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## O kojem je mužu riječ? Natpis bosančicom na kamenoj ploči s groblja sv. Ive u Livnu

*Na groblju sv. Ive u Livnu nađen je ulomak kamene ploče s natpisom na bosančici. Sada se nalazi u arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkog muzeja i galerije Gorica – Livno. Ploča je odlomljena s lijeve strane (početci redaka natpisa) i velikim dijelom s desne strane (završetci triju redaka teksta), a i sačuvani dio natpisa toliko je oštećen da ga je nemoguće nedvojbeno pročitati. Ostaje, dakle, da se pročita ono šta se daje pročitati i da se pokuša, bar djelomično, domisliti i odgonetnuti uništeni dio teksta. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o livanjskom srednjovjekovnom plemenitašu vojvodi Vlatku Kovačiću (14. st. - početak 15. st.).*

*Ključne riječi: groblje sv. Ive, franjevački samostan, natpisi, bosančica, vojvoda Vlatko Kovačić.*

## Which man is it about? Inscription written in Bosančica on the stone tablet from the cemetery of St. John in Livno

*A fragment of a stone tablet with an inscription in the Cyrillic script called Bosančica was found at the cemetery of St. John in Livno, which is now part of the archaeological collection of the Franciscan Museum and the Gorica-Livno Gallery. The tablet is broken off on the left side (the beginnings of the verses of the inscription) and a large part on the right side (the ends of the three verses of text), while the preserved part of the inscription is so damaged that it is impossible to read it unequivocally. Therefore, the sole option is to read what can be read and to try, at least partially, to interpret and decipher the destroyed parts of the text. Most likely, the text is about the medieval noble Duke Vlatko Kovačić (14th to beginning of the 15th century) from Livno.*

*Keywords: cemetery of St. John, Franciscan monastery, inscriptions, Bosančica, Duke Vlatko Kovačić.*

U arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkog muzeja i galerije Gorica - Livno nalazi se ulomak kamene ploče s natpisom na bosančici. Nađen je na groblju sv. Ive u Livnu, vjerojatno u toku arheološkog istraživanja toga lokaliteta, ali podaci o okolnostima nalaza, nažalost, nisu zabilježeni. U knjizi muzejskog inventara upisana je pod brojem FMGG – kamen 476 (sl. 1).<sup>1</sup> Nikakvih drugih zabilješki nema: ni o nalazniku, ni o vremena nalaska, niti je sasvim konkretno zabilježeno mjesto na kojem dijelu groblja je ulomak nađen.

Na groblju sv. Ive u Livnu evidentiran je nalaz jedne druge kamene ploče s natpisom. U arheološkim istraživanjima na tom lokalitetu otkriveni su „ostaci samostana s fratarskim ćelijama (izbama), blagovaonicom, klaustrom, dvorištem i samostanskim grobljem, gdje su pokopavani redovnici i za samostan zaslužni i svakako ugledni građani“.<sup>2</sup> U klastru samostana nalazila se nekropola. Kroz Livno prolaze i razni legati. Jedan od njih, papinski legat, ninski biskup Božo, u Livnu i umire 1462. godine. B. Vrdoljak pretpostavlja da je mogao biti pokopan u atriju samostana sv. Ive.<sup>3</sup>

Možemo samo pretpostavljati da je i kameni ulomak (*FMGG – kamen 476*) baš tu nađen, a da je istraživač propustio zabilježiti vrijeme i okolnosti njegova nalaza. A zabilježio je: „Na prostoru klaustura, između razrušenih grobnica nađeno je i pokupljeno više ulomaka izlomljene kamene ploče neke grobnice ili sarkofaga. Veličina fragmenata je: a. 29 x 22 x 15 cm, b. 24 x 22 x 13 cm. Oba se spajaju u jedan veći kameni ulomak veličine 44 x 28 x 15 cm. Na njegovoj donjoj plohi pisac je oštrim predmetom nacrtao šaku i donji dio podlaktice desne ruke na koju su naslonjeni prsti lijeve ruke. Na cjelovito prikazanom dlanu ruke lijepim rukopisom, hrvatskim jezikom i ćiriličkim pismom je upisao: ASE ŽIVA/RUKA RESTO/JE/M (tj. Ovo je živa ruka RestojaM..., možda kancelara ili kanonika. Na podlaktici ima još grafita i jedna riječ, koju nismo mogli pročitati. Na donjem rubu drugoga kamenog ulomka iste ploče, veličine 7 x 14 x 14 cm koji se spaja s ulomkom veličine 25 x 15 x 14 cm velikim

In the archaeological collection of the Franciscan Museum and Gorica - Livno Gallery, there is a fragment of a stone tablet with an inscription written in Bosančica, which was discovered at the cemetery of St. John in Livno, most likely during the archaeological research of that site. However, detailed information about the circumstances of the find were unfortunately not recorded. In the museum inventory book, the find is registered under the number FMGG - stone 476 (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> There are no other notes: neither about the finder, nor about the time of its discovery, nor is there a very specific record of the place in which part of the cemetery it was found.

Another stone tablet with an inscription was also found at the cemetery of St. John in Livno. During the archaeological research of the site, “remains of a monastery complex” were discovered “with monastic cells, dining room, cloister, courtyard and a monastic cemetery where the monks were buried, but surely also respected citizens in recognition for their meritorious deeds for the monastery.”<sup>2</sup> The necropolis was located in the cloister of the monastery. Various legates also passed by through Livno. One of them, the papal legate, Bishop Natalis of Nin, died in Livno in 1462. B. Vrdoljak assumes that he could have been buried in the atrium of the monastery of St. John.<sup>3</sup>

We can only assume that the stone fragment (*FMGG – stone 476*) was actually found there but that the researcher failed to record the time and circumstances of its discovery. Nevertheless, he noted: “In the area of the cloister, among the destroyed tombs, several fragments of a broken stone tablet belonging to a tomb or sarcophagus were found and collected. The size of the fragments is: a. 29 x 22 x 15 cm and b. 24 x 22 x 13 cm. Both can be pieced together into one larger stone fragment measuring 44 x 28 x 15 cm. On its lower surface, the writer used a sharp object to draw a hand and the lower part of the forearm of the right hand on which the fingers of the left hand rest. On the fully displayed palm of the hand, he wrote in beautiful handwriting, in the Croatian language and Cyrillic script: ASE

<sup>1</sup> Srdačno zahvaljujem Mariji Marić Baković, muzejskoj savjetnici FMGG-a, što me je obavijestila o toj ploči i blagonaklono mi predložila da se pozabavim tekstom natpisa, da ga pokušam pročitati i publicirati.

<sup>2</sup> Glavaš 1994, str. 105-111; Vrdoljak 1994, str. 115-125; Vrdoljak 2005, str. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, str. 270; Marijan 1994; Marijan 1995; Glavaš 1994.

<sup>1</sup> I sincerely thank Marija Marić Baković, the FMGG's museum advisor, for informing me about that stone tablet and kindly suggesting that I attend to the text of the inscription, to try to read it and publish it.

<sup>2</sup> Glavaš 1994, pp. 105-111; Vrdoljak 1994, pp. 115-125; Vrdoljak 2005, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, p. 270; Marijan 1994; Marijan 1995; Glavaš 1994.



