

The so-called “Kopitar’s Bosnian Gospel” and its position between Carolingian models and contemporary politics

NATAŠA GOLOB

In summer 1844 the then curator of the Imperial Library in Vienna, Jernej Kopitar, died. He was the founder of Slavic and Balkanic studies and a celebrity among philologists, especially among researchers of Slavic languages. At the time of his death, on the shelves of his private library there were more than 3000 books¹, many of them dedicated to the studies of history and development of Slavic languages. That is the main reason why he eagerly collected medieval manuscripts (many of which entered the Manuscript collection of Viennese Imperial Library), and in his private possession were twelve Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts and another dozen of transcriptions or copies of medieval originals. These originated mostly from South Slavic areas, and Kopitar collected them with the help of his friend Vuk Karadžić, or bought them at auctions². His collection of Cyrillic and Glagolitic manuscripts is one of the earliest scientific collections with such a specific character and aim³.

Kopitar’s private library is now preserved in the National and University Library in Ljubljana⁴ and among them is the so-called Codex Kopitarianus 24, known more simply as Kopitar’s Bosnian Gospel (ills.1–4). This manuscript must have been of extreme importance for his studies of the elder layers of South Slavic languages. This text of the Gospels is not written in Latin or Greek, as was usual for liturgy, but in the language of Bosnia, spoken on the territory between Sarajevo and Dubrovnik in the second half of the 14th Century. Another specific feature is the fact that it is not written in the actually spoken language, but reveals older forms of words and phrases, such as they were written in the model manuscript, composed — most probably — a Century earlier. The language, we read in this manuscript belongs to local redaction of early church-Slavic.

It is therefore little wonder that the manuscript was, soon after Kopitar’s death, the object of scientific research. It was Voskresenski, who contributed the first publication in 1883⁵. Due to its linguistic importance, specific paleographic features, peculiar illumination, history of liturgy (for several centuries it was labeled as »heretic«) and related questions of Bosnian Church in the Middle ages, this manuscript was taken into consideration from various angles.

Like other Bosnian liturgical manuscripts, these Gospels are written in Cyrillic characters, yet in a variation, known as “bosančica”. V. Mošin called attention to paleographic parallels, as evident in some charters, written in the office of ban, resp. King, Tvrtko I in 1366; he suggested to narrow the period, when the Gospels were copied, to the last third of the 14th Century. He also presented evidences of archaic forms in writing⁶; generally accepted is also his paleographic and linguistic analy-

¹ W. LUKAN, Kopitar’s Privatbibliothek. *Österreichische Osthefte* 36 (1994/3) 589–705.

² Kopitar had very emotional attitude toward Cyrillic manuscripts, which is easily to be detected from his correspondence with Karadžić; Lukan (cf. n. 1) n. 182.

³ V. MOŠIN, Kopitarjeva zbirka slovanskih rokopisov in Zoisov fragment iz Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani (*Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Razred za filološke in literarne vede*. Dela 25). Ljubljana 1971, 9; J. ROTAR, Jernej Kopitar in Vuk Karadžić, in: Jernej Kopitar v Vukovem letu. Ljubljana 1987, 39–46.

⁴ MOŠIN (cf. n. 3) 23–27.

⁵ G. A. VOSKRESENSKI, Slavjanskija rukopisi, hranjatijasja v zagraničnih bibliotekah: berlinskih, pražskih, venskih, ljubljanskih, zagrebških i dvih belgradskih. *Sbornik Otdelenija ruskogo jazjika i slovesnosti* 31 (1883) 41–43.

⁶ MOŠIN (cf. n.3) 10.

sis, his attentive presentation of archaisms in words, of old, out-dated forms of letters, of peculiar divisions of words (already obsolete in 1366), and turned attention to the fact that superposed abbreviations are very few. Mošin also stressed the fact that paleographic criteria for Bosnian manuscripts are quite uncertain, since none of the contemporary manuscripts is signed or dated⁷. But he failed to convey another important information: merely some twenty liturgical manuscripts from Bosnia of the 13th and 14th Century are preserved⁸, and study of these scarce remnants is aggravated by this extreme discontinuity.

As Jaroslav Šidak presented in his fundamental study, concentrated on ecclesiastical history, the texts of four gospels are the work of one scribe. It is very possible that immediately after the death of King Tvrtko (in 1391) the manuscript was transferred on the territory of Montenegro. There, in the monastery of St Peter and Paul at Bijelo Polje, the Codex Kopitarianus was attentively corrected, quite a few words were changed, many original rubrics were erased and some new ones were added to bring them in concordance with the Orthodox liturgy, valid for Montenegro, since Bosnian liturgical practice was not acceptable for the new owners. This happened several decades after the first scribe finished his work⁹.

