

Nadgrobnne ploče tri bosanska kralja

Tombstones of three Bosnian kings

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Bobovac je, osim kao prijestolnica bosanskih vladara, poznat i kao mjesto ukopa više bosanskih kraljeva. Posebnu važnost među arheološkim nalazima s tog lokaliteta zauzimaju fragmenti nadgrobnih ploča izrađenih od tvrdog crvenog vapnenca koji je vađen iz poznatih kamenoloma sa sjevera Mađarske. Autor je u ovom tekstu izvršio detaljnu analizu svih fragmenata koja je urodila identificiranjem do sada neprepoznate ploče.

Ključne riječi: kasni srednji vijek, srednjovjekovna Bosna, Bobovac, vladarski grobovi

In addition to being known as the seat of Bosnian rulers, Bobovac is also known as a place of burial of several Bosnian kings. Particularly significant among the archaeological finds from this site are the fragments of tombstones made of hard red limestone extracted from well-known quarries in northern Hungary. In this text the author carries out a detailed analysis of all the fragments, which resulted in the identification of a previously unrecognized tombstone.

Key words: late Middle Ages, mediaeval Bosnia, Bobovac, rulers' graves

Osnovni rezultati sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja dva glavna stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u kasnom srednjem vijeku - Bobovca i Kraljeve Sutjeske, koja je izvodio Zemaljski muzej BiH u periodu 1959.-1967. godine, objavljeni su u monografskom izdanju (Anđelić 1973). Iskopavanjima na južnom kraju terase Crkvice na Bobovcu otkrivena je grobna kapelica koja je orijentirana u pravcu istok – zapad, a koja je pod pravim kutom sjekla glavni pravac pružanja terase i bobovačke kose. Unutar kapelice (plan 1) utvrđene su tri veće i jedna manja zidana grobnica te dvije grobne rake bez posebne arhitekture, dok su izvan objekta, u trijemu, otkopane još tri, a uz sjeverni zid i četvrta zidana grobnica (Anđelić 1973, 66-81). Grobnice koje se nalaze u žarištu ovog rada, sastojale su se od grobnih raka s grobnom arhitekturom i kompozitnih sarkofaga (zapravo, pseudosarkofaga) s ukrašenim bočnim stranicama, te gornjom pločom na kojoj je u visokom reljefu bio prikazan lik pokojnika. Prije nego se iznese detaljnija analiza samih nadgrobnih ploča, prije nego je potrebno ovdje dati nekoliko sažetih opažanja o samom položaju grobnica. Naime, uočljivo je da su tri kraljevske grobnice smještene u prednjem dijelu crkvene lađe, prema apsidi, tj. u blizini neočuvanog oltara. Takav odabir položaja kraljevskih grobnica jasno odaje srednjovjekovni zapadni funerarri koncept prema kojem se vladarske ličnosti pokopavaju u središte hrama, a za što je kao izvorni primjer služio takav ukop, *in medio choro*, cara Otona III. (983.-1002.) u kapelici u Ahenu, te brojni drugi, kao npr. ugarskog kralja sv. Stjepana (+1038.) koji je u svojoj zadužbinskoj crkvi u Biogradu poko-

The key results of the systematic archaeological excavations of the two main seats of authority of Bosnian rulers in the late Middle Ages – Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska, carried out by the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period 1959-1967, were published in a monographic edition (Anđelić 1973). The excavations at the southern end of the terrace of Crkvice at Bobovac revealed a small cemetery chapel with an east-west orientation, positioned at a right angle to the main line of orientation of the terrace and the Bobovac slope. Three larger tombs and one smaller built tomb were documented within the chapel (Plan 1), as well as two graves lacking any architectural features, while outside of the structure, in the porch, a further three built tombs were excavated, in addition to the fourth one along the northern wall (Anđelić 1973, 66-81). The tombs this paper focuses on consisted of grave holes with grave architecture and composite sarcophagi (in fact, pseudosarcophagi) with decorated lateral sides and an upper slab on which the figure of the deceased was represented in high relief. Before going into a detailed analysis of the tombstones, we must make a few brief remarks regarding the position of the tombs. It is apparent that the three royal tombs are located in the front part of the church nave, towards the apse, that is, close to the unpreserved altar. This choice for the position of royal tombs clearly speaks of a mediaeval western funerary concept according to which the ruling figures were buried in the centre of the temple, for which the original example, *in medio choro*, was set by the burial of the emperor Otto III (983-1002) in the

pan u *medio domus*, ili primjerice, njemačkog vladara salijske dinastije Konrada II. (1024.-1039.), ukopanog usred crkvenog kora, ispred oltara katedrale u Speyeru. Primjer Konrada II., čije je tijelo položeno u kamenu sarkofag koji je potom ukopan ispod crkvenog poda, zrcali kršćansku koncepciju ukapanja prije 12. st., bez upadljivih vanjskih oznaka, što se u vremenu razvijelog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka bitno mijenja u pravcu ustaljivanja prakse podizanja velikih vladarskih mauzoleja, gdje vladarski grob zauzima posebno mjesto unutar hrama i ima monumentalno nadgrobno obilježje. Smještanjem pokojnika u blizinu oltara nastojalo ga se približiti središtu liturgijskog obreda (jer su za oltarom čitane službe mrtvima i održavane zadušnice), te se i samom grobu vratiti kulturna funkcija koja je izgubljena u prvome tisućljeću kršćanstva kada se dosljednije primjenjivala kanonska odredba o zabrani ukopa unutar crkve. Istodobno, i sam nadgrobni spomenik doživljava preobrazbu u smislu veće monumentalnosti i bogatstva dekorativnih formi koje se možda i ponajbolje ogleda u popularnosti prikazivanja pokojnika u ležećem položaju (*gisant*), s razvijenim individualnim i ikonografskim obilježjima. Takvi spomenici, obično sarkofazi, ukrašeni arkadama i ležećom figurom pokojnika, javljaju se na zapadu Europe još u 11. i 12. st., ali svoj puni oblik i popularnost dostižu u 13. i posebno 14. st.,¹ što se na određeni način ogleda i u ostacima grobnica bosanskih kraljeva na Bobovcu. Njihov opisani položaj opet, analogan navedenim primjerima, u određenoj mjeri pokazuje sličnost i s nekim pogledima pokopa prema istočno-bizantskom konceptu koji se odlikovao svojevrsnim eklekticismom rimske i kršćanske tradicije. Pritom, na umu treba imati da se unutar bizantskog primjera razlikuju dva suštinski bitna razdoblja. Uspostavljanje principa za prvi milenij (do 11. st.), veže se za crkvu Svetih apostola koja je podignuta u Konstantinopolju, vjerojatno prije 337. god., kao zadužbina Konstantina I. (306.-337.) i kao njegovo grobno mjesto gdje je, položen vjerojatno u samu apsidu, ili u središnjem dijelu križno-obrazne građevine, počnuo okružen kenotafima dvanaest apostola.² Takva usporedba Konstantina s Isusom, u smislu okruženosti apostolima, naravno, učinjena s jasnom namjerom, izazvala je negativnu reakciju u crkvenim krugovima, što je dovelo do toga da se za Konstancija II. (337.-361.) tijelo njegova prethodnika premjesti u poseban mauzolej, a na njegovo prvobitno mjesto, u apsidu hrama, prenesu moći apostola Timoteja, Andrije i Luke. Ovim potezom, za narednih 800 godina, uspostavljeno je pravilo prema kojem se bizantski carevi pokapaju u poseban mauzolej, dok je središnji prostor glavne crkve isključivo rezerviran za apostole tj. njihove relikvije.³ U

chapel in Aachen, as well as a number of others, such as the Hungarian king St. Stephen (†1038), who was buried in his endowment church in Székesfehérvár in *medio domus*, or the German ruler of the Salian dynasty, Conrad II (1024-1039), buried in the middle of the church choir, in front of the altar in the Speyer cathedral. The example of Conrad II, whose body was laid in a stone sarcophagus, which was subsequently buried beneath the church floor, mirrors the Christian concept of burial prior to the 12th century, without any conspicuous exterior marks. In the developed and late Middle Ages this concept underwent substantial changes and it became an established practice to build large mausoleums for rulers, where the ruler's grave occupies a special place within the temple and has a monumental mark over the tomb. By positioning the deceased close to the altar the intention was to bring him closer to the centre of the liturgical rites (because services for the deceased were read and memorial masses celebrated at the altar), and by this also once again bestow upon the tomb a cult function that had been lost in the first millennium of Christendom, when the canonic rule forbidding burial within a church was more strictly followed. At the same time, the tomb monument itself underwent a metamorphosis in terms of acquiring greater monumentality and wealth of decorative forms, which is probably best reflected in the popularity of representing the deceased in the lying position (*gisant*), with developed individual and iconographic features. Such monuments, generally sarcophagi, decorated with arcades and a lying figure of the deceased, appear in western Europe as early as the 11th and 12th centuries, but reach their full shape and popularity in the 13th and particularly in the 14th century,¹ which is reflected, in a certain way, in the remains of the tombs of the Bosnian kings at Bobovac. Their described position again, analogous to the mentioned examples shows certain similarities also with some aspects of burial according to the eastern-Byzantine concept, which was characterized by a certain eclecticism of the Roman and Christian traditions. Here one should bear in mind that within the Byzantine example two essentially important periods can be distinguished. The establishment of the principle for the first millennium (until the 11th century) is linked with the Church of the Holy Apostles, which was erected in Constantinople, probably before 337, as an endowment of Constantine I (306-337) and also his burial place where he was laid to rest, probably in the very apse or in the central part of the cross-shaped building, surrounded by the cenotaphs of the twelve apostles.² Such a comparison of Constantine with Jesus, in terms of his being surrounded by the apostles, executed, of course, with a clear purpose, provoked a negative reaction in ecclesiastical circles. This had as the result

1 Dužnost mi je i zadovoljstvo da se ovdje najiskrenije zahvalim dr. Pálu Lőveiu, Andrijani Pravidur, prof. dr. Dubravku Lovrenoviću, Margiti Gavrilović, Alisi Hujčić i Dejanu Zadri na pomoći i podršci koju su mi pružili prilikom rada na ovoj temi.

Iz vrlo obimne literature o ovoj problematici ovdje izdvajam: Panofsky 1964; Bauch 1976; Herklotz 1985. Kao posebno važno djelo novijeg datuma o pokapanju kraljevskih ličnosti u srednjovjekovnoj Europi treba izdvojiti: Meier 2002, s pedesetak stranica literature.

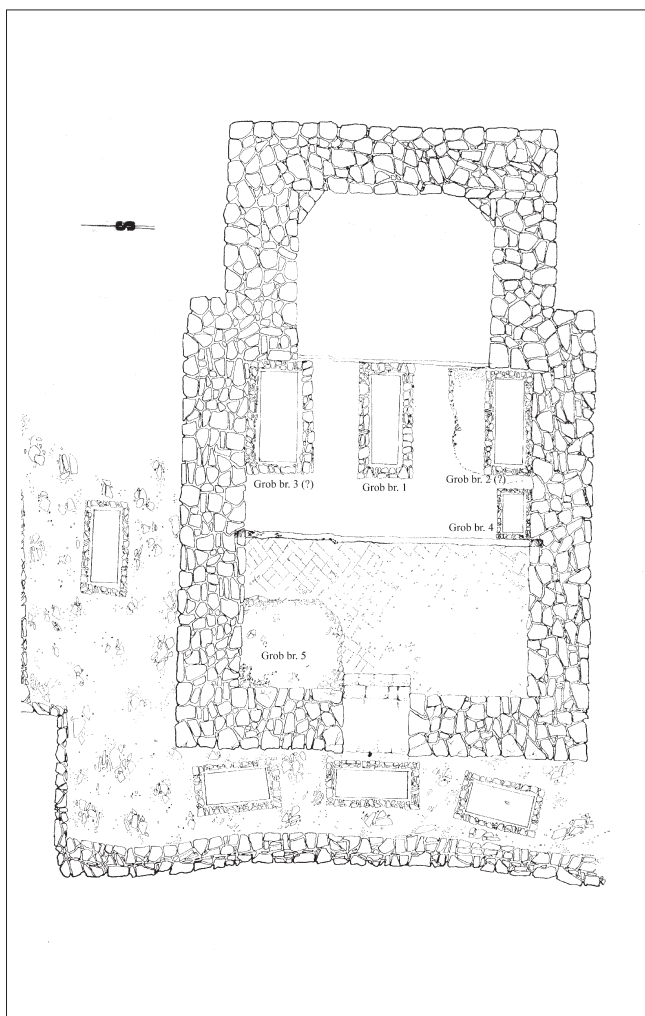
2 Detaljno o crkvi Svetih apostola u djelu novijeg datuma, sa svom starijom literaturom: Stockmeier 1980.

3 Sve do 11. st. zajednički mauzoleji, spomenuti Konstantinov te Justinijanov izgrađen u prvoj polovici 6. st., podignuti uz crkvu Svetih apostola, jedino su mjesto ukapanja bizantskih careva. O tome uopćeno, s obimnom bibliografijom: Popović 1992, 137-146.

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Among the extensive literature regarding this topic I would like to emphasise: Panofsky 1964; Bauch 1976; Herklotz 1985. A recent work of special importance on the burial of kingly figures in mediaeval Europe: Meier 2002, with some fifty pages of literature should also be mentioned.

2 A recent in-depth work regarding the Church of the Holy Apostles, including all the earlier literature: Stockmeier 1980.



Plan 1 Plan grobne kapele (prema Anđelić 1973, 68)

Plan 1 Plan of the grave chapel (after Anđelić 1973, 68)

razdoblju 11-15. st., bizantski carevi uglavnom podižu zasebne hramove – grobne crkve u koje se pokapaju, i to više ne u monolitne sarkofage kao njihovi prethodnici, već u grobnice pod zemljom. Ako se zna da su oni, posebno carevi iz dinastije Komnena, imali običaj monašenja prije smrti, iz svega navedenog jasno se raspoznaje napor u smislu pokušaja raskida s antičko-rimskom tradicijom i približavanja kršćanskim idealima.⁴

Kada bi vladarskim grobnicama na Bobovcu, za sada samo u vezi smještaja groba u hramu, pokušali navesti paralele u samoj Bosni⁵ ili u najbližem susjedstvu, morali bismo se ograničiti na srednjovjekovnu Srbiju, jer za vladarske gro-

that during the reign of Constantius II (337-361) the body of his predecessor was transferred to a separate mausoleum, while in his original place, in the apse of the temple, were placed the relics of the apostles Timothy, Andrew and Luke. This move established a rule for the next 800 years, by which the Byzantine emperors were buried within separate mausoleums, while the central space of the main church is reserved exclusively for the apostles, i.e. their relics.³ In the period between the 11th and 15th century, the Byzantine emperors generally built separate temples – grave churches in which they were buried, no longer in monolithic sarcophagi as their predecessors but in tombs under the ground. If we recall that they, particularly the emperors from the Comnenus dynasty, followed the custom of becoming a monk prior to death, we can clearly discern from all of the above an effort to break with the tradition of the classical-Roman period in favour of moving closer to Christian ideals.⁴

If one is to look for parallels for the Bobovac rulers' tombs in Bosnia⁵ or in the immediate neighbourhood, for the time being only with respect to the position of the grave within the temple, we would have to limit ourselves to mediaeval Serbia, because there is not enough data regarding rulers' graves in contemporary Croatia.⁶ An exception, which in the context of this work does not play a particular role, is a fragmented tomb slab with an inscription of the Croatian queen Jelena, buried in the second half of the 10th century in the atrium of the Church of Our Lady of the Island in Solin.⁷ In the first place in the burial of the Serbian rulers it is evident that each built a separate temple – church for himself, which in the wider sense can be perceived as a monumental tomb. In contrast to the fore examples in the East (the mentioned St. Apostles) or in the West (Speyer, Saint Denis etc.), their temples – endowments did not grow into family mausoleums, even though examples were recorded where other persons were also buried there, in addition to the donors – rulers, such as church dignitaries, members of the immediate family, but sometimes also non-members (Popović 1992, 175). When it comes to the positioning and the location of the grave in the temple space the Serbian rulers show a remarkable consistency. They are buried without exception in the western part of

4 U odnosu na razdoblje do 11 st., pitanje vladarskih grobova poznog doba Bizanta znatno je slabije istraženo. Za opći pregled i osnovnu literaturu, usp.: Popović 1992, 140-146.

5 Situacija oko ukopa Stjepana II. Kotromanića i Tvrtka I. Kotromanića u Milima, današnjim Arnautovićima kod Visokog, u posljednje vrijeme izgleda da ponovo dobiva još jedan neočekivan obrat, pa do objavljivanja rezultata novih istraživanja koja su u tijeku, tog se problema neću doticati. Za potpuni historijat istraživanja i potpunu literaturu o pitanju srednjovjekovnih Mila, usp.: Zadro 2004.

3 Up until the 11th century the communal mausoleums built next to the Church of the Holy Apostles, e.g. the mentioned mausoleum Constantine as well as that of Justinian, built in the first half of the 6th century, were the only places of burial for the Byzantine emperors. On this in general, with an extensive bibliography: Popović 1992, 137-146.

4 In comparison with the period until the 11th century, the state of research on rulers' graves in the late Byzantine period is much poorer. For a general survey and basic literature, comp.: Popović 1992, 140-146.

5 The situation regarding the burial of Stephen II Kotromanić and Tvrtko I Kotromanić in Mila, present-day Arnautovići near Visoko, seems lately to be receiving another unexpected turn; therefore, until the results of the new ongoing excavations have been published I shall not go into this issue. For a thorough history of research and complete literature regarding mediaeval Mila, comp.: Zadro 2004.

6 It seems that a significant part of the graves of the Croatian rulers was destroyed in the Mongolian incursion, comp.: Archdeacon Thomas, Chronicle, 83, editions of the Split City Museum, Split 1960, translation by V. Rismondo.

7 Bulić 1898/99, 22; on this issue in more detail: Ibid 1901; Katić 1955. On the inscription of Queen Jelena, in: Rapanić 1999-2000, including all the earlier literature.

bove u istodobnoj Hrvatskoj nema dovoljno podataka.⁶ Izuzetak, koji u kontekstu ovog rada ne igra posebnu ulogu, je fragmentirana nadgrobna ploča s natpisom hrvatske kraljice Jelene, pokopane u drugoj polovici 10. st. u atriju crkve Gospe od Otoka u Solinu.⁷ Na prvome mjestu kod ukapanja srpskih vladara uočljivo je da svaki od njih za sebe podiže poseban hram – crkvu, što se u širem smislu može promatrati kao monumentalna grobnica. Za razliku od čelnih primjera na Istoku (spominjani Sv. apostoli) ili na Zapadu (Speyer, Saint Denis i dr.) njihovi hramovi – zadužbine nisu prerastali u porodične mauzoleje, mada su zabilježeni slučajevi kada se u njih pored ktitora – vladara, pokapaju i crkveni velikodostojnici, članovi uže obitelji, ali ponekad i oni koji nisu bili njihove pripadnici (Popović 1992, 175). Pri smještaju i položaju samog groba u prostoru hrama srpski vladari pokazuju zavidnu dosljednost. Naime, bez izuzetka oni se pokapaju u zapadnom dijelu hrama, zapravo uz južni zid zapadnog traveja. Jedino pod uvjetom da je pokopani vladar bio proglašen svetim (“objavljen”), premjestili bi njegove ostatke (moći) bliže svetijem prostoru hrama, dakle bliže oltaru, kojeg bi u nekom smislu i postao dijelom (Popović 1992, 176-177). U tom slučaju moći bi bile izlagane u posebnom, raskošno ukrašenom kovčegu – *kivotu*.⁸

Kada je riječ o nadgrobnim pločama bosanskih kraljeva s Bobovca, držimo da je prijeko potrebno ukazati i na neke nove detalje koji na njima do sada nisu zapaženi ili, jednostavno, nisu prezentirani stručnoj javnosti. Za razliku od tzv. *muljike* (miljevina ili lapor – lokalnog porijekla), upotrijebljene za izvedbu arhitektonske plastike i dijelova grobne arhitekture, nadgrobne ploče načinjene su od crvenoga kamena kakvog nema na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine.⁹ U starijoj stranoj i domaćoj literaturi koja se bavila analiziranjem spomenika od ovoga kamena, gotovo redovito je prenošena konstatacija da se radi o crvenom mramoru, što je s geološkog stajališta netočno. Naime, u pitanju je tvrdi vapnenac čijim se poliranjem može dobiti učinak mramora. Brojni nadgrobni spomenici, rasprostranjeni uglavnom teritorijem srednjovjekovne Ugarske, napravljeni su od iste vrste kamena za kojeg je utvrđeno da se vadio iz rudnika *Tardos* i *Süttő* na gorju *Gerecse* u blizini Budimpešte i *Ostrogona* (Varga, Lővei 1992, 117). Kamen sličnih obilježja

the temple, that is along the southern wall of the western trave. Only if the buried ruler was declared a saint, his remains (relics) would be transferred closer to the holier space of the temple, that is closer to the altar, of which it would become a part, in a sense (Popović 1992, 176-177). In that case the relics would be exhibited in a special, lavishly decorated chest – *kivot*.⁸

When it comes to the tombstone slabs of the Bosnian kings from Bobovac, we believe that certain new details must absolutely be pointed out that have not been observed on them previously or, simply, have not been presented to the professional public. In contrast to the so-called *muljika* (*miljevina* or *marl* – of local origin), used to make architectural plastic and parts of grave architecture, the tombstone slabs were made of a red stone that is not present in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹ In the older foreign and domestic literature dealing with the analysis of monuments made of that stone, it was almost regularly stated that it was red marble, which is incorrect from the geological standpoint. The stone in question is in fact a hard limestone which can acquire features of marble through polishing. Numerous grave monuments, distributed mostly throughout the territory of mediaeval Hungary, were made of the same type of stone, for which it was established that it was quarried from the *Tardos* and *Süttő* mines in the *Gerecse* mountain in the vicinity of Budapest and Esztergom (Varga, Lővei 1992, 117). Stone of similar features was quarried and used also in Verona as well as in the wider area of Salzburg,¹⁰ but no indications exist that would bring the Bobovac material into any contact with those centres. The familiar historical circumstances as well as direct analogies in the Hungarian material, do not leave any doubt as to the origin of the slabs from Bobovac.¹¹ In the Hungarian literature it was established that the first use of red limestone is documented toward the end of the 12th century,¹² while the beginning of the 13th century is taken as the date of the first known workshop for its working in Esztergom, which,

6 Izgleda da je dobar dio grobova hrvatskih vladara nastradao još za mongolske provale, usp.: Toma Arhidakon, *Kronika*, 83, Izdanja muzeja grada Splita, Split 1960, prijevod V. Rismondo.

