

Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić

THE SO-CALLED OHMUČEVIĆ GENEALOGY (KRALJEVA SUTJESKA GENEALOGY) IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESULTS OF RECENT ICONOGRAPHIC, HISTORICAL, HERALDRY, AND RESTORATION RESEARCH PAPERS

Riassunto

Negli ultimi anni, alcuni autori hanno studiato la cosiddetta genealogia di Ohmučević, precedentemente associata al dipinto *Il Cristo e il Donatore* (re bosniaco Stjepan Tomaš?) di Lovro Dobričević dalla galleria Strossmayer di Zagabria. La genealogia e il dipinto provengono dal monastero Franciscano di Kraljeva Sutjeska (Bosnia ed Erzegovina).

Il documento cerca di presentare i risultati delle recenti ricerche iconografiche, storiche, araldiche e di restauro sulla genealogia. Inoltre l'autore sottolineerà alcuni fatti storici relativi alla "doppia reliquia" di Kraljeva Sutjeska, di cui uno storico croato Stjepan Ćosić ha recentemente scritto. L'autore, tra le altre cose, mostra che nell'interpretazione della cosiddetta genealogia Sutjeska della famiglia Ohmučević - che include gli stemmi

del regno Illirico e quello Slavo - si dovrebbe tenere presente che essa manifesta la concezione della Nuova Era di nazione dicendo che il Regno Bosniaco è il nucleo di Illiria. È importante notare che quando la suddetta genealogia fu fatta, l'ex Regno Bosniaco fu sotto il dominio dei Turchi Ottomani. Come espressione dell'idea dell'allora reintegrazione ideologica, gli stemmi dei paesi Illirici (Bosnia, Erzegovina, Rascia, Croazia e Dalmazia) sono collegati allo stemma composito nella cosiddetta genealogia di Sutjeska.

Alla fine del documento, l'autore farà riferimento alla sfida museale, alla futura presentazione dell'immagine di Cristo e del Sovrano e alla genealogia di Sutjeska, dal 2010, quando la genealogia menzionata è stata conservata in una cartella separata depositata nel ripostiglio della Galleria, cioè esso non è più stato esposto nella Galleria.

Keywords: Ohmučević genealogy, Petar Ohmučević, Lovro Dobričević, the Dead Christ and King Stephen Tomaš (Stjepan Tomaš), The Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters (Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora)

Introduction

The topic of this paper is the so-called genealogy of Kraljeva Sutjeska (Fig. 1) also called the Ohmučević

(Ohmučević) genealogy, which was removed a few years ago from the back of the painting of Christ and the Donor in the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb (Fig. 2). The painting has recently been attributed to the

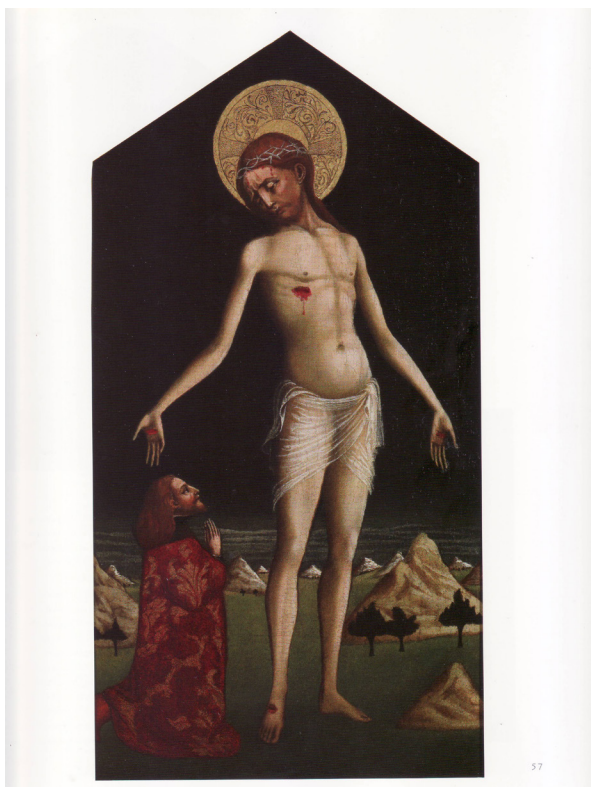


Fig. 1: Lovro Dobričević, Christ and the Donor (King Stjepan Tomaš?), The Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Zagreb, c. 1460 (photo: Natalija Vasić)

