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## RADULOVIĆ LINEAGE OF DUBROVNIK AND THE MODENA ARMORIAL

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**ABSTRACT:** This article examines the genealogical, heraldic and cultural-historical aspects of the recently online accessible armorial from the holdings of the *Biblioteca Estense Universitaria* in Modena. It has been established that this is one of the copies of Korjenić-Neorić Armorial dating from 1595, produced for the Radulović lineage of Ragusan Antunini. The legend of their Bosnian-Hum origin, settlement in Dubrovačko Primorje, social status and relations with the Kingdom of Naples link the Radulović captains and shipowners with the circle of the founders of the 'Illyrian heraldry'. At the start of the seventeenth century, the Radulović bought a feudal estate and the city of Polignano in Apulia, received the title of marquis and moved there permanently. Radulović coat of arms is based on that of the Radijelović from the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, whilst its composite variant includes another six coats of arms from the same collection. Radulović Armorial probably dates from the end of the seventeenth century, and was made for the most influential member of the lineage at the time, Cardinal Nikola Radulović (1627-1702), Archbishop of Chieti.

*Keywords:* Radulović Armorial, Illyrian Heraldry, Dubrovnik, Naples, Polignano, Sfondrati, Cardinal Nikola Radulović

A closer insight into 'Illyrian heraldry' leads to a conclusion that the origin of the oldest and most famous armorial versions is directly connected

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to a specific circle of late sixteenth-century lineages from Dubrovačko Primorje, who rose to prominence in the naval service of the Spanish and Naples crown, who were related by kinship as well as real or fictive Bosnian-Hum noble descent.<sup>1</sup>

The recently published armorial of the Radulović lineage from the library in Modena confirms this conclusion in terms of both content and symbolism. Genealogical and heraldic heritage of this specific Radulović lineage, traced from Popovo Polje in Dubrovnik's hinterland, across the island of Lopud and Dubrovnik, to Naples and Polignano, fits into the concept of the 'Illyrian heraldry'. In addition, the armorial fills the historical gaps of this lineage who from 1604 to 1713 governed the city and estate of Polignano (today Polignano a Mare, 35 km south of Bari) in the Kingdom of Naples, maintaining lasting connections with Dubrovnik, its old homeland.

### *Introduction: the context of Illyrian heraldry*

Korjenić-Neorić Armorial of 1595 is the oldest collection of blazoned coats of arms of countries, dynasties and noble lineages of an imaginary *cesarstvo ilirsko* ('Illyrian empire'). From the end of the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century numerous variants modelled after the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial emerged, in literature commonly known as *ilirski grbovnici* ('Illyrian armorials'). Besides the original housed at the National and University Library in Zagreb, so far 23 armorials of different redactions have been traced, the ones kept in Bologne, Vienna, Berlin, London, Fojnica and Belgrade being among the most important.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On Slano-Primorje circle of authors, on the genesis and ideology of 'Illyrian heraldry', and on the literature pertaining to this topic see: Stjepan Čosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja. Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik iz 1595*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> The lists of Illyrian armorials also include the once known yet destroyed or lost copies, as well as those of whose earlier existence we know indirectly from the sources. For the list of Illyrian armorials see: Dragomir M. Acović, *Heraldika i Srbi*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike, 2008: pp. 218-219. For a survey of content and comparison of different versions of Illyrian armorials see: Aleksandar Solovjev, »Prinosi za bosansku i ilirsku heraldiku«. *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, N.S. 9-10 (1954): pp. 87-137 and Srđan Rudić, *Vlastela ilirskog grbovnika*. Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2006: pp. 59-91. On Illyrian armorials also see: Aleksandar Palavestra, *Ilirski grbovnici i drugi heraldički radovi*. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i Dosije studio, 2010.

Korjenić-Neorić Armorial and its first copies are of Dubrovnik provenance. Their makers came from the seafaring lineages of Dubrovačko Primorje: Grgurić-Ivelja-Ohmućević, Dolisti-Tasovčić-Diničić and Korjenić-Neorić with the Jerinić and Kmetović colaterals. They descended from petty feudal lords originating from Dubrovnik's immediate hinterland, Hum and the Trebinje area, who by the end of the fifteenth century fled before the Ottomans to the Dubrovnik Republic, more specifically to the area of Slano and its environs. From the mid-sixteenth and through the seventeenth century, numerous members of these lineages distinguished themselves as captains and commanders in the naval campaigns of the Spanish kings Charles V, Philip II, III and IV, and their Naples viceroys. For their armorials, the wealthy seafaring families simply assumed the mainly apocryphal traditions that linked them with the nobility of medieval Bosnia, Hum and Serbia, including into their armorial almost all of their Primorje kin and affins. Thus 'Illyrian heraldry' emerged as a complex, historically 'delayed' system of symbols which reflected a distorted image of a medieval elite of the pre-Ottoman period. Ideological code of the Illyrian armorials from such a perspective is quite clear: in expectation of the anti-Ottoman *reconquista*, they served to legitimise and confirm the ancient noble rights and privileges of Christian lineages of the imaginary 'Illyric land', notably in pre-Turkish Bosnia and Hum, as well as medieval areas under the Nemanjić rule. However, the main political reference in the armorials is the transfer of the medieval Bosnian crown (*translatio regni*) to the Holy See, along with the heritage of the Kotromanić and Nemanjić—according to genealogical ties and the last will of the Bosnian Queen Katarina—which was to be achieved with the expulsion of the Ottomans. In this light, Illyrian heraldry may be viewed as a form of 'invented tradition'. What we have here is a series of attempts to use heraldic reconstruction and mistification over a span of several centuries in order to legitimise and fulfil personal, familial, group, ideological, national and broader political goals.

Illyrian armorials display a marked difference with regard to the images of patron saints, as well as the number and sequence of the land, dynastic and lineage coats of arms. Basically, they share the same heraldic content. They are collections of pre-Ottoman coats of arms of the lands and the 'alleged' Bosnian, Serbian, Hum, Primorje, Dalmatian, Croatian and Albanian, i.e. 'Illyrian' dynastic lords and nobility.

### *Radulović Armorial in Modena*

As of recently accessible in digitised form, this armorial is kept at the *Biblioteca Estense Universitaria* in Modena, and is part of the Càmpori manuscript collection.<sup>3</sup> Library tools fail to provide the volume's precise attribution or description, but on the basis of its content one may ascertain that it belonged to the members of the Radulović lineage and that it probably dates from the close of the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> Considering that the Radulović were connected with the mentioned circle of the founders of 'Illyrian heraldry' through maritime and trade profession, descent and place of origin, their armorial has also been modelled after that of the Korjenić-Neorić. Indeed, because of the specific data it comprises, Radulović Armorial calls for an in-depth analysis and contextualisation.

Bound in leather, the volume is 21 cm by 14, consisting of 85 paper leaves without watermarks. In the bottom left corner of each leaf, foliation in Roman numerals has been added. Inscription on the hard-paper inner cover reads: *insignia*. The first leaf contains the title: *INSIGNIA PROCE / RVM / BOSNAE, CROATIAE, ILLYRIAE & C. / QUORUM ALTER LIBER UNICUS ASSERVATUR PENES / RAGVSII REMPVBLICAM / NOBILITAS*. Title page is illustrated with the usual allegorical depiction of the nobility—a crowned woman holding a spire in her right hand—and an armed knight on the left palm.

The recto and verso of the second and third leaf contain an index of lineage and land coats of arms arranged in alphabetical order: *Syllabvs eorvm, qvorvm / insignia refervntvr*

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<sup>3</sup> The manuscript's shelf number is: Camp. 631=gamma. D. 6. 16. Its first owner, Giuseppe Càmpori (1821-1887), was a Modena aristocrat, art and manuscript collector, bibliophile, writer, politician and Mayor of Modena (1864-1866). The voluminous collection of five thousand manuscripts and one hundred thousand letters, which he bequeathed to his native town, since 1893 has been housed at the *Biblioteca Estense* (today *Biblioteca Estense Universitaria*). Càmpori spent his life in Modena, yet his collector's pursuits prompted his travels across Italy and Europe. How and where the Radulović armorial came into his possession remains unknown.

<sup>4</sup> The armorial is available in digitised form on the Modena Library web site, yet according to an apocryphal entry on the last page, its authorship in the catalogue has been uncritically attributed to Stanislav Rubčić (Stanislaus Rubcich). I am very grateful to Maro Ćorić for having drawn my attention to the armorial's content shortly after its posting on the net: <http://bibliotecaestense.beniculturali.it/info/img/mss/i-mo-beu-gamma.d.6.16.pdf>



Figure 1. Title page of the Radulović Armorial (*Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena*)

SYLLABVS EORVM, QVORVM INSIGNIA REFERVNTVR	
<b>A</b>	<b>D</b>
Alaupouich . p. 101	Dalmatiæ . p. 5
Alinich . 148	Dukaginouich . 19
<b>B</b>	Dignicich . 20
Bosnæ . 4	Dikgnich . 55
Bulgariæ . 8	Draxoeuich . 66
Brankouich . 18	Didlouich . 87
Baofcich . 29	Debeglich . 97
Begafcinouich . 43	Deskoeuich .
Bielofceuich . 50	Diuoeuich . 142
Bolnich . 51	Denouich . 147
Bisaglich . 52	<b>E</b>
Bielauich . 95	Eusebifouich . 125
Barzoeuich . 110	<b>F</b>
Branilouich . 111	Frankopanouich . 32
Bachich . 121	<b>G</b>
Babich . 123	Gribeglianouich . 17
Bogopakouich . 134	Grubkouich . 37
Bieloperieuich . 146	Goikouich . 61
Burmalouich . 23	Gliuberich . 66
Buoikouich . 116	Giubaceuich . 67
<b>C</b>	Gliubibrarich . 69
Croatia . 6	Grubiesceuich . 81
Cihorich . 47	Gradanouich . 82
Ciubrerich . 128	Glauiich . 83
	Glenditaglich . 89
	Gliubkouich . 135

