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

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### 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.<sup>1</sup> 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,<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> 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).<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup> 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 *Bošnjani* (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.<sup>7</sup> Heyer von Rosenfeld published a different coat of arms under the surname *Marnarich*.<sup>8</sup> The same error was repeated by Federico Antonio Galvani (1884), a historian of Šibenik's heraldry.<sup>9</sup> However, Galvani published two examples of Mrnavić's coats of arms in Šibenik, without identifying them as belonging to Mrnavić.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Ivan von Bojničić, a historian of heraldry of Croatia and Slavonia, wrote a more accurate entry on Mrnavić's coat of arms under the surname *Mrgniavcich* (*Mrnjavčić*) (1899), mentioning that it appeared in the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* and was used by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić as well as Žigmund (Sigismund) Mrnjavčić of Brezovica near Zagreb.<sup>12</sup> Žigmund Mrnjavčić's coat of arms was dealt with by Emilij Laszowski (1899), who associated it with that of the Kingdom of Serbia but not with that of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić.<sup>13</sup> Žigmund Mrnjavčić's coat of arms was later interpreted by Bartol Zmajčić (1967) as a direct adoption from the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial*, without the mention of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić.<sup>14</sup> Finally, among the researchers of Mrnavić, it was Tamara Tvrtković (2008) who touched upon his coat of arms, considering that it was designed "on the basis of the coat of arms of the Bosnian



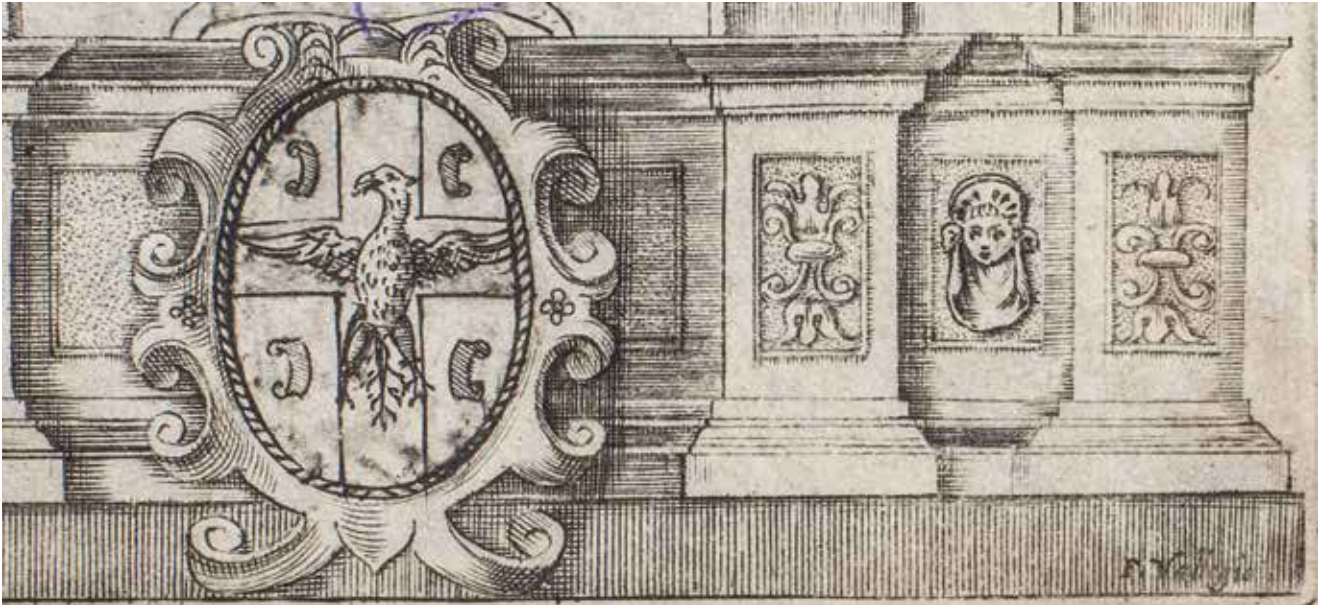
1. Francesco Valesio, Title page of *Vita Petri Berislavi* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Venice, 1620 (Metropolitane Library, Zagreb)

Francesco Valesio, *naslovnica knjige Vita Petri Berislavi Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Venecija, 1620.* (Metropolitanska knjižnica, Zagreb)

family Mrnavić and the Serbian coat of arms."<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Miroslav Palameta argued (2016) that Mrnavić's coat of arms was modelled on the Nemanjić heraldry.<sup>16</sup>

Mrnavić'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 *ognjilo*; Serb. *ocilo*), 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* (fig. 1).<sup>17</sup> The book was printed in Venice in 1620 by Evangelista Deuchino, otherwise famous for manufacturing books in the fields of medicine, mathematics, hagiography, historiography, and literature.<sup>18</sup> Mrnavić's biography of Petar Berislavić (1450–1520) depicts its protagonist, Croatian viceroy (*ban*) and the bishop of Veszprém, as an ideal Catholic hero who bravely fought against the Ottomans.<sup>19</sup> Readers are also informed that Berislavić's grandmother was born into the Mrnavić family of Counts of Zvornik in Bosnia (on the border with Serbia), who stemmed from the noblemen of Raša.<sup>20</sup> The book is dedicated to Juraj (IV)



2. Detail of fig. 1

Detalj sl. 1

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 Gjőr.<sup>21</sup>

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. / DALMATIÆ. CROAT. / SLAVON. BOSNÆQUE / BANI, &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,<sup>22</sup> 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



3. Title page of *Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1626 (National and University Library, Zagreb)

*Naslovnica knjige Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1626. (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb)*

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.<sup>23</sup>



4. Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro (incised by Orazio Brunetti), Frontispiece of *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1628 (Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb)

Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro (urezao Orazio Brunetti), frontispis knjige *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1628. (Knjižnica Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb)*

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 of academic books (including those by Galileo Galilei).<sup>24</sup> The epyllion *Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova* narrates the story of the virtuous Croatian noblewoman Magdalena Budrišić, who founded the Franciscan female monastery on the island of Rab at the end of the fifteenth century;<sup>25</sup> in the monastery, Magdalena happened to be the friend of one Jelina Mrnavić, who had fled from Bosnia to Rab as a member of the entourage of the last Bosnian king's brother. The epyllion was dedicated to Mrnavić's mother Katarina.

