# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors’ Preface .......................................................................................................................... 5

I. ARTICLES AND STUDIES ..................................................................................................... 7

Andra Jugănu
*Living like Angels in the Near East: Men, Women, and “Family” Double Monasteries in Late Antiquity* ........................................................ 9

Zsuzsanna D’Albini
*The Choral Dance of Miriam: Changing Iconography in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Psalters* ............................................................. 28

Hervin Fernández-Aceves
*Social Positions in the Liber de Regno Sicilie: Using Structural Equivalences in an Attempt to Analyze the Narrative of Pseude-Falcandus* 42

Paul Cristian Bujor
*Quod deus non potest. The Limits of God’s Power in the Thought of Thomas Aquinas and their Relation to the 1277 Condemnation* ............... 59

Mária Vargha
*Medieval Bird-shaped Brooches* ......................................................................................... 71

Anna Kónya
*The Virgin Mary, the Horsemen of the Apocalypse, and the Tree of Jesse: The Iconographic Program of the Wall Paintings of the Parish Church in Alțâna (Alzen, Alcina)* ............................................. 81

Andrea Nechita
*Models of Seduction: The Visual Representation of Women Tempting Saints (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)* ................................................. 96

Sándor Gyarmati
*The Great Linen Register of Bardejov (Bártfia)* ................................................................. 113

Visiting Medievalists .............................................................................................................. 133

Jenni Kuuliala
*Miracles and the Disabled Body in the Later Middle Ages* ............................................. 135

Nino Kavtaria
*A Georgian-Greek Manuscript (F.956, разнояз.0.I.58): Artistic Tradition in the Fifteenth Century* ................................................................. 147
Marina Metelko
Books at the Crossroads:
the Book Culture of Zagreb in the Late Medieval Period ......................... 165

Karolina Mroziewicz
The History of Medieval Hungary in the Illustrated
Seventeenth-century Lives of Saints ..................................................... 180

Twenty Years of the Department of Medieval Studies ............... 201
Gábor Klaniczay
20 Years of Medieval Studies at CEU. June 14–15, 2013 ......................... 203
Claudia Rapp – Patrick Geary
Latin and Greek Middle Ages: A Two-voice Public Lecture ...................... 208

II. REPORT ON THE YEAR .......................................................... 223
Katalin Szende
Report of the Academic Year 2012–13 ................................................. 225
Abstracts of MA Theses Defended in 2013 ............................................. 233
PhD Defenses during the Academic Year 2012–2013 ............................. 252
Marianne Sághy
Pagans and Christians in the Late Roman Empire:
New Evidence, New Approaches.
An International Conference in Budapest, 7–10 March 2013 .................... 283
Stanislava Kuzmová – Gábor Klaniczay
OTKA-Supported Saints Project at the Department of Medieval Studies, 2010–2014 .......................................................... 290
Georg Christ – Katalin Szende
Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities, and the Diasporic Experience in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean ..................... 296
Gábor Klaniczay
Jacques Le Goff (1924–2014) ................................................................. 306
BOOKS AT THE CROSSROADS: THE BOOK CULTURE OF ZAGREB IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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In the second half of the fifteenth and the first decades of the sixteenth century, the urban area of Zagreb, the future Croatian capital, consisted of the bishop’s town on one hill and the royal town of Gradec on the opposite hill, forming an administrative and economic urban nucleus. It radiated influence over quite an expansive surrounding region where the interests of ecclesiastical and local landowning elites intersected with royal policies in complex ways throughout the medieval period. Situated at a crossroads of paths leading from the Hungarian kingdom and southern regions of the German lands to the Adriatic coast, the urban area of Zagreb was a dynamic place of economic and cultural exchange throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At that time, when the Zagreb region and the entire Hungarian kingdom anticipated the intensification of Ottoman expansion westward, Europe was undergoing one of its most profound and far-reaching socio-cultural revolutions – the arrival and dissemination of the book printed by moveable type as a new medium of written communication.

