

Milan Pelc

Institute of Art History, Zagreb

Ius supremi patronatus regis and the Hungarian Holy Rulers in the Liturgical Books of Zagreb's Bishops around 1500

Original scientific paper – *Izvorni znanstveni rad*

Received – *Primljen* 9. 5. 2017.

UDK 7.044(439): 2-282.7(497.5Zagreb)“15”

Summary

Depictions of the Hungarian rulers in various media are among the most important iconographic constants in the Zagreb (arch)diocese. Before the Battle of Mohács (1526), the Church of Zagreb printed more liturgical books than any other centre in the Hungarian Kingdom except Esztergom: two breviary editions, a Missal, and a *Diurnale* (Book of Hours). This paper analyses those liturgical books of Zagreb produced during the late 15th and early 16th centuries that contain depictions of the saintly rulers Stephen, Ladislav, and Emeric. By commissioning these images, the bishops of Zagreb expressed their loyalty to the Hungarian

Kingdom, and Bishop Luka specifically to the current Hungarian king Władysław II. Jagiełło. One important reason for this accent was the *ius supremi patronatus regis* – the traditional privilege of the Hungarian rulers to organize the Church and appoint ecclesiastical dignitaries in their territories. Illustrations on the incipit page of the manuscript Missal of Juraj de Topusko indicate the loyalty of Zagreb's bishops at the time in which the Ottoman incursions seriously threatened the safety of the diocese and refer equally to all three domains of power: heavenly, ecclesiastical, and secular.

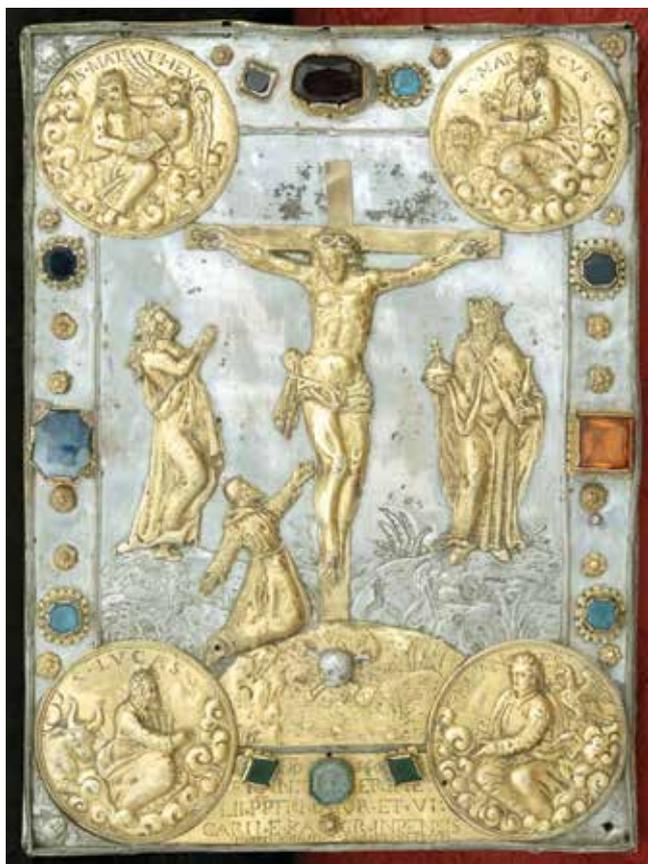
Key words: *Liturgical books, Ius patronatus, Bishops of Zagreb*

In the medieval and early modern periods, the cathedral of Zagreb was simply called *ecclesia beati regis* – the church of the blessed King.¹ This, of course, referred to Saint Stephen, the “apostolic” king who had introduced Christianity to Hungary and to whom the cathedral was dedicated. Veneration of St Stephen and St Ladislav, the founder of the bishopric, and to a lesser extent of St Emeric, was practised in the cathedral from the very beginnings of the bishopric in the Middle Ages, and manifested in their omnipresent iconography. Many of the medieval paintings and other visual representations have meanwhile been lost, yet some of them are known from historical records.² From the early modern period, however, a number of depictions of the holy Hungarian rulers are preserved in Zagreb, more than anywhere else in the territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom.³ This visual presence of the saintly kings has been, in fact, an important iconographical constant in the Zagreb diocese. Throughout the centuries, they have asserted their symbolic power and their important role in creating and sustaining what we may today call the visual identity of the Zagreb cathedral, its chapter, and its bishops, until the very end of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁴

Religious and political motives for showing this particular veneration to the holy rulers of Hungary in Zagreb and the entire diocese were closely intertwined and have been the

subject of a number of scholarly analyses. The exceptionally strong cult of the three holy rulers, supported by rich iconography, has usually been explained by the following reasons: St Ladislav, married to Helena, sister of the last Croatian national ruler Zvonimir, conquered Slavonia and established the Zagreb diocese. By 1105, his nephew and successor, Koloman the Learned, had documented his rule over Croatia and Dalmatia in an inscription located in the belfry of St Mary's monastery in Zadar. According to V. Klaić, Ladislav achieved with the pope that the Roman curia should proclaim the first-crowned Hungarian king Stephen and his son Emeric saints.⁵ It was St Ladislav who nominated St Stephen as the patron of the Zagreb cathedral and was himself canonized in 1192, about a century after the foundation of the Zagreb bishopric.⁶ Undoubtedly, the bishopric was established to serve as the main stronghold of Hungarian power in the area stretching from the Drava River to Mount Gvozd.⁷ Accordingly, it became a fertile focus of Hungarian royal mythopoetics in the territories of Slavonia and Croatia, directly related to the centre of the Kingdom.

Recent Croatian historiography has critically evaluated Hungarian royal mythopoetics both on the basis of historical writings and on that of iconographical interpretations.⁸ Scholars have sought to elucidate in various ways the “func-



1. Ivan Mihallfy, plenarium, 1601, Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral
Ivan Mihallfy, plenarij, 1601. Zagreb, Riznica katedrale

tion” of St Ladislav as a saint of crucial importance in legitimizing the Hungarian rule over the historical Croatian lands, that is, as the holy Hungarian ruler who was “responsible” for the personal union between the Triune Kingdom and Hungary. Shortly, the three holy kings have been understood in Croatian historiographical tradition as “political” saints, whereas the Hungarian scholarship has largely treated them as “national” saints with powerful political symbolism.⁹ Of course, along with the political meaning and inseparably from it, the iconography of the holy rulers included protective symbolism that answered the need of “local” saintly protectors from the very beginnings of the Zagreb bishopric. This is attested in the invocations of prayers preserved in the oldest breviary of Zagreb from the 13th century, where the former earthly political role of the holy rulers is juxtaposed to their heavenly role as the protectors of their kingdom.¹⁰ The need to defend the realm from the enemies would become particularly acute in the period of Ottoman expansion, joined by the threat of the Reformation as the main inner adversary of the Roman Catholic Church – thus, this role was outspokenly strong over a long period of time, from the mid-15th until the late 17th century.

The sacral autonomy of the Zagreb bishopric was manifested from the first medieval centuries of its existence in a specific *sanctorale*, in which the Hungarian holy rulers occupied a prominent place. The preserved liturgical books, primarily the missals of the Zagreb cathedral, positively attest it.

Already the manuscript missals from the early 14th century and the time of Bishop Augustin Kažotić, the reformer of Zagreb’s liturgy, include special liturgical texts for the holy Hungarian kings.¹¹ As for their visual representations, they are not found in the preserved medieval missals of the Zagreb cathedral. However, if not within the books, the figures of the Hungarian rulers, especially St Stephen as the cathedral’s patron and St Ladislav as its founder, are found in a place that is even more representative and visually prominent: the covers of liturgical books. Although no medieval examples are preserved here either, their existence is attested in the oldest inventories of the cathedral from 1394 and 1425, which document a *benedictionale* in silver casing bearing the figure of St Stephen. Dated to the 13th–14th century, this benedictional has remained preserved among the cathedral’s treasures and still is – only without the casing.¹² It may be presumed that such casings with the depictions of the holy Hungarian kings adorned some other medieval liturgical books intended for ceremonies held in the cathedral.

Two more examples from a later period witness the presence of the Hungarian rulers on the representative covers of books used for festive occasions in the cathedral. The first is a so-called *plenarium*, a relief plate commissioned by the then provost and later bishop of Zagreb, Franjo Ergeljski, and produced in 1606 by Ivan Mihallfy, a goldsmith from Zagreb.¹³ Besides the commissioner’s personal patron, Saint Francis, the plenarium features a holy queen and Saint Stephen. The queen on the left side has not been identified, but is probably Saint Elizabeth, a Hungarian holy queen from the 13th century (1207–1231) known as “the mother of paupers.” Saint Elizabeth had abdicated and become a nun in the Franciscan Third Order – thus, in her saintly biography she stands close to Saint Francis.¹⁴

Another, even more representative example from a still later period is the silver casing commissioned by Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić (bishop of Zagreb from 1688–1694) for the manuscript missal of Auxiliary Bishop Juraj de Topusko (late 15th and early 16th centuries). Besides the bishop’s coat-of-arms, the medallions on the casing contain depictions of the main saints from the Hungarian-Illyrian *sanctorale*, whereby Saint Stephen occupies the central place on the front cover. The back features St Ladislav and St Emeric in the company of prominent saints from the “Illyrian” tradition: Blessed Augustin Kažotić, Saint Quirinus of Siscia, Saint Caius the Pope, Saint Budimir, and Saint Godeskalk. These Croatian-Illyrian saints function here as a local iconographic complement to the “political” Hungarian holy rulers, a complement which in this time became very important for the sacred and historical identity of the Zagreb bishopric.¹⁵

The invention of mechanical movable type created new possibilities for emphasizing the symbolic presence of the Hungarian saintly protectors of the diocese in liturgical books, especially St Stephen, the “apostolic king”. Before the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the Zagreb bishopric was the one printing most books in all of the Hungarian kingdom, with the exception of the archbishopric of Esztergom: two editions of the breviary, one edition of the missal, and one *Diurnale* (daily book of hours).¹⁶ The first edition of the breviary,