Figure 2. Index of lineages and coats of arms in the Radulović Armorial

Fourth leaf is void, while from the fifth leaf onwards follow blazoned coats of arms designated in Arabic ordinal numbers in the top right corner. The fifth leaf contains a constructed coat of arms of Stefan Dušan (*Imperatoris Stephani Nemagnich Insignia*), followed by ten land coats of arms (*Macedoniae, Illyriae, Bosnae, Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae, Bulgariae, Svrbiae, Rasciae, Primordiae*). The arms of Tzar Dušan and Macedonia are on the fifth and sixth leaf with the void versos. From the seventh leaf on, follows a sequence of coats of arms depicted on both recto and verso. Leaf eleven contains the coat of arms of Dušan's successor, Uroš (*Regis Steph. Vrosii Nemagnich Insignia*), whilst from leaf 12 to 84 follow 139 lineage insignia. The series is discontinued on leaves 78, 79 and 80 (with void versos), which contain three depictions dedicated to the owners of the armorial. Leaves 78 and 80 contain two variants of the composite coats of arms of the Radulović lineage, which will be dealt with later, and leaf 79 contains a drawing of two grapevines shooting from the same roots and climbing around oak trees. The cartouche at the top contains an apparently puzzling motto: *PERIERAMNISIPERIISSEM*, behind which is a Latin version of the Greek sentence: *Perieram nisi periissem* (I should have been ruined had I not been ruined before). The sentence is ascribed to the Athenian strategist Themistocles, who defeated the Persians in the decisive battle at Salamina in 480 B.C. By a curious twist of fate, it was in Persia that Themistocles, having been ostracised in 464, found refuge together with his offspring. To Themistocles' surprise, his former enemies welcomed him with the greatest of honours. Midst the Persian opulence, according to Thucydides and Plutarch, Themistocles addressed his children in the following words: "We should have been ruined had we not been ruined before" (*Perieramus nisi periissemus*).

Paraphrased and interpreted in the first person singular, this sentence has actually been used as motto of the Radulović.<sup>5</sup> Doubtless, in choosing their own motto the Radulović were guided by the historical experience of their lineage, as their blessed 'ruin' probably came in the form of their flight from Hum and Popovo before the Turks to the island of Lopud and to Dubrovnik, where they rose to wealth, and later to Naples, where they maximised their assets and were granted noble title. Analogy with Themistocles and his fate proved equally appealing to others. A similar motto (*Periissemus nisi periissemus*) for their insignia—a sailing ship wrecked on a reef in stormy sea—was chosen

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<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Usporedni životopisi*, vol. I. Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1988: pp. 197-198.



Figure 3. Radulović motto in their armorial



in 1636 by the Bermudas Company traders. It evokes an event that marked the beginning of colonisation of the Bermuda Isles (Somers Isles), as the families who permanently settled on the islands after the shipwreck found prosperity there, and Themistocles' saying could just as well apply to their fortunate misfortune.<sup>6</sup> It later served as model for the coat of arms of the Bermuda Islands.<sup>7</sup>

Leaves 81 to 84 continue with lineage coats of arms. The last leaf 85 contains a statement on the armorial which reads:

*Haec insignia collegit atque depinxit Stanislaus Rubicich Rex Insigniorum Imperatoris Stefani Nemagnich anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragesimo quinto, ea autes posuit at depinxit cum hac distincione quod Insignia Regnorum Provinciarum Regionis Illyriae nec non illa familiarum regiarum ac procerum Illustriorum at titulatorum depinxit coronatus, ut videtur illa autes que non sunt illius sfera, sed parum Inferiores ponit sine Corona; Istius Libri originalis penes Ragusii Rempublicas asservatur ex, quo Huius presentis libri extracta sunt haec Insignia, modo et ordino, ita quo manente in originali.*

Repeated here is the mistification from older armorials on Stanislav Rubčić, who, as *rex insigniorum* of Tzar Stefan Dušan, as early as 1345 compiled and blazoned the arms of the Illyrian dynastic lords and nobility. Also, further claimed is that this copy was made after a certain copy of the original kept in the Dubrovnik Republic.<sup>8</sup> This statement, along with a virtually identical lineage-heraldic content, directly links the Radulović volume with the oldest Korjenić-Neorić Armorial or some of its earliest copies in Dubrovnik.

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<sup>6</sup> In both cases, that of the Radulović and the first inhabitants of the Bermudas, the choice of motto implied a certain level of learning in search of parallel fates in ancient Greek and Roman history. Considering that we do not find this motto in the oldest Radulović coats of arms cut in stone from the early seventeenth century, the time of its emergence is difficult to determine, as well as the fact whether at all it had been used before the armorial's production. If not, the Bermudas motto is then older and it may have served as inspiration to the Radulović.

<sup>7</sup> The current coat of arms of the Bermudas has remained the same, yet the old (Themistocles') motto has been replaced by a new one conveying a similar idea and message, the author of which is Vergil: *Quo Fata Ferunt* (*Aeneid*, V, 709).

<sup>8</sup> The authorship of Stanislav Rubčić is already mentioned in the Korjenić-Neorić original, yet neither the original nor later copies mention the year of its production (1345). This piece of data first appears in the Fojnica Armorial, produced in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. For a more extensive account on this see: S. Ćosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*: pp. 17, 30-31, 158-159.

Discrepancies are as follows: Radulović Armorial does not contain images of patron saints nor the cartouches with lineage names in the Cyrillic, nor coats of arms of the following two lineages: the Tarcarović (XCVI) and the Hrabrenović (XCVII). Given the consecutive order of these insignia, there is reason to assume that they were simply overlooked and omitted by Radulović's copyist. Omitted from the Modena armorial are also eleven, non-attributed coats of arms of the Spanish relatives of the Korjenić-Neorić from the end of their armorial.<sup>9</sup> The sequence of lineage arms in the Radulović Armorial is somewhat different from that of Korjenić-Neorić original, in that some of the surnames were recorded incorrectly which may point to the copyist's poor language competence, his foreign origin or entirely faded tradition of some surnames (*Begascinovich, Sitniklanich, Glenditaglich, Bvoikovich, Evsebiswich, Piklelomenovich, Bogopakovich, Sicbich*). In addition, the Radulović volume is undated, and the title does not contain the name of the lineage it belonged to. With regard to the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, the sequence of lineages of the Primorje circle is somewhat altered in the Radulović Armorial. Hence the coat of arms of the Radulović/Radijelović has been promoted from the 47th to 25th standing, the Diničić from the 95th to 20th, and of the Ursinić from the 141st to 38th place. The arms of the Ohmućević and Tasovčić have almost retained their standings. As in the Fojnica Armorial, the Korjenić-Neorić coat of arms has lost its dual surname form, featuring Neorić only, while the arms have been promoted from the 77th to 65th place.

The armorial is drawn in coloured ink, by an inexperienced hand. The blazons and the accompanying illustrations are of lesser quality than those of the Korjenić-Neorić, Vienna, Bologna, Berlin, London and Belgrade II armorials. In this respect, Radulović Armorial best resembles that of Fojnica. It is evident, however, that the maker of the Radulović Armorial tried to embellish his collection with artistic elements not to be found in its counterpart from Fojnica, nor in older armorials. These embellishments include originally painted rectangular borders around some of the lineage insignia. While the arms on the versos have only two- or three-tincture borders, the arms blazoned on the rectos are embellished with richly painted borders with abstract and geometrical patterns or floral and zoomorphic motifs. Some borders contain human figures and scenes from everyday life.

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<sup>9</sup> On these coats of arms and the lineages bearing them see: Stjepan Ćosić, »Španjolski grbovi u grbovniku Korjenić-Neorića iz 1595«, in: *Spalatumque dedit ortum: Zbornik povodom desete godišnjice Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu*, ed. Ivan Basić and Marko Rimac. Split: Odsjek za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, 2014: pp. 283-308.



Figure 4. Coats of arms with depicted borders: Kostanjić, Čihorić, Kosoviĉ and Kragujeviĉ



Figure 5. Radulović (Radijelović) coat of arms in their armorial

Promotion among magnate lineages as well as the ‘renaming’ of the Radulović coat of arms clearly suggests the owners of the armorial. Similar actions were undertaken by the authors of other armorial copies. However, in the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, along with other Illyrian armorials which were used as source for the Radulović Armorial, lineage surname appears as Radijelović (*Radielovich*). Although one may not exclude the possibility that it is one and the same lineage (surname), it is far more likely that it is a case of an homonymous adoption of a coat of arms by a lineage whose rise to prominence was of a later date, and which by doing so attempted to legitimise its social status. The arms of the Radijelović (Radulović) belong among the simplest and in all Illyrian armorials appear in the same form: argent a bend gules, on top of crowned helmet unicorn rampant argent, with the lambrequin blazoned as argent and gules.

Similar borrowings have been detected with numerous lineages which drew from the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial. Further analysis aims to elucidate the owners of this armorial, their genealogy and ties with the Slano circle of the founders of Illyrian heraldry, as well as the time of the armorial’s production.

#### *Radulović genealogy: Popovo – Lopud – Dubrovnik – Polignano*

On the medieval lineage of Radijelović in Bosnia and Hum there are no reliable sources. Presumably, a line of petty noble lords existed by that name, whose members accepted Islam, and are mentioned in Rogatica (eastern Bosnia). The Radijelović/Radilović of Catholic faith have been traced in the surroundings of Fojnica and between Kiseljak and Busovača, and in some other places in Bosnia.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the Radulović based in Dubrovnik and Apulia, apparently certain Radijelovići of Bosnia in the seventeenth century also claimed the coat of arms and noble status. Namely, during the Great War of 1689, King Leopold I issued a charter confirming noble title to a certain Lovro Stjepanov Radilović, descendant of the “ancient lineage in the Bosnian Kingdom, for his contributions to the preservation of the faith of his forefathers and huge expenditures on his behalf regarding the pay off of Christian prisoners from Ottoman imprisonment”. Radilović was granted the Hungarian and Croatian title of count “de Vizzoki in Bosna”, in addition to a coat of arms as the one in the Illyrian armorials.

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<sup>10</sup> On the Radijelovići/Radilovići in Bosnia see: S. Rudić, *Vlastela ilirskog grbovnika*: pp. 204-205; Emir O. Filipović, »Popratni tekst«, u: *Fojnički grbovnik*. Sarajevo-Zagreb: Rabić i Nova stvarnost, 2009: p. 202.