7 Bulić 1898/99, 22; o tom pitanju opširnije: isti 1901; Katić 1955. O natpisu kraljice Jelene, u: Rapanić 1999-2000, sa svom starijom literaturom.

8 O *kivotu* za moći, ili “drugom grobu”, kako se također naziva, u: Popović 1992, 107 (crtež *kivota* kralja Stefana Dečanskog), 180 (zaključna razmatranja); Čorović-Ljubinković M., *Srednjovjekovni duborez u istočnim oblastima Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1965.

9 Ovdje izuzetak predstavlja ploča s groba 4 koja je izrađena od *muljike* i koja se od ostalih razlikuje po tome što se sav njen ukras sastoji od motiva loze i osmolisnih rozeta, spletenih u ukrasnu traku što se pruža preko tri skresana ruba ploče. Za ovaj grob je, zbog njegovih izuzetno malih dimenzija, pretpostavljeno da je pripadao djetetu u dobi između 10 i 12 godina. Na osnovi položaja groba P. Anđelić iznosi tezu da je tu ukopan potomak najbliže pokopanog kralja – dakle onog iz južne grobnice koju je autor vodio kao br. 3, dok je u ovom tekstu, na planu 1, pod oznakom grob 2 (?). Usp.: Anđelić 1973, 84-85.

8 On the *kivot* for the relics, or “the second grave”, as it is also called, in: Popović 1992, 107 (illustration of the *kivot* of king Stephen of Dečani), 180 (concluding remarks); Čorović-Ljubinković M., *Mediaeval carving in the eastern regions of Yugoslavia*, Belgrade, 1965.

9 The exception here is a slab from grave 4, made of *muljika* and different from the others in that its entire decoration consists of the motifs of vine and rosettes with eight petals, interwoven into a decorative stripe extending across three hewn edges of the slab. On account of its exceptionally small dimensions, it was supposed that this grave belonged to a child between 10 and 12 years of age. Based on the position of the grave, P. Anđelić put forward the hypothesis that here was buried a descendant of the king who was buried the nearest – that is, the one from the southern tomb, number 3 in the author’s documentation, whereas in this text, in Plan 1, it is marked as grave 2 (?). Comp.: Anđelić 1973, 84-85.

10 Petrographic analyses established that the red limestone from Hungary and from the surroundings of Salzburg have identical geological features. On this, with numerous examples of various uses: Lővei 1992.

11 This was, naturally, observed already by P. Anđelić, but he mentions that the stone originates from Pannonia, (Siklós, Esztergom or Erdély – comp.: Anđelić 1973, 86), which I correct here on the basis of recent literature.

12 The first use of hard red limestone, for the production of graves as well as architectural plastic, is registered in the period from 1175 to 1270, when it is worked by foreign masters, generally upon the order of the royal family in Hungary. Comp.: Lővei 1992: 7; Varga, Lővei 1992, 118, note 13.

iskapan je i korišten i u Veroni, te širem arealu Salzburga,¹⁰ ali ne postoje indicije koje bi bobovački materijal dovodile u bilo kakav kontekst s tim središtima. Poznate povijesne okolnosti kao i izravne analogije u ugarskome materijalu, ne ostavljaju mjesta sumnji o porijeklu ploča s Bobovca.¹¹ U mađarskoj literaturi utvrđeno je da se prva upotreba crvenog vapnenca bilježi krajem 12. st.,¹² dok se u početak 13. st., smješta rad prve poznate radionice za njegovu obradu u Ostrogonu koji zajedno s Budimom predstavlja glavni radionički centar tijekom cijelog srednjeg vijeka. Upotreba tvrdoga crvenog vapnenca naglo se intenzivirala u razdoblju 1360.-1380. g., a geografski promatrano ona se evidentira na prostoru od zapadne mađarske granice, sjeverne Hrvatske, Vojvodine, bivše Čehoslovačke, do zapadnih dijelova današnje Rumunjske (Lővei 1992, 9). Koliko je poznato, Bobovac predstavlja najudaljeniji lokalitet na koji je dospio ovaj kamen, zasigurno, prvo tokom rijeke Dunav, a potom i drugim riječnim tokovima, u našem slučaju Savom i Bosnom.¹³

Smatram kako prva, i što je zanimljivo, do sada jedina detaljnija analiza fragmenata¹⁴ koju je dao P. Anđelić, nije potpuna. Da bi se iz velikog broja, uglavnom manjih očuvanih fragmenata sastavio potpuniji mozaik, potrebno je provesti "metodu eliminacije" tj., krenuti od one ploče čiji fragmenti daju najviše elemenata za identificiranje osobe čiji je sarkofag zatvarala.

NADGROBNA PLOČA KRALJA STJEPANA TOMAŠA (1)

Iskopavanjem srednje grobnice utvrđena je grobna raka dužine 200, širine 80 i dubine 100 cm, sa zidovima obloženim kvadrima tesane sedre, premazane kao i pod, finom žbukom. Na gornjim dijelovima rubnih zidova rake očuvana je kamena konstrukcija na kojoj su uočena ležišta za poklopicu rake kao i ležišta za bočne ploče kompozitnog sarkofaga. Osim fragmenata nadgrobne ploče, u grobnici su nađeni fragmenti obrađene muljike, fresaka kao i ostaci kostiju jednoga muškog skeleta, kako je prema antropološkoj analizi utvrđeno – starosti oko 50 godina (Anđelić 1973, 82-83). Na osnovi obilježja crvenog kamena (intenzivnija crvena boja i ujednačenija faktura u odnosu na ostale fragmente), nađenog uglavnom u ovoj grobnici, P. Anđelić je ustvrdio kako su istoj ploči pripadali:

- 10 Petrografskim analizama utvrđeno je da crveni vapnenac iz Ugarske i onaj iz okolice Salzburga imaju identične geološke karakteristike. O tome s brojnim primjerima različite upotrebe: Lővei 1992.
- 11 Ovo je, naravno, primijetio već P. Anđelić, s tim da navodi kako je porijeklo kamena iz Panonije (Siklos, Ostrogon ili Erdelj - usp.: Anđelić 1973, 86), što ovom prilikom korigiram na osnovi novije literature.
- 12 Prva upotreba tvrdoga crvenog vapnenca, za izradu grobova kao i arhitektonske plastike, bilježi se u razdoblju od 1175. do 1270. god., kada ga, u pravilu po nalogu kraljevske obitelji u Ugarskoj, obrađuju strani majstori. Usp.: Lővei 1992: 7; Varga, Lővei 1992, 118, nap. 13.
- 13 Pojedinačna upotreba izvan granica srednjovjekovne Ugarske, osim u Bosni, zabilježena je i u Poljskoj (Krakow, Gniezno) odnosno Moravskoj (Tovačev) – usp.: Lővei 1992, 11.
- 14 Ovdje treba upozoriti na malo zapažen ali zbog toga ne i manje vrijedan rad M. Lovrenović (Lovrenović 2000) koja se nije doticala pitanja nadgrobnihih ploča, ali je dala vrlo interesantno tumačenje arhitektonskog razvoja toga sakralnog objekta prizmom utjecaja rane i kasne gotike pod okriljem franjevačkog graditeljstva.

together with Budim, was the main workshop centre throughout the entire Middle Ages. The exploitation of hard red limestone increased significantly in the period 1360-1380, and in terms of geography it is registered in the territory stretching from the western Hungarian border, northern Croatia, Voivodina, former Czechoslovakia, to the western parts of present-day Romania (Lővei 1992, 9). As far as it is known, Bobovac represents the farthest site that this stone reached, certainly first via the course of the Danube river and later also by means of other watercourses, in our case the Sava and Bosna rivers.¹³

I believe that the first and, interestingly, the only in-depth analysis of the fragments,¹⁴ put forward by P. Anđelić, is not complete. In order to piece together a more comprehensive mosaic from a large number of mostly small preserved fragments, we need to perform the "method of elimination", i.e. to start from the slab whose fragments offer the most elements for the identification of the person whose sarcophagus it covered.

TOMBSTONE SLAB OF THE KING STEPHEN TOMAŠ (1)

The excavation of the middle tomb documented a grave hole 200 cm long, 80 wide and 100 cm deep, with the walls covered in blocks of hewn tufa, plastered, like the floor, with fine mortar. A stone construction was preserved in the upper parts of the edge walls of the hole, on which beds for the grave hole cover were noticed as were beds for the lateral slabs of a composite sarcophagus. In addition to the tombstone slab fragments, the fragments of worked *muljika* and frescoes were also found in the tomb, as were bone remains of a male skeleton, whose age was determined at around 50 on the basis of anthropological analysis (Anđelić 1973, 82-83). Based on the features of the red stone (a more intense red colour and more uniform texture in comparison with the remaining fragments), found mostly in this tomb, P. Anđelić concluded that the following belonged to the same slab:

1. a fragment with a representation of a shield with the initials S and T (Fig. 4);
2. a decorated pommel and a sword scabbard (Fig. 6-7);
3. a part of a face (Fig. 1);
4. fragments of legs and other small fragments (Fig. 8-9).

This list has to be complemented by a fragment on which the left hand with a part of the sceptre handle can be recognized. For this left hand P. Anđelić stated, probably again on the basis of colour intensity, that it did not belong to Tomaš's but most probably to Ostoja's slab.¹⁵ A closer look at this

- 13 Individual use outside the borders of mediaeval Hungary, except in Bosnia, is also registered in Poland (Krakow, Gniezno) and Moravia (Tovačev) – comp. Lővei 1992: 11.
- 14 We have to draw attention here to a work by M. Lovrenović (Lovrenović 2000) that did not receive much attention but is nevertheless significant. She did not deal with the issue of tombstone slabs, but offered a very interesting interpretation of the architectural development of that sacral structure through the prism of influences of the early and late Gothic style under the wing of Franciscan architecture.
- 15 Anđelić 1973, 86. P. Anđelić does not directly mention Ostoja's slab, but considering that he identified with certainty a fragment of Tvrtko II's slab, into which the second fragment with the left hand and the sceptre fits perfectly, such a conclusion offered itself naturally.

1. ulomak s prikazom štita s inicijalima S i T (sl. 4);
2. ukrašena jabučica i korice mača (sl. 6-7);
3. dio lica (sl. 1);
4. ulomci nogu i drugi sitni ulomci (sl. 8-9).

Ovaj popis treba nadopuniti s fragmentom na kojem se prepoznaje lijeva šaka s dijelom drške žezla. Za ovu lijevu šaku P. Anđelić je, vjerojatno opet na osnovi intenziteta boje, ustvrdio da ne pripada Tomaševoj već, najvjerojatnije, Ostojinoj ploči.¹⁵ Promotri li se pažljivije ovaj fragment može se primijetiti da, samo na prvi pogled, zbog slabije očuvane politure nalikuje fragmentima pripisanim pločama Ostoje i Tvrтка II. Zapravo, u pitanju je fizičko oštećenje gornjeg sloja i to samo na manjem dijelu šake, što navodi na pogrešan zaključak. P. Anđeliću je promakao jedan mnogo važniji detalj, da je na dijelu fragmenta ispod malog prsta, a odmah pored sačuvanog komada žezla kružnog presjeka, vidljiv dio ravne površine ploče. Jednostavnim uspoređivanjem sa sličnim površinama, bez prikaza figure u visokom reljefu, može se zaključiti da je ova približno duplo manje debljine (5,5 cm)¹⁶, za razliku od debljine istog dijela kod Ostojine ili Tvrtkove ploče koja varira između 10,5 i 11,5 cm (sl. 2). Tako veliko odstupanje nije se moglo dogoditi, a naročito ne u središnjem dijelu ploče, neposredno uz figuru tijela, koju je ovaj detalj svakako zauzimao. Žezlo u opisanoj lijevoj šaci vidljivo je i u svom gornjem dijelu na fragmentu s prikazom oklopljene podlaktice koja se na osnovi debljine ravne plohe i općih karakteristika kamena također može pripisati ploči Stjepana Tomaša (sl. 3). Zbog toga sa sigurnošću se može tvrditi kako ova lijeva šaka nije pripadala ploči Tvrтка II, kao ni fragmentima koje je P. Anđelić pripisao ploči kralja Ostoje.

Pobjorani fragmenti identificirani su kao dijelovi nadgrobne ploče kralja Stjepana Tomaša (1443.-1461.). Takva atribucija izvršena je na osnovi inicijala koji se nalaze u štitu, a prema analogijama s Tomaševa novca,¹⁷ i u nju se ne treba sumnjati. Podrobnijom analizom može se uočiti još nekoliko do sada nezapaženih detalja. Na lijevoj strani fragmenta s predstavom štita unutar kojeg se nalaze kruna i inicijali, očuvan je dio ruba profiliranog s donje strane za bolje nalijeganje na bočne stranice sarkofaga. Očuvanost ruba omogućava da se ovaj štit pouzdano pozicionira na lijevu stranu ikonografske kompozicije Tomaševe nadgrobne ploče. Ovom detalju ćemo se vratiti naknadno, a sada treba istaknuti da se na gornjoj površini ruba ploče vidi polje s precizno i pravilno sjenčanim linijama u obliku mreže malih pravokutnika, dimenzija 5 x 0,6 cm. Svrha polja ne bi trebala predstavljati posebnu misteriju, najvjerojatnije se radi o pripremljenoj šablonoj koja je trebala olakšati dosljedno urezivanje slova natpisa (sl. 4).

fragment will reveal that only at first glance, due to the poorer preservation of the polish, does it resemble the fragments attributed to the slabs of Ostoja and Tvrтко II. What is in fact at play is that the upper surface is physically damaged, and this only on a small part of the hand, which leads to a wrong conclusion. P. Anđelić missed a far more important detail: on a part of the fragment below the small finger, immediately next to the preserved part of the sceptre, which has a circular section, a part of the flat surface of the slab is visible. A simple comparison with similar surfaces, without representation of the figure in high relief, will establish that this one has approximately half the thickness (5,5 cm)¹⁶ of the corresponding part of Ostoja's or Tvrтко's slabs, which vary between 10,5 and 11,5 cm (Fig. 2). Such a large deviation could not occur, especially in the central part of the slab, immediately next to the body figure, where this detail undoubtedly lay. The sceptre in the described left hand is visible also in its upper part on the fragment with the representation of a mailed forearm, which based on the thickness of the flat surface and general features of the stone can likewise be attributed to Stephen Tomaš's slab (Fig. 3). This is why it can be asserted with certainty that this left hand did not belong to Tvrтко II's slab, nor to the fragments that P. Anđelić attributed to the slab of king Ostoja.

The mentioned fragments were identified as parts of the tombstone slab of king Stephen Tomaš (1443-1461). This attribution was made based on the initials present in the shield, and on the analogies from Tomaš's coins,¹⁷ and it should not be questioned. A more thorough analysis reveals several more previously unperceived details. On the left side of the fragment with the shield representation with a crown and the initials on the inside, a part of the edge was preserved, profiled at the lower part to provide a better joint onto the lateral sides of the sarcophagus. The preservation of the edge makes it possible to position this shield with certainty on the left side of the iconographic composition of Tomaš's tombstone slab. We shall return to this detail later, and now it should be pointed out that on the upper surface of the slab edge a field is visible with precisely and regularly shaded lines in the shape of a network of small rectangles, measuring 5 x 0,6 cm. The purpose of the field need not represent a particular mystery – most likely it is a preparation pattern designed to facilitate the consistent incision of the letters of the inscription (Fig. 4).

Another previously unperceived (unmentioned) detail is also present on the same fragment. This is a part of the representation of an object, positioned between the shield and the slab edge, with straight edges narrowing towards the place where it disap-

15 Anđelić 1973, 86. P. Anđelić na tom mjestu ne navodi direktno Ostojinu ploču, ali s obzirom da je sa sigurnošću identificirao fragment ploče Tvrтка II., u koji se savršeno uklapa i drugi fragment s lijevom rukom i žezlom, takav zaključak se nametnuo sam od sebe.

16 Približno ista debljina ravnih ploha bez visokog reljefa konstatirana je i na drugim fragmentima ove ploče: ulomku sa štitom, ukrašenim koricama i dr.

17 Anđelić 1973, 91, nap. 50. Ovako komponirani inicijali dobro su vidljivi na Tomaševim dinarima I. i II. vrste, njegovom poludinaru, a nešto slabije na dinaru V. vrste (Rengjeo 1944, 284-286). Na grošima kralja Tomaša, uklopljenim u heraldičku kompoziciju, nalazi se štit sa inicijalom T, preuzet od kralja Tvrтка II. Usp.: isti 1944, 282-284.

16 Approximately the same thickness of the flat slabs without high relief is registered also on other fragments of this slab: a fragment with a shield, a decorated scabbard etc.

17 Anđelić 1973, 91, note 50. Initials composed in this manner are clearly visible on Tomaš's dinars of types I and II, his *poludinar* (half denarius), and somewhat less well on the *dinar* of type V (Rengjeo 1944, 284-286). On king Tomaš's *grossi*, a shield with the initial T, taken over from king Tvrтко II, forms part of a heraldic composition. Comp.: Ibid 1944, 282-284.



