

ИНИЦИЈАЛ

ЧАСОПИС ЗА СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ СТУДИЈЕ

КЊИГА 11

БЕОГРАД 2023



INITIAL

A REVIEW OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES

VOLUME 11

BELGRADE 2023

САДРЖАЈ – CONTENTS

I ЧЛАНЦИ И РАСПРАВЕ – ARTICLES

DOROTA VARGOVÁ – BRANKA VRANEŠEVIĆ – MIHAILO ST. POPOVIĆ,
To Put the Church on the Map: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical
Structures and Tendencies in the Region of Duklja
(6th–11th Centuries) 3

ДЕЈАН БУЛИЋ – РАДИВОЈЕ АРСИЋ – ИРЕНА ЦВИЈАНОВИЋ, Рано-
византијска црква из села Градојевић, код Коцелеве

СРБОЉУБ УБИПАРИПОВИЋ, Чин топлоте (ζεον) у византијском
литургијском типу. Ка потпунијем објашњењу порекла и
теолошко-литургијског смисла

СТАНОЈЕ ВОЈАНИН, Canons of Old Nomokanons in South Slavonic
Penitentials (13th–14th Centuries)

IVANA KOMATINA, Perception of Roman Catholics in 13th-Century
Serbian Hagiographies: From Fellow Christians to Heretics

ПЕТАР ЈОСИПОВИЋ, The Reshaping of Tvrtko I's Royal Ideology before
and after His Coronation in 1377: The Appropriation of the Cult of
St. Stephen the Protomartyr in Medieval Bosnia

ДЕЈАН ДОШЛИЋ, Сугуби вијенац краља Стефана Твртка
Котроманића: нова интерпретација

МАРКО ГАВРИЛОВИЋ, Српско-угарски односи (1403/1404–1427) у
делима западноевропских писаца XV века

II ИЗВОРНА ГРАЂА – SOURCE MATERIAL

ЖАРКО ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, Повеља престолонаследника Стефана Уроша
(Дечанског) манастиру Врањини

АЛЕКСАНДРА ФОСТИКОВ – АЛЕКСАНДАР КРСТИЋ, Три исправе и
печат Дмитра Краљевића

ЧАСОПИС ЗА СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ СТУДИЈЕ

ИНИЦИЈАЛ

INITIAL

A REVIEW OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES

UDC 93/94

ISSN 2334-8003

CENTRE FOR ADVANCED MEDIEVAL STUDIES

INITIAL
A REVIEW OF MEDIEVAL STUDIES

VOLUME 11

Editor-in-Chief

Srđan Rudić

Editorial Board

Lenka Blechová-Čelebić (Prague), Stanoje Bojanin,
Borislav Grgin (Zagreb), Sergey Ivanov (Moscow),
Gábor Klaniczay (Budapest), Esad Kurtović (Sarajevo),
Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, Vojin Nedeljković,
Georgi Nikolov (Sofia), Paola Pinelli (Florence),
Danica Popović, Dejan Radičević, Srđan Rudić,
Irena Špadijer, Georg Vogeler (Graz),
Valentina Živković

Publishing Editor

Dragić M. Živojinović

Belgrade

2023

UDC 93/94

ISSN 2334-8003

ЦЕНТАР ЗА НАПРЕДНЕ СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ СТУДИЈЕ

ИНИЦИЈАЛ
ЧАСОПИС ЗА СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНЕ СТУДИЈЕ

КЊИГА 11

Главни уредник
Срђан Рудић

Редакциони одбор
Ленка Блехова-Челебић (Праг), Станоје Бојанин,
Борислав Гргин (Загреб), Валентина Живковић,
Сергеј Иванов (Москва), Габор Кланицај (Будимпешта),
Есад Куртовић (Сарајево), Смиља Марјановић-Душанић,
Војин Недељковић, Георги Николов (Софија), Паола Пинели
(Фиренца), Даница Поповић, Дејан Радичевић, Срђан Рудић,
Георг Фогелер (Грац), Ирена Шпадијер

Одговорни уредник
Драгић М. Живојиновић

Београд
2023

Овај број *Иницијала* штампан је
захваљујући финансијској помоћи
Министарства науке, технолошког развоја и
иновација Владе Републике Србије

САДРЖАЈ – CONTENTS

Библиографија *Иницијала* 1–10 (2013–2022) IX

I ЧЛАНЦИ И РАСПРАВЕ – ARTICLES

- DOROTA VARGOVÁ – BRANKA VRANEŠEVIĆ – MIHAILO ST. POPOVIĆ,
To Put the Church on the Map: Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Structures
and Tendencies in the Region of Duklja (6th–11th Centuries) 3
ДОРОТА ВАРГОВА – БРАНКА ВРАНЕШЕВИЋ – МИХАИЛО СТ. ПОПОВИЋ,
Стављање цркве на мапу: раносредњовековне црквене структуре
и тенденције на подручју Дукље (VI–XI век) 32
- ДЕЈАН БУЛИЋ – РАДИВОЈЕ АРСИЋ – ИРЕНА ЦВИЈАНОВИЋ,
Рановизантијска црква из села Градојевић код Коцељеве 35
DEJAN BULIĆ – RADIVOJE ARSIĆ – IRENA CVIJANOVIĆ, Early Byzantine
Church from the Village of Gradojević near Koceljeva 53
- СРБОЉУБ УБИПАРИПОВИЋ, Чин топлоте (ζεον) у византијском
литургијском типу. Ка потпунијем објашњењу порекла и
теолошко-литургијског смисла 55
SRBOLJUB UBIPARIPović, The ζεον Rite in Byzantine Liturgical Type.
Towards a full Explanation of Origin, and Its Theological and
Liturgical Meaning 69
- СТАНОЈЕ БОЈАНИН, Canons of Old Nomokanons in South Slavonic
Penitentials (13th–14th Centuries) 71
СТАНОЈЕ БОЈАНИН, Правила из старих номоканона у јужнословенским
пенитенцијалним текстовима (XIII–XIV век) 91
- ИВАНА КОМАТИНА, Perception of Roman Catholics in 13th-Century
Serbian Hagiographies: From Fellow Christians to Heretics 93
ИВАНА КОМАТИНА, Перцепција римокатолика у српским
хагиографијама XIII века: од хришћана до јеретика 113

PETAR JOSIPOVIĆ, The Reshaping of Tvrtko I's Royal Ideology before and after His Coronation in 1377: The Appropriation of the Cult of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in Medieval Bosnia	115
ПЕТАР ЈОСИПОВИЋ, Обликовање владарске идеологије Твртка I пре и после краљевског крунисања 1377. године: апропријација култа светог Стефана Првомученика у средњовековној Босни	134
ДЕЈАН ДОШЛИЋ, Сугуби вијенац краља Стефана Твртка Котроманића: нова интерпретација	137
DEJAN DOŠLIĆ, The Double Wreath Crown of King Stephen Tvrtko Kotromanić: A New Interpretation	164
МАРКО ГАВРИЛОВИЋ, Српско-угарски односи (1403/1404–1427) у делима западноевропских писаца XV века.....	165
MARKO GAVRILOVIĆ, The Relations between Serbia and Hungary (1403/1404–1427) in the Works of Western European Writers of the 15 th Century	188

II ИЗВОРНА ГРАЂА – SOURCE MATERIAL

ЖАРКО ВУЈОШЕВИЋ, Повеља престолонаследника Стефана Уроша (Дечанског) манастиру Врањини	191
ŽARKO VUJOŠEVIĆ, Charter of the Heir to the Throne Stefan Uroš (Dečanski) for the Monastery of Vranjina	212
АЛЕКСАНДРА ФОСТИКОВ – АЛЕКСАНДАР КРСТИЋ, Три исправе и печат Дмитра Краљевића	215
ALEKSANDRA FOSTIKOV – ALEKSANDAR KRSTIĆ, Three Documents and a Seal of Dmitar Kraljević.....	235