2. Front cover of the missal of Bishop Juraj de Topusko, late 17th century, commissioned by Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić. Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral

Korice misala biskupa Jurja od Topuskog, konac 17. st., prednja strana; naručitelj biskup Aleksandar Mikulić. Zagreb, Riznica katedrale



3. Back cover of the missal of Bishop Juraj de Topusko, late 17th century, commissioned by Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić. Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral

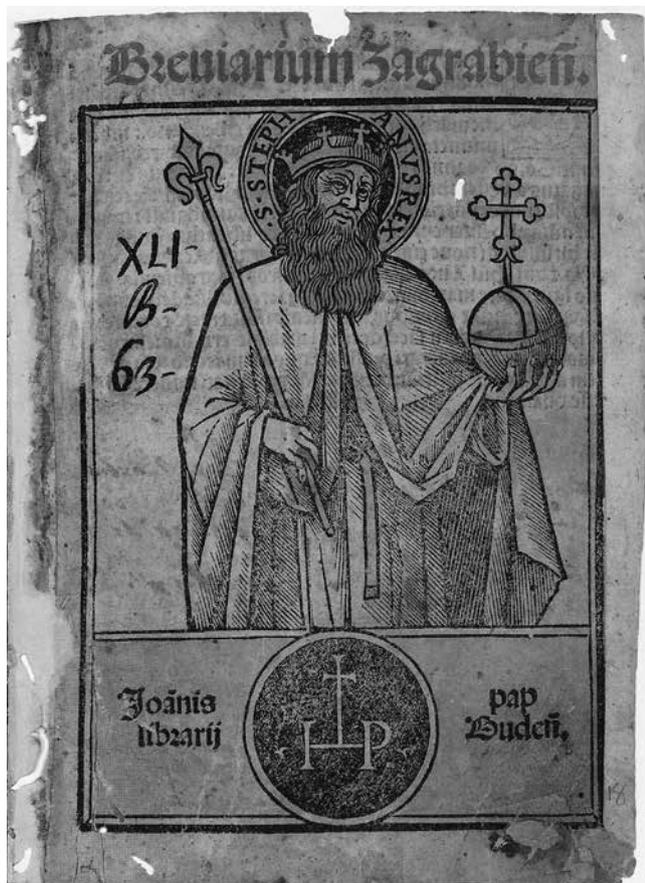
Korice misala biskupa Jurja od Topuskog, konac 17. st., stražnja strana; naručitelj biskup Aleksandar Mikulić. Zagreb, Riznica katedrale

commissioned by Bishop Oswald, was printed in 1484 in Venice by printer Erhard Ratdolt. Its typography is relatively modest, with only two small woodcuts (Transfiguration, f. 312r, St Gregory, f. 313b) and one decorated woodcut initial letter at the beginning of the colophon. Apparently only two copies have been preserved: one in the Vatican library and another in the National library in Budapest, both featuring hand-painted initials and ornaments.

The successor of Bishop Oswald in Zagreb, Bishop Luka de Szeged (1500–1510), ordered the second edition of Zagreb's breviary to be printed in Venice by Lucantonio Giunta in 1505, where St Stephen appears on the title page. The figure of the holy king as well as other illustrations in the breviary were designed by the miniaturist from Padua Benedetto Bordon, the woodcutter was Jacob of Strassburg. Most of the woodcuts from breviary were already used in Giunta's important illustrated editions: an *Officium Beate Mariae Virginis* and a *Missale Romanum*, both from 1501.¹⁷ The cathedral's patron saint is depicted as a bearded man with the royal insignia, clad in a mantle and girded with a belt. Some years later, Petrus Lichtenstein, a German printer in Venice, produced an improved mirror image of the same woodcut in missal for the archbishopric of Esztergom, founded by Saint Stephen.¹⁸ It was to this archbishopric that

the Zagreb bishopric was subjected before being assigned to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan church of Kalocsa in 1180.¹⁹ In the Esztergom missal Saint Stephen is turned to the left, and in the Zagreb one to the right. However, there is a far more important addition, namely the inscription in the halo of the saintly king. Whereas in the Zagreb breviary the inscription runs S. STEPHANVS REX, in the woodcut made for the Esztergom missal it spells S. STEPHANVS REX VNGARIAE.

The woodcut illustrations in the Zagreb breviary from 1505 have not yet been thoroughly researched. The known copies of this small-format, yet richly illustrated book with some forty woodcuts have not yet been compared. Based on the copy in the Vatican Library, it can be said that St Stephen is certainly the most prominent saint in the breviary's iconography. He is not only depicted on its title page, but also on the page that precedes the liturgical text for his feast day: the woodcut showing the coronation of a ruler undoubtedly refers to him: the young, beardless king is sitting on the throne with the royal insignia, while the bishop and a representative of the nobility are putting a crown on his head.²⁰ In this picture Lucantonio Giunta created a woodcut that served him also as an illustration to the ceremony of the king's sanctification in pontifical ceremonial books.²¹ It



4. Benedetto Bordon, St Stephen of Hungary, *Breviarium Zagrabienſe*, Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, 1505. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

Benedetto Bordon, *Sv. Stjepan kralj*, *Breviarium Zagrabienſe*, Venecija, Lucantonio Giunta 1505. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

should also be mentioned that the page with the liturgical text for the feast day of St Stephen (423r) has a woodcut frame with four smaller images, which add visual and conceptual importance to his feast day. In comparison, the text for the feast day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (417r), the other titular saint of the cathedral, is accompanied merely by a small woodcut with the Assumption scene. Thus, the visuals of the liturgical text undoubtedly indicate the preferences of commissioners from Zagreb, who wanted to place a particular emphasis on the feast day of St Stephen, rather than that of the Virgin. The breviary of 1505 also includes a woodcut for the feast day of St Ladislav (374v), who is depicted as a young king holding a sceptre, a sphere, and a crown, yet without the usual halberd. The feast day of St Emeric remained without an iconographical complement, but that of St Elizabeth of Hungary was honoured with one (479r), where the saint is shown in a landscape with church belfries in the background.

The "holy trinity of Hungarian kings"²² appears in its full iconographic glory on the frontispiece of the first printed missal of Zagreb's church, likewise commissioned by Bishop Luka de Szeged and printed in Venice in 1511.²³ This extremely important book of Zagreb's church contains not only



5. St Stephen of Hungary, *Missale Strigoniense*, Venice, 1513 *Sv. Stjepan kralj*, *Missale Strigoniense*, Venecija, 1513.

numerous woodcut illustrations, but also rich and original heraldic images. On the title page, there is a woodcut showing two coats-of-arms in a vegetal frame with small narrative inserts in the upper part of the frame. The coat-of-arms to the left belongs to the Hungarian king Władysław II Jagiełło and the one to the right to Bishop Luka. The last sheet in the book contains the coat-of-arms of Zagreb's citizen Johannes Müer Schotus in three different versions. Johannes Müer was apparently a German business person from Kufstein who financed the production of the missal. Compared to the limited number of users of handwritten missals, linked to a single altar or a single church, the number of potential users of a printed missal was far greater. In the book's colophon, Johannes Müer addressed them directly, asking them to accept the missal as it was produced with great efforts and care.²⁴ The back side of the same sheet contains the typographic logo of the Venetian printer Petrus Liechtenstein. Thus, all those who participated in the production of the missal left their signs in this book, crucial for the liturgical autonomy of the Zagreb bishopric. The most prominent place was given to the coats-of-arms of the bishop and the king, who greeted the user and viewer at the very beginning of the book, equipped with the crown and the mitre as the visual representatives of both sacral and secular powers.

Even though the custom of inserting heraldic symbols in liturgical and other books was common in the Hungarian



6. Benedetto Bordon, Coronation of a king (St Stephen of Hungary), *Breviarium Zagrabienne*, Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, 1505, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

Benedetto Bordon, *Krunidba kralja* (sv. Stjepana Ugarskog), *Breviarium Zagrabienne*, Venecija, Lucantonio Giunta 1505., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

Kingdom, it was especially promoted by King Matthias Corvinus (r. 1458-1490). Almost all his codices carry his coat-of-arms, and some also his portrait, on the front page and sometimes also within the book. Hungarian noblemen, especially bishops and other church dignitaries, soon started to imitate this custom of inserting their heraldic symbols as their individual signs as commissioners, indicating their merits in the production of a book. Thus, representative liturgical books of Zagreb's church from the late 15th and early 16th centuries are also "marked" by the coats-of-arms of Zagreb's bishops as their commissioners. For example in the late 15th century, Bishop Oswald ordered the antiphonary MR 10 in the Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese (Metropolitana) and the missal in the cathedral Treasury (no. 355) to be signified with his coat-of-arms. The latter also contains the coats-of-arms of Bishop Dominik Kalmancsechi in its first part. Somewhat later, Auxiliary Bishop Juraj de Topusko ordered that his coat-of-arms should be depicted in two missals: one is today preserved in Metropolitana (MR 170) and another in the Cathedral Treasury (no. 2). Both missals also contain coats-of-arms of later bishops who commissioned new miniatures. Thus, the missal in Metropolitana obtained an additional coat-of-arms of Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić in



7. Benedetto Bordon, Woodcut frame to the page of the feast day of St Stephen, *Breviarium Zagrabienne*, Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, 1505, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

Benedetto Bordon, *drvorezni okvir na stranici s blagdanom sv. Stjepana kralja*, *Breviarium Zagrabienne*, Venecija, Lucantonio Giunta 1505., Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stamp. Barb. C. I. 33

the late 17th century and the one in the Cathedral Treasury that of a bishop from the Bakač-Erdödy (Bakócz-Erdödy) family in the early 16th century. Finally, Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić signified the abovementioned new silver casing of the Treasury-missal with his coat-of-arms. Thus, the liturgical books of Zagreb, as most precious books for the celebration of the divine office, were marked by visible signs of representation on the side of bishops as their commissioners. Only Bishop Luka inserted the ruler's coat-of-arms beside his own one in the title page of the printed missal from 1511.

