Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and His Coat of Arms: Self-presentation of an Illyrian Noble

Abstract

The article discusses the coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić as a visual sign of his self-presentation. Examples of Mrnavić’s coat of arms are presented and the contexts of their use interpreted, such as frontispieces, title pages, or seals. Finally, the origin, shape, and meaning of Mrnavić’s coat of arms is interpreted in relation to his self-fashioned identity as a nobleman, as well as his political views on a possible post-Ottoman state in the region.

Keywords: Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, coat of arms, seventeenth century, Francesco Valesio, Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro, Vuk and Žigmund Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, Mauro Orbini, Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, Illyrianism

Croatian prelate Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580‒1637) served his Catholic Church and his natio both as a priest and a prolific historiographer and writer. Born in Šibenik in Venetian Dalmatia into a humble Catholic family, to a father who was an immigrant from Ottoman Bosnia, Mrnavić graduated in Rome from the Jesuits’ Collegio Romano. Afterwards, he became a diocesan priest in his native city of Šibenik, where Pope Urban VIII would unsuccessfully seek to appoint him bishop, as the Venetian authorities strongly objected to Mrnavić: he was, as they put it, a Morlacco and an allievo della setta dei Gesuiti. Subsequently, the pope sent him to Zagreb, the Croatian political centre in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom under the Habsburg rule, where he became a canon. The climax of Mrnavić’s career came in 1631, when he was appointed bishop of Bosnia (a titular see at the time).

However, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić spent much of his time in Rome. He was a five-time president of the Congregation of Saint Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome, in various periods between 1615 and 1635, and from 1622 worked for the Holy See’s Congregatio de Propaganda Fide as the advisor for Illyrian holy books. On behalf of the Holy See, Mrnavić also travelled through Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary, and Poland, including Ottoman Bosnia and other Ottoman parts of the region. In addition to serving the Church as a priest, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić was tirelessly writing: his works include historiography, hagiography, and fiction with subject matter related to the history of Illyria (lat. Illyricum), to which he wanted to provide a narrative of historical legitimacy. Tomko Mrnavić’s interest in the history of his homeland coincided with that of the Holy See, and arose with the liberation and Catholicization of these areas.

While in Rome during the 1620s and 1630s, Mrnavić enjoyed considerable esteem. He published eleven books within nine years, with their original title pages and frontispieces under the aegis of notable dignitaries and printed by reputable printers. This earned him inclusion in Leone Allacci’s Apes Urbanae sive De viris illustribus (1633), a biographical lexicon of authors resident in Rome in Urban VIII’s time. He also managed to obtain the Knighthood of Malta as well as the Freedom of the City of Rome. However, from an art historian’s point of view, a solid testimony to his reputation comes from his involvement in the creation of two works of art commissioned by his acquaintances, powerful and enterprising cardinals of the time. Thus, in 1628 Mrnavić was invited by Cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (who was expected to succeed pope Urban VIII) to his newly built villa in Castel Fusano near Ostia to write epigraphs...
for the marble plaques distributed all over the villa. Moreover, Mrnavić was responsible for the iconography of the gallery of maps at Villa Sacchetti (made by Pietro da Cortona and his assistants). As another example, in 1635 Mrnavić incited the vice-chancellor of the Holy See and the pope’s nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, to present the Zagreb cathedral with a silver and gilt reliquary bust of its patron saint, Saint Stephen, King of Hungary. This highly accomplished work of Roman Baroque metal sculpture, produced by the papal silversmith Francesco Spagna, was based on models attributed to Alessandro Algardi (the head) and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (the plinth). The mere size of the reliquary, measuring over one meter in height, signals eloquently the price of the material used for it, and thus demonstrates the high esteem in which Francesco Barberini held Mrnavić.

In my opinion, Mrnavić owed his reputation not only to his intellectual capacity, but also to his ability to successfully present himself abroad as the Other. One of the means of his self-representation was his self-fashioned identity of a Bosnian noble. Mrnavić presented himself as a Bosnian noble on the title pages and frontispieces of his books, by adding to his surname the adjective Bosnensis (in Latin books) or Bošnjacin (in Croatian books), and by displaying, as shall be seen in this paper, the visual sign of his nobility – his coat of arms. As a matter of fact, both of these identity labels – Bosnian as well as noble – were a matter of choice, a rhetorical device. Mrnavić might have well presented himself as an Illyrian, Dalmatian, Slav, or Croatian, given the fact that he was born in Šibenik, and that only his commoner father had come from Bosnia. In this paper, Mrnavić’s coat of arms will be presented and discussed within the contexts of its use. Also, its genesis, form, and meaning will be interpreted.

Carl Georg Friedrich Heyer von Rosenfeld, a historian of Dalmatian heraldry, published Mrnavić’s coat of arms under the surname Margnani (1873), with the information that the coat of arms derived from a Bosnian armorial. Heyer von Rosenfeld published a different coat of arms under the surname Marnarich. The same error was repeated by Federico Antonio Galvani (1884), a historian of Šibenik’s heraldry. However, Galvani published two examples of Mrnavić’s coats of arms in Šibenik, without identifying them as belonging to Mrnavić. These two coats of arms will be identified as Mrnavić’s by Krsto Stošić (1927, 1934), who also noticed that they featured four Cyrillic letters S. Ivan von Bojničić, a historian of heraldry of Serbia but not with that of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. Žigmund Mrnjavčić’s coat of arms (figs. 1‒10) features a thick cross bearing a crowned crucified-like eagle (the earliest example has a crownless eagle, however /fig.1/); the cross is surrounded by four smaller fire steels or fire strikers (Germ. Feuerstahl, Cr. kresivo or cognito, Serb. ocîlo), one in each quadrant. The fire steels are turned outwards until 1628 (figs. 1–5), while later they would be turned inwards (figs. 6–10). Also, two of Mrnavić’s coats of arms have an addition in the upper part of the cross – a crescent and a star placed one upon the other (figs. 8 and 10).

To my knowledge, the earliest usage of Mrnavić’s coat of arms is to be found on the title page of his book Vita Petri Berislavi by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Venice, 1620 (Metropolitane Library, Zagreb). Francesco Valesio, naslovница knjige Vita Petri Berislavi Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Venecija, 1620. (Metropolitanska knjižnica, Zagreb)
Drašković (1599–1650), a Croatian noble and prelate who served in Hungary; at that time, he was the abbot of Pornó (like Berislavić in his days), and subsequently the bishop of the sees of Pécs, Vác, and Gjör.21

The title page depicts an architectural structure reminiscent of altarpieces, which was a usual design choice of the period; it has four columns forming three triumphal arch axes crowned with a broken triangular pediment. The central field is occupied by the title and information on the author: VITA / PETRI BERISLAVI / BOSNENSIS / Episcopi Vesprimensis. / DALMATIE, CROAT. / SLAVON, BOSNEQUE / BANO, &C. / IOANNE TOMCO / Marnauich Bosnen. / CANONICO SICEN / AVTHORE. Superiorum Permissu. The niches in the side bays accommodate the figures of Apollo (left) and Minerva (right), classical deities who personify intellectual creativity and wisdom respectively. In the centre of the pediment, there is the coat of arms of the Drašković family in reference to the book dedicatee, Juraj (IV) Drašković. It is the old Drašković coat of arms,22 slightly different from its other versions – the difference may be due to the fact that Mrnavić described it to the engraver rather than providing him with a model. On top of Drašković’s coat of arms, there is a mitre and a crozier, symbols of episcopal ministry and power, in reference to the main character of the book, Petar Berislavić. Finally, Mrnavić’s coat of arms appears in the centre of the parapet. It is designed according to principles of Venetian mannerist decorative arts current in the period. The fire steels are visually interpreted as three-dimensional C volutes, not unlike strapwork ornament. The cartouche is also typically Venetian.