15th-century painter Lovro Dobričević from Kotor.¹ It seems plausible that the person

1 More about the painting: I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (a), 'Dva nova priloga Lovri Dobričeviću', in: *Peristil*, 34 (1991), 38–42; Đ. VANDURA, *Strossmayerova donacija. Europska umjetnost od XV. do XIX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2006), 52, 558; I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (b), 'Prilog poznavanju sudbine slike Uskrslog Krista i kralja Stjepana Tomaša porijeklom iz Kraljeve Sutjeske', in: *Stoljeća Kraljeve Sutjeske*. Proceedings of the symposium held in Kraljeva Sutjeska 17-18 October 2008 (Kraljeva Sutjeska–Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 2010, ed. Marko Karamatić), 105–146; Lj. DULIBIĆ, 'Lovro Dobričević, Krist i donator, 1460. (?)', in: Lj. Dulibić, I. Pasini Tržec and B. Popovčak, in: *Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora. Odabrana djela*. katalog (Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2013), 56–61; I. PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (c), *U potrazi za izgubljenim slikarstvom, O majstoru Lovri iz Kotora i slikarstvu na prostoru Dubrovnika tijekom druge polovice XV. stoljeća* (Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – ogranak Dubrovnik, 2013), 249–259. Investigation established that the genealogy was written not on parchment, but on paper, coated with a layer of gelatine. More about the conservation-restoration work and interventions on genealogy: A. DRAGOVIĆ, 'Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi na rodoslovlju Ohmučević', in: *Portal*, 1(2010), 109–116. The author was given copyrights for publishing the photos taken by Natalija Vasić of the painting Christ and the Donor of Lovro Dobričević and of the so-called Ohmučević genealogy, by Hrvatski restauratorski zavod Zagreb (The Croatian Conservation Institute) of Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia (Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske).

depicted in the painting was Stjepan Tomaš (1443–1461), the Bosnian King. Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer borrowed Dobričević's painting from the friars of Sutjeska Franciscan monastery in 1871.

The genealogy was named after the noble Ohmučević family, who lived at Slano near Dubrovnik.² The researchers suppose that the genealogy was commissioned by Petar (Pedro) Ivelja Ohmučević (died 1599), an Admiral of the Spanish Armada in the late 16th century. The year 1482 is written in the Ohmučević genealogy as the year that it was completed. It is the year of the fall of Herzegovina under the Ottoman rule. The genealogy was commissioned in the late 16th century. It is a charter written on paper depicting the genealogical tree of Bosnian and Serbian kings, the coats of arms of Illyria and the so-called Illyrian countries (Bosnia, Rascia, Dalmatia, Croatia and Herzegovina), and the coat of arms of the Ohmučević family.

Some researchers have wondered whether it was the original, a replica, or variant of a charter issued to Admiral Petar Ohmučević by the Bosnian bishop and Franciscan provincial Antun Polus de Mattheis (Matković) from Požega (died 1584?), at the time that the Admiral was attempting to prove his noble origin.

Petar Ohmučević tried to prove that his family's belonged to the old Bosnian nobility (before the fall of Bosnia under the Ottoman rule) so as to obtain a noble title that

2 After carrying out conservation and restoration, the charter was placed in a protective folder, specially designed for its safe storage, and returned to the owner, the Strossmayer's Gallery of Old Masters in Zagreb. More about the genealogy: V. SOLOVJEV, 'Postanak ilirske heraldike i porodica Ohmučević', in: *Glasnik skopskog Naučnog društva*, XII. (1932), 79–126; I. BANAC, *Grbovi biljezi identiteta* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1991), 12–15; D. LOVRENOVIĆ, 'Fojnički grbovnik, ilirska heraldika i bosansko srednjovjekovlje', in: *Bosna Franciscana* 21(2004), anno. XII., 190–192; S. ČOŠIĆ, *Ideologija rodoslovlja. Korjenič-Neoričev grbovnik iz 1595* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti – Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, 2015), 15, 101–109, 111–114 (it includes previous literature). The research of the noble family Ohmučević established their presence on the territory of Hum and Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th centuries. After the Ottoman conquest of Hum, they moved to Slano.



Fig. 2a and 2b: So-called Ohmučević genealogy (Genealogy of the Serbian and Bosnian Nobles), before and after the restoration, The Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters, Zagreb (photo: Natalija Vasić)

was important to him as an admiral of the Spanish Armada at the time of Philip II of Spain in the so-called *classis Illyrica*. Based on the documents collected by Ohmučević, the Royal Council in Naples recognized his noble Bosnian ancestry in 1594.

