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Arpadian Royal Cult in the Zagreb Cathedral: From Gothic to Baroque

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Summary

The paper focuses on the problem of continuity and development of iconographical solutions related to some prominent elements of historical furnishing in the Zagreb cathedral (tabernacle, St Ladislav altar in the north apse), observing their changes over a longer time span: from the late 15th to the early 18th century. A monumental gothic tabernacle (Sakramentshaus) that originally stood in the north of the sanctuary was probably erected during the embellishment of the cathedral presbytery, carried out by Bishop Osvald Thuz (1466–1499). According to later historical descriptions, its high stone structure comprised statues of the holy Hungarian kings Stephen and Ladislav, Prince St Emeric and St Martin of Tours, and was topped by angels and a pelican (symbol of the Eucharist). The tabernacle was removed during the redecoration of the sanctuary around 1800, but it could arguably be connected to a sandstone fragment preserved at the Croatian History Museum, which

depicts a crowned head of an old man (identified as St Stephen). When, in 1701, the new marble tabernacle was placed upon the high altar, it once more featured the Arpadian saints. Unfortunately, it was also destroyed and dispersed during the 19th century, but the already known sculptures of St Stephen and St Ladislav have now been related to a small marble statue of St Emeric from the Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb. An interesting example of specific iconographical development can, furthermore, be observed in two painted cycles with St Ladislav's legend, which once adorned the saint's altars from the 15th and 17th centuries. Departing from the ingrained medieval hagiographical sources, the later cycle arguably reflects the 17th-century development in Croatian political and historiographic ideas by introducing some new iconographical motives as well as re-using some of the old ones.

Keywords: Zagreb cathedral, St Stephen, St Ladislav, Hungarian saints, iconography

In 1975, Croatian art-historian Anđela Horvat (1911–1985) published the book entitled *Between the gothic and the baroque. Art of inland Croatia from ca. 1500 to ca. 1700* [ANĐELA HORVAT, *Između gotike i baroka. Umjetnost kontinentalnog dijela Hrvatske od oko 1500. do oko 1700.*, Zagreb, 1975.], routing an important course for the future interpretation of the whole variety of art historical phenomena. This paper represents a contribution to the problem of continuity and development of some specific iconographical solutions within approximate borders of the afore-mentioned *chronotopographical* frame.

The Diocese of Zagreb was founded in the late 11th century (1091–1095) by the Hungarian king Ladislav (r. 1077–1095, canonised in 1192), who dedicated its cathedral to the first king of the Arpad dynasty, Stephen (r. 997–1038).¹ St Stephen had been canonised just a decade earlier (in 1083) along with his son, prince Emeric, Bishop Gerhard and two Pannonian hermits, Andrew (Zoerard) and Benedict.² The newly established bishopric was soon to assume a promi-

nent role in the dissemination of the Arpadian royal cult: In addition to the fact that its cathedral was dedicated to St Stephen, Zagreb is – according to Gábor Klaniczay – the site of the oldest liturgical evidence for the cult of the newly canonised Hungarian saints. They are first mentioned in the *Sacramentary of St Margaret (Hahót Sacramentary, dated ca. 1090)*, used in the liturgy of the Zagreb cathedral.³ The cathedral was also presented with important relics, such as the head of St Steven,⁴ the arm of St Ladislav (both of them later incorporated in lavishly designed silver reliquaries), as well as Ladislav's royal mantle,⁵ which was, according to the local tradition, donated by King Charles Robert of Anjou (r. 1301–1342) in the first half of the 14th century. Although its embroidered figures, a queen and a king, were probably added in the early 14th century (when the mantle was refurbished into a chasuble), the male figure to the right (defined by an inscription as King Ladislav) represents the earliest surviving depiction of the Hungarian royal saint in the Zagreb cathedral.

An even earlier depiction of the Arpadian saints (Stephen, Emeric and Ladislas) formed – until the end of the 19th century – a part of the cycle of wall paintings in the cathedral sacristy.⁶ According to Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, who saw it prior to its destruction, the three Arpadians were depicted in fresco on the south wall of its eastern bay, with St Jerome above them.⁷ The surviving part of the cycle and the present sacristy are dated to the last third of the 13th century (the rebuilding campaign of Bishop Timotej).

It is safe to presume that the visual presence of the holy Hungarian rulers in the Zagreb cathedral during the late Middle Ages was not limited to the described examples. However, the next confirmed testimony of a more elaborate iconographical programme is connected to the embellishment of the eastern part of the cathedral undertaken by Bishop Oswald Thuz (*Osvaldus Thuz de Szentlaszlo*, 1466–1499) during the last two decades of the 15th century.⁸

Gothic and baroque tabernacles

Having equipped the presbytery with a new gothic vaulting in 1489, Oswald also furnished it with a new high altar. Destroyed in fire in 1624, Oswald's altar was replaced by a new one (1632) that – arguably – retained the previous iconographical concept as well as an archaic, gothic structure. Unfortunately, it was dismantled in 1832 and only a few of its sculptures have survived to the present day (including the statue of Madonna and Child, now placed on the north wall of the cathedral presbytery). According to the description of this altar, written in the first half of the 17th century by the later bishop of Zagreb Benedikt Vinković (1637–1642), the statue of Madonna and Child in its central niche was flanked by sculptures representing the holy Hungarian kings Stephen and Ladislas.⁹ A corroboration of the iconographic arrangement that may have adorned the previous high altar of Bishop Oswald is provided by a depiction of the *Patrona Hungariae* with the holy kings (and St Emeric) on the introductory page of the *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis Ecclesiae* printed in Venice in 1511.¹⁰

Probably alongside the high altar, or even somewhat earlier, at the time when the new vaulting was added to the cathedral presbytery, Bishop Oswald commissioned a monumental tabernacle, situated against its northern wall.¹¹ This tabernacle was removed from the cathedral around 1800.¹² Still, owing to several descriptions from the 17th and 18th centuries, we can approximately reconstruct its general appearance, comparable to the surviving examples of the *Sakramentshaus* typology in the same cultural region – such as the one in the Košice cathedral (from the 1470s)¹³ or the geographically closer example in the parish church of Nedelišće in north-western Croatia (16th century).¹⁴ Furthermore, we can establish some facts on its commission, iconographical programme, and (arguably) its destiny after the demolition.

