon, Kotor, around 1539 (after: Tomić, *Zagovori svetom Tripunu*)

standard of Saint Mark was flying, and thus he proposed a flexible dating after 1420, when Kotor became part of the Republic of Venice (fig. 2). The year 1551 was proposed as the *terminus ante quem*, in view of the fact that the reliquary is mentioned in the poem *Descriptio sinus et urbis Ascrivensis* by the poet Giovanni Bona de Boliris, which is dated between 1539 and 1551.<sup>6</sup> Having in mind the observation of I. Stjepčević, Cvito Fisković described the relief style as a combination of Gothic and Renaissance elements and suggested the period between 1538 and 1551 as a possible timeframe of the reliquary's creation.<sup>7</sup> A step forward to reach a more precise dating was carried out by Radoslav Tomić, who noted quite suitably that the model of the town of Kotor that Saint Tryphon was holding in his hands was symbolic as well as realistic. The realistic presentation can be seen in the triangular plan of the town whose ramparts scale the hill of *San Giovanni*, as well as in the details of church architecture. R. Tomić then stressed that the Kotor Cathedral was represented with a dome, which existed until the 1563 earthquake when it collapsed and was never rebuilt.<sup>8</sup> We can add to this conclusion the earlier observation by Bojana

Radojković that the representation of the town of Kotor in the hands of Saint Tryphon on the cover of the reliquary differs from the model that Saint Tryphon is holding on the silver altarpiece in the Kotor Cathedral.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the Kotor model on the reliquary casket is noticeably a step towards a more detailed and realistic representation. The views of previous researchers represent a cornerstone for a more precise reading of iconographic features present on the relief representation of the model in the hands of Saint Tryphon. Viewed together with the iconography of the torture scenes of Kotor's patron saint, we can narrow down the time of the origin of the reliquary casket from 1539 to 1551.

Let us proceed from the details of the town model in the hands of St. Tryphon which offer the possibility of a more precise dating of the reliquary casket after the Ottoman siege of Kotor in 1539. Namely, there is an apparent tendency to represent the ramparts of the town, which makes a crucial difference from the earlier representation of the model in the hands of Saint Tryphon on the silver altarpiece. What is especially relevant for

<sup>6</sup> Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna*, 31. The poem *Descriptio sinus et urbis Ascrivensis* was published posthumously in an appendix of *La Storia di Raugia*, by Serafino Razzi in 1595, as well as in the edition published by G. Gelcich: S. Razzi, *La Storia di Ragusa scritta nuovamente in tre libri*, Ragusa 1903, 3–14. The translation of the poem was published in: *Književnost Crne Gore od XII do XIX vijeka. D. Bizanti, Lj. Paskvalić, I. B. Bolica. Izabrana poezija*, ed. S. Kalezić, Cetinje 1996, 321–329.

<sup>7</sup> Fisković, *O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora*, 96.

<sup>8</sup> Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 189. On the significance and development of the representation of the town model held by saints v. V. Camelliti, *La città in una mano. Per una storia della rappresentazione di modelli urbani dalle origini all'Occidente medievale*, in: *Un medioevo in lungo e in largo. Da Bisanzio all'Occidente (VI–XVI*

*secolo*). *Studi per Valentino Pace*, ed. eadem, A. Trivellone, Pisa 2014, 289–300 (with the relevant bibliography).

<sup>9</sup> Radojković, *Remek dela kotorskog zlatarstva*, 90. On the silver altarpiece in Kotor v. N. Jakšić, *Srebrna oltarna pala u Kotoru*, *Ars Adriatica* 3 (Zadar 2013) 53–66. There is a similar schematic and idealized shape of the model of Kotor in the pictorial images of Saint Tryphon from the mid-fifteenth century, in the church of Saint Michael in Kotor and in the church of Our Lady (today Saint Basil) in nearby Mržep (Stoliv). Cf. R. Vujičić, *O freskama u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Kotoru*, *Boka* 17 (1985) 291–301; V. J. Đurić, *U senci firentinske unije: crkva Sv. Gospođe u Mržepu (Boka Kotorska)*, *ZRVI* 35 (1996) 9–54; V. Živković, *Zidno slikarstvo u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Kotoru*, in: *Na tragovima Vojislava J. Đurića*, ed. D. Medaković, C. Grozdanov, Beograd 2011, 279–290.





Fig. 2. *Saint Tryphon, reliquary casket, Cathedral of St. Tryphon, Kotor, around 1539*  
(after: Tomić, *Zagovori svetom Tripunu*)

the possibility of a more precise dating is a representation of the ramparts with curved towers on the south and north sides that reflect the actual Kotor fortification. This involves fortification works that were built as part of the Venetian plan of modernizing Kotor's walls and fortifying the defence powers of Kotor due to an increasing Turkish threat. Special focus was placed on the fortification points: the round towers or bastions of Gurdić (south side) and Škurda (north), and then the Castello located on the eastern side, on the hill propping the town. A round tower on the south side near the gate leading to the town was built during the Venetian *provveditore* Bertucci Gabriel in 1470–1473.<sup>10</sup> The bastion on the Škurda was built somewhat later – first during the period of Vettore Diedo 1521–1523, though it was not completed until 1527 or 1533, according to reports.<sup>11</sup> During and after the Turkish siege in 1539, Gian Matteo Bembo, *rettore e provveditore di Cattaro*, completed Porta del Nord facing the river Škurda with his coat-of-arms above the portal and tablets with inscriptions celebrating the defeat of Hayreddin Barbarossa in 1539 – I. M. B. (Ioannes Metteus Bembo) DIE XV AVGVSTI M.D.XXXIX TVRCHARVM CLASSIS REPVLSA FVIT

(left) DIE XXV MARTII M.D.XL. CONSTRVCTA FVIT HAEC PORTA (right).<sup>12</sup>

Which historical conditions led to the Ottoman siege and successful Venetian defense of Kotor, memorialized in both visual and written sources? Namely, the defeat of the Holy League fleet under the command of Genovese Andrea Doria in the famous battle of Preveza in 1538 unleashed a series of military and diplomatic battles against the Ottoman admiral, *kapudan pacha* Hayreddin Barbarossa (1478–1546), who at that time represented a great danger for the entire Mediterranean.<sup>13</sup> Of particular strategic significance were the battles for domination over the two small towns in the Bay of Kotor: Castelnuovo and Cattaro (Herceg Novi and Kotor in modern-day Montenegro).

After Barbarossa started his regular attacks on Venetian assets in the Aegean, Ionian and Adriatic Seas,

<sup>12</sup> P. Fortini Brown, *Becoming a man of empire. The construction of patrician identity in a republic of equals*, in: *Architecture, art and identity in Venice and its territories, 1450–1750*, ed. N. Avcioglu, E. Jones, Burlington 2013, 248, n. 60.

<sup>13</sup> Hayreddin Barbarossa's naval victories secured Ottoman dominance in the Mediterranean during the mid-sixteenth century, from the Battle of Preveza in 1538 until the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. Cf. A. Gallotta, *Il turco osmanli del XVI sec. secondo il "Gazavati Hayreddin Pasa"*, *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 44/39 (1984) 1–84; J. E. López de Coca Castañer, *Mamelucos, otomanos y caída del reino de Granada*, *En la España Medieval* 28 (Madrid 2005) 250–254; W. Heath Lowry, *Lingering questions regarding the lineage, life & death of Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa*, in: *Frontiers of the Ottoman imagination*, ed. M. Hadjianastasis, Leiden–Boston 2014, 185–212.

<sup>10</sup> Fisković, *O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora*, 71–72.