Up to the present a comparative codicological analysis of this manuscript versus other codices was not carried out, though codicological data offer a great deal of information¹⁰. Several authors have stressed that culture and art of medieval Bosnia is divided between traditions of East and West, which is valid as well for manuscripts. The Kopitarianus 24 is written on parchment of fine quality and of equally creamy colour on both sides, showing no conformity with the Italian type of parchment, though this was largely used in Central Balkans and in the neighbouring areas of Dalmatia. It is possible to establish that prickings were executed by quires and not by stretched bifolios; it is peculiar to note that vertical prickings are slightly winding. All quires are (surprisingly) quaternios and not quinios or quodlibet forms, as usually in Cyrillic or Glagolitic manuscripts from this area, which is due to the influences from Byzantine area. On the other hand, quire signatures (for 30 quires) are written in usual form of azbuka, not in alphabet. On the upper margins, monograms of evangelists sometimes appear. These pages give a balanced impression, some slight differences in the lay-out for 21–24 lines are not disturbing. It seems that the scribe was responsible for the decoration as well, as there is no gap or inconvenient spatial organisation. All elements of text and ornament flow smoothly one into another.

Although the most advanced element of this manuscript is its uncial bosančica, its decoration merits a few words. It is executed with inks (not watercolours) in red, black, green and yellow, while black was used for contours and details. Decoration is present in form of

- small initials throughout the manuscript (some star-like initials are descendants of Macedonian illumination) and four larger initials at the beginning of each gospel;
- decorative line fillers,
- rectangular decorative fields — so called flags (ills. 1, 3, 4);

⁷ The closest parallel is the The Collectar of Hval (cf. infra), dated 1404, Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms 3575 B. Cf. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Stare srpske minijature*. Beograd 1950, pls. XXX–XXXI.

⁸ For the list of manuscripts cf. P. ANĐELIĆ, *Doba srednjovjekovne bosanske države*, in: *Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do početka turske vladavine*. Sarajevo 1966, 403–536, esp. 511.

⁹ J. ŠIDAK, *Kopitarovo bosansko evanđelje u sklopu pitanja »erkve bosanske«*. *Slovo. Časopis staroslavenskog instituta* 4–5 (1955) 47–63, esp. 56.

¹⁰ Parchment, fol. 1–226, and paper, fol. 227–239. Ca. 1366–1370 and ca. 1500. 190 x 130 mm. Quires: (IV–4)⁴ + 7.IV⁶⁰ + (IV–1)⁶⁷ + (IV–7)⁶⁸ + (IV–1)⁷⁵ + (IV–1)⁸³ + 6.IV¹³¹ + (IV–1)¹³⁸ + (I–1)¹³⁹ + 8.IV¹⁹⁵ + (IV–1)²⁰² + (2.IV)²¹⁸ + (IV–1)²²⁵ + (I–1)²²⁶ + VI²³⁹. — One column (h = 0–16–153–191; w = 0–7–10–100–103–123), 21–24 lines. — Quire signatures in azbuka. One hand for gospels and one hand for calendar. — Binding in brown leather over wooden boards; 193×124 mm, substantially trimmed (originally probably 220/210×150/145mm); prickings are due to the trimming not completely preserved, marginal glosses were largely mutilated too. Binding, executed ca. 1500, restored in 1966. — ŠIDAK (cf. n. 9) 56, and MOŠIN (cf. n. 3) 24, set the water mark »cardinal's hat« on front endpaper in relation to documents in Zadar and Šibenik, written in 1498. An identical watermark is in Briquet (nr. 3410), but for the year 1515 only. — Beginnings of gospels on 1r, 65r, 107r, 176r. — Written in dark brown ink, decoration red, black, green and yellow ink.

- images of symbols (though only the *imago vituli* and the *imago aquilae* are preserved, ill. 3, 4)
- images of St Luke and St John (ill. 4).

Studies, published in last decades have labeled the decoration as »naïve« and »incompetent«¹¹, as »lousy«, »poor« and »primitive« in quality¹². One must admit that preserved monuments of illumination do not reach the level of contemporary illumination in Macedonia or Dalmatia, not to mention high quality of wall painting in Central Balkans. During the 14th Century several Dalmatian towns were incorporated in the mighty kingdom of Bosnia¹³, and from the coastal towns Split, Šibenik, Trogir and Dubrovnik artists arrived and works of art were imported. Several hints, saying that possible source for this decoration is in Romanesque art, as it flourished in Dalmatian towns, allow for no precise conclusions, due to discordant nature of pictorial elements. It was Svetozar Radojčić, who pointed out the fact that initial K (at the beginning of Mathew) shows resemblances with the Duke Miroslav Gospels, another Bosnian Gospel book, though one executed toward the end of the 12th Century.