On the verso side of the first sheet, following the coats-of-arms of the king and the bishop, the Zagreb missal contains a woodcut image of Madonna enthroned, accompanied by the "holy Hungarian trinity": to her right, there are Saint Stephen and his son, Prince Emeric, holding a lily in his hand as a symbol of his virgin life, labelled on the sword as *Dux Sclavonie*. To the left of Madonna's throne, there is Saint Ladislav depicted as a knightly king, holding a halberd and wearing an armour covered by a mantle. In the bottom of the page, two coats-of-arms of the Hungarian kingdom are depicted: to the left, it is the "new" coat-of-arms with the so-called patriarchal (double) cross of Saint Stephen, and to the right the "old" one with ribbons and without a cross.²⁵ Giving



8. *Missale Zagradiense*, Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511. Page with the coats-of-arms of King Władysław II Jagiełło and Bishop Luka, Zagreb, Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese (Metropolitana)

Missale Zagradiense, Venecija, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511. Stranica s grbovima kralja Vladislava Jagelovića i biskupa Luke, Zagreb, Knjižnica Zagrebačke nadbiskupije (Metropolitana)



9. *Missale Zagradiense*, Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511. Lucantonio degli Uberti, *S. Maria Patrona Regni Hungariae*, Zagreb, Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese (Metropolitana)

Missale Zagradiense, Venecija, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511. Lucantonio degli Uberti, S. Maria Patrona Regni Hungariae, Zagreb, Knjižnica Zagrebačke nadbiskupije (Metropolitana)

a prominent place on the frontispiece to the holy patrons was not exceptional in missals of this time: many printed missals from the late 15th and early 16th centuries carry the figures of the bishopric's or cathedral's patron saints on the first page inside the book, and often they are depicted as gathered around the Virgin *in sacra conversazione*. Remarkably enough, the saintly composition and the heraldic symbols in the Zagreb missal clearly indicate the subjection of the bishopric to the Hungarian Kingdom, protected by the Virgin together with the holy kings of Hungary. Thus, the very beginning of the Zagreb missal powerfully accentuates both the holy Hungarian rulers and the Virgin as the patrons not only of the state, but also of the Zagreb church.

The "patriotic" identification code with the Virgin and the holy Hungarian rulers in the Zagreb missal was inspired by the Esztergom missal published in Lyon in 1501.²⁶ Here below the woodcut with the holy patrons, a longer invocation is printed: *Virgo que uestiuit inenarrabile uerbum / Corpore mortali pannonas alma iuuat. / Quam pater elegit, quam coelicus ardor obumbrat: / Ipsa piis defert hungariae precibus. // Hinc diuus Stephanus nutu foelice tuetur, / Et Ladislaus*

*numine prosequitur. / Dux Emericus adest: et uota libentia firmat, / Eminus hinc fugiant damna, pericula, lues.*²⁷ This invocation, praising both the Virgin and the Hungarian holy rulers, was omitted in the Zagreb missal. Instead, the following line was added above the image, addressing the Virgin alone: *Regina celi letare alleluia. Quia quem meruisti portare alleluia / Resurrexit sicut dixit Alleluia. Ora pro nobis deum Alleluia.*²⁸ The difference in the content and even in addressing the saintly persons is by no means accidental. In the missal of Esztergom, they are defined as *Diuini ac tutelares regni Hungarorum patroni* – the heavenly protectors of the Kingdom of the Hungarians. In the missal of Zagreb, only the Virgin is addressed in the inscription above the image, while the one within the image – *S. MARIA PATRONA REGNI HVNGARIAE* – calls her the patroness of the Kingdom of Hungary. The difference between the Kingdom of the Hungarians and the Kingdom of Hungary reflects the subtle nuances in understanding the political and ethnic position of the Zagreb diocese, which belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom, yet was also the bishopric of Croats in the Kingdom of Slavonia and Croatia, which is obviously



10. *Diuini ac tutelares regni Hungarorum patroni*, *Missale Strigoniense*, Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1501. Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Inc. X VI. I. 114

Diuini ac tutelares regni Hungarorum patroni, *Missale Strigoniense*, Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1501. Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Inc. X VI. I. 114

why the inscription chose not to use the formula “Kingdom of the Hungarians.” In this way, owing to the complemented or altered inscription, the rhetoric of the image conveys somewhat different political connotations, although by no means wishing to diminish the bishop’s loyalty to the state and much less the importance of the holy rulers as patrons of the Zagreb diocese.

Besides the frontispiece of the missal, pictures of St Stephen, St Ladislav, and St Emeric are printed as smaller images next to their feast days in the book. Thereby only St Ladislav is individualized in terms of iconography. Thus, the feast day of St Ladislav, king and confessor (*in festo beati Ladislai regis et confessoris*, fol. 170v) is accompanied by a woodcut in which the king is shown within an initial D, dressed in a tunic and a mantle, with a crown on his head and holding the royal globe in his left. In his right, he is holding his main attribute, the halberd. An almost identical version of the image is repeated on the page where the liturgy for All Saints’ Day begins. The church of Zagreb (same as that of Esztergom) celebrated another day of St Ladislav on July 29, in memory of his translation (*In festo depositionis beati*



11. St Ladislav, woodcut for the feast day of King St Ladislav, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511

Sv. Ladislav, drvorez uz blagdan sv. Ladislava kralja, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venecija, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511.

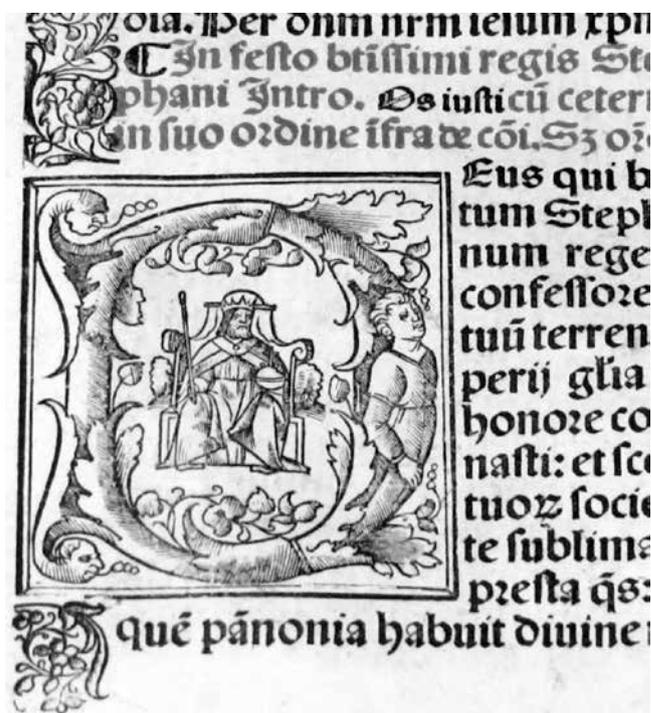
Ladislai regis, fol. 179v). The text of that feast day is accompanied by the initial D and a different depiction of the king, one that is used several times in the missal: a royal figure seated on the throne, lacking any particular attributes that would identify him specifically as St Ladislav. The feast day of St Stephen (fol. 187r) is accompanied by a woodcut with a very similar image of a seated king. The printer here used a woodcut that had served him as an initial in many places within the same book. As Árpád Mikó aptly observes, it was a common procedure for the printers of the time, who used certain illustrations more than once in various places within the same book, with no explicit link to the text.²⁹ In the Zagreb missal from 1511, this is especially true of the woodcut printed next to the feast day of St Emeric, which the printer also used for the feast days of many other saints. Thus, inside the missal only St Ladislav has his own woodcut, where he is identifiable by his attribute – the halberd – although he is depicted as a king clad in a festive mantle rather than an armoured knight. The iconographic recognisability of St Ladislav indicates his importance in the sacral symbolism permeating the Zagreb missal.

It is known that the holy Hungarian kings also appear in the representative *Crucifixion* painting attributed to Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo from Friuli. The painting was likewise commissioned by Bishop Luka de Szeged, approximately at the same time as the missal. It was probably placed on the altar of the Holy Cross, under which the bishop’s tomb was



12. Woodcut for the feast day of the translation of the body of St Ladislav, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511

Drvorez uz blagdan prijenosa tijela sv. Ladislava, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venecija, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511.



13. Woodcut for the feast day of King St Stephen, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511

Drvorez uz blagdan sv. Stjepana Kralja, *Missale Zagradiense*, Venecija, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1511.

situated.³⁰ The most accentuated saint in the painting is King Ladislav, shown frontally as a knightly king holding a large shield with the coat-of-arms of the Hungarian Kingdom. St Stephen and St Emeric stand modestly behind his back. The dominant role of St Ladislav as a knightly saint and a heroic warrior fighting against the enemies of Christendom was deeply rooted in medieval iconographic tradition.³¹ This image of the king as an *athleta Christi* and *athleta patriae* is continued in his depiction in the *Crucifixion* painting from the time of Bishop Luka. At that time, when the Ottomans were approaching Zagreb and the construction of the new Cathedral fortress was in full swing, faith in the heavenly aid of St Ladislav, a victor over the pagan Cumans, must have been stronger than ever before. His shield, skilfully stylized as the heraldic symbol of the state, conveys a message to the observer – as an act of symbolic inversion – that the saintly king is expected to protect the state like a strong and mighty shield. These examples are clear evidence of the efforts of Bishop Luka to invoke the holy Hungarian rulers as the protectors of his diocese, province, cathedral, and the entire Hungarian kingdom. At the same time, by giving the royal coat-of-arms a prominent position in the beginning of the printed missal, Bishop Luka of Zagreb paid special respects to the current Hungarian king Władysław II Jagiełło, who had appointed him to that honour.