<sup>11</sup> The first reports on the ramparts from Kastel to the top of the hill were made by Domenico Gritti, the former providur of Kotor in 1528, and the same measures were repeated in 1553 by Trifone Grad-enico [v. V. Đurović, *O zidinama grada Kotora*, *Spomenik SAN* 105 (1956) 123].



La Serenissima joined the Pope, the Holy Roman Emperor and the Knights of Malta to form a Holy League in February 1538. An ambitious plan to banish the Turks from a part of the Balkans was devised in Madrid. Its contents unambiguously attest to the strategic significance of Castelnuovo and Cattaro in the time immediately before and after the battle of Preveza. According to the plan, it was Castelnuovo that was chosen as the site for the disembarking of Spanish and Italian soldiers, from whence they would advance towards Bosnia, while the other 50 and 60 thousand soldiers were to sail down the Danube River and enter Bosnia.<sup>14</sup> Venice had to defend its poorly fortified cities, especially Kotor, and thus it began to hasten reinforcements in soldiers, ammunition, provisions and capital.<sup>15</sup> Gian Matteo Bembo arrived to Venetian Kotor as a *Rettore e Provveditore di Cattaro* in the summer of 1538.<sup>16</sup> This position, lasting a year, was assigned by the Senate to *nobili veneziani* who were governed by the *Provveditore generale e ordinario di Dalmazia e Albania* whose seat was the Venetian Zara (Zadar, in modern-day Croatia). Pietro Bembo, in his letter to his cousin, the newly elected *provveditore di Cattaro*, Gian Matteo, stressed how the forming of the Holy League, which Venice had joined, was good for Christianity in general. Also, bearing in mind that Venice had good relations with the Ottoman Empire, Pietro Bembo added in the letter: *La qual cosa non credo sia piaciuta a Costantinopoli*.<sup>17</sup> Soon, on 27 September 1538, the allied fleets attacked Preveza, apparently planning to push Barbarossa's fleet of about 160 ships to sail back into the Gulf of Ambracia. Andrea Doria did not get on well with the Venetian commander Vincenzo Capello, whose galleys Doria claimed were *mal pourvenes pour combatre*.

<sup>14</sup> L'imperator Carlo quando fece la lega del '38 con la Serenità vostra haveva consigliato con tutti li capitani principali di quel tempo che la vera via di assalir il turco bisognava che fusse questa: cio è che esso imperator, con la persona propria, con 50 in 60 mila soldati oltramontani havesse calato per il Danubio fino alla volta più vicina alla provintia della Bossina, et che do Ferante dall'armata havesse poi messo in terra a Castelnuovo 20 mila spagnoli et italiani li quali, da quella parte travagliando l'inimico, camminassero essi ancora ad una volta medesima in quella parte di Bossina, permettendo poi che le armate per la via di mare andassero molestando tutti quelli contorni come meglio potessero, et sumministrando insieme aiuti et monitioni ove fusse statto maggior bisogno. Perciò che in quella parte più commodamente et più vicinamente potevano esser assalite et debellate le forze turchesche che in tutte le altra [v. *Civiltà veneziana – fonti e testi V. La corrispondenza da Madrid dell'ambasciatore Leonardo Dona (1570–1573)* I, ed. M. Brunetti, E. Vitale, Venezia–Roma 1963, 325–331].

<sup>15</sup> *Istoriya Crne Gore III/1*, Titograd 1975, 47–55 (G. Stanojević); E. Orlando, *Tra Venezia e Impero ottomano: paci e confini nei Balcani occidentali (secc. XV–XVI)*, in: *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo*, ed. G. Ortalli, O. Jens Schmitt, Venezia–Wien 2009, 103–178.

<sup>16</sup> On Giovanni (Gian) Matteo Bembo and especially his relationship with his cousin, the famous Pietro Bembo v. Fortini Brown, *Becoming a man of empire*, 231–249. Pietro Bembo wrote on June 13, 1538 a letter to Gian Matteo, soon after arriving in Kotor to take up a new position (v. P. Bembo, *Lettere IV (1537–1546)*, ed. E. Travi, Bologna 1993, 118).

<sup>17</sup> *Molto mi piace non solo che siate giunto sano e salvo a Cattaro, ma che il luogo vi sia piaciuto più che non pensavate, e abbiate la dimora vostra in bella e grata parte, come scrivete. N. S. Dio sia del tutto lodato. Qui abbiamo avuto la triegua fatta tra le due Maestà, Imperiale e Cristianissima, per X anni, per opera di N. S.; la qual triegua si stima che sia utile alla Cristianità tutta. E la nostra armata sarà in brieve aiutata e accompagnata da quella del Papa, come dovete saper voi, e da quella del detto Imerator: onde non doverete aver sospetto costi di cosa alcuna* (v. Bembo, *Lettere IV*, 121–122).

Although Venice insisted on maintaining power in the Levant, its sphere of interest and strategic priority in the defence of the entire Christendom, Genoa and Spain had no wish to risk their galleys, soldiers and capital for realizing Venetian aims and interest. The united command suffered a devastating defeat, losing 39 ships.<sup>18</sup>

The key to understanding the ensuing events is in the contents of the agreement which was made in Madrid before the battle of Preveza: in the distribution of Turkish territories, Venice delegated to Castelnuovo an important fortress at the entrance of the Bay of Kotor and thus preserved the security of its territories, especially Kotor, the most significant town in this region which belonged to the Venetian Republic from 1420 to 1797.<sup>19</sup> After the defeat at Preveza, the Christian army occupied Castelnuovo on October 27, 1538. Three flags were flying on the ramparts: the Spanish, Venetian and papal. It is important to note that Doria did not cede Castelnuovo to Venice, but rather set up a garrison of around 4,000 men, predominantly Spanish soldiers. This marked the end of the rather fragile trust between La Serenissima and the interests of Emperor Charles V and his Genovese admiral, Andrea Doria.<sup>20</sup> The Turkish officials' letters from the Porte to the Doge underline Suleiman's anger at the Venetians for causing the war, harming Ottoman subjects, damaging their property, and forming an alliance with Spain. Suleiman immediately issued an order to Hayreddin Barbarossa to recover the fortress at the entrance to the Bay of Kotor.<sup>21</sup> Barbarossa had no trouble recovering Castelnuovo the following summer (in 1539) considering that Andrea Doria, who was in Otranto, failed to come to the rescue as he had no desire to take any chances and damage his galleys in a high-risk battle.<sup>22</sup> The conquest was accompanied by a horrific massacre of some 3,000 or 4,000 Spanish guardians who defended the fortress.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> K. M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* IV. *The sixteenth century from Julius III to Pius V*, Philadelphia 1984, 430–433; M. Á. de Bunes Ibarra, *Carlos V, Venecia y la sublime puerta: la embajada de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza en Venecia*, in: *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558)* I, ed. J. Martínez Millán, I. Ezquerria Revilla, Madrid 2001, 594–595.

<sup>19</sup> Fortini Brown, *Becoming a man of empire*, 236–238. Castelnuovo was conquered by the Turks in 1482 and between 1538 and 1539, with short breaks. They had control over it until 1687 when it was conquered by Gerolamo Cornaro *provveditore generale in Dalmazia per conto della Repubblica di Venezia*. V. *Istoriya Crne Gore III/1*, 47–55, 176–181.

<sup>20</sup> Andrea Doria then departed for Brindisi and thence for Sicily. On his personal incentive regarding the decision to conquer Castelnuovo v. M. Pellegrini, *Guerra Santa contro i Turchi. La crociata impossibile di Carlo V*, Bologna 2015, 304–306.