Interesting enough, no one analysed this hint, nor his statement that images of evangelists recall western traditions in illumination, notably from the first decades of the 8th Century¹⁴. Mošin¹⁵ mentioned also scriptorial traditions in the medieval states of Hum and Zeta, but the problem remains open. He was also the only one who turned the attention to initials, combined with small eight-armed stars, saying that they have similarities with ornaments from older Macedonian tradition. Another interesting decorative detail are the white rhomboid structures in the decorative »flags« at the openings of each Gospel: Jovanka Maksimović established that they are not to be found in manuscripts from Serbia, Montenegro or Macedonia, only in those from Bosnia¹⁶.

The same stylistic components can be found in four manuscripts, all from the second half of the 14th Century: the Kopitarianus 24, the Nikolje Gospels, the Venice Collectar and the Belgrade Gospels No. 95 (ill. 5)¹⁷. With exception of Kopitar's Gospels these display the same sequence of elements at the opening of each gospel: *capitulatio*, followed by a symbolic image of evangelist and the text. Only the Kopitarianus 24 presents an elaborate structure: 1. symbolic image, 2. *capitulatio*, 3. image of the inspired writer, and 4. the text¹⁸. It is a refined presentation of the author and his work: at first on abstract level and then on material, palpable level¹⁹.

The Kopitarianus 24 is the only manuscript, having a subtle image-and-word sequence in four steps (the complete sequence of decoration is, indeed, preserved only in the gospels of Luke and John, ill. 3, 4) and the only manuscript where a whole page composition is dedicated to both the image of evangelist and to the symbol²⁰.

Images of inspired writers and their symbols have to be taken as messages of conscious, deliberate accepting of an older model book, which is a deliberation of similar course of action as in the case of the text, when, based on their own discretion, they (either the members of the clergy or aristocracy) used an older textual model. Both saints are sitting in the centre of an empty field, encircled by an arcade (ill. 4): the compositions remind us of insular and early Carolingian illumina-

¹¹ RADOJČIĆ (cf. n. 7) 44.

¹² MOŠIN (cf. n. 3) 25.

¹³ I. VOJE, *Oris zgodovine jugovzhodne Evrope (Srednji vek)*. Ljubljana 1992, 187–188.

¹⁴ RADOJČIĆ (cf. n. 7) 44.

¹⁵ MOŠIN (cf. n. 3) n. 25

¹⁶ J. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Ilustracije mletačkog zbornika i problem minijatura u srednjovekovnoj Bosni. Istoriski glasnik. Organ istoriskog društva SR Srbije* 1–2 (1958) 117–130, esp. 126.

¹⁷ *Kopitar's Bosnian Gospels*: Ljubljana, Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Cod. Kop. 24; *Nikolje Gospels* (after the monastery of Nikolje): Dublin, Chester Beatty Coll. W 147; *Venice Collectar*: Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Cod. or. 227/168; *Belgrade Gospels No. 95*: Beograd, Narodna biblioteka, until 1941, when it burned down.

¹⁸ The Venice collectar is the only one to have the table of canons.

¹⁹ B. REUDENBACH, *Das Godescalc-Evangelistar*. Frankfurt am Main 1998, cf. 11 ss., 83–90.

²⁰ A complete sequence of decoration comprised a symbol of the evangelist as whole page composition, followed by the *capitulatio*, where each line of the text was marked by a letter from azbuka, then the evangelist portrait was introduced; on recto of a new folio (currently 1r, 65r, 107r, 176r) an ornamental flag marked the beginning of the gospel and after a large painted initial there was the text of the gospel.

tion²¹. Their poise is almost identical, slightly bent over the book, or rather, parchment; their eyes are wide open, expressing their attentive listening to the divine inspiration: it is *aperitio aurium*. St John has put down the first two words — they are the same as at the beginning of the gospel: this is traditional Carolingian feature. In this respect, one must remember the representations of evangelists in Cutbercht Gospel and the Codex millenarius maior²², but also some other details reveal similarities with this two major monuments: sleeves, for instance, reaching only up to elbow, or ornamented necktie, ornamented trimming on the lower hem of the dress. Though the drawing is simple, all these elements testimony of the prominence of the evangelist. The red haloes are no surprise: if illuminator had no gold, red was the next choice.