III ПРИКАЗИ И КРИТИКЕ – REVIEWS

Péter TIMÁR, <i>Magyarország középkori településeinek és egyházainak topográfiai adattára I–VI</i> , Szeged 2019 (Ненад Обрадовић)	239
Adrian GHEORGHE, <i>The Metamorphoses of Power. Violence, Warlords, Akıncıs and the Early Ottomans (1300–1450)</i> , Brill Series: The Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage, Volume: 76, Koninklijke Brill, Leiden–Boston 2023, 331 pp. (Милош Ивановић)	241

IV НАУЧНИ ЖИВОТ – SCHOLARLY LIFE

Научни скуп „Средњи век у српској науци, историји, књижевности и уметности XIV“, Народна библиотека „Ресавска школа“, Деспотовац, 19–20. август 2023. године (Милош Ивановић)	249
Међународни научни скуп: “Hungarian-Serbian Relations in the Early Modern Period 1456–1791”, Insitute of History, Belgrade – HUN-REN, Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of History, Budapest, 9 November 2023 (Марија Андрић)	252
Међународни научни скуп Историјске и културне везе словенских народа (од средњег века до савременог доба), Историјски институт Београд, Одељење за словенску филологију Филолошког факултета Универзитета у Лођу, 14–15. децембар 2023, Београд (Бењамин Хекић)	257
Напомена уредништва – Editorial Note	261

Petar JOSIPOVIĆ

University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of History
Čika Ljubina 18–20, Belgrade, Serbia, petar.josipovic@f.bg.ac.rs

THE RESHAPING OF TVRTKO I'S ROYAL IDEOLOGY BEFORE AND AFTER HIS CORONATION IN 1377: THE APPROPRIATION OF THE CULT OF ST. STEPHEN THE PROTOMARTYR IN MEDIEVAL BOSNIA

Abstract: In this paper, we aim to examine the royal coronation of Tvrtko I and the process of reconfiguration of the Bosnian ruling ideology from a neglected perspective, through the complicated process of appropriation of the political dimension of the cult of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr. This saint was celebrated in the Serbian medieval state as a personal and dynastic patron saint during the rule of the Nemanjić dynasty, which meant that the political use of his cult was closely linked to the development of Serbian ruling ideology. Through an analysis of the charter issued by the Bosnian king Tvrtko I to the people of Ragusa in 1382, in which the author prayerfully and programmatically addresses St. Stephen in the arenga, we attempt to understand the character and function of this cult in the new political circumstances of the Bosnian kingdom. It goes without saying that the possible influences from the Serbian context, such as the so-called St. Stephen's Charter issued by King Milutin, cannot be ignored in the comparative analysis. Finally, taking into account the fact that the ruler's name Stephen and the patronage of the Protomartyr were also adopted by the Serbian Knez Lazar Hrebeljanović, we will analyze the contemporary attempts to appropriate the cult in the context of the struggle for the inheritance of the Nemanjić dynasty and the primacy in the legitimacy vacuum in the Serbian political space.

Keywords: king Tvrtko I, medieval Bosnia, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, Christian cult of saints, ruling ideology.

Despite the efforts of generations of historians of the medieval Balkans, no consensus could be reached on the controversial issues related to the royal coronation of Tvrtko I.¹ The limited and relatively sparse

¹ Given the abundance of texts dedicated to the reign of Tvrtko I, we will list here only the most important works: V. ČOROVIĆ, *Kralj Tvrtko I Kotromanić*, Beograd

source material, in particular some charters and letters that can be cautiously supplemented by the observations of later authors such as Mauro Orbini and Daniele Farlati,² complicates the interpretation of an otherwise contentious historical event burdened by the national and ideological prejudices of researchers. Apart from an unsuccessful attempt at critical reassessment, historians generally agree on the date of Tvrtko's coronation, which is believed to have taken place on October 26, 1377, the feast day of St. Demetrius.³ However, when it comes to the place where the Bosnian ban received the royal crown and the religious figure who performed the solemn ceremony, there is a considerable disagreement. Based on a larger number of more or less successful attempts to clarify

1925; M. DINIĆ, O krunisanju Tvrtka I za kralja, *Glas SKA* 147 (1932) 135–145; N. RADOJČIĆ, *Obred krunisanja bosanskoga kralja Tvrtka I. Prilog istoriji krunisanja srpskih vladara u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1948; S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Sugubi venac (Prilog istoriji kraljevstva u Bosni), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 8 (1964) 343–370 (= *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici. Društva srednjovekovnog Balkana*, ed. V. ĐOKIĆ, Beograd 1997, 277–305); IDEM, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Beograd 1964; Đ. BAZLER, Proglašenje Bosne kraljevinom 1377. godine, *Prilozi Instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu* 11–12 (1975–1976) 49–61; P. ANĐELIĆ, Krunidbena i grobna crkva bosanskih vladara u Milima (Arnautovićima) kod Visokog, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja (Nova Serija – Arheologija)* (= *GZM N.S. A*) 24 (1979) 183–247; S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Mileševa i Bosna, *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda. Međunarodni naučni skup povodom sedam i po vekova postojanja, Juni, 1985*, ed. V. J. ĐURIĆ, Beograd 1987, 137–143; M. JANKOVIĆ, Mileševska mitropolija, *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda*, 145–153; D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta kruna ugarska i sveta kruna bosanska) 1387–1463*, Zagreb–Sarajevo 2006.

² The closest in time to the coronation is the letter of the merchant Radič from Klis, written to the Ragusan authorities in early November 1377 (T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae XV (1374–1378)*, Zagreb 1934, 326). The most important document about the royal coronation of Tvrtko I is his charter to the citizens of Ragusa from 1378 (D. JEČMENICA, Povelja kralja Stefana Tvrtka I Dubrovniku [Žrnovnica, 1378, april 10, Trstivnica, 1378, jun 17], *Stari srpski arhiv* 14 (2015) 115–142; Dž. DAUTOVIĆ, E. DEDIĆ, Povelja kralja Tvrtka I Kotromanića Dubrovniku [Žrnovnice, 10. april 1378 – Trstivnica, 17. juni 1378], *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka istraživanja ANU BiH* 45 (2015) 225–246). For a list of other, less informative sources v. Đ. BAZLER, Proglašenje Bosne kraljevinom, 49–50. For the edition and corresponding places from the works of M. Orbini and D. Farlati v. M. ORBINI, *Il regno de gli Slavi hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*, Pesaro 1601, 358–359 (= M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, eds. Z. ŠUNDRICA, S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Beograd 1968); D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum IV*, Venetiis 1769, 63–64.

³ The exact date was established by M. DINIĆ, O krunisanju Tvrtka I, 139. Later, Đ. Bazler with little success tried to challenge his conclusion (cf. Đ. BAZLER, Proglašenje Bosne kraljevinom, 50–51, 56–60).

the circumstances of the royal coronation of Tvrtko I, two theories have been formulated that have their supporters among modern researchers. According to the first reconstruction of the events, Tvrtko I was crowned in the Serbian territories of his state, most probably over the tomb with the relics of St. Sava in the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Mileševa in the Polimlje region.⁴ Based on another reading of the same source material, a second theory was formulated, according to which Tvrtko I was crowned king in the Franciscan Church of St. Nicholas in Mile near Visoko, where the coronation ceremony was presided over by the bishop (*djed*) of the Bosnian Church.⁵

From the very beginning, it is clear that the proponents of both theories were aware of the limitations of their own interpretations, which were largely based on conjecture and the resolution of irresolvable logical contradictions resulting from persistent efforts to reconcile conflicting information from the sources. If in the reconstruction of the events the Serbian monastery Mileševa is assumed to be the place of the king's coronation ceremony, the main question that arises is the identity of the person who might have crowned King Tvrtko I. The metropolitan of Mileševa mentioned by Orbini is undoubtedly an anachronism in the narrative, but behind this formulation could be the bishop of the Dabar diocese, which came under the rule of the Bosnian ban after the territorial expansion of Bosnia in 1373.⁶ However, such an interpretation raises a new problem, considering the unity of the Serbian Church before and after its reconciliation with the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1375 and its support for the Serbian Knez Lazar Hrebeljanović, which could make the possible intervention of the Bishop of Dabar an open confrontation with the political orientation of Patriarch Ephrem (1375–1379).⁷

⁴ S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Sugubi venac*, 285–286; IDEM, *Mileševa i Bosna*, 138; M. JANKOVIĆ, *Mileševska mitropolija*, 146–147. For more information on the political circumstances leading up to Tvrtko's coronation v. S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 121–135.