In contrast to *Vita Petri Berislavi*, this title page is simple. It is filled with text: *XIVOT / MAGDALENE OD KNEZOV ZIROVA / PLEMENA BVDRISICHA / TRETOGA REDDA. S. FRACISKA / ZASTAVNICE / REDOVNIC. I. MOSTIRA. S. ANTONA / V. RABV. / PISAM / IVANA TOMKA MAR-*

*NAVICHA BOSNYANINA / Arhixakna Stolnoga Zagrebskoga i Kanonika / Zagrebskoga i Sibenskoga. / Naucitelya S. Bogoslouya Protonotaria Apostolskoga. / MDCXXVI. / VRIMU, PRIIAKOVV MASCARDV. / SVPERIORVM PERMISSV.* The only visual decoration is Mrnavić's coat of arms below. Its shield has a basic form; the heraldic elements are designed flatly and schematically. The coat of arms is framed by a cardinal's hat (a galero with tassels), which indicates that the plate may have been previously used for a cardinal's coat of arms. As the title page lacks any distinction, it was in all probability made by a printer rather than an artist.

The third example of Mrnavić's coat of arms is set within the frontispiece engraving of his *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* (fig. 4). The book was printed in Rome in 1628 by Lodovico Grignani, a famous printer who would print the *Breviario romano* of Urban VIII, works of Athanasius Kircher, as well as Leone Allacci's *Apes urbanae, sive De viris illustribus* (1633).<sup>26</sup> *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, Praepedigna, 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 Benedictine Mauro Orbini (who treated these saints as Dalmatians, following Vinko Pribojević).<sup>27</sup> In Mrnavić's text, the story is further enriched and supported by quotations from the greatest Croatian early modern writer, Marko Marulić.<sup>28</sup> 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).<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup>

The book *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae* is dedicated to the Roman cardinal Giulio Sacchetti (1587–1663),<sup>31</sup> 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 Sacchettis, 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



5. Detail of fig. 4  
Detalj sl. 4

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 *VNICA GENTIS VALERLÆ SALONITANÆ DALMAT NOBILITAS*. The central medallion depicts Caius, with the legend that reads: *CAIVS PAPA ET MARTIR XXII MENSIS APRILIS DIOCLET IMP PATRVELIS*; behind Caius, there are dead bodies, captioned as *DIOCLET IMP* and *VALERIA DIOCL FILIA*. Saint Caius enjoyed the iconographic status of a national saint, as confirmed by his inclusion in the series of wall paintings by Avanzino Nucci in the church of Saint Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome, produced under the patronage of Pope Sixtus V.<sup>32</sup> As a national and even state saint, he was to be appropriated in the seventeenth century by the elite of the Zagreb diocese: thus, his image would find its place in a cycle of wall paintings by Gioacchino Pizzoli, produced late in the century for the Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna.<sup>33</sup> Saint Caius has also been iconographically present – and venerated – in Dalmatia since the early eighteenth century.<sup>34</sup> The upper register comprises three medallions depicting (from left to right; the legends are in the brackets) Claudius (*CLAVDIVS TRIBVNVS MARTIR FR CAII XVIII FEBR*), Gabinius (*GABINIVS PRÆSBITER ROM: MARTIR. CAII FR: XIX FEBR.*), Maximus (*MAXIMVS TRIBVNVS MARTIR FR CAII XVIII FEBR*). The second register comprises two medallions flanking the Caius medallion, depicting Susanna (*SVSANNA FILIA GABINII VIRGO ET MARTIR XI AVG*) and Artemia (*ARTEMIA FILIA DIOCL. IMP. VIRGO ET MARTIR IX AVG*). This pair of saints, interestingly enough,

was to find its way to the mid-nineteenth-century nave ceiling painting by Pietro Gagliardi in the church of Saint Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome.<sup>35</sup> The third register comprises two medallions flanking the lower part of the Caius medallion, depicting Praepedigna (*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 upper right smaller medallion reads *FLORIBVS EIVS / NEC ROSÆ NEC / LILIA DESVNT / BEDA SERM. / 18 D. SAN.* (*Neither roses nor lilies are lacking among his flowers. Bede, Homily 18*). The text in the lower left smaller medallion is to be read jointly with the one in its right counterpart: *MIRABILIS / DEVS* (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 text below, in a curved horizontal cartouche, which reads: *VRBANO SVMMO VNIVERSALIS ECCLIAE PONTIFICI / ANTIQVITATIS ECCLIAE VNICO RESTITVTORI / IOANNES TOMCVS MARNAVITIVS HVMLITER 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.<sup>36</sup> At the bottom of the sheet, there is an epigram: *GENS TVLIT EN FLORES, ALVEARIA NOMINE CONSTANT, / INDE LEGET 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.*)<sup>37</sup>

At the bottom of the engraving, there are two signatures that reveal its authors – *Joseph Pulia 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

Vallicella, and others; his style has been interpreted as *naturalismo classicizzato*.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> 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.<sup>40</sup> 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 Slavoniae* (Vienna, 1652) by Juraj Rattkay, a Zagreb canon and historian of the next generation who frequently cited Mrnavić.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

The fourth example of Mrnavić's coat of arms covers the title page of his book *Osmanščica* (fig. 6), printed in 1631 in Rome by Giacomo Mascardi (who had printed *Život Magdalene od knezov Zirova* five years earlier). *Osmanščica* 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> The Mrnjavčić family of Brezovica would accept this narrative, as shall be seen later.