The gothic tabernacle is described in manuscripts written by Rafael Levaković (before 1640),¹⁵ Pavao Ritter Vitezović (ca. 1703),¹⁶ and the *Visitatio canonica* of 1792.¹⁷ There are also

interesting brief notes recorded by the 19th-century historians Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski and Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić.¹⁸

Levaković wrote that to the left of the high altar (*ex parte evangelii*) there was a beautifully and skilfully made column-like tabernacle, adorned with gilded and coloured statues representing St Martin of Tours and the Arpadian royal saints – Stephen, Emeric and Ladislas. In the upper part of the tabernacle, there was a statue of the *Man of Sorrows*, flanked by two angels with the Instruments of Passion (the one to the right held three nails, and the one to the left a spear and a cane with sponge). The tabernacle was crowned with a pelican as a symbol of the Eucharist, lacerating its chest and feeding its chicks with its own blood.¹⁹

Regarding the tabernacle commission, already Levaković mentioned two coats-of-arms of unknown bishops in its base.²⁰ When more than half a century later (ca. 1703) Pavao Ritter Vitezović,²¹ a famous historian with genealogical and heraldic inclinations, was describing the Zagreb cathedral, he probably recognised the coats-of-arms in its sumptuous tabernacle. Although omitting to mention them directly, he was able to state that this amazing work (*opus mirificus*) had been procured by Bishop Oswald and his brother, *Bishop Ioannes*.²² Searching for Oswald's relatives, we find his first cousin Ivan Thuz (*Ioannes Thuz de Lak*) who, however, was not a bishop, but the *ban* (viceroy) of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia (1466–1467), of Slavonia (1469–1470),²³ and finally, the royal *tavernicus* (1479–1481).²⁴ Like Oswald himself, he was an important member of the Matthias Corvinus' (r. 1458–1490) court,²⁵ but after 1480 or 1481, due to some accusations made against him, he was forced to leave most of his wealth behind and flee to Venice, where he died in 1498.²⁶ Ivan's son Alfons was a high cleric of the Zagreb diocese (canon and later *praepositus major*).²⁷ Although Oswald's testament (1499) refers to Alfons as a son of his brother Ivan (*Alphonso filio magnifici quaondam D. Joannis Tuz fratri meo*),²⁸ the question of the exact relationship between Oswald and Ivan Thuz was, apparently, subject to debate already in the 18th century. Thus, in his *History of the Zagreb Diocese* published 1770, Baltazar Adam Krčelić wrote that he could not determine whether Bishop Oswald was indeed a brother of *ban* Ivan.²⁹

If *Ioannes Thuz de Lak* (as a probable co-commissioner of the cathedral tabernacle) is indeed to be adjoined to the relatively small group of known art commissioners in late 15th-century Zagreb, it is possible to enrich the few known historical (political) data by adding some details regarding his person (and possibly his affinities as an art patron).

In his work entitled *Excellent, Wise, and Facetious Sayings and Deeds of King Matthias* (1485), the Corvinus court writer Galeotto Marzio (*Galeottus Narniensis*)³⁰ praised Ivan's prudence and his rhetorical skills in Latin, Hungarian, and Croatian (*Slavonic*).³¹ Furthermore, in her article on the artistic relations between the Hungarian Kingdom and Dubrovnik, Marianna D. Birnbaum pointed to Ivan's stay in this Adriatic city and his plans to hire some of the local stone cutters (namely Paskoje Miličević) and carpenters to work at his court.³² Although his Dubrovnik sojourn (1466) seems to have preceded the construction of the Zagreb tabernacle



1. Unknown sculptor, head of a king (St Stephen?), 15th century (?), sandstone, Zagreb, Croatian History Museum

Neznani kipar, glava kralja (sv. Stjepana?), 15. stoljeće (?), pješčenjak, Hrvatski povijesni muzej u Zagrebu

for a couple of decades, the report on Ivan's interest in the local art scene casts some light on his artistic inclinations, which may have included fresh stylistic currents that were reaching Dubrovnik from Italy.

As for the tabernacle iconography, in addition to the customary representation of Wounded Christ, angels with *Arma Christi* and the pelican (as a symbol of the Eucharist), it was obviously marked by a strong presence of distinctively Hungarian saints: Stephen, Ladislav and Emeric, but also St Martin of Tours, a saint whose cult was spreading from the royal abbey of Pannonhalma in north-western Hungary³³ and had likewise been promoted by the Hungarian royal court since the 14th century.³⁴

As noted above, Oswald's tabernacle was removed from the cathedral during the redecoration of its presbytery around 1800. However, it is possible that some of its stone fragments were reused as building material and then rediscovered during the restoration works after the 1880 earthquake.³⁵ In his writings, closely following these works, Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić informed us that: "(...) in the course of the recent renewal of our cathedral, stone statues of St Stephen and St Emeric were found."³⁶ Unfortunately, their subsequent destiny remains unknown, but in the 1920s the Croatian



2. Paolo Callalo, *St Stephen*, 1701, marble, Museum of the Zagreb Archdiocese (photo: T. Plukavec)

Paolo Callalo, Sv. Stjepan, 1701., mramor, Dijecezanski muzej Zagrebačke nadbiskupije

History Museum acquired a stone fragment (allegedly originating from the Zagreb cathedral) that was later related to the 13th-century high altar and to the activities of sculptors from the Parler circle, present in Zagreb around 1400 (Fig. 1).³⁷ Its iconography (the bearded, crowned head has been identified as St Stephen) and dimensions (the height of the fragment is 25 cm, with a presumable total height of ca. 100 cm)³⁸ allow for an assumption that it once belonged to the



3. Paolo Callalo, *St Ladislav*, 1701, marble, Museum of the Zagreb Archdiocese (photo: T. Plukavec)

Paolo Callalo, Sv. Ladislav, 1701, mramor, Dijecezanski muzej Zagrebačke nadbiskupije

sculptural programme of Oswald's tabernacle, as described by Rafael Levaković.

Placing the Hungarian royal saints in such a prominent piece of church furniture certainly reflects their importance for the commissioners, as well as for the identity of the Church of Zagreb. When – more than two centuries later (in 1701) – the new, marble tabernacle was added (in compliance with the new liturgical requirements) to the high altar, it once again featured the Arpadian saints. According to a late 18th-century description, white marble statues of St Stephen and St Ladislav stood on each side of the baroque tabernacle, its



4. Paolo Callalo, *St Emerik (?)*, 1701, marble, Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb (photo: Arts and Crafts Museum, Zagreb)

Paolo Callalo, Sv. Emerik (?), 1701., mramor, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu

dome likewise crowned with a marble statue, representing St John the Baptist.³⁹ This ensemble was later dispersed and finally destroyed (in the earthquake of 1880), but the statues of St Stephen and St Ladislav (attributed to the Venetian sculptor Paolo Callalo) have luckily survived,⁴⁰ and help us reconstruct the original iconographic arrangement (Fig. 2, 3).⁴¹ Although the aforementioned source mentions only St Stephen and St Ladislav beside St John the Baptist, English traveller Simon Clement wrote in his short description of the Zagreb Cathedral interior from 1715 that – in addition to the beautiful pulpit with a white marble angel – there are *several marble works of the same kind* placed on the high altar.⁴² Furthermore, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, writing more than half a century after the statues of St Stephen and St Ladislav had been removed from their original location at the tabernacle,⁴³ stated that the old tabernacle – in the meanwhile (1847) supplemented with a wooden structure and sculptures made by the Munich artist Anselm Sickinger – was adorned with white marble sculptures.⁴⁴ Had there been only one marble statue at the tabernacle (St John the Baptist on its top), it is unlikely that Kukuljević Sakcinski would have used a plural term (*sculptures*). Therefore, it is possible that

the described sculptural group originally comprised statues of St Emeric and St Martin as well, thus fully repeating the principal part of the iconographical programme of the older, gothic tabernacle. This hypothesis can be further supported by an interesting marble sculpture (sadly, its head has been detached and lost) kept in the depository of the Arts and Crafts Museum in Zagreb (Fig. 4).⁴⁵ Despite the unfortunate lack of its head, the specific garment (with an ermine cloak and a sword hanging from the belt) and the figure's youthful and gallant posture allow us to identify it as the young Prince Emeric. The soft draping of his clothes, details of his accessories (notably the oval buckle of the belt and the twisting grip of the sword), as well as the characteristic hexagonal shape of the base, all indicate a close affinity to Callalo's sculptures of St Stephen and St Ladislav. Furthermore, the comparative smallness of St Emeric (only 45 cm compared to the 102 cm of St Stephen and St Ladislav) may well indicate its original position in the upper part of the tabernacle.