The first printed books commissioned to be used specifically in the Zagreb region offer a fascinating glimpse into the local adaptations and variations of the pan-European socio-cultural phenomenon of the printed book. They did not appear in an intellectual and cultural vacuum. In 1484, when the first book printed specifically for use in the area of the diocese of Zagreb was completed in the Venice shop of Erhard Radolt of Augsburg, the cathedral library of the Zagreb chapter already had an impressive collection of handwritten books covering the main spheres of knowledge necessary for the education of canons and priests: theology, natural philosophy, medicine, and law. Furthermore, the liturgical books had to be prepared in accordance with the local Zagreb rite, providing a convenient starting point for inquiries into local written culture. Shedding light on an aspect of the medieval history of this region that has frequently been overshadowed by the attention given to the political and economic turbulence accompanying the disintegrating world of the late medieval Hungarian kingdom, the process of reconstructing the late medieval book culture of Zagreb is also a process of resurrecting a world of socio-cultural exchange connecting the Zagreb region with the great late medieval urban centers of crafts and trade in Northern and Southern Europe.
The Cathedral Library

The period starting with the energetic office of Bishop Oswald Thuz (1466–1499) and ending with the defeat of the royal army at Mohács in 1526 was also a time when some of the most interesting documents of Croatian book heritage appeared, under the patronage of Zagreb ecclesiastical elites: the luxuriously illuminated missals of “George of Topusko,” the great antiphonary of Bishop Thuz, the first printed Zagreb breviary in 1484, and the first printed Zagreb missal in 1511. The lively interplay between manuscript and print culture, a European-wide phenomenon that was also visible on the pages of these books, discloses a network of dynamic socio-cultural exchange running vigorously between the Zagreb region and its closer and further environs, sometimes beating in time and sometimes against the pulse of pressing political anxieties. Considering all the proposed answers and questions still left open about how books were made and used in the Zagreb region in this period, I have tried to outline the contours of a book culture whose extant body of sources is considerably smaller than it must have been in late medieval times. Its development was significantly redirected by the more pressing business of waging war with the Ottoman armies that marked all of the sixteenth century in this part of Europe. Each book is a fascinating window into various aspects of the socio-cultural history of a region where influences from various sides of Europe intersected in what Christopher de Hamel has recently defined as a “joyful and utterly beguiling mix of cultures and artistic enterprise ... characteristic of the making of manuscripts for use in medieval Croatia.”

Throughout the medieval period, the cathedral library was the central repository of books that arrived steadily in the Zagreb chapter area. The book lists in the extant cathedral inventories give excellent insight into the dynamics of book collecting as well as the nature and scope of the collection as it grew steadily in size. Bearing in mind that one of the main goals of the cathedral library was to further the education of Zagreb canons, the book lists found in inventories from the end of the fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century are also a valuable source for examining the local intellectual culture. Edit Madas has recently written about an emphasis on natural sciences and theology in Zagreb, evident from a comparison with another two extant early fifteenth-century book lists of Hungarian medieval cathedral chapters, those of the libraries in Pozsony (now Bratislava) and Veszprém, concluding that:

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In this respect, the Zagreb library was richer and more sophisticated than the others: it housed theological *treatises* and *quaestiones*, as well as six copies of Peter Lombard’s *Libri IV Sententiarum* and separate commentaries to this work, which were otherwise part of a regular university curriculum.²

The oldest extant cathedral inventory, dating from 1394,³ contains a book list of 109 items written on both paper and parchment, including works on canon law, scholastic authors, biblical literature, astronomy, and the liturgy, attesting that a lively book culture was flourishing in the area of the Zagreb chapter. Just two years after the composition of this inventory, on December 16, 1396, Zagreb Bishop Ivan II Alben notes that in one of the frequent skirmishes between Gradec and Kaptol (the king’s and the bishop’s towns), the citizens of Gradec invaded the main Kaptol square and broke into the homes of canons, stealing and taking with them “all kinds of clerical books which our brothers kept for their studies, … and also missals, breviaries and other books of great value.”⁴ A new inventory was composed, as requested by Bishop Ivan Alben, some time between 1421 and 1425, featuring 89 new books that had not been a part of the 1394 book list.⁵ The inventory of 1502, listing “an unbound and uncompleted missal with wooden covers, bequeathed by *dominus* George the suffragan of the church” was composed especially hastily, as the church treasures were placed in various drawers and chests and catalogued for fear of a sudden Ottoman attack.⁶