Emil Laszowski's research into the origin and fate of this lineage gave no result.<sup>11</sup> The existence of two or more lineages who claimed the same coat of arms from a common source had become a relatively frequent practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which points to the polymorphic nature, utility and inconsistency of the concept of Illyrian heraldry. Thus among those claiming the arms of the Radijelović/Radilović was also that of Radiucig (Radievčić?) of Kranj, who apparently migrated from Bosnia in the sixteenth century. In 1601, Archduke Ferdinand (later Emperor and King Ferdinand II) confirmed ancient nobility to Petar Radiucig. He was succeeded by his brother Mihovil, while his heir Ludovik was granted the title of baron of the Austrian hereditary lands by Empress Maria Theresa in 1761. Two quarters of the Radiucig coat of arms were charged with the arms of the Radijelović from the Illyrian armorials.<sup>12</sup> Certainly, in this case Lovro Radilović and Radiucig of Kranj had nothing to do with the production of the armorial in Italy, for which the credit goes to the Ragusan newcomers Radulovići.

Who were the Radulović and where did they originate from? The genealogy of this nonnoble lineage of Dubrovnik may be traced in *Vlajkijeva genealogija antunina* (*Vlajki's Genealogy of the Antunini*) from the early sixteenth century, complemented by other sources. Some Primorje and island lineages, among which fall the Radulović, fostered legends of their pre-Ottoman Hum and Bosnian origin. A genealogy of the Radulović by an unknown author from the end of the eighteenth century, as their apical ancestor in Dubrovnik records a certain Mato, *nobile bossinese*, who after the fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia remained in Herzegovina, from where he moved to Dubrovnik in 1482.<sup>13</sup>

Oral tradition on the Hum origin of the Radulović survived the lineage itself. Thus the appendix of volume six of the second edition of Ferdinando Ughelli's *Italia Sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium* from 1720 comprises an account of the origin of the lineage's most famous representative, Cardinal Nikola Radulović (1625-1702), Archbishop of Chieti. The author of this supplement, Nicola Coleti, might have learnt these facts solely from the last heirs of the Radulović, or from some of their closer kin. He mentions Frano, cardinal's father, as "the third marquis of Polignano and fifteenth count of Zavala". According to the same

<sup>11</sup> Emil Laszowski, »Radijelovići, bosanska velikaška porodica«. *Napredak kalendar* (1933): pp. 66-68.

<sup>12</sup> Bartol Zmajčić, »Legalizacije grbova nekih naših obitelji na temelju Ohmućevićevog grbovnika«. *Glasnik arhivâ i društva arhivskih radnika BiH* 7/7 (1967): pp. 46-47.

<sup>13</sup> Croatian Academy Archives, I.c.63. The mentioned Radulović genealogy is neither reliable nor complete, and it comprises some additions on the lateral kin ties by the female line.

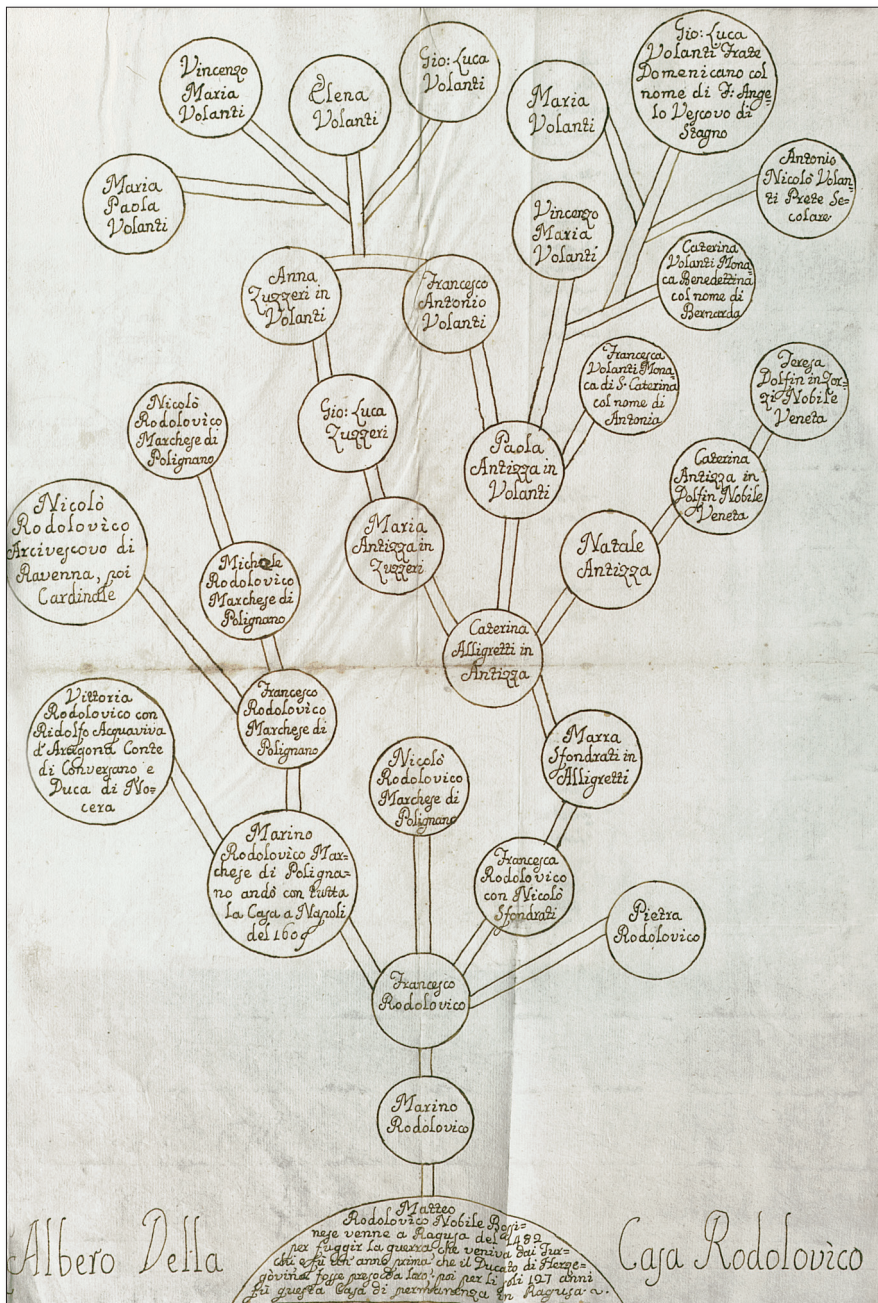


Figure 6. Incomplete genealogy of the Radulović with data on colateral descent by the female line (Croatian Academy Archives, I.c.63)

account cited by Coleti, the lineage's forefather was Radul, "commander of the army of Hungarian king Béla", while his descendants were forced to flee to Dubrovnik before the Ottomans, from where they later moved to Apulia.<sup>14</sup> A while later, in 1733, in a report of the conditions in Trebinje bishopric, addressed to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, Marko Andrijašević, Archbishop of Sofia in exile, writes about the Catholic refugees on the Apennines. In that context he also mentions the ancestors of Cardinal Nikola Radulović, who from Češljari (part of Zavala) fled to Dubrovnik before the Turks, and then to Italy.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, this account of the Radulović follows the same genealogical narrative witnessed with the founders of Illyrian heraldry, Ohmućević, Dolisti-Tasovčić and Korjenić-Neorić: ancient Bosnian-Hum noble origin, titles and estates from the pre-Ottoman period, flight before the Ottoman invasion and re-establishment of the noble family line in the new circumstances.

The sources, however, confirm a successful yet not as nearly dramatic family history. Marin Nikolin Radulović is mentioned as a shipowner from Lopud in a will from 1523,<sup>16</sup> while his rise and that of his son Frano (\*c. 1505) is documented

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<sup>14</sup> Pavao Knezović cursorily attributed this statement on Cardinal Radulović to Ferdinando Ughelli (1595-1670). See: Pavao Knezović, »Kardinal Nikola Radulović (spomen na 300-tu obljetnicu smrti)«. *Bosna franciscana* 17 (2002): pp. 293-300. Namely, the first edition of Ughelli's work was published in 1659, the same year when Radulović was named Archbishop of Chieti. As the work did not include contemporary data, there is no mention of Radulović in it. Reference to Radulović was made thanks to the addition of Nikola Coleti in the second edition of Ughelli's book published 50 years after the author's death and 18 years after the death of Cardinal Radulović. See: Ferdinando Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de episcopis Italiae et insularum adjacentium*, vol. VI, ed. Nicolaus Coleti. Venetiis: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1720: pp. 770-771 (...in Dardania nunc Bossina, Comes Savallis, ubi a Radulo Copiarum Belae Regis Hungariae Supremo Praefecto sua gens originem ducit, qua postea regione a Turcis occupata, in Epidaurum nunc Ragusii, transmigravit...).

<sup>15</sup> Milenko Krešić, »Depopulacija istočne Hercegovine izazvana turskim osvajanjem«. *Povijesni prilozi* 39 (2010): pp. 116-117. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Radulović could be found in several villages of Trebinje bishopric and in Dubrovnik. In Češljari and Zavala the lineage is mentioned until the early nineteenth century, and is later associated with the surnames Damjanović and Krečak in Češljari and Potrebica in Zavala. The remaining bearers of the Radulović surname lived in the village of Kaladžurđevići until the end of the twentieth century. See: Marijan Sivrić, *Migracije iz Hercegovine na dubrovačko područje (1667.-1808.)* [= *Humski zbornik* 6 (2003)]: pp. 45, 284; Marinko Marić, »Katoličko stanovništvo i rodovi Orahova Dola i Zavale«, in: *Od Dubrave do Dubrovnika prigodom 300-godišnjice rođenja Ruđera Boškovića*, ed. Ivica Puljić. Neum-Dubrovnik, 2011: p. 164; Domagoj Vidović and Stanislav Vukorep, »Mjestopis i toponimija Dubrave«, in: *Od Dubrave do Dubrovnika prigodom 300-godišnjice rođenja Ruđera Boškovića*, ed. Ivica Puljić. Neum-Dubrovnik, 2011: pp. 176, 186-188.