6. Title page of *Osmanščica* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1631 (National and University Library, Zagreb)

*Naslovnica knjige Osmanščica Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1631. (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb)*

At the top of the title page, there is the inscription: OSMANŠCHICA / Sloga / IVANNA TOMKA MARNAVICHA; and at the bottom of the page: VRIMU, Pri Yakovu Masskardu, MDCXXXI. / DOPVSTENYEM STARIH. 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).<sup>46</sup> In this book, again dedicated to Vuk Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, Mrnavić further elaborates on his genealogy narrative from the dedicatory chapter to *Osmanščica*. 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



7. Portrait of king Vukašin from *Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1632 (Research Library Zadar)

*Portret kralja Vukašina, frontispis knjige Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1632. (Znanstvena knjižnica Zadar)*

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.<sup>47</sup> 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).<sup>48</sup> 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).<sup>49</sup>

The first frontispiece of the *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.<sup>50</sup> 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



8. Portrait of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić from *Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, Rome, 1632 (Research Library Zadar)

*Portret Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, frontispis knjige Indicia vetustatis et nobilitatis familiae Marciae vulgo Marnavitiae Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, Rim, 1632. (Znanstvena knjižnica, Zadar)*

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: VVKASSINVS / MARCI MARNAVÆ FILIVS / REX / RA (the text is missing as the page is cut; however, the first missing word must have been *Rasciae*, while the second missing word may have been *Serviae*), BOSNÆ, BVLGARIE, DIOCLIE, MACEDONIAE / (missing) MARITIMAE, THESSALIAE, ALBANIAE, ARKONDA / (missing) CASTORIAE OKRIDAE 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.<sup>51</sup> Mrnavić imagined him to be his ancestor, inspired by what he had read in two Ragusan historians. One was Mauro Orbini, who in his *Il Regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601) wrote a chapter on King Vukašin describing him as a son of humble *Margnava* from Livno.<sup>52</sup> The other was Giacomo Luccari (Jakov Lukarević), who was the first to attach the surname Mrnjavčić to Vukašin in his *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* (Venice, 1605).<sup>53</sup> Ivan Tomko Mrnavić chose Vukašin, the king of Serbia, as an ideal forefather, as he had an associable surname and the aura of a just medieval Christian king and martyr who, due to his Bosnian background, symboli-



9. Cover of the manuscript *Privilegia familiae Marnovitiiae*, Rome, 1629 (Library of the Franciscan Monastery, Dubrovnik)

*Korice rukopisa Privilegia familiae Marnovitiiae, Rim, 1629. (Knjižnica Male braće, Dubrovnik)*



10. Coat of arms of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić from the church of Saint Martin in Šibenik, between 1631 and 1637. (Šibenik City Museum)

*Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića sa crkve Svetoga Martina u Šibeniku, između 1631. i 1637. (Muzej grada Šibenika)*

cally integrated a considerable territory. Ancestors mattered to Mrnavić, as one could inherit virtues through them, and in this he was no different from many of his peers.<sup>54</sup>

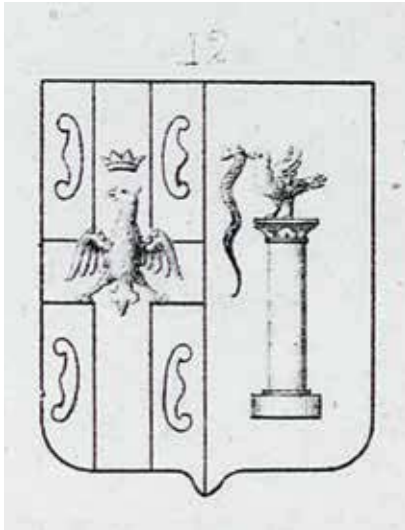
However, Orbini's chapter on King Vukašin had another significant consequence - it was illustrated with the king's coat of arms (fig. 14) captioned as *ARMA DI VUCASCINO RE DI SERVIA*,<sup>55</sup> which served, in my opinion, as the very model for that of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (which will be interpreted 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 NISSÆ. COMITIBVS DE ZVONIK. D. D. IN VOYNIZZA ET KAMENGRAD. EPISCOPVS REGNI BOSNÆ*. The bot-

tom 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).<sup>56</sup> 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).<sup>57</sup> The church stood on the land that had been given to Tomko Mrnavić as a beneficium by Pope Clement VIII in 1602. Skilfully 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)<sup>58</sup> - thus, this coat of arms should be dated between 1631 and 1637.





11. Drawing of the 1629 coat of arms of Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić from the Benedictine female monastery of St Catherine in Šibenik  
*Crtež grba Nedjeljke Tomko Mrnavić iz 1629. iz benediktinskog ženskog samostana Svete Katarine u Šibeniku*



14. Coat of arms of Vukašin king of Serbia (Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601; National and University Library, Zagreb)  
*Grb Vukašina kralja Srbije (Mauro Orbini, Il Regno degli Slavi, Pesaro, 1601.; Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb)*



12. Seal of Vuk Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, 1644 (Archdiocesan Archives, Zagreb)  
*Pečat Vuka Mrnjavčića od Brezovice, 1644. (Nadbiskupijski arhiv, Zagreb)*



13. Seal of Žigmund Mrnjavčić of Brezovica, 1660 (Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb)  
*Pečat Žigmunda Mrnjavčića od Brezovice, 1660. (Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Zagreb)*

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).<sup>59</sup> 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),<sup>60</sup> and so was the 1660 letter by his son Žigmund (Sigismund; around 1620–1663; fig. 13).<sup>61</sup> Moreover, the 1663 note on Žigmund Mrnjavčić's death in the annals of Zagreb's Jesuit College tells of his famous Bosnian ancestors,<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup> 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.<sup>64</sup> 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 Orbini's *Il Regno degli Slavi* (1601;



15. Coat of arms of the Mrnjavić family (The *Korjenić-Neorić armorial*, 1595, National and University Library, Zagreb)

*Grb Mrnjavića* (Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik, 1595., Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb)



16. Coat of arms of Kingdom of Bosnia (Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601, National and University Library, Zagreb)

*Grb Kraljevstva Bosne* (Mauro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601., Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb)

fig. 14). This coat of arms, however, is a copy of that of the Mrnjavić family (*Plemena Mrnjavića 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).<sup>65</sup> 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).<sup>66</sup> All of the aforementioned coats of arms have been considered as early modern inventions made for the *Korjenić-Neorić 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.<sup>67</sup> 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 es-

tablish themselves in that context, they first had to prove their noble Catholic history. And it was to that genealogical end that the *Armoial* was produced – as a visual confabulation of links to the medieval elites of Bosnia, Zachlunia (Hum), Serbia, and Albania. In general, the *Armoial* 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 *Armoial* 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-