Sl. 1 Fragment lica i brade kralja Stjepana Tomaša
 Sl. 2 Lijeva šaka sa žezlom
 Sl. 3 Lijeva podlaktica sa žezlom (sve snimio: Jasmin Sinanagić)

Fig. 1 Fragment of the face and beard of King Stephen Tomaš
 Fig. 2 Left hand with a sceptre
 Fig. 3 Left forearm with a sceptre (All photo by: Jasmin Sinanagić)

Na istom fragmentu nalazi se još jedan prije nezapažen (nespominjan) detalj. To je dio prikaza predmeta, pozicioniranog između štita i ruba ploče, s ravnim rubovima koje se sužavaju prema mjestu nestanka ispod teško raspoznatljivog ukrasa.¹⁸ O kojem se predmetu radi, na prvi pogled teško se izjasniti, ali poznate paralele i relativno ustaljena ikonografska shema prikazivanja srednjovjekovnih vladara s njihovim insignijama, ključ je rješenja i za ovo pitanje.¹⁹ U obzir se može uzeti koplje, žezlo (skeptar) i mač. Pozicija koplja, u gornjem

pears beneath a barely discernible decoration.¹⁸ At first glance it is difficult to ascertain which object it might represent, but the known parallels and the relatively consistent iconographic scheme of representing mediaeval rulers with their insignia, is a key to this question as well.¹⁹ We may consider a spear, a sceptre and a sword. The position of the spear, in the upper right corner on the large slab fragment with a representation of an angel, as well as the quite logical assumption that the wooden shaft of the spear should not taper toward the end, represents an element of elimination in this case. The sceptre on the other side, visible on several fragments, has a conspicuous circular section and no traces of tapering, so in this case it can likewise be eliminated. Therefore, the object partially visible along the left edge of the slab is without a doubt the remainder of a representation of a sword, whose central portion was covered by the field of the shield. The mediaeval sword was regularly worn at the left side of the belt, and our specimen is no exception.²⁰ The possible objection that in this case the sword lies too close to the slab edge, could be explained by interpreting this as the point of the blade, which, starting from the wearer's hip, moves away quite gently and obliquely from the figure's legs, probably in the same way as in the case of the slab of the mentioned Stibor II. We have to mention here that Stibor II is depicted with a drawn sword along his left hip, while the empty scabbard is, unusually, at the right side of the belt, which could lead us to assume that, first, the mentioned person was left-handed, and that the same solution was used also in the case of the slab of the Bosnian king. Nevertheless, we cannot definitely claim that this was indeed the case. It can be stated with certainty that along the right hip of the figure of the deceased there was a sword of which two fragments have been preserved bearing the representation of a decorated scabbard and one with a depiction of a decorated pommel.²¹ In favour of such positioning speaks the fact that to the left of the decorated scabbard, on the flat surface of the slab, opposite the representation of the blade between the shield and the left edge, there is far more empty space of the slab with no traces of shaded fields or any indication of the edge whatsoever. Moreover, the point of the upper fracture of the representation on the fragment with the shield is approximately 3.5 cm wide, which is identical to the width of the lower fracture on the decorated scabbard. If this were one and the same scabbard, the first mentioned fragment would also show traces of a veil from the lower part of the decorated scabbard, but as can be seen on the attached photographs, this is not the case. Considering that the decorations on the preserved fragments speak of a su-

18 Vjerojatno se radi o grivi lava ispod kraljevskih nogu. Identična kompozicija s vrhom sječiva mača u lavljjoj grivi može se vidjeti na ploči Stibora II. Stiboričija (+ 1434.), inače najbližoj analogiji za nadgrobne ploče s Bobovca. Opširnije o toj ploči: Lóvei 1992, 1. kęp; isti 1999, 103-107, 1. kęp; Gerevich 1971, 94, Pl. LXXIV (188, 189); Varga, Lóvei 1992, 134-136; Sigismundus Rex et Imperor 2006, 347-348.

19 O tome opširno: Schramm 1956; Kovács, Lovag 1980; Meier 2002, s ostalom literaturom.

18 It is probably a lion's mane beneath the feet of the king. An identical composition with the point of a sword's blade in a lion's mane can be seen on the slab of Stibor II of Stiborice (+ 1434), which is otherwise the closest analogy for the tombstone slabs from Bobovac. In more detail about that slab: Lóvei 1992, 1. kęp; Ibid 1999, 103-107, 1. kęp; Gerevich 1971, 94, Pl. LXXIV (188, 189); Varga, Lóvei 1992, 134-136; Sigismundus Rex et Imperor 2006, 347-348

19 On this extensively: Schramm 1956; Kovács, Lovag 1980; Meier 2002, with other literature.

20 Sijarić 2004, 71, for other literature note 339 in particular.

21 Three fragments with a representation of a sword attributed to Tomaš have been published several times in the literature. Comp.: Andelić 1973, 88, 90-91; Ibid 1984, 499, Fig. 175; Lóvei 1995, 255, Fig. 93; Sijarić 2004, 11, ill. 2. and 3.

desnom uglu na velikom fragmentu ploče s prikazom anđela kao i sasvim logična pretpostavka da se drvena motka koplja ne bi trebala sužavati prema dnu, u ovom slučaju eliminacijski je element. Žezlo s druge strane, vidljivo na više fragmenta, upadljivo je kružnog presjeka i bez tragova sužavanja, pa se i ono u ovom slučaju može isključiti. Dakle, predmet dijelom vidljiv uz lijevi rub ploče bez ikakve sumnje ostatak je prikaza mača, čiji je središnji dio bio zaklonjen poljem štita. Srednjovjekovni mač redovito je nošen na lijevoj strani pojasa te ni naš primjerak ne predstavlja izuzetak.²⁰ Eventualna zamjerka da se on u ovom slučaju nalazi preblizu rubu ploče mogla bi se obrazložiti time da je u pitanju vrh sječiva koje se od nositeljeva boka, dosta blago i koso udaljava od nogu figure, vjerojatno jednako kao što je to slučaj na ploči spominjanog Stibora II. Ovdje treba napomenuti da je Stibor II. prikazan s isukanim mačem uz svoj lijevi bok, dok se prazne korice nalaze, što je neuobičajeno, na desnoj strani pojasa pa bi se moglo pretpostaviti, osim da je spominjani bio ljevjak, kako je isto rješenje korišteno i na ploči bosanskoga kralja. Ipak, teško je definitivno potvrditi da je to zaista i bio slučaj. Naime, sa sigurnošću se može kazati da se uz desni bok figure pokojnika nalazio mač od kojeg su do danas sačuvana dva fragmenta s prikazom ukrašenih korica i jedan s prikazom ukrašene jabučice.²¹ U prilog takva pozicioniranja govori činjenica da se lijevo od ukrašenih korica, na ravnoj plohi ploče, nasuprot prikazu sječiva između štita i lijevog ruba, nalazi mnogo više slobodnog prostora ploče na kome nema tragova sjenčanog polja kao ni naznaka ruba uopće. Usto mjesto gornjeg prijeloma prikaza na fragmentu sa štitom, približne je širine 3,5 cm, što je identično širini donjeg prijeloma na ukrašenim koricama. Da su u pitanju iste korice, onda bi i na prvom spominjanom bili vidljivi tragovi vela s donjeg dijela ukrašenih korica, ali kao što se vidi iz priloženih fotografija, to nije slučaj. S obzirom da ukrasi na sačuvanim fragmentima odaju vrhunsku umjetničku i tehničku izvedbu, ne može se pretpostaviti kako bi se upravo na ovom dijelu napravila pogreška narušavanjem vjernog prikazivanja ravnomjernog sužavanja oštrica sječiva prema njegovu vrhu. Osim toga, opet uz uvažavanje napomene o ravnomjernom sužavanju sječiva, ta dva fragmenta se ni približno ne uklapaju po mjestu prijeloma, pa se sa sigurnošću može tvrditi da se fragment s ukrašenim koricama nalazio na desnoj strani ploče.

Pregledom neobjavljenih sitnijih fragmenata tvrdoga crvenog vapnenca, izdvojio sam jedan među njima na kojem se raspoznaje predstava još jedne jabučice mača, a koji bi po svojoj boji te izuzetno finoj polituri, vjerojatno trebao pripadati istoj ploči²² (sl. 5). Na toj jabučici nije očuvan ukras, ali se čini da

perior artistic and technical workmanship, one cannot suppose that precisely on this part an error would be committed by disturbing the faithful representation of the uniform tapering of the blade edges towards its point. In addition to this, and accepting the remark about the uniform tapering of the blade, those two fragments are not even roughly matching regarding the point of fracture, and it can therefore be asserted with certainty that the fragment with the decorated scabbard was positioned on the right side of the slab.

In the survey of the unpublished smaller fragments of hard red limestone, I have singled out one from among those on which a representation of yet another sword pommel is discernable, and which by virtue of the colour and the exceptionally fine polish, should probably belong to the same slab²² (Fig. 5). No decoration was preserved on that pommel, but it would seem that there was one in the central part, because immediately at the fracture point, one can feel, by touching, the beginning of the unpreserved relief representation, positioned equally as in the case of the completely preserved pommel of Tomaš's second sword. In my opinion, finally, these were two different swords, both in their scabbards, which is a perfectly usual thing in the practice of a mediaeval warrior – knight and therefore there are no reasons to assume that Tomaš could not have been depicted with them on his tombstone slab, which definitely has a realistic air.

The execution of decoration on the mentioned fragments undeniably indicates that a craftsman of the highest order must have been commissioned to make them. At the same time, their choice represents, in a highly interesting and innovative manner, the heraldic elements already known previously from the coins of king Tomaš. The decoration on the upper, wider portion of the sword scabbard starts, naturally, in its preserved part, with a fish-scale motif – here probably in the function of a stylized representation of scale armour or, perhaps, a mail shirt, below which was positioned a crown with three feathers in the shape of a bouquet. On the lower, narrower part of the scabbard, there is an identically rendered crown, but turned upside-down, from which wavy lines extend towards the tip, clearly depicting a veil. A more careful observation reveals that the scabbard of this royal sword²³ served as the background for representing heraldic elements known from the coins minted during the reign of king Stephen Tomaš.²⁴ The manner in which these elements are composed deserves particular attention. By this we mean especially the representation of the crown on which, instead of the standard lilies, one finds a bouquet – definitely the most stable element of Bosnian heraldry ever since the *ban* period.²⁵ In complete coats of arms of the Bosnian *bans*

20 Sijarić 2004, 71, za ostalu literaturu posebno nap. 339.

21 Tri fragmenta s prikazom mača pripisanog Tomašu više su puta objavljivani u literaturi. Usp.: Anđelić 1973, 88, 90-91; isti 1984, 499, sl. 175; Lóvei 1995, 255, sl. 93; Sijarić 2004, 11, il. 2. i 3.

22 Potrebno je naglasiti da vanjski izgled pojedinih fragmenata kao visoki sjaj, boja i sl., ne moraju biti definitivni dokaz opredjeljivanja pojedinog fragmenta ovoj ili onoj ploči, jer su za više od 500 godina različiti fragmenti bili izloženi različitom djelovanju atmosferična, ali se istraživač u nedostatku pouzdanih uporišta nekada mora držati i dokaza od sekundarne važnosti.

22 It should be stressed that the external appearance of certain fragments, such as high sheen, colour and so on, need not be a definitive proof for attributing individual fragments to this or that slab, as during more than 500 years different fragments were exposed to different atmospheric agents; however, the researcher, lacking a more reliable foundation sometimes also has to consider evidence of secondary importance.

23 Most probably this is the same, "silver-clad" sword mentioned in the written sources – in more detail on this: Sijarić 2004, 13, note 23, with the earlier literature.

24 Stephen Tomaš did not make his own seals. For an explanation comp.: Anđelić 1970: 47.

25 From the relatively extensive literature dealing with the issues of the Bosnian mediaeval heraldry here I would point out: Solovjev 1933; Anđelić 1964; Ibid 1970; Džaja 1985 etc.



Sl. 4 Fragment heraldičkog štita sa inicijalima
 Sl. 5 Fragment jabučice drugog mača (snimio: J. Sinanagić)
 Sl. 6 Jabučica sa ukrasom u vidu rozete
 Sl. 7 Ukrašene korice mača (snimio: M. Sijarić)

Fig. 4 Fragment of the heraldic shield with the initials
 Fig. 5 Fragment of the pommel of the second sword (Photo by: J. Sinanagić)
 Fig. 6 Pommel with rosette decoration
 Fig. 7 Decorated sword scabbard (Photo by: M. Sijarić)

je on postojao u središnjem dijelu jer se neposredno na mjestu prijeloma, dodirrom, može osjetiti početak neočuvanoga reljefnog prikaza, pozicioniranog jednako kao i na potpuno očuvanoj jabučici drugog Tomaševa mača. Mišljenja sam, na kraju, da se radilo o dva različita mača, oba u svojim koricama, što je sasvim uobičajena stvar u praksi srednjovjekovnog ratnika - viteza, pa nema razloga pretpostavljati da Tomaš na svojoj nadgrobnoj ploči, koja svakako odiše realističnom manirrom, nije s njima mogao biti prikazan.

Izvedba ukrasa na spominjanim fragmentima nedvosmisleno ukazuje kako je za njihovu izradu bio angažiran vrhunski majstor. Istodobno, njihov odabir na vrlo zanimljiv i inovativan način reprezentira heraldičke elemente koji su od prije poznati s novca kralja Tomaša. Ukras na gornjem, širem dijelu korica mača započinje, naravno, u svom očuvanom dijelu, s

and kings, on their seals, coins or other representations such as architectural plastic, the crest is mostly shaped as a bouquet, but this is the first known example where it descended into the crown itself, ousting the lilies. I believe that in this syncretic detail one should not look for some hidden meaning, that is, for reflections of possible political and legal changes in the status of Bosnia in the 15th century on the heraldic system, but that it should be looked upon as an ingenious artistic solution, determined by the requirements of presenting the iconography of the rulers on the one hand and the confined space on the other. Also speaking in favour of this argument is the fact that another heraldic element of the coat of arms, in addition to the crown and crest, is represented on the scabbard – a veil. Probably due to aesthetic reasons the role of the helmet, whose traces were not preserved either on the scabbard or on the other elements of the slab, was taken by the mentioned motif of the armour – scales. Obviously, all these details, complemented naturally by the coat of arms with the crown and monogram, within the slab as a whole, were meant to represent in a new way the complete coat of arms of king Tomaš²⁶ (Fig. 6-7 – large) (Illustration 2).

A six-petal rosette is depicted on the pommel²⁷ of the sword, but its role on this prominent position is not entirely clear. A rosette is exceptionally rare in heraldic compositions of the Bosnian rulers, and from the known examples on the coins of Stephen II Tomašević²⁸ it is almost entirely absent. Thus it is hard to believe that it was placed on the pommel out of mere *horror vacui* – fear of empty space, which was frequently its role on various manifestations of Romanesque and particularly Gothic art. There are indications suggesting a more important role for this heraldic element than the one it previously had, so I think that it should be treated separately from this contribution, in which it will merely remain registered. (Fig. 8-9); (Plate I); (Illustration 2).

TOMBSTONE SLAB OF KING TVRTKO II TVRTKOVIĆ (NR. 2 (?))

Parallel with the one described previously, along the southern wall of the Bobovac chapel, another tomb was regis-

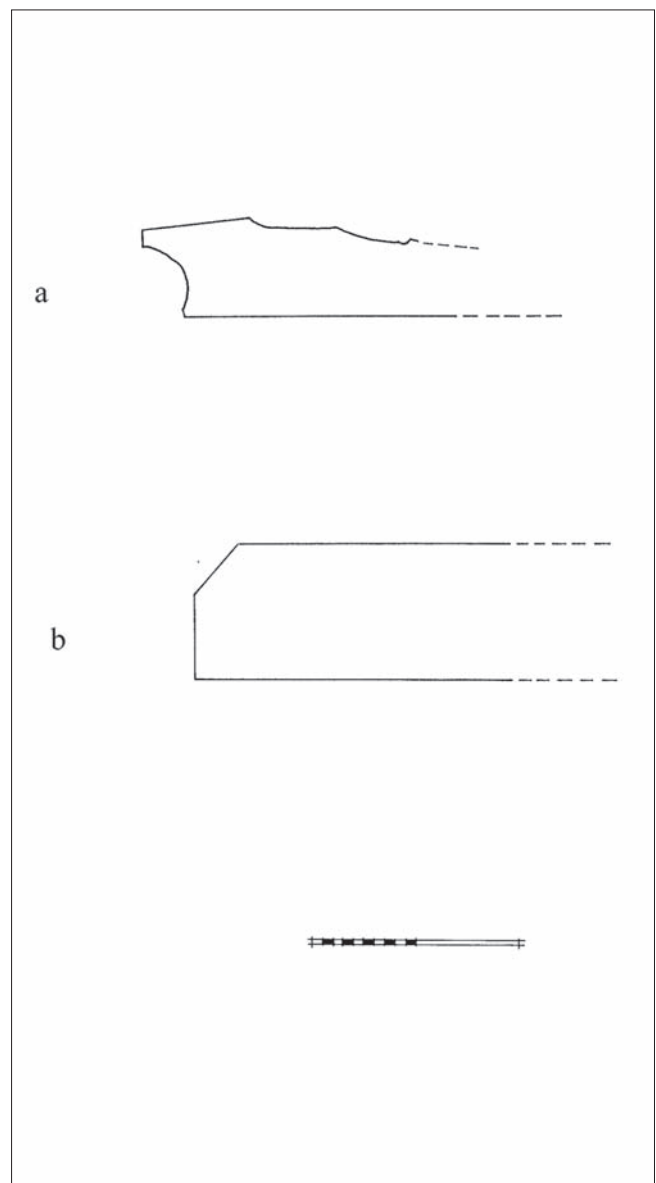
26 On Tomaš's grossi, with minor variations in the execution, a complete coat of arms appears with a crest in the shape of a bouquet, a crown with lilies, a helmet, a veil and a shield with a crown below which is the initial T – taken over from the coins of his predecessor Tvrtko II. On the first three types of dinars the crest, helmet and the veil are lacking, but here, on the dinars of types I and II, a new monogram appears, composed of the letters TMS. The dinar of type IV has a coat of arms lacking only a veil and it is only on the dinar of type V that all the classic heraldic elements are found united in the same place. As mentioned in the text, all these heraldic elements appear together again also on the tombstone slab of Stephen Tomaš, and this information should also have chronological value. For illustrations of all types and classes of Tomaš's coins comp.: Renjeo 1944, 282-286.

27 According to the standard typology of mediaeval swords, a pommel of this shape is determined as type G, whose first use was registered in the early Middle Ages, and which was especially popular in the 12th century. It was used in Italy and Spain up until 1380 and it was again used widely between 1450 and 1550 – comp. Oakeshott 1996, 224 – Fig. 106, 225.

28 On Stephen II' dinar of type III, minted after 1331, a six-petal rosette, identical to the one on the pommel of Tomaš's sword, is located in the coat of arms above the "small cushion".

motivom krljušti – tu vjerojatno u funkciji stiliziranog prikaza oklopa od pločica ili, možda, pancirne košulje ispod koje je postavljena kruna s tri pera u vidu buketa. Na donjem, užem dijelu korica smještena je istovjetno izvedena, ali obrnuto okrenuta kruna iz koje se prema samom vrhu pružaju valovite linije u jasnoj predstavi vela. Pažljivijim promatranjem može se primijetiti da su korice ovoga kraljevskog mača²³ poslužile kao podloga za prikazivanje heraldičkih elemenata poznatih s novca kovanog za vladanja kralja Stjepana Tomaša.²⁴ Način na koji su ti elementi ukomponirani zaslužuje posebnu pozornost. Pri tome se posebno misli na predstavu krune na kojoj umjesto standardnih ljiljana nalazimo buketa – sigurno najstalniji element bosanske heraldike još od banskih vremena.²⁵ U potpunim grbovima bosanskih banova i kraljeva, kako na njihovim pečatima, novcima ili drugim prikazima poput arhitektonske plastike, čelenka najčešće ima oblik buketa, ali ovo je prvi poznati primjer da je ona spuštena u samu krunu i da je iz nje istisnula ljiljane. Vjerujem da se u ovom sinkretičkom detalju ne treba tražiti neki skriveni smisao, odnosno, refleksije eventualnih državno-pravnih promjena statusa Bosne u 15. st. na heraldički sustav, već ga se treba promatrati kao ingeniozno umjetničko rješenje, uvjetovano diktatom potrebe prezentiranja vladarske ikonografije s jedne i skučenog prostora s druge strane. Na tragu ovakve tvrdnje je i činjenica da je na koricama, osim krune i čelenke, predstavljen još jedan heraldički element grba – veo. Vjerojatno iz estetskih razloga ulogu kacige, čiji tragovi nisu sačuvani na koricama kao ni na drugim fragmentima ploče, preuzeo je spominjani motiv oklopa – krljušti, te se svim ovim detaljima, upotpunjenim naravno štitom s krunom i monogramom, u cjelini ploče, očigledno na jedan nov način želio prikazati potpuni grb kralja Tomaša²⁶ (sl. 6-7 - velike) (crtež 2).

