

Bosnian History and Austro-Hungarian policy: some Medieval Belts, the Bogomil Romance and the King Tvrtko Graves

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BOSNIAN HISTORY ...

In the course of some recent research on medieval Bosnian metalwork, I found myself puzzled by the curious mis-dating of a group of interesting decorative silver-gilt belts (figs. 7—10, 11d—16), Balkan regional variations of a type being made in France in the first half of the 14th century (fig. 11a—c.) Of those which have a known provenance, three have been found in or near Bosnia (figs. 7—10) (*Gunjača* 1955; page 233, *sl. 14*; *Fingerlin* 1971; *cat. no. 465*; *Kovačević-Kojić* 1978; page 307) whilst others have been found in Greece (figs. 11c, 12) (*Dalton* 1911; page 397, *fig. 13, Pl. 56, figs. 8, 9, 11, 13*; *Tait* 1986; p. 142, *fig. 326, Fingerlin* 1971; *cat. nos. 152, 153, 155*) and one example was long preserved in Georgia (figs. 13—16) (*Milliken* 1930; pages 35, 36; *Fingerlin* 1971; *cat. no. 66.*) The whole group was mis-dated in a recent German book about medieval belt fittings, highly reputable in other ways, further reading of which revealed that this at first inexplicable muddle was based on a confusion about objects excavated from what was claimed as the grave of one of the Bosnian kings named Tvrtko.¹

Exploring the problem of why the author had accepted the, to me obviously preposterous, claim brought to the fore something which had frequently disturbed me during my many years of research on the medieval tombstones of Bosnia and Hercegovina, namely the way in which tentacles still spread into contemporary

¹ Ilse Fingerlin, *Gürtel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, München 1971. I am grateful to Ronald Lightbown of the Victoria and Albert Museum for bringing this material to my attention, and to Derek J. Content for assisting me to obtain additional information. Nada Miletić of the Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo, has enabled me to examine and photograph finds from King Tvrtko I's real grave, for which I extend thanks. Thanks are due also to my husband, John Cornish, who has given much assistance in the final shaping of this article, and in preparing it for publication.

The author exposes the way in which a false view of the cultural history of Bosnia and Hercegovina, projected for political reasons by Austria-Hungary in the early years of its occupation of the province, can still have repercussions in the work of present-day scholars of European art-history, who have no reason to suspect its operation. An instance is given in which a number of falsified archeological results from early in the century have been taken at face value by later scholars and have resulted in the misdating by half a century or more of an important group of silver-gilt belts. The group is re-dated on the basis of more reliable evidence.

scholarship from the only half-uncovered body of distortions imposed on Bosnian history by quasi-official Austro-Hungarian sources in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It seemed to me that it would be interesting to set out some account of how some extremely disreputable machinations from the turn of the century had led astray several unsuspecting and reputable scholars from other lands in more recent years.

The problem is a complicated knot, the strands of which are as follows:

(a) The peculiar history of the Muslims in Bosnia during the first half of the nineteenth century.

(b) A false history of Bosnia invented by the Austro-Hungarian regime towards the end of the nineteenth century, and making use of the circumstance (a).

(c) The discovery and suppression by staff of the Zemaljski Muzej, Sarajevo, in 1909—10 of a richly equipped royal grave, almost certainly that of the Bosnian King Tvrtko I (died 1391), beneath the altar area of a church at Arnautovići near Visoko in Central Bosnia, for the purposes of maintaining (b).

(d) The fact that (b) was so successfully implanted in Bosnian consciousness that it survived the changed political world which emerged from World War I.

(e) Some activity by a former Austro-Hungarian military surgeon in the early 1920's created false scents about the graves of both the kings called Tvrtko by releasing some apparently new information about an excavation which took place in the first years of the Habsburg occupation of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

(f) A German researcher in a quite different field, understandably ignorant of (c), accepted, in a publication in 1971, the evidence of the publication resulting from (e), and as a result misdated a whole group of early 14th century belts to the later 14th century, the time of the death of Tvrtko I (1391), whilst compounding the confusion originating with (e) between that king and Tvrtko II (died 1443.)

Once the knot is exposed and at least partially untied, the excellent reasons for dating the belts and some associated finds to the early 14th century can be explored, and the record put straight.

The above points may be elaborated as follows.

THE MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA

In the years between 1820 and 1851, the Bosnian Muslims were not much regarded in Istanbul (*Šišić 1938; pages 19, 20.*) As the disregard grew increasingly mutual in the second half of the century, they became very much a law unto themselves. The control that the Muslim landowners exercised over their Christian serfs grew more brutal, and the taxes they imposed more punitive, and many ugly incidents occurred as the serfs began to rebel. By this time Istanbul could only weakly acquiesce in what the Bosnian Muslims were doing. Thus, by the 1870's they were the only religious group in Bosnia and Hercegovina with no aspirations which depended on backing from some foreign power, at a time when Catholic Croatia looked to Austria and, beyond, to Rome, whilst Orthodox Serbia looked to Montenegro, then ruled by an Orthodox *vladika*, and, of course, to Russia.

A FALSE HISTORY OF BOSNIA

What we might call the »Bogomilian« history of Bosnia now seems to have been in large measure the brainchild of Janos von Asboth, an official in the early Austro-Hungarian administration and a member of the Hungarian parliament, and of his better-known associate Benjamin von Kallay (*Wenzel, Kojić 1980; pages 209, 210*), the administrator of Bosnia from 1882 to 1903 (*Čorović 1925; page 80.*) That this was the case seems to have occurred to several Yugoslav scholars over the years. An interesting discussion of the situation occurs in an unpublished work on the Bosnian medieval tombstones by the numismatist Ivan Rengjeo (*Srednjovječni nadgrobni spomenici, stećci, undated*), the typescript of which is in a private library in Zagreb. The work as a whole is of no great interest now, since it has been superseded by far more comprehensive accounts of the same type (e.g. by Šefik Bešlić), but in his bibliography Rengjeo provides some valuable critical discussion of the early sources for what had become the widely accepted theory of the origins of the *stećak* phenomenon. Rengjeo saw the creation of the false history as the result of a realisation by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, looking back on the first years of the occupation, that some kind of ideological support was needed for what they saw as the necessary separation of Bosnia and Hercegovina from Serbia. The notion that the propagation of the »Bogomil hypothesis«, as it came to be called, was not seriously undertaken until after the first few years of Austro-Hungarian control certainly accords with the comments of Ferdo Šišić, published in 1938, about the general direction of Austrian policy at that time (*Šišić 1938; pages 19, 20, 43—4*), and in fact von Asboth's »popular« book about Bosnian culture, which was aimed at outsiders, and was the first

literature to present the views under discussion in foreign languages, appeared in Budapest in 1887, in Vienna in 1888, and in London in 1890.

The Treaty of Berlin had granted Austria-Hungary the sole right of occupation and administration of Bosnia and Hercegovina following its take-over in 1879. A decade later many inhabitants of the region were still less than enthusiastic about this arrangement, persisting obstinately in seeing a linkage with Serbia as the natural outcome of their history. Von Asboth's new account of Bosnian history was designed to convince the upholders of this recalcitrant view that it was based on a failure to appreciate their country's real past. One of the most important facts of Bosnian history, he argued, was that it had once had, during the era before the imposition of Turkish rule, a strongly held national religion. This religion, the message ran, was in no way linked with Serbia, on the one hand, and was vehemently condemned by Rome, on the other. It was, in fact, an heretical religion, clearly related to various established medieval dualist heresies. Its place of origin was a land which had also been subjugated to Turkey in later years, namely Bulgaria.² It was to Bulgaria therefore that Bosnians should look for cultural links, rather than to Western or Central Europe. That Bosnia had, during the period of the heresy's flourishing, been generally under Hungarian control was not denied. Catholic Hungary had at times deigned to forgive and forget this heresy, which had tainted most of Bosnia's local rulers along with their subjects; equally Hungary had from time to time conducted clean-up campaigns, at Papal instigation, aimed at restoring Bosnia to adherence to the true church. The fact remained however, Asboth argued, that Bosnia, by virtue of its religious history, lay outside any Eastern or Western mainstream. It was obviously necessary for the success of Asboth's argument that his account of Bosnia's heretical isolation during the later Middle Ages should not be contradicted by its cultural heritage. Bosnia certainly had its own unique heritage of late medieval monuments: large, rather strange, tombstones, strewn in thousands about the land, some elaborately decorated. These, then, Asboth concluded, were clearly the cultural survival of those brave, heretics who should obviously be called, like their Bulgarian brothers, »Bogomil« (*von Asboth 1890; pages 30—100.*)

The devising of this »history« so that it both fulfilled Austrian purposes and more or less accorded with an existing historical framework was ingenious. Asboth of course counted on the fact that few Bosnians would have had access to the detailed historical sources available in Austro-Hungarian libraries. The principal means to Asboth's end — the account of the Bosnian national religion — did not, however, demand any particular intellectual virtuosity on the part of its creator. This was simply because the exceedingly enigmatic nature of medieval Bosnian religious beliefs and practices lent themselves (and still lend

² A re-examination of Bulgarian Bogomilism in the light of recent scholarship is undertaken in John V. A. Fine, »The Bulgarian Bogomil Movement«, *East European Quarterly*, Vol. XI, no. 4, Boulder, Colorado, 1977; pages 385—412.«

themselves) to a wide range of more or less plausible interpretations. The »Bosnian Church«, an institution frequently maligned in Catholic sources of its period, has been the subject of endless puzzlement and discussion over the last century. On present knowledge the situation seems to have been, in brief, as follows.

It is generally held that from the 13th century until the Ottoman invasion Bosnia had a distinctive national church, whose churchmen generally referred to themselves as »Christian« (krstjani), but who were sometimes locally called »patarin« (Petković 1953; page 13; Fine 1975; page 334), which was originally an Italian term for a schismatic. It must be said, of course, that the same word was used at the same period by Roman Catholics to describe members of the Serbian Orthodox church. It is most unlikely that members of the Bosnian Church were ever in their own time called »Bogomil« (slavic: »bogomil«.) One manuscript copy of Konstantin Filozof's 1432 biography of Despot Stefan Lazarević apparently used the word to describe them, but that copy is now lost, it seems, and no surviving copy of the work has it (Fine 1975; page 44.) Other »early« sources in which the word is used of Bosnian Church members have proved to be fakes concocted later to prove the contention that it was indeed a dualist movement: likewise when the word has appeared in modern or foreign-language translations of early sources it has simply been the result of an unthinking convention by which »patarin« was always rendered »Bogomil.« It therefore seems highly possible that the missing Konstantin Filozof manuscript was created or doctored to that end.

Recent historians who have specialised in this obscure area of Balkan studies have preferred to see the Bosnian Church as result of a desire for a national church such as Serbia had, but one free from any political associations with East or West. In fact it seems that the movement had rather little success, and hardly amounted to an organised »church« at any time. Although some elements of its practice seem to have been drawn from Orthodox norms, its structure, if that is not too grand a word, loosely resembled a Western monastic one, and there was seemingly little grasp of the distinction between such a structure and a genuinely ecclesiastical one. Thus non-ordained »monks« took on the functions reserved for priests, seemingly unaware of the importance of the concept of the ordained priesthood in the churches of East and West, and therefore of the enormity, in Roman eyes, of any departure from it. (Petković 1953; page 40; Fine 1975; pages 148—150, 219.) The movement may indeed have had dualistic elements, at times during its long history or perhaps it simply allowed some coastal dualists to function within its framework, although no surviving internal source mentions anything that might be taken as dualism in Bosnia before the 15th century (Fine 1975; pages 131, 361.) However, it now seems fairly certain that whatever the precise doctrine of the movement was, if indeed there was any real doctrinal continuity during the several centuries of its history, the Bosnian Church existed for a small section of society only and had extremely little impact on the majority of the inhabitants of medieval

Bosnia and Hercegovina, who remained Catholic or Orthodox depending on where they lived (Fine 1973; pages 19—29; Fine 1975; pages 131, 361.)

There is every reason to believe that profound ignorance of doctrinal matters prevailed at peasant level, then as more recently, and the beliefs of many people who would have called themselves Catholic or Orthodox might well have surprised more sophisticated adherents of those branches of Christianity elsewhere. There is similarly a possibility that most or all of what Rome found offensive on heretical in the beliefs of the uncomplicated souls who called themselves »Christians« but wished for an autonomous church, was the result of a simple ignorance, itself the result of the longterm neglect by Rome of such obscure outposts of its religious dominion.

It now seems — and there has never been any sound reason for supposing otherwise — that the fashion for erecting massive tombstones was popular amongst members of all religious sects in 14th and 15th century Bosnia. In fact only eight out of the several hundred inscribed monuments bear any clear indication to link them with known adherents of the Bosnian Church (Fine 1975; pages 260—264.) It is now accepted that the mention of known individuals whose link with the church is otherwise attested is the only useful identifier here. Imagery supposed by some imaginative writers to be distinctively »Bogomil«, such as the tau cross, or so-called »djed's staff«, is more easily proved non-Bogomil but is in fact normally quite unspecific doctrinally (Kojić-Wenzel 1980; pages 208—209.)³

Von Asboth's false history brought together and manipulated a number of notions about medieval Bosnia's church and tombstones which had been rather recently promulgated.

The idea that the so-called heretics in Bosnia might have been converted to their beliefs by prosetelizing Bulgarian Bogomils had been mooted by several enthusiastic Pan-Slavicists before the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia, at a time when solidarity between Bosnia and Bulgaria, both of them under the Ottoman yoke, looked in need of encouragement. A work by Franjo Rački about Bogomils and Patarenes, first published in Zagreb in 1869—70 under the patronage of Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer and the new Yugoslav Academy, presented this idea with a semblance of scholarly respectability, and introduced the Bulgarian name »Bogomil« into the literature as one appropriate for members of the Bosnian church (Rački 1931; Sanjek 1975; pages 11, 12.) Soon afterwards, Arthur Evans, a young English newspaper reporter with a passion for history who was walking around Bosnia during the 1875 uprising, had a casual notion the prominent Bosnian medieval tombstones (*stećak*, *stećci*) might be the tombs of these Bogomils, of whom he

³ Pavao Anđelić once told me that his experience of Bosnian historical material led him to believe that, just as the architecture of many Bosnian churches followed one simple design which did not differ between Catholic and Orthodox the inhabitants of Bosnia probably really did just think of themselves as Christian, without worrying about whether one needed, for salvation, to belong to one church or another.

had read. He did not devote much space to this speculation in the published account of his travels, but justified it with the observation that those stones which he had come across did not include in their iconographic repertoire the cross, which was known to be anathema to dualists (*Evans 1973; pages 163, 164.*)⁴ The fact that Arthur Evans soon became an archaeologist of great international renown helped to give weight to this wild fancy, first known in Austrian circles as »Evans' opinion« (*von Luschan 1881; page 107, note 1*), when Asboth chose, for political reasons, to propagate it as unquestionable truth.

Von Asboth subtly combined this concept — that the stećci were without doubt »Bogomil« monuments — with a quite different one: that virtually all Bosnians had been Bogomils, and that these Bogomils had so suffered Roman-inspired persecutions that they had converted *en masse* to Islam (again, something von Asboth may have heard rather than invented, but for which there is no historical basis (*Fine 1975; pages 382—385.*) Austria-Hungary made much use of the Muslim population during the early years of its administration of Bosnia and Hercegovina. The Islamic religion in Bosnia, whose ties of dependence with Istanbul had been all but destroyed during the first three-quarters of the century, as mentioned in (a), was at that point still free of any dangerous political ties with the outside world, and was as a result rather promoted by the occupiers. One outcome of this was that Muslims were allowed to retain their Catholic and Orthodox serfs (*Dedijer 1967; pages 79—81*), so that many of the Bosnian Catholics who had at first rather welcomed the Habsburg takeover as a liberation were cruelly disappointed.