17. Coat of arms of Serbia (The *Korjenić-Neorić armorial*, 1595, National and University Library, Zagreb)

*Grb Srbije* (Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik, 1595., *Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica, Zagreb*)

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.<sup>68</sup> 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.<sup>69</sup> 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).<sup>70</sup> 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.<sup>71</sup> 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).<sup>72</sup> 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).<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup> 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.<sup>76</sup>

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, *Između 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 ideologeme 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\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](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 Tomco Marnavič, che le illustrò nel suo fascicolo *Villa Sacchetta Osteiensis cosmographicis tabulis et notis...* (1630). Il Tomco ebbe l'8 febbraio 1629 un compenso di 26 scudi per aver pagato due calligrafi che avevano posto le iscrizioni nella galleria, dovendo 'sodisfare dua servitori che hanno scritto nella Galleria del sudetto Casale'; una somma abbastanza alta, che potrebbe comprendere anche una consulenza generale nel programma iconografico, ma non un'assistenza cartografica come ritiene la Zirpolo."). FRANCESCO PETRUCCI, *I cicli decorativi di Castel Fusano: la nascita della pittura barocca in casa Sacchetti*, in: Carla Benocci, *Pietro da Cortona e la villa di Castel Fusano dai Sacchetti ai Chigi*, Rome, 2012, 103, 73–124. In addition, Carla Benocci concludes that Pietro da Cortona was not the architect of the Villa Sacchetti (as was held by the previous researchers); he was only responsible for the villa's wall paintings. See: CARLA BENOCCI, *Pietro da Cortona e la villa di Castel Fusano dai Sacchetti ai Chigi*, Rome, 2012, 41–72, 175–177, 182–184. Lilian Zirpolo describes the gallery as follows: "On the north-eastern wall are the then four known continents – America, Africa, Europe, and Asia – hence the four corners of the world. Below each are corresponding river gods in grisaille – Marañon, Nile, Danube, and Euphrates, respectively. On the opposite wall, between the windows, are maps of the seventeenth-century world powers, also with grisaille figures representing their corresponding rivers – Spain/Tagus, France/Rhone, Italy/Po, and Germany/Rhine. Below the *Triumph of Ceres*, on the north-western wall, are Great Britain and the Thames and the Agro Romano with the Tiber. On the south-eastern wall, below *Bacchus*, are maps of the Agro Fiorentino with the Arno and Sicily with Fonte Aretusa. Monochromatic medallions on the window soffits feature mythological scenes and related symbolic references. Finally, six of the seven wonders of the ancient world are displayed below the windows (the Egyptian pyramids were omitted) and two *vedute* – a landscape with a castle and a coastal view – are featured above the side entrances to the gallery." LILLIAN H. ZIRPOLO, *Ave Papa Ave Papabile: the Sacchetti family, their art patronage, and political aspirations*, Toronto, 2005, 79–81, 93. See also: LILLIAN H. ZIRPOLO, *The Villa Sacchetti at Castelfusano: Pietro da Cortona's Earliest Architectural Commission*, *Architectura*, 1 (1996.), 171–176; IOANNES TOMCUS MARNAVITIUS (Ivan Tomko Mrnavić), *Villa Sacchetta Ostiensis cosmographicis tabulis et notis per Joannem Tomcum Marnavitium illustrata (...)*, Rome, 1630.
- 6 DANIEL PREMERL, *Artwork by Papal Silversmith Francesco Spagna for Zagreb Cathedral: Reliquary Bust of St Stephen the King*, in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković*, (eds.) Miljenko Jurković and Predrag Marković, Zagreb–Motovun, 2015, 341–347. A more extensive version of the aforementioned article (with the same conclusions): DANIEL PREMERL, *Szent István király zágrábi ereklyetartó mellszobra [King Saint Stephen's bust reliquary in Zagreb]*, in: *István, a szent király*, (eds.) Terézia Kerny and András Smohay, Székesfehérvár, 2013, 47–63, 293, 502. See also: DANKO ŠOUREK, *Ad imitationem angelicae, apostolicaeque coronae Ungaricae*. Prilog ikonografiji krune na prikazima svetih kraljeva u zagrebačkoj katedrali [On the iconography of the crown in the depictions of the holy kings in the Zagreb Cathedral], *Peristil*, 54 (2011.), 177–186.
- 7 Heyer von Rosenfeld also mentions other versions of the surname Margnani: Marcnani, Marcnanich, Marnaucich, Mergnauchich, Mergnavich, Mernjavčević, Mernjavčic and Vuccascino. The Bosnian Armorial that Heyer von Rosenfeld refers to should be the *Korjenić Neorić 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, Mernarich. *Ibid.*, 58, T. 38.
- 9 FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI, *Il re d'armi di Sebenico*, vol. I, Venice, 1884, 140–144, T. 9; *ibid.*, vol. II, 105–106, T. 25.
- 10 *Ibid.*, vol. II, 8, T. 15, 15–16, T. 17.
- 11 KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Crkva sv. Martina. (Pred njezinim porušenjem.) [Saint Martin's church (before its demolition)]*, *Narodna straža*, 30 (1927.), 2–3; KRSTO STOŠIĆ, *Benediktinke u Šibeniku [Benedictine nuns in Šibenik]*, *Croatia Sacra*, 7 (1934.), 12–14. There is also a modern offprint of this article, published in Šibenik in 1994.
- 12 IVAN VON BOJNIČIĆ, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, Zagreb, 1999 (a reprint of the edition published in Nuremberg in 1899), 126–127, T. 91.
- 13 EMILIJ LASZOWSKI, *Pečat Sigismunda Mrnjavčiča [Seal of Sigismund Mrnjavčič]*, in: *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, 1 (1899.), 122–123.
- 14 BARTOL ZMAJIĆ, *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*

Armorial], in: *Glasnik arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, 7 (1967.), 53.