The title page of Vita Petri Berislavi bears the signature F. Vallegio in the lower right corner (fig. 2). F. Vallegio is a version of the signature of Francesco Valesio (Verona or Venice, 1570? – Venice, after 1643), one of the most productive Venetian engravers during the first half of the seventeenth century, who excelled in the field of book illustrations; his engravings decorated prestigious editions such as Torquato Tasso’s Gerusalemme liberata (G. Sarzin, 1625) or Giulio Casserio’s Tabulae Anatomicae (E. Deuchino, 1627). Francesco Valesio’s style has been praised for technical virtuosity rather than inventiveness.23
In contrast to *Vita Petri Berislavi*, this title page is simple. It is filled with text: XIVOT / MAGDALENE OD KNEZOV ZIROVA / PLEMENA BUDRISHIĆA / TRETOGA REDDA. S. FRACISKA / ZASTAVNICE / REDOVNIC. I. MOSTIRA. S. ANTONA / V. RABBV. / PISAM / IVANA TOMKA MAR-

The second example of Mrnavić’s coat of arms is to be found on the title page of his *Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova plemena Budrišića* (fig. 3). The book was printed in Rome in 1626 by Giacomo Mascardi, a reputable Roman printer who would print the *Breviario romano* of Urban VIII, works of Athanasius Kircher, as well as Leone Allacci’s *Apes urbaneae, sive De viris illustribus* (1633). The *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* narrates the legend of the late third-century noble family Aurelia Valeria from Salona in Dalmatia, which gave birth to a series of saintly Roman Christian martyrs – Susanna, Caius, Claudius, Gabinius, Maximus, Praepedigina, Serena, Cutia, Alexander, Artemia – as well as to Emperor Diocletian. Mrnavić in his narrative treated these saints as national Illyrian saints, which was an appropriation from the influential history book *Il Regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601) by the Ragusan Benedic-tine Mauro Orbini (who treated these saints as Dalmatians, following Vinko Pribujević). In Mrnavić’s text, the story is further enriched and supported by quotations from the greatest Croatian early modern writer, Marko Marulić. However, the narrative of these Salonitan saints had already been present, with no link to the Illyrian nation, in numerous early modern books, such as that by Lorenz Sauer (Laurentius Surius), Mrnavić’s regular reference; it was based upon the *Passio* of Saint Susanna, written in fifth-century Rome (as well as the *Passio* of Pope Marcellus, in case of Artemia). Unlike other saints from her legendary family, Saint Susanna was a popular Roman saint (the Roman church dedicated to her being known to the students of Baroque architecture). Nevertheless, in Mrnavić’s text it was Pope Caius, Susanna’s uncle, who symbolically took the central position in this family, which would be mirrored in the composition of the engraving. It was he, the Dalmatian pope, who motivated the Dalmatian prelate in papal Rome to write the book. Pope Caius had already been fashioned since the Renaissance as a famous Illyrian and a symbol of the Christian roots of the Illyrian nation, threatened at that time by the Ottomans.

The book *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae* is dedicated to the Roman cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (1587–1663), whose coat of arms dominates the title page. As it happened, Giulio Sacchetti was the titular cardinal of the church of Saint Susanna in Rome and also an ancestor of Andrea Sacchetti, a fifteenth-century bishop of Nagyvárad (lat. *Varadinum*) in the Kingdom of Hungary, to whom, to the glory of the Sacchetti, Mrnavić dedicated a poem at the beginning of the book. Moreover, he also linked the Sacchetti family with the Aurelia Valeria family. Mrnavić’s intention was to impress and flatter the ambitious...
cardinal, but also to subtly propagate the Illyrian cause. As mentioned earlier, at that time Sacchetti engaged Mrnavić to decorate his villa in Castel Fusano.

The engraving depicts medallions of the saints from the Aurelia Valeria family, as well as medallions with texts – and coats of arms – all variously shaped and sized in cartouches and interconnected in a monstrance-like shape. On the top of the page, there is a scroll with the inscription and interconnected in a monstrance-like shape. On the top coats of arms – all variously shaped and sized in cartouches.

The engraving depicts medallions flanking the lower part of the Caius medallion, depicting Praepedigida (PREPEDIGNA VXOR CLAVDII MARTIR XVIII FEBR) and Serena (SERENA VXOR DIOCLET IMP XVI AVG). The last and lowest register comprises two medallions, flanking the coats of arms of the Barberini and the Mrnavić families respectively, depicting Cutia (CVTHIAS CLAVDII FILIVS MART. XVIII FEBR) and Alexander (ALEXANDER CLAVDII FILIVS MART. XVIII FEBR). Between the Caius medallion and the saints’ medallions, there are smaller medallions set diagonally and acting as space-fillers; they contain text. The one in the upper left smaller medallion reads NON FECIT / TALITER OMNI / NATIONI / PSAL 147 (He has not done so with any other nation. Ps. 147:20). This association of the Illyrian nation with the Chosen People, the Israelites, clearly demonstrates Mrnavić’s patriotic agenda.

The text in the lower left smaller medallion is to be read jointly with the one in its right counterpart: MIRABILIS / DEVSI (left), IN SANCTIS / SVIS / PSAL. 67 (right) (God is wonderful in his saints. Ps. 68 /67:/36). Below the central Saint Caius medallion, there is the round coat of arms of the Barberini family, featuring three bees topped with the symbols of papacy (the tiara and a pair of keys), referring to pope Urban VIII Barberini. Below the Barberini coat of arms, there is the coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, significantly smaller in shape than the pope’s one (fig. 5). This placement of the small Mrnavić coat of arms under the overwhelming one of Barberini visualizes Mrnavić’s status under the pope’s protection.

Mrnavić presents himself by the unusual restorer of the antiquity, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić humbly presents / HIC BARBARA CONDET APIS. The Barberini bee will collect honey, and here it will store it. Bede, Homily 18).

The engraving was therefore made after a disegno by Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro (Rome, around 1600‒1636), below the central Saint Caius medallion, there is the round coat of arms of the Barberini family, featuring three bees topped with the symbols of papacy (the tiara and a pair of keys), referring to pope Urban VIII Barberini. Below the Barberini coat of arms, there is the coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, significantly smaller in shape than the pope’s one (fig. 5). This placement of the small Mrnavić coat of arms under the overwhelming one of Barberini visualizes Mrnavić’s status under the pope’s protection. Mrnavić presents himself by the text below, in a curved horizontal cartouche, which reads: URBANO SVMMO UNIVERSALIS ECCLE PONTIFICI / ANTIQVITATIS ECCLIAE VNICO RESTITUTIORI / I ANNES TOMCVS MARNAVIVS HVMILITER OFFERT (To Urban, the supreme pontiff of the Universal Church and, the unparalleled restorer of the antiquity of the Church, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić humbly presents). Indeed, Urban VIII was in charge of building campaigns aimed at reviving various sites of early Christianity; one of them was the church of Saint Caius in Rome in 1631, a campaign that was, in all probability, inspired by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. At the bottom of the sheet, there is an epigram: GEN SVLIT EN FLORES, ALVEARIA NOMINE CONSTANT, IN DELEGE MELLA, HIC BARBARA CONDET APIS. (Behold there the family that brought forth flowers and here the well-known beehives, there the Barberini bee will collect honey, and here it will store it.)