It was at the time of Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605), who sought to recruit not only Catholic but also Orthodox rulers in the Ecumenical Crusade War. He was also interested in the Illyricum lands, under Ottoman rule at that time, where he found Franciscans of Bosna Srebrena among other partners. Due to his initiative in the late 16th century, the idea of linking all southern Slavs emerged in order to release them from the Ottoman administration. In the anti-Ottoman Alliance, which was then organized by the Pope, there were the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, the French

and Polish kings, as well as the Transylvanian, Moldavian, and Wallachian Dukes.³

In this paper, we will examine several topics. Why were the Kraljeva Sutjeska genealogy and Dobričević's painting of Christ and the Donor/King Stjepan Tomaš (?) glued together (to form a coherent whole), in the late 16th century? Who was behind that move? Where did it happen? Where had the painting of Christ and King Stjepan Tomaš been kept until then?

Description and history of the Ohmučević Genealogy

The painting depicting the portrait of Stjepan Tomaš (?) was important to the Franciscans

³ Z. Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* (Zagreb: Golden marketing, 2008), 157, 159, 160-161.



Fig. 3: St Jerome with his coat of arms, Korjenić-Neorić Armorial, National and University Library, Zagreb (from: I. Banac, *Grbovi biljezi identiteta* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1991, 149))

of Bosna Srebrena, and many researchers believe that they kept it as a memory of the medieval tradition of the Bosnian Kingdom. However, how did Petar Ohmučević manage to obtain it? The Bosnian royal tradition was a crucial argument to the Franciscans in the survival of their Province of Bosna Srebrena. It was also important to the tribes and noblemen of Bosnian origin who lived at Slano, like Ohmučević.

The Sutjeska genealogy, because of the coats of arms that it contains, is a precious historical document, as according to many researchers it is “the beginning of Illyrian heraldry” (first observed by Aleksandar Solovljević). Due to the coats of arms that it contains, it is associated with the most famous Illyrian armorials with coats of arms of the so-called Illyrian families, predominantly of former noble families from Bosnia and Hum, the ones called Korjenić-Neorić,

dating back to 1595 (today in the National and University Library in Zagreb), and the armorial of Fojnica, which are also related to Pedro Ohmučević and his successors.

For an understanding of the specific context of the creation of the Sutjeska genealogy, the field with a red *galero* (cardinal's cap) seems to have been important as a heraldic motif painted on the composite coat of arms on the genealogy charts of the Slavic states and kingdoms. According to historian Stjepan Ćosić, it is a question of the coat of arms of St Jerome, the patron saint of Illyria. The armorial of Korjenić-Neorić bears a depiction of St Jerome (Fig. 3) and, below it, there is a painting of his coat of arms that includes a cardinal's cap and shield with a depiction of a rampant lion. Ćosić states that this coat of arms is a modified version of a coat of arms of Slovenian March (Windischmark), known of in Habsburg heraldry.⁴

Ćosić stresses that the Sutjeska genealogy does not show the coat of arms of Serbia with the cross and tinders, like in the Korjenić-Neorić armorial. The coat of arms of Raška with three horseshoes is shown instead. Based on these two heraldic motifs, Ćosić's opinion is that the Sutjeska genealogy was made before the Korjenić-Neorić genealogy.⁵

Writing about the genealogy, historian Stjepan Ćosić directs attention to the last will of Queen Katarina (Catherine) Kosača, who (when Bosnia fell under Ottoman rule) left the Bosnian Kingdom to the Papal state. The composite coat of arms in the

⁴ Today, as part of the legacy of Ljudevit Gaj, it is kept at the National and University Library in Zagreb. The Korjenić-Neorić armorial was a model for several armorials, such as the Fojnica armorial in the Franciscan monastery at Fojnica, and the so-called Saraka (de Saracca) armorial (1746), today in the State Archives of Dubrovnik. Stjepan Ćosić writes that strict endogamy and the class closeness of the Dubrovnik patricians to members of navy families of Slano (originally from old Bosnian nobility), who served the Spanish and Naples courts, prevented Bosnian nobles from acquiring nobility in the Dubrovnik Republic. These were the families of Ohmučević, Dolisti-Tasovčić-Diničić, Korjenić-Neorić-Jerinić and Ursinić. Therefore, based on a variety of apocryphal and authentic stories, they sought to find their kinship with the noble elites of medieval Bosnia, Hum, Serbia and Albania. Ćosić, note 2, 15, 104.