In accordance with the medieval tradition that can be traced back to King Stephen, the Hungarian kings had the privilege of organizing the church and appointing ecclesiastical dignitaries in their territories – *ius supremi patronatus regis*. According to that privilege, the Hungarian king named a can-

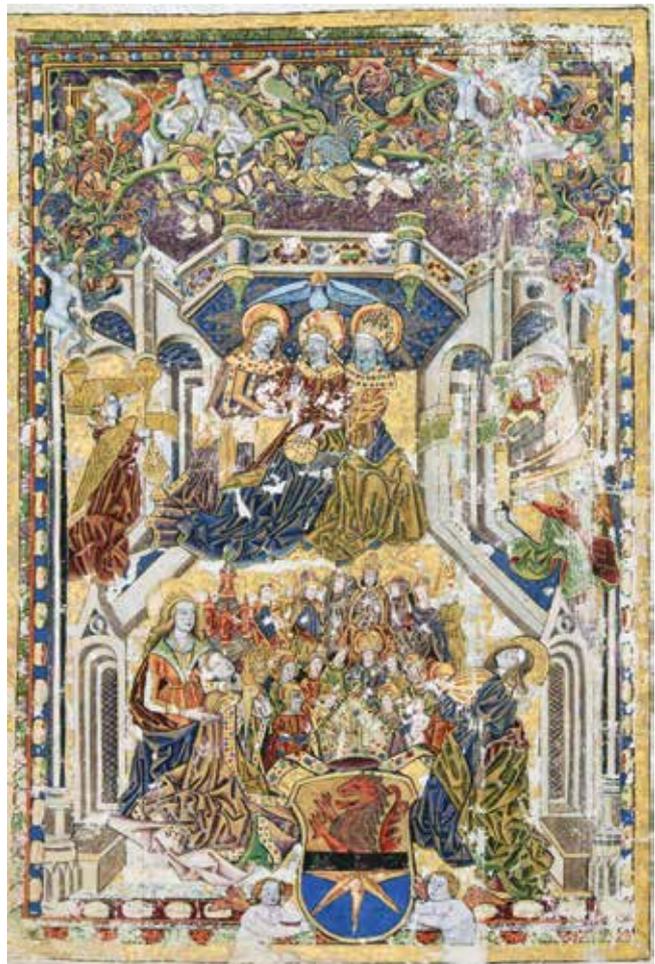
didate for the episcopal office,³² then confirmed by the Pope (*institutio* or *confirmatio canonica*).³³ Verböczy's *Tripartitum* (1514), the main legal code of the Hungarian Kingdom, thus states that the king alone is in charge of all questions related to the appointment of bishops in Hungary and that the Pope can only confirm the king's decision. The popes respected that decree: for instance 1637, Pope Urban VIII asserted to the imperial ambassador in Rome that there was probably no patronage right based on firmer legal foundations than the one of the Hungarian king: "*e la santità sua non vi pose alcuna difficoltà, anzi disse che non vi sono giuspatronati più legittimi di quelli d'Ungaria fondati da un re santo di proprii suoi beni.*"³⁴ The bishops were expected to promote the king's interests and often occupied high positions in the state, serving as chancellors, counsellors, treasurers, governors, and so on.

While other bishops in the Hungarian kingdom were also appointed or removed by the king's will, only Bishop Luka of Zagreb ordered the royal coat-of-arms to be printed next to his own in the missal of Zagreb, and two coats-of-arms of the Hungarian kingdom in the depiction of *sacra conversatione* with the holy Hungarian rulers. Bishop Luka seems to have had additional reason for emphasizing that the Zagreb diocese was part of the Hungarian Kingdom. It is possible to draw certain conclusions on that reason from a somewhat later case, described in the *History of the Zagreb Diocese* by Baltazar Adam Krčelić. In his biography of Zagreb's bishop Nikola III Stepanić Selnički (bishop 1598-1603), Krčelić presents at length the controversy around his payment of the usual fee (*annata*) for his appointment to the Roman



14. Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo (attributed), *Crucifixion with the Hungarian rulers*, ca. 1505, Zagreb, Archbishopal Palace
Giovanni Francesco da Tolmezzo (pripisano), Raspeće s ugarskim vladarima, oko 1505., Zagreb, Nadbiskupski dvor

curia.³⁵ The bishop apparently refused to pay the episcopal fee, amounting to a third of all annual income of his benefice, referring, among other things, to the special rights of the Hungarian church. The papal court refused to recognize these rights to the dioceses in Croatia (Zagreb, Syrmia, and Knin), considering them part of the Croatian Kingdom. In practice, however, the patronage was applied to Croatia as well, but most bishops did pay the tax to Rome.³⁶ According to Krčelić, Pope Marcel I had confirmed in his decree of 1550 that the bishops in the Hungarian Kingdom were to be ordained by the Hungarian primate alone, and that they were not obliged to pay the fee to the papal court. However, Rome now persistently claimed that the church of Zagreb belonged to Croatia and not Hungary, and that its bishop was obliged to pay at least a symbolic fee to the papal court, which in a regular case was a considerable sum of 2000 gold ducats.³⁷ In a letter to the pope written on May 6, 1599, Bishop Nikola Stepanić Selnički explained at length why he was not willing to pay the fee, referring explicitly to the subjection of the Zagreb diocese to the Hungarian Kingdom.³⁸ Krčelić quoted the bishop's letter from Rafael Levaković, "who had copied and quoted it in his arguments at the time of Benedikt Vinković."³⁹ Apparently, the issue was acute throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. The first known Zagreb bishop claiming that specific right was Wolfgang Gyulai, who asked the Pope in 1549 to exempt him from paying the tax, referring,



15. Miniature on the first page of the missal of Bishop Juraj de Topusko, ca. 1495, Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral
Minijatura na početnoj stranici misala biskupa Jurja od Topuskog, oko 1495. Zagreb, Riznica katedrale

among other things, to the increasingly difficult financial situation of his bishopric under the Ottoman threat.⁴⁰

In the context of the divided loyalty of Zagreb's bishops between the king and the pope, the iconography of the first page in the manuscript missal of the subsidiary bishop Juraj of Steničnjak, better known as Juraj of Topusko, which obtained the representative cover for Bishop Aleksandar Mikulić as previously mentioned, seems particularly intriguing.⁴¹ The miniature on the first page of this missal, painted around 1495, was primarily intended as a pious homage to the commissioner himself – Juraj, the auxiliary bishop of Zagreb – who is depicted as venerating the Virgin and the Holy Trinity in the company of Saint Barbara.⁴² At the bottom of the image, one can see his coat-of-arms, which also appears on another page in the missal. Even though the missal does not show the Hungarian rulers as explicitly as the first printed missal of Zagreb's church, this miniature does include a clear visual allusion to royal authority in its semantic set of presentation.

In the lower segment of the composition, a king is depicted above the bishop's coat-of-arms, with a saint's halo around his crown. He is surrounded by male, female, and child fig-



16. Miniature on the first page of the missal of Bishop Juraj de Topusko, ca. 1495, detail: the royal and papal group, Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral

Minijatura na početnoj stranici misala biskupa Jurja od Topuskog, oko 1495., detalj: prikaz kraljevske i papinske skupine, Zagreb, Riznica katedrale

ures, some of them wearing crowns and others also having halos.⁴³ Above the “royal group”, several ecclesiastical dignitaries are depicted: a pope wearing the tiara in the middle, with a cardinal, a bishop, and a monk on each side. Only the man to the far left, whose ecclesiastical standing is difficult to tell (perhaps a canon) remains without a counterpart. The miniaturist borrowed both groups of secular and ecclesiastical figures from the engraving *The Wheel of Fortune and the Tree of Life*, produced around 1460 by the so-called Master of the Scrolls (Meister mit den Bandrollen).⁴⁴ The engraving is permeated with double symbolism. To the left, the Wheel of Fortune symbolizes the transience of fame and the corruptibility of earthly honours.⁴⁵ To the right, the Tree of Life is shown as a ship mast with a tree top hosting the representatives of ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies. From the mainland, the skeleton of death aims at them, while two rats nag at the foot of the tree – as symbols of evil trying to destroy the established and God-given order. All that symbolism of the vanity and precariousness of earthly life, and the rule of death, was apparently unimportant to



17. Master of the Scrolls (Meister mit den Bandrollen), *The Wheel of Fortune and the Tree of Life*, engraving (ca. 1460), Albertina, Vienna
Majstor sa svicima (Meister mit den Bandrollen), kotač sreće i drvo života, bakrorez (oko 1460.), Albertina, Beč

the miniaturist of Zagreb: instead, the motif borrowed from the engraving served him and his commissioner primarily to visualize the celestial *communio sanctorum*, the community of saints, whom Bishop Juraj thus symbolically joined. The presented figures are already partakers of the heavenly glory and some of them are even saintly, which is evident from the halos around their heads (absent in the engraving of the Meister mit den Bandrollen). What is striking here is the extremely powerful symbolism of the two hierarchies – the ecclesiastical and secular authorities. The fact that the engraving preceded the miniature makes it obsolete to identify the figures as contemporaries, as proposed by D. Kniewald.⁴⁶ Instead, the commissioner of the illustration wanted the artist to show the importance and holiness of the king as God’s anointed representative on earth and the pope as God’s vicar in spiritual matters. The compositional arrangement of the two groups emphasizes the higher position of the ecclesiastical hierarchy with regard to the secular one, but both have the right to rule in the name of the Holy Trinity and with the Virgin’s intercession. That is why the painter placed God the Father, the pope, the king, and the coat-of-arms of Bishop Juraj on a single vertical axis, the last one at the bottom. The visual message may thus also be read in terms of the actual career of Bishop Juraj according to the custom of the time: the Hungarian king with patronage rights endowed him with the episcopal title and the benefices, including a noble title with a coat-of-arms, while the pope and the curia confirmed him as bishop: all that following the supreme mandate of God. In this way Bishop Juraj designed the introductory page of the most representative liturgical book as his pious *ex voto* and a symbol of his episcopal status, based on a synergy of divine, ecclesiastical, and secular authorities.