At the bottom of the engraving, there are two signatures that reveal its authors – Joseph Pilia In. and Hor. Brun. Sculp. (fig. 5). The engraving was therefore made after a disegno by Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro (Rome, around 1600–1636), not an unknown painter at the time. His paintings were to be commissioned for Roman churches such as Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Santa Maria in Antiqua.
Vallicella, and others; his style has been interpreted as naturalismo classicizzato.48 As it happens, Giuseppe Puglia’s best-documented paintings, esteemed by Giovanni Baglione as well as by modern scholars, are three altar paintings made for the church of Saint Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome between 1631 and 1632, when Ivan Tomko Mrnavić was the president of the Congregation. As a matter of fact, Mrnavić commissioned all of these three altar paintings: Virgin, Infant Jesus, and St Anne (1631), St Jerome (1631) and the Pietà (1632); the first one was also financed by him and destined for the altar he erected to the mother of the Virgin on behalf of his mother Katarina. Puglia also made a few minor works for the Congregation, such as coats of arms as well as some items for the ephemeral decoration of church interiors.49 Thus, the 1628 engraving from the Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae marks the beginning of a successful collaboration between the Roman painter Giuseppe Puglia and the Roman Croatian Congregation under the leadership of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. This very etching also happens to be the only etching known to have been made after a disegno by Giuseppe Puglia. Finally, Puglia’s disegno for Mrnavić’s book was incised by Orazio Brunetti (Bruni; Brun), an Italian engraver active in Siena and Rome.50 A year before, Orazio Brunetti made the frontispiece of La vita di S. Bibiana (1627) by Domenico Fedini. It depicts the altarpiece of Saint Bibiana made by young Gian Lorenzo Bernini for the church of Saint Bibiana in Rome.

Giuseppe Puglia’s engraving Unica gentis is a visual expression of Mrnavić’s idea of Illyria as a sanctified land. Another visual formulation of that idea would materialize twenty-four years later, with different characters except for Saint Caius, on the frontispiece engraving by Juraj Šubarić in the Memoria regum et banorum Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Sclavoniae (Vienna, 1652) by Juraj Rattkay, a Zagreb canon and historian of the next generation who frequently cited Mrnavić.51 Moreover, the two engraved images have a similar concept, both formally and iconographically, which leads to an assumption that Puglia’s engraving might have inspired Šubarić’s one.52

The fourth example of Mrnavić’s coat of arms covers the title page of his book Osmanšćica (fig. 6), printed in 1631 in Rome by Giacomo Mascardi (who had printed Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova five years earlier). Osmanšćica is a history drama which narrates the Ottoman defeat by the Polish army in the 1621 battle of Hochim, and its aftermath that led to a conspiracy in Constantinople in which Sultan Osman II would be murdered by his janissaries.44 The book is dedicated to Vuk (Farkaš; Lupus) Mrnjavčić of Brezovica near Zagreb (around 1586–1648), a Croatian cavalry officer and son of Krsto Mrnjavčić, the deputy viceroy (vice-ban) of Croatia.44 In the dedicatory chapter, the author praises Vuk Mrnjavčić’s heroism in battles against the Ottomans. Moreover, he informs him to be his nephew, providing the names of their ancestors who all happened to be heroic defenders of Christianity: among them, there were three fourteenth-century Mrnavić brothers from Niš – one of them being the king of Serbia Vukašin – as well as John Hunyadi, Matthias Corvinus, and Skanderbeg.45 The Mrnjavčić family of Brezovica would accept this narrative, as shall be seen later.

At the top of the title page, there is the inscription: OSMANŠĆICA / SLOGA / IVANNA TOMKA MARNAVIĆA; and at the bottom of the page: VRIMU, Pri Yakovu Masskardu, MDCCXXI. / DOPVSTENYEM STARIIH. The shield of Mrnavić’s coat of arms is composed of segments of two ellipses and set within an elaborately designed baroque cartouche, which is framed by an oval inscribed in a rectangle. The cartouche is topped by a putto in a casual posture inside the crown. The design of this coat of arms indicates a fine, yet unidentified master.

The last examples of Mrnavić’s coat of arms used in his books are to be found on two frontispieces of the Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae, published in Rome by Typis Vaticanis in 1632 (figs. 7–8).46 In this book, again dedicated to Vuk Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, Mrnavić further elaborates on his genealogy narrative from the dedicatory chapter to Osmanšćica. According to him, his family originated from Naissus (present-day Niš in Serbia) and was related to the most famous man from that city, Emperor Constantine; the highest ranking Mrnavić from Niš was the fourteenth-century king of Serbia Vukašin; the source of this whole noble lineage was the ancient Roman family of Marcia (the fourth king of Rome belonged to the gens Marcia). In this book, Mrnavić published as the evidence of his nobility several fourteenth and fifteenth-century...
documents issued by kings of Bosnia and Hungary (held to be forgeries), which granted lands in Bosnia and Serbia to various Mrnavićs who fought against the Ottomans.\textsuperscript{47} It was based on these documents that the Senate of Rome bestowed upon him the Freedom of the City of Rome (as can be deduced from the certificate published at the end of the book).\textsuperscript{48} As it happens, these documents are also preserved in a 1629 transcription made by the Roman notary Antonio Lucatelli, which is bound in gilt leather with Mrnavić’s coat of arms on the cover (fig. 9).\textsuperscript{49}

The first frontispiece of the \textit{Indicia vetustatis} bears an oval portrait of the king of Serbia, Vukašin, framed by the aedicule (fig. 7); it is reminiscent of portraits from the illustrated Renaissance books on famous men from the past.\textsuperscript{50} The king is depicted as a dignified bearded man. In his right hand, he holds the sceptre, while his left hand holds the hilt. In place of the aedicule’s columns, there are figures of Minerva (left) and Fama (right), classical deities who personify wisdom and fame respectively. Fama holds the symbols of the king’s status (regalia) as well as of his immortality (the laurel wreath). Above the portrait, there is the king’s coat of arms – exactly of the same appearance as that of Mrnavić’s shown thus far – flanked and crowned by two putti holding the symbol of royalty (the crown) and the attributes of fame (the trumpet, the palm, and the laurel branch); the whole ensemble is centrally attached to the entablature and the pediment. Below the altar-like structure, there is a text that reads: \textit{VVKASSINVS / MARCI MARNAVÆ FILIVS / REX / RA} (the text is missing as the page is cut; however, the first missing word must have been \textit{Rasciae}, while the second missing word may have been \textit{Serviae}), \textit{BOSNÆ, BVLGARIÆ, DIOCLIÆ, MACEDONIÆ / (missing) MARITIMÆ, THESSALÆ, ALBANIÆ, ARKONDA / (missing) CASTORÆ OKRIDÆ PRINCEPS}.