⁵ The views of earlier researchers, along with significant personal contributions, were summarized by D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 614–723. In the academic community, Đ. Bazler's hypothesis of Tvrtko I's double coronation has been completely rejected (cf. Đ. BAZLER, *Proglašenje Bosne kraljevinom*, 54–55).

⁶ M. ORBINI, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 358–359; D. FARLATI, *Illyricum sacrum*, 63–64. That the bishop of Dabar could hide behind the metropolitan of Mileševa v. M. JANKOVIĆ, *Mileševska mitropolija*, 147; cf. S. MIŠIĆ, *Srpska crkva u Polimlju posle 1373. godine*, *Crkvene studije* 20 (2023) 379–384, p. 382.

⁷ D. BOGDANOVIĆ, *O izmirenju srpske i vizantijske crkve 1375*, *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta (= ZRVI)* 21 (1982) 159–182.

The theory that locates the coronation site in the Franciscan church of St. Nicholas in Mile near Visoko is even more fraught with logical inconsistencies. First, the identification of Mile in Podvisoko with Orbini's monastery "in Milesceuo" is not entirely certain, especially considering that Orbini clearly distinguished between the Franciscan church of St. Nicholas as the burial place of Ban Stephen II and the place where Tvrtko I was later crowned.⁸ This interpretation found some support among historians after the archeological investigation of the funerary complex in Mile, led by Pavao Anđelić, confirmed that King Tvrtko I was later buried in the church in Podvisoko.⁹ However, this interpretation directly contradicts the information from written sources. In the arenga of the document that Tvrtko I issued to Ragusa on April 10, 1378 in Žrnovnica and confirmed on June 17 in Trstivnica, it is clearly stated that Tvrtko I was crowned "when he went to the Serbian lands", which would have been impossible if the coronation had taken place in Mile.¹⁰ The conspicuous silence of the merchant Radič from Klis in his letter to the Ragusan authorities about Tvrtko's royal coronation, who was at the royal court in Podvisoko at the time of the ceremony, and which has been taken by some scholars as evidence that Tvrtko I could not have been crowned in Serbian lands, proves the inadequacy of the argument for his coronation in Mile – Radič would certainly have mentioned it if he had witnessed the coronation. It is also difficult to identify the Metropolitan of Mileševa with the bishop (*djed*) of the Bosnian Church who would have performed the coronation in a Franciscan church in Bosnia.¹¹ Considering that the main task of the Franciscans in this region was to eradicate heresy, which

⁸ When speaking of Mileševa, where Tvrtko I was crowned king, Mauro Orbini calls it exactly "Monasterio di Milesceuo". However, in the case of the burial church of Ban Stephen II he speaks of "Chiesa di Frati Minori, ch'e San Nicolo di Milesceuo in Bosna". V. M. ORBINI, *Il regno de gli Slavi*, 355–356, 358–359.

⁹ P. ANĐELIĆ, *Krunidbena i grobna crkva bosanskih vladara*, 183–247; D. POPOVIĆ, *Srpski vladarski grob u srednjem veku*, Beograd 1992, 131–133.

¹⁰ For a broader context, we provide the full sentence describing the circumstances of the coronation: "When I saw that the land of my ancestors was left after them without its shepherd, I went to the Serbian land and wished and wanted to strengthen the throne of my ancestors." – v. D. JEČMENICA, *Povelja kralja Stefana Tvrtka I*, 121.

¹¹ D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Na klizištu povijesti*, 634–638. V. also S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Dualistička heterodoksija u ulozi zemaljske crkve: bosanska crkva, Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici* 214–239, pp. 221–222, n. 21 which refutes the hypothesis that the Bosnian Christians (*krstjani*) were organized as a monastic order, and n. 23 which particularly emphasizes that the term *coenobia* never referred to the houses of the Patarenes (*hiže*).

was anchored in the hierarchy of the above-mentioned religious community, it still remains unclear, given all the peculiarities of medieval Bosnia, how such cooperation was even conceivable.¹²

A look at the previous research shows that the problem of the royal coronation of Tvrtko I is far from being solved. In this regard, this text aims to contribute to previous studies on this complex topic by analyzing the process of appropriation of the political dimension of the cult of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in medieval Bosnia, who seems to have become the patron saint of King Tvrtko I in the years following his royal coronation. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the traditional dynastic protector of the Kotromanić family, St. Gregory, is not mentioned in Tvrtko's documents after 1366.¹³ Among scholars, the adoption of the distinctive royal name Stephen as part of the political theory of the "double wreath" has long been known.¹⁴ Historians, however, have somewhat overlooked the programmatic potential of the characteristic arenga of the charter that the Bosnian ruler issued to the people of Ragusa in 1382. In it, in accordance with the customs of the Serbian royal chancery, Tvrtko I prayerfully and programmatically addresses St. Stephen as his protector and helper.¹⁵ The same document mentions the founding of a new town in the Dračevica county, which King Tvrtko I named after this saint, which is another indirect reference to the adoption of the cult of St. Stephen in medieval Bosnia. Since St. Stephen was a dynastic and state patron of the Nemanjićs, with whom Tvrtko I wanted to emphasize kinship through the first genealogies in the course of creating the political theory

¹² Since there are numerous studies on the Bosnian church, only the most important ones are listed here: F. RAČKI, *Borba Južnih Slavena za državnu neodvisnost. Bogomili i patareni*, Beograd 1937; J. ŠIDAK, *Studije o „Crkvi bosanskoj“ i bogumilstvu*, Zagreb 1975; J. V. A. FINE, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation. A Study of the Bosnian Church and its Place in State and Society from the 13th to the 15th Centuries*, New York – London 1975; S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Dualistička heterodoksija*, 214–239.

¹³ Since the question of the cult of St. Gregory in medieval Bosnia is beyond the scope of our topic, we refer to the following studies: A. SOLOVIEV, *Saint Grégoire, patron de Bosnie*, *Byzantion* 19 (1949) 19–49; D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Sv. Grgur Čudotvorac – Zaštitnik Kotromanića i srednjovjekovne Bosne*, *Zbornik o Marku Dobretiću*, ed. M. KARAMATIĆ, Sarajevo – Dobretići 2008, 9–27; E. FILIPOVIĆ, *St. Gregory, the Patron Saint of Bosnia*, *Specimina Nova Pars Sectio Mediaevalis* 11 (2021) 77–96.

¹⁴ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Sugubi venac*, 289–290.

¹⁵ P. DRAGIČEVIĆ, *Povelja kralja Tvrtka I kojom ukida trg soli u Sutorini, Građa o prošlosti Bosne (= GPB) 3* (2010) 69–80.

of the double wreath of Serbs and Bosnia,¹⁶ the ideological implications of this appropriation become much more significant. But first, let us take a brief look at the cult of the first Christian martyr in Bosnia until the middle of the 14th century.

Even if we take into account all mentions of veneration of St. Stephen in medieval Bosnia, whether in terms of the ideology or personal devotion, the evidence of his cult is extremely scarce. According to the information on the possessions of the Bosnian episcopate in the document of the Hungarian king Béla IV (1244), Konstantin Jireček was the first to note the mention of a church dedicated to St. Stephen in the village of Vrutci – “Vrudchy” in the text of the document.¹⁷ Since this village was located near the source of the Bosna River, in a politically central area of medieval Bosnia, researchers were interested in shedding light on the construction period and nature of this sacral building. Based on archeological research, it was determined that it was a pre-Romanesque church, probably built in the second half of the 9th century or in the first half of the 10th century – according to the available sources, immediately after its foundation, a century later, it became the property of the Bosnian episcopate.¹⁸ The architectural solutions and the style of decoration, as well as the dedication of the church to St. Stephen the Protomartyr, whose cult was particularly highly regarded in Ragusa at that time, probably support the interpretation that the construction of the church and the choice of its holy patron were decisively influenced by the urban centers on the eastern Adriatic coast.¹⁹ However, the presence of the cult of St.