These examples of some important iconographical accents in the missals from the Zagreb cathedral indicate that, in the

early modern period, the bishops of Zagreb used visual imagery to show that their diocese belonged to the Hungarian kingdom and that they were loyal to the Hungarian kings, in order to position themselves not only with regard to the ruler and the state, but also to the Roman curia. The iconographic presence of the holy Hungarian rulers, besides being a sign of protective symbolism, was also a political reminder in which the saintly kings functioned as warrants of the bishopric's special position with regard to the actual Hungarian king and to Rome. The holy kings were thus both its symbolic protectors and the warrants of the bishopric's traditional autonomy. This proved particularly important in the post-Tridentine period, when the bishops and chapter sought to retain the traditional Zagreb rite despite the intentions of the Roman curia and the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy. Namely, in 1635 Pope Urban VIII explicitly demanded that the bishopric should abandon the local rite and introduce the universal Roman one.⁴⁷ The bishops of Zagreb resisted that together with the chapter until as late as 1788, when Bishop Josip Vrhovac managed to implement the papal bull at the order of Emperor Joseph II, abolishing the rite of Zagreb. This also meant that the missal of the Zagreb cathedral from 1511 was now rendered invalid.

* * *

According to some modern scholars, a process of national "appropriation" took place in the ideological and political context of the 17th century, in which the holy Hungarian rulers were Croatized, thus becoming "our" kings. The rise of their cult in Croatia during the second half of the 17th century has also been linked to the Counter-Reformation and the anti-Ottoman wars, as well as the political activity of Zagreb's bishops of the time and their intense commissioning of artworks.⁴⁸ However, these claims on the flourishing of the cult of the holy Hungarian rulers in the 17th century are primarily based on the fact that a considerable number of artefacts have been preserved from the baroque period, rather than on a detailed investigation of iconographic and cultic presence of the Hungarian kings in the Zagreb diocese (especially the cathedral) in the earlier periods, from which far less visual evidence has survived. This investigation

should by all means take into account those iconographic examples that have been lost, but are documented in the written sources.⁴⁹ The results would prove that the iconographic presence of the saintly kings was not substantially greater in the baroque period than in the previous ones, which means that their cult was not necessarily intensified in the late 17th century. What changed, however, was their political perception and instrumentalization. In that change, the central place was again occupied by St Ladislav, for whom P. R. Vitezović even constructed a Croatian genealogy.⁵⁰ This natalistic construct was intended to promote the idea of equality between Hungary and Croatia in terms of statehood and legal status. This idea, again, was crucial to the Zagreb diocese as it aspired, particularly after the liberation of Pannonia from the Ottomans, to become the metropolitan see for the Croatian lands (including Bosnia) and thus achieve an equal status as other Hungarian metropolitan sees.⁵¹ This aspiration, however, would become reality for the Croatian-Slavonian church province only in 1853, when the bishopric of Zagreb was raised to the status of an archbishopric, which finally ended its subjection to the metropolitan see of Kalocsa and the Hungarian primas.⁵² The *ius supremi patronatus regis* was applied on that occasion as well, since this crucial event for the bishops, the church, and the people of Zagreb came from Emperor and King Joseph I as the successor of the crown of St Stephen, whom Pope Silvester II had allegedly granted the right to found bishoprics.⁵³ The Habsburg rulers used this privilege until the very fall of the monarchy, and the bishops of Zagreb tried to use their position balancing between the king and the pope to their own benefit and that of their bishopric. The iconography of the described liturgical books of Zagreb's cathedral from the time around 1500, especially the printed missal from 1511, contains clear messages of loyalty to the Hungarian state and its ruler. Thereby the episcopal commissioners did not fail to show loyalty and gratitude to the pope and the Roman curia either, as shown by the incipit – miniature in the manuscript missal commissioned by Bishop Juraj of Topusko. Thus, the protective symbolism of loyalty of Zagreb's bishops at the time when the bishopric's safety was seriously threatened included all the three powers: divine, ecclesiastical, and secular.⁵⁴

Notes

* Research for this work has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation's funding of the project 6827 *Visual Arts and Communication of Power in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800): Historical Croatian Regions at the Crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean*.

1

Examples are numerous: e.g. IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ, *Povjestni spomenici slob. Kralj. Grada Zagreba* [Historical monuments of the free royal city of Zagreb], vol. XI, 1905. Cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ, *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija* (Zagreb – The 900th anniversary of its bishopric), Zagreb, 1995, 31ff.

2

For example, a lost fresco showing the holy Hungarian kings, once in the cathedral's sacristy, can probably be dated to the late 13th century. Cf. ANA DEANOVIĆ, *Srednjovjekovne zidne slike na području Zagreba* [Medieval wall paintings in the Zagreb area], in: *Iz starog i novog Zagreba*, Zagreb, 1957, 134; ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ, *Srednjovjekovno zidno slikarstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj* [Medieval mural painting in continental Croatia], Zagreb, 2015, 240–242.

3

ÁRPÁD MIKÓ, *Lukács Szegedi, the Bishop of Zagreb and the Arts. Paths of the all'antica style in the Kingdom of Hungary in*

the early 16th century, in: *Bonum ut pulchrum. Essays in Art History in Honour of Ernő Marosi on His Seventieth Birthday*, (ed.) Livia Varga et al., Budapest, 2010, 443–456. Cf. IDEM, All'antica djela i njihovi stvaraoci u Budimu i Zagrebu za Matije Korvina i Jagelovića (1480–1526) [Artworks all'antica and their authors in Buda and Zagreb during the reign of Matthias Corvinus and the Jagellonians (1480–1526)], in: *Hrvatska / Mađarska. Stoljetne književne i likovno-umjetničke veze*, (ed.) Jadranka Damjanov, Zagreb, 1995, 53–60; MARIJA MIRKOVIĆ, Ugarski sveti u hrvatskoj likovnoj baštini [Hungarian saints in Croatian artistic heritage], in: *Hrvatska / Mađarska. Stoljetne književne i likovno-umjetničke veze*, Zagreb, 1995, 18–26.

4

Thus, from the 13th to as late as mid-19th century, the figure of St Stephen was present on the seal of the Cathedral Chapter used to authorize the documents that the chapter issued as a *locus credibilis*. Cf. ANTE GULIN, *Hrvatska crkvena srednjovjekovna sfragistika* [Medieval Croatian ecclesiastical sigillography], Zagreb, 1998. On the Cathedral Chapter of Zagreb esp. 78–104. In the seals of some bishops of Zagreb St Stephen was joined by St Ladislav and occasionally St Emeric – for example, in the seal of Bishop Giacomo of Piacenza (mid-14th century). Ibidem, 109 and 110. Briefly also in: MARIJA MIRKOVIĆ (note 3), 18–26.

5

VJEKOSLAV KLAIĆ, *Povijest Hrvata* [History of the Croats], 2nd ed., Zagreb, 1972, vol. 1, 147.

6

The earliest examples of his liturgical veneration in the church of Zagreb are found in the Breviary MR 67 from the 13th century and the missal MR 133 from the 14th century. Cf. DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Zapovjedani blagdani po starom zagrebačkom obredu* [Mandatory feast days according to the old Zagreb rite], in: *Kulturno povijesni zbornik Zagrebačke nadbiskupije u spomen 850. godišnjice osnutka*, Zagreb, 1944, 225–231.

7

LUJO MARGETIĆ, *Zagrebačka biskupija prema Arpadovićima i Anžuvincima* [The Zagreb bishopric under the Arpadians and the Angevins], in: *Zagrebačka biskupija i Zagreb 1094–1994. Zbornik u čast kardinala Kuharića*, (ed.) Antun Škvorčević, Zagreb, 1995, 163–168. Cf. VJEKOSLAV KLAIĆ (note 5), vol. 1, 145f and 181.

8

Examples of historical analysis include: ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ, *Indetermi-Nation: Narrative Identity and Symbolic Politics in the Early Modern Illyrism*, in: *Whose Love of Which Country*, (ed.) Balázs Trencsényi and Márton Zászkaliczky, Leiden and Boston, 2010, 203–224; EADEM, *The Natales Divo Ladislavo Restituti: 'Nationalization' of St. Ladislav in the Seventeenth-Century Croatia*, in: *Cuius Patronio Tota Gaudet Regio: Saint's Cults and the Dynamics of Regional Cohesion*, (ed.) Stanislava Kuzmová, Ana Marinković, and Trpimir Vedriš, Zagreb, 2014, 411–424. For an iconographical interpretation, see: MARINA MILADINOV, *The Arpadians as Croats: Veneration of Ruler Saints in the Diocese of Zagreb at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century*, in: *Les cultes des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et le idéologie de pouvoir dans les pays orthodoxes et en Europe Centrale, Colloque international*, (ed.) Ivan Biliarsky and Radu Păun, Bucharest, 2007, 212–247; DUBRAVKA BOTICA, *Iconography of the Holy King Ladislav in Zagreb Diocese in Late 17th and Early 18th Century: New Reading of the Past in Central European Context*, in: *Ikon*, 5 (2012), 263–272.

9

For the Croatian approach, see: MARIJA MIRKOVIĆ, *Ikonografija sv. Ladislava na području Zagrebačke (nad)biskupije* [Iconog-

raphy of St Ladislav in the Zagreb (arch)diocese], in: *Zagrebačka biskupija i Zagreb 1094–1994*, (ed.) Antun Škvorčević, Zagreb, 1995, 579–591; MAJA CEPETIĆ and DANKO DUJMOVIĆ, *St. Peter at Novo Mesto Zelinsko. New Iconography for Claiming political Continuity*, in: *Ikon*, 5 (2012), 323–330; MAJA CEPETIĆ, *The Cult of St. Ladislav in Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context*, in: *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, Bratislava and Zagreb, 2013, 308–315. For the Hungarian approach, see especially: ERNŐ MAROSI, *Der heilige Ladislav als Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14.–15. Jh.*, in: *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 33 (1987/1988), 211–256.