15  
TAMARA TVRTKOVIĆ (note 1), 19.

16  
MIROSLAV PALAMETA, Fikcionalnost životopisa Petra Berislavića [Fictional elements in the biography of Petar Berislavić], Zagreb – Split – Mostar, 2016, 96.

17  
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.

18  
Evangelista Deuchino's emblem is reproduced at the end of *Vita Petri Berislavi*: the cartouche frames two anchors with the inscription *His suffulta*; the smaller cartouche on the top frames three lilies 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\\_\(Dizionario\\_Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/deuchino_(Dizionario_Biografico))).

19  
There is also a modern reprint of this edition, with a Croatian translation and introductory studies by Marija Karbić and Tamara Tvrtković: IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ, *Vita Petri Berislavi – Životopis Petra Berislavića*, (ed.) Tamara Tvrtković, translated by Vlado Rezar and Tamara Tvrtković, Zagreb – Trogir, 2008. On *Vita Petri Berislavi*, see: MIROSLAV PALAMETA (note 16).

20  
IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ (note 19), XX, 3–4, 32.

21  
On Juraj (IV) Drašković, see: IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Glasoviti Hrvati prošlih vijekova* [Famous Croats from the past centuries], Zagreb, 1886, 183–184; IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ (note 19), 2–3, 10.

22  
The old Drašković coat of arms is described in: IVAN VON BOJNIČIĆ (note 12), 40, T. 30. It was used throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; for example, by Zagreb's bishop and Croatian *ban* (viceroy) Juraj (II) Drašković. See: JOZO SOPTA, *Drašković, Juraj II*, in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 3, (ed.) Trpimir Macan, Zagreb, 1993, 592–593; DANIEL PREMERL, *Bolonjske slike hrvatske povijesti* [The Bologna images of Croatian history], Zagreb, 2014, 103. It also features in family armorials issued by kings, as well as the Drašković genealogical tree painting in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. See: BARTOL ZMAJIĆ, *Postanak i razvitak roda Draškovića* [The emergence and evolution of the Drašković kindred], in: *Kaj*, V/11 (1972), 57–58, and the cover of the journal; MLADEN ŠVAB, *Drašković, velikaška obitelj* [Drašković, a noble family], in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 3, (ed.) Trpimir Macan, Zagreb, 1993, 578, 584–585. The old Drašković coats of arms are still immured in Trakošćan and Klenovnik. See: MLADEN OBAD-ŠĆITAROCI, *Dvorci i perivoji Hrvatskog zagorja* [Castles and parks of Hrvatsko Zagorje], Zagreb, 1991, 112, 271.

23  
FRANCESCA COCCHIARA, *Il libro illustrato veneziano del Seicento*, Saonara, 2010, 14–17, 203–205 and elsewhere. On pages 204 and 205, Cocchiara provided a catalogue of books with Francesco Valesio's engravings. She was not aware of *Vita Petri Berislavi* by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. For Valesio see also: FRANCESCA COCCHIARA, *In Spadaria al segno della Sorte*: Francesco Valesio e l'editoria calcografica a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento, in: *Venezia Cinquecento*, 21, 42 (2011), 149–228.

24  
On Giacomo Mascardi, see: SAVERIO FRANCHI, Mascardi, Giacomo, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 71, Rome, 2008 (online edition [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-mascardi\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giacomo-mascardi_(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.

26  
CARLA CASSETTI BRACH, MARIA CARMELA DI CESARE, Grignani, Lodovico, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 59, Rome, 2002 (online edition [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodovico-grignani\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodovico-grignani_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)).

27  
ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 3), 111, 133, 190, 234; VINKO PRIBOJEVIĆ, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena / De origine successibusque Slavorum*, Split, 1991, 74–75, 135–136; MAURO ORBINI, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601, 177; Modern reprint: MAURO ORBINI, *Il Regno degli Slavi*, (eds.) Sima Ćirković and Peter Rehder, introduction by Sima Ćirković, Munich, 1985; Croatian translation: MAVRO ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, translated by Snježana Husić, introduction by Franjo Šanjek, Zagreb, 1999.

28  
TAMARA TVRTKOVIĆ, Marko Marulić u djelu Ivana Tomka Mrnavića [Marko Marulić in the works of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić], in: *Colloquia Maruliana*, 16 (2007), 293–303; TAMARA TVRTKOVIĆ, *Descriptio urbis Spalatensis* Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, in: *Colloquia Maruliana*, 18 (2009), 303–313.

29  
On the *Passiones* of Saint Susanna and Pope Marcellus, see: MICHAEL LAPIDGE, *The Roman Martyrs*, Oxford, 2018, 270–286, 390–410.

30  
ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 3), 110.

31  
On Giulio Sacchetti, see: IRENE FOSI, Sacchetti, Giulio, in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 89, Roma, 2017 (online edition [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-sacchetti\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giulio-sacchetti_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)).

32  
MILAN IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Hrvatska crkva Svetoga Jeronima u Rimu* [The Croatian church of St Jerome in Rome], in: *U križu je spas – Zbornik u čast nadbiskupa-metropolita mons. Ante Jurića*, (eds.) Marin Škarica and Ante Mateljan, Split, 1997, 435–436; DANIEL PREMERL (note 22), 66–68; JASENKA GUDELJ, *San Girolamo dei Croati a Roma: gli Schiavoni e il cantiere sistino*, in: *Identità e rappresentazione. Le chiese nazionali a Roma, 1450–1650*, (eds.) Alexander Koller and Susanne Kubersky-Piredda, Rome, 2015, 310–313.

33  
DANIEL PREMERL (note 22), 64–71.

34  
MILAN IVANIŠEVIĆ, *Prvi papa iz Dalmacije* [The first pope from Dalmatia], in: *Salonitansko-splitska crkva u prvom tisućljeću kršćanske povijesti*, (eds.) J. Dukić et al., Split, 2008, 169–196.

35  
MILAN IVANIŠEVIĆ (note 32), 416–417, 424–426.

36  
See my forthcoming article *Visualizing Illyrianism in Urban VIII's Rome*.

37

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

38

On Giuseppe Puglia, see: MASSIMO FRANCUCCI, Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro, San Casciano Val di Pesa, 2014. The engraving *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* is not mentioned in this book.