Sl. 1. Natpis na ulomku ploče s groblja sv. Ive (foto: D. Baković)

Fig. 1 Inscription on the fragment of the stone tablet from the cemetery of St. John (photo: D. Baković)

slovima hrvatske cirilice stoji napisano: ASE PIŠE RATKO. Slovo O je oštećeno.<sup>4</sup>

U interpretaciji fra Bone Vrdoljaka u toj je grobnici pod tom pločom bio pokopan komornik i protovestijar bosanskih kraljeva Restoja Milohna.<sup>5</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je tu grobnicu „još za života dao sagraditi i obilježiti svojom desnom rukom i svojim imenom *ase živa ruka Restoje M...*, kako *piše Ratko*“<sup>6</sup> (sl. 2).

Za neke je, bez ikakve dvojbe, ovdje pokopani Restoja bio Srbin, kao što su, po njihovu mišljenju, i svi ostali tadašnji žitelji na ovim prostorima bili Srbi. O tome govore i suautori jednog dosta opsež-

ŽIVA/RUKA RESTO/JE/M (ie. This is the living hand of RestojeM...), perhaps a chancellor or a canon. On the forearm, there is more graffiti and one word, which is illegible. On the lower edge of the second fragment of the same stone, size 7 x 14 x 14 cm, which can be pieced together with a fragment size 25 x 15 x 14 cm, the following is written in uppercase Croatian Cyrillic letters: ASE PIŠE RATKO (trans. this writes Ratko). The letter O is damaged”<sup>4</sup>.

According to Father Bono Vrdoljak’s interpretation, the chamberlain and protovestiarios of the Bosnian kings, Restoje Milohna, was buried in that tomb and under that tombstone.<sup>5</sup> It is assumed that he had this tomb “built and marked during his lifetime with his right hand and his name *ase živa ruka Restoje M...*, as *piše Ratko*”<sup>6</sup> (fig. 2).

Some undoubtedly believe, that Restoje, who was buried there, was a Serb, just as, according to their opinion, all the other inhabitants of this area at that time were Serbs. This is also discussed by the co-authors of a rather extensive text, who at the end of their long interpretation state: “Therefore, we can finally conclude that Restoje \*Milohnić could only be, and was (like his brothers Metodije and Nikola) - a Serb. Likewise, he could only speak and write, and he spoke and wrote - in (old) Serbian”<sup>7</sup>.

Both, the tablet with Restoje’s name and the tablet from the cemetery of St. John, which is the subject of this paper (FMGG – stone 476), as well as the tablet with an inscription in Bosančica found on the foundations of the church of St. Peter in

<sup>4</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, str. 279, 282.

<sup>5</sup> Anto Babić u djelu *Diplomatska služba u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni* pozivajući se na *Acta Bosnae* (str. 150-151) navodi da je Hristoja Milohna Livnjak. Zabilježio je da je „26. 1. 1436 kralj Tvrtko II izdao povelju bosanskim franjevcima u prisustvu ugarskih velikaša i bosanske vlastele, među kojima je naveden i kraljev komornik (camerarius) *Hristoja de Hlevna* (istaknuo S. M.) [...] Restoje Milohna, rodom iz Livna (de Hlevna) vršio je važne službe na dvoru kralja Tvrtka II i Stjepana Tomaša neprekidno kroz nekih trideset godina (1422-1451). Počeo je kao pisar i sastavljač povelja, kao logofet ili kancelar, da u toku svoje dugogodišnje službe zakorači na višu stepenicu društva, da uđe u red vlastele - knezova, posjednika plemenite baštine i da u tom svojstvu u ime svoje i svoga bratstva fungira kao svjedok na vladarskim poveljama“ (Babić 1995, str. 72-74).

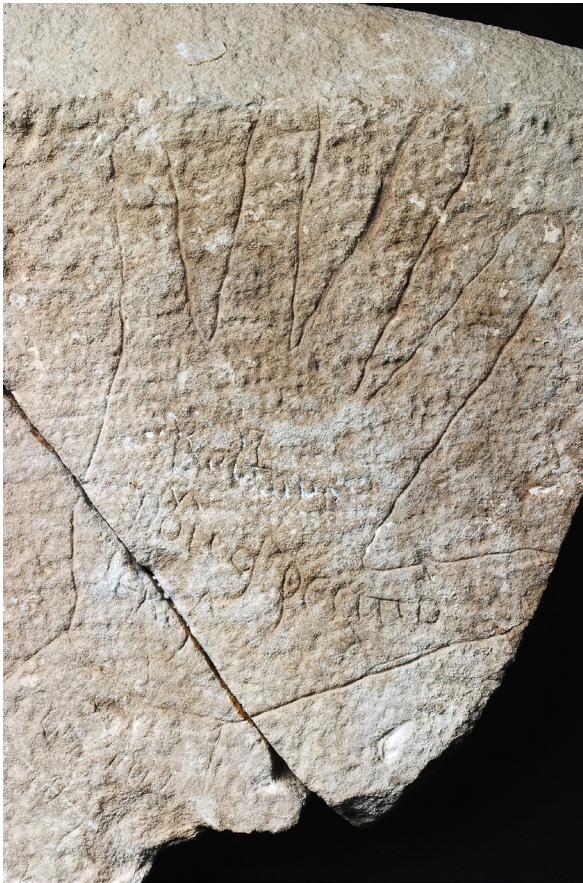
<sup>6</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, str. 282.

<sup>4</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, p. 279, 282.

<sup>5</sup> Anto Babić states in his work *Diplomatska služba u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni*, and in reference to *Acta Bosnae* (pp. 150-151), that Hristoje Milohna Livnjak recorded that “on January 1st, 1436, King Tvrtko II issued a charter to the Bosnian Franciscans in the presence of Hungarian dignitaries and Bosnian rulers, among whom was the king’s chamberlain (camerarius) *Hristoja de Hlevna* (highlighted by S. M.) [...] Restoje Milohna, a native of Livno (de Hlevna) who continuously performed important services at the court of King Tvrtko II and Stjepan Tomaš for about thirty years (1422-1451). He started as a scribe and draftsman of charters, as a logophete or chancellor, and in the course of his many years of service, he stepped onto a higher level of society, to enter the ranks of nobility- knezes, possessors of noble heritage, and he acted as a witness on the ruler’s charters in this capacity on behalf of himself and his fraternity.” (Babić 1995, pp. 72-74.)

<sup>6</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> Вељковић – Фекеће 2018, p. 87.



Sl. 2. Ulomak poklopca sarkofaga s natpisom (foto: A. Z. Alajbeg)

Fig. 2 Fragment of the sarcophagus lid with the inscription (photo: A. Z. Alajbeg)

nog teksta, koji na kraju svoje dugačke interpretacije, konstatiraju: „Stoga, možemo konačno zaključiti da je Restoje \*Milohnić jedino i samo mogao biti, i bio je (kao i njegova braća Metodije i Nikola) - Srbin. Isto tako, jedino i samo mogao je govoriti i pisati, i govorio je i pisao - (staro)srpskim.“<sup>7</sup>

I ta ploča s Restojevim imenom i ploča s groblja sv. Ive koja je tema ovog rada (FMGG – kamen 476 ) te ploča s natpisom na bosančici nađena na temeljima crkve sv. Petra u Rapovinama<sup>8</sup> (sl. 7) od iste su vrste kamena i iste su debljine (kao da su iz istoga majdana izvađene).

Zajedničke odlike natpisâ na pločama s groblja u Rapovinama i s groblja sv. Ive

- Obje ploče su od iste vrste kamena, od tenelije,<sup>9</sup>

Rapovine<sup>8</sup> (fig. 7) are made of the same type of stone and are of the same thickness (as if they were extracted from the same quarry).