10

A prayer for the feast day of St Ladislav contains the formula ... *ut quem habuimus rectorem in terris, eum modo senciamus habere defensorem in celis*. Cf. DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Iluminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih rukopisa* [Illumination and notation of liturgical manuscripts in Zagreb], in: *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 279 (1944), 226. For St Stephen, this prayer runs as follows: ... *ut quem panonia habuit diuine religionis doctorem in terris, eum modo ecclesia tua mereatur habere defensorem in celis* (ibidem, 259) and for St Emeric: *ut quem tibi facis esse deuotum, eius apud te senciamus auxilium* (ibidem, 285).

11

Cf. DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI–XV. stoljeća* [Zagreb's liturgical codices from the 11th–15th centuries], in: *Croatia Sacra*, 19 (1940), 56–60.

12

The benedictional was preserved among the cathedral's treasures and is mentioned in the oldest inventory of the cathedral (1394): *Item unum Benedictionale, ex una parte argento coopertum, figura sancti regis Stephani sibi inpressa, inter reliquias deputatum*. Cf. IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 1), 138; DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Najstariji inventari zagrebačke katedrale* [The oldest inventories of the Zagreb cathedral], in: *Starine JAZU*, 43 (1951), 49–81. Nowadays it is preserved at the Library of the Zagreb Archbishopric (Bibliotheca Metropolitana), MR 89. For a description, see: DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD (note 11), 12–16.

13

IVO LENTIĆ, *Predmeti od metala u riznici zagrebačke katedrale* [Metal objects in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral], in: *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, exhibition catalogue, (ed.) Zdenka Munk, Zagreb, 1983, cat. 52M. However it should be noticed, that this precious relief plate was perhaps not necessarily designed as the part of a book cover, but as an object for public devotion in special occasions. The term *plenarium* is here a bit confusing. In the oldest cathedral inventory from 1394 several medieval *plenaria* were described. Some of them may be considered as liturgical books with precious covers, some probably not. See: DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Najstariji inventari zagrebačke katedrale* [The oldest inventories of the Zagreb cathedral], in: *Starine JAZU*, 43 (1951), 65. I. K. TKALČIĆ (note 1), XXI writes that *plenaria* "were put on a stand in the sanctuary for kissing."

14

LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Renesansa u Zagrebu* [Renaissance in Zagreb], Zagreb, 1994, 121.

15

On the missal casing and its iconography, see: LJUDEVIT IVANČAN, *Inventar riznice zagrebačke katedrale* [Treasury inventory of the Zagreb cathedral], manuscript, 1915, 66; DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Missal čazmanskog prepošta Juraja de Topusko i zagrebačkog biskupa Šimuna Erdödy* [Missal of Juraj de Topusko, provost of Čazma, and Šimun Erdödy, bishop of Zagreb], in: *Rad*

Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 268 (1940), 81; IVO LENTIĆ (note 13), cat. 79M; MARINA MILADINOV (note 9), 227ff; DANIEL PREMERL, *Bolonjske slike Hrvatske povijesti: politička ikonografija zidnih slika u Ilirsko-ugarskom kolegiju u Bolonji* [Images from Croatian history in Bologna: The political iconography of the wall paintings in the Illyrian-Hungarian Collegium in Bologna], Zagreb, 2014, 45.

16

Cf. ÁRPÁD MIKÓ, *A szentképek áruása. A magyar szent királyok ábrázolásai a zággrábi egyházmegye liturgikus nyomtatványában (1505–1525)* [The treachery of saints' images: Representations of the Hungarian in the liturgical printed books of the diocese of Zagreb (1505–1525)], in: *Ars Hungarica*, 1–2 (1997), 134–144. Cf. also the exhibition catalogue *Pannonia Regia, Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000–1541*, Budapest, 2006, catalogue no. IX-21 and IX-22.

17

The breviary was published in commission by Iohannes Pap, a bookseller from Buda. Three copies are known, preserved at Vatican, in Budapest (at the Franciscan monastery) and in Güssing (Németújvár, at the Franciscan library). The best preserved copy is the one at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, sign. Barberini C. I. 33. Cf. KÁROLY SZABÓ and ÁRPÁD HELLEBRANT, *Régi magyar könyvtár* [Old Hungarian books], Budapest, 1896, no. 133; MAX SANDER, *Le livre a figures Italien depuis 1476 jusqu'a 1530*, Milan, 1942, reprinted in 1969, no. 1397; LELJA DOBRONIĆ (note 14), 62f; ÁRPÁD MIKÓ (note 3, 2010), 448f. For Benedetto Bordon and Jacob of Strassburg cf. LILIAN ARMSTRONG, *Woodcuts for liturgical books published by Lucantonio Giunta in Venice, 1499–1501*, in: *Studies of Renaissance miniaturists in Venice*, London, 2003, vol. 2, 683–731, especially 709–725.

18

It was published by Stephanus Heckel Librarian in Buda and printed by Petrus Lichtenstein in Venice (1512 and 1513). See the description in KÁROLY SZABÓ and ÁRPÁD HELLEBRANT (note 17, 1896), no. 180 and 186. On the missal of 1513, which has the same title page as the one from 1512, cf. *István a szent király* [The holy king Stephen], exhibition catalogue, Székesfehérvár, 2013, 305f.

19

Concerning the continuity of rite (which abounds in Esztergom elements) and the number of liturgical books from the 15th and 16th centuries, the bishopric of Zagreb seems more prominent than the archbishopric of Kalocsa, which fell under Ottomans rule in 1529. Cf. BLASIUS DÉRI, Introduction, in: *Missale Strigoniense 1484*, Budapest, 2009, XIII.

20

ÁRPÁD MIKÓ (note 16), 134; IDEM (note 3, 2010), 449.

21

For exemple Lucantonio Giunta used the picture of king's coronation in a *Pontificale* published in 1510. Cf. PRINCE D'ESSLING, *Les livres a figures Vénitiens de la fin du XV^e Siècle et du Commencement du XVI^e*, part 2, vol. 1, Florence and Paris, 1909, no. 1694, fig. on page 209.

22

The term used by ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 8, 2014), 414.

23

For a description of the missal see: ILONA HUBAY, *Missalia Hungarica. Régi magyar misekönyvek* [Missalia Hungarica: Old Hungarian Missals], Budapest, 1938, 30f, no. 16; TINE GERM, *Missale Zagradiense iz Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v*

Ljubljani [*Missale Zagradiense* from the National and University Library in Ljubljana], in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 38 (2002), 107–124; ÁRPÁD MIKÓ (note 16, 1997), 134f; IDEM (note 3, 2010), 448. According to Prince d'Essling, most woodcuts in the missal come from the Venetian graphic artist Lucantonio degli Uberti, born in Florence and active in Verona and Venice. Printer Peter Lichtenstein had used some of the woodcuts in his Czech Bible, published in Venice in 1506. Cf. PRINCE D'ESSLING (note 21), part 1, vol. 1, Florence and Paris, 1907, no. 140, 140–145; and part 3, Florence and Paris, 1914, 98–107, 246, and 248.

24

It is not known in how many copies this first and only printed missal from Zagreb was produced. The fact that a relatively large number of copies has been preserved, five only in Metropolitana, may point to a rather large edition. Cf. VLADIMIR MAGIĆ, *Katalog knjiga XVI. st. u Metropolitanskoj knjižnici u Zagrebu* [Catalogue of 16th-century books at the Metropolitana Library in Zagreb], Zagreb, 2005, no. 0866. One copy was presented to Pope Benedict XVI on the occasion of his visit to Croatia in 2011. The most representative copy in Croatia, with partly coloured woodcuts, is kept at the Treasury of the Zagreb cathedral (no. 8).

25

Such Hungarian coats-of-arms are rather frequent in the codices belonging to Matthias Corvinus. Cf. the exhibition catalogue *Nel segno del Corvo. Libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino, re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)*, Modena, 2002, esp. 141 and 147.

26

For the description, see ILONA HUBAY (note 23), 21f, no. 11. Cf. *Történelem-Kép, Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatáról Magyarországon. Geschichte-Geschichtsbild. Die Beziehung von Vergangenheit und Kunst in Ungarn*, exhibition catalogue, Budapest, 2000, 151f, no. II-5, II-6; ÁRPÁD MIKÓ has described the copy at the Archiepiscopal Library in Esztergom: Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, jelz.: Inc. XVI. I. 114.

27

The Virgin, who invested the unspeakable Word / With a mortal body, mercifully helps Pannonia. / The one whom the Father had chosen, whom the heavenly brilliance envelops: / Is inclined to the pious prayers of Hungary. // There saintly Stephen is watching with joyful eyes, / And Ladislas follows with mercy. / Duke Emeric is also there: confirming the vows with benevolence, / Let evil, danger, and calamity be gone. I am thankful to Ana Plosnić Škarić for helping me with the translation from Latin.

28

“Queen of heaven, now rejoice / As the one whom you were worthy of carrying / Was resurrected as he had announced / Hallelujah. Pray to God for us. Hallelujah.” This invocation is the beginning of a prayer recited instead of the Angel Greeting at Easter time.

29

ÁRPÁD MIKÓ (note 16, 1997), 140f.

30

Cf. GRGO GAMULIN, *Dodatak za Gian Francesca da Tolmezzo* [More on Gian Francesco da Tolmezzo], in: *Peristil*, 4 (1961), 82–83; LELJA DOBRONIĆ (note 14), 62; ÁRPÁD MIKÓ (note 3, 2010), 450f. The attribution of the painting to Gianfrancesco da Tolmezzo still waits for a critical examination.