Vukašin was a Serbian lord who became the co-ruler of the Serbian emperor Uroš, with the title of king; he was killed in the 1371 battle against the Ottomans on the Maritsa river.\textsuperscript{51} Mrnavić imagined him to be his ancestor, inspired by what he had read in two Ragusan historians. One was Mauro Orbini, who in his \textit{Il Regno degli Slavi} (Pesaro, 1601) wrote a chapter on King Vukašin describing him as a son of humble Margnava from Livno.\textsuperscript{52} The other was Giacomo Luccari (Jakov Lukarević), who was the first to attach the surname Mrnjavčić to Vukašin in his \textit{Copioso ristretto degli annali di Riusa} (Venice, 1605).\textsuperscript{53} Ivan Tomko Mrnavić chose Vukašin, the king of Serbia, as an ideal forefather, as he had an associa-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image1.png}
\caption{7. Portrait of king Vukašin from \textit{Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae} by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1632 (Research Library Zadar) \newline Portret kralja Vukašina, frontisip knjige Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1632. (Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar)}
\end{figure}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image2.png}
\caption{8. Portrait of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić from \textit{Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae} by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1632 (Research Library Zadar) \newline Portret Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, frontispis knjige Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1632. (Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar)}
\end{figure}
Ancestors mattered to Mrnavić, as one could inherit virtues through them, and in this he was no different from many of his peers. However, Orbini’s chapter on King Vukašin had another significant consequence – it was illustrated with the king’s coat of arms (fig. 14) captioned as ARMA DI VUCASCINO RE DI SERVIA, which served, in my opinion, as the very model for that of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (which will be interpreted in the last sections of the paper). The only change Mrnavić made to the prototype was to remove the personification of Fortuna from the top, an expected move for a post-Tridentine prelate. Otherwise, historiography knows of no coat of arms of King Vukašin.

The second frontispiece of the Indicia vetustatis features the author’s bust in an oval frame (fig. 8). Mrnavić, who became the bishop of Bosnia a year before, is depicted as an angry, focused, and determined bearded man, dressed in simple clothes as if he were a monk. Indeed, he does not look like a bishop or a high-ranking ecclesiastic at all. His modest appearance is consonant with the inscription on the scroll above, which reads: NON NOBIS / DOMINE / NON NOBIS / SED / NOMINI / TVO DA / GLORIAM (Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory. Ps. 115 /113b). The oval frame is filled with text that reads: IOANNES TOMCVS MARNAVITIVS EX PRINCIPIBVS NISÆ. COMITIBVS DE ZVONIK. D. D. IN VOYNIZZA ET KAMENGRA. EPISCOPVS REGNI BOSNÆ. The bottom of the page is occupied by a desk with symbols of the learned man – pen, notebooks, and books. On the top of the oval frame, there is Mrnavić’s coat of arms set within a contemporarily designed cartouche. In contrast to the earlier examples, this coat of arms has an addition – in the upper part of the cross, there is a crescent and a star placed one upon the other. Also, on top of the escutcheon, there is a mitre and a crozier, symbols of episcopal ministry and power. Mrnavić made these additions as soon as he became bishop of Bosnia in 1631. The crescent and star motif also derives from Orbini’s book, where it features in the centre of the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia, captioned as ARMA DEL REGNO DI BOSNA (fig. 16). Both frontispiece portrait engravings were skilfully executed by an unidentified master. Finally, it is perhaps no coincidence that four out of five books considered here featuring Mrnavić’s coat of arms contain, to a higher or lesser degree, his genealogy. Mrnavić’s only coat of arms made in stone once adorned the façade of the church of Saint Martin in Šibenik (fig. 10). The church stood on the land that had been given to Tomko Mrnavić as a beneficium by Pope Clement VIII in 1602. Skillfully composed and chiselled, this Šibenik coat of arms is the largest coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. As it bears the aforementioned additions, Mrnavić seems to have had it made as soon as he became bishop – the crescent and star, and the mitre and crozier on top (now broken off) – thus, this coat of arms should be dated between 1631 and 1637.
Mrnavić’s coat of arms was also used as one half of the coat of arms of his sister, the Benedictine nun Nedjeljka (Dominica) Tomko Mrnavić (1583 – after 1647; fig. 11). The other half of her coat of arms depicted a column topped with a bird holding a snake in its beak. The coat of arms of Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić adorned the staircase of the Benedictine female monastery of Saint Catherine in Šibenik. It had the initials S.D.T.M. MDCXXIX, which should be read as Soror Dominica Tomcus Marnavitius. Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić spent her pious life in the monasteries of Saint Catherine in Šibenik (1602‒1612, 1627‒1647), Saint Michael in Trogir (where she was mother superior from 1612 until 1627), and Saint Anthony the Abbot in Rab (after 1647). The last-named has been mentioned earlier in the article as the setting of the Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova plemena Budrišića.

In the end, it is interesting to note that the dedicatee of the Osmanščica and the Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis, cavalry officer Vuk Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, as well as his heirs, did indeed accept Mrnavić’s narrative on their nobility. It is witnessed by their seals – the last will of Vuk Mrnjavčić was sealed with it in 1644 (fig. 12), and so was the 1660 letter by his son Žigmund (Sigismund; around 1620‒1663; fig. 13). Moreover, the 1663 note on Žigmund Mrnjavčić’s death in the annals of Zagreb’s Jesuit College tells of his famous Bosnian ancestors, repeating Ivan Tomko Mrnavić’s narrative. This in memoriam might have well been written by Gašpar Mrnjavčić (1609‒1663), a prominent Zagreb and Rijeka Jesuit and the deceased person’s cousin. After all, it was to the Zagreb Jesuit church of Saint Catherine that Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, alumnus of the Jesuit Collegio Romano, left his mitre and chasuble. Both vestments, which have not come down to us, may have well featured his coat of arms. The coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić was thus adopted from the coat of arms of King Vukašin, which was reproduced only in Mauro Orbin’s Il Regno degli Slavi (1601;
fig. 14). This coat of arms, however, is a copy of that of the Mrnjavčić family (*Plemen Mrnjavčića cimeri*; fig. 15) painted in the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial*, which was made in 1595 as an alleged mid-fourteenth-century original for the Korjenić-Neorić family from Slano, a maritime village in the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). The crescent and star motif, which Mrnavić added to his coat of arms as the bishop of Bosnia, a borrow from the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia reproduced in the aforementioned Orbini’s book (fig. 16), also has its prototype painted in the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* (where, in addition, this motif also makes up the coat of arms of Illyria, which was not published in Orbini’s book). All of the aforementioned coats of arms have been considered as early modern inventions made for the *Armorial*. They are attributable to an Italian painter; however, a patron or herald may have also been responsible for their design.

It is worth to consider here the genesis of the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial*, as it might shed some light on the meaning of Tomko Mrnavić’s coat of arms. The *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* was created by one of the few Slano families descending from the Bosnian petty nobility who left the Kingdom of Bosnia following its defeat by the Ottomans in order to settle in Slano. These families gained wealth in naval business as part of the Spanish and Neapolitan courts, but were not eligible for nobility in the Republic of Ragusa; consequently, they turned to the Spanish and Neapolitan kings. In order to establish themselves in that context, they first had to prove their noble Catholic history. And it was to that genealogical end that the *Armorial* was produced – as a visual confabulation of links to the medieval elites of Bosnia, Zachlumia (Hum), Serbia, and Albania. In general, the *Armorial* encompasses the pre-Ottoman coats of arms, real and invented, of various lands and dynasties of Bosnia, Serbia, Hum, the Dubrovnik Littoral, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Albania, irrespective of their confessional affiliation. The genesis of the *Armorial* is also connected to the right to the inheritance of the Kingdom of Bosnia, which included the early modern ideology of imaginary Illyria, based on the status of the last Bosnian king, Stjepan Tomašević Kotromanić (whose crown was sent by pope Pius II Piccolomini), who also happened to be the Serbian despot and thus the legitimate heir to the Nemanjić family of powerful medieval rulers with imperial ambitions in the region. The status of the Kingdom of Bosnia was also based on the last will of the last Bosnian queen Catherine, who on her deathbed in exile in Rome, where she would be buried in Santa Maria d’Aracoeli, bequeathed Bosnia to the Holy See. It was the Holy See, consequently, that was meant to take the leading role in the liberation of Illyria. The ideology of the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* was also consonant with the ideas of the papacy and the Spanish crown concerning the Catholic re-conquest of the region.