⁵ Ćosić, note 2, 105.



Fig. 4: St Gregory the Great as protector of the Bosnian Kingdom, National and University Library, Zagreb (from: I. Banac, *Grbovi biljezi identiteta* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1991, 150))

Sutjeska genealogy, which includes, from top to bottom, the historical coat of arms of the Bosnian Kingdom, the coat of arms of the Nemanjić family and the galero of St Jerome, the coat of arms of the Primorje (Littoral)/Hum/Herzegovina, is associated with the royal legitimacy of the last Bosnian King, Stjepan Tomašević (1461-1463), who was also the last Serbian ruler thanks to the marriage with Jelena (Mara), Lazar Branković's daughter (after the fall of Smederevo under the Ottoman rule) and thus also the legitimate successor of Serbian rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty.⁶

Another interesting thing for our theme is the depiction of St Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I) at the top of the Sutjeska genealogy (above the described composite coat of arms) as the protector of the Bosnian Kingdom and the patron of the Kotromanić

dynasty. (Fig. 4) In the 15th century, this saint was proclaimed protector of the Bosnian Kingdom by the Pope himself.⁷

In general, it illustrates the Bosnian-Illyrian idea and the idea of the former glory of the Bosnian Kingdom, and the noble Ohmučević family is represented as one of the important Bosnian noble families.⁸

Ćosić is of the opinion that the composite coat of arms of the Slavic states and kingdoms, with the lozenge, divided by lines of partition, of the Kosača and the Nemanjić families is the "heraldic key" for the interpretation of the symbolism of the Sutjeska genealogy for the Franciscans and the nobility of Slano, the Ohmučević family.⁹

It is worth pondering in the light of the time of its emergence, whether the interconfessional Illyrism, which is manifested in the Sutjeska genealogy and the Korjenić-Neorić armorial, is also a reflection of the political ideas of the Ohmučević family,¹⁰ and of the then Franciscan Illyrism, and of the ideological and political "Crusading" of Popes Sixtus V (1585-1590) and Clement VIII (1592-1605) who intended to include, in the counter-Ottoman coalition, the South Slavs from the Balkan Peninsula then under the Ottoman rule.¹¹ Can the emergence of the galero on the depicted coat of arms be an argument for the dating of the genealogy to the time of the rule of Clement VIII, just as Don Pedro as admiral *classis Illyrica* participated in the realization of anti-Ottoman plans of the Holy League (the papal Christian Coalition)? According to historians Zrinka Blažević and

7 Ćosić, note 2, 16-17.

8 'In the political-ideological articulation and distribution of the contents of the first armorial' - according to Ćosić (Ćosić, note 2, 19, 153) - 'the key role was played by Franciscans of Slano, who were connected with the Bosnian Vicary and Court of the last Bosnian kings ever since the foundation of St Jerome monastery in the beginning of the 15th century'. The Pragmatic matrix of the first armorials in the 17th and 18th centuries were used by numerous individuals and families from different parts of 'Illyria' who in the Ottoman expulsion saw the chance to grasp an opportunity and take their 'old' possessions and noble titles.

9 Ćosić, note 2, 19, 112, 117, 159.

10 Ćosić, note 2, 18-19, 27, 104-105.

11 Ćosić, note 2, 104, 117.

6 Ćosić, note 2, 106, 107.

Stjepan Ćosić, the Korjenić-Neorić armorial dated back to 1595¹² revealed Don Pedro's position within the then anti-Ottoman plans of the Christian Coalition.¹³

Political and ecclesiastical circumstances

King Stjepan Tomaš was buried in the Church of St Michael on Bobovac in the immediate vicinity of today's monastery of Kraljeva Sutjeska. In 2010, I discussed the possibility that Dobričević's painting of Christ and the Donor could have been intended for the Church of St Michael in Bobovac. In 2015, Stjepan Ćosić also discussed this possibility.