<sup>16</sup> *Testamenta notariae*, ser. 10.1, vol. 33, ff. 223v-224r, State Archives in Dubrovnik (hereafter as: SAD). Given that Marin's father was named Nikola, it is difficult to establish a genealogical link with the alleged apical ancestor Mato, who is mentioned in this genealogy.



in a family collection entitled *Atti relativi ai beni Radulovich (1524-1562)*.<sup>17</sup> In 1524 Captain Marin Radulović bought a large house with the adjoining land and garden on Lopud, in the vicinity of the count's palace, from Pavo Andrijin Jelić. The price was 600 ducats, and according to the contract, Marin paid one part upon return from the voyage from Crete to England, from where he brought a load of quality fabrics. His son, Captain Frano, moved in 1541 from Lopud to Dubrovnik, where by 1552 he was already admitted to the Confraternity of St Anthony, which was a confirmation of his wealth and reputation. He married three times, and each spouse had a substantial dowry. From his first marriage he had one daughter, and from his second, four. Having married his second wife Pave, from her father, Ivan Pavlov Tiganjica, known as Fornarica, he bought a house in 1548 in the Fišić street (today Dinko Ragnina Street and Marojica Caboga Street). In 1555, from Miho Sabov Bobali Frano bought land in Zaton, Obrovo and Postranje in Župa. Slave, daughter of Bartul Bratutti, became his third wife at the end of 1555, and from her father he soon bought a large house with a yard, garden, cistern and auxiliary buildings in the sexterium of St Mary, at a price of 1,840 ducats. In the ensuing years, the couple had two daughters and four sons.<sup>18</sup>

Marin's sons, Nikola (1556-1608), Marin (1562-1648) and Trojan (c. 1571-1606), were to be credited with the lineage's rise in both Dubrovnik and in Apulia. Being engaged in seafaring and trade, Nikola and Marin often visited the ports of the Kingdom of Naples, while Trojan was a lawyer in Naples. In the list of captains and ships from the area of the Dubrovnik Republic in the service of the Spanish kings Philip II, III and IV between 1584 and 1645, as compiled by a Ragusan Dominican originating from Slano, Desiderije NENCHI, we find two Radulović brothers. Traced among the captains from Dubrovnik is also Marin Radulović, commander of three caracks with a capacity of 700, 800 and 900 *carri* respectively (*Misericordia*, *San Francisco* and *San Salvator*), and among those from Lopud is Nikola Radulović, captain of a carack with the

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<sup>17</sup> It is a copy of several documents from Ragusan notary and chancery books. The copies were probably made for family purposes, and comparison with the originals confirms their authenticity. The collection comprises 16 parchment folios, bound in a leather codex, while the title was added much later. The collection also includes documents on the legal ownership history of the Sfondrati house in Dubrovnik, which the Radulović probably inherited (*Privata*, ser. 19, vol. 5, SAD). Unless stated otherwise, all property data related to the first Radulović is presented on the basis of this collection.

<sup>18</sup> *Rukopisna ostavština Čingrija*, vol. 2 (*Vlajkijeva genealogija antunina*), ff. 333r-334v, SAD.

capacity of 900 *carri* (*Il Nome di Dio*) and a *nava* with the capacity of 400 *carri* (*Sant'Antonio di Padova*).<sup>19</sup> According to this list, the Ragusans in Spanish service had as many as 55 ships, followed by the shipowners of Lopud with 38, and those of Slano with 32 vessels. Judging by this information, the Radulović maintained their estates and ships on Lopud after moving to Dubrovnik. Nikola Marinov Radulović made a fortune by trading grain from Apulia, and in the early 1580s moved to Naples, where his brother Trojan was living, a city which hosted a large community of Ragusan merchants, seafarers and clerics.<sup>20</sup> In a letter to the secretary of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, a representative of the Mantua court in Naples mentions Radulović's huge wealth, the fact that he owned three ships and that in Mantua he traded in salt and oil.<sup>21</sup> Lastly, in 1604, from the family of a Spaniard Pedro Mayorca, for a sum of 84,600 ducats Nikola bought the estate and the city of Polignano on the Adriatic coast near Bari.<sup>22</sup> It was a city-castle with two safe harbours surrounded by agricultural land. Along with the estate, Nikola was granted the noble title of "marchese di Polignano" by the Spanish court. The acquisition of Polignano marked the zenith of Radulović's business and financial power. That same year, his mother Slave died in Dubrovnik. According to the will, the brothers were her universal heirs, and they received significant valuables, primarily in jewelry and gold.<sup>23</sup> Having aggrandised the family wealth, Nikola died in Naples in 1608 with no offspring. Trojan died two years before him, and in compliance with Nikola's will, entire assets, real estate and movables in Dubrovnik, Naples and Polignano were inherited by the third brother, Marin Radulović. However, as testator, Nikola

<sup>19</sup> Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Nenchi's list was published a number of times, first publication being: Lorenzo Miniati, *Le glorie cadute dell' Antichissima, ed Augustissima Famiglia Comnena* etc. Venetia: Per Francesco Valvasense, 1663: pp. 25-29 (second, separately paginated volume part). Nenchi brings a list of 168 ships, the owners and captains of which came from various places in the Dubrovnik Republic, and who, in this period, were in the service of the Spanish kings.

<sup>20</sup> Unless stated otherwise, the data on brothers Radulović in Apulia are based on: Ilija Mitić, »Članovi porodice Radulović – podanici Dubrovačke Republike – vlasnici grada Polignano u Apuliji«. *Pomorski zbornik* 21 (1983): pp. 559-565, and Francesco Saverio Perillo, »Famiglie dalmate in terra pugliese: i Radulovich di Polignano«, in: *Homo Adriaticus: Identità culturale e autocoscienza attraverso i secoli*, ed. Nadia Falaschini, Sante Graciotti and Sergio Sconocchia. Reggio Emilia: Edizione Diabasis, 1998: pp. 271-284. Perillo leaned on the available Italian literature, notably the works of local researchers, as well as archival sources.

<sup>21</sup> Radoslav Tomić, »Slikarstvo talijanskog baroka u Hrvatskoj«, in: *Sveto i profano. Slikarstvo talijanskoga baroka u Hrvatskoj*, ed. Radoslav Tomić (Exhibition catalogue). Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori i Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2015: p. 34. Here I would like to thank Dr Radoslav Tomić for the information and assistance on Radulović's artistic heritage.

<sup>22</sup> This amount is mentioned by Perillo (p. 275) according to a Naples source from 1630. Mitić mentions a somewhat smaller amount of 80,395 ducats, which is traceable in the Ragusan sources (p. 561).

<sup>23</sup> *Testamenta Notariae*, vol. 52, ff. 116r-118r.

bequeathed the bulk of real property as fideicommissum. In case of the extinction of the male line, the estate revenues ought to be distributed in favour of the “Monte di Radulovich” charity trust. As instructed by the will, interest rates of the trust property were to be divided according to special ratios between Ragusan and Naples confraternities and church charity institutions.

By 1609, together with his family Marin moved to Apulia to take over the estate and the Polignano title. His wife, Lukrecija, was the daughter of a rich Antunin, Dmtar Sojmirović Serratura. During Marin’s long life and management of the estate, the Radulović established themselves among the noble families of the Kingdom of Naples, as confirmed by his two daughters, Viktorija and Elizabeta, who married into aristocratic houses of the Aquaviva di Conversano and Condò di Trepuzzi, as well as the marriage of his son and heir Frano (1597-1653), who married Baroness Ana Vaaz di Mola.<sup>24</sup> However, after Frano’s assumption in 1643, the estate began to encounter problems. The marquis turned to smuggling as a solution to financial difficulties, due to which the King of Naples in 1649 closed the Polignano port of San Vito. General economic crisis in the Naples Kingdom and the whole of the Mediterranean, which culminated in the mid-sixteenth century, contributed to the swelling of the estate’s debts. During the life of Frano’s elder son and heir, Miho Radulović (1619-1667), fourth marquis of Polignano, known for his literary work and benignant attitude to his inferiors, the exterior grandeur of the house was still maintained despite the mounting debt burden. In this respect, the fact that his younger brother Nikola (1627-1702) had attained a brilliant career of a canonist and prelate was of little comfort. In 1659 he was installed Archbishop of the city of Chieti, while Pope Innocent XII created him a cardinal in 1699.<sup>25</sup> Miho’s son, Frano the Younger, fifth marquis of Polignano, inherited a deeply indebted estate,

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<sup>24</sup> Genealogical data on the Radulović in Polignano, which cannot be found in the works cited in note 14, are based on the chronology of Polignano, in addition to the notes on archival sources, data from parish registers and literature. The chronology was produced in the Polignano cultural centre “u Castarill”, and is accessible on the web site: <http://www.ucastarillpolignanoamare.it/doc/diario.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> Judging by marriage ties, the Radulović remained within the circle of South-Italian aristocratic elite despite their financial decline. In 1639 Miho married Candida Braccaccho, and after her death, in 1649 married Claudia Capece. He devoted himself to literature and ecclesiastical history, and in 1657, in Lecce, published hagiographies of the patron saints of Polignano: Vito, Modesto and Crescenzo (*Il Sacro Gerione overo Della Vita, e Martirio de’ Santi Vito, Modesto, e Crescenza etc.*). In his reference to Ferdinando Ughelli’s *Italia sacra etc.*, the first among non-Dubrovnik Croatian authors to make a short mention of Miho and Nikola Radulović in 1856 was Šime Ljubić in *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia*. Vienna: Rod. Lechner Librajo dell’ I. R. Università, 1856 (pp. 263-264).

but managed to avoid its sale. As he had no male issue, around 1699 he was inherited by his brother Horacio (\*1658), who ultimately, as result of a long and exhausting law suit against the creditors, was forced to sell the estate in 1713. The buyer, Giuseppe Lieto from Castrovillari in Calabria, paid him an amount of 110,001 ducats. Hence the Radulović, after more than a century, were left without property and title. With the death of Horacio's son Nikola Marija in 1724, the lineage died out, while the remains of the once-owned property were to be distributed, according to the fideicommissum arrangement instructed by Nikola Radulović in his will, to the trusts managed by the Dubrovnik Republic.<sup>26</sup> This was contested by Frano Radulović's daughters, nuns in Polignano and in Naples, in favour of their mother Claudia Capece. Through their consul to Naples, the Republic was forced to seek justice at court. Several years of litigation ended to the benefit of Dubrovnik, while in 1728 the money was deposited on a trust account in Naples, which remained active until the very fall of the Dubrovnik state.<sup>27</sup>

### *Radulović coat of arms and armorial in the light of new interpretations*

The origin and lasting ties of the Radulović with Dubrovnik, as well as their cultural traces in Polignano, are essential for the analysis and understanding of the heraldic component of their family history. Brothers Nikola and Marin, the first and second marquis of Polignano, are known as commissioners of the most excellent works of art. On their commissions and art patronage in the early *seicento*, notably on Nikola's payment to Caravaggio, the literature abounds. Apparently, Radulović came in contact with the circle of the Late-Mannerism painters in Naples. Shortly after the acquisition of Polignano, for the main altar of the local Franciscan church of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli* (today *San Antonio*) he commissioned a painting from a Neapolitan painter of the Flemish roots, Gaspar Hovic, with the motif of St Mary of Constantinople. On behalf of the commissioner, Miho Sorgo Balabani, in Naples in 1606, Nikola paid out the painter Girolamo Imparato for the today lost (destroyed) painting of the

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<sup>26</sup> The data on the sale of Polignano and the last issue of the Radulović are cited by Perillo in his work, while Mitić in his essay cites 1723 as the year of sale, and a certain nobleman Rochetti as buyer (in fact, Giulio Valdataro, Marquis of Roccheto), and 1726 as the year of Nikola Radulović's death. Here I have adopted the archival data provided by Perillo.