39

GIORGIO KOKŠA, S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni, Rome, 1971, 44–45 (Croatian edition of this book: ĐURO KOKŠA, Hrvatska crkva sv. Jeronima u Rimu, Zagreb, 2001, 67–68. The Croatian edition lacks pages from 98 to 181 of the original Italian edition.); ALESSANDRA GHIDOLI TOMEI, G. Puglia, Il Bastarino: I tre dipinti per la chiesa della nazione croata, in: *Chiesa sistina*, vol. I, (ed.) Ratko Perić, Rome, 1989, 136–143; MASSIMO FRANCUCCI (note 38), 19, 32, 106–108, 144–148, 188; MILAN IVANIŠEVIĆ (note 32), 413–414; 427–429.

40

SVEN-WIELAND STAPS, Brunetti, Orazio, in: *Saur – Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 14, Munich–Leipzig, 1996, 552.

41

Sándor Bene has argued that the idea of the sanctified land in the Rattkay/Šubarić frontispiece derived from Mrnavić's *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas* (Rome, 1630). SÁNDOR BENE, Ideološke koncepcije o staleškoj državi zagrebačkoga kanonika [Ideological concepts of a Zagreb canon regarding the state of the estates], in: JURAJ RATTKAY, *Spomen na kraljeve i banove Kraljevstava Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije*, translated by Zrinka Blažević et al., introduction by Sándor Bene, Zagreb, 2001, 12. On the Rattkay/Šubarić frontispiece, see also: DANIEL PREMERL (note 22), 32–48, 65–80; MILAN PELC, *Georgius Subarich sculpsit Viennae* – bakrorezac Juraj Šubarić u Beču oko 1650. godine: djela i naručitelji [Etcher Juraj Šubarić in Vienna around 1650: His work and its commissioners], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 39 (2015), 63–65.

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.

43

The same plot would be used by Ivan Gundulić in his epic *Osman*. DUNJA FALIŠEVAC, Osmanščica, in: *Hrvatska književna enciklopedija*, vol. 3, (ed.) Velimir Visković, Zagreb, 2011, 273 (with previous bibliography).

44

On Vuk Mrnjavčić, see: JURAJ RATTKAY (note 41), 252–253, 256–258; EMILIJ LASZOWSKI, Mrnjavčić Vuk, in: *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati*, Zagreb, 1925, 195; The most comprehensive biography is provided by PAVAO MAČEK, Rod Mrnjavčića, gospodara Brezovice, 1524–1663. Prikaz rodoslovlja [The Kindred of Mrnjavčić, lords of Brezovica, 1524–1663: Genealogy], in: *Tkalčić*, 19 (2015), 55–58. Cf. also: PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, Kronika aliti szpomen vszega szvieti 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 Jembrih (Zagreb, 2015); GEORGIUS PATACHICH (Juraj Patačić), *Heroes Hungariae et Illyrici, tam bellica fortitudine, quam aliquo singulari fortitudine illustres*, Bologna, 1699, 151–153; RADOŠLAV LOPAŠIĆ, Bihac i Bihacka Krajina [Bihać and its region], Zagreb, 1943 (the first edition: 1890), 270–271 (note 326); ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ, *Ideae magnanimitatis Illyricae et Pannonicae*. (De)konstrukcija auto- i heteropredodžbi u diskursu baroknog heroizma [(De-)construc-

tion of the auto- and hetero-images in the discourse of baroque heroism], in: *Umjetnost riječi*, 51/3–4 (2007), 253.

45

IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ, *Osmanščica*, Rome, 1631, 3–4; FERDO ŠIŠIĆ, 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 Zadar. I am grateful to Ines Rakić Mamut and Tomislav Blažević from the Research Library for their help.

47

FERDO ŠIŠIĆ (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, Rukopisi 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.

50

On the illustrated Renaissance books on famous men from the past, see: FRANCIS HASKELL, *History and its images*, New Haven – London, 1993, 26–79; MILAN PELC, *Illustrium imagines: das Porträtbuch der Renaissance*, Leiden – Boston – Köln, 2002.

51

SIMA M. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Srbi među europskim narodima, Zagreb, 2008, 111–113; English edition of this book: SIMA M. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *The Serbs*, Oxford, 2004, 77–80.

52

MAURO ORBINI (note 27), 274.

53

SRĐAN RUDIĆ, Vlastela Ilirskog grbovnika [Nobility in the Illyrian Armorial], Belgrade, 2006, 187, note 763.

54

On the genealogies, see: ROBERTO BIZZOCCHI, *Genealogie incredibili*, Bologna, 2009. Cf. SÁNDOR BENE, Povijest jedne obiteljske povijesti (Rađanje i žanrovska pozadina genealogije Zrinskih) [History of a family history (The birth and genre background of the Zrinski genealogy)], in: *Susreti dviju kultura – Obitelj Zrinski u hrvatskoj i mađarskoj povijesti*, (eds.) Sándor Bene, Zoran Ladić, Gábor Hausner, Zagreb, 2012, 251–301; LUKA ŠPOLJARIĆ, Hrvatski renesansni velikaši i mitovi o rimskom porijeklu, in: *Modruški zbornik*, 9–10 (2016.), 3–40.

55

See note 52.

56

MAURO ORBINI (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.

FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (note 9), vol. II, 15–16, T. 17. I am grateful to Marina Lambaša from the Šibenik City Museum for sending me the photo of this coat of arms.

58

Galvani and Stošić still saw a mitre. See the previous note.

59

KRSTO STOŠIĆ (note 11, 1934, 1994), 13–14. This coat of arms was published by Federico Antonio Galvani, erroneously identified as belonging to the Margnani family. FEDERICO ANTONIO GALVANI (note 9), vol. II, 8, T. 15. On Nedjeljka Tomko Mrnavić, see also: ANTONIO GIUSEPPE FOSCO (note 48), 10–11; IVAN OSTOJIĆ, Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima [Benedictines in Croatia and the neighbouring regions], vol. 2, Split, 1964, 291, 141.

60

Archdiocesan Archives, Zagreb, *Spisi vjerodostojnog 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).