Common characteristics of the inscriptions on the tablets from the cemetery in Rapovine and the cemetery of St. John (fig. 3)

- Both tablets are made of the same type of stone, tenelia, 9 and are of the same thickness (14.5-15.5 cm).
- On both tablets, the rectangular inscription field is framed by equally deeply incised lines.
- The width of the inscription field is nearly identical: 16.8 cm (Rapovine); 17 cm (St. John).
- In the inscription fields of both tablets, the text is arranged identically (there are six verses on each).
- On both tablets, the words are separated by a dot incised in the middle of the line.
- The letter size is 1-2 cm on both tablets (depending on the shape of the letters). The rows are separated by an average of about 1.5 cm. There was more text below the framed inscription field on both tablets, but on both of them that part of the inscription is damaged and it is impossible to read it meaningfully. Only a few letters have been preserved on each.
- Judging by all available information, it seems that the inscription fields on both tablets are of equal lengths (about 25 cm).

Analysis of the inscription on the tablet from the cemetery of St. John

The first row: Р Н \* М Ѫ Ж Ь \* . . .

In the missing (broken off) part of the tablet at the beginning, before the syllable RI, it is most likely that DOB was written, hence it would read [DOB]RI (trans. good). The word “muž” was used, as it was common at that time (in the Middle Ages), with a meaning of a *virtuous, well-known and respectable man*. There are many examples of this meaning in various records from that time: „Ostavivъ ... рѣвoga igumana прѣpodobna муѡa Methodia“ (trans. leave ... the first hegumen, the venerable man Methodius; 13<sup>th</sup> century), „Tagda pridoše (...) u Trъstivъnicu plemeniti i mudri muѡije slavnago grada Dubrovnika vlastele i poklisarije“ (trans. Then came (...) to Trstivnica the noble and

<sup>7</sup> Вељковић – Феќете 2018, str. 87.

<sup>8</sup> Manderalo 2013, str. 238-240; Manderalo 2015, p. 17-21.

<sup>9</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, str. 279.

<sup>8</sup> Manderalo 2013, p. 238-240; Manderalo 2015, p. 17-21.

<sup>9</sup> Vrdoljak 2005, p. 279.



Sl. 3. Ploča iz Rapovina (lijevo) i ploča s groblja sv. Ive (desno) (foto: D. Baković)

Fig. 3 On the left, the tablet from Rapovine - on the right, the tablet from the cemetery of St. John (photo: D. Baković)

- i iste su debljine (14,5 – 15,5 cm).
- I na jednoj i na drugoj pravokutno natpisno polje uokvireno je podjednako duboko urezanim linijama.
- Širina natpisnog polja im je gotovo ista: 16,8 cm (Rapovine), 17 cm (Sv. Ivo).
- I na jednoj i na drugoj ploči tekst je na natpisnim poljima istovjetno raspoređen (po šest je redaka).
- Na objema pločama granica među riječima obilježena je točkom urezanom po sredini retka.
- I na jednoj i na drugoj ploči slova su veličine 1 - 2 cm (zavisno od oblika slova).
- Redci su jedan od drugog odmaknuti oko 1,5 cm
- Na objema je pločama ispod uokvirenoga natpisnog polja bilo još teksta, ali je i na jednoj i na drugoj taj dio natpisa oštećen i nemoguće ga je smisljeno pročitati. Sačuvano je samo po nekoliko slova.
- Po svemu sudeći, i natpisna su polja na jednoj i na drugoj ploči podjednake dužine (oko 25 cm). Analiza natpisa na ploči s groblja sv. Ive  
Prvi redak : .... P H \* M X Ž b \* ..

U nedostajućem (odlomljenom) dijelu ploče na početku, ispred sloga RI, najvjerojatnije je da je pisalo DOB. Dakle, [DOB]RI. Riječ muž upotrijebljena je, kako se u tome vremenu (u srednjem vijeku) uobičajeno upotrebljavala u značenju: *čestit*,

wise men of the famous city of Dubrovnik, noblemen and envoys; the end of 14<sup>th</sup> century); „i prizovi mudra muža da te utješi...“ (trans. and invoke a wise man to comfort you; in 1520).<sup>10</sup> We think, with great probability, that in this inscription the noun *muž* is preceded by the attribute good (like in the inscription on the tablet from Rapovine: *dobri* (good) Radovan.<sup>11</sup> (fig. 7) On the monument in Ljusići near Ulog is written: “A se leži dobri Pribislavъ Petrojivićъ na svoj zemlji na plemenitoj. Služi hъ banu Tvrтku (Tvrtku) g[ospod][i]nu vъrno. Na tom pogibo hъ. P[i]sa Brtoji hъ (Bratoja, Bratoje)” (trans. Here lies good Pribislav Petrojivić on his noble estate. He served his master, Ban Tvrtko faithfully. He died during his service, writes Bratoje).<sup>12</sup> (fig.4)

On this monument, “the term *dobri* (trans. good) in the inscription is a denotation for a hero, a bachelor, a warrior and a respectable man, and in some cases also a sign for a holy man, but by no means

<sup>10</sup> “The inscriptions contain many names that have long been forgotten (...) uzmožni muž (ugledni muž)” (trans. respectable man); Bešlagić 1982, pp. 443-444); „A se leži uzmožni muž tepčija Batalo“ /1400-1401/ (trans. Here lies the respectable man tepčija Batalo; Dizdar 1971, p. 182); „Sjeti se [...] Katarine, žene uzmožnog muža Sandalja“ / beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century / (trans. Remember [...] Katarina, the wife of the respectable man Sandalj; Dizdar 1971, p. 191); next to the noun man, there is also the adjective noble: “plemeniti muž gospodin Ivan Čorži“ /1423/ (trans. noble man Mr. Ivan Čorži”; Dizdar 1971, p. 191).

<sup>11</sup> Manderalo 2015, p. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Vego 1964b, pp. 48-49.

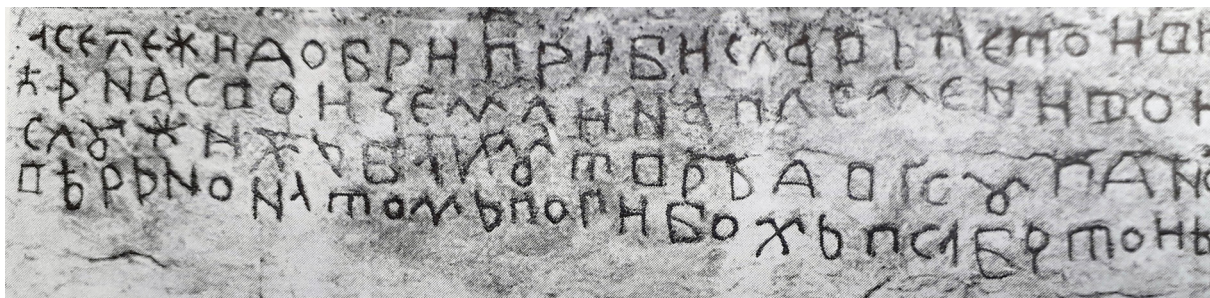
Sl. 4. Natpis na spomeniku nad grobom *dobrog* Pribislava Petojivića, Ljusići kod Uloga

Fig. 4 Inscription on the tombstone of the good Pribislav Petojivić, Ljusići near Ulog

viđen i ugledan čovjek. Za to postoji mnogo primjera u različitim zapisima iz toga doba: „Ostavivъ ... rгъvoga igumana prêpodobna muža Methodia“ (13. st.), „Tagda pridoše (...) u Trгstivъnicu plemeniti i mudri mužije slavnago grada Dubrovnika vlastele i poklisarije“ (s konca 14. st.); „i prizovi mudra muža da te utješi“ (1520.)...<sup>10</sup> Mislimo, s mnogo vjerojatnoće, da u ovome natpisu ispred imenice muž stoji atribut *dobri* (kao i u natpisu na ploči iz Rapovina: *dobri* Radovan<sup>11</sup> (sl. 7). Na spomeniku u Ljusićima kod Uloga upisano je: „A se leži *dobri* Pribislavъ Petojivićъ na svoj zemlji na plemenitoj. Služiъhъ banu Tvгъdku (Tvrtku) g[ospod][i]nu vгrno. Na tom pogiboъhъ. P[i]sa Brtojiъ (Bratoja, Bratoje)“<sup>12</sup> (sl. 4).