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⁴ Antun Markov, “Metropolitanska knjižnica” [The Metropolitan library], *Kulturno-poviestni zbornik zagrebačke nadbiskupije: u spomen 850. godišnjice osnutka* [The cultural-historical journal of the Zagreb archdiocese: Commemorating the 850th anniversary] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko izdavački bibliografski zavod 1944), 494.

⁵ Markov, “Metropolitanska knjižnica,” 494.

Over the course of centuries, the medieval library of Zagreb cathedral became the Metropolitana library of the Zagreb archdiocese (now the Knjižnica Metropolitana), one of the largest and most impressive collections of the Croatian historic book heritage. However, at the present time there is no complete contemporary concordance of medieval catalogues with the most recent modern one. The catalogue presently used for the extant medieval codices of the Metropolitana dates from 1944 and was composed by Antun Markov, who was the chief librarian at the time. Markov lists 151 codices from the medieval period, extending from the twelfth to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The majority of the Metropolitana’s medieval codices come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a period marked by a proliferation of missals and breviaries written in accordance with the Zagreb liturgical rite. This substantial body of sources for the late medieval book culture of Zagreb still awaits more detailed paleographic and codicological analysis, which would allow interpretations and discussions of the specific features of local scriptoria that existed in and around Zagreb and permit more accurate dating for codices where the scribe left none.

The Zagreb Breviary of 1484

The first book printed to be used in the territory of the Zagreb diocese, Breviarium secundum usum ecclesie Zagrabiensis, was commissioned by the Zagreb Bishop Oswald Thuz and edited by two Zagreb canons. One was Blasius of Moravče, a doctor of law and archdeacon of Kalnik, whose copious lecture notes from his legal studies in Padua remain in three fifteenth-century Metropolitana codices, and the other was George of Ivanić, the archdeacon of Bekšin. The breviary was an important project marking the office of Oswald Thuz (1466–1499), a great patron of books whose ambitious cultural policy was distinguished by substantial work done on the Zagreb cathedral and the cathedral area. With the aim of managing the territorially expansive diocese more efficiently following a thirty-year period of misrule, Thuz successfully led the struggle to restore the bishop’s tithe. The idea behind using the new technology of print to put a carefully composed breviary into circulation (optime emendarentur, et emendata imprimerentur) was a desire for a homogenization of the diocese on the level of pastoral care. As stated in the

7 Stjepan Razum, Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlászló vescovo di Zagrabia, 1466–1499 (Rome: Pontificia’ Universita’ Gregoriana, Faculta’ di Storia Ecclesiastica, 1995), 154. The large medieval diocese of Zagreb was divided into 14 archdeaconries encompassing most of modern-day northwestern Croatia and extending into modern-day Bosnia around the town of Dubica.
prologue, the new breviary was to satisfy “a great need for amended brevirates” (*cum in dioecesi Zagrabiensi esset magna penuria emendatorum brevieriarum*) and bring order among the current confusion of inadequate brevirates in use while being “of use to the clergy of his whole diocese” (*in utilitatem cleri totius dioecesis sue*). The only two extant examples of the first 1484 edition are held outside of Croatia today. One is kept in the Széchényi National Library in Budapest and the other in the Vatican Apostolic library.