61

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 Žigmund Mrnjavčić, see: PAVAO MAČEK (note 44), 75–79.

62

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.

63

On Gašpar Mrnjavčić, see: PAVAO MAČEK (note 44), 83–85; MIROSLAV VANINO, Isusovci i hrvatski narod [The Jesuits and the Croatian people], vol. I, Zagreb, 1969, 144, 425, 450; MIROSLAV VANINO, Isusovci i hrvatski narod, vol. II, Zagreb, 1987, 269, 280–281; MIRJANA REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Slikarstvo, štukature i djela umjetničkog obrta [Paintings, stuccos, arts and crafts], in: KATARINA HORVAT-LEVAJ, DORIS BARIČEVIĆ, MIRJANA REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Akademska crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2011, 291.

64

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

65

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 ČOSIĆ, Ideologija rodoslovlja: *Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik iz 1595*. [Ideology of genealogy: The *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial* from 1595], Zagreb, 2015 (with previous bibliography).

66

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

67

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

68

“Il regno di Bosna nato dalla rouina di quello di Dalmazia, di cui longo tempo erasi mantenuta positione e prouintia, con mettersi in libertà sotto il dominio di proprij principi chiamati bani, quali per molti anni con autorità regia, et indenpedente lo ressero, e poi agrandito dalle cineri della monarchia Rasciana e Seruiana con acquisto di titoli et ornamenti regali, e finalmente depresso et estinto dalla tirannide turchesca; è paese situato nelle viscere dell'Ilirico.” KARLO HORVAT, Tri doslije nepoznata rukopisa Ivana Tomka Mrnavića, biskupa bosanskoga (1631.–1639.) [Three hitherto unknown manuscripts of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, bishop of Bosnia (1631–1639)], in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 21 (1909), 354.

69

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

70

For the icon as a donation of Serbian queen Helen, see: ROSA D'AMICO, Icona dei santi Pietro e Paolo, in: *Il Trecento adriatico. Paolo Veneziano e la pittura tra Oriente e Occidente*, (eds.) Francesca Flores d'Arcais and Giovanni Gentili, Milan, 2002, 116–117.

71

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. ACOVIĆ, Heraldika i Srbi [Heraldry and the Serbs], Belgrade, 2008, 98–110.

72

DUBRAVKA PEIĆ ČALDAROVIĆ, NIKŠA STANČIĆ, Povijest hrvatskoga grba [History of the coat of arms of Croatia], Zagreb, 2011, 152–154; MATE BOŽIĆ, STJEPAN ČOSIĆ, Nastanak hrvatskih grbova [The development of Croatian heraldry], in: *Gordogan*, 35–36 (2017), 36, note 81.

73

DRAGOMIR M. ACOVIĆ (note 71), 230–245.

74

For the afterlife of the *Korjenić-Neorić Armorial*, see: STJEPAN ČOSIĆ (note 65); BARTOL ZMAJIĆ (note 14).

75

On the coat of arms of Serbia, see: ALEKSANDAR SOLOVJEV (note 71); DRAGOMIR M. ACOVIĆ (note 71).

76

On *leliwa* in the Croatian National Revival, see: IVO BANAC (note 65), 52–54; DUBRAVKA PEIĆ ČALDAROVIĆ, NIKŠA STANČIĆ (note 72), 152–162. On the coat of arms of the Republic of Croatia, see: *Ibid.*, 201–210; ŽELJKO HEIMER, Grb i zastava Republike Hrvatske [The coat of arms and the flag of the Republic of Croatia], Zagreb, 2008.

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## Sažetak

Daniel Premerl

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić i njegov grb:  
samopredstavljanje jednoga ilirskoga plemića

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (1580.–1637.) hrvatski je prelat, povjesničar i pisac, rodom iz Šibenika; otac mu je emigrirao iz Bosne. U Rimu je studirao na isusovačkom Rimskom kolegiju; ondje je i proveo znatan dio života predsjedajući ilirskom (hrvatskom) Kongregacijom sv. Jeronima te radeći za Kongregaciju za širenje vjere. Usto je mnogo pisao i objavljivao. Teme njegovih knjiga uglavnom su iz povijesti Ilirika, kojemu 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 križem na kojem je okrunjeni orao; između greda križa, u kvadrantima, nalaze se četiri kresiva (srp. *ocilo*). Dva primjerka Mrnavićeva grba imaju motiv mladaka i zvijezde na gornjem dijelu križa (sl. 8 i 10).

Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića nalazi se na naslovnica i prednaslovnica njegovih knjiga: *Vita Petri Berislavi* (Venecija, 1620.; sl. 1–2), *Život Magdalene od knezova Zirova plemena Budrišića* (Rim, 1626.; sl. 3), *Unica gentis Aureliae Valeriae Salonitanae Dalmaticae nobilitas* (Rim, 1628.; sl. 4–5), *Osmanšćica* (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, koricama (Rim, 1629.; 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 Mrnavić – on tvori jednu polovicu njezina grba (1629.; sl. 11) koji se nalazio na svodu stubišta ženskoga benediktinskog samostana sv. Katarine u Šibeniku. Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića preuzeo je i Vuk Mrnjavčić od Brezovice pokraj Zagreba, konjanički časnik i sin hrvatskoga podbana Krste Mrnjavčića, kako svjedoči njegov pečat (1644.; sl. 12) te pečat njegova sina Žigmunda (1660.; sl. 13). Tomko Mrnavić smatrao je da je Vuk Mrnjavčić od Brezovice njegov bratić.