Na ovome spomeniku „u izrazu *dobri* u natpisu gledamo oznaku za junaka, momka, ratnika i uglednog čovjeka, a u nekim slučajevima i oznaku za svetog muža, a nikako oznaku za tada ranu djetinj-sku mladost. Natpis je urezan između 1353. i 1377. godine“.<sup>13</sup> Usporedimo li ovaj natpis s našim natpisom s groblja sv. Ive, vrlo lako ćemo uočiti da je na njima većina slova oblikovana gotovo na isti način.

Nisu rijetki natpisi iz 14. - 15. stoljeća na kojima uz ime pokojnika stoji atribut *dobri*: „A se leži *dobri* g(ospo)d(in) gost Mišljen...“<sup>14</sup>; „U dobroga

a term for childhood and early youth. The inscription was carved between 1353 and 1377”.<sup>13</sup> If we compare this inscription with the inscription from the cemetery of St. John, we can easily notice that most of the letters on them are shaped in essentially the same way.

Inscriptions from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries on which the attribute good is written next to the name of the deceased are not rare: „A se leži *dobri* g(ospo)d(in) gost Mišljen...“<sup>14</sup> (trans. Here lies the good sir, guest Mišljen...); „U dobroga gospodina vojevode...“<sup>15</sup> (trans. to the good sir duke...); „A se leži Trtiša Banović *dobri* vitezъ“<sup>16</sup> (trans. Here lies Trtiša Banović, the good knight). Sometimes this attribute is also found with female names: „A se leži *dobra* žena Stana”<sup>17</sup> (trans. Here lies the good woman Stana).

The second row: П К О \* К О В Д . .

Some of the final letters of the surname of that good (?) man may have been partially transferred to the first part of the third row which is missing here. The man's name is written right in the broken part of the row.<sup>18</sup> It could be one of the medieval names that were common at the time:<sup>19</sup> (Vla)tko, (Tvr)tko, (Ra)tko, (Ma)tko, (Vra)tko, ... Kova(čić). We can find several indications that, most likely, the nobleman from Livno, Duke Vlatko Kovačić, was inscribed there.

<sup>10</sup> „Natpisi imaju mnogo naziva koji su već odavno zaboravljeni (...) uzmožni muž (ugledni muž)“ (Bešlagić 1982, str. 443-444); „A se leži uzmožni muž tepčija Batalo“, 1400. - 1401. (Dizdar 1971, str. 182); „Sjeti se [...] Katarine, žene uzmožnog muža Sandalja“, početak 15. st. (Dizdar 1971, str. 191); uz imenicu muž nađe se i odrednica *plemenit*: „plemeniti muž gospodin Ivan Čorži“, 1423. g. (Dizdar 1971, str. 191).

<sup>11</sup> Manderalo 2015, str. 19.

<sup>12</sup> Vego 1964b, str. 48-49.

<sup>13</sup> Vego 1980, str. 267.

<sup>14</sup> Natpis je s kraja 14. stoljeća (Kuna 2008, str. 287, 306; Dizdar 1971, str. 151).

<sup>13</sup> Vego 1980, p. 267.

<sup>14</sup> Inscription from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Kuna 2008, p. 287, 306; Dizdar 1971, p. 151.)

<sup>15</sup> Inscription from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Dizdar 1971, p. 188).

<sup>16</sup> Inscription most likely from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Vego 1964a, pp. 30-31)

<sup>17</sup> Inscription most likely from the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Vego 1964a, pp. 30-31)

<sup>18</sup> In the archaic meaning, muž is “a virtuous man, the one respected in his social environment” (Anić 1998, p. 564)

<sup>19</sup> Džaja 1970, p. 324, 325, 327, 328.

gospodina vojevode...<sup>15</sup>; „A se leži Trtiša Banović dobri vitež“.<sup>16</sup> Ponekad se taj atribut nađe i uz žensko ime: „A se leži dobra žena Stana“.<sup>17</sup>

Drugi redak : ... ▯ Ꞥ ○ \* Ꞥ ○ B d . .

Neka od završnih slova prezimena toga dobrog (?) muža možda su dijelom prenesena i na prvi dio trećeg, ovdje nedostajućeg retka. Baš u tom odlomljenom dijelu retka zapisano je ime toga muža.<sup>18</sup> Mogao bi to biti neki od onih koji su imali tadašnja uobičajena srenjovjekovna imena<sup>19</sup>: (Vla)tko, (Tvr)tko, (Ra)tko, (Ma)tko, (Vra)tko, ... Kova(čić). Za pretpostavku da je ovdje, najvjerojatnije, upisan livanjski plemeniti muž *vojvoda* Vlatko Kovačić, možemo navesti nekoliko indicija.

Kao srednjovjekovni plemenitaši Kovačići iz livanjskoga sela Kovačić imali su i svoj grb. Na njemu je upisano *COVACICHC*.<sup>20</sup> U popisu *Grbovi plemenitih obiteljih ilirskih po redu slovah izvadjeni iz starinskih knjigah fojničkih* pod rednim brojem 49. tog manuskripta zabilježeno je *Kovačić*, a među zagradama naknadno je dopisano: *De villa ejusdem nominis in Campo Cleonae*.<sup>21</sup> Iz *Fojničke kronike* fra Nikola Lašvanin izvadio je podatak o *vojvodi* Vlatku Kovačiću, vojskovođi kralja Tvrtka: „1387 / godina/. Dojde u Bosnu dvadeset hiljada turske vojske i prid njom Juriša vojvoda, i udriše na njih Bošnjaci i prid njima Vlatko Kovačić i Turke razbiše.“<sup>22</sup>

Na općem sastanku bosanskog plemstva, što ga je 24. VI. 1446. održao kralj Tomaš u Konjicu, nalazi se Ivan Kovačić, vojvoda Donjih kraja.<sup>23</sup> U popisu knezova i vlastele naroda slovinskoga Andrije Kačića Miošića nalazi se i „Kovačić od sela Kovačića iz Livna“.<sup>24</sup>

Vrlo je zanimljivo jedno bosančicom napisano pismo *livanjskog kapetana Ahmed-bega Firdusa*, koje ovaj godine 1751. upućuje fojničkom gvar-

As medieval nobles, the Kovačić family from the village Kovačić in Livno also had their coat of arms, which had *COVACICHC* written on it.<sup>20</sup> In the list of *Coats of arms of noble families of Illyria in alphabetical order extracted from the ancient books of Fojnica* under serial number 49 of that manuscript, the name *Kovačić* was recorded, and within brackets, *De villa ejusdem nominis in Campo Cleonae* was subsequently added.<sup>21</sup> Friar Nikola Lašvanin extracted information about Duke Vlatko Kovačić, a general of King Tvrtko, from the *Fojnica Chronicle*: “1387 /year/. Twenty thousand Turkish troops came to Bosnia, and in front of them a storming duke, and they were attacked by the Bosniaks and in front of them Vlatko Kovačić, then they destroyed the Turks.”<sup>22</sup>