The Budapest copy is a fine octavo printed on parchment with delicate hand-painted floral decorations in the margins. Its text, the purpose of which was to standardize the organization of religious activities throughout the year, provides valuable insight into the relationship between the clergy and their parishioners. The rubrics offer, for instance, instructions on how to organize everyday activities at times of church feasts, such as selling meat, and how to harvest crops expeditiously when threatened by sudden inclement weather. The Vatican copy lists the old Croatian names for the months in the Kajkavian dialect, the language of the northwest Croatian region. None of this has yet been considered as source material for the late medieval social history of the Zagreb region and is certainly worth exploring in more depth.

**The Zagreb Missal of 1511**

The first printed Zagreb missal, *Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis ecclesie*, is a folio-size book completed in 1511 in the Venice workshop of Peter Liechtenstein from Cologne. Luka from Szeged (Lukács Szegedi), bishop of Zagreb (1500–1510), initiated and approved the project, which was financed by

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10 Stjepan Razum has transcribed the text of the rubrics and the calendar in Osvaldo Thuz, Appendix II, 798–846.

11 Andrija Lukinović, “Luka Baratin (1500–1510)” in Zagrebački biskupi i nadbisukpi [Zagreb bishops and archbishops] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga 1995), 223–227, mentions that his birthplace was Szeged, that the office he held prior to Zagreb was Csanád, and that he was also known in the documents as “Lucas Szegedi” or “Lucas from Szeged.” Árpad Mikó rejects the last name “Baratin” as a product of an early error transferred through several sources and calls him simply Lukács Szegedi, see Árpad Mikó, “All’antica djela i njihovi stvaraoici u Budimu i Zagrebu za Matije Korvina i Jagelovića (1480–1526)” [All antica works and their creators in Buda and Zagreb during the reign of Mathias Corvinus and
a German citizen of Zagreb who made his business enterprise known in the colophon as *iusse et impensis ac sumptibus providi atque egregii viri Johannis Müer civis Zagrabiensis*. This colophon is an interesting testimony to the enterprising activity of Germans in late medieval Zagreb; it also provides the explicit information that Johannes Müer was of German origin from the town of *Koppfstain*. Archival documents for another German citizen of Zagreb mention him variously as *Johannes pictor*, *Hans pictor*, and *Hans pictor Almanus*. The first mention of *Hans pictor Almanus* comes from a report of payments made in the period 1491 to 1513 compiled by the Zagreb canon *Lucas de Dombro* (Luke from Dubrava). The expenses mostly concern carpentry work done on the churches and homes of the canons, but also include payments made to ensure the smooth running of other Zagreb chapter activities. Four florins were paid to *Hans pictor Almanus* on the feast of St. Margaret in 1503 for “a panel and clock hands of the blessed king” (*pro tabula et indice horarum beati regis*). The formulation “blessed king” was most likely a short form for “the church of the blessed King Stephen,” mentioned several times earlier in the document as *ecclesia beati regis Stephani* and *ecclesia cathedrali beati regis Stephani*, which makes it probable that Hans’ work was intended for the Zagreb cathedral. The magistrate of the royal town of Gradec presented him with a plot of land in 1504. This *Johannes* or *Hans* has been suggested as the most likely candidate for the late Gothic illuminator of the “George of Topusko” missals, although the current archival information does not allow more decisive arguments for or against this possibility.

The 1511 Zagreb missal is an elegant book, harmoniously and skillfully executed in print with an abundance of woodcut illustrations. Marginal notes in various extant copies give some idea of the modes and extent of its circulation in the territory of the medieval diocese of Zagreb. Confirming that it also circulated outside the territory of the medieval diocese of Zagreb are extant copies found in the sixteenth-century libraries of Hungarian prelates Miklós Oláh, János

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12 The official site of the Zagreb archdiocese, reporting on the 2011 visit of Pope Benedict XVI to Zagreb when he was presented with a copy of the 1511 Zagreb missal, proposes that *Koppfstain*, the name of the town thus worded in the colophon of the 1511 missal is the modern day town of *Kufstein* on the Inn River in the Austrian province of Tyrol, close to German Bavaria. “Darovi kardinala Bozanića papi Benediktu XVI” [The gifts of Cardinal Bozanić to Pope Benedict XVI] (accessed Dec. 2013).