¹⁶ M. VASILJEVIĆ, Nastanak srpskih rodoslova i letopisa kao posledica političkih i društvenih promena, *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije* 3 (2015) 95–117.

¹⁷ For the edition of the document v. A. THEINER, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium, Tomus primus*. Romae 1963, 296–298. V. also K. JIREČEK, *Die Handelsstrassen und Bergwerke von Serbien und Bosnien während des Mittelalters*, Prague 1879, 31 (= K. JIREČEK, *Trgovački putevi i rudnici Srbije i Bosne u srednjem vijeku, Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka I*, ed. M. DINIĆ, Beograd 1959, 205–303, p. 242).

¹⁸ Š. BEŠLAGIĆ, Izvještaj o probnom kopanju na Crkvini kod sela Vrutci 1960–1961. godine. *GZM N.S. A* 37 (1982) 87–92, T. GLAVAŠ, Iskopavanje preromaničke crkve u Vrutcima kod Vrela Bosne. *GZM N.S. A* 37 (1982) 93–122; T. MARASOVIĆ, *Dalmatia Praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji. Svezak 4: Korpus arhitekture – Južna Dalmacija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora*, Split–Zagreb 2013, 319–321. For the foundation of the bishopric in Bosnia v. I. KOMATINA, *Crkva i država u srpskim zemljama od XI do XIII veka*, Beograd 2016, 150–156.

¹⁹ Ž. PEKOVIĆ, Crkva sv. Stjepana u Pustijerni, *Mumuscula in honorem Željko Rapanić*, eds. M. JURKOVIĆ, A. MILOŠEVIĆ, Zagreb–Motovun–Split 2012, 341–375;

Stephen in central Bosnia in the first centuries of Christianity does not tell us much about its possible importance in the religious life of the local population in the Middle Ages. As for our efforts to shed light on the later appropriation of the political aspect of the cult of St. Stephen in the ideology of Bosnian rulers, the isolated example of a church dedicated to this saint in the first centuries of Christianity in Bosnia can only contribute to the assumption that his cult was essentially adopted later from medieval Serbia, where its presence is exceptionally well documented in material, textual and visual sources.²⁰

Of much greater importance for our subject, on the other hand, is the very unusual intitulation of the Bosnian Ban Matthew Ninoslav (1232–1250) in the document to the Ragusan authorities of March 1249.²¹ Instead of the previously used name Matthew Ninoslav, the Bosnian ban is introduced in this document for the first and only time as Matthew Stephen, which could reflect the ruling ideology of the neighboring Nemanjićs, for whom the name Stephen had a special symbolic meaning and almost titular character.²² However, it is less likely that the names of the subsequent Bosnian bans, Stephen I (1290–1310) and Stephen II (1314–1353), can be interpreted in the same semantic framework, since their choice, if it had any programmatic character at all, was rather conditioned by the strong political relations between Hungary and Bosnia.²³

Z. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, Štovanje Sv. Stjepana Prvomučenika u ranosrednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku: Mučeništvo u temeljima grada, komune i (nad)biskupije, *Anali Dubrovnik* 57 (2019) 9–28.

²⁰ Despite the importance of the cult of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in medieval Serbia, studies devoted entirely to this subject are not so numerous. At this point we propose: M. ĆOROVIĆ-LJUBINKOVIĆ, Odras kulta sv. Stefana u srpskoj srednjovjekovnoj umetnosti, *Starinar* 12 (1961) 45–60; D. VOJVODIĆ, Prilog poznavanju ikonografije i kulta sv. Stefana u Vizantiji i Srbiji, *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana*, ed. V. J. ĐURIĆ, Beograd 1995, 537–565; D. PRERADOVIĆ, Lj. MILANOVIĆ, Opšte-hrišćanski sveti u srpskoj kulturnoj praksi i umetnosti, *Sakralna umetnost srpskih zemalja u srednjem veku*, ed. D. VOJVODIĆ, D. POPOVIĆ, Beograd 2016, 103–117.

²¹ F. MIKLOSICH, *Monumenta Serbica Spectantia Historiam Serbiae Bosnae Ragusii*, Vienna 1858, 32–34.

²² S. MANDIĆ, Venconosci, *Črte i reze. Fragmenti starog imenika*, Beograd 1981, 7–32; S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija*, Beograd 1997, 42–59; A. LOMA, Imena u srpskim vladarskim porodicama do početka XIII veka, *Stefan Nemanja – Prepodobni Simeon Mirotočivi I*, ed. M. RADUJKO, Beograd–Berane 2016, 27–34.

²³ About the political conditions in the Bosnian state during the reign of the Bans Stephen I and Stephen II v. S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, 70–121. On the development of the Hungarian monarchy in the early 14th

Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that rulers from the Nemanjić family consistently bore a double name, which is noticeable only in the specific intitulation of Ban Matthew Ninoslav, but not in his successors on the ban throne. Although it is difficult to discern whether the single use of the name Stephen during the reign of Ban Matthew Ninoslav had a programmatic character at the time, we believe that a similar practice, introduced as part of the ideological change before the royal coronation of Tvrtko I and consistently continued by all subsequent medieval Bosnian kings, was adopted for an entirely different purpose.

At this point it is useful to reconsider the process of transformation and adaptation of Tvrtko I's ruling ideology to the new political requirements that arose after his royal coronation. The territorial expansions of the Bosnian state in 1373 and 1377 provided the legal basis for Ban Tvrtko I's claims to the double royal wreath. By first annexing the lands of Serbian Župan Nikola Altomanović, upper Podrinje, part of Polimlje and Gacko, and then wresting the three coastal districts of Trebinje, Konavle and Dračevica from the Balšićs, he brought under his rule a significant part of the former core of the Nemanjić state, including the important spiritual center, the Mileševa monastery.²⁴ There were kept the relics of St. Sava, a saint whose cult was of outstanding political and ideological importance in medieval Serbia.²⁵ After taking control of this territory and gaining some legitimacy in the eyes of his contemporaries, Tvrtko I formulated a unique theory of the double royal wreath, declaring himself "King of the Serbs, Bosnia, Pomorje and the Western Parts" in the autumn of 1377.²⁶ Scholars have long pointed out the striking similarity between elements of Tvrtko I's royal title and Stephen Dušan's imperial title, presumably indicating the Bosnian ruler's intention to restore the Serbian kingdom under new circumstances.²⁷ Tvrtko I himself testi-

century v. P. ENGEL, *The Realm of St Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, London – New York 2001, 140–156.

²⁴ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 135.

²⁵ S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, Molitve svetih Simeona i Save u vladarskom programu kralja Milutina, *ZRVI* 41 (2004) 235–250; EADEM, Harizma i autoritet: skica za hagiografski portret svetog Save, *ZRVI* 52 (2015) 277–289.

²⁶ Cited after D. JEČMENICA, Povelja kralja Stefana Tvrtka I, 124. For the interpretation of the unique concept of the double royal wreath v. S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Sugubi venac*, 277–285.