Na jabučici²⁷ mača nalazi se prikazana šestolisna rozeta, čija uloga na ovoj istaknutoj poziciji baš i nije jasna. Naime, rozeta se izuzetno rijetko nalazi unutar heraldičkih kompozi-



Crtež 1 Presjek ploče br. 3 i ploče br. 2 (izradila: A. Pravidur)

Illustration 1 Section of the slab nr. 3 (a) and the slab nr. 2 (b) (Drawn by: A. Pravidur)

- 23 Vrlo vjerojatno u pitanju je onaj isti, "srebrom okovani" mač koji se spominje u pisanim izvorima – o tome opširnije: Sijarić 2004, 13, nap. 23, sa starijom literaturom.
- 24 Stjepan Tomaš nije pravio vlastite pečate. Za objašnjenje usp.: Anđelić 1970: 47.
- 25 Iz relativno obimne literature o pitanjima bosanske srednjovjekovne heraldike ovdje izdvajam: Solovjev 1933; Anđelić 1964; isti 1970; Džaja 1985. i dr.
- 26 Na Tomaševim grošima, s manjim varijacijama u samoj izvedbi, pojavljuje se potpuni grb s čelenkom u obliku buketa, krunom s ljiljanima, kacigom, velom i štitom s krunom ispod koje se nalazi inicijal T – preuzet s novca njegova prethodnika Tvrtka II. Na prve III. vrste dinara izostavljene su čelenka, kaciga i veo ali se tu, na dinarima I. i II. vrste, javlja novi monogram od slova TMS. Dinar IV. vrste odlikuje se grbom kojem jedino nedostaje veo da bi se tek na dinaru V. vrste svi klasični heraldički elementi našli objedinjeni na istom mjestu. Kao što je u tekstu navedeno, svi ti heraldički elementi ponovo su zajedno prisutni i na nadgrobnoj ploči Stjepana Tomaša, a taj podatak bi trebao imati i svoju kronološku vrijednost. Za crteže svih tipova i vrsta Tomaševih novaca usp.: Rengjeo 1944, 282-286.
- 27 Prema standardnoj tipologiji srednjovjekovnih mačeva, jabučica ovog oblika determinira se kao tip G, čija je prva upotreba zabilježena u ranom srednjem vijeku, a posebnu popularnost bilježi u 12. stoljeću. U Italiji i Španjolskoj korištena je sve do 1380. g., da bi u širu upotrebu ponovo bila uvedena između 1450. i 1550. g. – usp. Oakeshott 1996, 224 – fig. 106, 225.

tered, characterized by the considerable depth of 180 cm. The grave hole, 200 cm long, 80 cm wide and 70 cm deep, like in the case of the middle tomb, was closed by a lid, and its walls were covered with four roughly worked slabs, connected by mortar with one another. The anthropological analysis of the skeletal remains established that they belonged to a female person, who died at approximately 20 years of age (Anđelić 1973, 83-84). A fragment of a lateral side of the sarcophagus found outside the chapel – on the western slope of the church terrace, made of *muljika* and decorated with the motif of interwoven arcades, was also attributed to this tomb. The registered depth of burial and details on the fragments from one of the tombstone slabs led Anđelić to assume that here were buried, one above the other, king Tvrtko II Tvrtković (1404-

cija bosanskih vladara, a od poznatih primjera s novca Stjepana II. Tomaševića²⁸ ne javlja se gotovo nikako. S obzirom na to, teško je vjerovati da je ona na jabučicu pozicionirana radi pukog *horror vacui* – straha od praznog prostora, što joj je česta uloga na raznim manifestacijama romaničke i posebno gotičke umjetnosti. Postoje indicije koje sugeriraju važniju ulogu ovoga heraldičkog elementa od one koju je do sada imao, pa smatram kako se on treba tretirati zasebno od ovog priloga u kojem će ostati tek registriran. (sl. 8-9); (T. 1); (crtež 2).

NADGROBNA PLOČA KRALJA TVRTKA II. TVRTKOVIĆA (BR. 2. (?))

Paralelno s prethodno opisanom, uz južni zid bobovačke kapele, utvrđena je naredna grobnica koju karakterizira velika dubina od 180 cm. Grobnu raku dužine 200, širine 80 i dubine 70 cm, kao i u slučaju srednje grobnice, zatvarala je poklopica, a njeni zidovi su obloženi s četiri grubo obrađene ploče, međusobno povezane malterom. Antropološkom analizom je utvrđeno da su ostaci nađenog skeleta pripadali ženskoj osobi, preminuloj u dobi od oko 20 godina (Anđelić 1973, 83-84). Jedan fragment bočne ploče sarkofaga nađen izvan kapele – na zapadnoj padini terase crkvice, izrađen od muljike i ukrašen motivom prepletenih arkada, pripisan je također ovoj grobnici. Utvrđena dubina ukopa i detalji s fragmenata jedne od nadgrobnih ploča naveli su Anđelića da pretpostavi kako su tu pokopani, jedno iznad drugog, kralj Tvrtko II. Tvrtković (1404-1409. i 1421-1443), i kraljica Doroteja Gorjanska.²⁹ Još jednom vođen općim obilježjima fragmenata kamena koje je imao pred sobom, Anđelić je ustvrdio da su nadgrobnju ploču koja je pokrivala sarkofag nad opisanom rakom pripadali:

1. fragment s krunom i inicijalom unutar heraldičkog štita (sl. 11);
2. fragment s lijevom šakom oslonjenom na dršku mača i žezlom (sl. 11);
3. veliki fragment s predstavom anđela i kopljem (sl. 12);
4. dio potkoljenice i drugi manji fragmenti.

Kako autor iznosi, pobrojani fragmenti nalaženi su u ruševinama sa zapadne strane dvora te, manjim dijelom, na zapadnoj strani crkvice (Anđelić 1973: 91). Bitno je naglasiti da ostataka nadgrobnje ploče nije bilo u i oko same grobnice.

Isti slučaj je i s dva fragmenta nadgrobnje ploče od istog kamena, dijelom prikaza torza i nogu do iznad koljena (sl. 13), odnosno dijelu nadlaktice, koje je P. Anđelić pripisao ploči kralja Ostoje (1398-1404. i 1409-1418). Naime, prvi od njih nađen je uz samo korito rijeke Bukovice, a drugi u ogradi livade na Braniču, dakle, oba daleko od grobne kapelice. S obzirom da je već izvršio atribuciju dviju ploča (Stjepana Tomaša i Tvrtka II.), a da je pretpostavio postojanje njihovih tri, Anđelić se za atribuciju posljednje opredijelio isključivo po sustavu

1409 and 1421-1443) and queen Doroteja Gorjanska.²⁹ Once again governed by the general features of the stone fragments before him, Anđelić stated that the following items belonged to the tombstone slab that covered the sarcophagus above the described grave hole:

1. a fragment with a crown and an initial within a heraldic shield (*Fig. 11*);
2. a fragment with the left hand resting on the sword hilt and a sceptre (*Fig. 11*);
3. a large fragment with a representation of an angel and a spear (*Fig. 12*);
4. a part of a shin and other smaller fragments.

As the author states, the mentioned fragments were discovered in the ruins on the western side of the court and, to a smaller extent, on the western side of the small church (Anđelić 1973: 91). It deserves special mention that no remains of the tombstone slab were present within and around the tomb itself.

The same applies to two tombstone slab fragments of the same stone, a part of a representation of a torso and legs up to above the knees (*Fig. 13*), and a part of the upper arm, attributed by Anđelić to the slab of king Ostoja (1398-1404 and 1409-1418). The former was found right next to the bed of the Bukovica river, while the latter was found in the fence of the meadow at Branič, both, therefore, far from the grave chapel. Considering that he had already carried out the attribution of two slabs (those of Stephen Tomaš and Tvrtko II), and that he had anticipated the existence of altogether three slabs, in his attribution of the last one Anđelić was governed exclusively by the probability principle, as on the two mentioned fragments there is not a single detail that would directly indicate that it was indeed king Ostoja who is represented there. According to Anđelić, this slab originally occupied the central position within the chapel, but was subsequently moved into the corner between the "knee" of the apse and the northern wall of the nave, where the third tomb was identified, whose sarcophagus was incorporated into the chapel walls on three sides, while its fourth (southern) side was closed by a finely hewn slab made of *miljevina*, decorated with blind arcades. A small grave hole (length 95 cm, width 42-54 cm, depth 33 cm) was registered beneath the sarcophagus, with walls covered in slabs of roughly hewn *miljevina*. A hole of such dimensions could not have served for the burial of an adult, and still the remains of at least three persons were found within it, two of which were male, dead at approximately 40 and over 50 years of age respectively. Anđelić puts forward the assumption that the remains of king Ostoja, his son Stephen and his wife Kujača were subsequently moved into this tomb, most probably from the central tomb, and with them also Ostoja's tombstone slab.³⁰

As can be seen, except in the case of the fragments of Tomaš's tombstone slab, Anđelić did not have a reliable archaeological context that would enable him to sort the

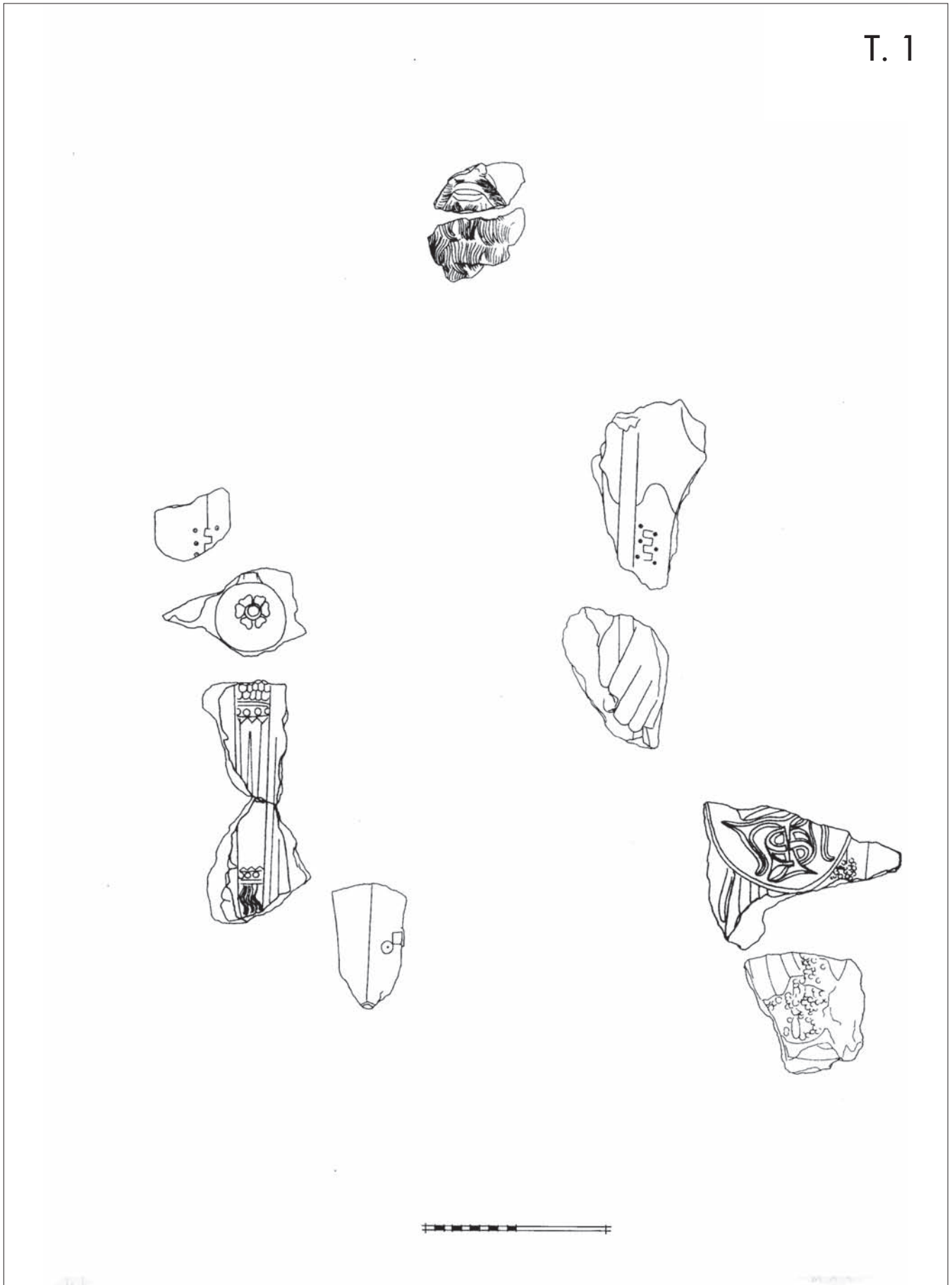
28 Na III. vrsti dinara bana Stjepana II, kovanim nakon 1331. g., u grbu iznad „jastučića“ nalazi se, istovrsna onoj na jabučici Tomaševa mača, šestoliska rozeta – usp.: Rengjeo 1944, 275.

29 Anđelić 1973, 84, nap. 49; O Doroteji Gorjanskoj također u posebnom radu: isti 1973a.

29 Anđelić 1973, 84, note 49; on Doroteja Gorjanska also in a separate work: Ibid 1973a.

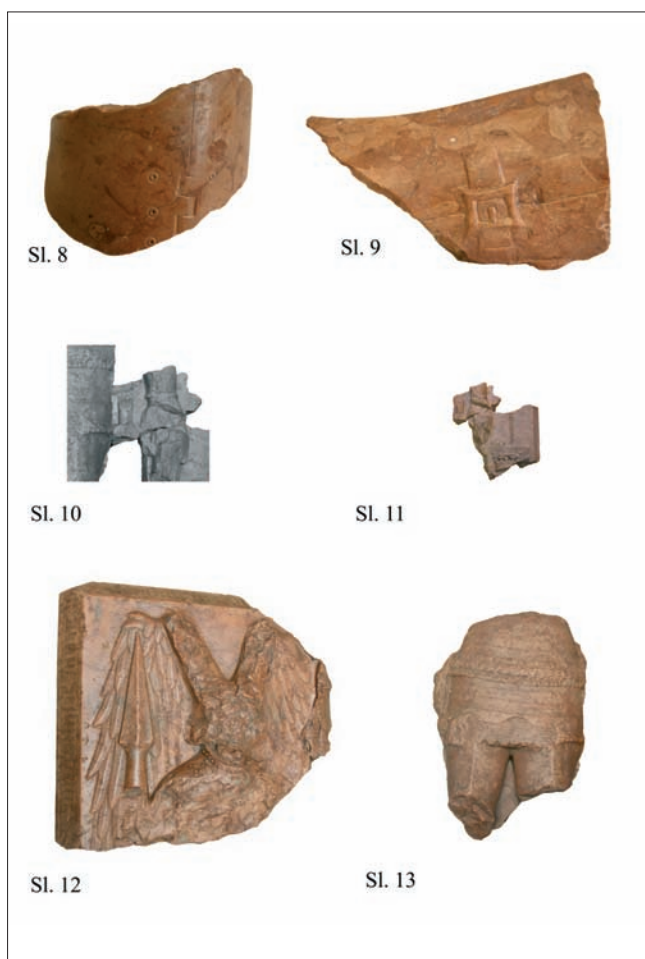
30 In more detail about this as well as the tomb itself: Anđelić 1973, 81-82.

T. 1



T. 1 Nadgobna ploča Stjepana Tomaša (izradila A. Pravidur)

Pl. 1 Tombstone slab of Stephen Tomaš (Drawn by: Andrijana Pravidur)



- Sl. 8 Fragment desne podlaktice
 Sl. 9 Fragment oklopljene potkoljenice (snimio: J. Sinanagić)
 Sl. 10 Način spajanja fragmenta koje je Anđelić pripisao različitim pločama
 Sl. 11 Fragment sa krunom i inicijalom unutar heraldičkog štita (snimio: M. Sijarić)
 Sl. 12 Veliki fragment sa predstavom anđela i kopljem (snimio J. Sinanagić)
 Sl. 13 Torzo (snimio: M. Sijarić)

Fig. 8 Fragment of the right forearm

Fig. 9 Fragment of an armoured lower leg (Photo by: J. Sinanagić)

Fig. 10 Joining method of fragments attributed by Anđelić to different slabs

Fig. 11 Fragment with a crown and initial within the heraldic shield (Photo by: M. Sijarić)

Fig. 12 Large fragment with a representation of an angel and a spear (Photo by: J. Sinanagić)

Fig. 13 Torso (Photo by: M. Sijarić)

vjerojatnosti, jer na dva izdvojena fragmenta ne postoji niti jedan detalj koji bi direktno ukazivao kako se zaista radi o kralju Ostoji. Prema Anđeliću, ta ploča je prvobitno zauzimala središnji položaj u kapelici, a onda je premještena u ugao između “koljena” apsida i sjevernog zida lađe, gdje je identificirana treća grobnica čiji je sarkofag s tri strane bio uklopljen u zidove kapelice, dok je njegovu četvrtu (južnu) stranu zatvarala fino klesana ploča od miljevine, ukrašena slijepim

remaining slab parts and connect them with the two, otherwise convincingly interpreted, lateral tombs (the northern and the southern). Because the disputed fragments were found in many places, except around the place of burial, the answer to their identification should be sought in them, that is, on them.

I think that the mentioned fragments, attributed by Anđelić to the tombstone slabs of Ostoja and Tvrtko II, are in fact pieces of one and the same slab. I find the justification for such a claim in the fact that the previously mentioned left hand with the sceptre, for which Anđelić claimed that it certainly did not belong to Tomaš's slab, in fact did belong to it (comp. the previous mention in the text). This fragment was in fact the only one that “overlapped” and it certainly influenced Anđelić to put forward, less carefully, the thesis about the slabs of Ostoja and Tvrtko II. Equally important, two fragments attributed to different slabs (the torso and the left hand with the sceptre resting on the sword handle), in fact fit into one another and it is quite surprising that this fact went unnoticed by Anđelić (Fig. 10). As proof of the existence of two slabs the author mentioned minor differences in the shaping of the letters of the inscription (Anđelić 1973, 94). Despite all my efforts I was not able to perceive the mentioned differences. This, naturally, does not confute the quoted opinion, because a more practiced and expert eye might have noticed them, provided, of course, that they existed. Nevertheless, another detail leads us to think that the preserved fragments with parts of the inscription belonged to the same slab. On each of them, in the upper third of the vertically cut edge, an identical wavy fissure (vein) is visible, which moreover directly matches on the two fragments. The same fissure occupies the same position also on all other fragments that are 10,5-11,5 cm thick, so there is only a very small likelihood³¹ that this correspondence, taking into account the other indicators, should appear on two different slabs. Regarding the attribution of the inscription parts to two slabs Anđelić obviously missed something, because he himself claims that to the third slab (allegedly belonging to Ostoja) belonged only two fragments, the torso and an upper arm, on which there is naturally no inscription (comp.: Anđelić 1973, 91), and on account of the differences in the profilation of their edge and the thickness of the flat surface, any confusion with Tomaš' slab is impossible. Due to these reasons, the fragments mentioned in this text will be treated as parts of one slab.

The decisive fact regarding its attribution is still that on the left side of the iconographic composition a part of the shield is visible, with a crown beneath which a part of a letter – an initial is discernable (Fig. 11). Considering that it is known from other sources that only kings Tomaš and Tvrtko II had such a representation (with the initials) in their coats of arms, it is logical to attribute this slab to the latter. A part

31 The existence of the fissure is explained by a layer of clay that cut the deposited limestone, and during the extraction of stone in the quarry it was used for the easier detachment of raw blocks. Its presence is not a particular peculiarity in itself, but in our context it does represent an additional factor in differentiating between the fragments of individual slabs.

arkadama. Ispod sarkofaga utvrđena je grobna raka malih dimenzija (dužina 95, širina 42-54, dubina 33 cm), sa zidovima obloženim pločama od grubo klesane miljevine. Raka navedenih dimenzija nije mogla poslužiti za ukop odrasle osobe, pa ipak u njoj su nađeni ostaci najmanje tri osobe, od kojih dvije muškog spola, preminule u dobi od približno 40 tj. više od 50 godina. Anđelić iznosi pretpostavku da su u ovu grobnicu naknadno, i najvjerojatnije iz srednje grobnice, preneseni ostaci kralja Ostoje te njegova sina Stjepana i žene Kujače, a s njima i Ostojina nadgrobna ploča.³⁰

Kao što se vidi, izuzev u slučaju fragmenata Tomaševe nadgrobne ploče, Anđelić nije raspolagao pouzdanim arheološkim kontekstom koji bi mu pomogao da ostale dijelove ploča razvrsta i poveže s dvije, inače uvjerljivo interpretirane, bočne grobnice (sjevernom i južnom). Činjenica da su sporni fragmenti nalaženi svuda, osim oko mjesta ukopa, nalaže da se odgovor o njihovoj identifikaciji pokuša potražiti u njima tj. na njima samima.

Smatram kako su pobrojani fragmenti, koje je Anđelić pripisao nadgrobnim pločama Ostoje i Tvrtka II, zapravo dijelovi iste ploče. Opravdanje za takvu tvrdnju nalazim u činjenici da je prije spominjana lijeva šaka sa žezlom, za koju je Anđelić tvrdio da sigurno ne pripada Tomaševoj ploči, u stvari, najvjerojatnije pripadala upravo njoj (usp. prije u tekstu). Taj fragment je zapravo bio jedini koji se "preklapao" i sigurno je utjecao na Anđelića da s manje opreza iznese tezu o Ostojinoj i ploči Tvrtka II. Jednako bitno je i to da se dva fragmenta pripisana različitim pločama (torzo, odnosno lijeva šaka sa žezlom oslonjena na dršku mača), zapravo uklapaju jedan u drugi i vrlo je čudno kako je ta činjenica promakla Anđeliću (sl. 10). Kao dokaz postojanja dvije ploče autor je naveo i male razlike u oblikovanju slova natpisa (Anđelić 1973, 94). I pored najbolje volje, spominjane razlike nisam uspio uočiti, što naravno ne opovrgava citirano mišljenje jer ih je uvježbanije i stručnije oko možda i moglo primijetiti, ako postoje, naravno. Ipak, jedan drugi detalj navodi na mišljenje da su očuvani fragmenti s dijelovima natpisa pripadali istoj ploči. Na svakom od njih, u gornjoj trećini okomito srezane ivice ruba, vidljiva je naime identična valovita naprslina (vena) koja se čak direktno uklapa na dva fragmenta. Ista naprslina zauzima istu poziciju i na svim ostalim fragmentima debljine 10,5-11,5 cm, pa je vjerojatnost minimalna³¹ da se ovakva podudarnost, uz uvažavanje ostalih pokazatelja, nalazi na dvije različite ploče. Anđelić je u vezi pripisivanja dijelova natpisa dvjema pločama očigledno napravio previd jer i sam tvrdi kako su trećoj (navodnoj Ostojinoj) ploči pripadala samo dva fragmenta, torzo i jedna nadlaktica, na kojim naravno nema natpisa (usp.: Anđelić 1973, 91), a zbog razlika u profiliranju njihova ruba i debljine ravne površine, nikakvo miješanje s Tomaševom pločom ne dolazi u obzir.