13 Tkalčić, MCZ XI, 304: *Item in profesto beate Margarethae virgis et martiris 1503 dedi pro tabula et indice horarum beati regis, quam fecit Hans pictor Alemanus…flor IIII.*

Chereődy, János Kuthassy, and András Monoszló. Five copies displaying some variation are kept in the Metropolitana library, one of them bearing an inscription from 1516 when it was presented as a votive offering to the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish of Resnik by a certain John of Resnik. The copy preserved in the library of the Greek Catholic Eparchy in Križevci has the early sixteenth-century signature of the owner, Paulus, a Zagreb canon and archdeacon of Dubica, in several places in red and black ink. The interior of the missal is a treasure trove of all kinds of socio-cultural data, from local liturgical and hagiographical distinctions to health instructions for each month and local practices of computing time.

The photograph of the Annunciation page reproduced in this article (Fig. 1) comes from a copy kept in the National and University Library in Zagreb. The rubric and responsorial are framed by full-page woodcut illustrations. Gabriel and the Virgin are represented in the top left and right medallions. Below the presiding figure of Christ flanked by angels, the figures of Old Testament minor prophets Zachary, Amos, and Baruch are shown on the left and Sophonias, Abdias, and Malachias on the right. Figures of kings David and Solomon follow the text of the rubric while the figures of the major prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah frame the lower margin with scenes of the Visitation. Two additional copies exist in the library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (R-905a and b) with R-905b bearing the 1512 donation notes of its first owner, the Zagreb canon Andreas Planckner. Further analysis of all the marginalia in the copies preserved in Croatia and abroad will provide insight into patterns of its circulation and use.

15 Árpad Mikó, “All’antica djela i njihovi stvaraoci u Budimu i Zagrebu,” 58.
17 Željko Vegh, Inkunabule i knjige XVI stoljeća u knjižnici Grkokatoličke biskupije u Križevcima: katalog izložbe [Incunabula and sixteenth-century books in the library of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Križevci: A catalogue of the exhibition] (Križevci: The Convent of the Sisters of St. Basil, 2007), 84. The frontispiece inscription in this catalogue was imprecisely read as Liber Pauli medwessij Canonici codie Zagrabien 1530. The year 1530 is actually found at the end of a similar signature much further in the book.
18 RIIF-4o-91, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection, National and University Library in Zagreb.
Fig. 1. Missale Zagabriense of 1511, the Feast of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The scene of the Annunciation is featured in the historiated initial below the text of the rubric. Reproduced courtesy of the National and University Library in Zagreb, Manuscripts and Old Books Collection RIIF-40-91.
The most opulently illuminated codex written in accordance with the Zagreb liturgical rite, today kept in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral is commonly known as Missale Georgii de Topusko No 354 (K2). Like Missale Georgii de Topusko, MR 170, deposited in the Metropolitana library of the Zagreb archdiocese, it is believed to have been commissioned initially by George, a local nobleman and church dignitary who was a suffragan to the Zagreb bishop, Oswald Thuz, some time in the last decades of the fifteenth century. While the Metropolitana missal MR 170 was completely written, signed by the scribe, Matheus de Milethnicz, and dated to the year 1495, the treasury missal was never completely written out and illuminated. Edith Hoffmann was the first to connect these volumes to the figure of a single patron, George, suffragan to the Zagreb bishop. On the page of the treasury missal featuring a full-page illumination of St. George, she noted the inscription in the ribbon above the head of St. George spelling out D[omi] N[ei] G[eorgii] E[pi] s[copi] RO[son] (nis), Connecting this piece of information with the inscription on the inside of the original wooden front cover of the library missal MR 170, read as: 1518. Missale Kalenidii Beate Marie virginis assignatum per executorem quondam Reverendi Domini Georgii de Topusko ipsis dominis preben[dati] Ecclesiae Zagrabienensis, she concluded that the patron of the treasury missal was a George who was the titular bishop of the Rosonian diocese.