Gothic and baroque altars (two Ladislav cycles)

Another interesting, although less obvious example of the continuity between gothic and baroque iconographical programmes in the Zagreb Cathedral can be observed in the former side altars dedicated to St Ladislav, certainly the most popular among the Arpadian saints venerated in the Zagreb bishopric.⁴⁶ Along with a new high altar and the described tabernacle, Bishop Oswald commissioned a new altar (ca. 1469) dedicated specifically to the founder of the Zagreb bishopric, situated in the northern apse of the church.⁴⁷ According to Levaković's description,⁴⁸ its basic structure was that of a gothic winged altar (similar to the one that stood in the presbytery). In its central niche – above the *Deisis* scene – there was a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin flanked by St Ladislav and St Emeric. Levaković also provides us with a relatively detailed description of the images on the inner panels of the altar wings, which comprised four scenes from the popular Ladislav legend included in the 14th-century copies of the *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (*Chronica Hungarorum*). These included the episode of his rescue of a Hungarian girl after triumphing over the Cumans at Kerlés in 1068.⁴⁹ According to the English translation from *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV* by Gábor Klaniczay, the event happened as follows:

“Finally, the Blessed Ladislaus caught sight of a pagan riding away with a beautiful Hungarian girl on the back of his horse. Thinking that she was the daughter of the bishop of Várad, the saintly Prince Ladislav, grievously wounded though he was, quickly gave chase on his horse, which he called Zug. He nearly caught up with the pagan and stabbed him with his lance, but was unable to after all, for his horse would go no faster, nor would the other's horse fall behind, and there was about arm's length between his lance and the back of the Cuman. Saint Ladislav thus called out to the girl, and said: ‘Sweet sister, grab the Cuman by the belt, and throw yourself to the ground.’ This she



5. Unknown master, *Ladislav's Legend*, 1488, coloured woodcut in: János Thuróczy, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Budapest, National Széchényi Library (foto: <http://www.corvina.oszk.hu/corvinas-html/hublinc1143.htm>)

Neznani umjetnik, Legenda o sv. Ladislavu, 1488., obojeni drvorez, izvor: János Thuróczy, Chronica Hungarorum, Budimpešta, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

did. But when the blessed Prince Ladislav aimed his lance from afar at the man lying on the ground, and wanted to kill him, the girl earnestly begged him not to, but to let him go. From this it is clear that there is no faith in women, for presumably it was unchaste love that made her want to free him. As for the saintly prince, he grappled with the man for a long time, and then killed him by cutting a sinew. The girl, however, was not the bishop's daughter...⁵⁰

According to another version, written by the German court poet and chronicler Henrik Mügelin in Latin (1352) and German (1360),⁵¹ Ladislav overpowered the Cuman precisely owing to the brave girl, who slashed the enemy's foot with Ladislav's battle axe.⁵² This version of the legend had been depicted earlier (around 1330) in the so-called *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, concluding with some additional scenes of Ladislav resting in the girl's lap and being healed by the Blessed Virgin.⁵³ A similar sequence of events (however, without the miraculous healing) was frequently depicted in 14th and 15th-century wall paintings throughout the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom,⁵⁴ as well as (in a somewhat compressed manner)



6. Johannes Eisenhardt, *Croatian Noblemen before St Ladislav and His Sister, Queen Jelena*, 1690, oil on wooden panel, Zagreb Municipal Museum (photo: S. Cvetnić)

Johannes Eisenhardt, *Hrvatski plemići pred Ladislavom i njegovom sestrom, kraljicom Jelenom*, 1690., ulje na dasci, Muzej grada Zagreba

7. Unknown Master, *Legend of the Miraculous stag*, ca. 1360, illustration in *Chronicon pictum*, MS, Budapest, National Széchényi Library (photo: https://web.archive.org/web/20120304111134/http://konyv-e.hu/pdf/Chronica_Picta.pdf)

Neznani umjetnik, *Legenda o čudesnom jelenu*, oko 1360., ilustracija u rukopisu *Chronicon pictum*, Budimpešta, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár

in the woodcut frontispiece of János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*, published in Augsburg in 1488 (Fig. 5).⁵⁵

Levaković described the scenes on the wing-panels of the Zagreb altarpiece in a somewhat confused order. He started (from the lower left panel) with Ladislav resting in the girl's lap, then (on the same panel) mounting a horse and persecuting the rider who had abducted her. On the second panel to the left, Ladislav was depicted on a horse, with a cross-marked shield in his left and a battle axe in his right, fighting against the enemy. On the third panel (the top one to the right) Ladislav was still fighting with the Cuman warrior, slashing his foot with an axe. Finally, he was depicted in triumph.⁵⁶ It is important to notice that in Levaković's description, the Hungarian girl is persistently referred to as Ladislav's *sister (soror)*,⁵⁷ in a manner that indicates some specific developments in Croatian political and historiographic ideas during the 17th century.

Same as the gothic high altar in 1632, the Ladislav altar erected by Bishop Thuz was replaced in the late 17th century (1690). The new altar (unfortunately removed and partly lost in the late 19th century) once again retained an archaic, winged structure and the original iconographical disposition (with Madonna Assumpta in the centre replaced through Madonna and Child).⁵⁸ Scenes from Ladislav's life that had occupied only four panels on the inner side of the altar-wings were now depicted on all twelve panels. Ten of them survive

until today and have been a subject of extensive iconographical and stylistic analyses (attributed to Ljubljana painter Johannes Eisenhardt by Mirjana Repanić-Braun).⁵⁹ They include some episodes from the traditional Ladislav legend (although without the episodes depicted on the previous wings) as well as five episodes distinctively connected to the local context.⁶⁰

One of these scenes (*Representatives of the Croatian Nobility offer the coats-of-arms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia to King Ladislav, while Queen Jelena (Lepa) is standing next to him*) stresses the role of Jelena (Lepa), widow of the Croatian king Dmitar Zvonimir and sister to King Ladislav, in his legal and peaceful succession to the Croatian royal throne (Fig. 6). This idea, according to Daniel Premerl, finds its most articulated narrative in the book of Juraj Rattkay, *Memoria regum et banorum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae* (1652).⁶¹ If we are to return to Levaković's description and his repeated mentioning of the king's sister (instead of the beautiful Hungarian girl), it is opportune to suggest that, while describing late 15th-century images, he simultaneously loaded them with new, distinctively 17th-century connotations.⁶²