The imposition of the spurious »Bogomil« colour to Bosnian history, on the other hand, was part of a campaign to remove from the potentially dangerous Bosnian Christians as much of their just cultural heritage as possible. It was to the Muslims therefore that the stećci — in reality the tombstones of the forefathers of Christians of all persuasions as well as of Muslims — were, by means of this strange theory, presented as a gift, and one which seemed to emphasize *their* hereditary rights in the land, whilst implying that latter day Christians there were, comparatively, »newcomers« (*Wenzel, Kojić 1980; page 209.*)

⁴ This notion — that the presence or absence of crosses on grave markers can be taken as implying something about the beliefs of the people buried beneath them — has been constantly raised by proponents of the »Bogomil hypothesis« with the conviction that it strongly supports their claims. In fact it is complete nonsense; a survey of European tombstones from the middle ages to the present easily demonstrates that their iconography is a matter of fashion only, and that burial in precincts recognised as hallowed has always been considered a sufficient indicator of piety. As an example of the non-applicability of the »cross principle« one might mention that among the large number of elaborately wrought medieval tombs in Westminster Abbey, London, only one has a cross of any kind amongst its decoration; certainly the kings, queens and nobility of medieval England were not noted for their adherence to dualist heresies.

THE GRAVE OF TVRTKO I

Another interesting comment in Rengjeo's bibliography concerns what he saw as the role of the Zemaljski Muzej in Sarajevo in spreading the word about Bosnia's supposed Bogomilian past. This national museum for Bosnia and Hercegovina had been founded by the Austro-Hungarian administration in 1885, to promote the study and appreciation of the history, archaeology and natural history of the region. Rengjeo felt there was evidence that whilst von Asboth's German and English language works presented the extremely tendentious theory as established fact to the outside world, the museum staff was entrusted with the same task at a local level. Any unbiased consideration of the following facts will lead to the conclusion that Rengjeo was very probably right.

The grave of King Tvrtko I was originally discovered by the Zemaljski Muzej curator Karlo Patsch in 1909, the year following Austria-Hungary's most politically explosive act, the illegal annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina (*Andelić 1980; pages 227—230.*)

The finding of the grave was apparently accidental. Excavations of some ruins at Arnautovići, a few miles north-east of Visoko in Central Bosnia, had been initiated in an attempt to locate the site of the church founded by Ban Kulin in 1193 and commemorated on an inscription-stone which had come to light at Biskupići-Muhašinovići, not far away (*Vego IV, 1970, pages 70, 71, no. 254; Andjelić 1980, page 232*) Ban Kulin himself was seen as a key figure in the new Bosnian history outlined in (b), according to which he was an notable religious renegade who, in spite of the clear prohibitions off his suzerain, Bela III, had »with his whole family and ten thousand subjects, gone over to the Bogomilian faith« (*von Asboth 1890, page 43*) His later rehabilitation and return to the Hungarian fold as result of Papal intervention was also acknowledged, of course, but it was seen merely as a temporary redemption in the obviously heretical succession of the Banate.

In the course of clearing a later medieval church in the expectation that some remains of Kulin's church might be found at a lower level, a considerable rectangular mausoleum space was revealed via an access beneath a large stećak near the altar of the church, an area which had been called »the royal chapel« in a local tradition recorded as early as 1600 (*Andelić 1980; page 199*) Within it were eight skeletons, suggesting that the vault had been that of an extended family.⁵ One of

⁵ Eyewitnesses to the excavation, interviewed by Irma Čremošnik in 1950—51, agreed as to the number of skeletons that had been found (*Andelić 1980, pages 187, 230, 231*). It is my own view that this same mausoleum had served as final resting place for Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić (died 1353), who is known to have built the Franciscans a church at Mile to that purpose. Bosnian 14th century burial habits often lead to the last burial in a communal grave being carefully arranged, as it was here, while earlier burials were displaced to give it room (*Bešlagić, Basler 1964; page 22, grave 62, T. XIV, sl. 4, after 1329. Page 52, grave 251, T. XXXII, sl. 5, after 1342. Page 14, grave 6, T. XII, sl. 2, after 1342*). One of the rings found in the mausoleum (figs. 2b, 2c;

these skeletons lay in a coffin once draped with a rich pall, the fragmentary remains of which are now on display in the Zemački Muzej (inv. no. 608), and unmistakably bear the bearing royal insignia used by King Tvrtko I (fig. 1, a—c).⁶

Most unfortunately, the subsequent actions of the excavators and museum staff precluded the survival of any accurate knowledge of how other rich grave goods which have since been ascertained as being from this site were originally disposed within the vault, although it is usually assumed now that a massive gold and crystal ring (fig. 2a, b) must have been the king's (Anđelić 1980; page 221). The ring and a number of other valuables from the excavation (some illustrated fig. 2a, c), were added to the Zemački Muzej collections under a single inventory number, »G-1 — 14-VIII-1909«, given without any explanations as to provenance, but recognized as being in Karlo Patsch's hand by Dimitrije Sergejevski in 1947, who then suggested in an inventory note that these might indeed be Arnautovići finds (*ibid.*; pages 187, 212—213, 221). Additional Arnautovići material was located subsequently in a number of different places within the museum; in the classical collections, the medieval collections, and in the basement storage; (*ibid.* page 185).

It was detective enterprise by Pavao Anđelić — following up earlier work by Irma Čremošnik done in 1950—51 under the impetus of Sergejevski's discovery — which made clear the lengths to which Karlo Patsch and his museum associates were prepared to go in order to eliminate traces of the finding of this royal grave underneath a stećak within a Christian church, although Anđelić was not concerned to draw any particular conclusions as to the reasons for their actions. However, two immediately suggest themselves. Asboth's construct (b) stated that the medieval Bosnian state had an established heretical church and that most of its rulers (including Tvrtko I) were Bogomils. It also stated that Bogomils avoided at least the interiors of physical churches as locations for their stećak tombstones (themselves a purely Bogomil form.) All of this would have been seriously weakened had knowledge of the discovery of the grave of Tvrtko I in a vault sealed by a stećak in a church building been much spread about.

Anđelić 1980, pages 187, 230, 231) is much earlier in style than those of Tvrtko's own time. It has been correctly ascribed by Bojana Radojković to the later 13th (Radojković 1969; pages 180, 334, 352.) Although Anđelić has sought to identify the ban's grave with one near the church entrance (Anđelić 1980; pages 231, 232), this mausoleum's central position would accord with the respect one imagines would have been due to the church donor — a carrier of Arpad as well as Nemanja blood, whose daughter has become Queen of Hungary in the year of his death (Čirković 1964; page 121.)

* The heraldry — a helmet surmounted by a bouquet of feathers above a shield blazoned by a bend dexter and fleurs-de-lys — was used both by King Tvrtko I and his successor, King Dabiša (died 1395) and also by Dabiša's widow, Queen Jelena Gruba (1395—1398.) Anđelić gives most convincing reasons for believing that the coffin under the royal pall contained the body of King Tvrtko rather than one of these less important personalities (Anđelić 1970; page 21, 1980; pages 187, 214, 218.)

Moreover, in the delicate political atmosphere following Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia, any publicity about the discovery of a richly equipped burial chamber of Bosnia's first king could only have encouraged undesirable nationalistic feelings among Bosnians.

Accordingly, the evidence was falsified. The large stećak actually described in a jotted note by Mustafa Salihagić, a local assistant to Karlo Patsch (*ibid.*, p. 214), was drawn into the site map as an item of small size, about the size a coffin would have been within the grave (*ibid.*, pages 190, 199, 228, 229). The coffin itself seems to have been destroyed. An attempt was made to destroy the actual stećak, which was identified by Anđelić as a huge, peak-topped *sljemenjak* with integral base. According to that writer, the stone was so large that all the Austrians could do was hack off most of the simple, carefully tooled outer surface, and drag the core of the monument outside the church (*ibid.*, pages 211, 229). The hacked-off pieces remained around the mausoleum entrance inside the church, while other broken-up decorative material in red stone, interpreted by Anđelić as a base for the monument was buried inside the mausoleum, and was found when Anđelić re-excavated the site in 1976 and 1977 (*ibid.*, pages 202—203, 227—229).

Only rather casual reference was made to the Arnautovići excavations in the Zemački Muzej records and publications at the time. No proper excavation report was published. Minutes of a museum meeting of November 2, 1909 do describe the excavations, but concentrate on the question of whether or not the church could be said to relate to Ban Kulin, with the conclusion that it probably could, and remark only that graves »connected ith« the church had produced rich finds.

»Dr. Patsch, u vezi sa svojim referatom na zadnjoj sjednici, izvještava o iskopavanju u Arnautovićima i kotaru Visoko. Iskopavanje je trajalo čitav mjesec avgust i sve do sada nije završeno. Produženje radova objašnjava sa veličinom otkrivene crkve i okolnošću da su se unutar prvotno otkrivene crkve pojavili i ostaci jedne manje — starije (crkve) i da se također našlo na grobove iz istog vremena. Stoga je došlo do većeg iskopa zemlje, a bio je nužan i jedan oprezniji i polaganiji radni postupak. O značaju građevine za našu srednjovjekovnu crkvenu arhitekturu moći će se dati sud kada se otkrije čitavi tloris. Već sada se može zaključiti, ali uza sve rezerve, da položaj dviju crkava u Arnautovićima asocira na natpis bana Kulina koji govori o gradnji crkve na temeljima neke starije (crkve). Nalazište natpisa je svega 20 minuta udaljeno od Arnautovića i leži neposredno na obali Bosne, tako da je prijenos kamena sa natpisom bio lako moguć. Da li je ova pretpostavka prihvatljiva, da li je, dakle, Kulin ban izgradio crkvu u Arnautovićima, provjerit će se iskopavanjem na mjestu gdje je nađen natpis. Ako se tamo ne nađe nikakva crkva onda je gornja sumnja opravdana.«

»Grobni nalazi su mnogobrojni i vrijedni, osobito zbog priloga nakita, zlatnih i srebrnih prstenova, naušnica i.t.d., tako da će naša srednjovjekovna zbirka biti znatnije obogaćena.«

»Od skeleta, samo je jedan nađen čitav. Kosti su zbog močvarnog tla vrlo trošne« (*Andelić 1980, pages 186, 187*).

An another meeting on September 17, 1910, Patsch made a very short statement to the effect that work at Arnautovići was now complete (*ibid., page 187*).

Beyond these mentions in internal museum records, a certain amount of information about the excavated church was released in print by Patsch's associates. Ćiro Truhelka wrote in the *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* of 1914 (*page 223; Andelić 1980; page 187, n. 11*) that the church at Arnautovići had been an early-Christian basilica, of the same date as others at Dabrovina, Zenica and Turbe. Vladimir Ćorović in the same year's *Glasnik* maintained that the discoveries indicated a monumental structure built in the time of the Bosnian kings, utilising in part the foundations of an older, smaller church beneath which, in turn, were Roman remains (*ibid.; page 187, note 13, GZM, 1914, page 12*) These remarks were not inaccurate as speculations about the church itself, which indeed exhibited four distinct levels — one romanesque and two gothic-style buildings on the site of what could well have been a late-antique basilica (*Andelić 1980, pages 187, 190*) — but the public at large was clearly and deliberately kept in the dark about the full import of the Arnautovići excavations.

As a pendant to the accounts of these first three components in the knotted problem which is the subject of this article, one can hardly forbear to mention the grim poetic irony that the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was due to declare open the grand new buildings of the Zemaljski Musej on the morning of June 28, 1914, and was indeed on his way there when Gavrilo Princip shot and mortally wounded him thereby, initiating the chain of events which led to the outbreak of the First World War, and the eventual downfall of Austria-Hungary itself.

THE BOGOMIL ROMANCE

Literature about Bosnia and Hercegovina and their history published in the period between the First and Second World Wars in the main reiterated the »Bogomil hypothesis« outlined in (b), and as this was the view learned by most schoolteachers in their own childhood studies in Austro-Hungarian sponsored schools, they continued to teach it in the absence of any contradicting literature. Often works of impeccable general scholarship still attributed all Bosnian medieval tombstones to Bogomils; to give one example the title of an article by Vejsil Ćurčić, »How our Bogomil forbears cut and transported medieval tombstones« (*»Kako su naši bogomilski predji sjekli i prevozili nadgrobne spomenike«*, *NAPREDAK IX, 3—4, Sarajevo 1934, pages 35—39*) repeats the utterly uncritical assumption about the origins of the stećci, but is completely sensible as an account of the actual mechanics of the stećak carver's art.

Obviously, certain cultured figures who engaged in the study of Bosnia's past throughout this period, in-

cluding, one presumes, Rengjeo himself, must have known the true situation, which they did not then choose to divulge publicly. One person who did speak out at this time was Vladislav Škarić, who in a Sarajevo publication of 1932 blamed Austro-Hungarian propaganda for the widespread acceptance of the notion that »Bogomils« were responsible for the production of Bosnian medieval tombstones. Not having access to the original publication, I quote Alojz Benac on the topic (*Benac 1951, pages 69—70*).

»... Vrlo ispravno prilazi ovom problemu i Vl. Škarić. On još 1932 godine piše da u jugoslavenskom naučnom svijetu postoji »skoro utvrđeno vjerovanje, da su bosanski mramorovi grobni spomenici ljudi bogumilske vjere« (*V. Škarić, »Bogomilski grobovi i bosančica«, Narodno jedinstvo, almanah-kalendar, Sarajevo 1932, str. 356*) »Nitko se nije obazirao — veli dalje Škarić — i na druge okolnosti iz kojih se bogomilsko porijeklo mramorova ne samo nije moglo izvesti, nego ga je i pobijalo« (*Ibidem*). On smatra da je u ovo pitanje i politika unijela svoje prste. Austrija je htjela da Bosnu nacionalno odvoji od Srba i Hrvata i da stvori neke Bošnjake. Stoga je njena uprava u Kalajevo vrijeme vrlo rado prihvatila teoriju o bogumilskim grobovima, jer je ta teorija išla u prilog ovakvoj zamisli«.

To Benac in 1951 the idea had made sense. »I do not enter here«, he said, »into the question of the nature of Bogomilism or if indeed such ever existed in Bosnia and Hercegovina. Nonetheless, some of Škarić's ideas are to me totally acceptable. The indisputable influence of Austrian politics solves many problems, and likely this«. Škarić, however, wrote little more on this topic, and the »Bogomil hypothesis« was repeated unchallenged in the popular press.