The general meeting of the Bosnian nobility held on June 24, 1446 by King Tomaš in Konjic, was attended by Ivan Kovačić, the duke of Donji Kraj.<sup>23</sup> The list of knezes and rulers of the Slavic people by Andrija Kačić Miošić also contained the “Kovačić from the village of Kovačić from Livno.”<sup>24</sup>

Particularly interesting is a letter written in 1751 in Bosančica by *Captain Ahmed-beg Firdus of Livno* to the abbot of Fojnica. The transliterated text of the letter is as follows:

*U ime Boga. Od mene Ahmet bega Firdusa, kapetana i muselima livanskoga, lipo i v.d.p. momu prijatelju gardianu fojničkomu. A za tim evo kako dođe ovdje fra Lo(v)ro Šimić iz Jaica i s njim za druga fra Ivan, a ovdje je bijo fra Stipan Kovačević moj kmet, koi je od starine još moj stari, zato kail nisam da ga dižete niti ga ja dajem nipošto odovle pušćati, nego eto vam ta(j), koga ste amo poslali. Toga varzite misto Kovačevića, di ste ga bili namislili varći toga metnite. (...). Luća na 26. na 1751. Piso ja Ahmet beg Firdus kapetan i muselim livanjski u Livnu.*<sup>25</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Natpis je s početka 15. stoljeća (Dizdar 1971, str. 188).

<sup>16</sup> Natpis je iz vremena prije 1463. g. (Vego 1970, str. 29).

<sup>17</sup> Natpis je vjerojatno iz 15. stoljeća (Vego 1964a, str. 30-31).

<sup>18</sup> U arhaičnom značenju muž je „čestit čovjek, onaj koji je ugledan u svojoj sredini“ (Anić 1998, str. 564).

<sup>19</sup> Džaja 1970, str. 324, 325, 327, 328.

<sup>20</sup> *Foinički grbovnik* 2005, str. 45, 110-111.

<sup>21</sup> *Foinički grbovnik*, str. 110.

<sup>22</sup> Lašvanin 1981, str. 219.

<sup>23</sup> Lašvanin 1981, str. 236; *Foinički grbovnik*, str. 110-111.

<sup>24</sup> A. Kačić Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* – M. A. Reljković, *Satir iliti divji čovik*, Zagreb, 1988, str. 507.

<sup>20</sup> *Foinički grbovnik* (Fojnica Armorial) 2005, p. 45, 110-111.

<sup>21</sup> *Foinički grbovnik*, p. 110.

<sup>22</sup> Lašvanin 1981, p. 219.

<sup>23</sup> Lašvanin 1981, p. 236; *Foinički grbovnik*, p. 110-111.

<sup>24</sup> A. Kačić Miošić, *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* – M. A. Reljković, *Satir iliti divji čovik*, Zagreb, 1988, p. 507.

<sup>25</sup> Vladimir Čorović published the letter and attached the facsimile (Čorović 1909, pp. 483-484). Friar Mijo Batinić published the letter as well (Batinić 1913, pp. 82 and 83). See also: Manderalo 2013, p. 238-240; Manderalo 2015, pp. 17-21.

dijanu. Evo transliteriranoga teksta pisma: *U ime Boga. Od mene Ahmet bega Firdusa, kapetana i muselima livanskoga, lipo i v.d.p. momu prijatelju gardianu fojničkomu. A za tim evo kako dođe ovdje fra Lo(v)ro Šimić iz Jaica i s njim za druga fra Ivan, a ovdje je bijo fra Stipan Kovačević moj kmet, koji je od starine još moj stari, zato kail nisam da ga dižete niti ga ja dajem nipošto odovle pušćati, nego eto vam ta(j), koga ste amo poslali. Toga varzite misto Kovačevića, di ste ga bili namislili varći toga met-nite. (...). Luća na 26. na 1751. Piso ja Ahmet beg Firdus kapetan i muselim livanjski u Livnu.*<sup>25</sup> O tom fra Stjepanu Kovačeviću zabilježeno je: „Fra Antun Marković obuče u Fojnici 15. travnja 1742. godine u fratarski habit Antuna Kovačevića iz Livna i dade mu ime fra Stjepan. (...). Umro je 26. prosinca 1775. u Duvnu.“<sup>26</sup> Dakle, Kovačevići su od starine Firdusovi susjedi.

Rod Kovač/ić/ević/ jedan je od najstarijih i najbrojnijih u livanjskom kraju.<sup>27</sup>

Treći redak: ..... Ѫ \* Ч Н Р Ъ Ќ Д .

Ne znamo šta je bilo upisano na početku nedostajućeg dijela toga retka. Neka od završnih slova prezimena toga dobrog (?) muža možda su dijelom prenesena i na početak trećeg retka. Dio riječi Ч Н Р Ъ Ќ Д / *цурька*/ još uvijek nam ništa sasvim pouzdano ne govori. Upućuje na korijen riječi crkva. Bi li tu bila riječ o imenici цркъвь<sup>28</sup> ili pridjevu цркъвьнь, ne znamo. U njoj slogotvorno *r* nije upisano ni kao *ar*, ni kao *er*, nego kao *ir*, što upuću-

(trans. In the name of God. From me, Ahmet-bey Firdus, captain and Muslim from Livno to my friend the abbot of Fojnica. It happened that Friar Lo(v)ro Šimić from Jajce came here, and with him his companion Friar John, and here was Friar Stipan Kovačević, my serf, who has been with me since old times, and that is why I am not willing to let him be removed nor will I let him leave from here, but you can have the one that you have sent here. Appoint that one instead of Kovačević, where you intended to appoint him. (...). Luća on 26<sup>th</sup> 1751. This is what I, Ahmet-bey Firdus, captain and Muslim from Livno, wrote.)

The following was recorded about said Friar Stjepan Kovačević: “Friar Antun Marković dressed Antun Kovačević from Livno in the friar’s habit and gave him the name Friar Stjepan on 15<sup>th</sup> April 1742, in Fojnica,” (...) He died on 26<sup>th</sup> December 1775 in Duvno.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, the Kovačevićs had been Firdus’ neighbours for a long time. The family clan Kovač/ić/ević/ is one of the oldest and most numerous in the area of Livno.<sup>27</sup>

The third row: Ѫ \* Ч Н Р Ъ Ќ Д .

We do not know what was written at the beginning of the missing part of that row. Some of the final letters of the surname of the good (?) man may have been partially transferred to the beginning of the third row. Part of the word Ч Н Р Ъ Ќ Д / *цурька*/ still does not tell us anything entirely reliable. It indicates the root of the word church. We don’t know whether it would be the noun цркъвь<sup>28</sup> (trans. church) or the adjective цркъвьнь (ecclesiastical). In the word, the syllabic *r* is written neither as *ar* nor as *er*, but as *ir*, which indicates the Chakavian dialect as well as the fact that the writer of this text could be from the Dalmatian region. What kind

<sup>25</sup> Pismo je objavio i faksimil priložio Vladimir Ćorović (Ćorović 1909, str. 483-484). Pismo je objavio i fra Mijo Batinić (Batinić 1913, str. 82. i 83). Vidi i: Manderalo 2013, str. 238-240; Manderalo 2015, str. 17-21.

<sup>26</sup> Vrgoč 2003, str. 162. Mogao je, dakle, fra Stjepan, biti rođen dvadesetih godina 18. stoljeća.