²⁷ Stefan Dušan's imperial title was controversial according to the political and religious ideas of the time, so Tvrtko I opted for a legitimate royal coronation: v. M. DINIĆ, Dušanova carska titula u očima savremenika, *Zbornik u čast šeste stogodišnjice Zakonika cara Dušana I*, ed. N. RADOJČIĆ, Beograd 1951, 87–118; LJ.

fied to this in the arenga of the document to the authorities in Ragusa in 1378, in which he clearly emphasized his legitimacy and right to rule the lands of his “forefathers, the lords of Serbia”.²⁸ Most likely, Tvrtko I was assisted in formulating his new ruling ideology, expressed in the preambles of the first documents after his royal coronation, by Vladoje of Rashka, who came to his court at that time as a logothete.²⁹ The new court titles, including the already mentioned title of logothete, were protovestiarios and stavilac, which were adopted from the Serbian milieu, as were certain ceremonial practices of the Serbian court.³⁰ In addition to territorial, ideological, and customary components, the cornerstone of Tvrtko's royal legitimacy was the assertion of kinship with the Nemanjić dynasty. Recent analyzes of the first Serbian genealogies have shown that Tvrtko I had a significant influence on the development of one of the first redactions of texts of this genre. Through Elizabeth, the daughter of Serbian King Dragutin and wife of Bosnian Ban Stephen I, the Kotromanić family tried to present themselves as offspring of the famous Serbian dynasty.³¹

To sum up, the ruling ideology of Tvrtko I was largely based on the legacy of the Nemanjićs, as whose successor the new Bosnian king sought to present himself in the eyes of his contemporaries. As we mentioned in the introduction to this article, one aspect of the process of ideological transformation has been partially overlooked in previous analyzes of Tvrtko I's royal coronation, namely the adoption of the political function of the cult of Stephen from the Serbian milieu. Among all other elements of the process of adaptation of Tvrtko I's ruling ideology to the new circumstances, the appropriation of the cult of St. Stephen the Protomartyr underpins the hypothesis that the first royal coronation of a Bosnian ruler

MAKSIMOVIĆ, Srpska carska titula, *Glas SANU* 384, *Odeljenje istorijskih nauka* 10 (1998) 173–189.

²⁸ Cited after D. JEČMENICA, *Povelja kralja Stefana Tvrtka I*, 121..

²⁹ On Vladoje v. N. ISAILOVIĆ, *Vladarske kancelarije u srednjovekovnoj Bosni* (unpublished doctoral dissertation), Beograd 2014, 85–86, 113–114.

³⁰ S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 139. About the court titles of protovestiarios and stavilac v. *Leksikon srpskog srednjeg veka*, eds. S. ČIRKOVIĆ, R. MIHALJIĆ, Beograd 1999, s.v. *logotet* (369–371), *protovestijar* (596–597), *stavilac* (693–694).

³¹ LJ. STOJANOVIĆ (ed.), *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Sremski Karlovci – Beograd 1927, 36–38. On the emergence and political use of genealogies in the context of the ideology of rule v. M. VASILJEVIĆ, *Nastanak srpskih rodoslova i letopisa*, 99–101. On creation of the dynastic identity of Kotromanićs v. E. FILIPOVIĆ, *Kotromanići. Stvaranje i oblikovanje dinastičkog identiteta u srednjovekovnoj Bosni*, Sarajevo 2022, esp. 55–73.

was characterized above all by the effort to adopt the traditions of Serbian medieval statehood and unite them with the Bosnian one.

The arenga of the charter for the abolition of the salt market below the town of Novi in Dračevica, mentioned in the introduction, issued to the citizens of Ragusa in Bišće on December 2, 1382, is the most important evidence of the appropriation and adaptation of the political dimension of the cult of St. Stephen in the medieval Bosnian state.³² First, we need to look at the circumstances under which this document was issued. As part of his policy of gradual territorial expansion, which culminated in the expansion to three coastal counties on the eastern Adriatic coast in early 1377, Tvrtko I sought to strengthen the Bosnian state economically and free it from the trade monopoly of neighboring Ragusa, whose economic dominance was based primarily on the salt trade.³³ Faced with traditional restrictions from the time of Nemanjić rule, according to which trade in this commodity was allowed only in four markets – Ragusa, Drijeva on the Neretva, Kotor and St. Sergius on the Bojana – Tvrtko I initiated the construction of a new urban center in Dračevica in early 1382, named after St. Stephen and usually called Novi in contemporary sources.³⁴ At the foot of its walls, on the square in Sutorina, Tvrtko I allowed trade in salt from Dalmatia and Italy, from which he collected direct revenues, against which the Ragusans resisted with relatively successful seizures of goods.³⁵ This conflict was formally ended on December 2, 1382, when King Tvrtko I issued a document in Bišće abolishing the illegally established market in Dračevica. However, as sources from Ragusa clearly prove, the illegal salt trade below Novi continued in the following period. Moreover, in 1383 Tvrtko I founded another town on the left bank of the Neretva, named after Archangel Michael and better known in the Middle Ages as Brštanik, where a market

³² The latest critical edition of the document was published by P. DRAGIČEVIĆ, *Povelja kralja Tvrtka I*, 69–80. A detailed analysis of the document was made by G. ČREMOŠNIK, *Bosanske i humske povelje srednjeg vijeka II*, *GZM N.S.* 4–5 (1949–1950) 105–200, pp. 127–131.

³³ Since this question is beyond the scope of our current topic, we refer to a text that analyzes in detail the conflict between Bosnia and Dubrovnik over the salt trade: P. DRAGIČEVIĆ, *Trg soli u Sutorini u vrijeme kralja Tvrtka I*, *Glasnik Udruženja arhivskih radnika Republike Srpske* 2 (2010) 161–167.

³⁴ For more information about Novi v. B. HRABAK, *Herceg–Novi u doba bosanskohercegovačke vlasti (1382–1482)*, *Boka* 10 (1978) 7–31.

³⁵ The course of this conflict can be traced in Ragusan sources – v. M. DINIĆ, *Odluke veća Dubrovačke republike I*, Beograd 1981, 245 sqq.

was also established.³⁶ In the political turmoil following the death of the Hungarian king Louis I in September 1382, the Bosnian king managed to bring Drijeva, the rightful salt market on the Neretva coast, back under his rule, which most likely led to a reduction of tensions.³⁷

The preamble of Tvrtko's 1382 charter, with its diplomatic peculiarities and contents, clearly deviates from the previous patterns of the Bosnian royal chancery, which is undoubtedly due to the fact that the king's logothete, Vladoje, is the author of this document.³⁸ Since this is one of the few programmatic texts on Tvrtko's reign, we provide its complete translation:

It is truly virtuous and very pleasant to praise this by worthy faith, and to send coveted words to you, the first martyr of Christ, Stephen, because you prayed for those who struck you, saying, "Lord, do not hold this sin against them, for they know not what they do." Therefore, you, the most suffering martyr, who prayed for those who stoned you, now pray even more to my Lord Christ for those who always pray to you, call upon you, and confess to you, who have suffered for Christ, and who do all good for my Lord; and I call upon you for help, for through your prayers I received grace from the Lord and was found worthy of the wreath, honor and imperial scepter of my holy first parents, the Lords of Serbia, kings and emperors, and I follow their life and faith, and through the imperial law I correct and fulfill all transgressions in the blessed lands of my kingdom...³⁹

The preamble to this charter is excellent evidence of the dual relationship that King Tvrtko I cultivated, both personally and politically, with the cult of the St. Protomartyr in the years following his coronation. With inspiration and pathos, Tvrtko I addresses St. Stephen as a supplicant in the text of the arenga, emphasizing him in first place as a personal protector and intercessor before Christ.⁴⁰ The narrative dynamics and

³⁶ On Brštanik v. Đ. TOŠIĆ, Brštanik u srednjem vijeku, *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 21–27 (1976) 37–50.

³⁷ On the market in Drijeva v. Đ. TOŠIĆ, *Trg Drijeva u srednjem vijeku*, Sarajevo 1987. On the political turmoil caused by the death of the Hungarian king Louis I v. S. ČIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, 151–153.

³⁸ That Vladoje wrote this document v. N. ISAILOVIĆ, *Vladarske kancelarije*, 374–375.

³⁹ Translated after P. DRAGIČEVIĆ, *Povelja kralja Tvrtka I*, 71.