Much, even the red-and-green combination of the evangelist's robe, the softness of textile, double-lined type of halo, a piece of parchment on the knees etc. shows some distant resemblances to St Mathew of Codex Lindisfarnensis²³. One leg rests upon small podium, the other has no support: up to here these details express a remote fidelity to older imagery. But his feet are not in sandals as traditionally conveyed from Early Christian art — the illuminator in Bosnia knew all about cold winters in the mountains and therefore he gave him proper shoes.

The images of the calf and eagle are impressive (ills. 2, 3): the wings are spread and an abstract decoration sustains the idea of super-natural vision. The body of the eagle is surprisingly well-formed, ribbons and abstract patterns recall a great deal of the *imago aquilae* in insular manuscripts or in codices under their influence: bright colours and their position on a blank page follow this concept. The *imago vituli* is also quite close to the idea of an ox, as we are familiar with it from Book of Durrow or related manuscripts²⁴. The object in their claws or under their hooves is, due to the standards in iconography of evangelists, only identifiable as a closed book, meaning the symbols of evangelists had flown toward us: they have the function of carriers of the holy message. In fact, the two books are represented as a flat, two-dimensional drawing, while in insular and early Carolingian manuscripts we come across obvious efforts to represent the book as an object with some voluminous appearance.

It is not easy to bridge the qualitative differences, separating notable illuminated manuscripts (like Codex Lindisfarnensis) from pictorial results in the Kopitarianus 24. The illuminator from Bosnia lacked the skills and inner strenght for making a convincing creation of the inspired writer and for a dynamic flight of his symbol. As for the *imago vituli*, its wings did not help him to become airborne, but surrounded his head as an additional halo, it is just another motionless symbolic presence, similar to those, known from the area of Northern Adriatic: the carved images from Sigwald plate in Cividale (725–750), the plate from the Callistus' baptistery (last quarter of the 8th Century) or from pulpit in Grado (probably before 800)²⁵. Their images are, so to speak, frozen in time and space.

There are not only similarities between the Kopitarianus 24 and insular masterpieces; we have to pay attention as well to certain dissimilarities, such as the arcaded frame, often used in continental

²¹ J. MAKSIMOVIĆ, *Srpske srednjovekovne minijature*. Beograd 1983, 63 made the following statement: »The Kopitarianus 24 is a mixture of older elements, as known in manuscripts from Serbia and along the coast. While one can discover in flags, initials and vignettes a lot of re-arranged and geometrisized vegetal and geometric patterns in the style of contemporary Serbian manuscripts, the presentations of persons and their symbols are limited to the pairs of neighbouring pages and this is borrowed from Romanesque art.« — It is not possible to agree with her affirmation that the image of the evangelist is followed immediately by his symbol, nor with the statement on display of images in Romanesque illuminated manuscripts.

²² Cutbercht-Evangeliar: Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1224; Evangeliar Codex Millenarius Maior: Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, CC Cim.1. Cf. F. Simader, *Die Buchmalerei des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich I*. Ed. H. FILLITZ. München–New York–Wien 1998, 202–206.

²³ F. MASAI, *Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite irlandaise*. Bruxelles–Anvers 1947. Pl. IV, V, cf. also book of Kells, pl. XXVII, Gospels of Mac Regol, pl. XXX etc.

²⁴ Codex Lindisfarnensis: London, British Library, Cotton, Nero D IV. Cf. J. BACKHOUSE, *The Lindisfarne Gospels*. Oxford 1981.

²⁵ M. RIGHETTI TOSTI CROCE, *La scultura*, in: *I Longobardi*. Milano 1990, 300–326; G. P. BROGIOLO, *Cividale del Friuli*, in: *Il futuro dei Longobardi*. Milano 2000, 270–278.

scriptoria, where arrangement of separated representations — the evangelist on one page and his symbol on the other — is quite frequent. With the *capitulatio*, placed between the two images, we face a specific division, implying the understanding of the Gospels on two levels, on the level of God's plan (symbol and *capitulatio* are abstract, hence more demanding) and on the level of direct message (expressed through the narration of the text and human presence of the writer, though there he is nothing but the tool in God's hands).

Of some interest may be the question, how is it possible that at the end of the 14th Century this illuminator (or the person who commissioned the manuscript) still took into consideration the model from the 8th or 9th Century, and what do we know about their reception of Carolingian or pre-Carolingian achievements. The answer is not simple, and it can not be generalized: of primary importance are the mechanism of life and the aesthetic concepts.