In the first decades after World War Two, there was another reason, no less political in its way, although much more honourable, why many popular writers were happy to continue to promote the »Bogomilian« version of Bosnia's past, and this had little to do with its picturesque contribution to tourism, as is sometimes alleged. For these writers the »Bosnian heretics«, were notable figures in a long tradition of protest, against established churches, and against established forms. They were seen as heroes, standing out for the country against all manner of outside interference, and against the religious intolerance so characteristic of the spiritual monopolies of East and West during the later Middle Ages. In fact they were seen as the partisans of their age, maintaining in their mountain fastnesses the independence of a proud people. Understandably, writers of this persuasion did not much care to be told that their account did not correspond to any historical or geographical realities, and that the »heresy« of the Bosnian Church was the result not so much of an intelligent protestant spirit, but of sheer ignorance and negligence. However worthy their motifs, these post-war writers managed to contrive a romance of Bogomilism which, after dissemination in a number of ill-informed books in foreign languages, has proved a considerable nuisance for scientific writers who have had to waste valuable pages in refutations which should not have been necessary. This has been an unfortunate long-term

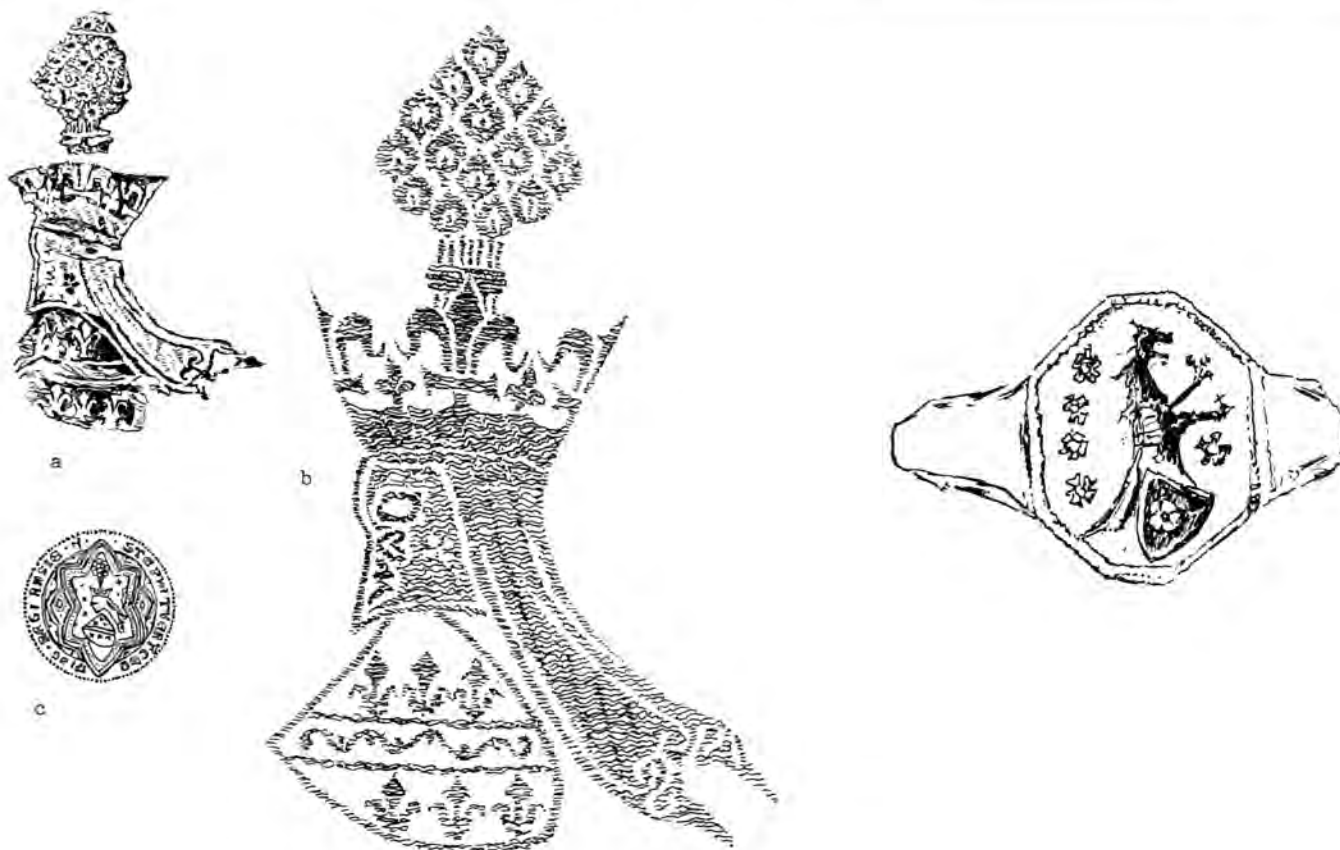


FIG. 1 (a-d): a) Repeat motif; surviving fragment from the royal Bosnian coffin pall excavated at Arnautovići, Visoko, in 1909; gold and silver brocade. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej (608.) — b) Arms of King Tvrtko I reconstructed from surviving motifs from the Arnautovići textile. After Anđelić, 1980. — c) Seal of King Tvrtko I, preserved in six copies dated 1385—1389. Diameter 3 cm. After Anđelić 1970. — d) Silver ring, cast, engraved, with arms of a retainer of Tvrtko I, excavated from the royal mausoleum at Arnautovići, Visoko. Diameter 2.3 cm. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej (620.)

FELIX VON LUSCHAN'S STORY

In the year 1921, an article in the German periodical *«Cicerone»*, (München 1921, pp. 659—666) published what purported to be evidence for a quite different Tvrtko grave. This rather surprising claim was presented as the logical conclusion to be drawn from the study of finds from an excavation made by the article's author, one Felix von Luschan, at a medieval cemetery at Ravna Trešnja, near Tuzla in north-east Bosnia. This excavation had taken place long before, early in 1879.

Felix von Luschan had been a military surgeon with the Austrian army when Austria-Hungary had occupied Bosnia and Hercegovina, and he stated that he and his commanding officer had discovered the cemetery, which had had no tombstones of any sort, quite by chance. He had not remained long in the service of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and by 1885 was in the employ of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. His relationship with the Austro-Hungarian authorities throughout the period between his excavation and its downfall cannot now be clarified. Obviously he remained in contact with his former military companions, since he was able to record in his 1921 article (page 659) that one of his fellow officers (Hauptmann Schaffer, whose artillerymen had moved earth for the excavation) had by then died, but that a dagger from his share of the grave-finds had been lost and a glass cup from the same source had been shattered by one of his children or a domestic servant. Whether or not von Luschan became

legacy of the Austro-Hungarian domination of Bosnian culture in the years before World War I, the importance of which is that it discouraged for many years the critical re-examination of much of the archaeological work done during that period.

involved in Austria-Hungary's political manipulation of Bosnia's cultural history cannot now be deduced with any certainty. However, some startling discrepancies between his original account of the excavation finds, published in 1881 (*von Luschan 1881 : 112—114*) and his new publication of 1921, could best be explained by the assumption that he did.

Von Luschan's 1881 publication was of a report read to a sitting of the Viennese Anthropological Society, elucidating the circumstances of the finding of thirty skulls excavated at Ravna Trešnja, which he had presented in 1879 to the Anthropological Section of the city's Natural History Museum. His discussion of the specific excavations followed an extended exegesis on Bosnian and Hercegovinian medieval tombstones. Some of these, he was able to state, dated without doubt to the 14th century. He had personally excavated graves beneath thirty such monuments; two of the graves had contained 14th century coins. Under one tombstone at Han Šibošica (north-east Bosnia, between Srebrenik and Tuzla — now Šibošnica) (*ibid.*, pages 109, 111; *Bešlagić 1971*, page 194), he had found an Hungarian coin of Louis I (1342—1382), and under another at Han Kolibača on the Drinjača (north-east Bosnia south of Zvornik), a coin of Louis' daughter, Queen Maria (1382—1395). In the graves under these tombstones had been a fine selection of short, wide, (brachycephalic) skulls⁷. Indeed, concluded von Luschan, because there was a piety for tombstones of any kind amongst the Muslim inhabitants of the land, the graves in their areas were generally quite undisturbed; Bosnia was Eldorado for the craniologist (*ibid.*, page 113, 114).

Von Luschan's personal Eldorado had obviously been at Ravna Trešnja; a graveyard with no tombstones at all, which naturally greatly facilitated its excavation. The locality had only attracted his attention because he chanced to notice leg bones protruding from the earth (*Von Luschan 1921*, page 659.) Its skulls were unusual; as described in his 1881 publication, they were all narrow and long (dolichocephalic), and he chose then to hazard that they had belonged to members of a Ragusan mercantile community resident in those parts (*ibid.*, page 113). In support of this theory von Luschan said that a silver-gilt sword belt (*»Wehrgehénk«*) found in one grave looked to have been decorated by a master from the time of Giotto; the sort of thing, he opined, appropriate to a Ragusan visitor.

In 1881, von Luschan had left it at that. Now, in 1921, it was this belt, (fig. 7, a-c,e, fig. 8a,b), and the skull of its owner — somewhat differently described this time — which were said to identify the grave as that of a Bosnian King Tvrtko.

Von Luschan, in his earlier publication, had remarked, without going into much detail, that the Ravna Trešnja graves had been richly equipped. Without mentioning how the discoveries had been distributed amongst the participants in the excavation, he hinted

simply that the spoils from the forty graves they had opened had been divided up, and that he himself now had a valuable collection of weapons and trinkets.

Von Luschan's publication of 1921, by contrast, expanded on the convivial nature of the excavation project undertaken by the Austrian officers, on how it came about, and on what was found. The finds were listed with greater care than before, and those in von Luschan's own possession were illustrated. Since this material is of the greatest importance in relation to other Bosnian grave-goods to which attention has been given in recent years, I have for the purposes of this article, copied each one of von Luschan's illustrations (figs. 5—11.)

The grave-goods not illustrated by von Luschan in 1921 were those no longer accessible to him either because they had disintegrated as they were originally uncovered, or because they had been given to other members of the excavation team. Even so he was able to describe most of these. The pieces discovered in a state of disintegration were iron belt buckles in some of the male graves, and what were described as »the miserable remains of notched cutting knives, that probably once had wooden grips«. The iron spurs listed as found in the supposedly royal grave were not included in von Luschan's illustrations, and had presumably gone to someone else. The two items already mentioned as having been in the possession of Hauptmann Schaffer had both subsequently disappeared. These were a relatively well-preserved three-edged dagger, and »a rounded and flattened little cup with humped base, 10 cm. in diameter, of transparent, nearly colourless pale green glass.« (*von Luschan 1921*; pages 659—660)

Grave-goods from von Luschan's collection which came from graves other than the supposed Tvrtko grave are illustrated here as figures three to eight. They include one pair of bronze spurs said to be like the pair in the »royal« grave (fig. 6a) (*ibid.*, page 660, *Abb. 2*); two silver finger rings (fig. 4a; from one male and one female grave) (*ibid.*, p. 661, *Abb. 3*); nine silver buttons (fig. 4b, from one female grave, and said to resemble others he had excavated in East Bosnia from Mramor near Zvornik) (*ibid.*, p. 661, *Abb. 3*); and a beaker of clear glass (fig. 3) (*ibid.*, p. 661, *Abb. 4a, 4b*.) The beaker, which he described as being paper-thin and completely colourless, had a cupped rim to which blue threads were applied, and twelve vertical ribs formed by blowing into a mould. Its base had been given a deep kick, in the shape of a cone. This beaker was found laid against the skull of one of the skeletons, in a way which corresponds to the positions of beakers of similar shape uncovered more recently at Veličani, Popovo polje, in Hercegovina (*Kojić-Wenzel 1967*; pages 78, 79, *figs. 7, 8*) and at Kakanj, Visoko, Central Bosnia (*Tomičić 1975*; pages 182—185)

The male grave which was subsequently assigned by von Luschan to King Tvrtko, contained an iron sword with downward-turned, bow-shaped quillons, traces of a scabbard attachment, iron spurs (described as identical to those illustrated here, which were found in an adjoining grave), an iron and bone dagger, and an iron

⁷ Similar brachycephalic skulls have been recently excavated under stećak tombstones at Raška Gora, Mostar region (*Mikić 1978*; pages 226—241.)

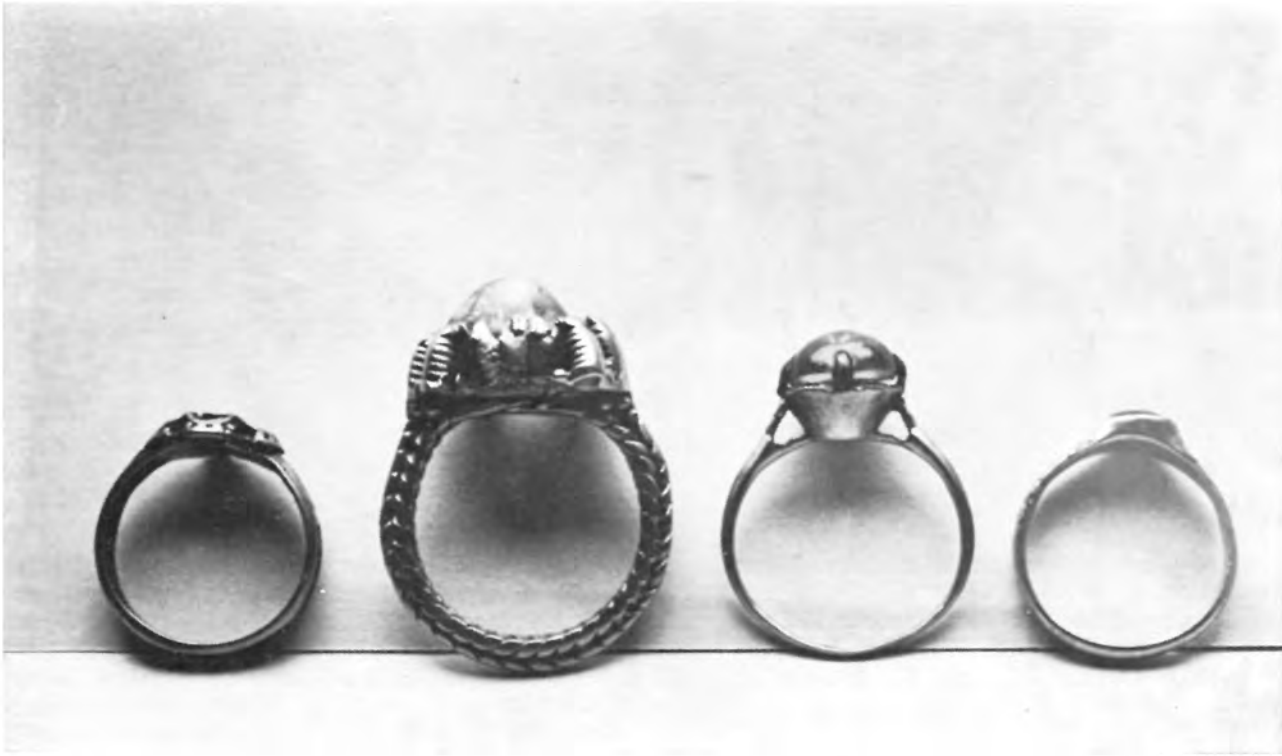


FIG. 2 (a-c): a) Four gold rings with various settings, excavated from the royal mausoleum at Arnautovići, Visoko. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej (618, 616, 619, 617.) — b) Gold ring, filigree and rock crystal. Diameter 2.5 cm. Diameter from bezel to back of hoop, 3.4 cm. Sarajevo, Zemaljski Muzej (616.) — c) Gold ring with sapphire, hollow hoop, bezel supported by cutwork trefoils. Diameter 2.1 cm. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej (619.) Photographs by the author, with kind permission of Nada Miletić.



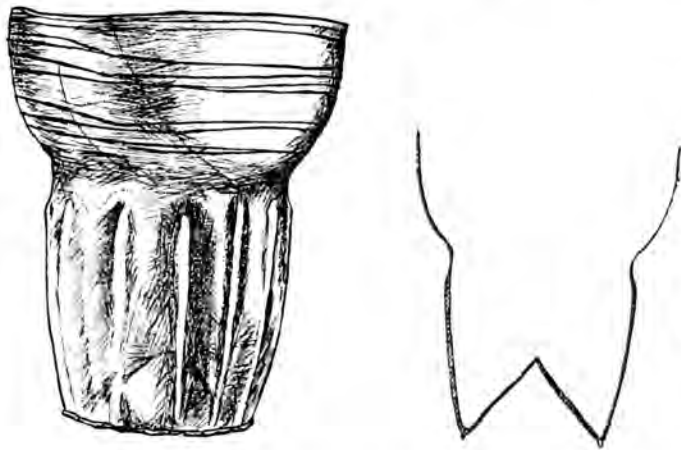


FIG. 3 (a-b): a) Glass beaker excavated from Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla, Bosnia, in 1879. Clear glass with applied blue threads, mould-blown. Rim diameter 12.8 cm. Height 16 cm. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 4a. — b) Profile. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 4b. Present location unknown.

buckle (figs. 5, 6). This last may have been from a leather sword belt which, like all traces of clothing, had disappeared. As well as these there was a silver-gilt belt, which von Luschan described as a dagger belt since the above-mentioned dagger lay directly under its clasp (figs. 7, 8a, b.)