30 Opširnije o tome kao i o samoj grobnici: Anđelić 1973, 81-82.

31 Postojanje naprsline objašnjava se slojem gline koja je presijecala nataloženi vapnenac i prilikom vađenja kamena u kamenolomu korištena je za lakše odvajanje sirovih blokova. Njena prisutnost samo po sebi nije poseban kuriozitet, ali u našem kontekstu predstavlja dodatni čimbenik za razlikovanje fragmenata pojedinih ploča.

of the preserved initial below the crown is so small that we would never, even with the greatest daring, venture to say anything more about it, so one cannot dismiss the assumption by Anđelić that this was the letter T, which one finds on the king's three middle (the second, third and fourth) seals and on one small seal,³² as well as on all three types of his coins – grossi, dinars and half-dinars.³³ To some extent, speaking in favour of such attribution is also the inscription running along the cut portion of the upper edge of several fragments, which in Anđelić's reconstruction reads: + **SEPULTURA TVRTCONIS BONE MEMORIE MAGNI OLIM DNNI ET REGIS RASCIE BOSNE MARITIMARUM PCIUM TERRE HOLM INFERIORUM PARCIUM USSORE ET SALIS D.G. REGIS ET DNI**. The reading was done on the basis of analogous material from other sources and the preserved letters – here in bold – on the slab fragments.

In the upper right and left hand corners of the slab there was a representation of an angel that probably held a royal mantle (Anđelić 1973, 88). Several smaller fragments of a wing were preserved of the angel on the left side of the composition, while a large fragment with an angel with a broken-off face, wings and a spear tip was preserved of the representation in the upper right part of the slab (*Fig. 12*). While the spear, lacking any prominent details, is indeterminate in terms of typology and chronology, the careful stylization and position of the angel's wings is compellingly reminiscent of one such representation from Hungary, which, in addition to the subsequently elaborated claim that these are products of one and the same workshop and craftsman, offers certain guidelines for dating.³⁴ The figure of the deceased himself is represented in full armour, of which a mail shirt, chest piece and armour for legs and arms can be distinguished. The ruler held a sceptre in his left hand, resting on a sword, of which only a part of the hilt is visible today, as well as a cross-guard, a small part next to the shin, and a belt on which it was suspended. A direct and complete analogy to such representation is found on the mentioned, completely preserved slab of Stibor II, but also on the fragments of the slab of his father, the Transilvanian duke Stibor I († 1414). The fragments of the latter slab were found in Székesfehérvár in Hungary, and its attribution was made on the basis of a coat of arms in the shield consisting of two crescents

32 Anđelić 1970, 42 (18, Pl. XIII), 43-45 (19, Pl. XIV), 45-46 (20, Pl. XIV), 46-47 (21, Pl. XV), with the older literature. On the large double-sided seal of Tvrtko II in shields at the front is a crown with lilies without initials, and at the back, on the shield in the horseman's hand is the same representation, while on the mantling there are two shields with an oblique stripe and lilies (comp. *Ibid* 1970, 39-41, Pl. XI and XII). On the first medium-sized seal there is only an oblique stripe in the shield – the lilies are not visible (comp.: *Ibid* 1970, 41, 17, T. XIII).

33 Rengjeo 1944, 280-282; Glavaš 1989, 240-241. The coats of arms on these coins consistently include a crest in the shape of a bouquet, a crown with lilies, a helmet and a veil, while the shield with a crown and the monogram T is absent only from the half-dinar – comp.: Rengjeo 1944, 282.

34 On that, also fragmented, monument, the angel supports with his hands a shield with no preserved heraldic symbols – comp.: Lóvei 1999, 14. kép.

Zbog tih razloga, u ovom tekstu navedeni fragmenti tretirat će se kao dijelovi jedne ploče.

U smislu njezine atribucije i dalje je presudna činjenica da se na lijevoj strani ikonografske kompozicije vidi dio štita s krunom ispod koje se nazire dio nekog slova – inicijala (sl. 11). S obzirom da je iz drugih izvora poznato kako su u svom grbu takvu predstavu (s inicijalima) imali samo kraljevi Tomaš i Tvrtko II, logično je bilo ovu ploču pripisati potonjem. Dio očuvanog inicijala ispod krune je tako mali da o njemu ni uz najveću hrabrost ne bi mogli kazati nešto više, pa se tako ne može isključiti Anđelićeva pretpostavka da je u pitanju slovo T kojeg nalazimo na kraljeva tri srednja (drugom, trećem i četvrtom) i jednom malom pečatu,³² odnosno na sve tri vrste njegova novca – grošima, dinarima i poludinarima.³³ U prilog takvu atribuiranju donekle ide i natpis koji je tekao srezanim dijelom gornjeg ruba više fragmenata i koji, u Anđelićevoj rekonstrukciji, glasi: + SEPULTURA TVRTCONIS BONE MEMORIE MAGNI OLIM DNNI ET REGIS RASCIE BOSNE MARITIMARUM PCIUM TERRE HOLM INFERIORUM PARCIUM USSORE ET SALIS D.G. REGIS ET DNI. Čitanje je izvršeno na osnovi usporednog materijala iz drugih izvora i očuvanih, ovdje podebljanih, slova na fragmentima ploče.

U gornjem desnom i lijevom uglu ploče nalazio se po jedan prikaz anđela koji su vjerojatno pridržavali kraljevski plašt (Anđelić 1973, 88). Od anđela s lijeve strane kompozicije očuvano je nekoliko manjih fragmenata krila, a od prikaza na gornjoj desnoj strani ploče očuvan je veliki fragment s anđelom obijenog lica, krilima i vrškom koplja (slika 12). Dok je koplje bez istaknutih detalja tipološki i kronološki neosjetljivo, pažljiva stilizacija i položaj krila anđela neodoljivo podsjeća na jedan takav prikaz iz Mađarske što, uz kasnije elaboriranu tvrdnju kako su u pitanju proizvodi iste radionice i istog majstora, daje određene smjernice za datiranje.³⁴ Sam lik pokojnika prikazan je u punom oklopu od čijih dijelova se prepoznaje pancirna košulja, grudni te oklop za noge i ruke. Vladar je lijevom šakom držao žezlo, a ona je bila oslonjena na mač od koga je danas vidljiv samo dio drške, nakrsnica, mali dio uz jednu potkoljenicu kao i pojas o koji je bio obješen. Izravna i potpuna analogija za ovakav prikaz nalazi se na spominjanoj, u potpunosti očuvanoj ploči Stibora II, ali i fragmentima ploče njegova oca, transilvanijskog vojvode Stibora I. († 1414). Fragmenti potonje ploče nađeni su u Sekeshfehervaru u Mađarskoj, a njena atribucija je izvršena na osnovi grba u štitu koji se sastoji od dva polu-

separated by a cross potent (*crux patibulata*).³⁵ A comparison of these slabs leads to the conclusion that the workmanship is almost identical in most details, as well as, at least partly, in the iconographic composition. Full armour representation of all three buried persons matches down to the smallest detail and it is obvious that the sculptor had the same physical model in front of him. In fact, if one looks at the same parts of the three torsos, the only important difference that can be noticed is in the decorative motif on the belt for the sword scabbard. The belt on the torso from Bobovac has three profiled vegetable stripes, of which the middle one, with the motif of oak leaves, is the widest and executed in higher relief. Circular rivets perforated at the top are visible between the slanting “ligatures” to the upper and lower stripes, which served to attach the metal applications, most probably of silver or gold, with the decorative motif to the base of the belt, which could have been made of leather or some luxurious cloth. The belt on Stibor II’s slab differs from the described one in that it has only one, central stripe with a vegetable decoration, while the surface below and above it was left empty. No rivets are visible on the belt. The belt on Stibor I’s slab shows somewhat more substantial differences regarding the shaping and the decorative motif. The belt is decorated with a series of applications in the shape of square plaques, whose central part is occupied by a beautifully shaped rosette. The edges of the plaques have a relief profile, while circular rivets with a high boss, perforated at the top, identical to those on the Bobovac torso, are visible in the inner corners (comp.: Lővei 1995, 253 (90); Lővei 1999, 2. kép) (*Fig. 13 – large*).

On their right hip, both Stibors had empty and decorated sword scabbards with a motif similar to the previously described one with “scales”, i.e. the stylized armour on the scabbard of king Tomaš’ sword, although the motif on Tomaš’ scabbard is considerably larger.³⁶ On the left hip of all three torsos yet another common detail is visible – a long cross-guard of a sword, widened towards the ends.³⁷ In all three cases the cross-guard occupies an identical position, it leans against the lower left edge of the chest armour worn above the mail shirt. The only visible difference that can be distinguished here is that a cross potent (*crux patibulata*) is incised on the widened end on our specimen, which, on the other hand, does not represent a significant chronological or, for example, heraldic detail.³⁸ Next to a shin of the figure a part of

32 Anđelić 1970, 42 (18, T. XIII), 43-45 (19, T. XIV), 45-46 (20, T. XIV), 46-47 (21, T. XV), sa starijom literaturom. Na velikom dvostranom pečatu Tvrtka II. u štitovima s prednje strane se nalazi kruna s ljljanima bez inicijala, a na zadnjoj strani na štitu u ruci konjanika isti prikaz dok su na pokrivaču dva štita s kosom prugom i ljljanima (usp.: isti 1970, 39-41, T. XI i XII). Na prvom pečatu srednje veličine u štitu se nalazi samo kosa pruga – ljljani nisu vidljivi (usp.: isti 1970, 41, 17, T. XIII).

33 Rengjeo 1944, 280-282; Glavaš 1989, 240-241. Grbovi na ovim novcima dosljedno sadrže čelenku u vidu buketa, krunu s ljljanima, kacigu i veo, dok je štit s krunom i monogramom T izostavljen jedino na poludinaru – usp.: Rengjeo 1944, 282.

34 Na tom, također fragmentiranom, spomeniku anđeo rukama pridržava štit bez sačuvanih heraldičkih oznaka-usp.: Lővei 1999, 14. kék.

35 Comp.: Mysliveček 1997, 7 (“Ctibor ze Ctibořic”). Three members of this family are known in Hungary from the period we are interested in here. As the slab of Stibor II had already been known previously, and the third family member was a spiritual figure and was certainly not represented as a knight, researchers have concluded that the tombstone slab in question belonged to Stibor I – comp.: Varga & Lővei 1992, 135, with earlier literature; Lővei 1999, 104, 2-4. kék

36 Five individual, horizontally aligned “leaflets” are visible on Tomaš’ scabbard, while on the slabs of both Stibors there are at least eight.

37 According to the standard typology a cross-guard of that shape is determined as the style 5, which appeared around 1200, and which was especially popular in the 14th and 15th centuries – comp.: Oakeshott 1996, 233.

38 Oakeshott 1994, 114-115, Pl. 26B, 26C, Pl. 39A, Pl. 47 and many others – the cross-guard is of no particular importance for the dating of late mediaeval swords.

mjeseca koje razdvaja štakasti križ (crux patibulata).³⁵ Usporedbom ovih ploča može se zaključiti da je u pitanju gotovo identična izvedba kako u većini detalja tako i, barem dijelom, u ikonografskoj kompoziciji. Predstava punog oklopa sva tri pokojnika poklapa se do najmanjih detalja i očigledno je da je klesar pred sobom imao isti stvarni uzorak. Zapravo, ako se promatraju isti dijelovi tri torza, jedina bitna razlika koja se uočava je ona u ukrasnom motivu na pojasu za korice mača. Pojas na torzu s Bobovca ima tri profilirane vegetabilne trake, od kojih je središnja s motivom hrastova lišća najšira i izvedena u višem reljefu. Između kosih „spona“ ka gornjoj i donjoj traci vidljive su okrugle i na vrhu perforirane zakovice koje su služile da se metalne, najvjerojatnije srebrne ili zlatne, aplikacije s ukrasnim motivom pričvrste za osnovu pojasa, koja je mogla biti napravljena od kože ili neke luksuzne tkanine. Pojas na ploči Stibora II. od opisanog razlikuje se u tome što ima samo jednu, središnju traku s vegetabilnim ukrasom, dok je površina ispod i iznad nje ostavljena prazna. Na tom pojasu nema vidljivih zakovica. Nešto znatnije razlike u oblikovanju i ukrasnom motivu pokazuje pojas na ploči Stibora I. Taj pojas ukrašen je nizom aplikacija u vidu kvadratnih pločica, čiji središnji dio zauzima lijepo oblikovana rozeta. Rubovi pločica reljefno su profilirani, a u unutrašnjim uglovima vidljive su, identične kao na bobovačkom torzu, visoko ispupčene, okrugle i na vrhu perforirane zakovice (usp.: Lővei 1995, 253 (90); Lővei 1999, 2. kęp) (sl. 13 – velika).

Oba Stibora na svom desnom boku imali su prazne i ukrašene korice za mač koje se odlikuju motivom sličnim prije opisanom motivu „krljušti“ tj. stiliziranog oklopa na koricama mača kralja Tomaša, s tim da je motiv na Tomaševim koricama znatno krupniji.³⁶ Na lijevom boku sva tri torza vidljiv je još jedan zajednički detalj – duga, prema krajevima proširena nakrsnica mača.³⁷ U sva tri slučaja nakrsnica zauzima identičnu poziciju, oslonjena je uz donji lijevi rub grudnog oklopa nošenog preko pancirne košulje. Jedina vidljiva razlika koja se ovdje može izdvojiti je u tome što je na našem primjerku, u njen prošireni kraj, urezan štakasti križ (crux patibulata), što opet ne predstavlja neki bitan kronološki ili, na primjer, heraldički moment.³⁸ Uz jednu potkoljenicu figure očuvan je dio prikaza korica ili sječiva mača. Na tom detalju nema nikakvih ukrasa, kao što se ne vide ni mogući detalji sječiva, primjerice, kanal ili središnje rebro, pa se ne može decidirano tvrditi je li mač obješen na lijevom boku pokojnika bio prikazan u koricama ili izvan njih (sl. 14).

35 Usp.: Mysliveček 1997, 7 (“Ctibor ze Ctibořic”). Poznata su tri člana ove obitelji u Ugarskoj, razdoblja koje nas ovdje interesira. Kako je ploča Stibora II. otprije bila poznata, a treći član obitelji je bio duhovno lice pa sigurno nije prikazan kao vitez, istraživači su zaključili kako je riječ o nadgrobnoj ploči Stibora I. – usp.: Varga, Lővei 1992, 135, sa starijom literaturom; Lővei 1999, 104, 2-4. kęp.

36 Na Tomaševim koricama, naime, vidi se pet pojedinačnih “listića” poredanih horizontalno, dok ih na pločama oba Stibora ima najmanje po osam.

37 Prema standardnoj tipologiji nakrsnica tog oblika se determinira kao stil 5 koji se javlja oko 1200. g., a posebnu popularnost ima u 14. i 15. stoljeću – usp.: Oakeshott 1996, 233.

38 Oakeshott 1994, 114-115, T. 26B, 26C, T. 39A, T. 47 i mnogi drugi - nakrsnica nema posebnu važnost za datiranje kasnosrednjovjekovnih mačeva.



Sl. 14 Fragment sa koricama mača
 Sl. 15 Prikaz zmaja na torzu (detalj) (snimio: J. Sinanagić)
 Sl. 16 Oznaka Zmajevog reda (detalj)
 Sl. 17 Figura sa oznakom Zmajevog reda (snimio: M. Sijarić)
 Sl. 18 Jedan od fragmenata sa prikazom krila (snimio: J. Sinanagić)
 Sl. 19 Rub ploče sa dijelom natpisa i karakterističnom napuklinom (snimio: M. Sijarić)

Fig. 14 Fragment with a sword scabbard
Fig. 15 Representation of a dragon on the torso (a detail) (Photo by: J. Sinanagić)
Fig. 16 Symbol of the Order of the Dragon (a detail)
Fig. 17 Figure with the symbol of the Order of the Dragon (Photo by: M. Sijarić)
Fig. 18 One of the fragments with the representation of wings (Photo by: J. Sinanagić)
Fig. 19 Edge of the slab with a part of the inscription and a characteristic fissure (Photo by: M. Sijarić)

the representation of a sword scabbard or blade is preserved. There is no decoration on that detail, just as there are no visible details of the blade, such as e.g. a groove or the central rib, so one cannot make a decisive claim as to whether the sword hanging on the left hip of the deceased was represented within the scabbard or outside of it (Fig. 14).

Anđelić singled out a dragon’s jaw as the only discernable symbol on the royal torso from Bobovac. Its rendering is ‘conspicuously similar to the dragon from the coat of arms of Janos Stibor, a chamberlain to the Hungarian and Croatian king Sigismund’ (Anđelić 1973, 92) who, as he further quotes, died

Kao jedini simbol raspoznatljiv na kraljevskom torzu sa Bobovca, Anđelić je izdvojio čeljust zmaja koja je svojom izvedbom „upadljivo slična sa zmajem iz grba Janoša Stibora, komornika ugarsko-hrvatskoga kralja Žigmunda“ (Anđelić 1973, 92) koji je, kako dalje citira, umro 1429. g.,³⁹ a za čiju je nadgrobnu ploču kao uzor poslužila upravo bobovačka ploča (Anđelić 1973, 94). Autor navodi da se prisutnost zmaja može objasniti funkcijom nositelja heraldičkog štita, ili ulogom cimera potpunoga grba - što se mora isključiti jer je dobro poznato kako se zmaj ne javlja na grbovima unutar pečata koje je Ostoja koristio,⁴⁰ jednako kao što se ne javlja ni na grbovima Tvrtka II,⁴¹ čijoj će nadgrobnoj ploči sporni torzo prije pripadati (sl. 15). Nadalje, P. Anđelić pogrešno pretpostavlja da je zmaj zapravo znak Ostojine pripadnosti čuvenom Redu zmaja, što ga je 1408. god. ustanovio Sigismund Luksemburški. Zmaj na Stiborovoj ploči, zapravo, sastavni je dio njegova grba, a pripadnost spominjanom viteškom redu naglašena je drugim detaljem – kružnim amblemom ili medaljom, smještenom na lijevom Stiborovu ramenu kojeg Anđelić nije primijetio. U pitanju je predstava zmaja s repom, omotan oko vlastita vrata, što je bila službena oznaka Reda.⁴² Ovakav znak opisan je u osnivačkom dokumentu Reda, gdje njegovi pripadnici za svoj simbol izabiru: zmaja s repom oko vrata, leđima u sredini, razrezanog od vrha nosa do repa, s ranom koja je iskrvarila i uzduž koje je postavljen crveni križ na bijeloj podlozi, nalik na one kakve su nosili vitezovi svetog Jurja.⁴³ Kako među fragmentima bobovačkih ploča od crvenog vapnenca nije očuvan nijedan s prikazom lijevog ramena pokojnika, ne može se sa sigurnošću tvrditi je li neki od tu pokopanih bosanskih kraljeva bio prikazan s opisanim simbolom, ali da je Anđelić, opet vođen isključivo intuicijom, bio u pravu kada kaže da je neki od njih bio pripadnik Reda, govori jedan drugi detalj. Među fragmentima arhitektonske plastike iz grobne kapele Anđelić je ukazao i na „dijelove skulpture jednog sveca u odori antičkog vojnika (sv. Mihovila)“ (Anđelić 1973, 73) (sl. 16-17). Uz lijevo rame figure, izrađene kao i ostale dekoracije u kapelici – od miljevine, može se primijetiti kružni amblem što je, uz vidljivi dio kratkog rukava pancirne košulje, vjerojatno, navelo Anđelića da pomisli kako je u pitanju rimska vojna fibula, te je i samu figuru identifi-

in 1429,³⁹ and for whose tombstone slab it was precisely the Bobovac slab that served as the model (Anđelić 1973, 94). The author mentions that the presence of a dragon can be explained by the function of the bearer of the heraldic shield, or as a symbol of the complete coat of arms – which must be rejected as it is well known that a dragon does not appear on coats of arms within seals used by Ostoja,⁴⁰ just the same as it is not present on the coats of arms of Tvrtko II,⁴¹ to whose tombstone slab the disputable torso would sooner belong (Fig. 15). Furthermore, Anđelić wrongly supposes that the dragon is actually a symbol of Ostoja's affiliation with the famous Order of the Dragon, established in 1408 by Sigismund of Luxembourg. The dragon on Stibor's slab is in fact an integral part of his coat of arms, and the affiliation with the mentioned knightly order is emphasised by another detail – a circular emblem or medal, located on Stibor's left shoulder, which Anđelić failed to notice. It represents a dragon with the tail wrapped around his own neck, which was the official symbol of the Order.⁴² Such a sign was described in the founding document of the Order, in which its members chose as their symbol: a dragon with the tail around the neck, back in the centre, cut from the tip of the nose to the tail, with a wound that bled out and along which was placed a red cross on a white background, resembling those worn by the knights of Saint George.⁴³ Given that among the fragments of the Bobovac red limestone slabs not a single one was preserved depicting the left shoulder of the deceased, it cannot be claimed with certainty whether any of the Bosnian kings buried here was depicted with the described symbol. Nevertheless, there is another detail speaking in favour of Anđelić's statement – for which he was again governed exclusively by his intuition – that one of them was a member of the Order. Among the fragments of architectural plastic from the grave chapel Anđelić also pointed out “the parts of a sculpture of a saint in the costume of a soldier from classical antiquity (St. Michael)” (Anđelić 1973, 73) (Fig. 16-17). A circular emblem can be noticed next to the left shoulder of the figure, which was made of *miljevina*, like the rest of the decorations in the chapel. This – in addition to the visible part of a short sleeve of a mail shirt – is what probably led Anđelić to conclude that it represented a Roman military fibula and thus to identify the figure as a saint in a

39 Ovo je netočan podatak – Stibor II. (mlađi) umro je 1434. godine. Njegova nadgrobna ploča nađena je 1907. g. u Budi - usp. ovdje nap.: 18.