Finally, yet another traditional aspect of Ladislav's iconography took a specific turn in the Zagreb cycle of 1690: In the next painting, the king is presented to the right, in front of a somewhat hazy silhouette of the Zagreb cathedral (in its ap-



8. Johannes Eisenhardt, *St Ladislav Observes the Building Site of the Zagreb Cathedral*, 1690, oil on wooden panel, Zagreb Municipal Museum (photo: S. Cvetnić)

Johannes Eisenhardt, Sv. Ladislav razgledava gradilište zagrebačke katedrale, 1690., ulje na dasci, Muzej grada Zagreba

pearance from the late 17th century). He is however, directly confronted with a deer that comes from the left and stops fearlessly before him (Fig. 7). A related iconographical (and hagiographical) motif – as Marina Miladinov has pointed out – is present in the *Legend of the Miraculous Stag* as depicted in the *Chronicon pictum* (from the second half of the 14th century) (Fig. 8).⁶³ According to the legend that was, once more, first recorded in the *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, this vision of Prince Ladislav, accompanied by his brother Géza, took place in Vác on the Danube:

“There appeared to them a stag, his antlers laden with burning candles, and began running before their very eyes towards the woods, and then planted his feet firmly on the spot where monastery now is. And when the soldiers shot at him, with their bows and arrows, he threw himself into the Danube, and they saw him no more. Seeing this, the Blessed Ladislav spoke, saying: ‘In truth, that was no stag, but an angel of the Lord.’ Then King Géza said to him: ‘Tell me, dear brother, what is the meaning of all those candles we saw burning in the stag’s antlers?’ Blessed Ladislav answered him saying: ‘Those were not antlers, but wings, and not burning candles, but radiant feathers; and verily, he planted his feet on that spot to show us that we are to build a church to the Blessed Virgin Mary on that spot only, and no other’.”⁶⁴

It seems that in the Zagreb picture, a plain deer replaced the miraculous stag, and the Zagreb cathedral that of Vác. Finally, a thin silver stripe running across the field may well represent the Sava River, instead of the mighty Danube.

Notes

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1 NADA KLAJČ, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages], Zagreb, 1982, 299–302; LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Biskupski i kaptolski Zagreb* [Episcopal and capitular Zagreb], Zagreb, 1991,

5; ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ, *Zagreb – devetstoljetna biskupija* [Zagreb: The 900th anniversary of its bishopric], Zagreb, 1995, 11–15.

2 GÁBOR KLANICZAY, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, Cambridge, 2002, 123.

3 GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 148.

4 According to Klaniczay, St Stephen’s head relic was transferred to Zagreb in order to buttress the Arpadian dynasty’s authority soon after Ladislav and then Coloman seized the Croatian crown, thus making the city a major centre of St Stephen’s cult. See: GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 148.

5 MARIJA MIRKOVIĆ, *Ikonografija sv. Ladislava na području Zagrebačke (nad)biskupije* [St Ladislav’s iconography in the Zagreb (arch)diocese], in: *Zagrebačka biskupija i Zagreb. 1094.–1994.*, (ed.) Antun Škvorčević, Zagreb, 1995, 579–591, here 580; MARIJA

MIRKOVIĆ, Ugarski sveti u hrvatskoj likovnoj umjetnosti [Hungarian saints in Croatian visual arts], in: *Hrvatska/Mađarska. Stoljetne književne i likovno-umjetničke veze. Horvátország/Magyarország. Évszázados irodalmi és képzőművészeti kapcsolatok*, (ed.) Jadranka Damjanov, Zagreb, 1995, 18–26, here 18; for the reliquaries, see: IVO LENTIĆ, Predmeti od metala u riznici zagrebačke katedrale [Metal objects in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral], in: *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, (ed.) Zdenka Munk, Zagreb, 1983, 141–196, here 183 (59M, 185; 50M); for the Ladislav's mantle, see: ZDENKA MUNK, Tekstilne dragocjenosti iz katedralne riznice [Precious textile objects from the Cathedral's treasury], in: *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, (ed.) Zdenka Munk, Zagreb, 1983, 89–140, here 89 and 129 (1T); MILUTIN JURANIĆ, Likovi kralja i kraljice na plaštu kralja Ladislava [Figures of a king and a queen on King Ladislav's mantle], in: *Peristil*, 33 (1990), 25–42; LINA SLAVICA PLUKAVEC, Restauracija plašta kralja Ladislava iz riznice zagrebačke katedrale [Restoration of King Ladislav's mantle from the treasury of Zagreb's cathedral], in: *Peristil*, 39 (1997), 13–24; for St Stephen's reliquary, see also: ANĐELA HORVAT, Između gotike i baroka. Umjetnost kontinentalnoga dijela Hrvatske od oko 1500. do oko 1700. [Between gothic and baroque: Art in continental Croatia from ca. 1500 until ca. 1700], Zagreb, 1975, 162, 165–166, and 168; VLADIMIR MARKOVIĆ, Arte e architettura (Il nuovo slancio della religiosità e il rinnovamento della Croazia XVII-XVIII secolo), in: *I Croati – cristianesimo, cultura, arte*, (ed.) Vladimir Marković and Anđelko Badurina, Città del Vaticano, 1999, 286–310 and 506–507; DANIEL PREMERL, Zagreb Cathedral's Reliquary Bust of Saint Stephen the king: the Context of its Commission and its Attribution, in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 34 (2010), 101–112; DANKO ŠOUREK, *Ad imitationem angelicae, apostolicaeque coronae Vngariae*. Prilog ikonografiji krune na prikazima svetih kraljeva u zagrebačkoj katedrali [Ad imitationem angelicae, apostolicaeque coronae Vngariae: A contribution to the crown iconography in the depictions of the holy kings in the Zagreb cathedral], in: *Peristil*, 54 (2011), 177–186; DANIEL PREMERL, Szent István király zágrábi ereklyetartó mellszobra [King St Stephen's bust reliquary in Zagreb], in: *István, a szent király*, (ed.) András Smohay and Terézia Kerny, Székesfehérvár, 2013, 47–63, 293, and 502; IDEM, Artwork by Papal Silversmith Francesco Spagna for the Zagreb Cathedral: Reliquary Bust of St Stephen the King, in: *Scripta in honorem Igor Fisković*, (ed.) Miljenko Jurković and Predrag Marković, Zagreb, Motovun, 2015, 341–347.

6
ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ, Srednjovjekovno zidno slikarstvo u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj [Medieval mural painting in continental Croatia], Zagreb, 2014, 28.

7
IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ, Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka nekoč i sada [Zagreb's cathedral, past and present], Zagreb, 1885, 54; ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ (note 6), 28 and 240–242.