This belt must be described in some detail since much depends on its dating. It had been composed of 52 separate metal pieces, attached to a woven band 15 mm. wide and around 2 mm. thick, largely intact, perhaps, von Luschan suggested, because the fabric had become impregnated by metal salts which had acted as a preservative (*ibid.*, pages 663, 664) Appliques of crowned, Lombard letter »M« shapes alternated with rectangular and star-shaped forms down the length of the band (fig. 8b). In amongst them were two suspension rings and a suspension hook (fig. 8a), the rings in the form of a figure eight, and the hook having on its front a crowned and sceptred female, suggesting a madonna (*ibid.*, pp. 663, 666, Abb. 6, 10) The belt buckle and a hinged double plaque which formed the tongue were each secured to the belt band by three silver rivets.

Whilst the appliques along the band of the belt are decorated by the repoussi technique, designs on the buckle attachment plaque and the tongue are engraved. The buckle carries a dragon with a foliate tail (fig. 7c) (*ibid.*, p. 663, Abb. 7) On each side of one of the plaques of the tongue is a bird; on each side of the other, a man and woman each holding a bunch of leaves (fig. 7, a, b.) Slanted lines form a background for these images and parallel rows of gouges are used to suggest scales, feathers and fur (*ibid.*, p. 665, Abb. 8, 9) The flowing garments worn by the leaf-carriers are rendered with

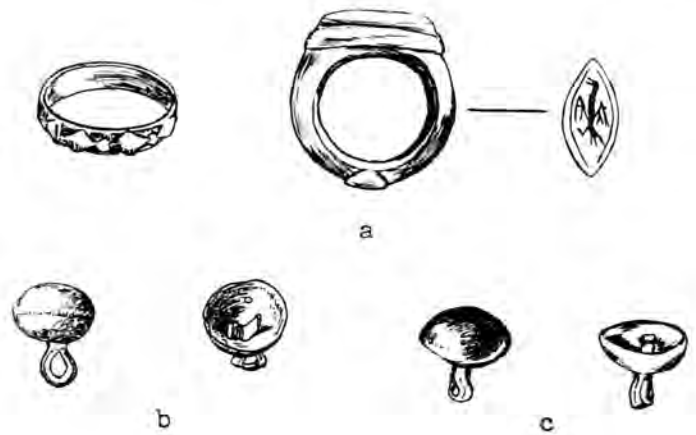


FIG. 4 (a-c): a) Two silver rings excavated at Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla, in 1879. Actual size. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 1. Present location unknown. — b) Two silver buttons from Ravna Trešnja, actual size. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 1. Present location unknown. — c) Two silver buttons from Ališić, Sanski Most, Bosnia. After Kovačević-Kojić 1978. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej.

considerable precision (fig. 7a, b, e.) It was largely on the basis of these costumes that von Luschan made the assumption, mentioned in his 1881 paper, that this belt was manufactured by a craftsman of the time of Giotto (*von Luschan 1881, page 113, note 1*)

Felix von Luschan's change of heart about the dating of this belt, and indeed of everything else found along with it, arose, he claimed in his 1921 publication, as result of an encounter which occurred immediately after he completed his excavations, and before he went to live in Berlin. Indeed, on his own account he must have been familiar with the material which so altered his views before he presented his excavation report to the Vienna Anthropological Society, although no hint of it is made therein. Von Luschan claimed that what happened was as follows.

One year after the Ravna Trešnja excavations, in 1880, Ragusa became von Luschan's military headquarters. True to his nature, the inveterate craniologist found himself at once involved in study of more skulls; this time they were still covered with skin, and belonged to the people he met. He observed that the type of skull apparent among patrician families of Ragusa accorded with the greater number of the skulls he had excavated at Ravna Trešnja, and were, he felt, of the same root stock. This observation would seem to lie behind the conclusion he drew about Ravna Trešnja in his 1881 publication: that many Ragusans had been buried there. »There was«, he reported enthusiastically about his Ragusan associates, »the same astonishingly great capacity and narrow width in relation to the great length of brain area; in contrast, the people of the land in all

FIG. 5. Sord, dagger and assorted fittings excavated from Ravna Trešnja in 1879, in a grave later attributed to King Tvrtko. Base metal. One-sixth actual size. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 5. Present location unknown.

south Dalmatia had very wide and on the whole quite small skulls' (von Luschan 1921; page 664)«

Naming various Ragusan families whose hospitality had obviously aided him in his studies of craniological matters, he remarked that many had Italian as well as Slavic forms to their names; this had been so for centuries and emphasized the difference between Ragusans and other members of the populace. He cited the families of Bona and Bonda (sometimes called Bunić and Bundić), Cerva (in his day called Criević or, presumably, Crijević), and the family of his particular great friend Ghetaldi-Gondola, a descendant of the historian Ivan Gundulić (von Luschan, 1921, page 664)

It was Ghetaldi-Gondola, von Luschan says, who in 1880 introduced him to the Prior of the Franciscans in Ragusa. Curiously this individual is never named, but von Luschan attests warmly to his fame, claiming that he was at that time one of the chief experts in history of the South Slav lands. This knowledgeable man had,

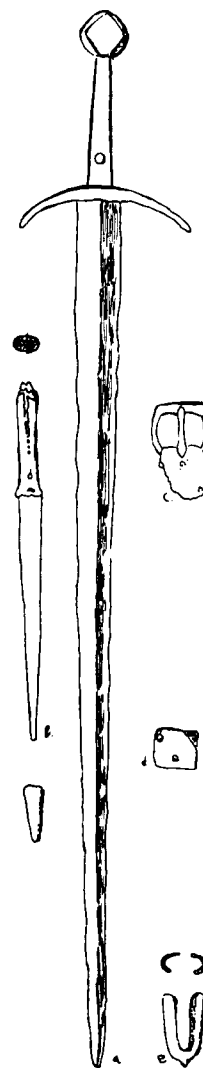
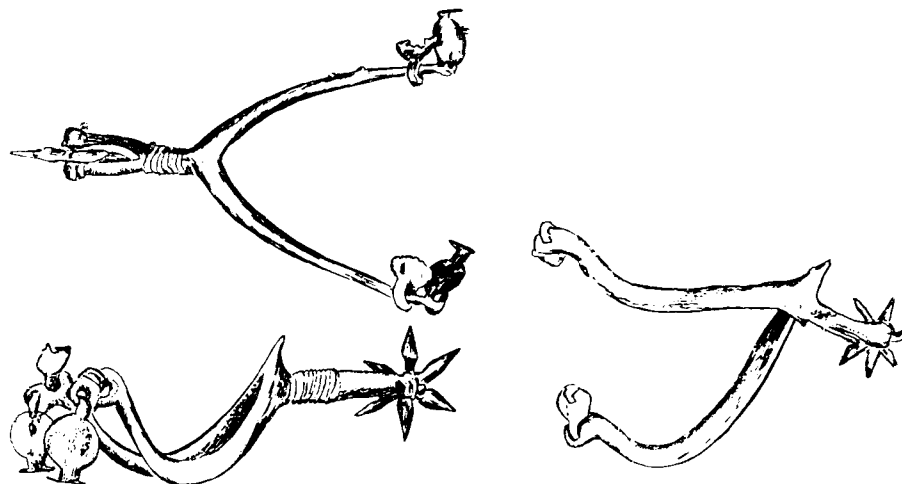


Fig. 6 (a-b): a) Iron spurs excavated from Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla, identical to others found in the grave attributed to King Tvrtko. Length 18 cm. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 2. Present location unknown. — b) Spur excavated at Kraljeva Sutjeska, first half of the 14th century. After Anđelić 1973. Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej.



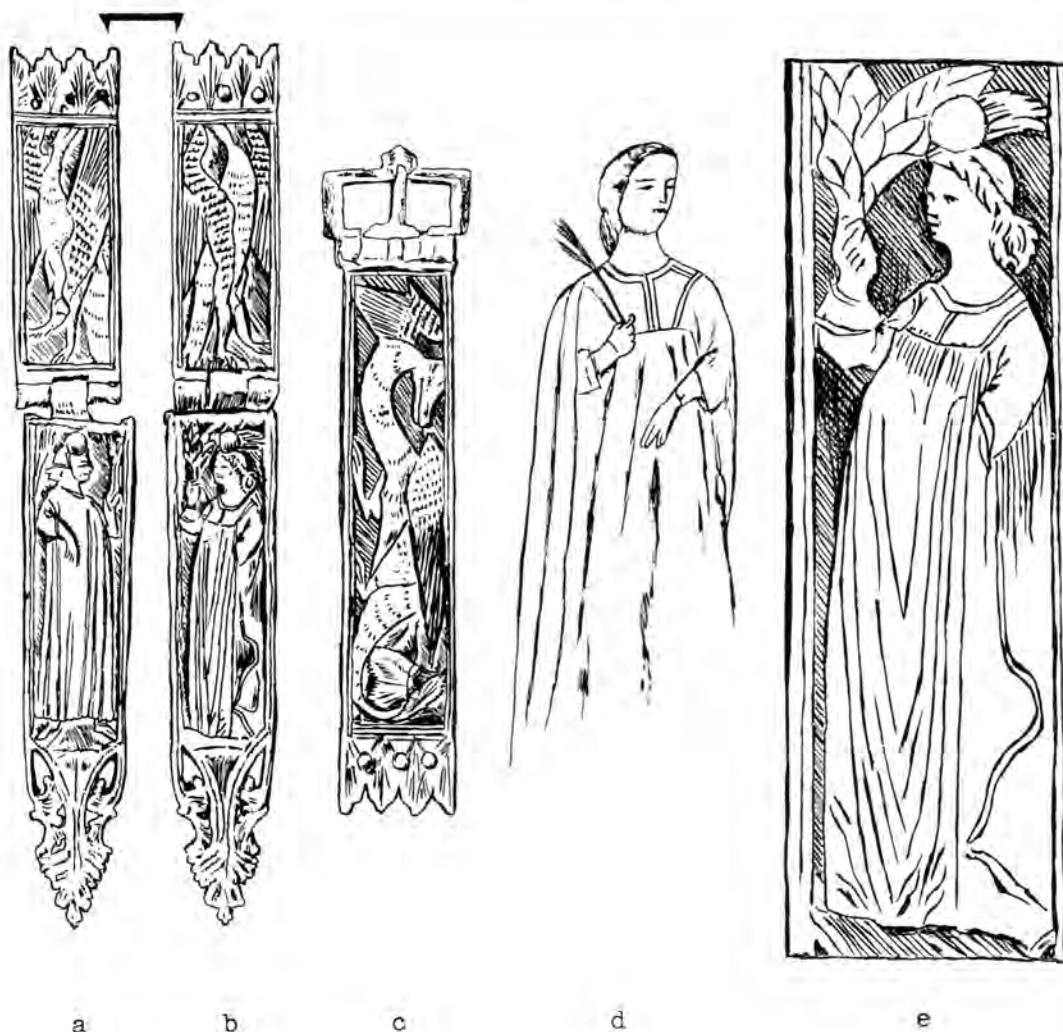


FIG. 7 (a-e): a,b,c): Fittings from a belt excavated at Ravna Trešnja from the grave attributed to King Tvrtko. Silver-gilt, cutwork, chasing. — a,b) The tongue, 14.5 x 1.8 cm. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 8. — c) Buckle attachment, 10.7 x After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 7. Berlin, Zeughaus (1924.) — d) 1420s Italian costume. Painting by Maestro di S. Pietro in Sylvis, Christ, the Virgin and Saints, detail. Guggenheim collection, New York. — e) Detail of »b«; after von Luschan Abb. 9.

ously, would have been a gift of his cousin, the Queen Maria of Hungary, of the House of Anjou, as the crowned »M« on the belt (fig. 8b) »irrefutably« demonstrated. Excited by this discovery, the Prior-historian revealed to von Luschan his plan to write a learned historical treatise concerning the connection between France, Hungary and Bosnia, to which von Luschan would contribute a discussion of the excavation.

Von Luschan says that he was willing to fall in with this plan. Also that he was convinced by the Prior that the owner of the luxurious belt had indeed been King Tvrtko, because he had recalled that in 1879 when he had donated the Ravna Trešnja skulls to the Vienna Natural History Museum, they had been measured, and on checking it had been established that the man with the belt had possessed the widest head of any in the entire series of skulls uncovered at the site, and the smallest. He was thus a »foreigner« in the Ragusan graveyard, a person of the land. Given the Ragusan Prior's impeccable evidence, von Luschan would have us believe, the conclusion was obvious.

Von Luschan did not in the end join forces in scholarship with this eminent but unnamed historian. If one takes his account at face value, one might feel that

it seems, heard of von Luschan's excavations at Ravna Trešnja, and one day startled him with the communication that he, von Luschan, and by an chance come upon the cemetery of the Ragusan colony at Tuzla. Furthermore, an »early manuscript« which happened to be in the Franciscan's library recorded the amazing information that King Tvrtko II of Bosnia had fallen ill during the course of a journey to Tuzla, died there in the hospital of the Ragusan colony, and was buried in the colony's graveyard. In fact, the reverend Prior felt himself able to conclude, the man with the costly griddle was »quite obviously« the king. The belt, equally obvi-