<sup>21</sup> Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 446–448, n. 211.

<sup>22</sup> P. A. Guglielmotti, *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560 II*, Firenze 1876, 475–480; C. Imber, *The costs of naval warfare: the accounts of Hayreddin Barbarossa's Herceg Novi campaign in 1539*, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (Wiesbaden 1972) 203–285; N. Samardžić, *Karlo V*, Beograd 2005, 251–267, 437–440.

<sup>23</sup> On the written testimony about this by two surviving Spanish soldiers – *Relacion de la perdida de Castelnuovo* in *Archives Généraux du Royaume, Bruxelles* (E.A., liasse 1520, fol. 278) v. K. Budor, *Relación de la pérdida de Castelnuovo*, *Studia romanica et anglica Zagrebiana* 43 (Zagreb 1998) 181–185. This written source speaks about the alleged offer to Barbarossa for the Spanish soldiers to retreat from Castelnuovo, though they decided to die in the service of Emperor Charles V (v. Samardžić, *Karlo V*, 439–440).





Fig. 3. Saint Tryphon drawn and quartered by horses, Saint Tryphon's reliquary casket, Cathedral of St. Tryphon, Kotor, around 1539 (photo: S. Kordić)

The real danger from Ottoman conquests had yet to come for La Serenissima. As expected, after the conquest of Castelnuovo, Barbarossa penetrated deeply into the Bay with his fleet, reaching its end – the town of Kotor. For Venice, Kotor was of great strategic significance as an important bulwark (*Antemurale Christianitatis*) of the Adriatic Sea.<sup>24</sup> The Venetians had earlier stressed the strategic relevance of Kotor, realizing its position was very close to the territory which had already been conquered by the Turks – *in mezo di la Bossina e Servia*, and they systematically repaired the fortress which was *forte ma mal custodito*.<sup>25</sup> Also, as already mentioned, Venice sent Gian Matteo Bembo to Kotor, who had previously acquired an excellent reputation as a captain in Zadar: *in Cattaro era venuto quel Proveditor così valoroso che era già stato a Zara*.<sup>26</sup> The relevance of Kotor for Venetian interests was underscored by Doge Pietro Loredano in a letter sent after Gian Matteo's arrival in Kotor in which he promises all the needed aid for the defense of “an exceptionally important and to us very dear country”: *Ne ui mancaremo di tutte le cose, che conosceremo esserui necessarie, et che uoi*

*ne richiederete per la difensione, et conseruatione di quella importantissima, et à noi carissima terra*, supplying him with 300 troops, wheat, beans and wine, and 9000 ducats and putting two well-organized galleys with good *sopracomiti* (captains) at his disposal.<sup>27</sup> Venetian reports from Kotor dispatched an offer which rendered a very precise insight into exactly what Venice meant when it stressed the strategic significance of this town. As in 1553 in his *Itinerario* about the journey through Dalmatia, Giovanni Battista Giustiniano reported that the Bay was so big that the largest fleet could fit into it and the Turks in Castelnuovo could sail out to Puglia, Albania or Romagna with their vast armada whenever they wished and no bordering country would know.<sup>28</sup>

That which followed – the arrival of the Turkish fleet in front of Kotor and a successful Venetian prevention of the attack, belongs more to diplomatic history, considering that a military conflict did not occur after all and the Turkish fleet retreated. Written sources in the form of diplomatic and personal correspondence of the *provveditore* Gian Matteo Bembo with his cousin Pietro Bembo and Hayreddin Barbarossa provide a foundation for understanding the background of the event. The diplomatic efforts were convincingly reflected in the gradual changes in the contents of Barbarossa's letters: the correspondence with Gian Matteo Bembo started with a very threatening tone. Barbarossa had no interest in making

<sup>24</sup> On the concept of the Venetian *antemurale* cf. A. Tenenti, *The sense of space and time in the Venetian world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in: *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale, London 1973, 17–46; L. Kunčević, *The rhetoric of the frontier of Christendom in the diplomacy of renaissance Ragusa (Dubrovnik)*, *Dubrovnik Annals* 17 (2013) 37–68.

<sup>25</sup> Đurović, *O zidinama grada Kotora*, 121–122.

<sup>26</sup> Pietro Bembo recounts in a letter to Gian Matteo the words of Kotor nobleman Trifon Drago who came to tell of the events in the expectation of the siege of Kotor (v. Bembo, *Lettere* IV, 279–280).

<sup>27</sup> *Lettere di principi, le quali o si scrivono da principi, o a principi o ragionan di principi* I, ed. G. Ruscelli, Venezia 1570, 137.

<sup>28</sup> Đurović, *O zidinama grada Kotora*, 121.





Fig. 4. Stoning of Saint Tryphon, Saint Tryphon reliquary casket, Cathedral of St. Tryphon, Kotor, around 1539 (photo: S. Kordić)

peace and threatened that he could come whenever he liked and topple the Venetian castles on their heads, and that he would not leave them a foot of land from there to Constantinople: *A voi Rettor di Cattaro...della tregua, et della pace, io la difarò alla volontà mia....Et ancora più sarà questo per aviso vostro, che quando mi piacerà di questi vostri Castelli, venirò à buttarli sopra le teste vostre....Non pensate, ch'io sia venuto quà solamente per Castel Nuovo, ma son venuto per non lassar palmo di terra di quà in Constantinopoli.* Gian Matteo took a very polite but resolute stand in regards to Venetian intentions.<sup>29</sup> At the end of the correspondence, Hayreddin refers to Bembo thus: *A voi Rettore, et Proueditore di Cataro, mio carissimo.... siamo buoni amici.... infiniti saluti.*<sup>30</sup> According to the Kotor-based Renaissance poet Lodovico Pasquali, Gian Matteo regularly informed Kotor citizens and the Venetian crew about the current events and read Barbarossa's letters out aloud, holding them in his hand high up in the air so that no one would think they were *lettere finte*.<sup>31</sup> The success of Venetian diplomacy in the defence of Kotor was presented through the contrasting of Christian virtues and wisdom *virtù di leone* with *il barbaro furore*, while a spe-

cial place was reserved for captain Gian Matteo Bembo and his wise diplomatic correspondence with Barbarossa (*Tra tutte le cose fatte da voi sono celebrate per le più belle le risposte savie che avete fatte a Barbarossa*), according to Pietro Bembo.<sup>32</sup> The poet Marco Bandarini celebrated the Venetian direct victory over the Turks in a similar way in the extensive poem written only three or four years after the siege of Kotor – *L'impresa di Barbarossa contro la città di Cattaro con la presa di Castel Novo composta per Marcho Bandarini allo illustro signor Bartholomeo da Villa Chiara*.<sup>33</sup>

This involved the events that most probably occurred immediately before the creation of the relief on the reliquary casket. The iconography of the narrative scenes provides indirect evidence of this. The principle stressed in the diplomatic correspondence or poem written in honour of the victory of Gian Matteo Bembo can also be seen in the iconography of the scenes on the reliquary casket. Namely, the torturers of Saint Tryphon were shown dressed in Turkish attire,<sup>34</sup> while the holy

<sup>29</sup> In the printed issue of their correspondence, prior to Barbarossa's letters, there is the seal of Barbarossa *composto di caratteri Arabici; i quali suonano nella nostra lingua, L'HYMILE CHAIRADIN, FATTO ROBVSTO DA DIO* (v. *Lettere di principi I*, 138–140).