8
For Osvald Thuz, see: STJEPAN RAZUM, *Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlaszlo vescovo di Zagabria, 1466–1499*, Rome, 1995; ANDRIJA LUKINOVIĆ, *Osvald Thuz od sv. Ladislava* [Osvald Thuz of St Ladislav], in: *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi*, (ed.) Franko Mirošević, 1995, 207–220; for the bishop's artistic profile, see: LELJA DOBRONIĆ, *Renesansa u Zagrebu* [Renaissance in Zagreb] Zagreb, 1994, 27–57; DANKO ŠOUREK, *Pavia – Čazma*. Primjer sjevernotalijanskih utjecaja na renesansnu umjetnost kontinentalne Hrvatske [Pavia and Čazma: An example of north Italian influences on the renaissance art of continental Croatia], in: *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 33 (2009), 37–46.

9
DORIS BARIČEVIĆ, Glavni oltar zagrebačke katedrale iz 1632. godine [The high altar of Zagreb's cathedral from 1632], in: *Peristil* 10/11 (1967/1968), 99–115.

10
For the *Missale Zagradiense*, see: LELJA DOBRONIĆ (note 8), 64–65; MILAN PELC, Tiskane liturgijske knjige [Printed liturgical books], in: *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, (ed.) Ivanka Reberski and Tugomir Lukšić, Zagreb, 1994, 471–489, here 474 and 478; TINE GERM, *Missale Zagradiense* iz Narodne in univerzitetne knjižnice v Ljubljani [The *Missale Zagradiense* at the National and University Library in Ljubljana], in: *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, 38 (2002), 107–123; MILAN PELC, Od primanja do stvaranja. Hrvatska grafika 15. i 16. stoljeća [From reception to creation: Croatian graphic arts in the 15th and 16th centuries], in: *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 48, 3/4 (2005), 16–49, here 24–28; IDEM, *Renesansa* [The Renaissance], Zagreb, 2007, 552.

11
Cf. ANĐELA HORVAT, *Spomenici arhitekture i likovnih umjetnosti u Međumurju* [Architectural and artistic monuments in Međimurje], Zagreb, 1956, 74; ANA DEANOVIĆ, *Zagrebačka katedrala. Od XI. do sredine XIX. stoljeća* [Zagreb's cathedral from the 11th until the mid-19th century], in: *Zagrebačka katedrala*, Zagreb, 1988, 7–90, here 68. Both authors are referring to the description in the manuscript of RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ, *Historiola de fundatione et structura Ecclesiae Zagradiensis* (Descriptio ecclesiae Zagradiensis), MS, before 1640, Zagreb, Croatian National and University Library (R 3339) Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (IVc 15, III d 125). The description was first published in: DANIELE FARLATI, *Illyrici sacri tomus quintus. Ecclesia Jadertina cum suffraganeis, et Ecclesia Zagradiensis, Venetiis, MDC-CLXXV* (1775), 337–340, and recently as: RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ, *Descriptio ecclesiae Zagradiensis*, (ed.) Pavao Knezović, in: *Zbornik o Rafaelu Levakoviću*, Zagreb, 2010, 387–394.

12
Anđela Horvat presumed that the tabernacle was destroyed as early as the 17th century and Ana Deanović does not mention its further destiny. See: ANĐELA HORVAT (note 11), 74 and ANA DEANOVIĆ (note 11), 68. However, the tabernacle structure is last mentioned in 1792, and was demolished soon afterwards. DANKO ŠOUREK, *Kapelica sv. Martina u Vlaškoj ulici i svečevi prikazi u Zagrebu tijekom 17. i 18. stoljeća* [St Martin's chapel in Vlaška Street and the saint's depictions in Zagreb during the 17th and 18th centuries], in: *Putovima europske nematerijalne baštine u 21. stoljeću: Sv. Martin, simbol dijeljenja*, (ed.) Antonija Zaradija Kiš and Ines Sabotić, Zagreb, 2016, 311–331, here 314.

13
For the Košice tabernacle, see: KAROL VACULÍK, *Gotické umenie slovenska* [Gothic art in Slovakia], Bratislava, 1975, 29; JÁN KRCHO, *Gotická architektúra* [Gothic architecture], in: *Architektúra na Slovensku. Stručné dejiny*, (ed.) Henrieta Moravčíková, Bratislava, 2005, 46–59, here 49. Illustration in (e.g.): ERNŐ MAROSI, Matthias Corvinus, the Medieval Man. Gothic and Renaissance, in: *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*, (ed.) Péter Farbaky et al., Budapest, 2008, 113–127, here 122.

14
ANĐELA HORVAT (note 11), 74; JOSIP BUTURAC, *Povijest župe Nedelišće (1226–1992)* [History of the Nedelišće parish (1226–1992)], in: *Nedelišće, Nedelišće*, 1993, 61–190, here 82.