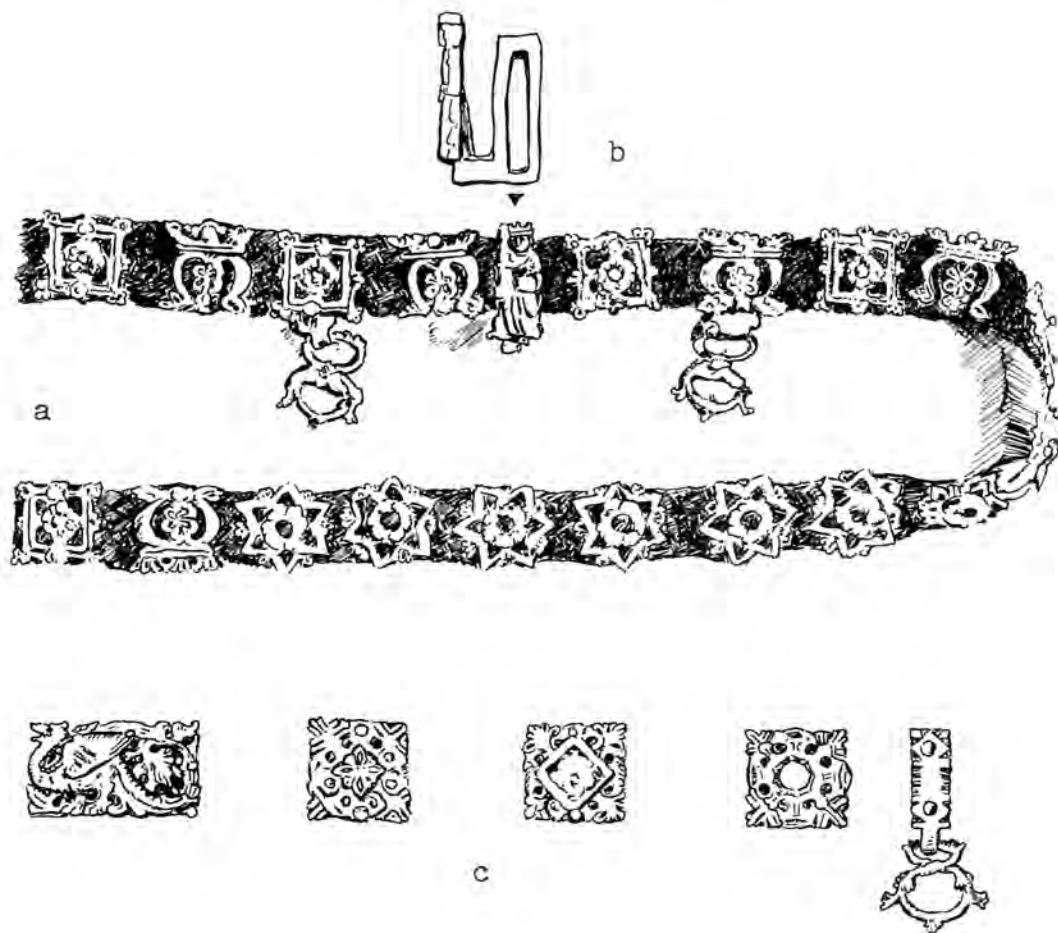


FIG. 8 (a-b): a) Woven band with appliques, hangers and hook, portion of the belt excavated at Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla, Bosnia. Silver-gilt, repoussé, cutwork, casting. After von Luschan 1921, Abb. 6. Profile of the hook (von Luschan 1921, Abb. 10), actual size. Berlin, Zeughaus (1924.) — b) Silver gilt appliques from the belt excavated at Sveti Spas, Cetina, Sinj, Croatia. Width of appliques: 1.2 cm. After Gunjača 1952. Split, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.

perhaps it was his intention of presenting the news of the finding of the King's grave alongside the Prior's learning which led him to avoid any mention of the striking differences between the belt-owner's skull and the others at Ravna Trešnja when he first outlined the results of his excavation to the Vienna Anthropological Society, although it is impossible to deduce from von Luschan's account whether or not the Prior would have revealed the full import of Ravna Trešnja finds to him before his lecture. Yet the craniological differences themselves would have been apparent to him at the time of the lecture, from his own account of the order of events. One's suspicions are therefore aroused by his avoidance of any mention of them and his concen-

tration instead on the Italianate-seeming style of the belt as evidence for the view that the skeletons as a group were those of people from Ragusa.

Certainly, many years passed before von Luschan came to publish his conviction that he had discovered the grave of Tvrtko II, which seems very strange if he had held it since 1880 or thereabouts. Ruefully he tells us, in the 1921 publication, that soon after the Prior's request for a collaborative publication was made, he was required to leave Ragusa and even the Austrian sphere (1921, page 664.) As a doctor, he was needed to accompany the expeditions of 1881 and 1882 in and around Asia Minor, and after that was called to work in the field for the Berlin Academy of Sciences. In 1885 he was invited to take up employment at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, and with this last appointment, he says, his Austrian connections were cut off. «Now», he continues, «towards the end of my life, it appears a duty to me to rescue from oblivion this small excavation of former years.»

In the very strange story recorded above a degree of historical ignorance is prominent both on the part of von Luschan and of his unnamed Franciscan colleague. In von Luschan, ignorance is perhaps understandable; less so in the «learned Franciscan.» When in his 1881 article von Luschan said that Louis of Hungary was

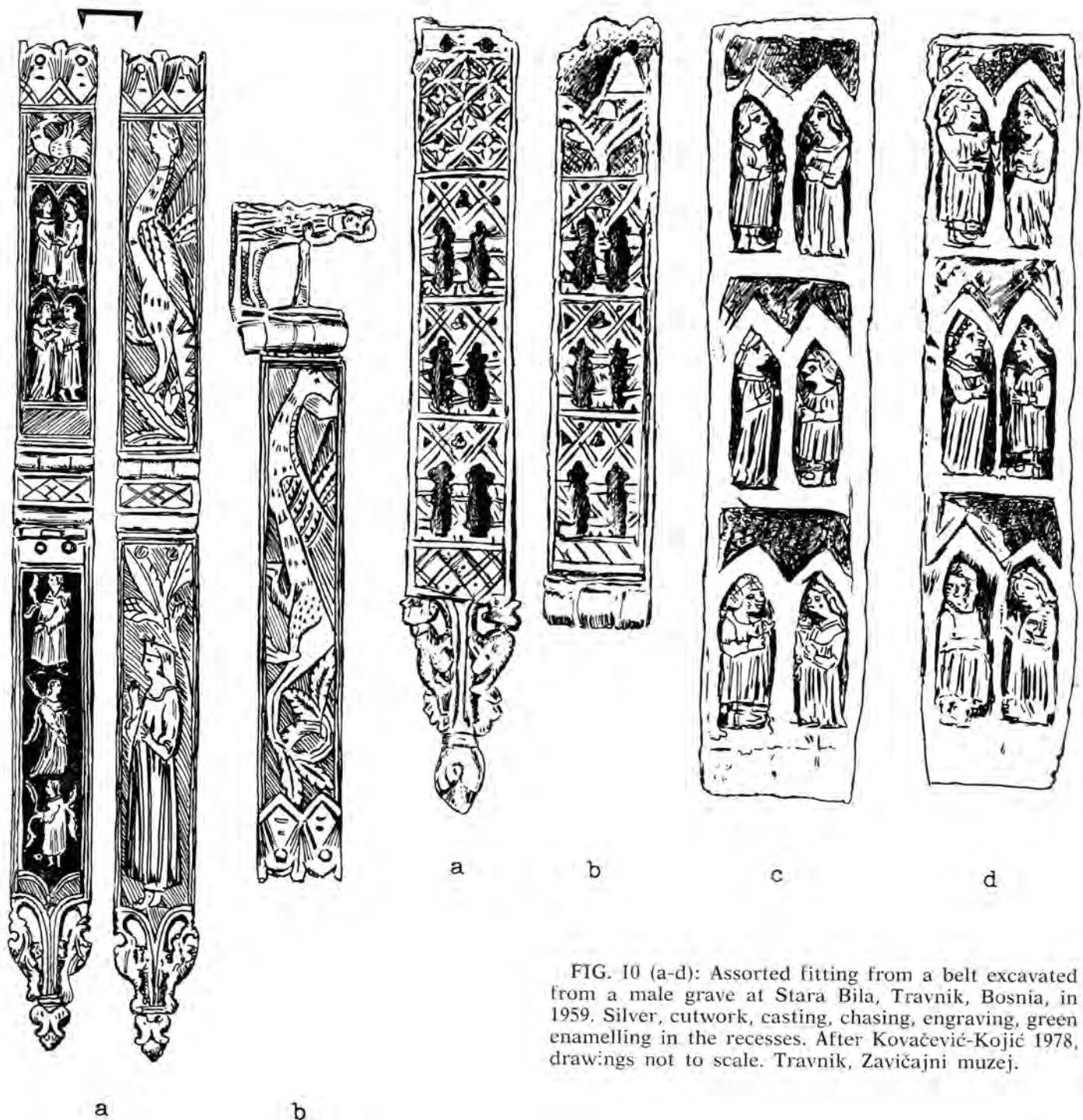


FIG. 10 (a-d): Assorted fitting from a belt excavated from a male grave at Stara Bila, Travnik, Bosnia, in 1959. Silver, cutwork, casting, chasing, engraving, green enamelling in the recesses. After Kovačević-Kojić 1978, drawings not to scale. Travnik, Zavičajni muzej.

FIG. 9 (a-b): Fittings from the belt excavated under the largest tombstone at Sveti Spas church, Cetina, Sinj, Croatia; sex of the deceased: unknown. Silver-gilt, cutwork, casting, chasing and engraving, enamelling. — a) hinged tongue, 17 x 1.4 cm. — b) Three-sided buckle and shaft: 11.5 x 1.4. After Gunjača 1952. Split, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika.

King Tvrtko's father-in-law (*von Luschan 1881; page 111*) he shows an ignorance of medieval Hungarian genealogy not unusual in his day. On the other hand when he accepts that King Tvrtko II (died 1443) was interred in the later 14th century (*von Luschan 1921; page 664*), and claims moreover that his reasons for so believing derive from one of the greatest South Slav historians of his day (whom he does not name), something seems very wrong. One wonders whether the learned Franciscan ever existed, or if he did whether he ever made such a claim as von Luschan attributes to him.

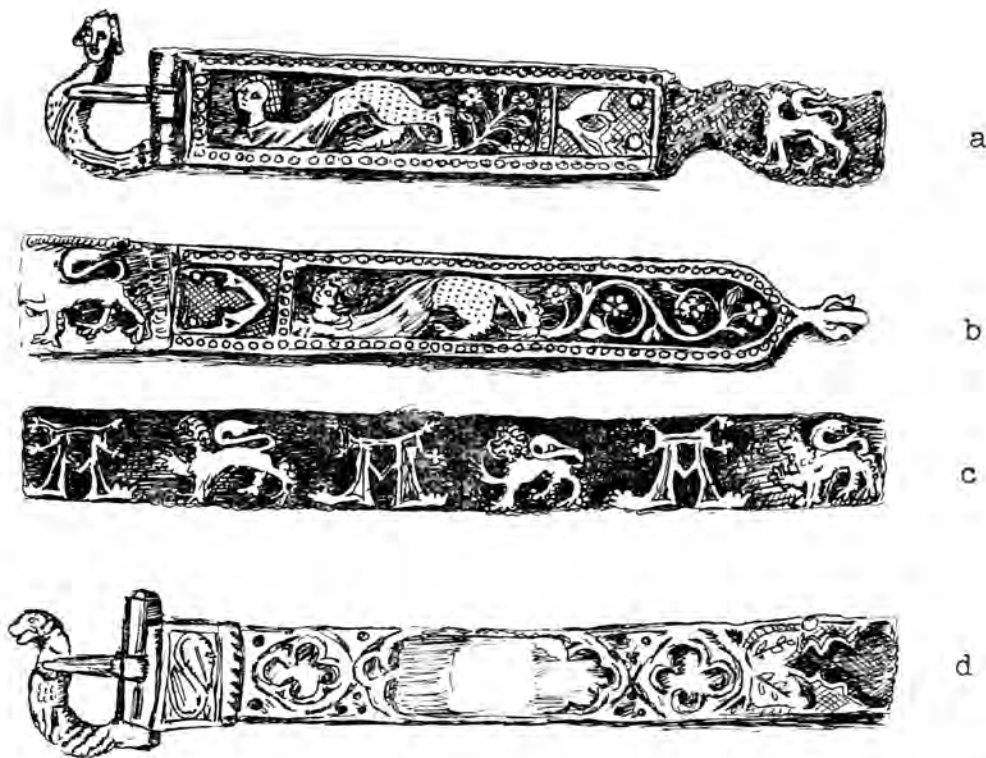


FIG. 11 (a-d): a,b,c) Details of a silk belt with three-sided buckle and appliques along the band; 128 x 1.5 cm. Paris workshop, first half of the 14th century. Silver-gilt, casting, chasing, engraving. — a) Buckle and shaft, 8 cm. long. — b) Tongue, 9 cm. long. After Fingerlin, cat. no. 14. Baden-Baden, Zähringer Museum (1169.) — d) Three-sided belt buckle and shaft from Chalcis, Euboea, Greece. 12.4 x 1.4 cm. Silver-gilt, cut-work, casting, chasing, engraving. After Fingerlin, cat. no. 150. London, British Museum (AF 2820.)

It is not necessary to assume that von Luschan was lying; the Franciscan himself may have been real and may have been the fabricator; again the Franciscan might have been genuinely taken in by a forged document (there were many about during the 19th century, some alas prepared by Franciscans whose religious zeal outweighed their concern for strict honesty (*Fine 1975, pages 106—108*), although von Luschan does not claim to have seen the manuscript himself.

It is unnecessary to resolve this particular puzzle; the point is that von Luschan in giving in his later work a late-14th century date to the grave which he claimed was that of King Tvrtko II implied a similar date for the belt, abandoning his earlier instinct to date it to the time of Giotto, and that this later date has been taken as accurate for that belt and for others resembling it by more recent writers with no knowledge of the rather devious background. One cannot help wondering, however, what prompted von Luschan to publish, after 40 years, the views of the real or imagined Franciscan. If his former Austrian colleagues had been inviting him

to defend their later archeological activities, he did not feel obliged to remember that country by enriching it with his greatest find. Since von Luschan's death in 1924 the Ravna Trešnja silver-gilt belt has been preserved in the Berlin Arsenal museum, the Zeughaus, (*Fingerlin, op. cit.; catalogue no. 21, pages 312—314*)

REPERCUSSIONS

In 1930 the Cleveland Museum of Art obtained a superb belt in the same genre as the Ravna Trešnja piece, but worked with more technical finesse and having inset enamels (figs. 13—16.) The museum currently credits this belt (inventory number 30.742) to late 14th century Siena. It was, however, an heirloom long preserved in Georgia in the family of Prince Nicolas Mingrelsky. The museum's director at the time of the belt's acquisition, W. M. Milliken, in publishing the piece in the Bulletin for that year (*W. M. Milliken, «Girdle of the Fourteenth Century», Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 27, 1930, pages 35—38*), mentioned that another, less elaborate, belt «unquestionably» deriving from the same Italianate workshop as the Cleveland piece, had been found in Bosnia at Tuzla during the Austro-Turkish war. From that time on, the Tuzla belt has been taken in the literature as a companion for the Cleveland examples.