<sup>27</sup> U matičnim knjigama livanjskih katoličkih župa evidentirani su ovim kronoliškim redom: Ljubunčić (1771.), Rujani (1772.), Lusnić (1776.), Sajković (1777.), Kovačić (1797.), Prisap (1801.), Odžak (1801.), Ćaić (1806.), Bila (1811.), Ćuklić (1814.), Lipa (1815.), Livno (1815.), Vučići /Golinjevo/ (1815.), Žirović (1818.), Dobro (1819.), Suhaća (1821.), Kablići (1822.), Ćelebić (1825.), Grborezi (1833.), Potočani (1833.), Komorani (1844.), Žabljak (1846.), Držanlije (1851.), Podhum (1851.), Zabrišće (1858.), Brina (1868.), Strupnić (1871.), Rapovine (1873.), Drinova Međa (1873.), Vašarovine (1876.). U Ćukliću - Lipi i u Ćaiću Kovači su registrirani i 1741. godine.

<sup>28</sup> Vego 1962, str. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Vrgoč 2003, p. 162. Therefore, Friar Stjepan could have been born in the 1720s.

<sup>27</sup> In the registry books of the Catholic parishes in Livno, they are recorded in this chronological order: Ljubunčić (1771), Rujani (1772), Lusnić (1776), Sajković (1777), Kovačić (1797), Prisap (1801), Odžak (1801), Ćaić (1806), Bila (1811), Ćuklić (1814), Lipa (1815), Livno (1815), Vučići /Golinjevo/ (1815), Žirović (1818), Dobro (1819), Suhaća (1821), Kablići (1822), Ćelebić (1825), Grborezi (1833), Potočani (1833), Komorani (1844), Žabljak (1846), Držanlije (1851), Podhum (1851), Zabrišće (1858), Brina (1868), Strupnić (1871), Rapovine (1873), Drinova Međa (1873), Vašarovine (1876). In Ćuklić-Lipa and in Ćaić, the name Kovač has been recorded also in 1741.

<sup>28</sup> Vego 1962, p. 39.



je na čakavsko narječje i na to da bi upisivač ovoga teksta mogao biti iz dalmatinskih krajeva. U kakvu bi se to vezu s crkvom mogao dovesti vojvoda Vlatko Kovačić?

Četvrti redak: ....  $\mathcal{X}$  \* [H?] C B E M

Najviše je oštećen i vrlo teško čitljiv. Na sredini ploče (preko 4. i 5. retka) natpis je teško upropašten naknadnim duboko uklesanim velikim znakom X. Nemoguće je sasvim pouzdano i suvislo pročitati i odgonetnuti šta je tu bilo napisano.

Redak završava: U \* [I?] S V E T

Peti redak: ...  $\mathcal{X}$  B \*  $\mathcal{Z}$  d C n d  $\mathcal{X}$

Tu jasno čitamo samo kraj retka:

UV \* Z A S P A U

Šesti redak: ... X O M \* C B O H M

I u ovom retku također čitamo samo kraj:

H O M \* S V O I M

Ispod uokvirenog natpisnog polja još je nešto bilo dopisano na samom rubu ploče. Taj je rub toliko oštećen da se u tom retku prepoznaju samo slova

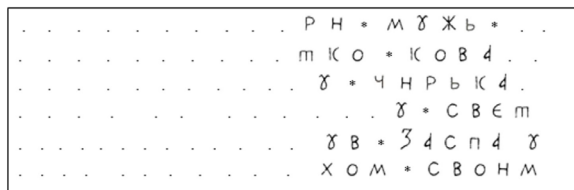
..... M H P /?/ .....

Bi li se moglo u pretpostavljenoj transkripciji naslućivati da je tu pisalo:

..... [MANAS]TIR/?/.....

Slova bosančice na ovoj ploči gotovo da su istovjetna slovima na ploči nađenoj na temeljima crkve sv. Petra u Rapovinama. To je očito već na prvi pogled. Usporedimo li slova s jedne ploče s onima na drugoj, vidimo gotovo potpunu istovjetnost. Pogledajmo slova:  $\mathcal{K}$  (k),  $\mathcal{X}$  (u),  $\mathcal{J}$  (ž),  $\mathcal{A}$  (a), H (i), B (v), C (s),  $\mathcal{P}$  (p), P (r), b (slike 1, 3, 7).

Evo, na koncu, toga sačuvanog dijela natpisa:



Transkripcija s pretpostavljenom mogućom djelomičnom rekonstrukcijom:

[SE LEŽI DOB]RI MUŽB [VOJVODA VLA]TKO KOVA[ČIĆ .....] U CIRĀKA[.....]U [I?]

of link could be established between Duke Vlatko Kovačić and the church?

The fourth row:  $\mathcal{X}$  \* [H?] C B E M

This is the most damaged part which makes it very difficult to read. In the middle of the tablet (over the 4th and 5th rows) the inscription is badly damaged by the subsequently deeply carved large sign X. It is impossible to reliably and coherently read and understand what was written there.

The row ending: U \* [I?] S V E T

The fifth row:  $\mathcal{X}$  B \*  $\mathcal{Z}$  d C n d  $\mathcal{X}$

Here we can clearly read only the end of the row: U V \* Z A S P A U

The sixth row: X O M \* C B O H M

In this row as well we can only read the ending: H O M \* S V O I M

Something else was written on the very edge of the tablet, below the framed inscription field. That edge of the stone is so damaged that only the following letters are recognizable in that row:

..... M H P /?/ .....

Could it be concluded that the presumed transcription was:

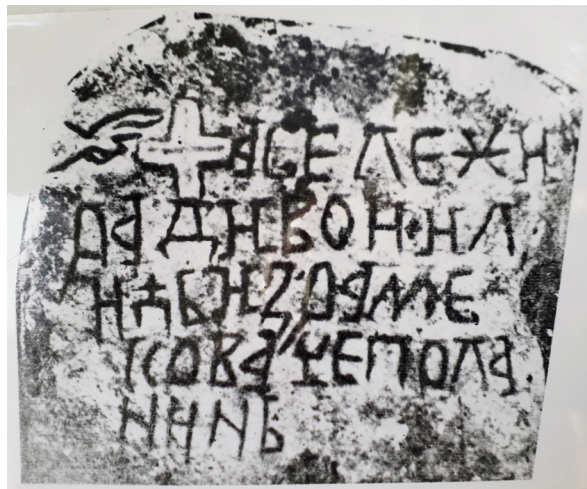
..... [MANAS]TIR/?/.....

The Bosančica letters on this tablet are almost identical to the letters on the tablet that was found on the foundations of the church of St. Peter in Rapovine. This is obvious at first glance. If we compare the letters from one tablet with those on the other, we see near identicalness. Take a look at the following letters:  $\mathcal{K}$  (k),  $\mathcal{X}$  (u),  $\mathcal{J}$  (ž),  $\mathcal{A}$  (a), H (i), B (v), C (s),  $\mathcal{P}$  (p), P (r), b (figures 1, 3, 7).

The preserved part of the inscription reads as follows:



The transcription with the presumed possible partial reconstruction:



Sl. 5. Natpis na stećku podignutom Radivoju Iliću Kovačpoljaninu, groblje u selu Lipa (foto: Ćiril Ćiro Raić)

Fig. 5 Inscription on the stećak erected for Radivoju Ilić Kovačpoljani, cemetery in the village of Lipa (photo: Ćiril Ćiro Raić)

SVET [.....]UV ZASPA U [GOSPODINU]<sup>29</sup>  
S DU]HOM SVOIM

Za odlike ovog natpisa možemo reći isto što i za onaj iz Rapovina: „Na natpisnom polju obrubljenom urezanim pravokutnikom (...) sačuvan je dio natpisa bosančicom, Natpis se doima estetski dotjeranim: gotovo kvadratična fino oblikovana slova ćirilčke majuskule (ustava), riječi jedna od druge odvojene točkom po sredini retka (na približno jednakim razmacima), tekst raspoređen u šest redaka s ujednačenim razmakom među njima. Baš dojmljiv, elegantan natpis. Gotovo da tako lijepu majuskulu do sada nismo imali prilike vidjeti“<sup>30</sup> (sl. 7).