In Mrnavić’s opinion, Bosnia was also thought the heir to the Serbian Kingdom and the anchor of a possible post-
Ottoman state in the region, as can be deduced from one of his manuscripts, probably written as an intelligence report for the Holy See. In this manuscript, Mrnavić argues that the Kingdom of Bosnia is situated in the heart of Illyria; that it was born from the ruins of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and subsequently ruled by its own rulers; that it was later enlarged with the remains of the Serbian Monarchy (inheriting its regal titles and ornaments); and finally, that it died with the Turkish tyranny. Furthermore, Mrnavić proposes that Bosnia and the wider area of the Balkans should be recaptured by an alliance between various powers: the Holy Roman Emperor should take Hungary and Croatia, the King of Spain should take Albania, and the pope, Bosnia. It is interesting to note here that in the same text Mrnavić also praises Bosnia through a curious confabulation about the esteemed Vatican painting Saints Peter and Paul and the Baptism of Constantine (accompanied by an Illyrian inscription), which, according to him, was donated to the Vatican basilica by the last Bosnian queen. Mrnavić refers to the popular icon, which in his days was regarded as dating from Constantine’s time (according to modern scholarship it is a late thirteenth-century donation from the Serbian queen Helen of Anjou). As a matter of fact, the mere mention of that icon shows Mrnavić’s awareness of the power of images and their discursive potential in claiming legitimacy for Illyria. His coat of arms can also be interpreted in that way.

In the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, the coat of arms of the Mrnjavčić family is similar to that of Serbia (fig. 17), which itself is an early modern invention made for the same occasion. Both coats of arms share the thick cross and the distinctive fire steels. The cross and fire steels composition was used intentionally as a Byzantinizing form, since it resembles the emblem of the Palaiologos dynasty (the so-called “tetragrammic cross” with four stylized letters beta, used from the thirteenth century). Nevertheless, fire steel is an ornament of late Roman and Byzantine origin. On the other hand, the crescent and star motif from the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Bosnia is rather universal, hence it is difficult to interpret its derivation. However, the motif appeared on coins issued by the Croatian duke Andrew (1196–1204). Some scholars also mention the motif’s appearance on the coat of arms of the twelfth-century Byzantine Angelos-Komnenos dynasty, or on those of numerous Polish noble families from the fourteenth century (it was dubbed leliwa in Poland). Finally, the crescent and star – albeit in a different orientation – was to become the symbol of the Ottoman Empire and subsequently of Turkey before it became the symbol on the flag of several Muslim states.

The Korjenić-Neorić Armorial had a long afterlife, which indicates its significance for the embattled territories. Copied later, it continued to serve similar purposes in various contexts well into the nineteenth century. Its early eighteenth-century printed version – the Stemmatografia of the Croatian historian and poet Pavao Ritter Vitezović – popularized those coats of arms. It was through the Stemmatografia, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, that the coat of arms of Serbia became the coat of arms of the Metropolitan See of Karlovci, the centre of the Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy, before it became the coat of arms – or its constituent part – of modern Serbian states. In contrast, the crescent and star motif was to become the visual symbol of the 1830s Croatian National Revival, also known as the Illyrian movement; and the motif ended up on the coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia in 1990 as one of the five small shields crowning the main shield.

The coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić was thus the well-reasoned visual quote of the apocryphal coat of arms of Vukašin, king of Serbia, from the 1601 history book by Ragusan Mauro Orbini (fig. 14). Its adoption was inspired by Mrnavić’s self-fashioned noble genealogy as well as his political ideas of Bosnia as the heart of an imagined and desired Illyria. In other words, it was inspired by Mrnavić’s aspiration for grandeur, which was itself a characteristic of the spirit of the age, and in his case, arguably, additionally fuelled by the cultural radiation of Papal Rome, his own Catholic and patriotic ardour, and considerable intellectual ambition. In my opinion, the coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, the Bosnian, with its westernized Byzantine cross with fire steels, did have a distinct and original look in the eyes of its beholders from the ecclesiastical high society of Rome – its very display indeed added flair to his self-presentation, to his foreign mystique and integrity. However, no one knew, nor had to know, that the Illyrian prelate’s coat of arms was the afterlife of a 1595 invention, the coat of arms of the Mrnjavčić family (fig. 15), from the Armorial of the ambitious family of Bosnian origin from the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik).
Notes

1 Mrnavić’s biography in this article, unless otherwise noted, is based upon TAMARA TVRTKOVIĆ, Izmedu znanosti i bajke - Ivan Tomko Mrnavić [Between Scholarship and Fiction: Ivan Tomko Mrnavić], Zagreb, 2008, 12-44 (with previous bibliography).

2 Tomko Mrnavić was president in 1615-1616, 1624, 1626-1627, 1630-1632 and 1635. JOSIP BURIC, Iz prošlosti hrvatske kolonije u Rimu [From the history of the Croatian colony in Rome], Rim, 1966, 74.

3 For Croatian intellectuals in the early modern period, Illyria referred roughly to the territories of present-day Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. But in a wider, more imaginative sense, Illyria may have also designated all territories inhabited by Southern Slavs, and even by Slavs in general. For the early modern Illyrian ideologue and the interpretation of Mrnavić’s Illyrism, termed Curial-Habsburg Illyrism, see: ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ, Ilirizam prije ilirizma [An Illyrism before Illyrism], Zagreb, 2008, 214-238.

4 LEO ALLATIUS (Leone Allacci), Apes Urbanae sive De viris illustribus, Roma, 1633, 166. Leone Allacci was a Greek-born Roman theologian and scholar. His biography was written by Stjepan Gradić (Stefano Gradi). On Allacci, see: DOMENICO MUSTI, Allacci, Leone, in: Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, vol. 2, Rome, 1960 (online edition http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/leone-allacci_(Dizionario-Biografico)).

5 Francesco Petrucci holds that Mrnavić was not responsible for the models for maps of different regions of the world that were duplicated by Pietro da Cortona and his assistants on the walls of the gallery (as was held by the previous researchers); he was rather responsible for the iconography and texts that accompanied the maps (“Per quanto riguarda invece le carte geografiche, esse furono dipinte sotto la supervisione di Johannes Tomcou Marnavič, che li illustrò nel suo fascicolo Villa Sacchetta Osteiensis cosmografica come ritiene la Zirpolo.


7 Heyer von Rosenfeld also mentions other versions of the surname Marganini: Marcarni, Marnarich, Marnarich, Mergnauich, Mernjavčević, Mernjavčić and Vuccascino. The Bosnian Armorial that Heyer von Rosenfeld refers to should be the Korjenić Neorčić Armorial or one of its versions. CARL GEORG FRIEDRICH HEYER VON ROSENFELD, Der Adel des Königreichs Dalmatien, Zagreb, 1995 (a reprint of the edition published in Nuremberg in 1873), 57, T. 38.

8 Heyer von Rosenfeld also mentions other versions of the surname Marnarich: Marnavich, Marnarich. Ibid., 58, T. 38.


11 KRSTO STOŠIĆ, Crkvica sv. Martina. (Pred njezinim poštuvenjem.) [Saint Martin’s church (before its demolition)], Narodna straža, 30 (1927.), 2-3; KRSTO STOŠIĆ, Benediktinė u Šibeniku [Benedictine nuns in Šibenik], Croatian Sacra, 7 (1934.), 12-14. There is also a modern offprint of this article, published in Šibenik in 1994.