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 142–143. Paolo Giovio also wrote about the correspondence between Barbarossa and Gian Matteo Bembo. Cf. P. Giovio, *Ragionamento di monsignor Paolo Giovio sopra i motti e disegni d'arme et d'amore che comunemente chiamano imprese*, Milano 1863, 75.

<sup>31</sup> *A Messer Trifon Draghi, Di Cataro A 3. di Settembre. 1539. Fratello et, Ser V. Lodouico Pasqualio* (v. *Lettere di principi I*, 142–143).

<sup>32</sup> Bembo, *Lettere IV*, 254–256. On the correspondence between Pietro Bembo and Gian Matteo Bembo v. P. Fortini Brown, *Pietro Bembo e l'arte della diplomazia*, in: *Pietro Bembo e le arti*, ed. G. Beltrami, H. Burns, D. Gasparotto, Venezia 2013, 37–47.

<sup>33</sup> *Guerre in ottava rima IV. Guerre contro i turchi (1453–1570)*, ed. M. Beer, C. Ivaldi, Modena 1988, 640–678.

<sup>34</sup> Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 189. In recent times Milena Ulčar has mentioned the Oriental attire of Saint Tryphon's torturers. V. eadem, *Who is who in Saint Tryphon's martyrdom: the saint and others in early modern Kotor*, in: *Crossroads: East and West. Cultural contacts, transfers and exchange between East and West in the Mediterranean. Book of abstracts*, Split 2015, 43 (<https://issuu>).





Fig. 5. Beheading of Saint Tryphon, Saint Tryphon's reliquary casket, Cathedral of St. Tryphon, Kotor, around 1539 (photo: S. Kordić)

protector of the town, after being tortured and killed, is rewarded by a celestial award. It should be stressed that this reliquary casket from the sixteenth century had replaced an older one of which little is known.<sup>35</sup> The fact that the reliefs on the new reliquary casket interpolated the Turks as contemporary enemies and participants of historical events<sup>36</sup> puts a strong emphasis on the context

com/znanstvenazalozbaff/docs/international\_conference\_for\_phd\_st\_b67825b0f29446).

<sup>35</sup> The oldest coffin in which Saint Tryphon's relics arrived to Kotor is traditionally a small monolithic coffin made of grayish-colored marble, which is now kept in the Treasury of the Kotor Cathedral [v. Kovčeg za relikvije svetoga Tripuna, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije. Katalog*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 91 (M. Zornija)]. On the problems linked with the *translatio* of Saint Tryphon v. Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna*, 35–45; D. Preradović, *Prenos relikvija iz Vizantije na Jadran u periodu između VI i XI veka*, Niš i Vizantija 11 (2013) 97–99; I. Stevović, *Kotor u ranom srednjem veku: autoritet tradicije ili magline istorije?*, ZLUMS 45 (2017) 55–70. On the *translatio* and the relic culture in Venice with an emphasis on the Eastern Adriatic coast v. A. Munk, *Patrocina multa erant habentes. State, the parrochia, and colony – relic acquisition in Medieval Venice*, in: *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet region. Saints' cults and the dynamics of regional cohesion*, ed. S. Kuzmova, A. Marinković, T. Vedriš, Zagreb 2014, 153–191.

<sup>36</sup> On the phenomenon of hybridisation when the Turks were interpolated in the scenes of the Passion of Christ or in the scenes of the martyrdom of the saints v. A. Gentili, *Le storie di Carpaccio: Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, Venezia 1996, 27–46 et passim; G. Capriotti, *Dalla minaccia ebraica allo schiavo turco. L'immagine dell'alterità religiosa in area adriatica tra XV e XVIII secolo*, in: *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)*, ed. B. Franco Llopis et al., Valencia 2016, 357–373; I. Čapeta Rakić, *Distinctive features attributed to an infidel. The political propaganda, religious enemies and the iconography of visual narratives in the Renaissance Venice*, in: *Changing the enemy, visualizing the other. Con-*

in which this reliquary casket was created. Explicit representations of Turks torturing the holy patron of Kotor can be found on the reliefs represented in pairs on the longer sides. On the other hand, in two scenes on the narrow chest sides, the torturers of the young saint are shown in the usual way, without the turban as a symbol of the Ottomans. All the narrative scenes from the Martyrdom of the Saint Tryphon cycle are typified by combining the traditional hieratic late medieval style with the early Renaissance perspective representation (the town square which is the stage of every torture scene) as well as the movement of Tryphon's body tied to a column in the Stoning scene. In the first narrative, the central figure in the scene is a bearded and turbaned Turk spurring on two horses that Saint Tryphon was tied to in opposite directions (fig. 3). In the scene of Saint Tryphon's flagellation, one of the torturers is represented with a turban and a Turkish sabre around his waist. The other, longer side of the chest first features the scene of the stoning of Saint Tryphon with two torturers in Oriental attire, while the turbaned third figure is shown frontally, standing on the side and pointing at the torture scene (fig. 4). We can see the same figure also in the role of an observer in the final scene of the death of the young martyr – the beheading of Saint Tryphon (fig. 5). The executioner, dressed in military attire, is showing the severed head of Saint Tryphon to the prefect Aquilinus seated upon a throne. With some caution (which is necessary when identifying the portrait

*tacts between Muslims and Christians in the early modern Mediterranean art*, ed. G. Capriotti, B. Franco Llopis (Macerata 2017) 117–143.



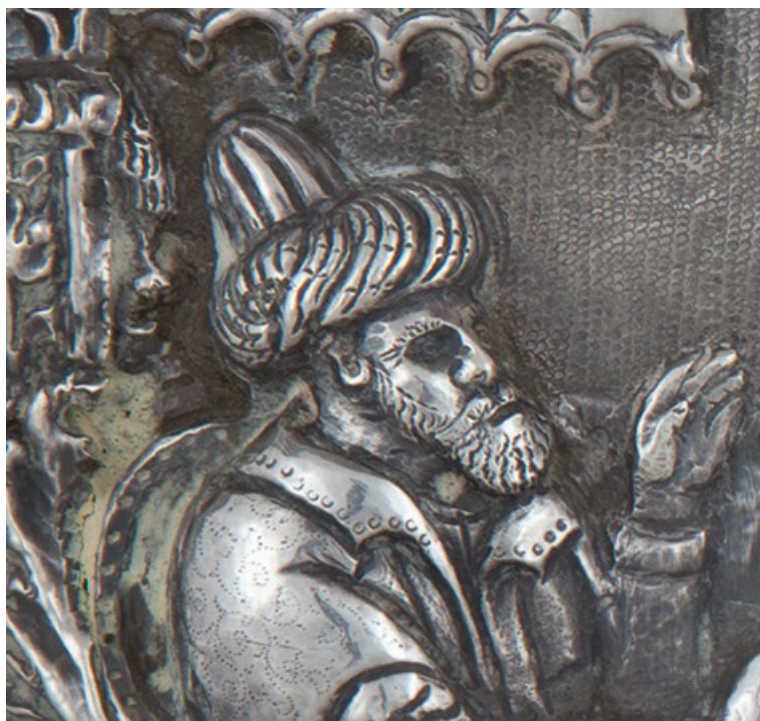


Fig. 6. Prefect Aquilinus, detail of Fig. 5

features of the participants in a hagiographic narrative scene) I would like to point out the manner of representing the prefect Aquilinus. He is depicted as a resolute man wearing a turban, with a thick beard and long whiskers, a strong and slightly hooked nose, and with bushy eyebrows joined together in a frown (fig. 6). Similarities in the features of the prefect Aquilinus on the Kotor reliquary casket are revealed in their comparison to the portraits of Hayreddin Barbarossa, such as the engraving by Agostino dei Musi called *Veneziano* from 1535 (fig. 7). From the same year as the engraving, we have a literary description of Hayreddin Barbarossa by Paolo Giovio (the historian, biographer and bishop of Nocera dei Pagani) in a letter sent to Duce di Mantova on July 14, 1535. Giovio briefly provides the basic biographical data on the admiral of the Ottoman fleet, which he finishes with the words that Barbarossa has nervous thick eyebrows, and that he is wise and decisive (*et neruosa ha le ciglia pelose, et grosse, et sauiu, et risoluto*).<sup>37</sup> The presumption that there was an intention to give the prefect Aquilinus the portrait features of Barbarossa (of the face as well as the temperament) undoubtedly has a strong foothold in the given historical circumstances. In addition, these events should be assessed from the aspect of the fear which the Kotor citizens and the Venetian crew harbored due to Turkish