31

Cf. GÁBOR KLANICZAY, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge, 2007, 161ff; LÁSZLO VESZPRÉMY, *Royal Saints in Hungarian Chronicles, Legends and Liturgy*, in: *The Making of Christian Myths in*

the Periphery of Latin Christendom (c. 1000–1300.), (ed.) Lars Boje Mortensen, Copenhagen, 2006, 217–246, esp. 232f. There are numerous depictions of St Ladislav in armour and fighting. Cf. ERNŐ MAROSI (note 9), *passim*. In some of them, both St Ladislav and St Stephen are shown as knights in armour: e.g. in a side-wing of the high altar at the cathedral of St Martin in Spišská Kapitula (Hung. Szepeshely) from ca. 1477, with Hungarian coats-of-arms lying at their feet, with young prince St Emeric standing between them. Cf. *István a szent király*, exhibition catalogue, Székesfehérvár, 2013, 305f.

32

Cf. JOACHIM BAHLCKE, *Ungarischer Episkopat und Österreichische Monarchie. Von einer Partnerschaft zur Konfrontation (1686–1790)*, Stuttgart, 2005, 64ff. On Hungary, see also: ADOLF KINDERMANN, *Das landesfürstliche Ernennungsrecht*, Warnsdorf, 1933, esp. 57–61, 82–84, and 133–167; GABRIEL ADRIÁNYI, *Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte Ungarns*, Munich, 1986, esp. the chapter “Das oberste königliche Patronatsrecht über die Kirche in Ungarn,” 26–40. Throughout the Middle Ages, until the 16th century, the Hungarian kings reserved the right to appoint the canons of Zagreb as well. Cf. ANTE GULIN, *Srednjovjekovni zagrebački kaptol – utemeljenje, ustroj i javna djelatnost* [The Chapter of Zagreb in the Middle Ages: Its foundation, organization, and public activity], in: *Zagrebačka biskupija i Zagreb 1094–1994*, (ed.) Antun Škvorčević, Zagreb, 1995, 133–151, esp. 139.

33

This privilege was explicitly confirmed at the Council of Konstanz (1417). Cf. BAHLCKE (note 32), 64ff. In practice, the patronage right was also applied before and after that. On the Council of Konstanz in connection with this topic, see ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ, *Das Konstanzer Konzil und das königliche Patronatsrecht in Ungarn*, Budapest, 1959.

34

Cf. JOACHIM BAHLCKE (note 32), 69 and 72.

35

BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ, *Povijest Stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Zagreb diocese], (trans.) Zlatko Šešelj, Zagreb, 1994, 344ff.

36

Cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ (note 1), 51: “The newly appointed bishops were obliged to pay an appointment fee to the Apostolic Chamber and the Collegium of Cardinals, which amounted to a third of the annual income of their diocese. The earliest data concerning payments from Zagreb concerns Bishop Kažotić (1304), who paid 400 gold ducats. (...) A century later, in 1421, the annual income was estimated to as much as 6000 gold ducats and Bishop Ivan Alben indeed paid 2000 gold ducats to the Apostolic Chamber.” Vatican documents from the 15th century state that the church of Zagreb was *taxata* with 2000 gold ducats. Cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ, *Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije* [Historical monuments from the Zagreb Diocese], vol. 7: 1441–1465, Zagreb, 2004, 263. The same sum was paid by Bishop Toma de Debrethe and Bishop Osvald. Cf. STJEPAN RAZUM, *Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlaszlo, vescovo di Zagabria, 1466–1499*, diss. Pontificia Università Gregoriana in Rome, 1995, 635.

37

“That is why – as explained by Krčelić – it seemed to prove that especially the bishop of Zagreb should be consecrated with the knowledge and permission of the Roman curia: *firstly*, because he was considered a Croatian bishop, and that kingdom had been handed over to the eternal protection of Pope Gregory VII

by King Dmitar Zvonimir, thus becoming obliged to the Roman see; and *secondly*, because the Pope had appointed a number of Zagreb’s bishops, such as the Dominican bl. Augustin, Timotej, and Ladislav (probably Ladislav de Kabol, 1326–1343), and all of them had asked to be consecrated by Rome; and *thirdly*, because it was clear that Croatia was considered as separate from Hungary...” See: BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ (note 35), 346.

38

According to the privilege of Konstanz (1417), the Hungarian king had the right to appoint high ecclesiastical dignitaries and the Pope confirmed them without asking for the annates or any other fee, with the exception of the archbishops, who were to pay “moderate” fees. Cf. ELEMÉR MÁLYUSZ (note 33), 8ff. Besides referring to Hungarian law, Bishop Nikola Selnički listed other reasons for his decision. Thus, he stated that the fee was a financial matter introduced by the Roman chancery, and that it was contrary to the spirit of the Scriptures – namely, that it meant paying something that the Pope was to grant for free. BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ (note 31), 348. The Roman curia therefore postponed its confirmation of Bishop Selnički for as long as two years (!).

39

BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ (note 35), 348. Benedikt Vinković was bishop of Zagreb 1637–1642.

40

Cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ (note 1), 159. Bringing this information in a condensed form, Lukinović does not mention whether the request of Bishop Gyulai to be exempted from payment mentioned the argument of Zagreb’s bishopric belonging to the Hungarian Kingdom.

41

Basic bibliography on the missal includes the following works (chronologically): EDITH HOFFMANN, *Közepkori könyvkultúránk néhány fontos emlékérol* [Medieval Hungarian book culture in several important monuments], in: *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 1–4 (1925), 26–51; DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD (note 15), 45–84; DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI–XV. stoljeća* [Liturgical codices from Zagreb, 11th–15th centuries], in: *Croatia Sacra*, 19 (1940), 56–60; ARTUR SCHNEIDER, *Hans pictor Alemanus. Ein deutscher Maler in Zagreb von 1503–1526*, in: *Neue Ordnung*, Zagreb, April 26, 1942, 10–11; DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD, *Iluminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih rukopisa* [Illumination and notation of liturgical manuscripts from Zagreb], u: *Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, book 279 (1944), 77–81; ANTUN MARKOV, *Katalog metropolitanskih riedkosti* [An inventory of Metropolitan rarities], in: *Kulturno poviestni zbornik Zagrebačke nadbiskupije: u spomen 850. godišnjice osnutka*, (ed.) D. Kniewald, Part I, Zagreb, 1944, 527; ANTUN IVANDIJA, *Marginalije uz misal naslovnog rozonskog biskupa i čazmanskog prepošta ‘Jurja de Topusko’* [Marginal notes to the Missal of ‘Juraj de Topusko’, bishop of Rozon and provost of Čazma], in: *Croatia christiana periodica*, 10 (1982), 1–26; ANĐELKO BADURINA, *Iluminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj* [Illuminated manuscripts in Croatia], Zagreb, 1995, no. 230 and 253; ENES QUIEN, *Minijature gotičkoga stila u misalima Zagrebačke nadbiskupije* [Gothic miniatures in the Missals of the Zagreb Archdiocese], MA thesis, University of Zagreb, 2002, 121–126.

42

It is a whole-page miniature (406 × 297 mm) on parchment (fol. 1) that has been glued onto a sheet of craft paper during rebinding, so that only its *verso* side with the miniature is now visible. The *recto* side may have been empty or carried an inscription.

43

According to DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD (note 15), 56, the two kings with crowns and halos are the Hungarian holy rulers, Stephen and Ladislav. However, they do not resemble the usual representations of the holy Hungarian rulers. St Ladislav does not even hold the halberd, his main attribute. The other ruler figures have been identified by Kniewald as St Emeric and St Elizabeth of Hungary. However, the group also includes a completely naked child.

44

Cf. MAX LEHRS, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 1908–1934, 9 vol. with text, 1 vol. with illustrations (new ed. New York, 1970), vol. 1, 73 and vol. 4, 125, 87. The etching is also to be found online: http://sammlungenonline.albertina.at/?id=tms_106403#a91f729c-8928-4e52-982c-31af4314b20f.

45

This part of the engraving served as a model for Istrian painter Vincent of Kastav when painting the same motif of the Wheel of Fortune in 1474, on the western wall of the church of St Mary in Vermo. Cf. BRANKO FUČIĆ, *Vincent iz Kastva* [Vincent of Kastav], Zagreb and Pazin, 1992, 118f.

46

DRAGUTIN KNIEWALD (note 15), 56, suggested that the depicted pope might be either Innocent VIII, who appointed Juraj of Steničnjak the bishop, or Alexander VI, who succeeded Innocent VIII, both of them contemporaries of the bishop.

47

The demand was voiced in the bull *Exponi nobis*, issued by Pope Urban VIII on September 28, 1635. Cf. IVAN ANGELO RUSPINI, *Kanonička vizita b. M. Vrhovca iz godine 1792.–1794.* [Canonical visitation of bishop M. Vrhovac in 1792–1794], in: *Bogoslovska smotra*, 7/4 (1916), 321–349. Among the arguments for the abolition of the traditional rite was that the archbishop of Kalocsa had accepted the Roman rite and thus the subjected bishop of Zagreb was to follow his example. The Zagreb chapter rejected the argument by expressing doubt as to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Kalocsa, since the Kalocsa diocese was under the Ottoman rule at the time. For this reason, the Zagreb chapter claimed that the archbishop of Kalocsa was only “a simulacrum of an archbishop and in fact only a provost in the chapter of Esztergom” (322).

48

Cf. MARINA MILADINOV (note 8), 212–247; DUBRAVKA BOTICA (note 8), 263–272; ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 8, 2014), 411–424; ANTE VRANKOVIĆ, Ivan Komersteiner – Ikonograf čudesno obnovljenog Hrvatskog Kraljevstva [Ivan Komersteiner: An iconographer of the miraculously restored Croatian Kingdom], in: *Hrvatsko slovo*, 1099, May 13, 2016, 28, and 1100, May 20, 2016, 28–29.