In 1971 a German researcher, Ilse Fingerlin, published a catalogue of belts and belt buckles, within which belts of the Cleveland-Tuzla style formed a distinct group. All had originally been composed of a supple belt band (cloth, leather or woven metal wires) to which were added a mixture of repousse and cast attachments and appliques, with the band itself terminated at one end with

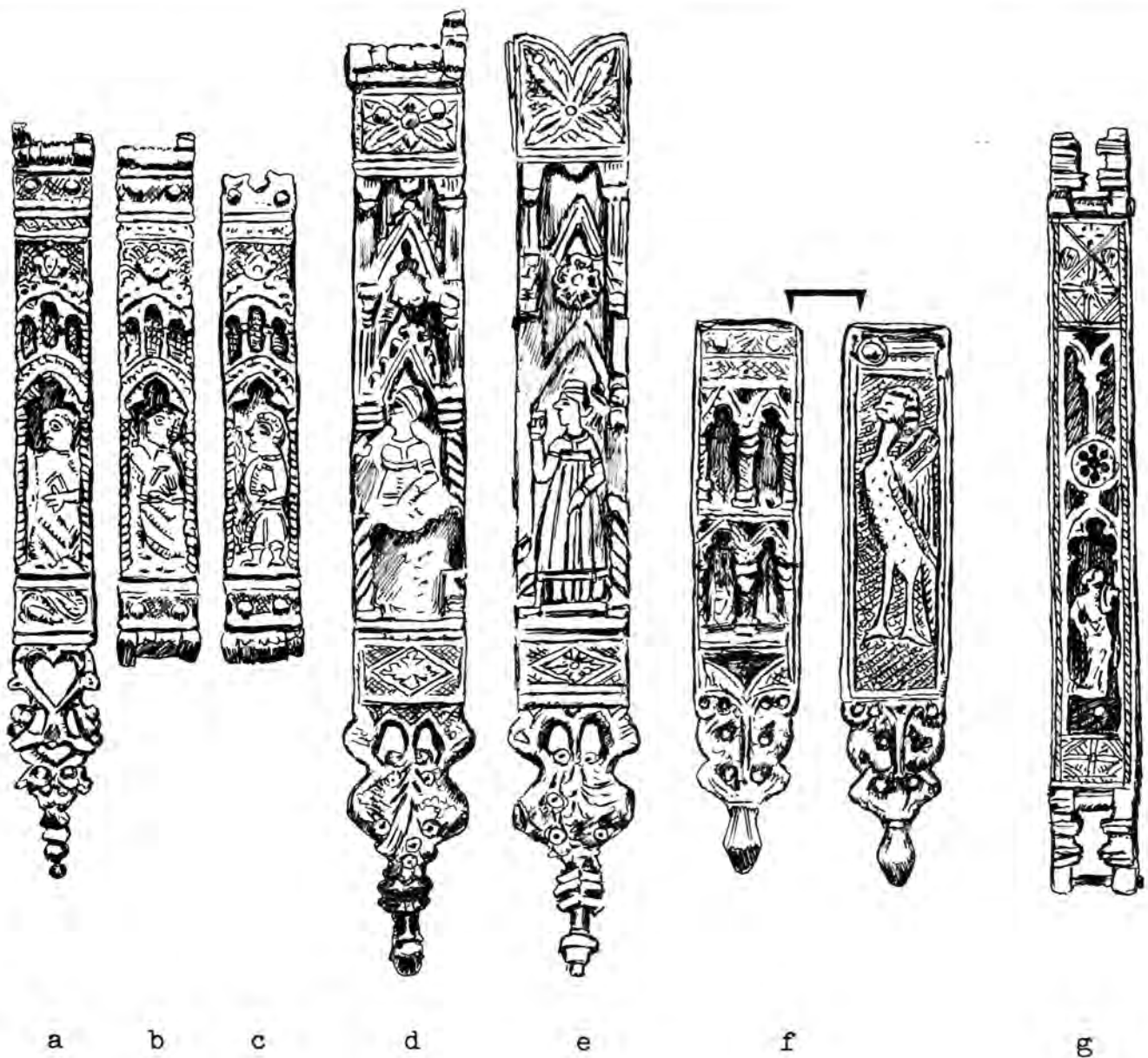


FIG. 12 (a-h): Eight belt fittings from Chelcis, Euboea, Greece. Silver-gilt, cutwork, casting, chasing, engraving. — a-c) Fragments from one belt, 1.3 cm. wide, 12.6, 9 and 8.2 cm. long. Fingerlin, cat. no. 152. London, British Museum (AF 2813a, 2813, 2812.) — d) Belt tongue, 9.5 x 1.6 cm, Fingerlin, cat. no. 153. Photograph altered to look complete. British Museum (AF 2816.) — e) Belt tongue, 13.4 x 1.6 cm. Mentioned by Fingerlin under cat. no. 153, but not illustrated. After Tait 1986. British Museum (AF 2817.) — f) Two sides of one belt tongue, 8.3 x 1.6 cm. Fingerlin, cat. no. 155, with illustration there back-to-front. British Museum (AF 2814.) — g) Belt fitting, shaft, 11.11 x 1.3 cm. Fingerlin, cat. no. 156. un-illustrated. British Museum (AF 2821.) — h) Belt fitting, shaft, broken to expose silver strip inserted behind a silver-gilt openwork casing. British Museum (AF 2822.) an engraved buckle and at the other with a tongue. The

tongues consisted of two or three separate plaques joined by hinges, their ends terminating in cut-work foliage of a characteristic shape (figs. 7, a, b, 9a, 10a, 12a, d, e, f, 13—15) rising out of a pendant acorn or flower bud. The buckles were cast, sometimes having modelled figures forming the uprights of a U-shape and thus remaining open at the top (figs. 7c, 9, 11d, 14.)

The pieces in Fingerlin's catalogue which are closest in style to the Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla belt (figs. 7, 8a, b) (Fingerlin 1971, cat. no. 21, pages 95, 101, 104, 312—314) are the belt found in Croatia at Cetina, Sinj (fig. 9) (*ibid.*, cat. no. 465, pages 20, 95, 96, 444—446) and the portions of belt found at Chalcis, Euboea, Greece (fig. 12) (*ibid.*, cat. nos. 152, 153, 155, pages 95, 96, 370—373), which however even more closely resemble another Bosnian belt found at Stara Bila, Travnik (fig. 10), not recorded

in the Fingerlin catalogue (*Kovačević-Kojić 1978; page 307; Bach 1980; pages 95—97*) Of these, the Chalcis belts have long been assumed to be of Venetian manufacture, since Venice held Chalcis from 1385 until its conquest by the Turcks in 1470.

Ilse Fingerlin dates all these belts to the very end of the 14th century. An observation made in 1930 by the German costume expert P. Post (*ibid., p. 95, note 356*) that the costume on the Tuzla piece show it to date from the earlier 14th century is, she feels, disproved by the »fact« that the Chalcis material must post-date 1385 (her assumption: there is in reality no reason why Venetians should not have brought existing pieces to Chalcis (*Fingerlin, op. cit., p. 96*), and also by the clear dating based on historical information about the Ravna Trešnjaja, Tuzla, find. She repeats the story that King Tvrtko sickened and died in Tuzla, and then increases the confusion begun by von Luschan between

FIG. 13: Belt from the Georgian family of Prince Nicolas Mingrelsky, 238 x 2.9 cm. Woven silver wire with silver-gilt attachments. Casting, cutwork, repousse, chasing and engraving, polychrome enamelling. Cleveland, Museum of Art (30.742, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust.)

the two kings called Tvrtko by presenting the dates of Tvrtko I (never actually given by von Luschan) as applying to Tvrtko II. The following passages carry her views:

»De Reihe lässt sich weiter fortsetzen mit zwei Gräbern aus Tuzla (Bosnien) und Cetina (Kroatien), die jedoch im Gegensatz zu den bisherigen Beispielen innerhalb eines grösseren Friedhofs lagen. Durch ihre Beigaben vor allem die vergoldet und reich verzierten Gürtel (Kat. Nr. 21 und 465) nehmen sie aber gegenüber der ärmlichen Ausstattung der anderen Gräber eine Sonderstellung ein. Möglicherweise lässt sich der in Tuzla Bestattete (Langschwert, Dolch und Sporen kennzeichnen ihn als Ritter) mit Tvrtko II. von Bosnien (1353—1391) identifizieren, der nach Aufzeichnungen im Franziskanerkloster Ragusa während einer Reise in Tuzla erkrankt und auch dort auf dem Friedhof bestattet sein soll« (*Fingerlin, op. cit., pages 20, 21*)

»Für den bekannten Tuzla-Gürtel sind schon entsprechende Vorschläge unterbreitet worden: P. Post (*note 356*) datierte ihn in die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, aus kostümgeschichtlichen Erwägungen, auf die in anderem Zusammenhang noch näher einzugehen ist. Doch sei hier vorausgeschickt, dass sie für diesen Zeitan-satz keine Stütze abgeben. Zu einer späteren Datierung, wie sie auch hier vorgeschlagen wird, kommt F. von Luschan, wenn auf Grund anderer Überlegungen. Er ver-



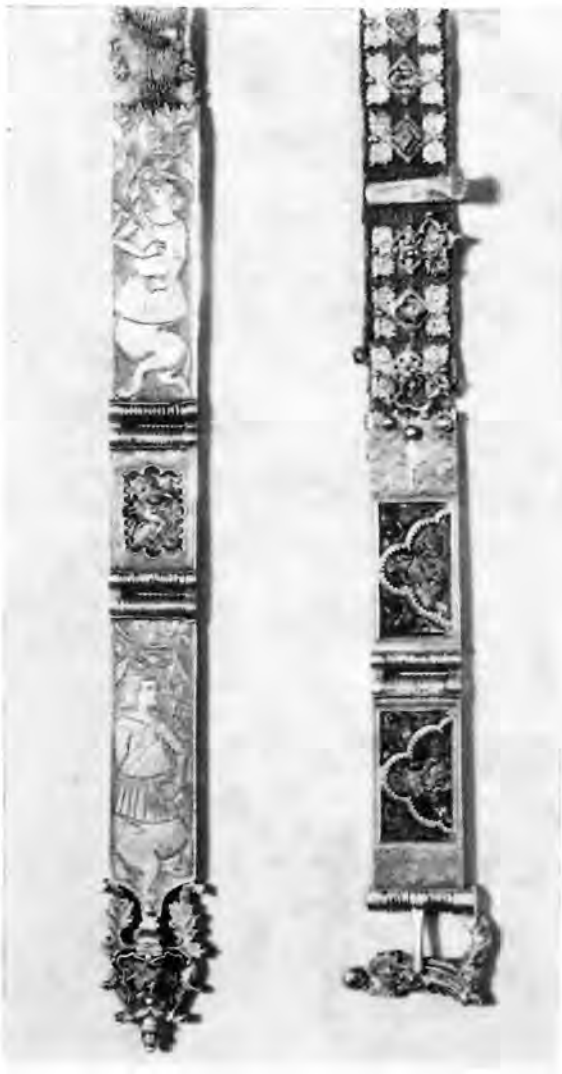


FIG. 14 (a,b): Belt from the family of Prince Nicolas Mingrelsky, Georgia, silver-gilt and polychrome enamelling, details. — a) Hinged tongue, 31.5 cm. x 2.9 cm. — b) Three-sided buckle and hinged shaft, 18.6 x 2.9 cm. Cleveland, Museum of Art (30.742, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust.)

mutet nämlich, dass der mit reichen Beigaben bestattete Man (die übrigen Gräber des Friedhofs waren nur ärmlich), der sich auch im anthropologischen Befund deutlich von der einheimischen Bevölkerung unterschied, mit König Tvrtko II. von Bosnien identisch sei (1353—1391). Er soll auf einer Reise in Tuzla erkrankt, dort im Spital gestorben und auf dem nahegelegenen Kirchhof bestattet worden sein« (*ibid.*, page 95)

Fingerlin is convinced by the Tvrtko story, although she does comment that the crowned »M« on the Tuzla belt might well be a symbol of the Virgin Mary — it was used in this way throughout medieval Europe — as well as of the late 14th century Queen Maria of Hun-



FIG. 15: Belt in the Cleveland Museum of Art (30.742, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust), detail of the tongue, reverse shown in figure 14.

gary (*ibid.*, page 101) Here, of course, she allows her belief in von Luschan's material to blind her to the obvious fact that the »M« can be perfectly well explained as simply referring to the Virgin, and that there is no need at all to assume that it must also have been the gift of someone whose initial was M. The problem is that once the claim that this crowned »M« strongly supports the contention that the belt was owned by a relative of the Hungarian Queen Maria is brought into question, the whole late 14th century dating of the belt begins to look shakey indeed.

In fact the belt and its associated finds can be well dated from stylistic features, in a way which flatly con-

tradicts the theory proposed by von Luschan and accepted by Fingerlin. We must now examine these features, as well as testing the main points of the Prior's story and their implications in the light of von Luschan's finds. It has to be said that, in the latter enterprise, we immediately encounter the difficulty that although the Prior apparently referred to Tvrtko II as the ruler who was visiting Tuzla when he sickened and died, the whole context of von Luschan's discussion implies that he is thinking of Tvrtko I, although he never quite says so. We do not know who is being devious, so we have to take both kings into account.

*

For clarity, this section is presented as seven separate discussions.

(1) The likelihood of either King Tvrtko paying an official visit to Tuzla

Even if we consider Tvrtko I as the real subject of the story, it is clear that the exigencies of history as they touched Tuzla were such that a late 14th century royal visitor would have found there no welcoming nobility, no Dubrovnik colony, and no luxuries such as a hospital to care for him, when ill.

The historical record shows that Tuzla (medieval SOLI or SALENES) was of some importance as a regional centre and a salt-mining locality during the 13th century and the early 14th. The town had been at different times variously in Serbian and Hungarian possession, and had come under the control of Bosnian Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić by 1324 (*Čirković 1978; pages 72, 74—5, 89*) Mention is made in Bosnian court documents from around that period of witnesses from Soli actually present at Stjepan's court. Later, Soli is still included among the titular possessions of Bosnian rulers, but no actual courtiers from there are mentioned (*Dinić 1978; page 295*). In fact from about 1325 it seems to have declined, and between that time and the Turkish period is mentioned only once in any Dubrovnik source, and then only as an abode of bandits (*Kovačević-Kojić 1978; page 84*.)

By all accounts, Soli in the late 14th and 15th centuries was little more than an insignificant settlement. By the early 16th century, there were two Franciscan monasteries, one inside and one to the north of the town (the graveyard of Ravna Trešnja was well to the south), but the dates of their foundations are not clear, and at that time also the Turks began to redevelop the town under the new name of »Tuzla« (*Fisković 1960; page 89; Vego 1957b; pages 106, 107; Kovačević-Kojić 1978; pages 84, 226*) There was no export of salt from the town during its long period of decline and insignificance, and a Dubrovnik colony there during this period would have been out of the question. There is certainly no mention of one in any historical source, save possibly the unlocated one perhaps known to von Luschan's mysterious Prior. If all the above points to the extreme unlikelihood of a visit by Tvrtko I (died 1391), a visit by Tvrtko II (died 1443) must be still less likely. Furthermore, it seems certain that material remains of any foreigners or of wealthy inhabitants in residence in the area must date to the first decades of the 14th century or earlier.



FIG. 16: Belt in the Cleveland Museum of Art (30.742, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust), band with repoussé and enamel appliques, detail.

(2) The likelihood of a Bosnian graveyard without tombstones dating from the second half of the 14th century

The fact that the Ravna Trešnja graveyard had no tombstones points to a date earlier rather than later in the 14th century for the burials. My own study of the dated tombstones of medieval Bosnia and Hercegovina, soon to be published, has led to the firm conclusion that the widespread creation of large, permanent outdoor grave markers in Bosnia postdates the middle of the fourteenth century. The first of the familiar, sizeable »stećci« were seemingly erected around the middle of that century in Hercegovina. After the mid-14th century in both Bosnia and Hercegovina there was a great upsurge in the building of outdoor monuments of all sorts, and of the vast number which survive, the majority must have been erected during a period of



FIG. 17 (a-e): a,b) Female costume in Giotto's painting, first decade of the 14th century. Frescoes, Annunciation to St. Anne, Meeting at the Golden Gate, details. Padua, Arena Chapel. — c) Female costume in Italy in the later 1330s. Fresco, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, The Effects of Good Government, 1337—1340, detail. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico. — d,e) Male costume in Giotto's painting, Assisi, S. Francesco, details.

little more than a century. The inhabitants of Dubrovnik were accustomed to bury their dead under floor markers inside churches until the plague epidemics of the mid-14th century created a situation in which outdoor burial spaces were obviously to be preferred. When this happened they continued to mark their graves with monuments, as before (Petrović 1972; pages 72—79) There is no doubt in my mind that any late 14th century cemetery in Bosnia in which people who owned goods of the sort found in the Ravna Trešnja graves are buried, would have had tombstones.

(3) *The likelihood of a royal burial in an unmarked, outdoor grave*

This part of the discussion simply reflects on the credulity of von Luschan, his Prior (if he existed) and those writers who have accepted the Tvrtko story as a basis for dating the group of belts previously mentioned. There is no longer any mystery about the burial place of either King Tvrtko. The tomb of Tvrtko I has been discussed above, whilst the tomb of Tvrtko II has been located by Pavao Andelić, since Ilse Fingerlin's work was published, in the royal chapel at Castle Bobovac. Although the bombardment of Bobovac launched by the Turks from the nearby hills in 1463, shattered most of the grave monuments, a number have been reconstructed from the fragments so as to sufficiently identify them as marking the graves of kings or their immediate relations. One of these is convincingly assigned to Tvrtko II (Andelić, 1973; pp. 89—91 : 1980; page 231).