<sup>37</sup> *Barbarossa ha nome Ariadine, fù fratel di Orucci primo Barbarossa, quale acquisto il Regno d'Algiri, et poi fù ammazzato già molti anni nel Regno di Tremisene d'Alcayde dellos donzelles, son nati nella città di Metellino, nell'isola di Lesbos, sono uenuti grandi, andando in corso, et questo Aryadin per sua virtù è fatto Rè d'Algieri, et di Tunisi, et fatto Bassa visir del Turco, et Begliarbei di tutte le marine, et neruosa ha le ciglia pelose, et grosse, et sauiu, et risoluto* (v. *Lettere di principi, le quali o si scrivono da principi, o a principi o ragionan di principi III*, ed. F. Ziletti, Venezia 1577, 145–148). On Paolo Giovio v. T. C. Price Zimmerman, *Paolo Giovio: uno storico e la crisi italiana del XVI secolo*, Cologno Monzese 2012; E. Pujau, *L'Europe et les Turcs: la croisade de l'humaniste Paolo Giovio*, Toulouse 2015. On the portraits in the Giovio collection v. L. S. Klinger, J. Raby, *Barbarossa and Sinan: a portrait of two Ottoman corsairs from the collection of Paolo Giovio*, in: *Arte veneziana e arte islamica*, ed. E. J. Grube, Venezia 1989, 47–59.

threats. The enormous fear increased after the news of the fall of Castel Nuovo followed by the horrible massacre of the Spanish soldiers, and during the expectation of the attack and finally, the siege itself. Written sources in the form of correspondence by Gian Matteo Bembo, mainly with his cousin Cardinal Pietro Bembo, provide evidence of this. There was a tendency for spiritual protection during the siege which was deemed as significant as the military securing of the town. In the letter to Pietro Bembo, Gian Matteo pointed out that he had brought out a sizable artillery on the hill above Kotor *che è gran bellezza à uederle, et saranno di gran terrore al nemico*, pointing out that all the citizens had made sacramental confession and received communion and that they had found solace in the prayers of the holy nuns, the clergy and pious women (*da sperare nelle orationi di queste sante monache, et di questo Reuer. chlero, et diuote done*).<sup>38</sup>

The iconography of the narrative scenes of the torture and death of Saint Tryphon additionally gives credence to the presumption about the dating of the reliquary casket (which was offered based on the model of the town of Kotor in Saint Tryphon's hands) in the years immediately following Hayreddin Barbarossa's attack on Kotor. While identifying Barbarossa himself with Aquilinus remains hypothetical, what is certain is that those who had commissioned the reliquary intended to give the appearance of Turks as contemporary enemies to the torturers of the patron of Kotor, and to represent the conquering of Kotor by employing pictorial symbolism. The narrative of the holy patron saint of the town receiving a celestial award for his suffering represents a victory of Christian Kotor and it had occurred under the spiritual and political power of the Venetian standard of Saint Mark. The choice of the shape of the reliquary can also be seen in the same context of emphasizing Venetian merit, as it was made to roughly resemble the shrine of Saint Simeon from Zadar, the town which was the Venetian centre for Dalmatia. Gian Matteo Bembo had gained a good reputation as a captain in Zadar and therefore he was sent to Kotor to prepare a defence against the Ottoman attack on Venetian territories in the Adriatic.<sup>39</sup>

The hagiographical works undoubtedly served as a literary template for the iconography of the scenes of the torture and death of Saint Tryphon on the reliquary casket. R. Tomic has proposed, more as a literary than a direct iconographic template, the manuscript codex *Lezenda de Misier San Triphone conphalone et protectore della zitade de Cataro*, written and illuminated in 1466 at the commission of the Kotor noble family of Bucchia.<sup>40</sup> It should be

<sup>38</sup> *Lettere di principi I*, 138.

<sup>39</sup> On Gian Matteo Bembo as the elected *conte di Zara* v. Fortini Brown, *Becoming a man of empire*, 235–236.

<sup>40</sup> Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 190. The codex was located in Kotor until the nineteenth century when it was sold to Venice and is now kept in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia [It. XI 196 = (7577)]. A part of the codex text on the transfer of the saint's body to Kotor (*translatio*) was published in G. Gelcich, *Storia documentata della Marinarezza Bochese*, Ragusa 1889, 81–86; Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna*, 26–29; *Književnost Crne Gore od XII do XIX vijeka. Pisci srednjovjekovnog latiniteta*, ed. D. I. Sindik, G. Tomović, Cetinje 1996, 22–30. On the illuminated codex v. J. Maksimović, *Rukopis sa minijaturama života i čuda sv. Trifuna u Marcijani i njegova kotorska kopija*, ZFF 4/1 (1957) 135–144; S. Marcon, *Un manoscritto cattarino del 1466 e l'eredità belliniana lungo le sponde dell'A-*



noted that the hagiographical tradition of writing about the passion of Saint Tryphon existed in Kotor throughout the Middle Ages, and thus these literary models are recurring. The incompletely preserved Suffering of Saint Tryphon and Saint Blaise, a twelfth-century text written in the beneventan script from Dalmatia on parchment (Library of the Archaeological Museum in Split) bear evidence to this tradition. Viktor Novak linked the emergence of this text to the consecration of the cathedral of Kotor in 1166 and emphasized that the relics of St. Tryphon were then given a new reliquary.<sup>41</sup> This partially preserved twelfth-century hagiography provides a description of the torture of Saint Tryphon by fire, horses, flagellation, stoning and finally beheading – scenes that were also presented on the sixteenth-century reliquary casket. Particular attention should be paid to the iconographic representation of death, that is, when Saint Tryphon *recepit gladium, et consumauit martirium*. The twelfth-century hagiography testifies that Saint Tryphon uttered the following before he died: *Ihesu Xpiste, domine, suscipe spiritum meum*.<sup>42</sup> That moment is represented on the reliquary casket in the form of an angel who takes the soul of St. Tryphon to Heaven.