In artistic production of Dalmatia and the backland regions of Central Balkans, geometric and interlace patterns never vanished, some of them descended from Neolithic. Several ornamental concepts were used and reused, copied and carried through centuries. The fact that they are creations of past generations gave them an extra value. Especially frequently we find interlace ornaments on stone furniture in churches (ciboria, plutei and antependia)²⁶, therefore their use in manuscripts is of no surprise. For several centuries the interlace ornament retained its validity also as external sign of political attitude²⁷; in time it became the style of milieu and therefore of traditional aesthetic.

Geometric and abstract patterns are not in opposition with Greek and Byzantine ornaments; certainly they were extensively used also due to the neighbouring orthodox territory. Initials from Bosnian manuscripts demonstrate extreme elasticity²⁸: one has to compare complicated, even bizarre twisting with those from insular or Byzantine manuscripts — this aesthetic appears to be timeless.

The palette of colours is also an important criterion. It is possible to agree to a certain degree with a often used phrase that in Bosnian manuscripts we are dealing with »coloured drawings«. In other words, a great deal of preserved material is decorated with the transparent colours, light green, red and yellow. This is a palette close to pre-Carolingian manuscripts, but these colours were also used for paint on stone furniture for churches in Dalmatian and Bosnian regions, esp. during the early and high Middle Ages²⁹. In this entirety of works of art lies the answer, regarding the comprehension of beauty, elevated art, appreciation of traditions, as conveyed through illumination of the Codex Kopitarianus 24.

The faces of St Luke and St John (ill. 4), drawings of extreme simplicity, are close relatives of older art — this type of the face resembles much the results on the splendid works of art from early Carolingian period, like the Tassilo chalice, the covers of the older Lindau Gospels or ivory carvings from Genoels-Eldern or Langobardic carvings from northern Adriatic³⁰. Next to this, such highly stylized variety of face never disappeared from figural arts in Dalmatia or its Bosnian hinterland: the perception of time flow or the feeling for time distance were obviously not as strong as we like to think. In St Luke and St John we must see the images of two beings, close to the abstract level, yet it is expected to be so, because they exist in spiritual world and this world is eternal, has no limits. An image of the evangelist, situated in a »real« space and presented with realistic features would probably not correspond to the intentions of the image³¹.

²⁶ P. ANDELIĆ (cf. n. 8) 478.

²⁷ K. ŽVANUT, Pleteninasta ornamentika in poskus njene interpretacije. *Annales. Series historia et sociologia*. Koper 2003, 221–246.

²⁸ J. MAKSIMOVIĆ (cf. n. 16), cf. 120–124.

²⁹ The same goes for sculpture in coastal area. Cf. A. BADURINA, Hrvatska u srednjem vijeku. Zagreb 2000, 145–155.

³⁰ C. L. NEUMANN DE VEGVAR, The origin of the Genols-Eldern Ivories. *Gesta* 29 (1990) 8–24; E. WAMERS, Insulare Kunst im Reich Karls des Großen, in: 799: Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit II. Mainz 1999, 452–464.

³¹ J. J. G. ALEXANDER, Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work. New Haven and London 1992, ills. 128 and 129 show St Matthew from Tours Gospels and St Luke from Breton Gospels, and Alexander in his comment to the relation between these two illuminations says, p. 82: »A group of Breton Gospel books is ... related to types found in Carolingian Tours and Rheims school. A model, or models, from these areas must have been available. At the same time, style

In the Codex Kopitarianus 24 we miss the canon tables, but also prologues to the four gospels, letter of St Jerome etc., yet it seems that these texts were not part of the manuscript. In this (textual) respect as also in respect of ornamentation, the Kopitar's Gospels display many similarities with the other three manuscripts of the "Bosnian" group (the Nikolje Gospels, the Venice Collectar and the Belgrade Gospels No. 95, ill. 5)³². For instance, the eagle in the Belgrade Gospels No. 95 presents the same ornamental concept, and the *imago hominis* in the Nikolje Gospels is also very similar.

But there is one detail, which is not to be found in Kopitar's Gospels: heraldic elements, namely golden fleur-de-lys on blue base and crowns. Since these signs were not at free disposition, we may assume that they were placed in the manuscript only after a well considered decision. They are already to be found on monuments of King Tvrtko I, well before the time, when these manuscripts were finished: his palace in Bobovac, his coins, finger-rings, floor-tiles, silver vessels, vestments etc.³³ Courts and monasteries were in possession of excellent works of art, nowadays lost; we may assume that illumination played an important role in introducing novelties in pictorial arts in general.