40 Od tri poznata Ostojina pečata na jednom (drugom srednjem) je prikazan stari grb Tvrtka I, s čelenkom u vidu buketa, krunom s ljiljanima, kacigom, velom te štitom u kojem je umjesto stare predstave s kosom prugom i ljiljanima, postavljena kruna s ljiljanima. Na velikom Tvrtkovom dvostranom pečatu, osim unošenja svog imena umjesto Dabišinog tj., Tvrtkova imena, Ostoja također mijenja sadržaj prikaza na štitovima s obje strane prijestolja odnosno u ruci konjanika, tako da se na njima nalazi kruna s ljiljanima. Opširnije o ovom pitanju, sa starijom literaturom: Anđelić 1970, 34-38., T. VIII-X. Koliko se danas zna, Ostoja nije kovao vlastite novce.

41 Za literaturu o tome usp. ovdje nap. 32 i 33.

42 Usp.: Lóvei 2006, 348 (kat. 4.51); Varga, Lóvei 1992, 135, fig. 30, kao i u radovima citiranim u nap. 18; Šišić 1902, 205

43 Usp.: Lóvei 2006, 258. Za originalni tekst na latinskome usp. tu nap. br. 69. Koristim priliku da se još jednom najtoplije zahvalim kolegi Pálu Lóveiu koji mi je ukazao na ove podatke i dostavio mi svoj rad prije nego što je objavljen.

39 This information is incorrect – Stibor II (the younger) died in 1434. His tombstone slab was found in Buda in 1907 – comp. here note 18.

40 Of the three known Ostoja's seals, one (the second middle) depicts the old coat of arms of Tvrtko I, with a crest in the shape of a bouquet, a crown with lilies, a helmet, a veil and a shield in which, instead of the old representation with an oblique stripe and lilies, a crown with lilies was placed. On Tvrtko's large double-sided seal, in addition to having replaced Dabiša's, i.e. Tvrtko's name with his own, Ostoja also changed the content of the representations on the shields on both sides of the throne, that is in the horseman's hand, so that they both contain a crown with lilies. In more detail about this issue, with the earlier literature: Anđelić 1970, 34-38, Pl. VIII-X. From what is known today, Ostoja did not mint his own coins.

41 For the literature about this comp. notes 32 and 33 here.

42 Comp.: Lóvei 2006, 348 (kat. 4.51); Varga & Lóvei 1992, 135, Fig. 30, as well as in the works quoted in the note 18; Šišić 1902, 205.

43 Comp.: Lóvei 2006, 258. For the original text in Latin comp. here note nr. 69. I use this opportunity to express again my most cordial thanks to my colleague Pál Lóvei, who drew my attention to these data and sent me his paper prior to publishing.

cirao kao sveca u antičkoj odori. Zapravo, riječ je o opisanoj oznaci spominjanog Reda, na kojoj se i pored oštećenja fino može razaznati tijelo zmaja s repom omotan oko naviše izvijenog vrata. Iz razjapljene čeljusti izbija plamen, a od detalja se još može razabrati griva na dijelu vrata, te zmajevo oko. Na fragmentu figure se lijepo vidi i način na koji je oznaka bilo pričvršćena za oklop, jednom širokom trakom koja se spuštala s ramena, a na čijem je kraju visio opisani zmaj.⁴⁴ Figura izvedena u visokom reljefu, danas očuvana u visini od 19 cm, a u prvobitnom stanju vjerojatno oko 50 cm, možda je bila smještena u luneti portala, kako to prva predlaže M. Lovrenović, te je zbog tako istaknute pozicije i predstavljala sveca kojem je crkva posvećena (Lovrenović 2000, 119). Ista autorica prenosi Anđelićevu tvrdnju da se radi o prikazu sv. Mihovila, kojeg identificira prema „rubu rukava neke očito antičke odore“, te fibuli koja pridržava plašt, što je po mom mišljenju pogrešno.⁴⁵ Od uobičajenih atributa sv. Mihovila: oklopa, mača ili koplja, vage kao i simbola zla (zmije, zmaja i sl.), tu je vidljiv samo oklop, pa smatram da takvo identificiranje nije utemeljeno. Jedini pouzdan putokaz za identificiranje ove figure zapravo je na njoj prikazani amblem Zmajeva reda čiji su pripadnici, prema već citiranoj odluci o izboru vlastita simbola koji je između ostalog uključivao i crveni križ na bijeloj podlozi, za svog zaštitnika izabrali drugog sveca vojnika – sv. Jurja. U kontekstu Zmajeva reda sv. Mihovil se, za razliku od sv. Jurja, nikada ne javlja, te držim kako se on može isključiti iz svih razmatranja o ovoj temi. S druge strane, nigdje nije zabilježena predstava anđela sa simbolom viteškog reda te se prije ostalih mogućnosti u obzir treba uzeti ona koju zastupa P. Lővei da opisana figura, zapravo, predstavlja jednog od bosanskih kraljeva iza čijih se leđa nalazio anđeo, što bi dakle činilo sličan, ali umanjen, prikaz onom na nadgrobnim pločama. U tom slučaju bi pred sobom imali prikaz kraljevske osobe u čijem su aranžmanu izvođeni radovi na kapelici, a koja je istodobno i bila pripadnik Zmajeva reda. Prema analizi M. Lovrenović, glavni građevinski radovi na kapelici bi se trebali pripisati Tvrtku II, i to između 1421. i 1443. godine (Lovrenović 2000, 115-116). Anđelić zaključuje kako je prvobitna kapelica adaptirana u kraljevsku grobnu kapelicu za Ostojina vremena, da je arhitektonska plastika napravljena za vrijeme Tvrtka II, a puna plastika za kralja

costume from classical antiquity. Actually, this represents the described symbol of the mentioned Order, on which despite the damage one can clearly discern the body of the dragon with the tail wrapped around the upwardly raised neck. Fire is spitting out of the wide open jaw; of the other details, a mane can be discerned on a part of the neck, as well as a dragon's eye. Clearly visible on a fragment of the figure is the way in which the symbol was attached to the armour – by means of a wide stripe descending from the shoulders, on whose end hung the described dragon.⁴⁴ The figure, rendered in high relief, today preserved in the height of 19 cm and originally probably around 50 cm high, was perhaps located in the lunette of the portal, as proposed first by M. Lovrenović, and by virtue of such a prominent position it probably represented the saint to whom the church was dedicated (Lovrenović 2000, 119). The same author repeats Anđelić's claim that this is a representation of St. Michael, identified on the basis of an "end of a sleeve of a costume obviously from classical antiquity" and a fibula holding the mantle, which, in my opinion, is wrong.⁴⁵ Of the usual attributes of St. Michael: armour, sword or spear, scale, and symbols of evil (serpent, dragon etc.) only the armour is visible here, so I think that such identification is unfounded. The only reliable guide for the identification of this figure is actually the represented emblem of the Order of the Dragon, whose members, in line with the previously quoted decision on the choice of their own symbol, which among other things included a red cross on a white background, chose another soldier-saint as their patron – St. George. In contrast to St. George, St. Michael never appears in the context of the Order of the Dragon, so I believe that he can be excluded from all considerations of this topic. On the other hand, no representations have been recorded so far of an angel with a symbol of a knightly order, so before considering other possibilities one has to take into consideration the one advocated by P. Lővei, namely that the described figure in fact represents one of the Bosnian kings, with an angel behind his back, which would thus form a similar representation, albeit smaller, to the one on the tombstone slabs. In that case, we would have before us a representation of a royal person who organized the works on the chapel, and who was at

44 Simbol Zmajeva reda se može vidjeti na Sigismundovu portretu kojeg je izradio Pisanello, nadgrobnim pločama Stibora II, Grafa Ludviga XI. († 1440), Pétera Berzeviczija († 1433.), grobu Hercoga Ludviga II. Šleskog († 1419), ali i drugim spomenicima, nastalim uglavnom tokom treće i četvrte decenije 15. st. – usp.: Lővei 2006, 260; za reprodukcije usp.: na istom mjestu kat. br.: 4.39-42, 4.44-45, 4.51-53 i dr.

45 Ista 2000, 119. Na fragmentu se zapravo može razaznati dio grudnog oklopa s karakterističnim ispupčenim šavom po sredini prsa, kao i na bezbrojnim prikazima ratnika iz 14. i 15. st., te kratki rukav pancirne, ispod platnene, košulje sa završecima izrađenim u antičkoj maniri, ali jednako tako često vidljivim i na srednjovjekovnim primjerima – usp.: Wagner et al., Teil II, T. 82 (2, 5). Na laktu lijeve ruke vidi se i karakteristična zaštita za lakat – tzv. *couter* (eng.; usp.: Edge, Paddock 1988, 113, 184), što govori da je figura bila prikazana u punom oklopu (za dobru reprodukciju identičnog prikaza oklopa usp. naslovnu stranu kataloga izložbe *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator*, ili u tekstu kat. 7.19). Za razvijeni i kasni srednji vijek vrlo je karakteristično prikazivanje figura odjevenih u civilnu i vojnu nošnju po modi vremena kada prikaz nastaje.

44 The symbol of the Order of the Dragon can be seen on the portrait of Sigismund by Pisanello, the tombstone slabs of Stibor II, Graf Ludwig XI († 1440), Péter Berzeviczy († 1433), the grave of Herzog Ludwig II of Silesia († 1419), but also on other monuments, created mostly during the third and fourth decade of the 15th century – comp.: Lővei 2006, 260; for the reproductions comp.: in the same work cat. nr.: 4.39-42, 4.44-45, 4.51-53 etc.

45 Ibid 2000, 119. A part of the chest armour with a characteristic embossed stitch along the middle of the chest can be discerned on the fragment, like on countless representations of warriors from the 14th and 15th centuries, as well as a short sleeve of a mail shirt – worn beneath a linen one – with terminals made in the manner of classical antiquity, but seen just as often on medieval examples – comp.: Wagner & Drobná & Durdfik: Teil II, Pl. 82 (2, 5). A characteristic elbow protection – the so-called *couter* (Eng. Comp.: Edge & Paddock 1988, 113, 184) is visible on the elbow of the left hand, which tells us that the figure was represented in full armour (for a good reproduction of an identical armour representation comp. the cover of the catalogue of the *Sigismundus Rex et Imperator* exhibition, or the cat. 7.19 within the text). For the developed and late Middle Ages it was very characteristic to represent figures wearing civilian and military garments after the fashion of the time when the representation was made.

Tomaša (Anđelić 1973, 98). Mislim da se u tom kontekstu ipak, a u skladu s prije iznesenim opažanjima o identifikaciji figure,⁴⁶ treba potencirati uloga Tvrtka II, odnosno, njegove supruge Doroteje Gorjanske koja od 1428. g. boravi na Bobovcu i koja je, a to nikako nije nevažno, bila kći jednog od istaknutih članova i osnivača Zmajeva reda, poznatoga ugarskog velikaša Ivana Gorjanskog (mađ. *János Garai*, † 1427)⁴⁷ (sl. 18-19), (T. 2).

NADGROBNA PLOČA NEIDENTIFICIRANOGA BOSANSKOG KRALJA (BR. 3. (?))

Prilika je sada da se šira stručna javnost upozna s dva fragmenta od tvrdoga crvenog vapnenca koji do sada nisu objavljeni, a koji se pod inventarnim brojevima 6547 (manji) i 6574, među ostalim arheološkim materijalom do koga se došlo iskopavanjima na Bobovcu, čuvaju u Zemaljskome muzeju BiH. Precizniji podaci o točnoj lokaciji njihova nalazišta danas ne postoje, ali je već na prvi pogled jasno kako se radi o dijelu neke nadgrobne ploče koja ima zajedničko porijeklo kao i prije opisane. Koji su razlozi naveli Anđelića da ova dva fragmenta izostavi iz svoje studije o Bobovcu i Kraljevjoj Sutjesci, ili npr. u prilogu *Doba srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, koji je pisao za potrebe monografije Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine, nije mi poznato.

Odmah treba naglasiti kako se ova dva fragmenta savršeno uklapaju jedan u drugi što ih čini, poslije opisanog torza, najdužim očuvanim komadom.⁴⁸ Riječ je o desnom rubu ploče koji je, svojom gornjom površinom, izrađen upadljivo drukčije od ostalih očuvanih. Njegova površina bliža ravnom dijelu s reljefnim prikazom blago je zakošena prema gore, potom se ravno nastavlja prema vanjskom dijelu koji je zakošen nadolje (sl. 20 - velika). Na tom posljednjem, krajnjem dijelu gornje površine ruba vidljivo je polje s pravilno sjenčanim linijama za precizno urezivanje slova – kojih nema. Dimenzije pravokutnih ureza približno su jednake onim na ploči pripisanoj Stjepanu Tomašu i iznose 5 x 0,6 – 0,7 cm. Naredna sličnost s Tomaševom pločom ogleda se u načinu na koji je profilirana donja strana ruba ovog fragmenta (sl. 21). U ovom slučaju površina donje profilacije očuvana je znatno većom dužinom te pruža potpuniju sliku o načinu na koji su bile oblikovani gornji rubovi bočnih stranica sarkofaga. Još jedan detalj na ova dva fragmenta navodi na pomisao kako se ovdje radi o dijelovima ploče kralja Tomaša. Ravni dio ploče, na kojem se

the same time a member of the Order of the Dragon. According to M. Lovrenović's analysis, the major building works on the chapel should be attributed to Tvrtko II, in the period between 1421 and 1443 (Lovrenović 2000, 115-116). P. Anđelić concludes that the original chapel was adapted into a royal grave chapel during Ostoja's reign, that the architectural plastic was made at the time of Tvrtko II, while the full sculpture was created during the time of king Tomaš (Anđelić 1973, 98). I think that in that context, in accordance with the previously mentioned observations regarding the identification of the figure,⁴⁶ one nevertheless has to stress the role of Tvrtko II and his wife Doroteja Gorjanska, who resided at Bobovac from 1428 and who – and this is far from insignificant – was the daughter of a prominent member and one of the founders of the Order of the Dragon, the well-known Hungarian aristocrat Ivan Gorjanski (Hung. *János Garai*, † 1427)⁴⁷ (Fig. 18-19), (Pl. II).

TOMBSTONE SLAB OF AN UNIDENTIFIED BOSNIAN KING (NR. 3 (?))

This is an opportunity to familiarise the wider professional public with two previously unpublished fragments of hard red limestone, kept in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the inventory numbers 6547 (the smaller one) and 6574, with the rest of the archaeological material from the excavations at Bobovac. There are no preserved precise data regarding the exact position of their discovery, but it is clear from the first glance that they formed part of a tombstone slab of the same origin as those previously described. I am not familiar with the reasons that led Anđelić to omit these two fragments from his study about Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska, or, for example, from his contribution *The Period of the Mediaeval Bosnian State*, which he wrote for the requirements of the monograph "Cultural History of Bosnia and Herzegovina".

It should be stressed here that these two fragments fit perfectly one into the other, which together makes them the longest preserved piece save for the described torso.⁴⁸ The piece forms part of the right edge of the slab, and its upper surface is executed in a conspicuously different manner from the remaining preserved pieces. The part of its surface closer to the flat part with the relief representation gently slopes upwards, then continues in a straight line to the outer part, which is inclined downwards (Fig. 20 – large). On this last, terminal part of the upper edge surface a field is visible with regularly shaded lines for the precise incision of letters – which are missing.

46 Definitivni zaključak o ovome ne može se donijeti bez detaljnije analize svih fragmenata koji možda (!) pripadaju ovom reljefu (nekoliko manjih komada s prikazima krila, jedna ruka koja drži koplje ili skeptar, te drugi nedefinirani manji fragmenti), a što bi se trebalo zasebno učiniti. Ovdje bih samo naglasio da se na osnovi nekih detalja, poput profilacije ruba jednog od fragmenata, može pretpostaviti kako je zaista u pitanju bila umanjena kopija jedne od nadgrobničkih ploča koja je također, in situ, bila horizontalno položena.

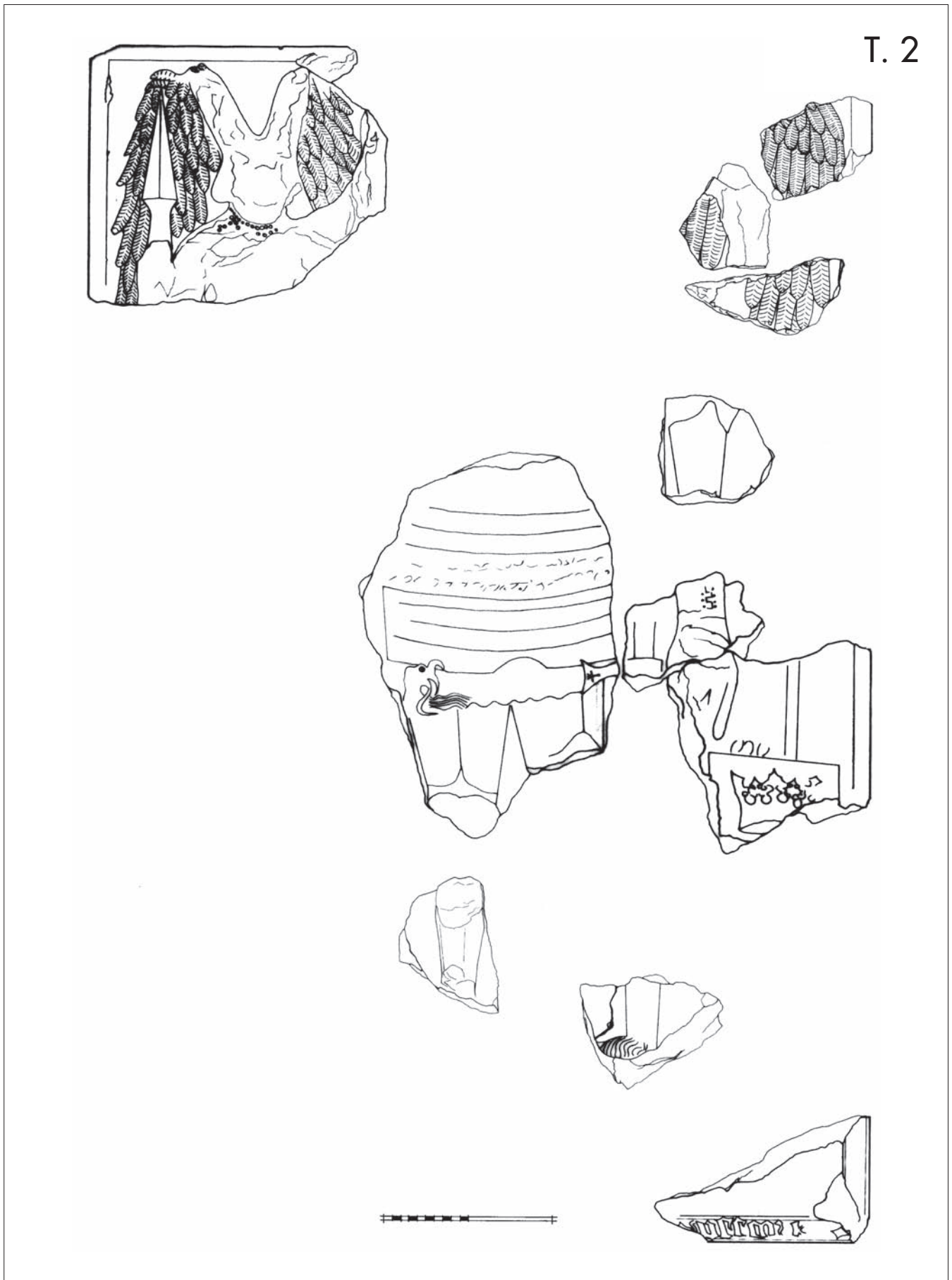
47 O nekim drugim tragovima utjecaja Doroteje Gorjanske na ukrašavanje i prenamjenu nekih arhitektonskih cjelina na Bobovcu opširnije: Anđelić 1973a.