⁴⁰ On the role of the saints in intercession before Christ in more general terms v. G. KLANICZAY, *Using Saints: Intercession, Healing, Sanctity*, *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Christianity*, ed. J. ARNOLD, Oxford 2014, 217–237.

tone of the chapters devoted to St. Stephen's suffering in *Acts* (6–7) provided the basis for the prayerful celebration of the St. Protomartyr in the foreground of the arena. This was an attempt to connect events from Christian history with the recent secular past on the textual level.⁴¹ Since St. Stephen's prayers had helped even those who had stoned him in anger, Tvrtko's confidence in his intercession before the face of the Lord was not coincidentally based on a strong belief in Stephen as the ideal intercessor at the Last Judgment.⁴²

In the context of the analysis of Tvrtko I's royal ideology, it is even more important that the first Bosnian king programmatically turned to St. Protomartyr as a political debtor, since through his intercession he received the Lord's grace and the right to the throne of the Serbian rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty.⁴³ In the carefully worded preamble, St. Stephen is thus highlighted as a guarantor in the complex process of *translatio regni* from the Serbian to the Bosnian state, which in the early 14th century was the most important territorial component for the creation of the concept of a dual kingdom, embodied in the person of King Tvrtko I, a descendant of the holy lineages of the Nemanjićs and Kotromanićs.⁴⁴ In this context, it was of utmost importance for Tvrtko I to emphasize that he received the Serbian royal crown directly from the hands of St. Stephen, a recognized saint and protector of the Serbian royal family, who could eventually legitimize the transfer of royal rights to the Bosnian king. However, in order to understand the complexity of such a process at the time of Tvrtko I, it is necessary to compare the Bosnian case with a representative example from the Serbian context of the early 14th century.

⁴¹ About *emulatio Christi et sanctorum* in the context of ruling ideology in the medieval Serbian state v. S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića*, 247–253.

⁴² On the development of the cult of St. Stephen in the first centuries after his martyrdom, before his remains were found in Caphargamala in 415 v. S. MATTHEWS, *Perfect Martyr. The Stoning of Stephen and the Construction of Christian Identity*, New York 2010; H. MÉNDEZ, *The Cult of Stephen in Jerusalem. Inventing a Patron Martyr*, London 2022. For the outline of the development of his cult in late antiquity and the Middle Ages v. F. BOVON, The Dossier on Stephen, the First Martyr, *The Harvard Theological Review* 96 (2003) 279–315.

⁴³ On the emergence of a pantheon of national saints in the Middle Ages v. R. BARTLETT, *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*, Princeton – Oxford 2013, 227–233.

⁴⁴ On the emergence of dynastic identity in medieval Europe v. R. BARTLETT, *Blood Royal. Dynastic Politics in Medieval Europe*, Cambridge 2020, 311–339.

Until the reign of King Milutin (1282–1321), there was a clear continuity in the celebration of the cult of St. Stephen in the medieval Serbian state. This is evidenced not only by the consistent use of the characteristic titular name, but also by the church chapels dedicated to this saint,⁴⁵ the mention of his name in important documents and his representations on seals in all generations of Nemanjić rulers.⁴⁶ However, it was not until the time of King Milutin that the veneration of this cult reached its peak in the Serbian state, which was evident in almost all of the king's activities. The cultivation of the cult of St. Protomartyr is evident both at the level of royal ideology, through its already traditional programmatic use, and in terms of personal devotion. Considering the aims of this study and the need for a comparative analysis, special attention is paid to the so-called St. Stephen's Charter, a document issued to the Monastery of St. Stephen in Banjska between February 8, 1314 and March 12, 1316. In

⁴⁵ This concerns especially the southern chapel of the Church of the Ascension in Žiča, where in the upper zone of the frescoes fragments from the life of St. Stephen are preserved, depicting three scenes: the trial, the stoning and the translation of his relics (v. M. KAŠANIN, Đ. BOŠKOVIĆ, P. MIJOVIĆ, *Žiča. Istorija, arhitektura, slikarstvo*, Beograd 1969, 173–174; M. ČANAK-MEDIĆ, D. POPOVIĆ, D. VOJVODIĆ, *Manastir Žiča*, Beograd 2014, 291). There is also a possibility that one of the chapels in the monastery church of Mileševa was dedicated to St. Stephen (v. G. BABIĆ, *Les Chapelles Annexes des Églises Byzantines. Fonction Liturgique et Programmes Iconographiques*, Paris 1969, 144). King Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276) dedicated a chapel to him as his personal patron in his foundation of the Sopoćani monastery (v. *ibidem*, 134).

⁴⁶ In the period before the reign of King Milutin, the mention of St. Stephen in the documents of Serbian rulers was not very frequent. In the sanction of the Second charter issued by King Stefan Nemanjić to the Žiča Monastery between 1221 and 1224, St. Stephen is mentioned alongside the Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Sabbas the Sanctified, saints who occupied an important place in the emerging pantheon of the medieval Serbian state (v. *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilčkih povelja i pisama Srbije, Bosne i Dubrovnika. Knjiga I, 1181–1321*, eds. V. MOŠIN, S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, D. SINDIK, Beograd 2011, n. 15, 93–95). St. Stephen is also mentioned in the sanction in the document issued by King Stefan Uroš I to the Monastery of St. Apostles Peter and Paul on the Lim River between 1254 and 1263 (v. *idem*, n. 64, 225–231). When it comes to representations on seals, St. Stephen the Protomartyr was consistently represented on the reverse side from the time of the reign of Stephen Nemanja and his brothers, wearing a deacon's robe and holding a censer and a paten. Since there are numerous seals showing this depiction of the first Christian martyr, v. B. HEKIĆ, *Pečati srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara između zapadnih i vizantijskih uzora* (unpublished doctoral dissertation), Beograd 2021, 337 sqq.

this document, King Milutin, in prayer and out of political gratitude, turns to St. Stephen as his personal and dynastic patron.⁴⁷

By using and reshaping the intertwined theological concepts of *Imitationes Christi et Stephani* and employing them in the arenga of St. Stephen's Charter, the author intended to convey several important programmatic messages to his contemporaries. First, by portraying himself as a protégé of St. Stephen, the first follower of Christ on the path of martyrdom, King Milutin wanted to emphasize that he could not have a better and more worthy intercessor before Christ. Moreover, the fact that St. Stephen's name could symbolically correspond to the crown as a transpersonal symbol of authority, the semantic potential of which was emphasized already in Gregory of Nyssa's late 4th-century *encomium* on St. Protomartyr,⁴⁸ made this saint an ideal royal patron. According to this, Christ had "bestowed on him the grace-bearing crown before all others," alluding in some way to the ceremony of crowning a king.⁴⁹ From the fact that the personal patron saint of the Serbian king and the entire royal dynasty was none other than Christ's first crown bearer, it follows that King Milutin possessed an unquestionable legitimacy, which he wished to emphasize and highlight in the years following the civil war with his brother Dragutin.⁵⁰ Finally, as an expression of personal piety, King Milutin turns to St. Stephen as "pure and blameless" to ask for his prayers and intercession with the Lord as a "merciful helper".⁵¹ Against this background, it is not surprising that King Milutin chose the church of St. Stephen in Banjska as his mausoleum, emphasizing his personal physical and spiritual connection to this saint.⁵² Thus, as with the earlier Nemanjić rulers, there

⁴⁷ For the critical edition of this document v. *Zbornik srednjovekovnih ćirilskih povelja*, n. 125, 455–469; *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska. Svetostefanska hrisovulja I–II*, ed. Đ. TRIFUNOVIĆ, Beograd 2011.

⁴⁸ Greg. Nyss. *Enc. Steph. II*, 97 (cited after *Gregorii Nysseni Opera X.1: Gregorii Nysseni Sermones II*, eds. G. HEIL, J. CAVARNOS, O. LENDLE, Leiden 1990, 107–134).

⁴⁹ *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska II*, 17.

⁵⁰ S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića*, 129–151 provides an analysis of the St. Stephen's Charter from a dynastic perspective. This analysis takes into account the political events during the reign of King Milutin, focusing in particular on the civil war with his brother Dragutin and the question of choosing an heir. The content of the St. Stephen's Charter is interpreted in the context of other diplomatic documents from the late 13th and early 14th centuries, which is crucial for understanding the king's royal ideology.

⁵¹ *Povelja kralja Milutina manastiru Banjska II*, 17.