Prijatelj Pavičić and Ćosić pointed out several possibilities: the first one is that the painting with the genealogy arrived shortly after the commission by Petar Ivelja Ohmučević.¹⁴

As a young researcher, I was most interested in identifying the author of the painting depicting the Dead Christ, which had been discussed for decades.¹⁵ I linked the painting of Christ and the Donor (Christ as Man of Sorrows)¹⁶ to the commissions that Dobričević received from the Bosnian Franciscan Vicary between 1459 and 1461. The contracts did not specify the location for which the painting was intended.¹⁷

In 1462, the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomaš died. His son, Stjepan Tomašević was the first Bosnian ruler crowned by the Papal crown at Jajce in 1462 (a year before the fall of Bosnia under the Ottoman rule).¹⁸ Stjepan Ćosić explores whether Dobričević's painting of Christ and the Donor was in the possession of the Franciscan monastery of St Jerome for a time, at Slano in Dubrovnik

Coastal Region (the monastery belonged to Bosnian vicary).¹⁹

The researchers of both artworks wonder who and why decided in the late 16th century to attach Petar Ivelja Ohmučević's genealogy with the Illyrian armorial to the back of the painting. Regarding the Bosnian king's portrait, at that moment the painting probably represented a holy relic as a memorial to the former Bosnian Kingdom. Seeking an answer to this question as well as the time at which the painting with the genealogy came to the Sutjeska monastery, prominent Croatian historian Stjepan Ćosić points out several possibilities. The first one is that the painting in the Sutjeska monastery arrived shortly after the "intervention" of Petar Ivelja Ohmučević (of course, assuming that he himself had added the genealogy to the painting) in about 1596 when "the uncles in Sutjeska got permission to rebuild the church and monastery".²⁰ However, the distinguished historian suggests that this may have happened later, in the late 17th or early 18th centuries. He questions if the arrival of the artwork at Kraljeva Sutjeska coincided with the time at which a variant of the armorial of the youngest lineage of the Ohmučević family arrived at the Franciscan monastery at Fojnica, known as Fojnica Armorial.²¹

Searching in this direction, Ćosić indicates the possibility that both the Fojnica Armorial and a "double relic"²² from the Franciscan monastery at Slano could have been brought to Bosnia by two Franciscans of Bosnian Vicary: Fr. Mato Kmetović, recorded as a Fojnica guardian in 1739²³ and Fr. Ivan Kmetović, who was a Fojnica guardian a couple of years later (1741).²⁴ It is important to note that both of them originated from the village of Banići, which belonged to the parish town of Slano, in the Dubrovnik Coastal Area, and that both

12 Z. Blažević, note 3, 154, 157, 160-165, 170; Ćosić, note 2, 112.

13 Ćosić, note 2, 30, 46, 112.

14 PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (b), note 1, 104-146 (it includes previous literature).

15 PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (a), note 1, 38-42; PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (c), note 1, 249-250 (it includes previous literature).

16 More about iconography of Christ as Man of Sorrows see: DULIBIĆ, note 1, 56-61.

17 PRIJATELJ PAVIČIĆ (b), note 1, 105-115, 131-135.

18 Ćosić, note 2, 111-113.

19 Ćosić, note 2, 113.

20 Ćosić, note 2, 113-117.

21 Ćosić, note 2, 113.

22 Ćosić, note 2, 112-113.

23 Ćosić, note 2, 113.

24 Ćosić, note 2, 113. At that time Antun-Damjan Ohmučević (+1729) was in the Habsburgs service during the Great Turkish War. ĆOSIĆ, note 2, 159.

of them originated from the old Bosnian nobility, the family of Korjenić-Neorić. Ćosić attempts to reinforce this hypothesis by the fact that during the first half of the 18th century the two mentioned Franciscans administered three monasteries of Bosna Srebrena, those of Fojnica, Kraljeva Sutjeska, and Kreševo.

Stjepan Ćosić further explores whether the painting may have been in the possession of the Franciscan monastery of St. Jerome for a while, at Slano in the Dubrovnik Coastal Area, where many members of the Ohmučević family were buried.²⁵ It is a question of the monastery that had belonged to Bosnian Vicary until the fall of Bosnia under the Ottoman rule, but it was located on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic. Apart from the commissions that Dobričević did for Bosnia, Ćosić gives a particular emphasis on the painting that Dobričević was commissioned to paint in February 1460 for the main altar of the Franciscan church at Slano.²⁶ Unfortunately, the polyptych painted by Dobričević for the church at Slano has disappeared as well as his other paintings for Bosnian Vicary, which I mentioned earlier.²⁷ Does he not address the issue of whether the Franciscans could commission a painting of a Bosnian king's portrait by Dobričević for the monastery at Slano on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic?

I suppose that historian Stjepan Ćosić offers a few interesting hypothetical answers regarding the origin and destiny of Dobričević's painting of Christ and the Donor, and how it reached Petar Ohmučević, who was most probably the one who decided to glue the genealogy to the back of the painting.