<sup>27</sup> The documents that Ilija Mitić employed in his study include a series of analyses, copies and reports of the Ragusan representatives in Naples which were used in that legal procedure. *Diplomata et acta saec. XVIII*, ser. 76, vol. 143, no. 3182, SAD.

*Circumcision of Christ*, commissioned for the main altar of the Dominican church in Dubrovnik. His most famous acquisition also dates from the same year. On 6 October, in Naples, he paid 200 ducats to the celebrated Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio for a large canvas painting. The commissioned iconography seems as if it was to 'blend' theological reconciliation of the Franciscans and Dominicans with Nikola's inauguration into the new estate. Besides Virgin Mary and the Child, the composition was also to include: St Francis of Assisi, St Dominic, St Nicholas and St Vitus, as the piece must have been commissioned for the Polignano church. Caravaggio's painting for Nikola Radulović has not been identified to date, and it is still debated whether or not this picture had ever been painted, and if so, what was depicted on it, and whether the painting was destroyed at some point?<sup>28</sup> After brother's death, Marin continued with the renovation, extension and furnishing of the church and Franciscan friary in Polignano, and all the future generations of the Radulović felt this church as their family sanctuary.<sup>29</sup>

By early 1604, in the friary cloister Nikola put up the newly-assumed Radulović arms carved in stone. An identical though smaller sample may be found on the family tomb which, in the presbytery of the church of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli*, before the main altar, was commissioned in 1610 by his brother Marin. It is a marble plaque, 375 cm by 194, bordered with the symbols of war (helmets, shields, swords) and of death (serpents, skulls).<sup>30</sup> The carved border of the plaque with the horizontal part forms two rectangulars. Carved in the upper is the composite coat of arms of the Radulović identical to that

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<sup>28</sup> Data on the commissions and art patronage in this text have been drawn from: Mariella Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione. Episodi di committenza meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento*. Galatina: Congedo, 2002 (notably the chapter: »Le scelte dei Radulovich: da Caravaggio agli epigoni veneti«, pp. 74-100); Mariella Basile Bonsante, »Mercanti di Ragusa e pittura veneta sulle coste dell' Adriatico tra cinque e seicento«, in: *Viaggiatori dell'Adriatico. Percorsi dell' viaggio e scrittura*, ed. Vitilio Masiello. Bari: Palomar athenaeum, 2006: pp. 249-276; Radoslav Tomić, »Dubrovčanin Nikola Radulović i Caravaggio«. *Dubrovnik*, N.S. 4/1 (1993): pp. 96-102; R. Tomić, »Slikarstvo talijanskog baroka u Hrvatskoj«: pp. 11-38. Cited in these volumes is also older literature.

<sup>29</sup> Franciscan complex, church and friary of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli* in the extramural area was completed by the end of the sixteenth century, while after their acquisition of Polignano, the Radulović financed the finishing construction works, furnishing and subsequent extensions. In 1881 the monastic part of the complex was used as hospital, while the church changed its title saint and is now devoted to St Anthony.

<sup>30</sup> A quality photograph of the Radulović tomb stone cannot be made, as in 1713 the new owners of Polignano relocated it to the sacristy wall. See: F. S. Perillo, »Famiglie dalmate in terra pugliese: i Radulovich di Polignano«: p. 279 and note 16.

depicted on leaf 80 of their armorial: quartered shield, quarters 1 and 4 quartered with Radulović/Radijelović coats of arms (1 and 4) and Kovačić (2 and 3). Quarters 2 and 3 are charged with Sfondrati arms. Rectangle corners are decorated with four smaller arms, of Radulović/Radijelović and Kovačić on top, and two Sfondrati arms at the bottom.



Figure 7. Tombstone with composite coat of arms of the Radulović from 1610 (Church of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli* in Polignano). Reproduced from: Mariella Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione. Episodi di committenza meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento*. Galatina: Congedo, 2002.

Below the coat of arms is a damaged and illegible epitaph in honour of the family, while the lower rectangle is void. Radijelović coat of arms (argent a bend gules) and that of Kovačić (argent, on a bend gules three crescents argent, eight-point mullet gules on either side) are known from the Korjenić-Neorić but also from other Illyrian armorials. The coat of arms of the Sfondrati noble lineage of Cremona and Milan, whose branch was among the most distinguished Antunini lineages in Dubrovnik from the second half of the fifteenth century (or, a bend azure counter-embattled, six-point mullet azure on either side), is also known in heraldry.

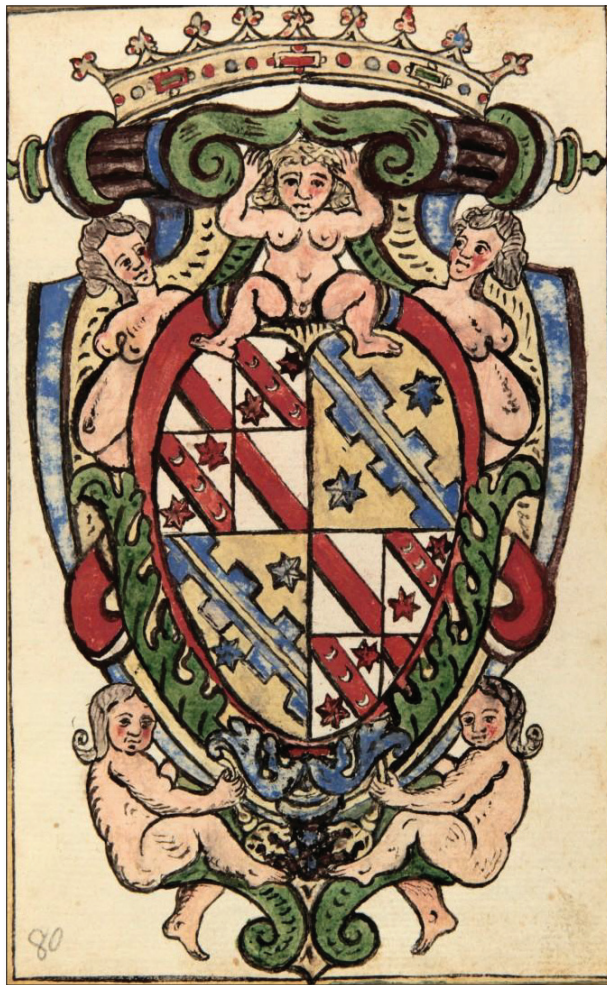


Figure 8. Expanded coat of arms of the Radulović in their armorial

What is the story behind the expanded Radulović coat of arms and why does it consist of these specific components? The period of the lineage's rise in Naples coincided with the emergence of heraldic ideology and the production of the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial of 1595. The first generation of the Radulović of Polignano, brothers Nikola and Marin, were somewhat younger contemporaries of the Ohmućević, Dolisti-Tasovčić and Korjenić-Neorić-Jerinić, who were the creators of the content of the first armorials. In native terms, they, too, belonged to the circle of Primorje lineages, which claimed their pre-Ottoman noble origin. No doubt, Nikola was familiar with the content of the first heraldic collections, and that upon his assumption of Polignano and the title of marquis in 1604, he proposed the heraldic description of his arms to the Spanish court. He created a *blason* of the Radulović which was cut in stone and painted in Polignano, and is also represented in their armorial. How did Nikola do it? If it is not the case of the same surname and lineage, the coat of arms of the Radijelović was the closest in terms of homonymy. The lineage bearing that surname, together with the suspended lozenge, we find in the second generation of the Korjenić-Neorić genealogy. The wife of Count Radmilo, son of progenitor Milat, was Raosava *de Radielovich*. Considering the content and nature of the first Illyrian armorials and related genealogies, without additional reliable sources we cannot ascertain with exactitude the lore on the identical Hum origin of the armorial Radijelović and the Radulović of Lopud with whom we are dealing here.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Nikola's coat of arms with a bend gules was expanded with two more coats of arms for a reason. The Kovačić coat of arms suggests close kinship with the Radulović, yet it is difficult to grasp the exact nature of this relationship because there are virtually no documentary traces on the Kovačić. They are merely mentioned in the Ohmućević genealogy, in which their suspended lozenge stands as symbol of marriage ties with Gredelj Županović, count of Slano, and Count Brajan Ohmućević to the brides from the Kovačić lineage. The mention of the latter lineage in the early generations of the Ohmućević points to its ancient significance among the petty landowners of Primorje, while a hamlet in Majkovi is still known as Kovačići, although the lineage itself died out or changed its name as early as the sixteenth century.