13 EMILIJ LAŠOWSKI, Pećat Sigismunda Mrrnjavčića [Seal of Sigismund Mrrnjavčić], in: Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavske-dalmatinske zemaljske arhivske i kulturne hiše, 1 (1899.), 122-123.

14 BARTOL ZMAJČIĆ, Legalizacije grbova nekih naših obitelji na temelju Ohmućevićevog grbovnika [Legalization of the coats of arms of some of our local families based on Ohmućević’s
The copy of Vita Petri Berislavi whose title page is reproduced in this article is kept in the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb. I am grateful to Vladimir Magić from the Metropolitan Library for his help.

Evangelista Deuchino’s emblem is reproduced at the end of Vita Petri Berislavi; the cartouche frames two anchors with the inscription Sic inita virtus; the smaller cartouche on the top frames three lilies with the inscription His sufulta; the larger cartouche on the bottom frames the cartouche frames two anchors with the inscription Sic inclita virtus. On Evangelista Deuchino, see: TIZIANA PESENTI, Deuchino (Dehuchino), in: Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, vol. 39, Roma, 1991 (online edition http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/deuchino_(Dizionario_Biografico)).

There is also a modern reprint of this edition, with a Croatian translation and introductory studies by Marija Karbič and Tamara Tvrković: IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ, Vita Petri Berislavi – Životopis Petra Berislavića, (ed.) Tamara Tvrković, translated by Vlado Rezar and Tamara Tvrković, Zagreb – Trogir, 2008. On Vita Petri Berislavi, see: MIROSLAV PALAMETA, Fikcionalnost životopisa Petri Berislavića, the cartouche frames two anchors with the inscription His sufulta; the smaller cartouche on the top frames three lilies with the inscription Sic inita virtus. On Evangelista Deuchino, see: TIZIANA PESENTI, Deuchino (Dehuchino), in: Dizionario biografico degli Italiani, vol. 39, Roma, 1991 (online edition http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/deuchino_(Dizionario_Biografico)).


25 Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova was most extensively dealt with by ARMIN PAVIĆ, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, in: Rad JAZU, 33 (1875), 80–89.


37 Translated by Luka Špoljarić, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.


41 Sándor Bene has argued that the idea of the sanctified land in the Rattkay/Šubarić frontispiece derived from Mrnavić’s Regnis sanctitatis Illyricae et Pannonicae magnanimitatis, translated by Luka Špoljarić, to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.

42 The copy of the Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae whose frontispiece is reproduced in this article, from the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, bears on its title page the handwritten note Donum Authoris. I am grateful to Tamara Runjak from the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts for her help.


44 On Vuk Mrnjavčić, see: IJRAJ RATTKAY (note 41), 252–253, 256–258; EMILIJ LASZOWSKI, Mrnjavčić, Vuk, in: Znenaniti i zasluzni Hrvati, Zagreb, 1925, 195; The most comprehensive biography is provided by PAVAO MAČEK, Rod Mrnjavčića, podgora Brezovice, 1524–1663. Prikaz rosodosljava [The Kindred of Mrnjavčić, lords of Brezovica, 1524-1663: Genealogy], in: Tkalić, 19 (2015), 55–58. Cf. also: PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVić, Kronika ali zpomen vszega svizeta vikov [Chronicle or History from the beginning of the world], Zagreb, 1696, 188. There is also a modern reprint of this edition, edited and transcribed by and with an introduction by Alojz Jemarih (Zagreb, 2015); GEORGIUZ PATAČIUCH (Juraj Patačić), Heroes Hungaricae et Illyrici, tam bellica fortitudine, quam aequo singuli fortitudine illustres, Bologna, 1699, 151–153; RADOŠLAV LOPAŠIĆ, Bihać i Bihaćka Krajina [Bihać and its region], Zagreb, 1943 (the first edition: 1890), 270–271 (note 326); ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ, Ideae magnanimitatis Illyricae e Pannonicae. (De-)konstrukcija auto-i heteropredodžbi u diskursu baroknog heroizma ([De-)construction of the auto- and hetero-images in the discourse of baroque heroism], in: Umjetnost riječi, 51/3–4 (2007), 253.

45 IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ, Osmanšćica, Rome, 1631, 3–4; FERDO SIŠIĆ, Kako je vizantinski car Justinijan postao Slaven. (Ivan Tomko Mrnavić) [How a Byzantine emperor became a Slav (Ivan Tomko Mrnavić)], in: Nastavni vjesnik, 9 (1901), 411–412.

46 The copy of the Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis whose frontispiece is reproduced in this article is kept in the Research Library in Zagreb. I am grateful to Ines Rakić Mamut and Tomislav Blažević from the Research Library for their help.

47 FERDO SIŠIĆ (note 45), 411–415.

48 A shorter version of the certificate was published by Antonio Giuseppe Fosco; he referred to the document as Diploma. ANTONIO GIUSEPPE FOSCO, Vita di Giovanni Tonco-Marnavić, Sebenico, 1890, 32–33.

49 The manuscript is kept in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik. It was described in MIJO BRLEK, Rukopisni knjižnice Male braće u Dubrovniku [Manuscripts of the Franciscan library in Dubrovnik], vol. I, Zagreb, 1952, 174. I am grateful to Danko Zelić for the information about the existence of this manuscript. Also, I am grateful to Fra Stipe Nosić and Ivan Viden for sending me photos of the manuscript.


55 See note 52.

56 MAURO ORBİN (note 27), 344.

57 The church of Saint Martin was demolished in 1927. The Mrnavić coat of arms is now kept at the Šibenik City Museum. See: KRSTO STOŠIĆ (note 11, 1927), 2–3; GRBOVI – ZBIRKA KAMENIH GRBOVA (ed.) Gojko Lambaša, Šibenik, 2000, 64. The coat of arms was first published (but not identified) by Federico Antonio Galvani.
I am grateful to Marina Lambaša from the Šibenik City Museum for sending me the photo of this coat of arms. I am grateful to Marina Lambaša from the Šibenik City Museum is based upon STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ (note 65). Krošć and Stošić still saw a mitre. See the previous note.

Archdiocesan Archives, Zagreb, Spisi vjerojodostojnog mjesta (A. Loci Credibilis), I, XXX, no. 403. Emilij Laszowski mentioned in a manuscript the last will of Vuk Mrnjavčić and described the seal with the coat of arms. Laszowski’s manuscript is in the Croatian State Archives, Zagreb, Osobni arhivski fond Emilij Laszowski, HR-HDA 806, box 41 (notes on Mrnjavčić family are gathered in an envelope).

Archives of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Zagreb, DC XIII/1, no. 67. Emilij Laszowski wrote on this seal, yet without providing a reproduction or a signature. See: EMILIJ LASZOWSKI (note 13). However, in Laszowski’s manuscript in the State Archives in Zagreb (see previous note) an old signature was mentioned. I thank Marinko Vidović from the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences for his helpful directions when locating the document. On Zigmund Mrnjavčić, see: PAVAO MAČEK (note 44), 75–79.

FRANJO FANCEV, Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkog kolegija u Zagrebu (1606‒1772) [Sources for the history of educational and literary activity of the Jesuit College in Zagreb (1606–1772)], in: Starine, 37 (1934), 91.


MIROSLAV VANINO (note 63, 1969), 451; MIRJANA REPANIĆ-BRAUN (note 63), 298.