49

A number of valuable data has been supplied by IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ, *Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoč i sada* [The Zagreb cathedral in the past and today], Zagreb, 1885, 51f. Thus, Tkalčić mentions that “during the recent renovation of our cathedral, a meter-high stone statues of St Stephen and St Emeric have been found – which, judging from the carving styles, date from the late 13th century, when they undoubtedly adorned the main altar.” It is not known what happened to these stone statues. According to Tkalčić, the altar was commissioned by Bishop Timotej and stood in the cathedral until the time of Bishop Oswald, when “it perished during the assaults of the Counts of Cilli, in which the

cathedral suffered immensely.” (52). Bishop Oswald consecrated the new altar in 1496, and a year later he commissioned a new altar of St Ladislav, which likewise disappeared without a trace. On Bishop Oswald, see: STJEPAN RAZUM, *Osvald Thuz od Sv. Ladislava 1466–1499* [Osvald Thuz of St Ladislav, 1466–1499], in: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, (ed.) Franko Mirošević, Zagreb, 1995, 214. The new, baroque main altar in the cathedral was commissioned in 1632 by Bishop Franjo Ergeljski. Its iconography reflected that of the late Gothic main altar of Bishop Oswald, in which the holy Hungarian kings, Stephen and Ladislav, stood next to the Virgin. This altar was removed in 1832 during the episcopacy of Aleksandar Alagović, and the statues of the holy kings are now lost. Cf. DORIS BARIČEVIĆ, *Glavni oltar zagrebačke katedrale iz 1632. godine* [The main altar in the Zagreb cathedral from 1632], *Peristil*, 10–11 (1967/1968), 99–116, esp. 105. Judging from that, the holy Hungarian rulers stood at the main altar of the cathedral from the 13th until the third decade of the 19th century, i.e. until the time of Bishop Alagović. As a fervent partisan of the Croatian revival movement and an enemy of the Hungarians, Bishop Alagović may have had the altar removed for this reason, replacing it with a new one, with a huge retable showing the Virgin’s Assumption. Cf. JURAJ KOLARIĆ, *Aleksandar Alagović 1829–1837*, in: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, (ed.) Franko Mirošević, Zagreb, 1995, 447–458. As for the older, now lost artworks, one should also mention an altar of St Emeric from ca. 1515, which was replaced in 1689 by a newer wooden altar, work of Ivan Kommersteiner, commissioned by canon Ivan Znika. This altar was replaced in 1760 by a new marble one. Cf. IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 49), 78f; LELJA DOBRONIĆ (note 14), 90 and 92f. Komersteiner’s altar ended up in the chapel of St Fabian and St Sebastian in Vurot. Cf. NELA TARBUK, *Kipar Johannes Komersteiner i njegov krug* [Sculptor Johannes Kommersteiner and his circle], Zagreb, 2016, 73ff. Besides these examples, many others could be listed, but that would be a subject of a separate study.

50

PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, *Natales divo Ladislavo regi Slavoniae apostolo restituti*, Zagreb, 1704. Vitezović lists 19 proofs that Ladislav was of Croatian origins, born in Gorica or Gora. Cf. ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 8, 2014), 417f.

51

Cf. ZRINKA BLAŽEVIĆ (note 8, 2014), 424. According to ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ (note 1), 229f, Martin Brajković, bishop of Zagreb from 1703–1708, had almost succeeded in raising the bishopric of Zagreb to the metropolitan status.

52

That, of course, did not happen without fierce resistance, primarily of the metropolitan see of Esztergom and its primate, Archbishop Ivan Scitovszki. Cf. STJEPAN RAZUM, *Uzdignuće Zagrebačke biskupije na stupanj Nadbiskupije 1852./1853. godine*. *Papinske pečatnice, svečanost proglašenja i odjek kod suvremenika* [Elevation of the Zagreb bishopric to an archbishopric in 1852/1853: Papal bulls, the elevation festivities, and reception by the contemporaries], in: *Tkalčić*, 6 (2002), 233–551. Cf. also ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ (note 1), 331ff.

53

The then minister of religion and education, Count Leo Thun, explicitly mentioned that ancient privilege in his recommendation for the foundation of the Zagreb archbishopric. Cf. ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ (note 1), 332.

54

Parts of this article were presented at the scholarly workshop *Between Venice, Hungarian Kingdom and Habsburgs: State and*

religious Iconography and the Places of its Dissemination during the Early Modern Period in Historical Croatian Territories (Zagreb, Institute of Art History, June 2–3, 2016) as well at the symposium

Visual Arts, Architecture, and Historical Identity – 15th Days of Cvito Fisković (Zadar, September 28 – October 1, 2016).

Sažetak

Milan Pelc

Ius supremi patronatus regis i sveti ugarski vladari u liturgijskim knjigama zagrebačkih biskupa oko 1500.

Vizualna nazočnost svetih ugarskih vladara bitna je ikonografska konstanta Zagrebačke biskupije. Ona u višestoljetnom razdoblju potvrđuje njihovu simboličku moć i njihovu važnost u stvaranju i održavanju onoga što bismo modernim jezikom mogli nazvati vizualnim identitetom zagrebačke stolne crkve, njezinog kaptola i biskupa sve do konca postojanja Ugarskoga Kraljevstva. Zagrebačka je biskupija prije bitke na Mohaču 1526. godine nakon Ostrogonске metropolije tiskala najviše liturgijskih knjiga u Ugarskom Kraljevstvu: dva izdanja brevijara, jedan misal i jedan *Diurnale* ili dnevni časoslov. Biskup Luka de Szeged dao je u Veneciji kod Lucantonio Giunte 1505. godine tiskati drugo izdanje zagrebačkog brevijara, u kojem je na naslovnici lik sv. Stjepana kralja otisnut u drvorezu. Taj kao i druge drvoreze u brevijaru tiskar je naručio od minijaturista Benedetta Bordona, rezač drvoreza bio je Jacob od Strassburga. Po naruđbi biskupa Luke od Szegeda tiskan je 1511. godine u Veneciji i misal zagrebačke crkve. Na prednjoj strani prvoga lista otisnut je grb tadašnjega kralja Vladislava Jagelovića, a na desnoj biskupa Luke. Na završnom listu knjige otisnuo je svoj grb u tri varijante zagrebački građanin Johannes Müer Schotus, podrijetlom Nijemac iz Kufsteina, koji je kao nakladnik financirao prvo izdanje misala. Na poleđini tog lista otisnut je tipografski znak tiskara Petrusa Liechtensteina. Svi su, dakle, sudionici u nastanku misala ostavili znakove svoje reprezentacije na toj knjizi ključnoj za liturgijsku samosvojnost Zagrebačke biskupije.

Na poleđini prvoga lista misala, iza grbova kralja i biskupa, otisnut je drvorezni prikaz Bogorodice na prijestolju u društvu sv. Stjepana, njegova sina, princa Emerika i sv. Ladislava, kojeg je autor po svojoj prilici mletački grafičar Lucantonio degli Uberti. Pri dnu stranice prikazana su dva grba Ugarskog Kraljevstva: lijevo 'novi' grb s tzv. patrijarhijskim (dvostrukim) križem sv. Stjepana, desno 'stari' grb s trakama, bez križeva. Tako je u zagrebačkom misalu i svetačkom kompozicijom i heraldičkim znakovima jasno izražena pripadnost biskupije domovini, tj. Ugarskom Kraljevstvu koje štiti Bogorodica sa svetim ugarskim vladarima. Taj 'domovinski' identifikacijski kod s Bogorodicom i svetim ugarskim

vladarima u Zagrebačkom misalu vjerojatno je nadahnut onim u Ostrogonskom misalu, tiskanom u Lyonu 1501. godine. Ističući na početku Zagrebačkog misala vladarev grb, biskup Luka iskazao je osobitu privrženost aktualnom ugarskom kralju Vladislavu Jageloviću koji ga je postavio za zagrebačkoga biskupa. Naime, prema srednjovjekovnoj tradiciji ugarski su kraljevi još od svetog Stjepana na teritoriju svoje vlasti imali povlasticu uređenja crkvene organizacije s pravom imenovanja crkvenih dostojanstvenika – *ius supremi patronatus regis*. Papa je u pravilu potvrđivao kraljev izbor.

Lojalnost zagrebačkih biskupa i vladaru i papi naznačuje ikonografija prve stranice rukopisnog misala zagrebačkog pomoćnog biskupa Juraja iz Steničnjaka, poznatijeg kao Juraj od Topuskog. Minijatura na početnoj stranici misala, naslikana oko 1495. godine, u prvom je redu osmišljena kao pobožna memorija samom naručitelju, pomoćnom zagrebačkom biskupu Jurju. Međutim, u donjem dijelu kompozicije prikazan je iznad biskupova grba kralj sa svetačkom aureolom oko krune, okružen muškim, ženskim i dječjim likovima od kojih neki također imaju krune, a neki i aureole. Iznad te 'kraljevske skupine' naslikana je skupina crkvenih dostojanstvenika: u sredini papa s tijarom, sa svake strane po jedan kardinal, biskup i redovnik. Obje skupine svjetovnih i crkvenih figura minijaturist je preuzeo s bakroreza *Kolo sreće i drvo života*, koji je oko 1460. godine izradio tzv. Majstor sa svicima (*Meister mit den Bandrollen*). Naručitelj iluminacije htio je da se na ovom mjestu simbolički iskaže važnost i svetost službe kralja kao Božjeg pomazanika u zemaljskoj vlasti i pape kao Božjeg zastupnika u duhovnoj vlasti. Kompozicijskim rasporedom dviju skupina naglašen je viši položaj crkvene hijerarhije u odnosu na svjetovnu, a jednoj i drugoj pripada moć vladanja u ime Presvetog Trojstva i pod zagovorom Bogorodice. Iz navedenih je primjera vidljivo da protektivna simbolika lojalnosti zagrebačkih biskupa u vremenu u kojem provalom Osmanlija počinju teške kušnje za sigurnost Biskupije podjednako obuhvaća sve tri vlasti: božansku, crkvenu i svjetovnu.

Ključne riječi: liturgijske knjige, *Ius patronatus*, zagrebački biskupi