15
RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ (note 11).

- 16
PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIĆ, *De Zagrabienſi Episcopatu*, MS, 1703, Zagreb, National and University Library, Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books.
- 17
Archives of the Zagreb Archdiocese (Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu; NAZ), Prot. 203., vol. I., *Acta Originalia S. Visitationis Canonicae Cathedralis Ecclesiae*, 1792.
- 18
IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka. Opisana s gledišta povjestnice, umjetnosti i starinah [Zagreb's cathedral, described from the art historical and antiquarian perspective], Zagreb, 1856, 21; IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 7), 54; DANKO ŠOUREK (note 12), 313–314.
- 19
Ad latus eiusdem [altari maioris] ex parte evangelii erectum habetur ad modum columnae tabernaculum superbissime ffabrefactum et exornatum statuis primo Ss. Marini Sabariensis episcopi Turonensis, Stephani regis, Emerici ducis et Ladislai regis, deauratis et depictis; inde paulo superius imagine sculpta Salvatoris plagati, posita inter duos angelos, quorum dexter tres clavos, sinister lanceam et arundinem cum spongia tenet. Summitatem pelicanus rostro pectus feriens, pullosque sanguine vivifacens. In hoc tabernaculo conservatur V[enera]bile Sacramentum, lampade argentea ante pendente perpetuoque ardente honoratum. See: RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ (note 11).
- 20
(...) *conscenditur tribus gradibus lapideis in pede insignia N. & N. episcoporum habentur.* Ibid.
- 21
For Pavao Ritter Vitezović (Senj, 1652 – Vienna, 1713), see: *Pavao Ritter Vitezović i njegovo doba (1652–1713)* [Pavao Ritter Vitezović and his time], (ed.) Alojz Jembrih and Ivana Jukić, Zagreb, 2016.
- 22
In hoc etia[m] Sanctuariu[m] e[st] tabernaculu[m], opere mirifico ad latus arae dextra parieti adlaboratu[m]: expensis Osvaldi & fratris ejusd[em] Ioannis Ep[iscop]orum factu[m]. See: PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIĆ (note 16).
- 23
IVAN BOJNIČIĆ KNINSKI, *Der Adel von Kroatien und Slavonien*, Zagreb, 1995 (Nürnberg, 1899), 190 (Taf. 139); Tuz de Lak (Thuz de Lak), plemićka obitelj [Tuz de Lak (Thuz de Lak), a noble family], in: *Hrvatski leksikon*, vol. II, (ed.) Antun Vujić, Zagreb, 1997, 589; *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* [Hungarian biographic lexicon], vol. II, (ed.) Ágnes Kenyeres, <http://mek.oszk.hu/00300/00355/html/> (December 2, 2016).
- 24
TEODORA SHEK BRNARDIĆ, *Tavernik, tavernikalni sud i tavernikalno pravo* [Tavernicus, tavernical court, and tavernical law], in: *Arhivski vjesnik*, 40 (1997), 179–198, here 185 and 190.
- 25
He even seems to have been the king's godfather. Cf. IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Grad Veliki Kalnik* [The town of Veliki Kalnik], in: *Leptir. Zabavnik za godinu 1859.*, (ed.) Ljudevit Vukotinović, Zagreb, 1859, 243–323, here 300.
- 26
IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Dogadjaji Medvedgrada* [History of Medvedgrad], in: *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, 3 (1854), 31–76, here 47–48.
- 27
Tuz de Lak (note 23), 589.
- 28
DANIELE FARLATI (note 11), 335.
- 29
BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ, *Povijest stolne crkve zagrebačke* [History of the Zagreb cathedral], (trans.) Zlatko Šešelj, Zagreb, 1994, 212; STJEPAN RAZUM (note 9), 24.
- 30
For Galeotto Marzio (Narni, ca. 1424 – Bohemia, 1494/97), see: GABRIELLA MIGGIANO, Marzio, Galeotto (Galeottus Narniensis), in: *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 71 (2008) ([http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/galeotto-marzio_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/galeotto-marzio_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (December 2, 2016). For his stay in the Hungarian kingdom and his book, see: ENIKŐ BÉKÉS, Galeotto Marzio and the Court of King Matthias Corvinus. De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis ac factis regis Mathiae, in: *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 29 (2009), 287–296.
- 31
Inter quos traxerat rex Joannem Thuz, virum prudentissimum, & Latine, & Hungaricae, Sclavoniceque eloquentissimum... GALEOTTI MARTII NARNIENSIS, *De Egregie, Sapienter, Jocose dictis ac factis S. Regis Mathiae, ad inclytum Ducem Joannem ejus Filium, cap. XIIX*, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaric[arum] veteres ac genuini (...)* Pars secunda, Vindibonae, 1786, 199.
- 32
MARIANNA D. BIRNBAUM, Renaissance Contacts between Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and the kingdom of Hungary, in: *Hungarian Studies Review*, 13/1 (1986), 35–44, here 38. The author refers to the archival sources published in: JÓZSEF GELCICH – LAJOS THALLÓCZY, *Diplomatarium relationum Reipublicae Ragusanae cum Regno Hungariae. Ragusa és Magyarország összekötteté-seinek oklevéltára*, Budapest, 1887, 771. Although the said edition does not reveal any specific data referring to stone-masons or carpenters, it does include an entry from the *Liber Consilii rogatorum Reipublicae Ragusinae* (January 19, 1466), discussing the departure of *Paschoe ingenario* with *ambassadoribus Hungaris* (earlier in the text mentioned as Janus Rosgoni and *pan Janus*): *De scribendo dominis ambassadoribus Hungaris, pro Paschoe ingenario, si volunt quod eum mittamus.* Cassum. – *De mittendo unum ex nobilibus de consilio rogatorum in Stagnum ad barones Hungaros.* Per 32 contra 1. – *Eleccio dicti nobis: – Ser Nicolo Sav. de Bona.* Per 20 contra 8.
- 33
ANTONIJA ZARADIJA KIŠ, *Sveti Martin. Kult sveca i njegova tradicija u Hrvatskoj* [Saint Martin: His cult and tradition in Croatia], Zagreb, 2004, 139–140.
- 34
GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 366.
- 35
On the destruction of the Zagreb cathedral in the 1880 earthquake, see: DRAGAN DAMJANOVIĆ, *Arhitekt Herman Bollé*, Zagreb, 2013, 140–144.
- 36
“(…) prigodom današnje obnove naše katedrale naišlo (se) u ruševinah na kamene jedan metar visoke kipove sv. Stjepana i Emerika...” – IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 7), 51–52.
- 37
Cf. MIRKO VALENTIĆ, *Kameni spomenici Hrvatske XIII.–XVIII. stoljeća* [Croatian stone monuments (13th–18th centuries)],

Zagreb, 1969, 7–11; ŽELJKO JIROUŠEK, Uz problem agnosciranja i datiranja jedne gotičke okrunjene glave iz stare zagrebačke katedrale [On identifying and dating of a Gothic crowned head from the old Zagreb cathedral], in: *Radovi Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti*, 6 (1969), 13–16; ANĐELA HORVAT, Osvrt na problem oko kamene okrunjene glave u Povijesnom muzeju Hrvatske u Zagrebu [More on the crowned stone head in the Croatian History Museum in Zagreb], in: *Iz starog i novog Zagreba*, 5 (1974), 7–12; DORIS BARIČEVIĆ, Glava kralja (Sv. Stjepan?) [Head of a king (St Stephen?)], in: *Riznica zagrebačke katedrale*, (ed.) Zdenka Munk, Zagreb, 1983, 48; DIANA VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA, Umjetnost kasnog srednjeg vijeka [Late medieval art], in: *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, (ed.) Ivanka Reberski and Tugomir Lukšić, Zagreb, 1994, 131–172, 166; MIRKO VALENTIĆ – LADA PRISTER, Zbirka kamenih spomenika [Collection of stone monuments], 2nd rev. ed., Zagreb, 2002, 21.

38

DIANA VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA (note 37), 166.

39

Tabernaculum decens esse ex Marmore sub forma Baldachini affabre factum, cum insigni Joanis Znika, quondam Cathedralis Ecclesiae Custodis, a quo propterea factum esse, colligitur, Intra facultatem ac Vires Ecclesiae omnino sufficienter ornatum in interiori parte tamen non nisi coelestimo Colore depictum, ac ideo Pro-Custodi imposuitur ut tale quo origus panno Serices, vel materia decenter in vestici curto: in Sumitate imaginem Joannis Baptistae digito agnum ostendentis pariter ex Marmore, et quidem albo affabre exculptam habere; apte collocatum in medio ipsius Mensae, et firmiter haerere.; Tabernaculum mensae superimpositum, marmoreum totum est, affabre elaboratum, cum Insigni Ioannis Znika Ecclesiae hujus Canonici quondam, et custodis, cum duabus item Statuis e[x] candido marmore S. Stephani et Ladislai. – NAZ, Prot. 203., vol. I, Acta Originalia S. Visitationis Canonicae Cathedralis Ecclesiae, 1792, fol. 14–15, 34.

40

DAMIR TULIĆ, Aggiunte al catalogo di Paolo Callalo in Croazia e al Castelfranco Veneto, in: *Arte documento*, 24 (2008), 156–161, here 158.