In the Nikolje Gospels crowns and lilies are placed on the upper line of decorative »flags« in front of texts of St Mathew and St Marc. In the Venice Collectar we find them placed on corners of several miniatures and flags. Crowns and lilies, as seen in the manuscripts, belonging to the reign of King Tvrtko I, brought something new to the royal presentation. These manuscripts are not too distant to the so-called Hrvoje missale, written around 1400 for the Duke of Bosnia Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. There are several lilies in initials and flags, sometimes in indistinctive (or not-impressive) forms, yet present nonetheless.

There is another manuscript for Duke Hrvoje: it is the Collectar of "Christian" Hval, dated 1404³⁴. The quantity of royal lilies and royal crowns is impressive. This was the medium to achieve a well-thought aim, namely the expression of political superiority, be it of Duke Hrvoje himself or of the King of Bosnia, the person receiving this luxurious manuscript gift (ill. 6).

In 1404, when »Christian« Hval signed the manuscript, the throne was occupied by Tvrtko II. Possibly the two very special heraldic initials (fols. 268v and 271v) are meant for him: there is a Cyrillic T, with crown at the top. Two illuminators contributed decoration, but direct or suggested elements of royal iconography are present through all manuscript³⁵ and this is actually the evidence that one person channelled (or controlled) the whole project, and this person also dictated the use of royal insignia.

The Bosnian dynasty of Kotromanić, which produced kings from the middle of the 13th Century, had strong liaisons with aristocracy and courts, with the house of Nemanji in Serbia, with Hungarian kings, with Sigismund of Luxemburg, the Dukes of Celje etc. They afforded themselves impressive

is totally different from that of such Carolingian manuscripts. It is a simplified linear style in which vitality concentrates in interesting silhouettes and non-naturalistic shapes. The colours used are yellows, browns and oranges which were more easily available and therefore cheaper pigments. Such miniatures can be argued to be either impoverished provincial works of no intrinsic value (though possibly of some interest in so far as they aid the reconstruction of Carolingian 'great art'), or historical documents proving the cultural poverty in the area. But perhaps it can be argued more positively that they represent a conscious stand, a refusal of aesthetic values, in line with the resistance to both political and cultural domination. It seems that most art historians would take the former view, in that they are largely omitted from general accounts of the art of the period.« — Interesting enough is to observe that the linear and anti-classical concept of persons are to be found in manuscripts of high quality, like Gospels from Cologne, Köln, Dombibliothek, Ms. Dom 14, fol. 67v (St Marc), 104v (St Luke) etc. Cf. A. von EUW, *Évangélistes carolingiens enluminés*. La Haye-Bruxelles 1990, pls. 39, 40.

³² MAKSIMOVIĆ (cf. n. 21) 112–117.

³³ H. S. MEKANOVIĆ, *Heraldički simboli, pečat i novac bosanskog kralja Tvrtka I. (1377?–1391)*. *Bošnjak* 2005, 17–29; P. Anđelić (cf. n. 8), pl. 123–127.

³⁴ V. ŠTEFANIĆ ET AL.: *Missale Hervoiae ducis Spalatensis croatico-glagoliticum*, Zagreb–Ljubljana–Graz 1973; H. KUNA ET AL., *Codex »Christiani« nomine Hval*, Sarajevo 1986 = *Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Kütüphane, Deissmann* 71.

³⁵ Interesting combination is provided by the *imago leonis*, fol. 47v, with crown: thus the symbol of evangelist was endowed with heraldic value. Other royal insignia are to be found on several folios: there are signs for nota with lilies on top (fol. 33v, 34v, 35r, 36v etc.), lilies as part of litterae elongatae (fol. 225r), in flags (296v), as part of scrolls within initials (274v, 277r, 290v, 293r etc.).

luxury and carefully selected the sites and ceremonies³⁶. Like many a ruler, they took an oath over relics and »ancient« books. This was the exterior form of strengthening and sanctification of the history of their dynasty, the way of securing the concordance on their path toward political aims etc.

In absence of any Carolingian manuscript from medieval Bosnia, which could display a formal relationship with the Gospels from private library of Jernej Kopitar, we must content ourselves with the assumption of the existence of such a manuscript and that it inspired in the years 1366–1400 the decision to use it as a model. Old manuscripts of insular or Carolingian provenance were important for religious reasons as well — the Bosnian church, Catholic in essence, wanted to avoid a confrontation with Rome. Harsh accusations that the Bosnian church was heretic were followed by severe sanctions. Possibly evident use of ancient Latin manuscripts could serve as a tool on this path of reconciliation.

This is then the evidence of high politics and not of provincial one. By this once again we may conclude that »province« is the state of mind, not necessary the geographic fact.