⁵² On *tumulatio ad sanctos* v. R. WIŚNIEWSKI, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics*, Oxford 2019, 83–100.

is an obvious duality in the veneration of St. Stephen. The first is personal, intimate, and emotional and is driven by anguish of the Last Judgment and redemption. The second is state-oriented and is evident in the royal ideology that guarantees the Serbian ruler's right to rule and possess the crown, the symbol of the kingdom.

Even taking into account the different *desiderata* of King Milutin and King Tvrtko I in issuing charters, a comparative analysis reveals certain similarities in the programs and royal ideologies of the two rulers. Apart from their personal decision to venerate St. Stephen as a patron saint and intercessor before the Last Judgment, in both cases the two kings are seen as political debtors to St. Protomartyr, through whose merit they gained and consolidated their power in times of legitimacy crisis. Although it cannot be conclusively clarified, there is a possibility that Tvrtko I, probably under the influence of his logothete Vladoje from Rashka, the author of the charter to Ragusa in 1382, was directly inspired by recognizable Nemanjić patterns, perhaps even by the representative charter of King Milutin to the Banjska Monastery. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the political ideas and part of the royal program related to the cult of St. Protomartyr came to medieval Bosnia from the Serbian context, where St. Stephen was the direct guarantor of royal legitimacy and authority, as emphasized several times in the St. Stephen's Charter. In other words, the concept of the double royal wreath and Tvrtko's efforts to present himself among contemporaries as the legitimate king of Serbs and Bosnia, in addition to the numerous ideological changes mentioned above, had their basis to some extent in the appropriation of the cult of St. Stephen, especially its political dimension, in the years following his coronation.

The conclusions presented above, based on a comparative analysis with the ideas and royal program expressed in the representative charter of King Milutin, can be verified by a comparison with the power ideology of Knez Lazar Hrebeljanović. The crisis caused by the gradual disintegration of the Serbian Empire, aggravated by the defeat of the Mrnjavčević brothers at the Maritsa River in 1371, opened the door for conflicts between Serbian regional rulers in the struggle for political supremacy in a period of political vacuum.⁵³ In the northern regions of medieval Serbia, which were marginal during the Empire but became increasingly important after the Ottoman conquest of the southern territories, Knez Lazar's territory

⁵³ On the decline of the medieval Serbian state and its final collapse v. R. MIHALJIĆ, *Kraj Srpskog carstva*, Beograd 1975.

expanded.⁵⁴ It was thanks to him that the Serbian and Byzantine churches reconciled in 1375.⁵⁵ He owed his political preeminence partly to the gratitude of the Serbian church, but also to skillful marriage diplomacy and the establishment of kinship relations with other regional rulers. Together with them and the Bosnian Ban Tvrtko I, he defeated Nikola Altomanović in 1373 and divided up the latter's territories, considerably increasing his own possessions.⁵⁶ It seemed that on the soil of the weakened Serbian Empire a personality capable of uniting most of the powerful figures around him had emerged.

As far as we know, relations between Knez Lazar and Tvrtko I remained practically undisturbed for almost two decades – from the moment when they jointly defeated Nikola Altomanović until the Battle of Kosovo, in which Duke Vlatko Vuković took part as a representative of the Bosnian king. An event that could undoubtedly affect relations between the allies was the royal coronation of Tvrtko I and his ambition to assume political supremacy in the Serbian lands, at least nominally, as “King of Serbs and Bosnia”. It is known that the Balšić family, as rivals of Tvrtko I, did not consider his coronation a relevant political act, but the attitude of Knez Lazar and Vuk Branković in this matter cannot be fully clarified due to the lack of sources. An *argumentum ex silentio* for their nominal acceptance of Tvrtko's royal crown is the fact that they did not conclude separate treaties with the Ragusa until 1387, unlike the Balšić family, which did so on two occasions, in 1379 and 1385.⁵⁷ It is difficult to make a final judgment on the attitude of Knez Lazar towards the double wreath of Tvrtko I, especially since the Serbian knez began to formulate his own ruling program in the years following Tvrtko's corona-

⁵⁴ V. esp. R. MIHALJČIĆ, Knez Lazar i obnova srpske države, *O knezu Lazaru. Naučni skup u Kruševcu 1971*, eds. I. BOŽIĆ, V. ĐURIĆ, Beograd 1975, 1–11.

⁵⁵ On the church reconciliation v. D. BOGDANOVIĆ, O izmirenju srpske i vizantijske crkve 1375, 159–182. For the outline of Knez Lazar's marital diplomacy v. M. BLAGOJEVIĆ, Teritorije kneza Lazara na Kosovu i Metohiji, *Kosovo i Metohija: prošlost, sadašnjost, budućnost. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog naučnog skupa održanog u Beogradu 16–18. marta 2006. godine*, Beograd 2007, 5–18, pp. 7–10.

⁵⁶ On the defeat of Župan Nikola Altomanović v. M. DINIĆ, *O Nikoli Altomanoviću*, Beograd 1932, esp. 23–28.

⁵⁷ The argumentation on the attitude of Knez Lazar and Vuk Branković towards the royal coronation of Tvrtko I is based on the conclusion in S. ČIRKOVIĆ, Sugubi venac, 283–284. For the outline of the political history in the Serbian political sphere between the Battle of Maritsa and the Battle of Kosovo v. *Istorija srpskog naroda. Druga knjiga. Doba borbi za očuvanje i obnovu države (1371–1537)*, ed. J. KALIĆ, Beograd 1982, 21–46.

tion. In doing so, he wanted to present himself as a sovereign ruler and, by invoking common Nemanjić patterns, underscore his preeminence among Serbian regional lords. Consequently, he resorted to means that Tvrtko I had already used in shaping a new royal ideology, including the adoption of the symbolically recognizable name of Stephen and the veneration of the cult of St. Protomartyr, especially in a political sense.

On the reverse side of the seal authenticating the document issued by Knez Lazar to Hilandar in 1379/1380, there is a representation of St. Stephen in a style characteristic of Serbian medieval sigillography.⁵⁸ As on the seals of the Nemanjić rulers, St. Protomartyr is depicted in a deacon's robe, standing on a dais, adorned with a halo, wearing a sticharion with folds and an orarion, and holding a censer in his right hand and a paten in his left.⁵⁹ It should be noted that this is the only seal from this period with St. Stephen depicted on the reverse. The veneration of the cult of this saint was the prerogative and traditional symbol of the highest authority of the rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty. There is no trace of his representation on the preserved seals of other Serbian regional rulers.⁶⁰ In our opinion, the conclusion is justified that this was a programmatic decision of Knez Lazar to thereby connect himself with the Nemanjić tradition, to present himself as their legitimate successor over the Serbian lands, and at the same time to position himself as the protégé of St. Stephen, their bi-centennial patron saint. This is confirmed by the analysis of his preserved documents and, more importantly, by the adoption of a new titular name.⁶¹

⁵⁸ For more information about this document v. A. MLADENOVIĆ, *Povelje kneza Lazara. Tekst, komentari, snimci*, Beograd 2003, n. 5, 129–138.

⁵⁹ S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Vladarske insignije i državna simbolika u Srbiji od XIII do XV veka*, Beograd 1994, 110; B. HEKIĆ, *Pečati srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara*, 368–369.

⁶⁰ By comparing the preserved seals of Nikola Altomanović (1369), King Vukašin (1370), Vuk Branković (1371–1397, 1387, 1388), Đurađ I Balšić (1373, 1374/1376), Balša II Balšić (1379, 1385), and Đurađ II Stracimirović (1388), it is clear that there was a shift towards heraldic representations on seals during this period. This alteration was influenced by Western heraldic traditions. Detailed descriptions of these seals in chronological order can be found in B. HEKIĆ, *Pečati srpskih srednjovekovnih vladara*, 365–372.