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23 See the record in Conradus Eubel, Hierarchia catholica medii aevi aevi sive Summorum pontificum, S.R.E cardinalium, eclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 ad annum 1605 perducta II (Regensburg: Libraria Regensbergiana, 1914), 224–226 and 285. Eubel mentions a “George provost of the church of Čazma in the diocese of Zagreb” among four men who held the titular office of a diocese cited as Russoniensis or Ruskoi in Thracia in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Eubel, it was a suffragan to a province of the eastern patriarachate of Constantinople variously cited as Varoniensis or Verisiensis: In patriarchatus Constantinopolitanorum parte orientali haec sunt provinciae: ... Verisien, cum suffr.: Russianien, Apr(on)en, seu Napronen, (Kypsalen.) This province is believed to have been in the north central part.
(episcopus rosonensis) and the same Georgius de Topwsko whose executor presented the library missal MR 170 to the association or calendinum of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a gathering of Zagreb prebendaries. Re-examination of the inscription on the wooden covers makes it clear that Topwsko was misread. The letters spell out something much closer to Thopwska, a variant of Toplica or Toplice, the medieval location of a Cistercian abbey. The name is a common Croatian toponym denoting “natural thermal springs.” The modern town of Topusko, situated some 60 km south of Zagreb, developed around the site of the medieval Cistercian abbey and still uses the benefits of thermal springs for tourism. In the medieval archival records, Suffragan George appears variously as Georgius suffraganen de Thopolczka (the cathedral inventory of 1502),

24 dominus Georgius gubernator abbacie de Topolzka (legal proceedings between nobles and Zagreb merchants of 1481),

25 and most completely in a 1496 document confirming his consecration of the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Zagreb cathedral, as Ego Georgius rosonensis, commendatarius abbatie toplicensis, prepositus chasmensis, suffraganen huius ecclesie zagabriensis,

26 confirming the modern toponym Topusko as a linguistic variation of the medieval one.

One of the more interesting documents serving as a turning point for some disagreement concerning the identity of the patron is a list of handheld bombards, pyxides sive bombardae manuales, distributed among Zagreb canons on August 17, 1473, confirming the fear of an Ottoman incursion into the area like the one that took place in 1469 and was stopped short by the surging waters of the Sava River. Dominus Georgius suffraganen, Georgius de Mileticz, and Georgius de Ztenichnak appear at the end of the list of Zagreb canons.

27 This dispels the possibility that the patron of the missal was a brother or a relative of the scribe, Matheus de Milethnicz, who wrote the library missal.

28 It affirms the series, established in Conrad Eubel’s Hierarchia catholica medii aevii, of two Georges in a row bearing the title of episcopus rosonensis and filling the office of the bishop’s suffragan – one coming to the Zagreb office from the diocese of Pécs (1465–1488) and the other a local nobleman already bearing the title of provost of

of present-day Turkey, but more research is needed to localize the area of the suffragan Russoniensis with greater precision.

24 Tkalčić, MCZ, Appendix IV, 183.
26 Ibid., MCZ II, 507 Doc. 383.
27 Ibid., MCZ II, 360 Doc. 290.
28 This was proposed by Kniewald, “Misal,” 49–50.
Furthermore, additional archival evidence suggests that the family name or identity of the second Suffragan Bishop George, the patron of the missal, could be connected to the old and important estate of Steničnjak which bordered the lands of the Cistercian abbey of Toplice. This explains why, in 1481, *dominus Georgius gubernator abbacie de Topolžka* appears in a source documenting legal proceedings initiated before the royal palatine against himself and a whole group of Croatian nobles, including members of the Frankapan, Zrinski, and Kurjaković families, on behalf of the merchants of the royal town of Gradec for illegally collecting taxes from merchants in return for passage through their lands. Suffragan Bishop George, whose coat of arms graces the pages of both missals, thus emerges as an ambitious and wealthy member of both the ecclesiastical elite and the local landowning nobility. The extent to which he played a part in shaping this expensive illuminated liturgical book he commissioned is not known, but it was clearly important as both a status symbol and a medium that must appropriately fulfill its ceremonial liturgical purpose.