Nataša Golob, Filozofska Fakulteta, Aškerčeva 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1: The beginning of St Mathew. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitariusus 24, fol. 1r

Fig. 2: Imago vituli. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitariusus 24, fol. 105r

Fig. 3: Imago aquilae and capitulatio to St John. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitariusus 24, fol. 174v–175r

Fig. 4: The image of St John and beginning of his Gospel. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitariusus 24, fol. 175v–176r

Fig. 5: Imago aquilae and the beginning of the Gospel of St John. Beograd, Narodna biblioteka, ex-Ms. 95, fol. 163v–164r

Fig. 6: Initial T with a crown: The Collectar of “Christian” Hval. Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms 3575v, fol. 271v

³⁶ A. SOLOVJEV, Prinosi za bosansku i ilirsku heraldiku I. Rodoslovlje bosanskih i srpskih kraljeva. *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu. Arheologija* N. S. 9 (1954) 87–135, esp. 92.



Fig. 2: Imago vituli. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Koptariamus 24, fol. 105r

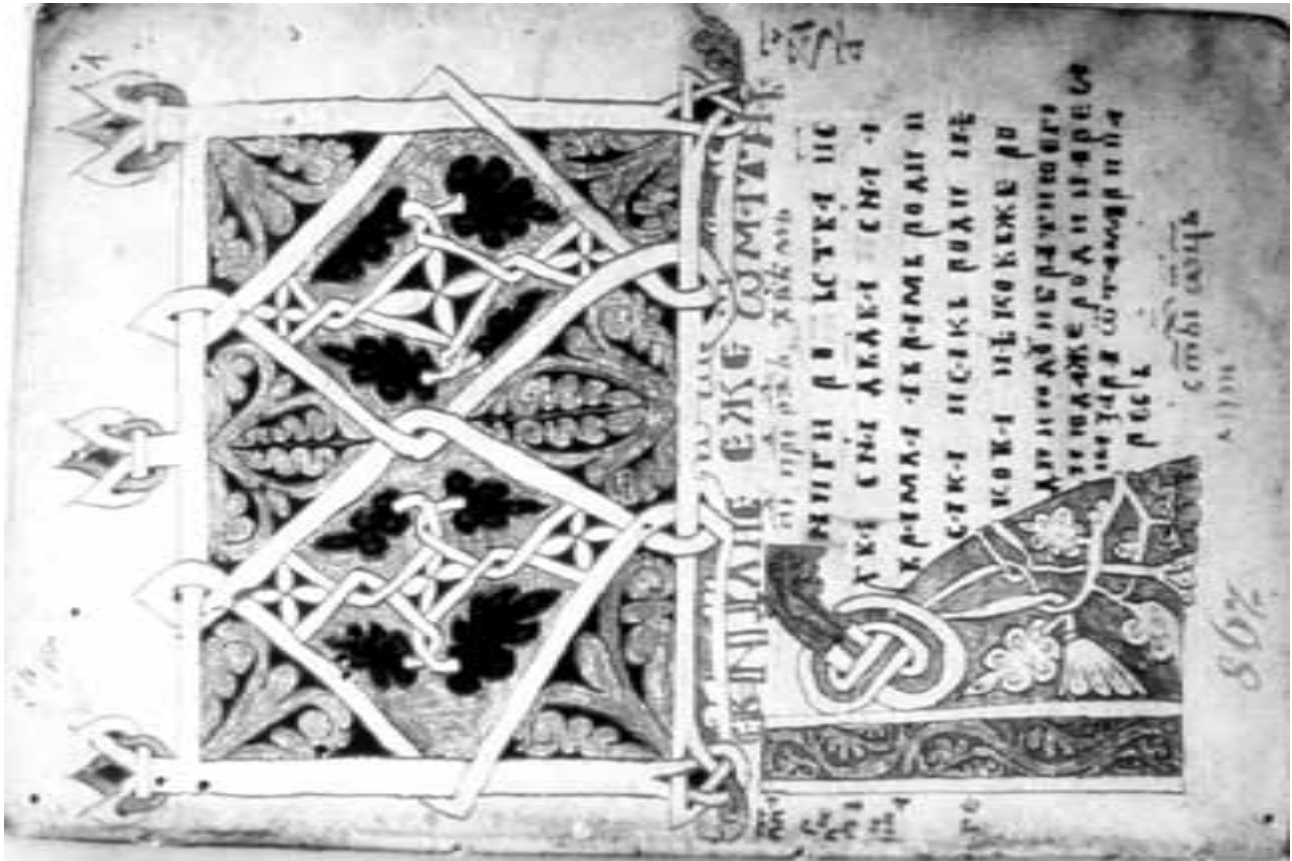


Fig. 1: The beginning of St. Mathew. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Koptariamus 24, fol. 1r