48 Ukupna dužina iznosi 55, najveća širina 28,5 dok debljina varira od 6,2 do 5,5 centimetara.

46 No definite conclusion about this can be made without an in-depth analysis of all fragments that might (?) belong to this relief (several smaller pieces with representations of wings, an arm holding a spear or sceptre, as well as other indeterminate smaller fragments), which should be carried out separately. I would just like to stress here that on the basis of certain details, such as a profilation of an edge of one of the fragments, it can be supposed that this was really a smaller copy of one of the tombstone slabs, which was likewise, *in situ*, positioned horizontally.

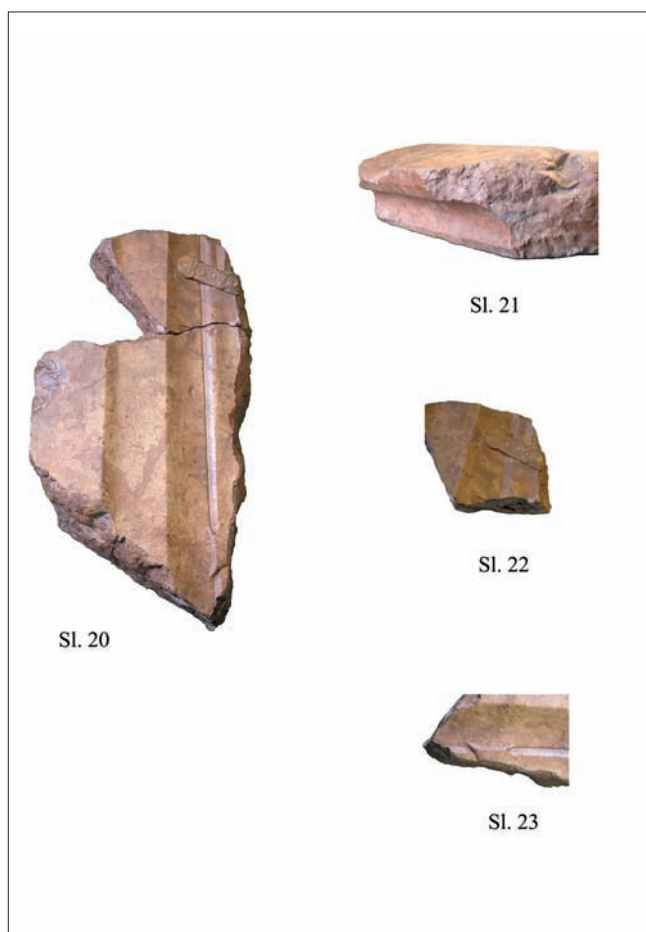
47 Regarding some other traces of the impact of Doroteja Gorjanska on the decoration and modification of the use of certain architectural units on Bobovac in more detail: Anđelić 1973a.

48 The total length is 55 cm, the greatest width is 28,5 cm, while the thickness varies between 6,2 and 5,5 cm.



T. 2 Nadgrobna ploča Tvrta II. Tvrtkovića (?) (izradila: A. Pravidur)

Pl. II Tombstone slab of Tvrta II Tvrtković (?) (Drawn by: A. Pravidur)



Sl. 20 Desni rub ploče br. 3

Sl. 21 Pogled na rub ploče sa boka

Sl. 22 Fragment ploče sa prikazom balčaka mača

Sl. 23 Fragment ploče sa dijelom haste slova (sve snimio: M. Sijarić)

Fig. 20 Right edge of the slab nr. 3

Fig. 21 Side view to the edge of the slab

Fig. 22 Fragment of the slab with a representation of the sword hilt

Fig. 23 Fragment of the slab with a part of a letter bar (All photo by: M. Sijarić)

vjerojatno nalazio lik pokojnika u visokom reljefu, ovdje je očuvan samo svojim malim dijelom, ali dovoljno da se utvrdi njegova debljina, od 5,5 do 6,2 cm, što je približno jednako debljini iste površine na Tomaševoj ploči. Ova debljina, ipak, samo je pouzdan dokaz kako ova dva fragmenta ne pripadaju ploči Tvrtka II, gdje ona, kao što je već rečeno, varira između 10,5 i 11,5 cm.

Mišljenja sam da ovdje imamo ostatke do sada neprepoznate ploče. Da bi se takav stav opravdao, prijeko je potrebno najprije razriješiti pitanje mogućeg pripadanja ova dva fragmenta ploči kralja Tomaša. S njom, osim navedenih, ovdje se može uočiti približna sličnost u općim značajkama kamena kao što je fina politura, relativno ujednačena faktura kamena i intenzivna crvena boja. Da su ovi elementi ipak od sekundarnog značaja i da ih se kao relevantne treba uzimati samo u krajnjoj nuždi, zorno pokazuju baš ova dva fragmen-

The dimensions of rectangular incisions are approximately the same as those on the slab attributed to Stephen Tomaš, measuring 5 x 0,6-0,7 cm. A further similarity with Tomaš' slab is reflected in the way in which the lower part of the edge of this fragment is profiled (Fig. 21). In this case the surface of the lower profilation is preserved in a considerably greater length and offers a more comprehensive picture regarding the way in which the upper edges of the lateral sides of the sarcophagus were shaped. There is another detail on these two fragments that leads one to think that these fragments form part of the slab of king Tomaš. The flat part of the slab, on which was probably the figure of the deceased in high relief, is preserved here only in a small part, which sufficed to establish its thickness, between 5,5 and 6,2 cm, which is close to the thickness of the same surface on Tomaš's slab. This thickness, nevertheless, is only reliable proof that these two fragments do not belong to the slab of Tvrtko II, where, as already mentioned, it varies between 10,5 and 11,5 cm.

In my opinion, here we have the remains of a previously unrecognized slab. To justify this view, it is of the utmost importance to first solve the question of the possibility of these fragments belonging king Tomaš's slab. In addition to the already mentioned similarities with this slab, one might add the resemblance in the general features of the stone, such as the fine polish, the relatively uniform texture of the stone and the intense red colour. However, that these elements are nevertheless of secondary importance, and that only in extreme need should one consider them relevant, is clearly demonstrated precisely by these two fragments, whose polish and particularly the colour, let us repeat, over a total length of 55 cm, gradually decreases from an intense red and shiny, on the smaller fragment, to a pale red, that is, an almost yellowish hue on the lower surface of the larger fragment. The second, far more important argument in favour of the proposed claim can be found in the presence of the representation of a part of a sword hilt on the fragment with more intense colour. The grip of the hilt, decorated along the middle with circular rivets of sorts, is recognizable on the quite unskilled representation, with uncertain lines and strokes, as is an irregular, semioval pommel,⁴⁹ with a three-leaved lily incised in the centre (Fig. 22). Before saying something more about this representation, for the sake of consistency, we need to allow for a different identification of this object as the top of a sceptre, which may be the only possible alternative to a sword. On the famous large double-sided seal of king Tvrtko I, with respect to the iconographic composition in unaltered use also by his successors, the sceptre held in the right hand is positioned on the right side of the representation, with the top at level with the head of the figure on the throne (comp.: Anđelić 1970, 23, Pl. V, Pl. IX, Pl. XI and elsewhere). The position of the object on the disputed slab speaks the opposite – that it was in an almost horizontal position, probably at the height of the physiological belt of the figure, which is not an easily conceivable position

49 A pommel of this shape cannot be reliably determined by standard typological schemes, although by virtue of its contours it is closest to the archaic forms of the 10th-12th centuries.

ta, čija politura i posebno boja, podsjetimo još jednom, na 55 cm ukupne dužine, postupno opada od intenzivno crvene i sjajne, na manjem fragmentu, do blijedo-crvene, odnosno, gotovo žućkaste nijanse na donjoj površini većeg fragmenta. Drugi, mnogo važniji argument u korist iznesene tvrdnje nalazimo u prisutnosti prikaza dijela balčaka mača na komadu s intenzivnijom bojom. Na dosta nevještom prikazu nesigurnih linija i poteza prepoznaje se drška balčaka, po sredini ukrašena nekom vrstom okruglih zakovica, te nepravilna, poluobla jabučica⁴⁹ u čijoj je sredini urezan trolisni ljiljan (sl. 22). Prije nego se kaže nešto više o ovom prikazu, radi dosljednosti, potrebno je dopustiti i drukčije identificiranje tog predmeta kao vrha žezla, što bi mogla biti jedina alternativa maču. Naime, na poznatom velikom dvostranom pečatu kralja Tvrtka I, u pogledu ikonografske kompozicije nepromijenjeno korištenom i od njegovih nasljednika, žezlo držano desnom rukom se nalazi na desnoj strani prikaza s vrhom u visini glave figure na prijestolju (usp.: Anđelić 1970, 23, T. V, T. IX, T. XI i drugdje). Položaj predmeta na spornoj ploči govori suprotno – da je on bio u gotovo horizontalnom položaju, vjerojatno u visini fiziološkog pojasa figure, što je teško zamisliva pozicija za tako, uz krunu, državnu jabuku i koplje, bitnu kraljevsku insigniju. S druge strane, da se ovdje ne radi o žezlu neporecivo govori i činjenica kako je ono već prepoznato na više fragmenata bobovačkih nadgrobni ploča, uvijek u okomitom položaju uz liniju tijela, a k tome i dva puta držano lijevom pokojnikovom rukom. Na kraju, žezlo bosanskih vladara uvijek je prikazivano u istoj formi – sa slobodnim ljiljanom na vrhu, što ovdje opet nije slučaj, pa sa sigurnošću možemo govoriti o prikazu mača. Kako je prije, prilikom analize ploče pripisane Stjepanu Tomašu, pretpostavljeno i, vjerujem, dokazano da je on bio prikazan s dva mača, ovdje treba isključiti mogućnost da se radi o istoj ploči. Čak i ako bi pretpostavili kako pred sobom imamo pravi kuriozitet, predstavu kralja s tri mača,⁵⁰ suočili bismo se, po mom skromnom mišljenju, s još krupnijim problemom. Ukupni dojam koji ostavlja prikaz drške i jabučice ovog mača odaje slaboga i nesigurnog majstora, čiji se rad nikako ne može dovesti u istu razinu s vrhunskom umjetničkom izvedbom detalja s Tomaševa mača, ali i drugih dijelova te ploče. To je posebno uočljivo pri paralelnom promatranju dviju jabučica, gdje jedna jasnom formom, vjernošću izvedbe najsitnijih detalja i dozom nježnosti u prikazu rozete plastično dočarava raskošnu izvedbu ceremonijalnoga kraljevskog mača, dok druga, s ljiljanom u sredini, više nalikuje skici načinjenoj u nuždi po neodređenom sjećanju. Dva takva prikaza istog predmeta nisu se mogla nalaziti na istoj ploči. S druge strane, značenje i simbolika ukrasa koji se nalaze na te dvije jabučice moraju se promatrati i pokušati tumačiti istim kontekst. U

for royal insignia that – along with the crown, the apple of state and the spear – was so important. On the other hand, another fact definitely speaking against this being a sceptre, is that it had already been recognized on several fragments of tombstone slabs from Bobovac, always in a vertical position along the line of the body, and twice held in the left hand of the deceased person. Finally, the sceptre of the Bosnian rulers was always represented in the same shape – with a free lily on top, which again is not the case here, so we can be certain that this was a representation of a sword. Given that previously, during the analysis of the slab attributed to Stephen Tomaš, it was supposed and, I believe, proven that he was represented with two swords, here we have to exclude the possibility that this was the same slab. Even if we assume that we had a genuine curiosity here, a representation of a king with three swords,⁵⁰ we would face, in my humble opinion, an even bigger problem. The overall impression left by the representation of the hilt and pommel of this sword reveals a poor and uncertain craftsman, whose work can never be brought to the same level with the first-rate artistic rendering of details on Tomaš' sword, but also of other details on that slab. This is particularly obvious if one observes the two pommels side by side, where one by virtue of its clear form, faithful rendering of the most minute details and a measure of gentleness in the representation of the rosette plastically illustrates a lavish rendition of a ceremonial royal sword, whereas the other, with a lily in the centre, is more like a sketch done in a hurry after a vague recollection. Two such representations of the same object could not have been present on the same slab. On the other hand, the significance and symbolism of decorations on these two pommels should be observed, and an attempt at interpretation should be made, within the same context. In the case of the pommel decorated with a lily from the slab of uncertain attribution, it is difficult to offer any concrete interpretation. This symbol, according to the standard interpretations, is present in the coats of arms of the state as much as in the family coats of arms of the Bosnian rulers. However, it never appears as an independent, so-called simple heraldic symbol. As it will be seen later in the text, the role of the sword as a heraldic symbol loses considerably in importance after 1377, so perhaps we should not insist on any particular importance of the decoration on one of its parts. Again, if a symbolic or heraldic meaning is indeed present, it might be possible to interpret it after the same has been done with the rosette on the pommel of Tomaš' sword, in the case of which one can count on a somewhat larger body of reliable information.

The position of this sword is an entirely separate issue. As could be seen from the previous account, on the Bobovac slabs as much as on those from mediaeval Hungary, the sword was always depicted in an approximately vertical position, next

49 Ovako oblikovana jabučica ne može se pouzdano determinirati prema standardnim tipološkim shemama, mada je svojim konturama najbliža arhaičnim oblicima 10-12. stoljeća.

50 Pri tako smjeloj i malo vjerojatnoj hipotezi, radilo bi se o prikazu kralja s dva mača obješena o pojas, te jednim mačem prikvačenim za grudni oklop, što bi bio, koliko je poznato, prvi takav slučaj. Samo po sebi, nošenje mača na grudnom oklopu nije nepoznato (usp.: Sijarić 2004, 71, nap. 338. i 339), ali ne u kombinaciji s druga dva mača, i posebno ne na kraljevskoj nadgrobnoj ploči.

50 Such a daring and highly improbable hypothesis would entail the representation of the king with two swords suspended from a belt and one sword attached to the chest armour, which, as far as we know, would be the first such case. The carrying of a sword on chest armour is not an unknown phenomenon in itself (comp.: Sijarić 2004, 71, note 338 and 339), but not in combination with two other swords, and especially not on a royal tombstone slab.

slučaju jabučice ukrašene ljiljanom s ploče čija je atribucija neizvjesna, teško je dati bilo kakvo konkretno objašnjenje. Taj simbol, prema standardnim tumačenjima nalazi se u kako u državnim tako i porodičnim grbovima bosanskih vladara, ali kao samostalno izdvojen, tzv., jednostavni heraldički znak, ne nalazi se nigdje. Kao što će se dalje u tekstu vidjeti, uloga samog mača kao heraldičkog simbola nakon 1377. g. znatno gubi na važnosti, pa u tom smislu možda i ne treba inzistirati na posebnoj važnosti ukrasa na jednom njegovom sastavnom dijelu. Ako opet, neko simboličko i heraldičko značenje zaista postoji, njega će se eventualno moći protumačiti nakon što se to učini s rozetom na jabučici Tomaševa mača, u čijem slučaju postoji nešto više pouzdanih podataka.

Sasvim posebno je pitanje položaja ovog mača. Kao što se iz prethodnog izlaganja moglo vidjeti, kako na bobovačkim tako i na sličnim pločama iz srednjovjekovne Mađarske, mač je uvijek prikazivan u približno okomitom položaju, uz bok nosioca. Ovdje je riječ o dijametralno suprotnom, gotovo horizontalnom položaju za što ne postoje paralele niti na nadgrobnim pločama, niti na kraljevskim pečatima, pa ni na poznatim novcima bosanskih vladara iz 15. stoljeća. Da bi se pronašla najbliža usporednica za ovakvo pozicioniranje mača, treba se vratiti duboko u 14. st., na novce banova Stjepana II. i Tvrtka. Na aversima dinara IV, V. i VI. vrste Stjepana II. Kotromanića, taj vladar je prikazan kako sjedi na prijestolju, s mačem položenim u krilo. Balčak mača, izuzev u jednom slučaju, ban drži desnom rukom (usp.: Rengjeo 1944, 276-278). Sličan prikaz bana Tvrtka, jednom s mačem držanim desnom rukom za balčak i položenim u krilo, te žezlom u lijevoj ruci, a drugi put bez žezla, s mačem u krilu i desnom rukom na balčaju, vidi se na njegovu dinaru I. vrste (isti 1944, 278-279). Zanimljivo je da su, prema Rengjeu, svi navedeni novci kovani prije 1365. g., poslije koje više ne nalazimo mač položen u krilo, već držan desnom rukom, s vrhom prema gore, okomito uz tijelo. Nakon 1377. g. i Tvrtkova krunidba za kralja mač očigledno gubi svoju heraldičku ulogu i potpuno nestaje s bosanskog novca, dok se na pečatima bosanskih vladara, izuzev na srednjem pečatu bana Ninoslava iz 1249. g., (usp.: Anđelić 1970, 9-10, T. I (2)) s posve drukčijom funkcijom, nikada nije ni javljao.

Ako bi na ovome mjestu inzistirali na preciznosti, onda bismo za blago ukošeni položaj mača paralelu mogli potražiti na njegovim prikazima na stećcima, gdje je vrlo često, u kompoziciji sa štitom, mač postavljen u kosi položaj, bilo s prednje bilo sa zadnje strane štita.⁵¹ Takva analogija na prvi pogled može djelovati prenategnuto, ali ako se promatra u širem kontekstu porijekla i najvjerojatnijeg mjesta izrade nadgrobnih ploča s Bobovca, ona i ne djeluje potpuno proizvoljnom. Naime, ako je središnji položaj na nadgrobnoj ploči jednoga bosanskog vladara zauzimao heraldički prikaz državnoga ili porodičnog grba s mačem, a sve u maniri sličnih prikaza na stećcima, u tome ne bi trebali promatrati neki kuriozitet bez presedana, već dosljednu upotrebu obrazaca koji je u velikoj mjeri bio zastupljen na prostorima srednjovjekovne Bosne, dok je na prostorima srednjovjekovne Mađarske, na nadgrob-

to the bearer's hip. What we have here is a diametrically opposite, almost horizontal position, for which no parallels exist either on the tombstone slabs or on royal seals, or even on the known coins of the Bosnian rulers from the 15th century. In order to find the closest comparison to such positioning of the sword one has to return deep into the 14th century, to the coins of *bans* Stephen II and Tvrtko. On the obverse of the dinars of types IV, V and VI of Stephen II Kotromanić, that ruler was depicted seated on a throne, with a sword placed in his lap. Except in one case, the *ban* holds the sword hilt in his right hand (comp.: Rengjeo 1944, 276-278). A similar representation of *ban* Tvrtko is visible on his dinar of the type I, in one instance holding the sword by the hilt in his right hand and placed in his lap with a sceptre in his left hand, and the second time without a sceptre, with a sword in his lap and his right hand on the hilt (Ibid 1944, 278-279). It is interesting that, according to Rengjeo, all mentioned coins were minted prior to 1365, after which we no longer find the sword placed in the lap but held in the right hand, with the point up, vertically along the body. After 1377 and Tvrtko's coronation, the sword obviously loses its heraldic role and completely disappears from the Bosnian coins, while on the seals of the Bosnian rulers, with the exception of the middle seal of *ban* Ninoslav from 1249 (comp.: Anđelić 1970, 9-10, Pl. I (2)), with an entirely different function, it never appeared in the first place.