Parallels with the celebration of Kotor patrons in fine art and written works from the time of the consecration of the new cathedral in the twelfth century can be seen in the second half of the sixteenth century. Namely, it should be stressed that another hagiographic text was written at the time of the reliquary casket – *Offitium Sancti Triphonis Martyris, Civitatis Catharensis Patroni, omnia eius viatae miracula ac Martyrii certamina contiens* (printed in Venice in 1561), by Bishop Luca Bisanti who headed the Kotor bishopric from 1532 to 1565, and thus witnessed the Turkish siege in 1539. In this work, he mostly reiterated the previous literary template *Lezenda de Misser San Trifon*, from 1466.<sup>43</sup> During the Turkish siege, Bishop Bisanti supported the souls and morale of the Kotor citizens.<sup>44</sup> According to Serafino Razzi's *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico* (published in Florence in 1592) the Dominican *santa viva* Osanna with her "supernatural power of words" offered spiritual support to Bishop Luca Bisanti and Captain Gian Matteo Bembo and guided them to pray to God and the holy defenders of the town during Hayreddin Barbarossa's siege.<sup>45</sup> Taking into consideration



Fig. 7. Agostino Veneziano, Portrait of Hayreddin Barbarossa, 1535, engraving, Rijksmuseum (after: Wikimedia commons)

the historical circumstances, the intention of the Kotor bishop to write *Offitium Sancti Triphonis Martyris* can be interpreted in the context of strengthening the faith in the miraculous protection of St. Tryphon and the forming of a communal and sacred identity during an age of a serious threat to Christianity when faith and the morale of devotees could be shaken.<sup>46</sup>

As we have seen, the hagiography of Saint Tryphon was renewed over the centuries in new writings that emerged. Keeping the tradition renewed by inserting new elements into well-known schemes is a characteristic that distinguishes the narratives on the reliquary casket, at both formal and content levels. Thus we have the merging of the late medieval with the early Renaissance style elements, just as the usual iconographic form of depicting the saint and his tormentors is combined with contemporary elements from the realm of the real. The insertion of the actors of contemporary events, that is, the Turkish threat, into the iconography of Saint Tryphon, is a

driatico, Rivista di storia della miniatura 4 (Firenze 1999) 121–134; I. Prijatelj Pavičić, *Ogledalo pravednog trgovca: ispovijed i traktat o krepotima iz kodeksa Buća*, Croatica Christiana periodica 67 (2011) 52–53.

<sup>41</sup> V. Novak, *Notae paleographicae, chronologicae et historicae I–VII*, Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkog društva 15 (1928) 211–219.

<sup>42</sup> *Hic est Triphon beatissimus puer, ab utero beatus, dei conuersatione probates, signisque sanitatum prefulgens. Qui ualidus in certamine uicit confunditque diabolum, et nunc palmatus martirii coronam, in perpetuo regnat cum Xpiste, pro cuius nomine agonizatus est* (v. *ibid.*, 219).

<sup>43</sup> I. Petrović, *Hagiografska tradicija sv. Trifuna i bokeljskih svetaca*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 43.

<sup>44</sup> D. Farlati, *Illyrici sacri VI. Ecclesia Ragusina*, Venezia 1800, 482–492. "Questa ammirabile presenza di spirito la fece soprattutto risplendere quando Cariadeno Enobardo Ammiraglio della flotta Turca, dopo aver vinti e discacciati gli Spagnuoli, e ripreso loro Castelnuovo, andossene baldanzoso a porre l'assedio alla stessa città di Cattaro" (v. F. M. Appendini, *Memorie spettanti ad alcuni uomini illustri di Cattaro del padre Francesco Maria Appendini delle Scuole Pie*, Ragusa 1811, 12–13).

<sup>45</sup> S. Razzi, *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico, Scritta da fra Serafino Razzi, dell'istesso Ordine, e Provincia Romana*, Firenze 1592, 42–44.

<sup>46</sup> The citizens of Kotor relied on the protective powers of the town's patron, Saint Tryphon, whose relics were kept in the Cathedral, the core of civic devotion. The shrine of Saint Tryphon was a symbol of local identity. Cf. Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna*; V. Živković, *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru: XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010, 138–150.



form of uplifting faith in the power of the saint. By doing so, it becomes part of a new tradition that is being built. We can read the layers of veneration of the patron saint in the sacral space of the Cathedral from different periods. First, the reliefs on the reliquary casket are complementary, by their theme and concept, to the stone reliefs on the ciborium in the altar space. The selection of scenes from the life and miracles of the young Saint Tryphon on the ciborium was made so as to emphasise the protective role of the patron of Kotor. Quite differently, the choice of torture scenes is the conceptual framework for a place intended to hold the relics of the town patron.<sup>47</sup> Beside the body parts in the reliquary casket, the head of Saint Tryphon is also kept in the Kotor Cathedral.<sup>48</sup> Today both reliquaries are kept in the baroque sacral space of the Cathedral Treasury, the work of Francesco Cabianca from 1704–1708.<sup>49</sup> The reliquary casket, together with the reliquary of the Glorious Head of Saint Tryphon, has become a part of the new architectural and sculptural entity within a marble sarcophagus held up by two angels, with the figure of the young martyr Tryphon in a kneeling prayer position on top.

<sup>47</sup> Tomić, *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, 189–190. On the ciborium in the Cathedral of Saint Tryphon in Kotor v. J. Maksimović, *Kotorski ciborij iz XIV veka i kamena plastika susednih oblasti*, Beograd 1961; M. Milošević, *Ciborij XIV vijeka i ostala plastika*, in: *800 godina katedrale Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru (1166–1966)*, ed. idem, Kotor 1966, 43–62; I. Fisković, *Umjetnost gotičkoga doba*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 159–161.

<sup>48</sup> Stjepčević, *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna*, 35–45; Fisković, *O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora*, 91; *Relikvijar za glavu Sv. Tripuna (Slavna Glava)*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije. Katalog*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 125–126 (M. Zornija).

<sup>49</sup> M. Milošević, *Francesco Cabianca i njegovi suradnici u Kotoru*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 11 (Split 1959) 118–135.

In the context of shifting the emphasis within the hagiographic and iconographic narratives in the sense of inserting the Turks as torturers, it should be stressed that the reliquary casket was a part of the procession for Saint Tryphon's Day, the ceremony that was a symbol of the identity of the commune and its tradition. The Benedictine monk Timoteo Cisilla wrote about this in the first half of the seventeenth century: "The well-known casket with the relics of Saint Tryphon the Martyr can also be seen in the Cathedral. It retains the body of this eminent saint, buried in a silver casket of an exquisite artistic design. Four prebendaries, the oldest by rank, bear it in the procession of February 3 throughout the entire town." The reliefs with the images of the Turks as torturers became symbols of the torture of the town itself, which has traditionally been identified with its holy protector, especially in the procession.<sup>50</sup> During the time when Kotor was an integral part of the Venetian Republic, highlighting the town patron, Saint Tryphon, who prevails over the Turks with the standard of Saint Mark, should be read within the framework of the Venetian tendency for the celebration and preservation of the memory of the victory over Hayreddin Barbarossa. With this victory, Venice defended its position in Dalmatia, and the celebration was followed by a particular creative strategy,<sup>51</sup> with the aim of developing its image as a diplomatic, military and cultural power on the eastern Adriatic coast.

<sup>50</sup> On the creative function of mental images as a cultural code v. L. Bolzoni, *The play of memory between words and images*, in: *Memory & oblivion I*, ed. W. Reinink, J. Stumpel, Dordrecht 1999, 11–18.

<sup>51</sup> E. de Vivo, *Historical justifications of Venetian power in the Adriatic*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/2 (Philadelphia 2003) 159–176; K. Barzman, *The limits of identity: early modern Venice, Dalmatia, and the representation of difference*, Leiden 2017.

## ЛИСТА РЕФЕРЕНЦИ – REFERENCE LIST

Appendini F. M., *Memorie spettanti ad alcuni uomini illustri di Cattaro del padre Francesco Maria Appendini delle Scuole Pie*, Ragusa 1811.

Barzman K., *The limits of identity: early modern Venice, Dalmatia, and the representation of difference*, Leiden 2017.

Bembo P., *Lettere IV (1537–1546)*, ed. E. Travi, Bologna 1993.