The Korjenić-Neorić Armorial is kept at the National and University Library in Zagreb. It has been fully reproduced in: IVO BANAC, Grbovi – biljezi identiteta [Coats of arms as marks of identity], Zagreb, 1991; STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ, Ideologija rodoslovja: Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik iz 1595. [Ideology of genealogy: The Korjenić-Neorić Armorial from 1595], Zagreb, 2015 (with previous bibliography).

See these coats of arms in IVO BANAC (note 65), 155–156; STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ (note 65), 200–201.

The interpretation of the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial in this article is based upon STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ (note 65).


"E finalmente è cosa notabile a questo proposito, che se bene la chiesa romana tenga diverse pitture, et imagini di santi, offertigli da diversi regni e regni, nulla di meno di niuna altra si vede facio tanta stima, come di quella che dall'esternizato regno porto a Roma l'ultima regina Catharina, rappresentante le vere imagini Sati Pietro e Paulo, con il battesimo di Constantino, soprascritta con caratteri Illirici, espressiisui del nome delli principi apostolici; poiche questa sola ordinariamente si tiene e riverisce sopra l'al-tare maggiore della basilica vatican, non per altro forse, che per testimonianzia, che questo regno, piu propriamente d'ogni altro è proprieta patrimoniale della sede apostolica." Ibid., 359.


This paragraph on cross and fire steels in heraldry is based upon ALEKSANDAR SOLOVJEV, Istorija srpskog grba, Melbourne, 1958., 14–48, 105–115; DRAGOMIR M. AČOVIĆ, Heraldika i Srbi [Heraldry and the Serbs], Belgrade, 2008, 98–110.


T. 15. On Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić, see also: ANTONIO GIUSEPPE FOSCO (note 48), 10‒11; IVAN OSTOJIĆ, (note 9), vol. II, 8, T. 15. On Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić, see also: STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ (note 65), 200‒201.

The interpretation of the Korjenić-Neorić Armorial in this article is based upon STJEPAN ĆOSIĆ (note 65).
Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580.–1637.) hrvatski je prelat, po-
vješnica i pisac, rodom iz Šibenika; otac mu je emigrirao iz
Bosne. U Rimu je studirao na isusovačkom Rimskom kolegi-
ju; ondje je i proveo znatan dio života predsjedajući ilirskom
(hrvatskom) Kongregacijom sv. Jeronima te radeći za Kon-
gregaciju za širenje vjere. Usto je mnogo pisao i objavljivao.

Teme njegovih knjiga uglavnom su iz povijesti ilirika, kojemu je
je na taj način želio pružiti povijesni i kršćanski legitimitet.
Mrnavić je u Rimu pape Urbana VIII. bio ugledan autor.
U članku se fenomen njegova ugleda pokušava objasniti i
strategijama samooblikovanja i samopredstavljanja. Mrnavić
je, naime, oblikovao svoj identitet bosanskoga plemića (otac
mu nije bio plemić) te je za tu svrhu stvorio i vlastiti grb.

Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića (sl. 1–10) ispunjen je debelim
krizem na kojem je okrunjen orao; između greda križa, u
kvadrantima, nalaze se četiri kresiva (srp. ocilo). Dva pri-
mjerka Mrnavićeva grba imaju motiv mladaka i zvijezde na
gornjem dijelu križa (sl. 8 i 10).

Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića nalazi se na naslovnicama
i prednaslovnicama njegovih knjiga: Vita Petri Berislavi
(Venecija, 1620.; sl. 1–2), Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova
plemena Budrišića (Rim, 1626.; sl. 3), Unica gentis Aureliae
Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas (Rim, 1628.;
sl. 4–5), Osmanšića (Rim, 1631.; sl. 6), Indicia vetustatis et
nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae (Rim, 1632.;
sl. 7–8). Grb se nalazi i na kožnim, djelomično pozlaćenim,
djelima (Rim, 1631.; sl. 9) jednoga rukopisa. Kameni
grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića (1631.–1637.; sl. 10) nalazio se
na pročelju crkve sv. Martina u Šibeniku. Mrnavićev grb
preuzela je i njegova sestra, benediktinka Nedjeljka Tomko
na pročelju crkve sv. Martina u Šibeniku. Mrnavićev grb
španjolske krune.

Monarhiji, da bi potom postao sastavni dio grbova modernih
kraljevina, postao je u prvoj četvrtini 18. stoljeća grb Karlovačke mi-
nerije, središta Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Habsburškoj
Republiki. Stjepan Tomašević Kotromanić, kojemu je krunu poslao
papa, bio je ujedno i srpski despot te prema tome nasljednik
Nemanjića, moćnih vladara Srbije. Ideologija prava na na-
sljedstvo Bosne temelji se i na oporuci posljednje bosanske
kraljice Katarine, koja u izbjeglištvu u Rimu Bosnu oporučno
ostavlja Svetoj Stolići. I Ivan Tomko Mrnavić smatrao je da
je Bosna ujedno nasljednica srpskoga carstva te jezgra bu-
droskih država. S druge strane, kompozicija mlađaka i zvijez-
domnjača u svojoj kompoziciji odabrana je iz Grbovnika
Mrnjavčića, kao svjedoči njegov pečat (1644.; sl. 12) te pe-
čat njegova sina Žigmunda (1660.; sl. 13). Tomko Mrnavić
smatrao je da je Vuk Mrnjavčić od Brezovice njegov brat.

Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića vizualni je korelat njegova samo-
oblikovana rodoslovija. U njemu se ističu tri brata Mrnavića
iz Niša, a među njima posebice Vukašin, koji je postao kralj
Srbi (poginuo u bitci s Osmanlijama na rijeci Marici 1371.
godine). Povijesni izvori iz vremena inače ne znaju da je Vu-
kašin stolovao u Nišu niti da se prezivao Mrnavić/Mrnjavčić.
Izvori pak na temelju kojih se Tomko Mrnavić identificirao
s niškim Mrnavićima jesu djela dvojice dubrovačkih povje-
sničara, Il Regno degli Slavi (Pesaro, 1601.; sl. 5). Mavra Orbin-
j i Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa (Venecija, 1605.)
Jacova Lukarevića. Štoviše, u Orbinijevoj knjizi tiskan je
grb kralja Vukašina (sl. 14), koji je bio predložak grba Tom-
ka Mrnavića. Grb kralja Vukašina smatra se apokriñnim;
historiografija ne poznaje njegov grb iz 14. stoljeća. Motiv
mladaka i zvijezde koji Mrnavić dodaje svojemu grbu nakon
što je postao bosanski biskup (sl. 8 i 10) također potječe iz
Orbinijeve knjige – ondje je on središnji element (također
apokriñog) grba Kraljevine Bosne (sl. 16).