The question of the future presentation of the painting of Christ and the Donor and of the Sutjeska genealogy in the Strossmayer Gallery: the museal challenge

Before concluding this paper, I consider it necessary to examine the situation created

25 Ćosić, note 2, 113.

26 Ćosić, note 2, 108-109.

27 Ćosić, note 2, 158-159 (it includes previous literature).

by the separation of Dobričević's painting and the Sutjeska genealogy. Since 2010, when the mentioned genealogy was stored in a separate folder deposited in the Strossmayer Gallery storage room (Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences/HAZU), i.e., it has no longer been exhibited in the Gallery.

Bishop Strossmayer (1871) promised to take care of it, but his promise has recently been "broken" by the heirs of this Collection.²⁸ After the restoration intervention carried out on the painting in 2006, the Ohmučević genealogy and the painting of Christ and the Donor were separated, and they no longer form a coherent whole. Therefore, in her presentation in 2017, Ljerkica Dulibić pointed out the issue that arose instantly before the staff of the Strossmayer Gallery regarding their appropriate museum presentation to the visitors.

The proposal for the new appropriate museum presentation of Sutjeska genealogy to the visitors

We live in a time in which it is not simple to present the Sutjeska genealogy with the composite coat of arms of Slavic states and kingdoms. A future museum mode of presentation of the former state of the work of art, which was a coherent whole then, could explain its cultural, historical and symbolic value.

The presentation would introduce the intriguing story hidden behind the so-called Sutjeska "double relic", as Dobričević's painting with the attached Sutjeska genealogy was called.²⁹ When the genealogy was

28 Bishop Strossmayer, as one of the key ideologues of Yugoslavism, included this two-piece artwork in his Zagreb collection. His Illyrian and proto-Yugoslav themes attracted researchers, historians, and heralds, who engaged in it during both the First and later the Second Yugoslavia.

29 Lj. DULIBIĆ, 'Ikonografija Cristo passo kao nositelj ilirske heraldike', paper on the scholarly colloquia *Semantika osobne prezentacije: grbovi, insignije i portreti u ikonografiji naručitelja od 15.-18. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj*, held in the Institute of Art History (Institut za povijest umjetnosti), 6th June 2017 in Zagreb.

detached from the back of the painting, the “Bosnian relic” ceased to exist after several centuries of its strong symbolic role for the Franciscan Province of Bosnia Srebrena.

One of the contemporary museum modes of presentation of a former state of a piece of art could explain the cultural, historical, and especially symbolic value that the original work of art used to have as a coherent whole, which it was when Bishop Strossmayer borrowed it from Sutjeska friars in 1871. I am aware that we live in a time when it is not simple to present – on a large board located beside Dobričević’s painting of Christ and the Donor – the Sutjeska genealogy with the composite coat of arms of Slavic kingdoms that includes the coat of arms of the Nemanjić family, without an appropriate expert explanation of the history of its significance. This is just one of the reasons that it would be necessary for today’s audience of the Strossmayer Gallery to explain the time of the creation and change of the symbolism of genealogy.

According to the modern concept of the 16th century (when the Sutjeska genealogy was created), the Kingdom of Bosnia, which was then under the Ottoman rule, was the core of former Illyria. The text on the board should explain that the idea of the Bosnian kingdom was then based on the legitimacy of the son of King Stjepan Tomašević.³⁰ Moreover, the genealogy and the last will of Queen Katarina Kosača should not be forgotten but emphasized. In her will, the queen had given the Pope the legacy of the Bosnian kingdom because at the time after the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia it was expected from the Holy See (Lat. *Sancta Sedes*) to lead the liberation of Illyria.³¹ I do hope that there will soon be a museum presentation that will include an interdisciplinary approach to the complex

historical context of the creation of the painting and the genealogy, that is, to the history of this “double relic”.

Ivana PRIJATELJ PAVIČIČ

Faculty of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of Split, Poljička cesta 35, HR – 2100 Split, Croatia

prijatelj@ffst.hr

30 Čosić, note 4, 110.

31 Lovrić, ‘Bosanska srednjovjekovna državnost u tradiciji Bosne Srebrene’, in: *Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa u povodu 500. obljetnice smrti fra Anđela Zvizdovića* (Sarajevo-Fojnica: Franjevačka teologija – Sarajevo, 2000); Čosić, note 4, 104–107 (it includes previous literature).