On the other hand, it is quite clear why Nikola adopted the Sfondrati arms. Although it was a distinguished Antunini lineage of state officials with whom the Radulović shared affinal ties, incorporation of their coat of arms into his

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<sup>31</sup> On Korjenić-Neorić genealogy see: S. Čosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*: pp. 65-83.



own composite emblem was primarily aimed at the establishment of a genealogical link with the powerful Cremona and Milan branches of that lineage. Namely, Frana (\*c. 1552), half-sister of Nikola and Marin Radulović and daughter of Frano Marinov from his second marriage, in 1576 married the Republic secretary, Nikola Marinov Sfondrati, last male issue of this lineage in Dubrovnik. The couple had one daughter, Mara, who married Božo Alligretti of the Antunini. Nikola Radulović, a well-off merchant in Naples, apparently considered that the mentioned relationship provided sufficient ground for his claim to the coat of arms of the Ragusan Sfondratis, which is identical to the arms of the Apennine Sfondratis. As it appears, the Sfondrati aristocratic lineage established itself in Cremona as early as the twelfth century, while one branch became well-established in Milan in the late fifteenth century. At the time of Nikola's rise in Naples, two Sfondratis of the Milan branch occupied the highest positions in the Church hierarchy. Cardinal Niccolò Sfondrati (1535-1591) was elected pope in 1590, and was known as Gregory XIV, while his nephew, *cardinal nipote* Paolo Emilio Sfondrati (1560-1618), for years remained among the most influential figures of the Curia. Pope's other nephew, Ercole Sfondrati (1559-1637), was commander of the papal army, while their younger cousin Sigismondo (+1652) later distinguished himself as a Spanish general in Flanders. In sum, the Sfondratis, doubtless, were a desirable lineage in terms of both genealogical and heraldic ties, and however old, the kinship link of the Ragusan Sfondrati with the powerful 'relatives' was sufficient ground for Radulović to incorporate their coat of arms into his composite emblem.

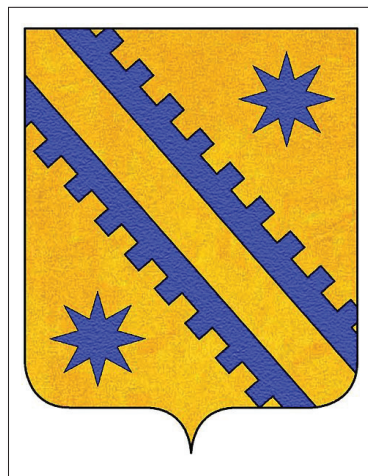


Figure 9. Coat of arms of the Sfondrati of the Apennines and of Dubrovnik

According to *Vlajki's Genealogy of the Antunini*, Pietro, the first Sfondrati, moved from Cremona to Dubrovnik in 1419. Certainly, here he could not enjoy his noble status, yet he soon established himself as state chancellor, this position later being held by his nephews Giovanni and Bartolomeo, sons of Gulielmo from Cremona. In 1461, the latter was admitted into the Confraternity of St Anthony, and for more than half a century (1449-1504) he was among the first to perform the duty of the Republic secretary. His descendants, without exception, held the highest positions in the state administration and in the course of the sixteenth century gave a succession of secretaries.<sup>32</sup> In his dedication of the work *Dello stato delle Repubbliche* from 1591, in diplomatic style and Baroque rhetoric, Nikola Vitov Gozze emphasised the importance of the Sfondratis of Cremona for the Dubrovnik Republic. He dedicated the book to the newly-elected pope, Gregory XIV (Niccolò Sfondrati). Praising the 86-year-old Lovro and his nephew Nikola Marinov (husband of Frana Radulović), the last Sfondratis in Dubrovnik, Gozze reminds that Dubrovnik cherishes warmly the memory of one of Lovro's brothers and Nikola's uncle, who upon the wish of Francesco Sfondrati tutored his son, the future pope, Gregory XIV. As it appears, it was one of the three unmarried brothers of Lovro and Marin Sfondrati—Bartol, Nikola or Pavo—of whose lives no data are available to date. Gozze writes about sincere disposition which pope's father showed towards the Dubrovnik Republic, whose "cardinal protector" he remained until his death.<sup>33</sup> In an exultant tone, imbued with patriotic pathos and gratitude, Nikola Gozze writes his dedication to the pope, who as a cardinal felt deep amity with the Ragusans:

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<sup>32</sup> For genealogy of Ragusan branch of the Sfondrati see: *Vlajkijeva genealogija antunina*, ff. 351r-353v. For the significance of secretarial office in Dubrovnik and the Sfondratis as secretaries see: Stjepan Čosić, »Prinos poznavanju tajništva i arhiva Dubrovačke Republike«. *Arhivski vjesnik* 37 (1994): pp. 123-145.

<sup>33</sup> Francesco Sfondrati (1493-1550), father of Pope Gregory XIV, took holy orders after the death of his wife Anna Visconti in 1543. Pope Paul III created him cardinal in 1544. After several successful diplomatic missions, he died in 1550. Cardinals "protectors of the Republic" were an important component of Ragusan diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Similar to other states, Dubrovnik Republic selected them among the members of the Curia on the basis of their religious and political influence and disposition towards Dubrovnik. They might be described as Dubrovnik's lobbyists in Vatican, with a mission to protect the interests of the Republic with the pope, and intervene in the eventual disputes with third states or alliances, particularly during crisis and war. "Protector" played a special role in the nomination of Archbishops of Dubrovnik. One of the most successful cardinals protectors of the Dubrovnik Republic and with by far the longest term, during the long crisis after *velika trešnja* (Great Earthquake), was a Florentine Francesco Barberini (1597-1679).

*... while cardinal, and when in Cremona you received a couple of our noblemen, you alone did not find it below dignity to count yourself as one of us due to your great disposition, by using during your speech an expression “we Ragusans”. Therefore, I as a Ragusan, as token of lasting service between us and the most excellent Sfondrati family, to whom other may have I, or must have I dedicated this small book of mine On states than to you as a father, shepherd and protector of our Republic?<sup>34</sup>*

The Ragusans were overwhelmed with joy upon the news of the election of Sfondrati as pope on 8 December 1590, of which Gozze enthuses, yet not for long. The pontificate of Gregory XIV lasted less than a year. Pope died of a gallbladder attack on 16 October 1591.



Figure 10. Pope Gregory XIV (Niccolò Sfondrati)

<sup>34</sup> Nikola Vitov Gučetić, *O ustroju država*. Zagreb: Golden marketing and Narodne novine, 2000: p. 78.



Figure 11. Coat of arms of Pope Gregory XIV

Yet, his influential nephew, Cardinal Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, remained Ragusan protector until his death in 1618. However, the Apennine Radulovići were not the only ones who claimed descent from the Sfondratis of Dubrovnik. Upon extinction of the male line in Dubrovnik, in the early seventeenth century heirs by the female line claimed their descent by mistifying and fabricating the data on the origin of Pope Gregory XIV. The earlier mentioned genealogies of the Radulović, Sfondrati and Alligretti from the Croatian Academy Archives confirm this. It concerned the heirs of Frana, sister of Nikola and Marin Radulović, who was married to Nikola Sfondrati, secretary of the Dubrovnik Republic. Her descendants belonged to the Antunini group of lineages: Alligreti, Antizza, Zuzzeri and Volanti, which, like the Sfondratis, created a specific endogamous circle that remained in charge of the Ragusan secretary office and chancery from the mid-seventeenth century until the Republic's fall. Authentic data from *Vlajki's Genealogy of the Antunini* had not been entered into the Sfondrati genealogy, and hence pope's father Francesco was proclaimed descendant of the Dubrovnik branch of the lineage—that is, one of the sons of Giovanni Sfondrati and brother of Marin, Dubrovnik secretary. The legend of the departure of one of Giovanni Sfondrati's sons to act as tutor to the future pope, of which Nikola Vitov Gozze writes, was probably used as foundation of this fabrication. Most certainly, the rest of the data on Sfondrati descendants in this genealogy may be incorrect.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Croatian Academy Archives, I. c. 63 (Genealogies of the Radulović, Sfondrati and Alligreti).

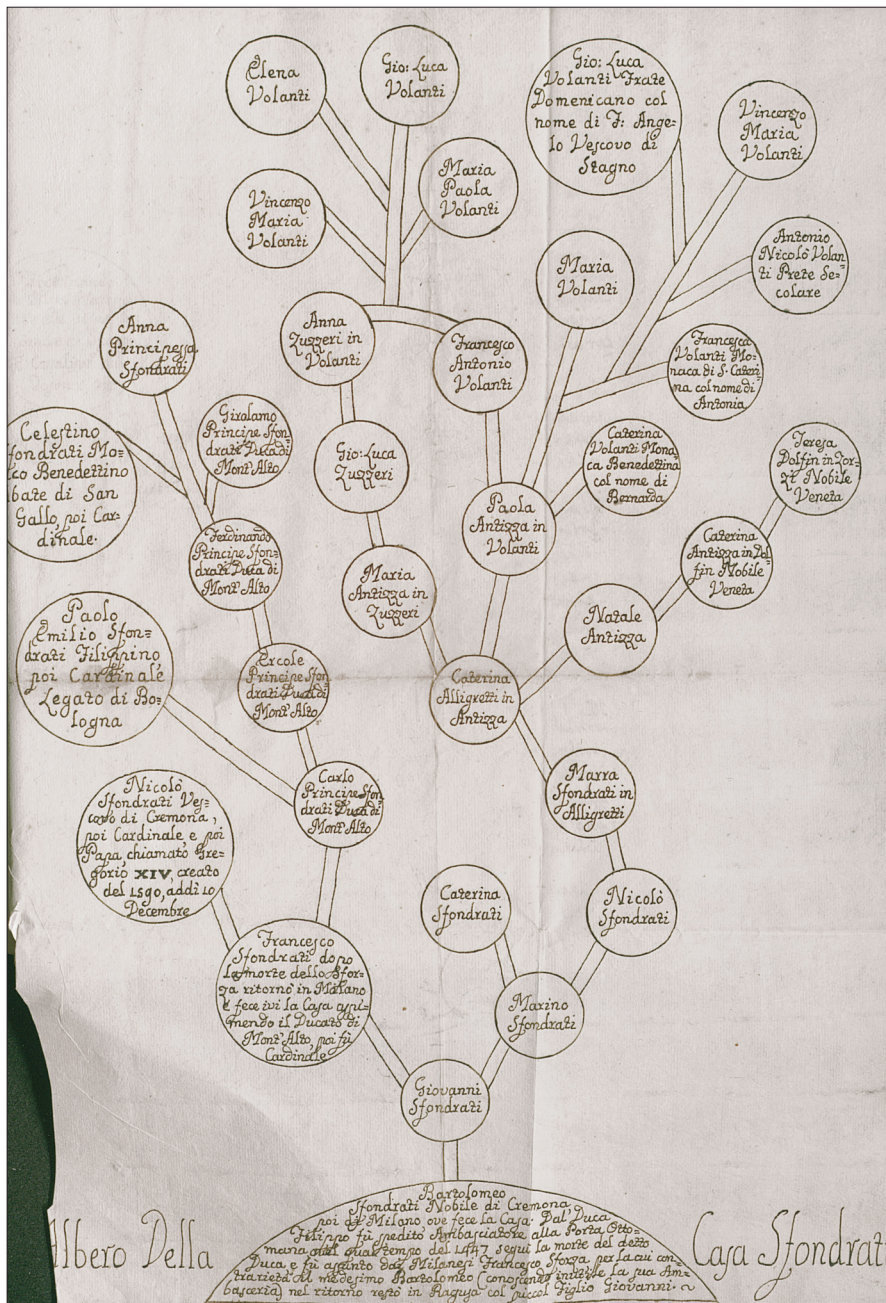


Figure 12. Apocryphal genealogy of the Sfondrati lineage with descendants by the female line (Croatian Academy Archives, I.c.63)