Preložak grba kralja Vukašina tiskana u Orbinijevoj knjizi
jest grb plemena Mrnjavčića iz Korićen-Jeorićeva grbovnika
(1595.; sl. 15). Preložak grba Kraljevine Bosne tiskana u
Orbinijevoj knjizi (sl. 16) također se nalazi u istom grbovu-
ku. Korićen-Jeorićev grbovnik izrađen je prema naruždi
istominoga slanskog roda, potomaka sintogos bosanskog
plemstva koji su se poslije pada Bosne naselili u Slanom u
Dubrovackoj Republici. Stekli su znatan kapital radeći za
napuljski i španjolski dvor, no nisu mogli dobiti dubrovačko
plemstvo. Stoga su se okrenuli španjolskom dvoru – grbovnik
je zapravo rodoslovilo kojim se pokazuje njihova povezanost
s vladarskim i plemićkim elitama zapadnog Balkana iz pre-
dosmanlijskog razdoblja. Grbovnik je protkao ideologijom
prava na nasljedstvo Kraljevine Bosne, čiji je posljednji kralj
Stjepan Tomašević Kotromanić, kojemu je krunu poslao
papa, bio ujedno i srpski despot te prema tome nasljednik
Nemanjića, moćnih vladara Srbije. Ideologija prava na na-
sljedstvo Bosne temelji se i na oporuci posljednje bosanske
kraljice Katarine, koja u izbjeglištvu u Rimu Bosnu oporučno
ostavlja Svetoj Stolići. I Ivan Tomko Mrnavić smatrao je da
je Bosna ujedno nasljednica srpskoga carstva te jezgra bu-
droskih država. S druge strane, kompozicija mlađaka i zvijez-
domnjača u svojoj kompoziciji odabrana je iz Grbovnika
Mrnjavčića, kao svjedoči njegov pečat (1644.; sl. 12) te pe-
čat njegova sina Žigmunda (1660.; sl. 13). Tomko Mrnavić
smatrao je da je Vuk Mrnjavčić od Brezovice njegov brat.

Grb plemena Mrnjavčića sličan je grbu Srbije iz Korićen-Jeorićeva
grbovnika; oba imaju križ i kresiva. Grb Srbi je također je heraldička invencija napravljena za Korićen-Jeorićeva
kompozicija križa i kresiva uporabljena je kao bizantizirajuća forma, jer nasljeđuje amblem Paleologa. Općenito, križ je ornament kasnorimskog i bizantskog
podrijetla. Grb Srbi je s križem i kresivima iz Grbovnika
postao je u prvoj četvrtini 18. stoljeća grb Karlovačke mi-
tropolije, središta Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Habsburškoj
Monarhiji, da bi postao sastavni dio grbova modernih
srpskih država. S druge strane, kompozicija mladaka i zvijez-
domnjač postati će vizualni znak Hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda
ta će se nažalost na grbu Republike Hrvatske.

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, grb. 17. stoljeće, Franc-
esco Valesio, Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro, Vuk i Žigmund
Mrnjavčić od Brezovice, Mauro Orbini, Korićen-Jeorićev
grbovnik, ilirizam.
Izvori ilustracija i autori fotografija / Sources of illustrations and photo Credits

Laura Chinellato
Le lastre longobarde del «pulpito di Maviorano» di Gussago (Brescia): dall’analisi al contesto. Problematicità e nuove prospettive / Lango-bardske ploče »Mavioranove propovjedaonice« u Gussagu (Brescia): od analize do konteksta. Problematika i nove perspektive


2: Studio Rapuzzi di Brescia
3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10: Laura Chinellato

Danko Zelić – Ivan Viđen
Inventario dela giexia di S. Maria Mazor, de tute le argentarie, aparati deli sazerdoti, insenarii, libri, tapezarie et altre robe (1531) – najstariji imovnik liturgijske opreme, ruha i paramentata dubrovačke prvostolnice / Inventario dela giexia di S. Maria Mazor, de tute le argentarie, aparati deli sazerdoti, insenarii, libri, tapezarie et altre robe (1531) – the Oldest Extant Inventory of Liturgical Objects, Vestments and Textiles of Dubrovnik Cathedral

1: Danko Zelić
2, 3: Božo Gjukić

Josipa Alviž
Sudbina kapucina i kapucinskoga hospicija u Herceg Novom u svjetlu novih arhivskih istraživanja / The Capuchins and their Hospice in Herceg Novi in the Light of Archival Research

1, 2: Državni arhiv u Zadru (DAZD) / State Archives in Zadar
3, 5, 6, 8–10, 12: Josipa Alviž

Sanja Cvetnić
Dva portreta Beatrice Frankapan (?): rod i red / Two Portraits of Beatrice Frankapan (?): the Family and the Order

1: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Beatrica Frankapan i njezin rod. Zagreb [s. e. Tiskom Dioničke tiskare], 1885.
3: © Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza
4: © Graz, Universalmuseum Joanneum Schloss Eggenberg & Alte Galerie
5, 6: © Zagreb, Hrvatski državni arhiv
7: © Klagenfurt, Landesmuseum Kärnten
8: Anton Fritz, Das große Hemma-Buch, 1980.

Júlia Tátrai
Wiener Hofkünstler und die Zrinys. Porträts in der Lobkowicz-Sammlung / Bečki dvorski umjetnici u Zrinski. Portreti u Zbirci Lobkowicz
Daniel Premerl

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and his Coat of Arms: Self-presentation of an Illyrian Noble / Ivan Tomko Mrnavić i njegov grb: samopredstavljanje jednoga ilirskoga plemića

1, 2: Paolo Mofardin, Institute of Art History, Zagreb; Courtesy of the Metropolitan Library, Zagreb / Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb; Uz dopuštenje Metropolitanske knjižnice, Zagreb
3, 6, 14, 15, 16, 17: Courtesy of the National and University Library, Zagreb / Uz dopuštenje Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice, Zagreb
4, 5: Paolo Mofardin, Institute of Art History, Zagreb; Courtesy of the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts / Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb; Uz dopuštenje Knjižnice Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti
7, 8: Courtesy of the Research Library Zadar / Uz dopuštenje Znanstvene knjižnice Zadar
9: Fra Stipe Nosić, the Library of the Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik / Knjižnica Male braće, Dubrovnik
10: Tomislav Pavičić, City Museum Šibenik / Tomislav Pavičić, Muzej Grada Šibenika
11, 12: Paolo Mofardin, Institute of Art History, Zagreb; Courtesy of the Archdiocesan Archives, Zagreb / Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb; Uz dopuštenje Nadbiskupijskog arhiva, Zagreb
13: Courtesy of the Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb / Uz dopuštenje Arhiva Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb

Ivana Čapeta Rakić

Ponzonijevih deset slika u svodu glavnog oltara splitske katedrale: razmatranja o stilsko-oblikovnim svojstvima, izvornej funkciji i ikono-grafsko-ikonološkom aspektu / Ten Paintings by Matteo Ponzoni above the Main Altar of the Split Cathedral: Considerations on Design and Style, the Original Function, and the Iconographic-Iconological Aspect

1, 2: Ivana Čapeta Rakić
3: Ivana Čapeta Rakić, reconstruction: Vojan Kocic
4: Mirko Pivčević, reconstruction: Vojan Kocic
5: Uz dopuštenje Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia / Courtesy of the Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia
6: Fotografija preuzeta sa službene web stranice muzeja www.museunacional.cat, uz dopuštenje za preuzimanje i objavu fotografije od muzeja Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya / Photo from the official website of the museum, www.museunacional.cat (courtesy of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya)

Renata Komič Marn

Saint Joseph and Baby Jesus by Valentin Metzinger and Other Paintings from the Strahl Collection in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb / Slika Sveti Josip s malim Isusom Valentina Metzingera i druge slike iz Zbirke Strahl u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu

1, 3–6: Srećko Budek i Vedran Benović, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt / Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, digitalne snimke predmeta iz muzejskog fundusa
2: Ljudevít Griesbach, HAZU, Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora, Zagreb / Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Zagreb

Jasminka Najcer Sabljak

Prizori iz Slavonije i Srijema u opusu austrijskog slikara Franz Alta / Scenes from Slavonia and Syrmia in the Opus of Austrian Painter Franz Alt

1, 9: Georg Eltz
2, 4–8: Franciska Clary-Aldringen
3: Arhiv Zavičajnog muzeja Ruma / Archive of the Ruma County Museum

Ana Šeparović


1: Socijalizam i modernost, katalog izložbe, Zagreb, 2012., 141.