„Činjenica da je tekst urezan vrlo lijepo i pravilno oblikovan slovima majuskulne bosančice upućuje na zaključak da ovaj natpis ima iste odlike kao i natpisi na stećcima, za koje je struka već utvrdila:

[SE LEŽI DOB]RI MUŽB [VOJVODA VLA]  
TKO KOVA[ČIĆ .....] U CIRĀKA[.....]JU [I?] SVET [.....]UV ZASPA U [GOSPODINU]<sup>29</sup> S DU]HOM SVOIM

(trans. [HERE LIES THE GO]OD MAN [DUKE VLA]TKO KOVA[ČIĆ .....] IN THE CHURCH[.....]IN [AND?] SAINT [.....]UV REST IN [GOD AND] HIS[SP]IRIT)

Regarding the characteristics of this inscription, we can say the same as we did for the one from Rapovine: “On the inscription field framed by an incised rectangle (...) a part of the inscription in Bosančica has been preserved. The inscription appears to be aesthetically refined: almost square and delicately chiselled letters of the Cyrillic majuscule (ustav form), the words are separated by a dot in the middle of the row (at approximately equal intervals), the text is arranged in six rows with uniform spacing between them. A very impressive, elegant inscription. We rarely had the opportunity to see such a beautiful majuscule until now”<sup>30</sup> (fig. 7).

“The fact that the text is engraved very finely and properly shaped in Bosančica majuscule leads to the conclusion that this inscription has the same characteristics as the inscriptions on stećci (trans. tombstones), for which the experts have already established: ‘Most inscriptions on stećci are written in the form *ustav*.<sup>31</sup> Then, after that, a transitional form of letters appeared towards a half-*ustav* form, then the half-*ustav* became predominant, which was followed by cursive letters.<sup>32</sup> Our inscription could, with a strong justification, be placed in the era for which Bešlagić says: “If I had to decide on a time that could be called the ‘period of the flowering

<sup>29</sup> Taj slikoviti metaforički izraz nađe se na ponekom nadgrobnom spomeniku i u 19. stoljeću. Na primjer: u groblju na Mejdanu na jednom je velikom križu upisano: „U ime I.H.S.N. *zaspe u Gospodinu* p. Pere Brešić koji priminu na 10. rujna G. G. 1872 (...)“ Tekst je upisao fra Anto Brešić-Mikulić (1855. - 1938.). Istoga su značenja i izrazi „počivati u Gospodinu“; „odmarati se u Gospodinu“.

Tu i tamo nađe se pokušaja „poetiziranja“ nadgrobničkih natpisa. Na jednom spomeniku u livanjskom groblju na Gorici piše: „Tu vječni snuje san i sudnji čeka dan Stipo Tadić koji život svrši svoj u pedeset i sedmoj 18. 5. 1884“ (upisao fra Alfonzo Bralić) (vidi: Manderalo 1987, str. 153).

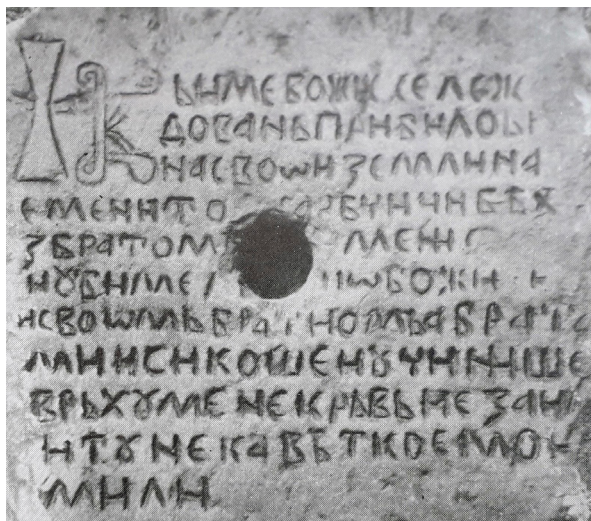
<sup>30</sup> Manderalo 2013, str. 238; Manderalo 2015, str. 18.

<sup>29</sup> This picturesque metaphorical expression can be found on some tombstones from the 19<sup>th</sup> century as well. For example: inscription on a large cross in the Mejdan cemetery: “In the name of I.H.S.N. rests in God the late Pere Brešić, who died on September 10, in the year of the Lord 1872 (...)”. The text was written by Friar Anto Brešić-Mikulić (1855-1938). The expressions “počivati u Gospodinu” and “odmarati se u Gospodinu” have the same meaning; “to rest in God”. Occasionally there are attempts to “poetize” tombstone inscriptions. On one of the monuments in the Livno cemetery in Gorica it is written: “Stipo Tadić, whose life ended at the age of fifty-seven on May 18, 1884, rests here eternally and awaits the day of judgment” /inscribed by Fr. Alfonzo Bralić/ (See: Manderalo 1987, p. 153).

<sup>30</sup> Manderalo 2013, p. 238; Manderalo 2015, p. 18.

<sup>31</sup> Bešlagić 1982, p. 438.

<sup>32</sup> Bešlagić 1982, p. 438.



Sl. 6. Natpis na spomeniku Radovana Pribilovića  
Fig. 6 Inscription on the monument of Radovan Pribilović

‘Većina natpisa stećaka je pisana *ustavom*.<sup>31</sup> Poslije slijede ‘prelazna slova ka poluustavu, zatim se vidi prodiranje poluustava, a potom i brzopisnih slova.<sup>32</sup> Naš bi se natpis, s mnogo opravdanja, mogao smjestiti u doba za koje Bešlagić kaže: ‘Ako bi trebalo da se odlučim za vrijeme koje bi se moglo nazvati ‘periodom cvjetanja ćirilske epigrafike u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni’, onda bi, mislim, početak toga perioda bio duboko u drugoj polovini 14. v.<sup>33</sup>

I po oblicima slova naš bi natpis pripadao najvjerovatnije koncu 14. ili, eventualno, početku 15. stoljeća. Uspoređivanjem svakoga na ovoj ploči urezanog slova s oblicima tih slova koja su (na temelju proučavanja mnogobrojnih srednjovjekovnih natpisa) evidentirali meritorni znalci bosančice i utvrdili kronologiju njihove upotrebe, lako je zaključiti da slova s ovoga natpisa iz Rapovina kronološki pripadaju onim ponajstarijima, dakle onima koji su evidentirani već u 14. stoljeću.<sup>34</sup> Opteretili bismo tekst, ako bismo detaljno analizirali oblik svakoga ovdje napisanoga majuskulnoga slova i komparirali ga sa slovima na spomenutim tabelama sa slovima na drugim natpisima iz istoga vremena. I najpodrobnija analiza (to smo u dobroj mjeri i učinili) rezultira već rečenim zaključkom.<sup>35</sup> Tome

<sup>31</sup> Bešlagić 1982, str. 438.

<sup>32</sup> Bešlagić 1982, str. 438.

<sup>33</sup> Bešlagić 1982, str. 437; Andelić 1970, str. 207-211.

<sup>34</sup> Vidi, pored ostalog, tabele kronologije oblika slova bosančice koje su napravili Ćiro Truhelka i Šefik Bešlagić (Truhelka 1889, str. 67; Bešlagić 1982, str. 439, Tab. XXII).