41

DANKO ŠOUREK, Virtualna katedrala Artura Schneidera [Artur Schneider's virtual cathedral], in: *Artur Schneider 1879.–1946.*, (ed.) Ljerka Dulibić, Zagreb, 2016, 161–189, here 168.

42

FERDO ŠIŠIĆ, Englez Simon Klement u Hrvatskoj god. 1715. [Englishman Simon Clement in Croatia (1715)], in: *Novosti*, 20 (Zagreb, July 15, 1926), 3 (with a partial Croatian translation of: SIMON CLEMENT, Of my travels into the Lower Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Friuli, Carniola and Stiria; 19 July – 20. Sept. 1715, London, British Library, Egerton Mss 2167).

43

IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI (note 18); DANKO ŠOUREK (note 41), 168.

44

“U sriedini presbiterija stoji veliki oltar, sastavljen iz starog mramornog i novog drvenog. Stari, sastoji se iz velike oltarne ploče, iztesane iz crnog mramora, te iz tabernakula izvajanog iz razne boje mramora, urešenog belimi mramornimi kipovi.” [In the midst of the presbytery, there is a large altar, consisting of the old marble and the new wooden altars put together. The old one consists of a large altar table carved in black marble and

a tabernacle carved in variegated marble, decorated with white marble statues.] – IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI (note 18), 18.

45

Zagreb, Arts and Crafts Museum (Muzej za umjetnost i obrt); MUO-028364. I would like to thank Nela Tarbuk and Jasmina Fučkan for their kindness and help.

46

For the iconography and veneration of St Ladislav in the Zagreb Bishopric and Croatia, see: MARIJA MIRKOVIĆ (note 5), 579–591; 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)*, (ed.) Veronika Kucharská, Stanislava Kuzmová, and Adam Mesiarkin, Bratislava, 2013, 308–315.

47

IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 7), 61.

48

RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ (note 11).

49

GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 176–177. See also: JÓZSEF GERICS, Textbezüge zwischen den ungarischen Chroniken und Sankt-Ladislav-Legende, in: *Acta Historicae Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 19 (1973), 273–303; KORNÉL SZOVÁK, The Image of the Ideal King in the Twelfth-century Hungary (Remarks on the Legend of St Ladislav), in: *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe (King's College Medieval Studies X)*, London, 1993, 241–264.

50

Translation from Latin in: GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 190–191.

51

Gábor Klaniczay (2002.) has indicated that there are several major version of the legend and that, regarding the chronology of events, the closest one to the preserved depictions (fresco cycles) is the one written by the German court poet and chronicler Henrik Mügelin in Latin (1352) and German (1360). See: GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 191.

52

An dem selbenn tag sah der herczog Ladisla, daz ein hayd ein junckfrawen furte hinter ym auf einem ros, die was gar schone. Dem eylt er noch auf seim ros, daz was Zaug genant. Do kunt der herczog des heyden nit erreyten. Do ruft sand Lasla die junckfrawen an und sprach: Nym den heyden pey der gurtel und val mit ym auf daz ertreich! Das tet die selb mayt. Do wünte (d. i. 'verwundet') der heilig herczog Lasla den heyden, do er lag auf der erden, und wolt in haben getot. Do fur der haiden auf und ringt lang mit sant Lasla; alz lang, das die junckfrawe dem heyden ein payn abslug mit einer streitaxten, das er viel. Da hielt sant Lasla yn pey dem hore; do slug ym die mayt den hals ab. Also erlost der kunig und der herczog die junckfrawen von dem gevengnusz und czugen heim mit frewden. Citation of Mügelin's text from: NIKOLAOS TRUNTE, Wie König Ladislaus Chan Batu erschlaug, in: *Die Welt der Slaven*, 51 (2006), 315–356, here 328.

53

For the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, see (e.g.): ERNŐ MAROSI, Der heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jh., in: *Acta historiae artium Academiae scientiarum hungaricae*, 33 (1987/1988), 3/4, 211–256, here 219; GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 150–152; BÉLA SZOLT SZAKÁCS, Between Chronicle and Legend: Image Cycles of St. Ladislav in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts, in: *Medieval Chronicle*, 6 (2006), 149–176.

54

For the medieval fresco-cycles, see (e.g.): ERNŐ MAROSI (note 53), 219–230; IVAN GERÁT, Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav – Some Problems of Interpretation, in: *Slovakia and Croatia. Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, (ed.) Veronika Kucharská, Stanislava Kuzmová, and Adam Mesiarkin, Bratislava, 2013, 293–307; JÓZSEF LÁNGI, Szent László ábrázolásairól [Depictions of Saint Ladislav], in: *Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiséggyűjtéséből*, n.s., 6/7 (16/17), [2011/2012 (2013)], 191–208, with illustrations; ZSOMBOR JÉKELY, Transylvanian Fresco Cycles of Saint Ladislav in the New Light, in: *Hungarian Review*, 7 (2014), 6, with a bibliographic overview of recent literature on the subject (http://www.hungarianreview.com/article/20140314_transylvanian_fresco_cycles_of_saint_ladislav_in_a_new_light) (December 2, 2016). For the examples in the historical Diocese of Zagreb (Turnišče in present Slovenia, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Velika) see: ROSANA RATKOVČIĆ (note 6), 48, 50–51, 183–186, 226, and 227.

55

ERNŐ MAROSI (note 54), 223.

56

In tabula inferiori, qua clauditur altare ad cornu evangelii, idem Ladislav coronam in capite tenens atque in sinu sororis quiescens iacet. In eadem, ubi equum descendit, hostem, qui sororem rapuerat, persecutus. In superiori idem Ladislav equo insidens scutum cruce insignitum sinistra tenens, securimque ad feriendum elevatam in dextra habens, cum Tartaro sororem gestante congregitur. In superiore ad latus epistolae, idem cum eodem luctans atque soror Tartari pedem securi seriens; in inferiore idem Ladislav triumphans. – RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ (note 11).

57

In the *Chronicle of the Hungarians*, she is just referred to as a beautiful Hungarian girl (*puella Hungara speciosa*), and Ladislav only initially thought that she was the daughter of the bishop of Várad. In Heinrich Mügel's text, even this hunch of her social status has been left out. See: NIKOLAOS TRUNTE (note 52), 329.

58

Cf. NELA TARBUK, Kipar Johannes Komersteiner i njegov krug [Sculptor Johannes Komersteiner and his circle], Zagreb, 2016, 58–67 and 193–195.