Even without this evidence, however, it should have been clear to anyone tempted to base claims on the story told by von Luschan, that an outdoor, unmarked burial of a figure of the importance of either Tvrtko would have been deeply unlikely.

(4) *The likelihood of the sword discovered at Ravna Trešnja being appropriate for either King Tvrtko*

The sword uncovered at Ravna Trešnja (fig. 5) dates very obviously from the first half of the fourteenth century. Its wide, gently down-turned quillons are of the sort depicted in a number of Serbian frescoes from that time: at Gračanica, painted around 1320 (Skrivanić 1957; page 46, fig. 1), at Dečani and Lesnovo, painted about 1348 (*ibid.*, page 47, figs. 10, 14; page 48, figs. 15, 16, Pribaković 1954, page 80, Tabla I—III, Prilog I) and in one of the later frescoes at St. Sophia, Ochrid, painted 1346—50 (Đurić 1975, fig. 67) The scabbard tip (fig. 5e) resembles one depicted at Dečani (*ibid.*, page 48, fig. 16) The sword was of a utilitarian rather than ceremonial type, having no precious embellishments, and is thus much more likely to be contemporary with the body than an heirloom buried with it. Sword shapes in the later 14th and 15th centuries were quite different, so the sword provides yet another reason for believing the burial to be of early 14th century date rather than of the time of either King Tvrtko.

(5) *The likelihood of the spurs discovered at Ravna Trešnja being appropriate for either King Tvrtko*

The spurs uncovered at Ravna Trešnja (as in fig. 6a) reinforce the deduction made from the sword. They are rowel spurs (the type which has a star-shaped wheel, or rowel, to function as the actual spur), and have the curving sides usual for the earlier part of the 14th century. Excavations at the two major Central Bosnian courts of Kraljeva Sutjeska and Bobovac have demonstrated that the usual dating of this spur-type throughout Europe to before 1350 holds good for medieval Bosnia (Andelić 1973, page 197, note 75) One such spur was found at Kraljeva Sutjeska (fig. 6b) (*ibid.*, page



FIG. 18 (a-d): Balkan silver engraving utilizing stiff leaves — a) Silver and gilt plaque, chasing, engraving and enamelling. Reliquary casket of St. Krševan, 1326, detail. Zadar, Cathedral treasury. — b) Silver plaque from the centre of a bowl, engraved with Bosnian heraldry, 14th century. From Kosovo, Beograd, Muzej primenjene umetnosti (4581.) — c) Engraved plaque on a garment fastener, 14th century, detail. Split, Cathedral treasury. — d) Processional cross from Bibinj, engraved and gilded silver on a wooden support, local metalworking, 1360—1379. Zadar, Permanent exhibition of religious art.

197), while an example of the customary later style of 14th—15th century spur, having straight rather than curving sides, as uncovered at Bobovac (*ibid.*, page 134.) A word is necessary here about the relative dating of these two important sites.

Kraljeva Sutjeska and Bobovac, both located within the same medieval župa in Central Bosnia (*ibid.*, p. 152), were both occupied throughout the second half of the 14th century. Kraljeva Sutjeska, however, looks to have been built and occupied first. It is known to have been constructed by Stjepan II Kotromanić (1314—1353), and was in all probability used by him as a principal court throughout his reign (*ibid.*, page 156.) Bobovac was a strongly fortified castle by the time of its first known mention in sources of 1449—50 (*ibid.*; page 46, note 36, page 139), and by 1356 was used by Stjepan's successor, the young Ban Tvrtko, as his court. Anđelić speculates that Tvrtko would have lacked time both the time and the strength to engage in major building during this period, when he was involved in a dispute with his brother about the succession, so that, Anđelić feels, most of the work at Bobovac must have been done during the time of Ban Stjepan. Even so, there is much evidence that Kraljeva Sutjeska was indeed occupied earlier than Bobovac, during the first part of Ban Stjepan's reign. Certainly, it is the case that amongst the finds from the two sites, all those which can be dated through good parallels to the earlier part of the century, such as the spur illustrated as figure 9, come from Kraljeva Sutjeska.

(6) *The likelihood of the costume depicted on the Ravna Trešnja belt dating to the time of either King Tvrtko I*

The wide-cut, full-hanging costume style worn by the plant-carriers on the Ravna Trešnja belt (fig. 7, a, b, e) conforms to an Italian style of the earlier 14th century, and certainly does resemble in some respects costume as painted by Giotto in the first decade of that century, as originally observed by von Luschan (1881; page 113, note 1) Giotto's customary loose-hanging male costume resembles the costume of the male figures on both Tuzla and Cetina belts, and his caps tied under the chin (Supino 1920; Vol. II, plate CLV) — worn alone, or beneath flat-topped male headgear in his painting from the first years of the 14th century, as at the Basilica of S. Francis at Assisi (fig. 17d, e) — resemble the male headgear shown on both these belts (figs. 7a, 9a), as do, however, the similar caps still being painted in 1321 by Paolo Veneziano (Zlamalik 1967; pages 4, 13, 17) If one compares Giotto's female costume with the attire of the female figures on the belts — here exemplified by an enlarged sketch of one of the leaf carriers from the Ravna Trešnja example given by von Luschan (fig. 7e) (1921; page 661, Abb. 9) — it is not difficult to parallel the belt's wide-cut dresses, but there are interesting differences of detail. The women in Giotto's work for the Padua Arena Chapel of 1303—05 wear dresses of similar wide cut (fig. 17a, b) but with edges and seam-lines covered by very prominent decorative bands, and occasional patches of pseudo-Kufic embroidery on the upper sleeves, as found on Islamic costume of the same general date (Dupont, Gnudi 1979; pages 61, 63)

We need to turn to Italian painting of a slightly later date, in fact of the 1320s and 30s, to find women's costume of exactly the cut and decoration depicted on the von Luschan belt (fig. 7e.) A good example is in a work now in the Guggenheim collection in New York (Ladis 1982; page 22, fig. 79) painted by the Master of S. Pietro in Sylvis during the 1320s (fig. 7d.) Here a dress with a short yoke has slim edging bands only on both sides of the yoke. The sleeves, which have no decorative panels on the upper arm, and the loose material hanging from the shoulders rather closely parallel features shown on the Ravna Trešnja belt.

Whilst discussing this whole matter of using costume parallels to date Fingerlin's group of belts and its relatives, it ought to be said that the general style of the Ravna Trešnja belt itself, outlived the style of dress depicted on it. The 1330s and 40s was a period of rapid change in fashion. During the 1330s, female necklines became wider towards the shoulders, and waistlines became lower, at times being emphasized by a belt. The Cleveland belt, somewhat later than the Ravna Trešnja example, though close in design, shows the tighter sleeves for ladies dresses with strips of cloth hanging from the elbows, and the shorter tunics for men, which became fashionable in the later 1330s and the 1340s (figs. 14—16) (Newton 1980; pages 6—13.) These new styles are well shown in the painting of 1337—1340 by Ambrogio Lorenzetti on the theme of the effects of good government, at the Palazzo Publica, Siena, (fig. 17c) (Dupont, Gnudi 1979; pages 98—102)

The decorative silver-gilt belts here under discussion have often been said to be Venetian, or at least from elsewhere in north Italy (Bach 1980; page 102; Ronald Lightbown, personal communication). The fact that none of this type has ever been found there may be historical accident. However, for some of them at least, a manufacturing centre in northern Dalmatia, at somewhere like Zadar or Split, seems to me a strong possibility. This would account both for their distribution and for their Italianate feel, since much of Dalmatia was at that time in Venetian hands and Italian masters like Paolo Veneziano were at work there, providing inspiration and even designs for locally-made products (Zlamalik 1967; pages 45—47, 56, 57) The reliquary casket of St. Krševan, Zadar, produced in the 1320s (fig. 18a), shows enamelling similar to that on the Cleveland belt, as well as bunches of foliage with upright, overlapping leaves of the sort found on all the belts (Krlježa, Grgić, Grčević 1972; p. 59-61, 165, 166) This particular upright-leaf style survived in the Zadar manufacturing tradition until at least 1360 (fig. 18d) (Petricoli 1980; page 76, no. 80) by which time it had been mainly replaced in Italy by the more undulant Bolognese-style foliage design⁸. The continued use of the upright bunch of leaves

⁸ A fascinating chronology of one area of Italian metalworking design, a large group of ecclesiastical objects preserved in the North Italian diocese of Lucca, indicates that Italian processional crosses did emphasize upright, only-slightly-curving, foliage on either side of the figures of saints in the first half of the 14th century (Calderoni Masetti, Carobbi, Gillotto and Sodini 1986; pages 102—103, figs. 56, 57, page 113, 118, figs. 64, 69) but that by the latter part of that century this aspect of design had been abandoned in favour of flowers with round centres and stiff petals, and rather more undulant foliage (*ibid.*, pages 162—208, figs. 94—143.)

as a design motif in the Bosnian sphere during the period of Tvrtko's banate (1353—1377) is well demonstrated by the bowl medallion in a related style and with a Cyrillic inscription (fig. 18b) which I have elsewhere shown to belong to the sphere of Tvrtko in the years before he declared himself king (Wenzel 1984/1985, pages 6—9.) By the early years of the Bosnian kingdom, after 1477, the taste of that region had, in my view, changed somewhat away from the Dalmatian style, and taken a more individual direction.

(7) *The likelihood of the other major grave finds from Ravna Trešnja being from the period of either King Tvrtko*

Glass beakers with vertical, mould-blown ribs and cupped rims are not infrequently found in Bosnian graves and habitation sites, and some of the larger pieces with relatively short ribs, such as one found at Biskup near Konjic, may indeed date to the end of the fourteenth century (Većo 1957, pages 132—134, Tab. 5; Kojić-Wenzel 1967; page 80; Anđelić 1973, pages 129—130) However, the small, highly delicate, ribbed beakers with large cupped rims decorated with applied blue threads such as the one found at Ravna Trešnja (fig. 3) seem to have been in common use in Bosnia in the earlier 14th century. At Kraljeva Sutjeska over one-hundred fragments of this kind of glass were uncovered; at Bobovac, only two. Bobovac was rich in glasses of more bulbous body, with applied prunts, a type related to the German »krautstrunk« glass of which no examples were found at Kraljeva Sutjeska (Anđelić 1973; pages 129—132) The reasons for believing Kraljeva Sutjeska to be the earlier habitation have already been set out above. Thus it seems likely that the Ravna Trešnja glass, like the sword and the spurs, points to Ban Stjepan's period as the most likely date for the burials there rather than any later period.

It is worth mentioning here that an early 14th century dating for much of the glass complex at Kraljeva Sutjeska is supported by presence there of one other type of glass, which no one has ever tried to date later than the early 14th century. Alongside the fragments of the ribbed beakers with blue threads found there, were seven fragments of clear glass with blue and red enamel decorations on the inside edged in creamy white on the outside (Anđelić 1973; pages 188, 189, 191) This well-known and characteristic style of glass painting is generally known as the »Aldrevandin« style after a famous example which has survived complete and has an inscription mentioning »Magister Aldrevandin«.⁹ There is now a large literature about this glass-type. It has sometimes been called Syro-Frankish, implying Crusader-period manufacture of the 13th century Near East.¹⁰

⁹ British Museum, Registry no. 76, 11—4.3. The Magister Aldrevandin glass has white outlines on the exterior and other colour painted on the interior in the manner of the Kraljeva Sutjeska fragments. Hugh Tait in *Masterpieces of Glass, Exhibition catalogue, British Museum, London 1968; pages 151, 152.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, page 151; Anita Engle in »Glass Finds at Acre throw New Light on the »Syro-Frankish« Group«, *Readings in Glass History No. 1 13/14, Jerusalem 1982; pages 34—69.*

New opinions from various experts, however, prefer to see it as an early style of Venetian enamelled glass,¹¹ and interestingly it seems that one of its practitioners came originally from Zadar¹². Recent excavations in Italy and London have brought some such glass to light in contexts much later than would previously have been thought possible, namely, from the earlier 14th century,¹³ and the excavation at Kraljeva Sutjeska in fact falls into this category. However, nobody would be prepared to see this glass dated into the second half of the 14th century and, of course, none of it was found at Bobovac.

The finger rings discovered at Ravna Trešnja (fig. 4a) are of a type in use throughout the 14th century (Radoković 1969; T. 1, 104, 107; Ljubinković 1975; sl. 1, 18) The buttons (fig. 4b), are of a style likewise found in many 14th century Bosnian graves¹⁴, although in this case there is some evidence that they may only have recognised by high fashion in the third decade of that century. Certainly, in Serbian frescoes, small round buttons on the neck-openings of robes are first depicted on the daughters of Župan Brajan at Bela crkva Karan, painted around 1330 (Kovačević 1953; T. XX, XXa) Around the same time, western European styles began to be more close fitting, and the requirements of the new fashion, such as narrower sleeves with rows of buttons, do seem to have affected Balkan dress (Newton 1989; page 100)

To sum up then, both the sword and the spurs found in the supposed Tvrtko grave must date to the first half of the 14th century (assuming the spurs in that grave to have been identical, as he claimed, with the ones von Luschan illustrated), long before von Luschan's »King Tvrtko's« supposed death in 1391, let alone the Prior's king's death in 1443. Among the major finds in the adjoining graves, the glass beaker decorated with blue threads is most probably from the earlier 14th

¹¹ Tait, *op. cit.*, pages 151, 152; L. Zecchin, »Un decoratore di vetri a Murano alle fine del duecento«, *Journal of Glass Studies XI, Corning 1969; pages 39—42; D. Whitehouse, »Notes on late medieval glass in Italy«, *Annales du 8^e Congrès International d'Etude Historique du Verre, London—Liverpool 1979, Liège, Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre 1981; pages 172—173.**

¹² Bartolomeo of Zara (Zadar: »Bartholameus pinctor, qui fuit fr Jadra«) was a glass painter who worked in Venice between 1290 and 1325. It is most probable that the glass he enamelled was decorated in »Aldrevandin« style, since his repertoire is known to have included »figures and trees« (L. Zecchin, »Fornaci muranesi fra il 1279 ed il 1290«, *Journal of Glass Studies XXII, Corning 1970; pages 82, 83, J. Clark, »Medieval enamelled glasses from London«, *Medieval Archaeology XXVII, London 1983 (The Society for Medieval Archaeology); pages 153—155. A. Gasparetto, »Dalla realtà archeologica a quella contemporanea« in *Mille anni di arte del vetro a Venezia, Exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Ducale, Museo Correr, Venezia 1982; page 18.*)**

¹³ Hugh Tait, British Museum, John Clark, Museum of London, personal communications. Fragments of enamel-painted »Aldrevandin« glass excavated from Foster Lane, London, were discovered in a pit together with pottery from the first half of the 14th century. Partial inscriptions included »S BARTOLOMEUS FE(cit)« and another »STERBA«, possibly »(magis)TER BA(rolomeus)«. John Clark has suggested that these inscriptions may relate to the Zadar craftsman (Clark, *op. cit.*,; page 155.)

century, while the rings and buttons could be of that date, or somewhat later.

It can only be concluded, taking all the above evidence, that the Ravna Trešnja graveyard and the grave-goods found there date from the earlier 14th century, the time of Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić (1414—1453), and the time before Tuzla's sharp decline. Von Luschan's story of the burial of King Tvrtko II (or indeed Tvrtko I) at Ravna Trešnja is thus a fantasy, constructed, by him or someone else, out of ignorance or guile.