Grb Ivana Tomka Mrnavića vizualni je korelat njegova samooblikovana rodoslovlja. U njemu se ističu tri brata Mrnavića iz Niša, a među njima posebice Vukašin, koji je postao kralj Srbije (poginuo u bitci s Osmanlijama na rijeci Marici 1371. godine). Povijesni izvori iz vremena inače ne znaju da je Vukašin stolovao u Nišu niti da se prezivao Mrnavić/Mrnjavčić. Izvori pak na temelju kojih se Tomko Mrnavić identificirao s nižim Mrnavićima jesu djela dvojice dubrovačkih povjesničara, *Il Regno degli Slavi* (Pesaro, 1601.) Mavra Orbinija i *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* (Venecija, 1605.) Jakova Lukarevića. Štoviše, u Orbinijevoj knjizi tiskan je

grb kralja Vukašina (sl. 14), koji je bio predložak grba Tomka Mrnavića. Grb kralja Vukašina smatra se apokrifnim; historiografija ne poznaje njegov grb iz 14. stoljeća. Motiv mladaka i zvijezde koji Mrnavić dodaje svojem grbu nakon što je postao bosanski biskup (sl. 8 i 10) također potječe iz Orbinijeve knjige – ondje je on središnji element (također apokrifnog) grba Kraljevine Bosne (sl. 16).

Predložak grba kralja Vukašina tiskana u Orbinijevoj knjizi jest grb *plemena Mrnjavčića* iz Korjenić-Neorićeva grbovnika (1595.; sl. 15). Predložak grba Kraljevine Bosne tiskana u Orbinijevoj knjizi (sl. 16) također se nalazi u istom grbovniku. Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik izrađen je prema narudžbi istoimenoga slanskog roda, potomaka sitnoga bosanskog plemstva koji su se poslije pada Bosne naselili u Slanom u Dubrovačkoj 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 rodoslovlje kojim se dokazuje njihova povezanost s vladarskim i plemićkim elitama zapadnog Balkana iz predosmanlijskog razdoblja. Grbovnik je protkan 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 nasljedstvo Bosne temelji se i na oporuci posljednje bosanske kraljice Katarine, koja u izbjeglištvu u Rimu Bosnu oporučno ostavlja Svetoj Stolici. I Ivan Tomko Mrnavić smatrao je da je Bosna ujedno nasljednica srpskoga carstva te jezgra buduće Ilirije, a nezino je oslobođenje dužnost Svete Stolice. Želja slanskih rodova i Tomka Mrnavića za rekonkvistom regije bila je u suglasju s političkim idejama Svete Stolice i španjolske krune.

Grb *plemena Mrnjavčića* sličan je grbu Srbije iz Korjenić-Neorićeva grbovnika; oba imaju križ i kresiva. Grb Srbije također je heraldička invencija napravljena za Korjenić-Neorićev grbovnik. Kompozicija križa i kresiva uporabljena je kao bizantizirajuća forma, jer nasljeduje amblem Paleologa. Općenito, kresivo je ornament kasnorimskog i bizantskog podrijetla. Grb Srbije s križem i kresivima iz Grbovnika postao je u prvoj četvrtini 18. stoljeća grb Karlovačke mitropolije, središta Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Habsburškoj Monarhiji, da bi potom postao sastavni dio grbova modernih srpskih država. S druge strane, kompozicija mladaka i zvijezde postat će vizualni znak Hrvatskoga narodnog preporoda te će završiti na grbu Republike Hrvatske.

**Ključne riječi:** Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, grb, 17. stoljeće, Francesco Valesio, Giuseppe Puglia Il Bastaro, Vuk i Žigmund Mrnjavčić od Brezovice, Mauro Orbini, *Korjenić-Neorićev 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 / *Lombardische Platte »Mavioranove propovjedaonice« u Gussagu (Brescia): od analize do konteksta. Problematika i nove perspektive*

1: Elaborazione grafica di Laura Chinellato da: Paola Marina De Marchi, Calvisano e la necropoli d'ambito longobardo in località Santi di Sopra. La pianura tra l'Oglio, Mella e Chiese nell'altomedioevo, in: *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, Atti del Convegno (Ascoli Piceno, 6–7 ottobre 1995), (a cura di) Lidia Paroli, Firenze, 1997., 377–411, fig. 2 / *Ilustraciju iz članka: Paola Marina De Marchi, Calvisano e la necropoli d'ambito longobardo in località Santi di Sopra. La pianura tra l'Oglio, Mella e Chiese nell'altomedioevo*, in: *L'Italia centro-settentrionale in età longobarda*, Atti del Convegno (Ascoli Piceno, 6–7 ottobre 1995), (a cura di) Lidia Paroli, Firenze, 1997., 377–411, 2, grafički obradila Laura Chinellato.

2: Studio Rapuzzi di Brescia

3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10: Laura Chinellato

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### 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 paramenata 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 Recent Archival Research*

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3, 5, 6, 8–10, 12: Josipa Alviž

4, 7, 11: Arhitektonski crteži prema nacrtima Direkcije za urbanizam Herceg Novi, urbanistički projekt *Stari Grad – Herceg Novi*, 1982., voditelj Boris Ilijanić, dipl. ing. arh. Izvor: Državni arhiv Crne Gore – Arhivski odsjek Herceg Novi, za tisak pripremio Ratko Horvat / *Architectural drawings made after recording of the Directorate for Urban Planning Herceg Novi, Stari Grad – Herceg Novi urban development project, 1982, project leader Boris Ilijanić, architect. Source: State Archives of Montenegro – Archival Department Herceg Novi, prepared by Ratko Horvat*

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1–9: Bojan Goja

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8: Državni arhiv u Rijeci, Tehnički ured grada Rijeke, kut. 161

9: Konzervatorski odjel u Rijeci, fototeka

10, 14: Izradili Petar Puhmajer i Marin Čalušić, Hrvatski restauratorski zavod, 2017.

### Sanja Cvetnić

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

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- 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*
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- 10: Tomislav Pavičić, City Museum Šibenik / *Tomislav Pavičić, Muzej Grada Šibenika*
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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, rekonstrukcija / *reconstruction: Vojan Koceić*
- 4: Mirko Pivčević, rekonstrukcija / *reconstruction: Vojan Koceić*
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- 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: Ljudevit 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 Franza Alta / *Scenes from Slavonia and Sylvania in the Opus of Austrian Painter Franz Alt*

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

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Od »sinteze likovnih umjetnosti« do Zagrebačkoga salona: prilog poznavanju djelovanja ULUH-a 1960-ih / *From a "Synthesis of Visual Arts" to the Zagreb Salon: A Contribution to the Research on ULUH's Activity in the 1960s*

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