⁶¹ V. B. FERJANČIĆ, *Vladarska ideologija u srpskoj diplomaciji posle propasti Carstva (1371)*, *O knezu Lazaru*, 139–150. In documents he is highlighted as “auto-crator” (*samodržac*). For an analysis on this topic v. V. MOŠIN, *Samodržavni Stefan knez Lazar i tradicija nemanjićkog suvereniteta od Marice do Kosova*, *O knezu Lazaru*, 13–44.

It seems that Knez Lazar, following the recent example of King Tvrtko I, perhaps in reaction to his royal coronation and the appropriation of the Nemanjić royal ideology, adopted the prerogative of the former Serbian ruling house to add the royal name Stephen to his personal name.⁶² Together with the representation of St. Stephen on the reverse side of the seal, this is decisive evidence that Knez Lazar Hrebeljanović began to symbolically emphasize his political supremacy from 1379/1380, when we find the new form of his name in the signature of the above-mentioned document.⁶³ In a way, the use of certain elements of the political aspect of the cult of Stephen, which was associated with royal legitimacy since the time of Stephen Nemanja, could indicate that Knez Lazar did not want to accept the political supremacy of Tvrtko I as king of the “Serbs and Bosnia”.

There are other explicit confirmations that Knez Lazar wanted to emphasize his political supremacy in the Serbian lands by celebrating the cult of St. Stephen. This is particularly evident in the court church he had built in his capital Kruševac in 1377/1378, which he dedicated to St. Stephen Protomartyr. The decision to make St. Stephen the holy patron of the court church contains a double message, somewhat reminiscent of King Milutin’s ambivalent attitude towards Banjska. On the one hand, it is clear that Knez Lazar was guided by political goals, but on the other hand, his pious decision was no less important, so that he could consider St. Stephen as his personal patron and intercessor before Christ. In this context, the Knez decided to give his eldest son and heir this symbolic name – Stephen.⁶⁴

Taking all this into account, it becomes clear that it is difficult to find a definitive answer to the question of whether Knez Lazar accepted the royal coronation of Tvrtko I as legitimate and his efforts to present himself as the new king of Serbs. On the one hand, the fact that Knez Lazar and Vuk Branković did not conclude separate treaties with Ragusa in the decade following Tvrtko’s royal coronation may indicate that they

⁶² Among other topics, this theme was also dealt with by F. BARIŠIĆ, *Vladarski čin kneza Lazara, O knezu Lazara*, 45–62.

⁶³ The signature of Knez Lazar in the confirmation of the Charter to Hilandar of 1379/1380 reads: “In Christ God, Orthodox Stephen, Knez Lazar” – v. A. MLADENović, *Povelje kneza Lazara*, 136.

⁶⁴ V. S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *Dinastija i svetost u doba porodice Lazarević: stari uzori i novi modeli*, *ZRVI* 43 (2006) 77–95; R. MIHALJČIĆ, *Lazar Hrebeljanović. Istorija, kult, predanje*, Beograd 1994, 49–68; A. VESELINOVIĆ, *Država srpskih despota*, Beograd 1995, 18–35.

nominally accepted his political supremacy. On the other hand, Knez Lazar's unquestioned authority as the most powerful Serbian regional ruler, reinforced by the formulation of a new royal ideology, points in the opposite direction. In the context of this analysis, it is important to emphasize that both rulers, driven by the desire to present themselves as successors to the Nemanjićs and legitimate rulers of the Serbian lands, resorted, among other things, to the programmatic celebration of the cult of St. Stephen, which was closely linked to the royal ideology of the former Serbian dynasty. The veneration of St. Protomartyr was one of the fundamental elements in the construction of a new royal program, both in political terms and in terms of personal piety. There is no doubt, therefore, that the cult of St. Stephen was of great importance in the eyes of political aspirants in the years after their patrons, the Nemanjićs, were no longer rulers of Serbia.

Why is the decision of the Bosnian king Tvrtko I to embrace the cult of St. Stephen so important? The significance of this appropriation is manifold. If we consider all the changes in the royal program that Tvrtko I made in the years before and after his coronation – the introduction of the concept of the double wreath, the adoption of the name Stephen in emulation of the Nemanjić patterns, the alignment of the royal title with that of Stephen Dušan to suit the newly established Bosnian kingdom, the emphasis on kinship through the initial genealogies with the Serbian royal house, and the adoption of courtly titles from the Serbian milieu – it becomes clear that the endorsement of the cult of St. Stephen can be seen as another crucial element of this process. In the document he issued to the people of Ragusa in 1382, abolishing the illegal market below the walls of the newly founded town of St. Stephen, Tvrtko I eloquently expressed his personal and political devotion to St. Stephen in the spirit of Nemanjić's royal ideology, thus associatively and symbolically linking himself to Serbia's political heritage. Continuing the process of unifying Serbian and Bosnian statehood begun at his coronation in 1377 under the emblem of the new double royal wreath, Tvrtko found in the repertoire of Nemanjić's models an extremely effective symbol that could underpin his political aspirations with a sacral sanction. Not coincidentally, the choice of St. Stephen as patron saint legitimized the controversial *translatio regni*, successfully completing the process of Tvrtko's reconfiguration of his royal ideology. As described in the text, Knez Lazar similarly drew on the legacy of the Nemanjićs. Not only did he adopt the royal name of Stephen, but he also used the distinctive image of St. Stephen on the reverse side of his seals to emphasize his political supremacy in the fragmented Serbian

state. It seems, therefore, that the political dimension of the cult of St. Stephen was one of the fundamental elements of the royal programs of most contenders for political supremacy in the Serbian territories in the years between the Battle of Maritsa and the Battle of Kosovo.

Петар Јосиповић

**ОБЛИКОВАЊЕ ВЛАДАРСКЕ ИДЕОЛОГИЈЕ ТВРТКА I ПРЕ И
ПОСЛЕ КРАЉЕВСКОГ КРУНИСАЊА 1377. ГОДИНЕ:
АПРОПРИЈАЦИЈА КУЛТА СВЕТОГ СТЕФАНА
ПРВОМУЧЕНИКА У СРЕДЊОВЕКОВНОЈ БОСНИ**

Резиме

Упркос томе што је краљевско крунисање босанског бана Твртка 1377. године често изнова разматрано, истраживачи средњовековља на Балкану нису дошли до консензуса у вези са многим питањима – формулисани су, напротив, две очигледно супротстављене теорије о овом догађају, са далекосежним последицама. Узимајући у обзир резултате досадашњих истраживања, аутор је настојао да ово питање сагледа из још једне, помало занемарене, перспективе. У повељама босанског краља Твртка I из 1378. и 1382. године, што одступа од установљених дипломатичких и идеолошких матрица средњовековне босанске канцеларије, као владарски патрон истиче се свети Стефан Првомученик, препознатљиви лични и династички заштитник Немањића. У повељи коју је 1382. године издао Дубровчанима, Твртко I се светом Стефану обраћа као личном патрону, а истом приликом аутор документа осврнуо се и на оснивање града названог по овом свецу. Имајући у виду чињеницу да је култ светог Првомученика био од прворазредног значаја за обликовање српске средњовековне владарске идеологије – што је нарочито приметно у Светостефанској хрисовуљи краља Милутина – аутор је приступио анализи обреда краљевског крунисања и разматрању карактера владарског венца Твртка I из перспективе процеса *translatio regni*. Чињеница да је практично истовремено за присвајањем култа светог Стефана посегао и кнез Лазар, који је у годинама након смрти цара Стефана Уроша и битке

на Косову градио свој владарски ауторитет са циљем остваривања првенства у политичком вакууму, у још већој мери потврђује да је апропријација овог култа имала за циљ симболичко повезивање са наслеђем Немањића. Борба за легитимитет и политичко првенство у српским земљама, на које је као сродник Немањића извесно право полагао и босански краљ Твртко, свој израз пронашла је и на равни симболике и идеологије, кроз надметање за покровитељство препознатљивог српског средњовековног патрона, светог Стефана Првомученика.

Кључне речи: краљ Твртко I, средњовековна Босна, свети Стефан Првомученик, култ светих, владарска идеологија.

Чланак примљен: 29. августа 2023.

Чланак прихваћен: 6. новембра 2023.