Bolzoni L., *The play of memory between words and images*, in: *Memory & oblivion I*, ed. W. Reinink, J. Stumpel, Dordrecht 1999, 11–18.

Budor K., *Relación de la pérdida de Castelnuovo*, *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* 43 (Zagreb 1998) 181–185.

Bunes Ibarra de M. Á., *Carlos V, Venecia y la sublime puerta: la embajada de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza en Venecia*, in: *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530–1558) I*, ed. J. Martínez Millán, I. Ezquerro Revilla, Madrid 2001, 591–617.

Camelliti V., *La città in una mano. Per una storia della rappresentazione di modelli urbani dalle origini all'Occidente medievale*, in: *Un medioevo in lungo e in largo. Da Bisanzio all'Occidente (VI–XVI secolo)*. *Studi per Valentino Pace*, ed. eadem, A. Trivellone, Pisa 2014, 289–300.

Capriotti G., *Dalla minaccia ebraica allo schiavo turco. L'immagine dell'alterità religiosa in area adriatica tra XV e XVIII secolo*, in: *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV–XVIII)*, ed. B. Franco Llopis et al., Valencia 2016, 357–373.

Civiltà veneziana – fonti e testi V. *La corrispondenza da Madrid dell'ambasciatore Leonardo Dona (1570–1573) I*, ed. M. Brunetti, E. Vitale, Venezia–Roma 1963.

Čapeta Rakić I., *Distinctive features attributed to an infidel. The political propaganda, religious enemies and the iconography of visual narratives in the Renaissance Venice*, in: *Changing the enemy, visualizing the other. Contacts between Muslims and Christians in the early modern Mediterranean art*, ed. G. Capriotti, B. Franco Llopis (Macerata 2017) 117–143.

Đurić V. J., *U senci firentinske unije: crkva Sv. Gospođe u Mržepu (Boka Kotorska)*, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* 35 (1996) 9–54.

Đurović V., *O zidinama grada Kotora*, *Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka* 105 (1956) 119–145.

Farlati D., *Illyrici sacri VI. Ecclesia Ragusina*, Venezia 1800.

Fisković C., *O umjetničkim spomenicima grada Kotora*, *Spomenik Srpske akademije nauka* 103 (1953) 71–101.

Fisković I., *Umjetnost gotičkoga doba*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 154–165.

Fortini Brown P., *Becoming a man of empire. The construction of patrician identity in a republic of equals*, in: *Architecture, art and identity in Venice and its territories, 1450–1750*, ed. N. Avcioglu, E. Jones, Burlington 2013, 231–249.

Fortini Brown P., *Pietro Bembo e l'arte della diplomazia*, in: *Pietro Bembo e le arti*, ed. G. Beltramini, H. Burns, D. Gasparotto, Venezia 2013, 37–47.

Gallotta A., *Il turco osmanli del XVI sec. secondo il "Gazavat-i Hayreddin Pasa"*, *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 44/39 (1984) 1–84.

Giovo P., *Ragionamento di monsignor Paolo Giovo sopra i motti e disegni d'arme et d'amore che comunemente chiamano imprese*, Milano 1863.



- Gelcich G., *Storia documentata della Marinarezza Bochese*, Ragusa 1889.
- Gentili A., *Le storie di Carpaccio: Venezia, i Turchi, gli Ebrei*, Venezia 1996.
- Guerre in ottava rima IV. Guerre contro i turchi (1453–1570)*, ed. M. Beer, C. Ivaldi, Modena 1988.
- Guglielmotti A. P., *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560 II*, Firenze 1876.
- Heath Lowry W., *Lingering questions regarding the lineage, life & death of Barbaros Hayreddin Paşa*, in: *Frontiers of the Ottoman imagination*, ed. M. Hadjianastasis, Leiden–Boston 2014, 185–212.
- Imber C., *The costs of naval warfare: the accounts of Hayreddin Barbarossa's Herceg Novi campaign in 1539*, *Archivum Ottomanicum* 4 (Wiesbaden 1972) 203–285.
- Istorija Crne Gore III/1*, Titograd 1975.
- Jakšić N., *Od hagiografskog obrasca do političkog elaborata – škrinja Sv. Šimuna, zadarska arca d'oro*, *Ars Adriatica* 4 (Zadar 2014) 95–124.
- Jakšić N., *Srebrna oltarna pala u Kotoru*, *Ars Adriatica* 3 (Zadar 2013) 53–66.
- Klinger L. S., Raby J., *Barbarossa and Sinan: a portrait of two Ottoman corsairs from the collection of Paolo Giovio*, in: *Arte veneziana e arte islamica*, ed. E. J. Grube, Venezia 1989, 47–59.
- Književnost Crne Gore od XII do XIX vijeka. Pisci srednjovjekovnog latiniteta*, ed. D. I. Sindik, G. Tomović, Cetinje 1996.
- Književnost Crne Gore od XII do XIX vijeka. Đ. Bizanti, Lj. Paskvalić, I. B. Bolica. Izabrana poezija*, ed. S. Kalezić, Cetinje 1996.
- Kunčević L., *The rhetoric of the frontier of Christendom in the diplomacy of Renaissance Ragusa (Dubrovnik)*, *Dubrovnik Annals* 17 (2013) 37–68.
- Lettere di principi, le quali o si scrivono da principi, o a principi o ragionan di principi I*, ed. G. Ruscelli, Venezia 1570.
- Lettere di principi, le quali o si scrivono da principi, o a principi, o ragionan di principi III*, ed. F. Ziletti, Venezia 1577.
- López de Coca Castañer J. E., *Mamelucos, otomanos y caída del reino de Granada*, *En la España Medieval* 28 (Madrid 2005) 229–258.
- Maksimović J., *Kotorski ciborij iz XIV veka i kamena plastika susednih oblasti*, Beograd 1961.
- Maksimović J., *Rukopis sa minijaturama života i čuda sv. Trifuna u Marcijani i njegova kotorska kopija*, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 4/1 (1957) 135–144.
- Marcon S., *Un manoscritto cattarino del 1466 e l'eredità belliniana lungo le sponde dell'Adriatico*, *Rivista di storia della miniatura* 4 (Firenze 1999) 121–134.
- Milošević M., *Ciborij XIV vijeka i ostala plastika*, in: *800 godina katedrale Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru (1166–1966)*, ed. idem, Kotor 1966, 43–62.
- Milošević M., *Francesco Cabianca i njegovi suradnici u Kotoru*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 11 (Split 1959) 118–135.
- Munk A., *Patrocinia multa erant habentes. State, the parrocchia, and colony – relic acquisition in Medieval Venice*, in: *Cuius patrocinio tota gaudet region. Saints' cults and the dynamics of regional cohesion*, ed. S. Kuzmova, A. Marinković, T. Vedriš, Zagreb 2014, 153–191.
- Munk A., *The Queen and her shrine: an art historical twist on historical evidence concerning the Hungarian queen Elizabeth, née Kotromanić, donor of the Saint Simeon shrine*, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 10 (Zagreb 2004) 253–262.
- Novak V., *Notae paleographicae, chronologicae et historicae I–VII*, *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkog društva* 15 (1928) 159–222.
- Orlando E., *Tra Venezia e Impero ottomano: paci e confini nei Balcani occidentali (secc. XV–XVI)*, in: *Balcani occidentali, Adriatico e Venezia fra XIII e XVIII secolo*, ed. G. Ortalli, O. Jens Schmitt, Venezia–Wien 2009, 103–178.
- Pellegrini M., *Guerra Santa contro i Turchi. La crociata impossibile di Carlo V*, Bologna 2015.
- Petricioli I., *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru*, Zagreb 1983.
- Petrović I., *Hagiografska tradicija sv. Trifuna i bokeljskih svetaca*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 38–47.
- Preradović D., *Prenos relikvija iz Vizantije na Jadran u periodu između VI i XI veka*, *Niš i Vizantija* 11 (2013) 87–107.
- Price Zimmerman T. C., *Paolo Giovio: uno storico e la crisi italiana del XVI secolo*, Cologno Monzese 2012.
- Prijatelj Pavičić I., *Ogledalo pravednog trgovca: ispovijed i traktat o krepostima iz kodeksa Buća*, *Croatica Christiana periodica* 67 (2011) 29–64.
- Pujeau E., *L'Europe et les Turcs: la croisade de l'humaniste Paolo Giovio*, Toulouse 2015.
- Radojković B., *Remek dela kotorskog zlatarstva u katedrali Svetoga Tripuna*, in: *800 godina katedrale Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru (1166–1966)*, ed. M. Milošević, Kotor 1966, 81–100.
- Razzi S., *La storia di Ragusa: scritta nuovamente in tre libri*, ed. G. Gelcich, Ragusa 1903.
- Razzi S., *Vita della reverenda serva di Dio, Suor Ossanna da Cattaro, dell'ordine di San Domenico*, *Scritta da fra Serafino Razzi, dell'istesso Ordine, e Provincia Romana*, Firenze 1592.
- Samardžić N., *Karlo V*, Beograd 2005.
- Setton M. K., *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571) IV. The sixteenth century from Julius III to Pius V*, Philadelphia 1984.
- Stevović I., *Kotor u ranom srednjem veku: autoritet tradicije ili magline istorije?*, *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti* 45 (2017) 55–70.
- Stjepčević I., *Katedrala Sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, Split 1938.
- Tenenti A., *The sense of space and time in the Venetian world of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in: *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. R. Hale, London 1973, 17–46.
- Tomić R., *Umjetnost od XVI. do XX. stoljeća*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije*, ed. idem, Zagreb 2009, 166–285.
- Treasures of heaven: saints, relics, and devotion in Medieval Europe*, ed. M. Bagnoli et al., London 2011.
- Ulčar M., *Who is who in Saint Tryphon's Martyrdom: the saint and others in early modern Kotor*, in: *Crossroads: East and West. Cultural contacts, transfers and exchange between East and West in the Mediterranean. Book of abstracts*, Split 2015, 43 [https://issuu.com/znanstvenazalozbaff/docs/international\\_conference\\_for\\_phd\\_st\\_b67825b0f29446](https://issuu.com/znanstvenazalozbaff/docs/international_conference_for_phd_st_b67825b0f29446) [15. 01. 2020].
- Vidas M., *Elizabeth of Bosnia, queen of Hungary and the tomb-shrine of St. Simeon in Zadar: power and relics in fourteenth-century Dalmatia*, *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008) 136–175.
- Vivo de F., *Historical justifications of Venetian power in the Adriatic*, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64/2 (Philadelphia 2003) 159–176.
- Vujičić R., *O freskama u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Kotoru*, *Boka* 17 (1985) 291–301.
- Zornija M., *Kovčeg za relikvije svetoga Tripuna*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije. Katalog*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 91.
- Zornija M., *Relikvijar za glavu Sv. Tripuna (Slavna Glava)*, in: *Zagovori svetom Tripunu. Blago Kotorske biskupije. Katalog*, ed. R. Tomić, Zagreb 2009, 125–126.
- Živković V., *Religioznost i umetnost u Kotoru: XIV–XVI vek*, Beograd 2010.
- Živković V., *Zidno slikarstvo u crkvi Svetog Mihaila u Kotoru*, in: *Na tragovima Vojislava J. Đurića*, ed. D. Medaković, C. Grozdanov, Beograd 2011, 279–290.