<sup>35</sup> Usporedi Bešlagićeve analize (Bešlagić 1982, str. 434-

of Cyrillic epigraphy in medieval Bosnia’, then, I think, the beginning of that period was far in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

Even when judging by the shape of the letters, our inscription would most likely belong to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> or, possibly, the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. By comparing each letter engraved on this tablet with the forms of those letters which (based on the study of numerous medieval inscriptions) were recorded by exemplary experts of the Bosančica script and who have established the chronology of their use, it is easy to conclude that the letters from the inscription from Rapovine chronologically belong to the oldest ones, that is, to those that were recorded already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> We would certainly overburden this paper, if we analysed in detail the shape of each majuscule letter written there and compared it with the letters on the mentioned tablets and the letters on other inscriptions from the same time. Even the most detailed analysis (which we did to a great extent) results in the aforementioned conclusion.<sup>35</sup> This is supported by T. Raukar’s claim that the breakthrough of the minuscule forms of Bosančica in the inscriptions on stećci began already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while in the 15<sup>th</sup> and especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, minuscule forms became predominant (especially the letters v, k, n and ć).<sup>36</sup> There is not a single minuscule form in the majuscule of our inscription. This indicates that it dates back to the time before the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup>

The inscription on the monument of Radovan Pribilović from Ričica near Kraljeva Sutjeska (first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) can also be a helpful point of reference for the dating of the inscriptions from Rapovine and the cemetery of St. John.<sup>38</sup> (fig. 6)

<sup>33</sup> Bešlagić 1982, p. 437; Andelić 1970, p. 207-211.

<sup>34</sup> Among others, see the chronology tables for the shapes of Bosančica letters by Ćiro Truhelka and Šefik Bešlagić (Truhelka 1889, p. 67; Bešlagić 1982, p. 439, Tab. XXII).

<sup>35</sup> Compare Bešlagić’s analyses (Bešlagić 1982, pp. 434-440); Andelić 1970, pp. 199-212; Vego 1970, pp. 76-77; Vego 1980, pp. 95-276; Kuna 2008, pp. 281-320.

<sup>36</sup> Raukar 1966-1967, pp. 485-499.

<sup>37</sup> Manderalo 2013, pp. 239-240; Manderalo 2015, pp. 19-20.

<sup>38</sup> Vego 1970, pp. 52-53.

Numerous monuments of that era share many similarities with the inscription from the cemetery of St. John. For comparison with our inscription, see the inscriptions on the monuments: to župan Medulin in Vrpolje /second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1964a, pp. 58-59); to Dabiživ Drašković from Kalesija /first half of



Sl. 7. Natpis bosančicom na ploči iz Rapovina  
Fig. 7 Inscription in Bosančica on the tablet from Rapovine

u prilog ide i tvrđnja T. Raukara da se prodor minuskulnih oblika bosančice u natpisima na stećcima počeo osjećati već i u 14, a u 15, pogotovo u 16. stoljeću, prevladavaju minuskulni oblici (osobito slova *v*, *k*, *n* i *ć*)<sup>36</sup>. U majuskuli našega natpisa nema ni jednog minuskulnog oblika, što upućuje na to da je iz vremena prije 15. stoljeća.<sup>37</sup>

Za dataciju natpisa iz Rapovina i s groblja sv. Ive orijentir nam može biti i natpis na spomeniku Radovana Pribilovića iz Ričice kod Kraljeve Sutjeske (1. polovina 15. st.)<sup>38</sup> (sl. 6).

440); Anđelić 1970, str. 199-212; Vego 1970, str. 76-77; Vego 1980, str. 95-276; Kuna 2008, str. 281-320.

<sup>36</sup> Raukar 1966-1967, str. 485-499.

<sup>37</sup> Manderalo 2013, str. 239-240; Manderalo 2015, str. 19-20.

<sup>38</sup> Vego 1970, str. 52-53. Vrlo mnogo sličnosti s našim natpisom s groblja sv. Ive naći ćemo i na brojnim spomenicima toga doba. Usporedimo s njim natpise na spomenicima: županu Medulinu u Vrpolju, 2. pol. 14. st. (Vego 1964a, str. 58-59); Dabiživu Draškoviću iz Kalesije, 1. pol. 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 128-129); Radonji Ratkoviću iz Ključa kod Gacka, 1404. - 1415. (Vego 1964b, str. 32-33); Milutinu Marojeviću iz Carevca, Staro Selo kod Glamoča, 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 78-79); Dragoji Junotiću Tupkoviću u Peljavi kod Priboja, 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 124-127); Bogčinu, sinu Stipka Ugarčića iz Kotorca kod Ilidže, 1. pol. 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 12-13); Tvrtku Milcariću u Pzalju kod Rudog, 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 20-21); Mihoilu Grahovčiću kod Travnika, 15. st. (Bešlagić 1982, str. 445), s natpisom na spomeniku župana Medulina iz Malog Mošunja, na kojemu piše da Mihalj zida mauzolej svoje knezu Vuku, 15. st. (Vego 1970, str. 72-73).

Everything that has been said about the inscription on the tablet from Rapovine also applies to the inscription on the tablet from the cemetery of St. John. We think that the inscriptions in Rapovine and at the cemetery of St. John are older than the inscription for Radivoj Ilić in Lipa, which, according to experts, dates back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> (see fig. 5) In particular, these two inscriptions are older than Restoje's carved cursive inscription, which could have been created in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup>

For many reasons, but primarily due to the shape of the letters, the inscription on the tablet from the cemetery of St. John in Livno could be dated to the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It will remain unknown whose hand engraved the letters, which "kovač" (trans. smith) carved the inscription on this monument for Duke Vlatko Kovačić.

the 15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 128-129); to Radonja Ratković from Ključ near Gacka /1404-1415 / (Vego 1964b, pp. 32-33); to Milutin Marojević from Carevac /Staro Selo near Glamoč – 15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 78-79); to Dragoje Junotić Tupković in Peljava near Priboj /15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 124-127); to Bogčin, son of Stipko Ugarčić from Kotor near Ilidža, first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 12-13); to Tvrtko Milcarić in Ozalj near Rudo /15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 20-21); to Mihoil Grahovčić near Travnik /15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Bešlagić 1982, p. 445), with the inscription on the monument of župan Medulin from Mali Mošunj, on which it is written that Mihalj is building a mausoleum for his knez Vuk /15<sup>th</sup> century/ (Vego 1970, pp. 72-73)

<sup>39</sup> Miletić 1983, p. 237; Kuna 2008, p. 313; Vego 1970, pp. 76-77.

<sup>40</sup> Restoje was born at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. He was last mentioned in 1451.

Sve ono što je rečeno o natpisu na ploči iz Rapovina odlikuje i natpis na ploči s groblja sv. Ive. Mislimo da su natpisi u Rapovinama i na groblju sv. Ive stariji od natpisa Radivoju Iliću u Lipi, koji znanstvenici datiraju u 15. stoljeće<sup>39</sup> (vidi sl. 5). Pogotovo bi ova dva natpisa bila starija od brzopisom urezanog zapisa Restojevog, koji je mogao nastati sredinom 15. stoljeća.<sup>40</sup>

S mnogo bismo razloga, u prvom redu po oblikovanju slova, natpis na ploči s groblja sv. Ive u Livnu mogli datirati na prijelaz iz 14. u 15. stoljeće. Ostat će nam nepoznato koja je ruka urezala slova, koji „kovač“ usjekao natpis na ovom spomeniku vojvodi Vlatku Kovačiću.

<sup>39</sup> Miletić 1983, str. 237; Kuna 2008, str. 313; Vego 1970, str. 76-77.

<sup>40</sup> Restoje je rođen krajem 14. st., a posljednji je put spomenut 1451. godine.

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