Fig. 3: Imago aquilae and capitulatio to St. John. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitarianus 24, fol. 174v-175r

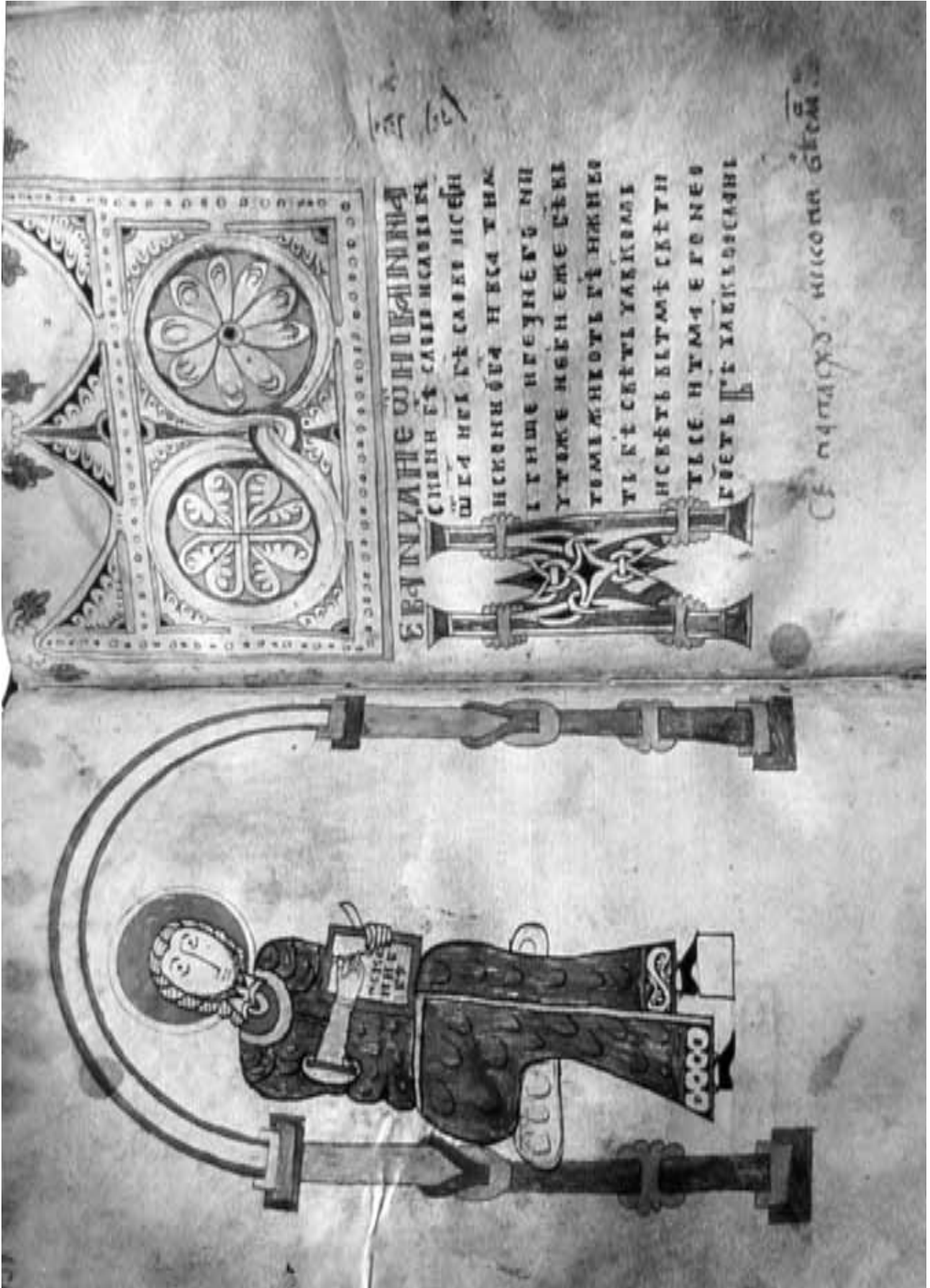


Fig. 4: The image of St. John and beginning of his Gospel. Ljubljana, NUK, Cod. Kopitarianus 24, fol. 175v-176r



Fig. 6: Initial T with a crown: The Collectar of "Christian" Hval. Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, Ms 3575v, fol. 271v



Fig. 5: Imago aquilae and the beginning of the Gospel of St John. Beograd, Narodna biblioteka, ex-Ms. 95, fol. 163v-164r