Leaf 78 of the Modena armorial contains a composite coat of arms of the Radulović. The shield is composed out of nine arms, eight of which are known from the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial. In the dexter chief is the Kovačić coat of arm, then that of Sfondrati and Sojmirović, and Sagrijelović in the sinister chief. In the centre fess point is the Radulović (Radijelović) coat of arms, in the dexter fess that of Crnojević, and in the sinister fess that of Hrvojević. Dexter base is charged with the Senčević coat of arms, and sinister base with that of Šimraković, and an unknown coat of arms in the pale base: gules a chevron argent in pale between two fleurs-de-lis, azure charged with three fleurs-de-lis on either side. Crest: on top of shield helmet with crown dexter and white unicorn rampant from Radijelović arms, on top of shield helmet with crown sinister with dragon rampant from Sagrijelović arms. Lambrequin: argent and gules (dexter) and argent and azure (sinister).

The arms of the Radulović, Kovačić and Sfondrati have already been discussed. The arms of the Sojmirović and Sagrijelović can be interpreted. The Sojmirović were one of the oldest Antunini lineages. They arrived in Dubrovnik in 1380 from Novo Brdo (Kosovo). They developed credit trade, and owned market towns and mines inland. According to *Vlajki's Genealogy of the Antunini*, one branch of the Sojmirović in the first half of the sixteenth century governed over Chiprovtsi and the neighbouring estates in today's Bulgaria. Dimitar Sojmirović (c. 1535-1603) from Chiprovtsi, wealthy merchant in Sofia, signed partnership with Bartolomeo Serratura, merchant of Cremona, who in 1560 arrived in Dubrovnik, and from there developed his business in Sofia. Dimitar married Bartolomeo's daughter and adopted the Serratura surname. Around 1590, he moved to Dubrovnik with his family, and in 1595 was admitted to the Confraternity of St Anthony. In 1596, his daughter Lukrecija married Marin Radulović, with whom she moved to Polignano in 1609. The Sojmirović (Serratura) coat of arms thus found its way into the expanded Radulović arms, and it gained in significance in 1670 when Dimitar's grandson, Dimitar Mihov Serratura, was admitted into Ragusan nobility as the first and only member of that lineage.<sup>36</sup> It is likely that the Sagrijelović coat of arms found its way into the composite arms thanks to the marriage ties with the Radulović, although the known part of genealogy offers no ground for this assumption. Prominent

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<sup>36</sup> On the Sojmirović see: Ruža Ćuk, »Porodica Sojmirović iz Novog Brda u Dubrovniku«. *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2 (1993): pp. 13-24; Nenad Vekarić, *Vlastela grada Dubrovnika, 3 - Vlasteoski rodovi (M-Z)*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 2012: p. 254.

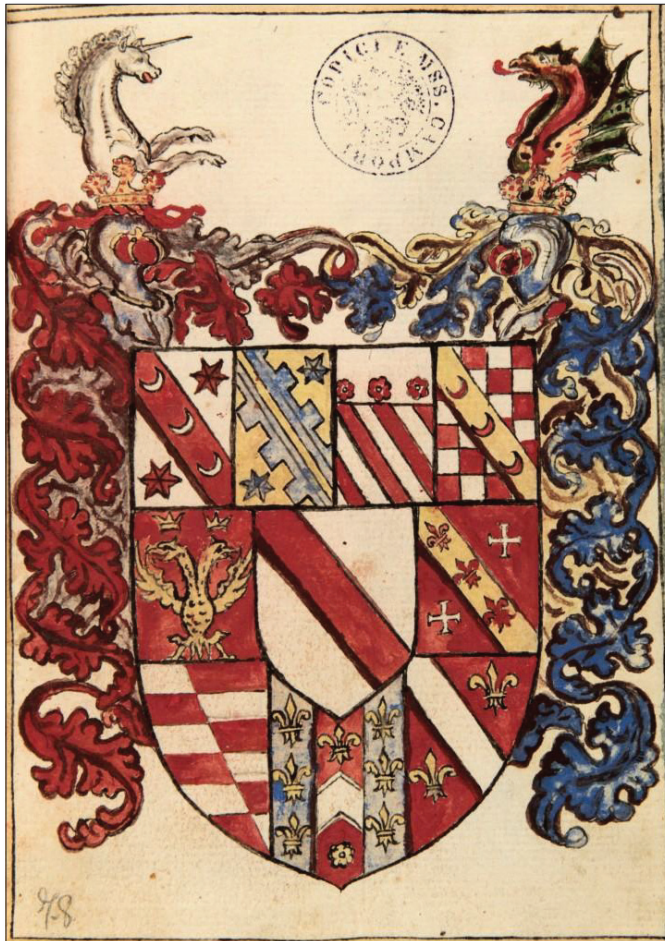


Figure 13. Second variant of the expanded coat of arms of the Radulović in their armorial shipowners, captains and merchants of Dubrovnik, the Sagrijelović (Sagrojević, Sagri), were also known under the names of the branches Krivonosović (Crivonossi), Stjepović (Stefani) and Skočibuha. The legend of Bosnian origin and the lineage's rise in the Spanish service associates it with the circle of founders of the Illyrian heraldry. According to the Antunini genealogy and family lore, Bosnian nobility Sagrijelović (Krivonosović) fled to the island of Šipan before the Ottomans. As shipowners and seafarers they built a number of representative buildings. One collateral of the lineage from Suđurađ moved to Dubrovnik in 1533, whose member Vice Stjepović Skočibuha (1534-1588) distinguished himself as able construction investor and businessman. Numerous

Sagrijelovići were engaged in the Spanish and Naples service, and many of them lived in Naples and might have thus be connected in some way with the Radulović, who incorporated the Sagrijelović arms from the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial into their composite coat of arms: shield divided into argent and gules quarters in four horizontal lines, or a bend dexter with three crescents gules.<sup>37</sup> Particularly challenging in terms of heraldic description are the three known variants of the Sagrijelović-Krivososović-Stjepović coat of arms.<sup>38</sup> On the basis of the genealogies available, it is difficult to grasp why the Radulović coat of arms also embraces the emblems of the Crnojević, Hrvojević, Senčević and Šimraković, along with an unknown arms whose tinctures and Angevin lilies point to the Kingdom of Naples as the Radulović's new homeland. It appears likely that the choice of arms rested on the lineages from the eastern coast of the Adriatic, whose descendants the Radulović might have encountered on the Apennine Peninsula. Whatever the case, this composite coat of arms shows that the content of 'Illyrian heraldry' remained deeply implanted in the lineage's heraldic concept in the new homeland, too.

Similar to Nikola, Marin Radulović established himself as a patron of the arts in both Polignano and Dubrovnik. In Polignano, he funded the construction works in the church of *Santa Maria di Costantinopoli* and in the cathedral of *Santa Maria Assunta*, and erected the chapels of St Blaise and St Lawrence (today the site of a larger church of Saints Cosmas and Damian). Besides the churches in Naples and Polignano, he made a substantial bequest to the Dubrovnik cathedral and the churches of St Blaise and Our Lady of Danče. In

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<sup>37</sup> On the Sagrijelović within the context of the heyday of Ragusan seafaring, besides older literature see: Zrinka Pešorda-Vardić, »Od barkuzija do galijuna: Nekoliko crtica o ulozi pomorstva u usponu dubrovačkoga građanstva u kasnome srednjem i ranome novom vijeku«. *Povijesni prilozi* 47 (2014): pp. 168-174.

<sup>38</sup> In addition to the mentioned Sagrijelović arms from the Illyrian armorials, also known are two entirely different versions probably created for certain branches. The shield of the most powerful branch of Toma and Vice Stjepović is charged with a female nude (*Fortuna*), riding across the seas on dolphin's back, with her hair loose and a sail in her hands. Depicted in the shield azure of the *Crivonossi* arms, in Martechini's armorial, is a seagull on a cliff, holding a white glove in his beak (see: S. Čosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*: pp. 137-138). On symbolism and artistic influence, as well as the extant coats of arms of the Skočibuha with the image of Fortuna, see also: Boro Kamić, »'Venera Marina' na porodičnom grbu poznate dubrovačke pomoračke porodice Skočibuha«. *Naše more* 28/3-4 (1981): pp. 141-144; Milan Pelc, »Fortuna s 'grba' Skočibuha – identitet i mentalitet trgovaca u renesansnom Dubrovniku«, u: *Metamorfoze mita. Mitologija u umjetnosti od srednjega vijeka do moderne*, ed. Dino Milinović and Joško Belamarić. Zagreb: Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2012: pp. 67-76.





Figure 14. *Virgin with Child, Saint Vitus and Saint Nicholas* by an unknown artist (c. 1610, Church of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli* in Polignano). Reproduced from: Mariella Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione. Episodi di committenza meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento*. Galatina: Congedo, 2002.