Once one accepts the dating of the Ravna Trešnja belt to the first half of the 14th century, the other belts in the group fall naturally into that period also. The small style differences between the examples reflect interestingly the changes in fashion during that extremely fashion-conscious period.

POSTSCRIPT

The acute scholarship of the late Pavao Anđelić contributed much to a clarification of the topography of medieval Bosnia. His industrious exploration of the royal localities in Central Bosnia, which involved archive

research as well as work in the field, included not only the excavations of Kraljeva Sutjeska and Bobovac but also the sifting out of good evidence from false in the maze concerning the Arnautović royal tombs. The royal mausoleum church, reduced to mere foundations on a site ravaged by road building, is at last recognised by its former name. This church of St. Nicholas (sveti Nikola) was built by Ban Stjepan II Kotromanić around 1340 in the Franciscan monastery at Mile, also called Mileševo (Anđelić 1980, pages 238—239). Historians may well debate for some time about whether this Mileševo was also the Mileševo where King Tvrtko I was crowned in 1377. As a descendant of the Nemanjas, and one who wished to appear a Serbian as well as Bosnian ruler, there would have been some reason for his choosing, as generally supposed, the Serbian monastery of Mileševo for this event, since it contained the mausoleum of the Serbian Saint Sava but at the same time was located on the fringes of Tvrtko's newly expanded Bosnian state (Ćirković 1964; pages 137—139; Fine 1975; pages 43, 106, 192, 209). Even so, Anđelić has made a convincing case for another view, that the shattered ruin at Arnautovići is the site of both the coronation and burial of the real King Tvrtko I.

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Sažetak

BOSANSKA POVIJEST I AUSTROUGARSKA POLITIKA: NEKOLIKO SREDNJOVJEKOVNIH POJASOVA, BOGUMILSKA ROMANCA I GROBOVI KRALJA TVRTKA

U tijeku drugog istraživanja autor se namjerio na nekoliko očito krivih datacija u međunarodnoj stručnoj literaturi o skupini pozlaćenih srebrnih pojaseva iz XIV. st. od kojih su tri bila nađena u Bosni ili blizu Bosne (nalazišta: Stara Bila, Travnik, Ravna Trešnja, Tuzla, pa Cetina, Sinj). Premda su pojasevi nesumnjivo balkanske inačice francuskoga stila ranoga XIV. st. i nose očito stilske pojedinosti ranoga XIV. st., jedan učenjak na dobru glasu datirao ih je u posljednje godine toga stoljeća, zbog neobična razloga što je jedan od njih bio iskopan iz onoga za što se tvrdilo da je grob jednog od bosanskih kraljeva zvanog Tvrtko.

Ovdje se dokazuje da izvor toj konkretnoj tvrdnji, koju je u članku napisanu 1921. iznio bivši austrougarski časnik, leži u istoj atmosferi obmane i propagande u pitanjima arheologije iz koje je za dugo vremena poniklo prešućivanje stvarnoga groba Tvrtka I, što su ga 1909. pronašli suradnici Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu. Iza jedne i druge priče nalazi se zamršen splet događaja, kojega razmršenje iznosi na vidjelo cijelu istinu o načinu kako austrougarska izvrtanja povijesti Južnih Slavena iz XIX. st., učinjena iz političkih razloga, s uspjehom utječu na znanost XX. st. Sastavni su dijelovi spleta ovi.

a) Razmjernu nezavisnost od Carigrada postigli su bosanski muslimani u početnom dijelu XIX. st. tako da su stali sami sebi krojiti pravdu. Kad je Austro-Ugarska 1878. sama stekla pravo okupiranja Bosne i Hercegovine i upravljanja njome, smatrala je korisnim podupirati domaće muslimane na račun bosanskih kršćana jer muslimani, zemljoposjednička većina, nisu imali čvrstih političkih veza ni sa jednom zemljom koja bi u to doba mogla ugroziti vladavinu Austrije nad Bosnom.

b) Lažnu povijest Bosne, sračunatu da uzvisi bosanske muslimane na račun kršćana i da obeshrabri sve težnje dijela potonjih za ujedinjenjem sa Srbijom, izmislila je Austro-Ugarska između 1880. i 1890., i ona je bila sirena u različitim publikacijama s područja kulture. Lažna je povijest iskoristila činjenicu da je za srednjovjekovnu Bosnu poznato kako je imala vrst narodne crkve koja je u više rimskih izvoru bila zigosana kao heretička i koje je prava priroda izuzetno nejasna. Lažna je povijest tvrdila da je religija Bosanske crkve bila dualistička hereza i da su njezinim pripadnicima bili mrski križevi i crkve; da se zvala bogumilskom; i da je bila unijeta iz Bugarske, druge zemlje što je još nedavno bila pod islamskim jarmom. Srednjovjekovne bosansko-hercegovačke nadgrobne spomenike, tzv. stečke, sve su podigli ti heretici, glasila je teorija, i to bi dokazivala činjenica da na sebi nemaju križeva i da nisu u crkvama ni na grobljima. Bosanski muslimani, ne kršćani, potomci su tih heretika jer su praktički svi Bosanci bili okruženi od hereze i masovno su prešli na islam da bi izbjegli progone Rima. Stoga su upravo muslimani pravi baštinici bosanske predaje.

Prava povijest, kako su joj posljednjih desetljeća temelje udarili istaknuti učenjaci na osnovi s mukom stečena poznavanja arhivske građe, pobija sve te tvrdnje. Bosanska je crkva zacijelo bila hibrid, nastao prije od neukosti no od oštroumnosti, ali se zacijelo ne može opisati kao bogumilska. Bila je prihvaćena od pojedinih plemića, ali je imala malo utjecaja na bosanske vladare ili na najveću većinu njihovih podanika, koji su bili katolici ili pravoslavni, već prema kraju u kojem su živjeli. Bosanski stećci nadgrobni su spomenici XIV. i XV. st., podignuti u slobodnoj prirodi u skladu s europskom modom toga doba za nadgrobne spomenike, jednako od katolika, od pravoslavničkih i od pripadnika Bosanske crkve. Često su bili smješteni oko crkvi, i na njima je bilo više križeva no na većini nadgrobničkih spomenika toga razdoblja u većini drugih zemalja.

Neobjavljeni rukopis numizmatičara Ivana Rengjela, sada u privatnoj zbirci, prikazuje u glavnim crtama kako je izmišljena ta lažna povijest i tvrdi da je u doba kad je visoki austrougarski upravni činovnik Janos von Asboth bio zadužen da je propagira u inozemstvu, novo osnovanom Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu dano u zadatak da to stajalište širi u zemlji.

c) God. 1909. Karlo Patsch, suradnik Zemaljskoga muzeja, otkrio je u Arnautovićima kraj Visokog grob-mauzolej kra-

lja Tvrtka I., s bogatim inventarom, ali je prešutio to otkriće. Grob je nađen u okolnostima koje ne svjedoče u prilog lažnoj povijesti; bio je u apsidi gotičke crkve, ispod velikoga stečka. Kako se čini, osjetljivo razdoblje nakon nezakonite austrougarske aneksije Bosne 1908. nije se smatratlo pogodnim časom za iznošenje na vidjelo pukotina u lažnoj povijesti ni za podsticanje nacionalističkih osjećaja novim podacima o upravo pronađenu grobu najslavnijega bosanskog kralja. Iskapanje ostade neobjavljeno, njegov položajni nacrt u određenim pojedinostima krivotvoren, a samo nalazište ispunjeno i gradom iz drugih iskapanja; nadgradnja Tvrtkova groba bila je razbijena, i dijelovi izvučeni izvan crkve a dijelovi nanovo zakopani.

d) Prvi svjetski rat srušio je Austro-Ugarsko Carstvo i izmijenio političke okolnosti u Bosni, koja je postala dijelom ujedinjene zemlje Južnih Slavena. Ali se lažna povijest do toga časa toliko duboko ukorijenila u svijesti Bosne da se samo malo glasova podiglo protiv nje u poslijeratnoj stručnoj literaturi; a u tijeku prvih godina poslije II. svjetskog rata u tzv. bogumilima čak su se vidjele romantičke preteče kasnijih narodnih heroja koje su podržavale duh samoodređenja i prosvjed protiv uplitanja izvana. To je priječilo kritičko ponovno ispitivanje austrougarske arheologije.

e) God. 1921. Felix von Luschan, bivši časnik u austrijskoj okupacionoj vojsci, objavio je gradivo o iskapanju što ga je 1879. izvršio s više drugova časnika i s njihovim ljudstvom u Ravnoj Trešnji kraj Tuzle, na groblju bez nadgrobničkih spomenika. Lubanje iz toga iskapanja bile su u isti mah prikazane u bečkom Prirodoslovnom muzeju, a izvještaj, kasnije objavljen, čitan u bečkom Antropološkom društvu. U izvještaju nema riječi ni o jednom predmetu iz groba; zapravo su bili podijeljeni među one koji su vršili iskapanja.

God. 1921. von Luschan je objavio drugi izvještaj koji uključuje i pojedinosti o onim predmetima iz groba što su još u njegovu osobnom vlasništvu, i iznio sasvim novu misao da je u tečaju spomenutog iskapanja odredio smještaj groba jednoga bosanskog kralja zvanog Tvrtko. Svojedobno, osamdesetih godina, tvrdio je on, jedan ga je veoma poznati prior dubrovačkih franjevac uvjeravao da se u njegovoj knjižnici nalazi dokument iz kojeg izlazi da je Tvrtko II. obolio i umro u Tuzli i da je ondje pokopan na groblju dubrovačke kolonije. Razlike u tipu lubanje, tvrdio je von Luschan, upozoravale su na pojedinca zakopana u grobu s najbogatijim inventarom kao da potječe iz kraja različita od drugih na groblju, koji su bili stranci i imali tip lubanje dubrovačkih patricija. To mora da je bio Tvrtko II. U tom je grobu nađen pojas sa slovom M i krunom, "nema sumnje" dar kraljeve rođakinje ugarske kraljice Marije, koja je umrla 1395. Premda je von Luschanov prior, ako je uopće postojao, spomenuto Tvrtka II., neizravan je zaključak što izlazi iz von Luschanova dokaznog materijala, takva kakav jest, da je on, po svemu se čini, zapravo mislio na Tvrtka I.

f) God. 1971. njemački istraživač Ilse Fingerlin prihvatila je von Luschanovu priču i u svojem opsežnom zborniku srednjovjekovnih pojasnih kopča ponovila je u prilog svojem datiranju pojasa iz Tuzle i sličnih primjeraka u kasno XIV. st. Ipak, iznijela je mišljenje da slovo M s krunom može označivati Djevicu Mariju kao i kraljicu Mariju.

Da bi pokazao kako se ni za što oko toga groba ili groblja ne može utvrditi da pripada bilo Tvrtku ili njegovu dobu, autor tumači i pretresa sve predmete iz toga i iz susjednih grobova što ih je objavio von Luschan. Za njih je na osnovi uvjerljivih stilističkih razloga utvrdio da su prije iz prve no iz druge polovine XIV. st., dakle iz razdoblja prije no što je grad Tuzla stao opadati, od čega se pridigao samo u XVI. st. Nema podataka o kakvoj dubrovačkoj koloniji u Tuzli u doba tog opadanja.

Na osnovi novoga dokaznog materijala svi se pojasevi iz skupine Ilse Fingerlin lakó mogu datirati u prvu polovinu XIV. st. Sasvim je moguće da je publiciranju god. 1921. groba "kralja Tvrtka" bila svrha odvratiti pozornost s prekida prirodnih odnosa stvarnoga groba Tvrtka I., prekida što su ga počinili službenici Austro-Ugarske u onom osjetljivom razdoblju između aneksije Bosne i Hercegovine 1908. i ubojstva nadvojvode Franje Ferdinanda dok se uputio da otvori nove zgrade Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu 21. lipnja 1914.

SUMMARYS

Ante Šonje

THE EARLY CROATIAN CHURCH OF ST. FOSCA NEAR ŽMINJ, ISTRIA

A through exploration of the church of St. Fosca near Žminj, Istria, whose present-day appearance bears witness to its numerous enlargements as well as to archeological excavations, enables the author to determine the existence of an Old Croatian church on the same site in the late Middle Ages. According to the author, this was a rectangular basilica with a single nave, a semi-circular apse, and a barrel vault. This belief is substantiated with the uncovered ruins of the church foundations and parts of the walls. Discovered fragments of stone furniture within the church helped him date the ruins. The comparison with Old Croatian architecture in the Dalmatian part of Croatia indicates the early period of the 9 and 10 centuries as the time of construction.

Vladimir P. Gross

MILES ENSIFER

The author interprets the appearance, duration and distribution of the artistic rendering of the warrior with sword (Miles Ensifer) within the context of European revival c. 1100 and Crusades. He cites literary sources and historic chronicles on the same topic which liken the warrior of those days to the champion of orthodoxy. He regards and analyses this phenomenon in arts (both in terms of semantics and iconography) in different monuments of European artistic heritage, e. g.: the portal of Verona Cathedral, Carolingian and Ottonian miniatures, the Baptistery in Split, the Cathedral of Ferrara, the portal at Fordington, England, the facades of St. Isidore's at Leone, Spain, at Vezelay, at St. Gilles-du Garde, stained glass windows in Strasbourg etc. . . . Listed renderings and compositions epitomize a »holy«, justified war against heresy, usually Islam. The author indicates typical iconographic variants of such renderings, as well as the distinction between the »holy« (often presented as St. George) and »profane« warrior.

Dr Marian Wenzel

BOSNIAN HISTORY AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN POLICY: SOME MEDIEVAL BELTS, THE BOGOMIL ROMANCE AND THE KING TVRTKO GRAVES

The author exposes the way in which a false view of the cultural history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, projected for political reasons by Austria-Hungary in the

early years of its occupation of the province, can still have repercussions in the work of present-day scholars of European art-history who have no reason to suspect its operation. An instance is given in which a number of falsified archeological results from early in the century have been taken at face value by later scholars and have resulted in the misdating by half a century or more of an important group of silver-gilt belts. The group is re-dated on the basis of more reliable evidence.

Grgo Gamulin

A STUDY IN SYNCRETISM

The author deals with the universal question of syncretism which fuses two heterogeneous styles. In this case they are the Romanesque painting in Italy and the Byzantine style. He also emphasises the difference between the Comnenian and Palaeologan Byzantine styles, which caused the appearance of Paolo Veneziano and the Venetian 14 c painting. He touches upon the question of symbiosis with Giotto's style, and then moves on to the 300 year long crippling phase of Italo-Cretan painting. Within are to be found: the question of eclecticism and real symbiosis; the rare great syntheses:

Giunta — Cimabue — Paolo, and the great El Greco synthesis which occurred later.

Grgo Gamulin

HARDLY DISCERNIBLE SYNCRETISM, HARDLY ACHIEVABLE SYNTHESIS

This theoretic paper for the Congress on Painter Pordenone in 1984 deals with the pending issue of mannerism in Venetian sixteenth century painting. The author once again returns to the previously explored field, trying to determine the differences among several mannerist manifestations in Venice. He emphasises the somewhat neglected phenomenon of Lorenzo Lotto and seeks distinctions regarding Pordenone's »non-functional« synthesis. Within are to be found: why his development suddenly ceased and the mannerism became soother; in what ways he differs from syncretic symbiosis, conventional mannerism and the real synthesis in El Greco's case. The study comprises some other phenomena, including still unresolved questions concerning Venetian 16 c development e. g. the question of substrate which initiated the peculiar growth of different mannerist styles. In this case it is the substrate of the Giorgione — Tizian line of descent, which clashed with the »grand manner« of Central Italy, and on some occasions with Parmigianino.