## Ковчежић за мошти светог Трифуна у Котору. Прилог проучавању иконографије

Валентина Живковић

Балканолошки институт САНУ, Београд

Мошти светог Трифуна, заштитника града Котора, чувају се у Ризници которске катедралне цркве у реликвијару облика правоугаоног ковчежића са поклопцем, што је традиционална средњовековна форма реликвијара. На сребрном лиму којим је опточена дрвена основа которског реликвијара налазе се рељефи који приказују шест сцена мучења младог светог Трифуна: *Коњи вуку светиої Трифуна, Бичевање, Прикивање за сѣуб, Мучење ваџром, Каменовање и Одрубљивање љаве светиом Трифуну*. На поклопцу реликвијара, са обе стране, приказан је свети Трифун у пуној фигури, фронталног хијератичног става, с палмином гранчицом и моделом града Котора у рукама. Наративне и фигуралне композиције представљене су готичко-ренесансним стилем.

О времену настанка и пореклу радионице која је израдила которски ковчежић нису сачувани писани извори. На основу прелазног стила, као и иконографских појединости (приказ млетачке заставе с лавом светог Марка на моделу града у којем се види которска катедрала с куполом), те на основу помена ковчежића у Боличиној поеми *Ојис залива и љада Кошора*, истраживачи су понудили широко датовање његовог могућег настанка – од времена уласка у оквир Млетачке републике 1420. године до 1551. године, горње границе настанка поменуте поеме. На темељу иконографских појединости, у овом раду је понуђено прецизније датовање од 1539. до 1551. године. Ради се најпре о начину приказа модела града Котора који свети патрон држи у руци, а који се одликује изразитим реалистичким елементима. Наиме, на северној и јужној страни града приказани су кружни млетачки бастиони који су подигнути с циљем припреме одбране од турске опасности. Док су јужни бедеми подигнути у периоду 1470–1473. године, северни бастион са бедемима је завршен тек након успешне одбране Ко-

тора од напада адмирала отоманске флоте Хајрудина Барбаросе, 1539. године. У питању је изузетно важан историјски догађај који је уследио након пораза који је Света лига претрпела од Отоманске флоте у поморској бици код Превезе, 1538. године. Након поновног освајања Херцег Новог, 1539. године, и страшног масакра над његовом шпанском посадом, Хајрудин Барбароса се упутио ка млетачком Котору. О успешној одбрани Котора под командом капетана Ђан Матеа Бемба сачувано је више докумената у којима се истиче стратешки значај ове одбране. То је најпре преписка коју је капетан Бембо водио са Барбаросом и својим рођаком, кардиналом Пјетром Бембом, потом извештаји очевидаца, те коначно прослављање победе у поезији.

Поред представе бастиона на моделу града Котора, на рељефима которског ковчежића који приказују сцене страдања светог Трифуна уочава се уметање савремених историјских догађаја. Мучитељи патрона Котора приказани су као Турци с турбанима, турском одором и сабљама. Такође, понуђена је претпоставка да је префект Аквилин у сцени *Одрубљивање љаве и смрти светиої Трифуна* приказан с портретним карактеристикама самог Хајрудина Барбаросе, чији су портрети, као и литерарни описи, били чести у време када је турски адмирал представљао велику опасност по цео хришћански Медитеран. Уметањем елемената из савремене историје у уобичајену схему приказивања страдања светог Трифуна, кодификовану према хагиографским литерарним предлошцима (познатим и коришћеним у тадашњем Котору), на симболичан начин указано је на страдање хришћанског Котора, који свети Трифун представља и штити. То је био начин грађења и чувања сећања на светог заштитника града који побеђује под млетачком заставом путем осавремењивања традиције штовања.