Figure 15. The couple Marin Radulović and Lukrecija née Serratura (Sojmirović).  
Detail from *Virgin with Child, Saint Vitus and Saint Nicholas* (Figure 14)

the Dubrovnik church of the Friars Minor, the Radulović had a small family chapel, apparently furnished with valuable and precious works of art.<sup>39</sup> Marin Radulović commissioned several pieces of arts and crafts with the family coat of arms. Two arms of the Radulović are engraved on the silver church oil lamp, marquis's votive gift to the Polignano cathedral, while the three pictures

<sup>39</sup> Among other things, in his will Marin instructs his son Frano to see that the friars are annually provided with 10 starii of oil for the chapel oil lamp. On the will of Marin Radulović from 1625 see: M. Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione*: pp. 86-87; R. Tomić, »Slikarstvo talijanskog baroka u Hrvatskoj«: p. 35.



Figure 16. Bernardino Prudenti, *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Nagasaki* with Radulović coat of arms in the bottom left corner (after 1627, Church of *Santa Maria di Constantinopoli* in Polignano). Reproduced from: Mariella Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione. Episodi di committenza meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento*. Galatina: Congedo, 2002.



Figure 17. Alessandro Varotari Padovanino, *Virgin Mary with Saint Blaise and Saint Vitus* with Radulović coat of arms in the bottom centre.

(After 1630, Church of *Santa Maria di Costantinopoli* in Polignano). Reproduced from: Mariella Basile Bonsante, *Arte e devozione. Episodi di committenza meridionale tra Cinque e Seicento*. Galatina: Congedo, 2002.

conveying family symbolism in the church of *Santa Maria di Costantinopoli* are explicitly connected to our topic. The first and probably the oldest painting is the work of an unknown Neapolitan artist, mentioned under the title *Virgin with Child, Saint Vitus and Saint Nicholas*. Iconography testifies to the picture's votive character related to the death of Nikola, Marin's brother. Below the Virgin of Purgatory is its patron Saint Nicholas, specially worshipped in Apulia, and Saint Vitus, patron of Polignano. At the bottom of the picture, between the

saints, posing piously, depicted are the new owners of the estate, Ragusan couple Lukrecija Serratura with scapular and Marin Radulović with a prayer book in his hands. This composition from the start of the second decade of the seventeenth century symbolically marks the beginning of a centuries-long era of the Radulović in Polignano.

The second picture is an altarpiece by a Venetian painter Bernardino Prudenti, *The Martyrdom of the Franciscans in Nagasaki*. As Marin Radulović's gift to the Polignano Franciscans, it was painted after the canonizations of the Franciscan missionaries in 1627. In the bottom left corner, instead of the donator's image, his coat of arms has been depicted.

On the third altarpiece, the work of Alessandro Varotari known as Padovanino, *Virgin Mary with Saint Blaise and Saint Vitus*, probably dating from 1630 or later, depicted below Virgin's image are the patrons of Dubrovnik and Polignano. At the bottom, in the middle, instead of donator's image depicted is the Radulović coat of arms.

After the marriage of Marin's daughter Elizabeta to Francesco Condò, baron of Trepuzzi, in 1618, a half of the Radulović arms (combination of the Radulović and Sfondrati coats of arms) was used in some variants of the coat of arms of the Condò, an old lineage of Otranto.

### *On the dating and authorship of the Radulović Armorial*

As to when and who created or commissioned the Radulović Armorial cannot be determined with exactitude. An Illyrian armorial from the very start of the eighteenth century might help in its approximate dating. Apparently, after the Peace of Carlowitz in 1699, the concept of Illyrian heraldry tended to spread its influence in Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, so that in the newly-produced copies we find new lineages which already assumed or claimed noble status and feudal estates in the newly-acquired territories. Ranked as 65th in the Radulović Armorial (leaf 44) is the coat of arms of the Cetinjanić lineage, once also included in the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, but was torn out and replaced with the arms of the Vukoslavić, owners of one of the copies, the so-called Vukoslavić Armorial. The latter, today unavailable armorial, was commissioned by Petar Vukoslavić (Luposignoli), Split canon, who supplemented it with a series of forged documents with an aim to confirm the authenticity and Athonite provenience of the alleged original. On the basis of meticulous

examination, Aleksandar Solovjev concluded that Vukoslavić's copyist must have had the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial in his hands, as well as one of its copies, the Olovo Armorial, which includes another 16 new coats of arms. While borrowed, the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial was corrupted in that the leaf with the depiction of the Cetinjanić arms was replaced with a leaf with the Vukoslavić arms, who, by doing so, also wished 'to enter' the oldest armorial. Solovjev concludes that the corruption probably occurred in 1700, when, according to the documents enclosed, the Vukoslavić coat of arms was produced and submitted to the count of Split.<sup>40</sup> Fojnica Armorial dates from the 1670s or somewhat later and includes the Cetinjanić coat of arms. Considering that the Radulović Armorial also contains Cetinjanić coat of arms, there is reason to assume that it, too, was created before the devastation of the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial—that is, before 1700. In addition, it may well be assumed that Radulović's copyist did not have the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial as source, but an older copy containing Cetinjanić coat of arms and dated to the period before the armorial's corruption. In that case, the Radulović Armorial would be of slightly younger date, and its production should be associated with the lineage's last generation. One more detail speaks in favour of the thesis that the Radulović Armorial was produced after that of Fojnica. Namely, the authorship of Stanislav Rubčić is mentioned on the title page of the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, yet on it, as in the later copies, there is no mention of the alleged year of its production, 1345. This information appears for the first time in the Fojnica Armorial, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, also found in the Radulović Armorial.<sup>41</sup>

According to the entry at the very end, testifying to the fact that it was based on the original in Dubrovnik, one might assume that it was created by a member of the Radulović family or a person commissioned by them during the stay in

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<sup>40</sup> For a detailed description of the Vukoslavić Armorial see: A. Solovjev, »Prinosi za bosansku i ilirsku heraldiku«: pp. 117-127. This armorial contains a series of additional new mistifications testifying to a strong impact of Illyrian heraldry among the Dalmatian elite, and is also important for the reconstruction of the Korjenić-Neorić genealogy. On these aspects see: S. Čosić, »Španjolski grbovi u grbovniku Korjenić-Neorića iz 1595.«: pp. 285-286. The armorial remained in the long possession of the Borelli family (hence also known as the Borelli armorial), Solovjev examined it in 1939, while in the 1960s it was sold in Vienna, after which its whereabouts remained unknown. In 2015 it appeared on a list of the Bonhams auction house at a starting price of around £ 8,000: <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/15230/lot/385/>.

<sup>41</sup> Radulović Armorial may have, therefore, emerged as a combined copy of the Korjenić-Neorić and Fojnica armorials, because the latter, produced for the third branch of the Ohmućević, together with that of the Korjenić-Neorić, was in their possession by the end of the seventeenth century. For more on this see: S. Čosić, *Ideologija rodoslovlja*: pp. 17, 30-31, 158-159.

Dubrovnik. Inexpertly executed drawings and borders on the rectos only, suggest a short deadline and speedy production. The already mentioned assumptions on the dating narrow the list of the possible commissioners and first owners of the armorial down to the Radulović from the 1680s or 1690s. By far the most powerful and most eminent member of the lineage from this period was the Archbishop of Chieti, and from 1699, Cardinal Nikola Radulović.



Figure 18. Cardinal Nikola Radulović (1627-1702)

His biography confirms that even in the third generation, the Radulović of Apulia still maintained relations with their native homeland. As a young cleric in Rome, during the War of Candia of 1649, Nikola volunteered the service of the Dubrovnik Republic. His credentials testify that as a diplomatic representative in the Vatican bodies and with the pope himself he was to protect the political and economic integrity of Dubrovnik. As a canonist, Radulović performed various high duties at the Curia and congregations, which resulted in his frequent absence from Rome and his diplomatic activity. Lastly, ten year later, in 1659 Radulović was installed as Archbishop of Chieti, which marked the end of his service for the Republic as he left Rome. He again embarked upon correspondence with the Senate in 1669, when upon his own initiative he helped the Republic in the earthquake aftermath. The news of his creation as cardinal in November

1699 was a cause for celebration in Dubrovnik.<sup>42</sup> To the new cardinal addressed as *noster Civis*, the Senate sent a special letter-congratulation card, and ordered a public celebration to be held in his honour, for which three members of the Minor Council were assigned.<sup>43</sup>

As Archbishop of Chieti, Nikola used a simple coat of arms of the Radulović (Radijelović), identical to that in the Korjenić-Neorić and other Illyrian armorials.



Figure 19. Coat of arms of Nikola Radulović as Archbishop of Chieti (from: *Synodus Dioecesisana Theatina ab illustriss. ac reverendiss. D. D. Nicolao Radulovico archiepiscopo et comite Theatino celebrata Anno Domini MDCLXI*. Romae: Typis Francisci Monetae, MDCLXIV)

Doubtless, through his connections with Dubrovnik he was familiar with the existence of the armorials with the Radulović (Radijelović) coat of arms adopted by his forefathers. It is likely that he commissioned a copy with specific additions or, a person of Ragusan provenance may have produced it for him and presented as gift. Indeed, certain knowledge about the armorial was of an earlier date. Nikola Radulović the Elder, first marquis of Polignano, was familiar with the first Illyrian armorials, from which he adopted his own coat of arms. Hence it comes as a surprise that the Radulović, as wealthy members of the Primorje circle in Naples, did not assume or possess their own version of the armorial by as early as the start of the seventeenth century, when they moved to Apulia. In any case, the armorial in the Modena Library proves that by the end of the seventeenth century they had their own copy of the armorial adapted to their specific family history.

<sup>42</sup> For biography of Nikola Radulović see: P. Knezović, »Kardinal Nikola Radulović«: pp. 293-300 and Joannes Palatius, *Fasti Cardinalium omnium S. R. E.*, vol. V. Venetiis, 1703, col. 151, and on his diplomatic activity: Nikša Varezić, *Dubrovačka Republika i Sveta Stolica od velikog potresa 1667. do konca Morejskog rata 1699. godine* (Doctoral dissertation). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2015: pp. 68-69. In his book, Giovanni Palazzi provides erroneous data by stating that Nikola Radulović was born in Dubrovnik, and that the Radulović lineage was of German origin.

<sup>43</sup> *Vlajkijeva genealogija antunina*, f. 353v.