59

ZVONIMIR WYROUBAL, Bernardo Bobić (Malar na Kaptolu stojeći) [Bernardo Bobić, a painter at Kaptol], Zagreb, s. a. (1964), 35–45; ANĐELA HORVAT, Je li Bernardo Bobić slikar ciklusa krilnih oltara zagrebačke katedrale? [Is Bernardo Bobić the painter of the cycle in the altar wings of the Zagreb cathedral?], in: *Peristil* 8/9 (1965/1966), 131–142; ZVONIMIR WYROUBAL, Je li Bernardo Bobić slikao slike oltara sv. Ladislava [Is Bernardo Bobić the painter of St Ladislav's altar?], in: *Peristil*, 10/11 (1967/1968), 129–132; ANĐELA HORVAT, Barok u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj [Baroque in continental Croatia], in: *Barok u Hrvatskoj*, (ed.) Milan Prelog, Zagreb, 1982, 3–381, here 158–161; ZVONIMIR WYROUBAL, Nekoliko primjedbi uz prikaz slikara Bernarda Bobića u knjizi 'Barok u Hrvatskoj' [Remarks on the text on painter Bernardo Bobić in the book "Baroque in Croatia"], in: *Peristil*, 26 (1983), 73–74; MIRJANA REPANIĆ-BRAUN, Sakralno štafelajno slikarstvo baroknog razdoblja [Sacral easel painting from the baroque period], in: *Sveti trag. Devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije*, (ed.) Ivanka Reberski and Tugomir Lukšić, Zagreb, 1994, 341–370, here 346; SANJA

CVETNIĆ, Djela ljubljanskoga slikara Ioannesa Eisenhorhda na Kaptolu, u Zagrebu [Works by Ljubljana's painter Ioannes Eisenhorhdt in Zagreb's Kaptol], in: *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, 5 (2000), 83–108; MARINA MILADINOV, The Arpadians as Croats: Veneration of Ruler Saints in the Diocese of Zagreb at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century, in: *Les cults des saints souverains et des saints guerriers et l'idéologie du pouvoir en Europe Centrale et Orientale*, (ed.) Ivan Biliarsky and Radu G. Păun, Bucharest, 2007, 212–247, here 215–224.

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The surviving panels, preserved in the Zagreb Municipal Museum (Muzej Grada Zagreba) and the Museum of Arts and Crafts (Muzej za umjetnost i obrt), show the following scenes: *Ladislav praying at Mary's altar of Nagyvárad, levitating in front of the amazed spectators; Before the battle with the infidels (Cumans), Ladislav prays on the battlefield that his soldiers may be relieved from starvation and a herd of stags and oxen appears miraculously; During Ladislav's battle against the infidels (Cumans), golden coins, which the enemy throws at the feet of his army in order to confuse or bribe them, turns into stones; King Ladislav hands over a monstrance and church vessels to the first bishop of Zagreb, Duh; Ladislav protects widows, orphans and the poor; Representatives of the Croatian nobility offer the coats-of-arms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia to King Ladislav, while Queen Jelena (Lepa) is standing next to him; Ladislav meets a deer in front of the building site of the Zagreb Cathedral; The architect shows his plans for the Zagreb Cathedral to Ladislav; Ladislav gives alms to the poor; Bishop Duh offers the Croatian crown to Ladislav.* Cf. MARINA MILADINOV (note 59), 216–218.

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DANIEL PREMERL, Bolonjske slike hrvatske povijesti. Politička ikonografija zidnih slika u Ilirsko-Ugarskom kolegiju u Bolonji [Bologna's images of Croatian history: The political iconography of mural paintings in the Illyrian-Hungarian Collegium in Bologna], Zagreb, 2014, 26; JURAJ RATTKAY, Spomen na kraljeve i banove Kraljevstva Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije [Memory of the kings and viceroys of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia], trans. from Latin by Zrinka Blažević, Vladimir Rezar, Boris Nikšić, Teodora Šek Brnardić, and Irena Miličić, Zagreb, 2001, 156 and 158. In his report on Ladislav's deeds, Rattkay, however, skips the story of the rescued girl. Although the story is included in Ladislav's *vita* in Ivan Tomko Mrnavić's *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae* (1632), the Hungarian girl is not identified as his sister. Cf. IVAN TOMKO MRNAVIĆ, *Regiae sanctitatis Illyricanae foecunditas, Romae*, 1632, 239.

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It must be said that the saved girl had been identified as Ladislav's sister in a 15th-century Russian chronicle, probably owing to a misinterpretation of the Latin words spoken by Ladislav in the 14th-century *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (*Soror speciosa, accipe Cunum in cingulo et iacta te in teram.*) and should not be connected with Levaković's later interpretation. For the Russian chronicle, cf. NIKOLAOS TRUNTE (note 52), 329.

63

"Here we can put forward the hypothesis that, in our case, this legend might have merged with the tradition of foundation of the Zagreb bishopric." – MARINA MILADINOV (note 59), 217.

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English translation from *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, by GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 178–179.

Sažetak**Danko Šourek****Arpadski kraljevski kult u zagrebačkoj katedrali –
od gotike do baroka**

Rad pruža prilog proučavanju kontinuiteta i razvitka ikonografskih rješenja povezanih s nekim od važnih dijelova povijesne opreme zagrebačke katedrale (tabernakul i oltar sv. Ladislava), na temelju njihovih promjena zabilježenih u širokom vremenskom rasponu od kasnoga 15. do ranoga 17. stoljeća. Monumentalno gotičko svetohranište (kustodija; *Sakramentshaus*), koje se izvorno nalazilo na sjevernoj strani svetišta katedrale, podignuto je u vrijeme biskupa Osvalda Thuza (1466.–1499.), a sudeći po kasnijim povijesnim opisima, njegovu su visoku kamenu strukturu nadvišenu euharistijskim simbolom pelikana u gnijezdu, uz prikaze anđela sa simbolima Kristove muke, krasile skulpture svetih ugarskih kraljeva Stjepana i Ladislava, kraljevića Emerika te sv. Martina. Ovo je svetohranište uništeno u sklopu preuređenja svetišta provedenoga oko 1800. godine, no čini se kako je moguće povezati ga s kamenim fragmentom iz Hrvatskoga povijesnoga muzeja koji prikazuje glavu okrunjena starca (vjerojatno sv. Stjepana). I novi mramorni tabernakul, postavljen na menzu glavnoga oltara zagrebačke katedrale

1701. godine, bio je opremljen skulpturama svetih ugarskih vladara. Iako je skulptoralni program ovoga svetohraništa poslije (oko 1800. godine) raspršen, a sama njegova struktura uništena (u potresu 1880. godine), već prepoznatim skulpturama svetih kraljeva Stjepana i Ladislava (u Dijecezanskom muzeju Zagrebačke nadbiskupije), moguće je pridružiti i malenu mramornu skulpturu vladara (vjerojatno sv. Emerika), sačuvanu u zagrebačkom Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt. Zanimljiv uvid u specifične ikonografske promjene pruža nadalje primjer dvaju slikarskih ciklusa s prizorima iz života kralja Ladislava, s dvaju sukcesivnih oltara posvećenih ovome svetcu tijekom 15. i 17. stoljeća. Odvajajući se od uvriježenih srednjovjekovnih hagiografskih izvora, ciklus s kraja 17. stoljeća svjedoči tako o osmišljavanju novih, kao i inventivnoj prilagodbi starih ikonografskih motiva.

Ključne riječi: zagrebačka katedrala, sv. Stjepan, sv. Ladislav, ugarski sveti, ikonografija