If we are to insist on precision here, we would look for a parallel for the slightly inclined position of the sword on its representations on the *stećak* tombstones, where a sword, in composition with a shield, is frequently placed in a slanting position, in front of as much as behind the shield.⁵¹ Such an analogy may at first glance seem far-fetched, but if one observes it in the wider context of the origin and most probable place of production of the tombstone slabs from Bobovac, it in fact does not seem entirely arbitrary. If the central position on a tombstone slab of a Bosnian ruler was occupied by a heraldic representation of a state or family coat of arms with a sword, all in the style of similar representations on the *stećak*-type tombstones, we should not look upon this as an oddity without precedent, but rather as the consistent application of a pattern widely used in the territory of mediaeval Bosnia, while in the territories of mediaeval Hungary, on the tombstones of prominent figures from the 13th until the first half of the 15th century this was the predominant pattern.⁵² This should be understood only as one of the possible variants of the resolution of the iconographic representation, for whose confirmation there is not enough proof.

On the "newly-discovered" fragments from Bobovac

51 Comp.: Wenzel 1965, Pl. LVIII (7, 21, 24, 28, 29), Pl. LIX (3, 9, 15, 17, 18), Pl. LX (1, 8, 21, 30) and many others.

52 In the period 1360-1380 a large number of grave monuments of prominent persons was decorated with a cross or a cross and a coat of arms, and from 1370 the grave monuments with a coat of arms, a helmet and a crest start prevailing in the case of the aristocracy as much as the city leaders. Monuments with figural representations seldom appear in the second half of the 14th and in the first half of the 15th century, and it is only after this that they take absolute precedence in representation. Extensively about this, with the relevant literature: Varga & Lóvei 1992, 123-131; Fig. 15-25.

51 Usp.: Wenzel 1965, T. LVIII (7, 21, 24, 28, 29), T. LIX (3, 9, 15, 17, 18), T. LX (1, 8, 21, 30) i mnogi drugi.

nim spomenicima istaknutih ličnosti od 13. do prve polovine 15. st., bio dominantan.⁵² Ovo treba shvatiti samo kao jednu od mogućih inačica rješenja ikonografskog prikaza, za čiju potvrdu nema dovoljno dokaza.

Na "novootkrivenim" fragmentima s Bobovca postoji još jedan detalj koji zaslužuje pozornost. Približno 34 cm ispod balčaka mača, na samom užljebljenju koje je odvajalo ravnu plohu ploče od njena ruba, vidljiv je završetak nekog prikaza koji je zauzimao izvjesni dio središnje kompozicije. S obzirom na dosljednu praksu izvedbe pojedinih detalja na svim do sada spominjanim pločama, moguće je na osnovi karakterističnog oblika posljednjeg pretpostaviti o čemu se zapravo radi. Identičan oblik ima samo jedan prikaz, a to je kraj kraka nakrsnice mača na bobovačkom odnosno torzima oba Stibora. S obzirom da je iznad ovog prikaza već identificiran jedan mač malo je, ili nikako, vjerojatno da se opet radi o nakrsnici. Usporedbom s fragmentima ploče pripisane Tvrtku II. ustanovio sam kako se na približno istoj udaljenosti (33 cm), ispod nakrsnice mača nalazi štit s inicijalom, što nudi sasvim opravdano objašnjenje da pred sobom imamo dio haste slova. I sam oblik ovog detalja, uspoređen sa završecima slova inicijala iz Tomaševa grba, govori u prilog ovakvoj tvrdnji. Odmah treba isključiti eventualnu pretpostavku kako je riječ o dijelu natpisa jer je uvijek pisan manjim slovima i jer je za njega, kako na bobovačkim tako i na svim analognim pločama iz Mađarske, predviđeno mjesto na rubu.⁵³ Vjerujem da pred sobom imamo mali detalj nekadašnje predstave grba s inicijalom, čija je hasta izašla iz okvira štita koji opet, na osnovi poznatih shema bosanske heraldike, tu možemo pretpostaviti. Ako je posljednja hipoteza točna, to bi bila prva takva pojava jer na Tomaševu heraldičkom štitu, jednako kao i na svim drugim prikazanim na bosanskim grbovima i novcu, a koji su prije spominjani u ovom tekstu, slova nikada ne izlaze iz njegova okvira. Naravno, mnogo važnija je činjenica da se ovim iznosi mišljenje kako je još jedan bosanski kralj, osim Tvrtka II. i Stjepana Tomaša, imao grb s inicijalom, ali se njegov identitet, samo na osnovi ovdje iznesenog, ne može ustanoviti (sl. 23) (T. 3).

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Nakon svega iznesenog, s velikom mjerom sigurnosti spreman sam tvrditi da su pouzdano identificirane tri ploče, od kojih dvije s manjom debljinom ravnih ploha i sličnom profilacijom donje strane ruba, te jedna s dvostruko debljom ravnom plohom i drukčijom profilacijom. Fragmenti ploče pripisane kralju Stjepanu Tomašu daju dosta relevantnih podataka za analizu, pa i za datiranje i atribuiranje. Kompariranjem s poznatim heraldičkim motivima s različitih vrsta novca tog

52 U razdoblju 1360.-380. veliki broj nadgrobnih spomenika istaknutih ličnosti ukrašen je križem ili križem i grbom, a od 1370. g. nadgrobnici s grbom, kacigom i čelenkom počinju prevladavati, kako kod aristokracije tako i kod gradskih prvaka. Spomenici s figuralnim prikazima rijetko se javljaju u drugoj polovini 14. i prvoj polovini 15. st., da bi tek nakon toga preuzeli apsolutni primat po zastupljenosti. Opširno o tome, s relevantnom literaturom: Varga, Lővei 1992, 123-131; fig. 15-25.

53 Usp.: Gerevich 1971, Pl. LXXVI (191, 192, 193); Lővei 1999, 2, 4, 7, 18 kúp; Varga, Lővei 1992, fig. 32-39, i mnogi drugi.

there is yet another detail worthy of attention. Approximately 34 cm below the sword hilt, on the very groove separating the flat surface of the slab from its edge, we can see the end of a representation occupying certain portion of the central composition. Taking into account the consistent practice of rendering individual details on all the so far mentioned slabs, it is possible, on the basis of the characteristic shape of the latter, to assume what it actually represented. Only one representation has an identical shape: the end of an arm of the cross-guard on the Bobovac torso and on those of both Stibors. Considering that one sword has already been identified above this representation, it is highly unlikely, or perhaps even impossible, that this is again a cross-guard. By comparing the fragments of the slab attributed to Tvrtko II, I found out that at approximately the same distance (33 cm) below the sword cross-guard there is a shield with an initial, which offers an entirely justified interpretation, that before us we have a part of a bar of a letter. The very shape of this detail, compared with the terminals of letters of the initial from Tomaš' coat of arms, speaks in favour of such a claim. The possible assumption that this was part of an inscription should be dismissed right away, because it is always written in smaller letters and because, on the Bobovac slabs as much as on all analogous slabs from Hungary, a space at the edge was reserved for it.⁵³ I believe that we have before us a small detail of a former representation of a coat of arms with an initial, whose bar went outside the frame of the shield, which again, on the basis of the known schemes of the Bosnian heraldry, we can surmise here. If the last hypothesis is correct, this would be the first such case, because on Tomaš' heraldic shield, same as on all the others depicted on the Bosnian coats of arms and coins that were described previously in this text, the letters never go outside of its frame. Naturally, a far more important fact is that with this the opinion is put forward that yet another Bosnian king, besides to Tvrtko II and Stephen Tomaš, had a coat of arms with an initial, but whose identity cannot be established only on the basis of what was said here (Fig. 23) (Pl. III).

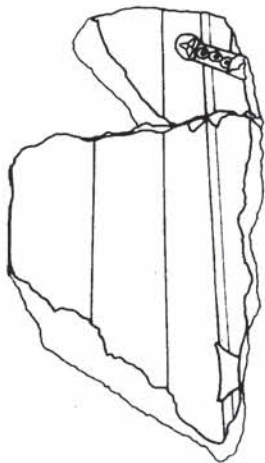
CONCLUDING REMARKS

After presenting the above, I am prepared to claim with a great degree of certainty that three slabs have been reliably identified, two with a lesser thickness of flat surfaces and a similarly profiled edge on the lower side, and one with twice the thickness of the flat surface and different profilation. The fragments of the slab attributed to king Stephen Tomaš offer enough relevant data for analysis, and also for dating and attribution. After comparing with the known heraldic motifs from various types of coins of that king we may assume that the iconographic solution for the tombstone slab was conceived and realized in the later part of his reign.

Hungarian authors dealing with the topic of the slabs of Stibor I and II concluded, mostly based on the rendering of certain details on the slabs as well as analogies in and outside Hungary,

53 Comp.: Gerevich 1971, Pl. LXXVI (191, 192, 193); Lővei 1999, 2, 4, 7, 18 kúp; Varga & Lővei 1992, fig. 32-39, and many others.

T. 3



T. 3 Nadgrobna ploča br. 3 (izradila: A. Pravidur)

Pl. III Tombstone slab nr. 3 (Drawn by: A. Pravidur)

kralja može se pretpostaviti da je ikonografsko rješenje za nadgrobnu ploču osmišljeno i realizirano, u poznijem razdoblju njegove vladavine.

Mađarski autori koji su razmatrali pitanje ploča Stibora I. i II. zaključili su, uglavnom na osnovi izvedbe pojedinih detalja na njima kao i na analogijama u i izvan Mađarske, da su obje ploče, po narudžbi Stibora II, izrađene istodobno, od ruke istog majstora koji je djelovao oko 1430. godine (Varga, Lővei 1992, 136, nap. 87-93). Izvedba ploče Tvrtka II. nedvosmisleno govori da se i njeno porijeklo treba tražiti u istoj radionici i, najvjerojatnije, kod istog majstora. Anđelićeva pretpostavka kako je ta ploča (pri tome je mislio na torzo i jednu nadlakticu) desetak godina starija od ploče Stibora II, te da je poslužila kao uzor za njenu izradu - nema jako uporište jer se njena bogatija ikonografska kompozicija može i mora opravdati kraljevskim položajem onog za koga je napravljena, dok se drugi razlog kojeg ovaj autor navodi - "izraženiji plasticitet", nikako ne može uzeti kao kronološki čimbenik. Nasuprot takvoj pretpostavci, logičnijom se čini mogućnost kako je situacija bila upravo obrnuta, da se Tvrtko II. za vrijeme svoga jednogodišnjeg izgnanstva iz Bosne (1434-1435),⁵⁴ kojeg je uglavnom proveo na relaciji između Budima, Požuna i Beča, imao prilike na licu mjesta uvjeriti u vještinu budimskih kamenorezaca i ljepotu njihovih proizvoda. Uz uvažavanje te činjenice, ploču bih datirao u vrijeme oko 1440. godine.

Posljednja ovdje analizirana ploča, koja je sigurno bila poznata Tvrtku II. prije njegova spominjanog izgnanstva, u usporedbi s prethodne dvije pokazuje znatne razlike. Zapaženi detalji na njoj, mač u neobičnom položaju i pretpostavljeni grb s inicijalom, nedostatni su za punu identifikaciju, ali i tako manjkavi sugeriraju neuobičajenu ikonografsku predstavu za koju unutar poznatog korpusa komparativnoga heraldičkog materijala, barem kada je u pitanju položaj mača, nema paralela nakon 1365. god. Naravno, ta činjenica nije posebno korisna za samo datiranje ploče, ali stidljivo ukazuje na potrebu opreznijeg pristupa uvriježenim stavovima o bosanskoj heraldici. Pitanje njezina atribuiranja je posebno važna jer je, koliko se barem iz raspoloživih podataka može zaključiti, to bila prva ploča te vrste na Bobovcu. Logično bi je trebalo povezati s kraljem Ostojom koji je, iako često u nezavidnoj političkoj ali i životnoj poziciji, svojim nasljednicima vjerojatno želio priuštiti jedan tako raskošan podsjetnik na svoju uzvišenu kraljevsku ličnost. Osim poznate prilike iz 1412. g., može se pretpostaviti kako su njegovi bliski kontakti s Pipom Spanom, s kojim je povremeno osim osame Bobovca⁵⁵ dijelio i sklonost k avanturizmu, možda utjecali na pokretanje ideje. Naime, građevinski pothvati poznatog Florentinca zapaženi su u literaturi, (Varga, Lővei 1992, 134), a koliki je zaista bila njegov utjecaj na kasnije Ostojeve zahvate na Bobovcu, problem je koji zavrjeđuje punu pozornost. Kako konkretne indicije za atribuiranje posljednje ploče ipak ne postoje, krug mogućih rješenja mora se ostaviti otvorenim. Ugarski primjer starijega i mlađeg Stibora (gdje, podsjetimo se, sin za oca naručuje

that both slabs, commissioned by Stibor II, were made simultaneously, by the hand of the same craftsman, active around 1430 (Varga & Lővei 1992, 136, nap. 87-93). The rendering of Tvrtko II's slab undeniably indicates that its origin should be sought in the same workshop and, most probably, in the person of the same craftsman. Anđelić's assumption that this slab (by this he meant the torso and an upper arm) was some ten years older than Stibor II's slab, and that it was used as the model for its production, has no firm standing, because its richer iconographic composition can and must be explained by the royal position of the person for whom it was made, while the second reason put forward by the author - "a more prominent plasticity", can by no means be taken as a chronological factor. In contrast to this assumption, a more logical possibility is that the situation was exactly the opposite, that Tvrtko II himself, during his one-year exile from Bosnia (1434-1435),⁵⁴ which he mostly spent between Buda, Bratislava and Vienna, had the opportunity to witness personally the skill of the stonecutters of Buda and the beauty of their products. Taking this fact into consideration, I would date the slab in the period around 1440.

The last slab analyzed here, certainly known to Tvrtko II before his mentioned exile, shows considerable differences in comparison with the previous two. The details observed on it, a sword in an unusual position and the surmised coat of arms with an initial, are insufficient for a full identification, but even so they suggest an unusual iconographic representation, for which within the known body of comparative heraldic material, at least when it comes to the position of the sword, no parallels exist after 1365. Naturally, this fact is not particularly useful for the dating of the slab, but it does modestly indicate the need for a more careful approach to the established opinions on Bosnian heraldry. The issue of its attribution is of particular importance because, at least from what we can conclude based on the available data, this would be the first slab of that kind at Bobovac. It would be logical to link this slab with king Ostoja who, although frequently in an unenviable political but also personal position, probably wished to afford his successors one such lavish reminder of his sublime royal person. Besides the famous occasion in 1412, it can be supposed that perhaps his close contacts with Pipo Spano, with which he occasionally shared, apart from the solitude of Bobovca,⁵⁵ also a penchant for adventures, influenced the start of the idea. The building enterprises of the famous Florentine were noted in the literature (Varga & Lővei 1992, 134), and the actual extent of his influence on Ostoja's later interventions at Bobovac is a problem that deserves full attention. As there are nevertheless no concrete indications for attributing the last slab, the circle of possible solutions has to remain open. The Hungarian example of the elder and younger Stibors (where, let us be reminded, the son commissioned the grave monument for the father), forbids one to dismiss too easily the possibility that Ostoja's son, Stephen Ostojić (1418-1421) played a certain role in this. Considering that such commissions could not be accomplished

54 Usp.: Živković 1981, 174-176; Prema Ćirkoviću Tvrtko II. je Bosnu napustio već 1433. g. - usp.: Ćirković 1964, 266-267.

55 Up.: Živković 1981, 51-53, 55; Anđelić 1973, 140 - 141.

54 Comp.: Živković 1981, 174-176; According to Ćirković, Tvrtko II left Bosnia already in 1433 - comp.: Ćirković 1964, 266-267.

55 Comp.: Živković 1981, 51-53, 55; Anđelić 1973: 140-141.

nadgrobnih spomenik), nalaže da se olako ne smije odbaciti ni mogućnost kako Ostojin sin, Stjepan Ostojić (1418-1421), u ovom pitanju igra određenu ulogu. S obzirom da se ovakve narudžbe nisu mogle jednostavno i brzo realizirati, čini mi se sasvim realnim da su u pogodnoj prilici dvije ploče mogle biti, u istoj radionici i kod istog majstora, naručene istodobno. U slučaju kada kralja po automatizmu ne nasljeđuje najstariji muški potomak, prije pripremljena nadgrobna ploča jasan je signal konkurentima o odlučnosti mladog kandidata za pretendiranje na uzvišeni položaj okrunjena vladara. Posljednja alternativa javlja se u liku i imenu Stjepana Dabiše (1391-1395). Nisu mi jasni razlozi zbog kojih je Anđelić resolutno isključio tog vladara iz svih varijanti pri razmatranju o mogućoj atribuciji ploča s Bobovca, iako se za Dabišu zna da je umro u Kraljevoj Sutjesci, gdje je uglavnom i stolovao (Anđelić 1973, 202-203). Da isto pitanje bude još zanimljivije, Anđelić fragmente bočne ploče jednoga od sarkofaga, s dijelom predstave orla, tumači kao heraldički simbol Srbije – na osnovi funkcije orla u prijestolnim pečatima Tvrtka I. i Stjepana Dabiše (isti 173, 95-96, nap. 62). Ako je zaista riječ o heraldičkoj predstavi, onda bi na prvo mjesto ipak trebalo istaknuti logičniju inačicu - da se orao nalazio na bočnoj strani sarkofaga kralja Dabiše.

Ličnost koja je osmislila prezentirani koncept posmrtnog obilježja, na umu nije imala isključivo estetski kriterij. Upotreba crvenoga kamena jasna je aluzija na nadgrobne spomenike izrađivane od porfira, cijenjenog kako zbog kvalitete tako i purpurne boje na koju su, u simboličkom kodu, od davnina pravo pripisivali najviši velikodostojnici,⁵⁶ dok je izbor *gisanta* kao modela prikazivanja pokojnika učinjen s namjerom ravnopravnog svrstavanja u prvi red srednjoeuropskih velikodostojnika. Bez obzira na vjerojatno opravdanu tvrdnju kako povećavanje sjaja posmrtnog obilježja predstavlja kompenzaciju za pad osobnog autoriteta (Meier 2002, 373), analizirani ostaci nadgrobnih ploča govore da se radilo o djelima iz samog vrha središnje i zapadne europske funeralne umjetnosti. Iz ovdje iznesenog je očigledno kako se sa svakim pokušajem da se detaljnom analizom baci više svjetla na cijeli problem, istodobno otvaraju nova pitanja na koja prečesto nema konačnog odgovora, ili se on koleba u neodređenosti, pa bih se za sada, o pitanju fragmenata nadgrobnih ploča tri bosanska kralja, zadovoljio skromnim, ali definitivnim, rezultatom njihova razlikovanja.

simply and quickly, I find it quite plausible that in favourable circumstances two slabs could have been commissioned simultaneously in the same workshop and from the same craftsman. In the cases when a king is not succeeded automatically by his eldest male descendant, a tombstone slab prepared in advance is a clear signal to rivals about the determination of the young pretender to the sublime position of a crowned ruler. The last alternative appears in the figure and name of Stephen Dabiša (1391-1395). I am not quite clear as to why Anđelić should resolutely exclude that ruler from all variants in his considerations about the possible attribution of the slabs from Bobovac, even though it is known that Dabiša died in Kraljeva Sutjeska, where he also mostly had his seat (Anđelić 1973, 202-203). To make the issue even more interesting, Anđelić interpreted the fragments of a lateral slab of one of the sarcophagi, with a part of a representation of an eagle, as a heraldic symbol of Serbia – on the basis of the function of the eagle on the throne seals of Tvrtko I and Stephen Dabiša (Ibid 173, 95-96, note 62). If this were really a heraldic representation, one would nevertheless first have to put forward a more logical variant – that the eagle was positioned at the lateral side of king Dabiša's sarcophagus.

The person that conceived the concept of funerary portrayal presented here, did not have an exclusively aesthetic criterion in mind. The use of red stone is a clear reference to grave monuments made of porphyry, valued for its quality as much as for its purple colour, to which the right, in a symbolic code, was from ancient times appropriated by the highest dignitaries,⁵⁶ while the choice of *gisant* as the model of representing the deceased person was made with the intention of the equal positioning in the first line of central European dignitaries. Regardless of the probably justified claim that greater splendour of funerary portrayal is a compensation for diminishing personal authority (Meier 2002, 373), the analyzed remains of tombstone slabs tell us that these works were among the very best of central and western European funerary art. From what was said here it is obvious that every attempt at shedding more light on the entire problem by carrying out a detailed analysis, also raises new questions, to which only too often there is no final answer or it only wavers in uncertainty. Regarding the question of the fragments of the tombstone slabs of three Bosnian kings, I would, therefore, satisfy myself with a modest but definitive result of their distinction.

56 Za izradu nadgrobnih spomenika porfir se koristio još od antičkih vremena – za osnovnu literaturu up.: Popović 1992, 139, nap. 19 i 20; Za upotrebu u srednjem vijeku up.: Deér 1959.

56 Porphyry was used for the production of grave monuments from the time of classical antiquity – for the basic literature comp.: Popović 1992, 139, note 19 and 20; For use in the Middle Ages comp.: Deér 1959.

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