The interior world of the “George of Topusko” missals, with illuminations done in the late Gothic style and bearing strong relationships to German copperplate print culture, reveals vibrant late medieval poetics of vice and virtue. Coming alive in the margins around the sacred text are griffons and vultures, owls and monkeys, demons and dragons small and large, fierce lions and gorgeously painted peacocks, all pregnant with Christian symbolism, as well as characters from everyday life (musicians, wives beating their husbands, hunters) coexisting with dignified biblical figures dressed in the attire of fifteenth-century lords and ladies. The relationship to German copperplate prints of the fifteenth century opened the door to a fluid world of cross-cultural and inter-media exchange.

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29 Eubel, *Hierarchia…*, 224–226. Čazma, today a town about 60 km east of Zagreb, was a collegiate chapter of the diocese of Zagreb as well as an alternate place of residence for Zagreb bishops in the medieval period. Bishop Oswald Thuz sent correspondence from Čazma and died there in 1499.

30 Razum, “Giorgio, vescovo rosonense” and “Giorgio de Steničnjak (de Zthenichnak), detto ‘de Topusko’ vescovo rosonense,” *Osvaldo Thuz*, 392–409.


32 Kniewald, “Misal,” 54–66 and 81–82. The influences connected with this missal quite early on were the fifteenth-century German and Netherlandish copperplate engravers and painters such as Israhel von Meckenem, Master of the Berlin passion, Master ES, and Master of the Playing Cards.

in the early days of manuscript and print culture interaction. Among fifteenth-century German copperplate engravers noted as influences for the illuminations of the Gothic part of the Zagreb missal is a so-called Master of the Playing Cards, whose whimsical, widely circulated motifs of animals, plants, and human figures found their way into the pages of this illuminated Zagreb liturgical book. I noticed, for instance, that the upper margin on the first illuminated page of the treasury missal, featuring dense foliage and climbing naked male figures encircling the central presentation of the Virgin Mary as the titular patron saint of Zagreb cathedral, is in fact a copy of the upper margin of the frontispiece of a fifteenth-century bestseller, Bernard von Breydenbach’s travel narrative *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, illustrated in woodcuts and first printed in Mainz in 1486. Diminishing barriers between high and low, secular and religious cultures in the world of the late fifteenth-century print and its accelerating rate of interaction with local book cultures as it traveled across Europe in various forms (books, flyers, leaflets, model blocks) with travelling artists and entrepreneurs, is a sociocultural phenomenon that is fascinating to observe come alive on the pages of this highly ceremonial liturgical codex belonging to a local ecclesiastical book culture such as that of Zagreb.34

**A Missal for the Royal Wedding?**

Neither of the “George of Topusko” missals was completed in the way their patron probably envisioned them in the late fifteenth century. Although the library missal was completely written, late Gothic illuminated folios are scarcer than in the treasury missal, with an amateur hand of a much later time adding illustrations in the blank margins. Work on the treasury missal was resumed, however, not long after the death of George of Topusko, probably in 1498,35 in an equally magnificent mode, but this time in the style of the Italian Renaissance. It shows the coat of arms of the Zagreb bishop, Simon Bakócz Erdődy (1518–1534), and features a profusion of delicately and skillfully executed nature scenes and portraits of castles and fortresses in the marginal medallions. This has prompted many previous Croatian scholars of this codex to attribute the Renaissance

34 For a fully rounded and well researched survey of the art of the print in fifteenth-and sixteenth-century Europe and its socio-cultural framework, see David Landau and Peter W. Parshall, *Renaissance Print: 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994). A reproduction of the *Peregrinatio* frontispiece accompanied by a discussion of Erhard Reuwich, woodcut artist, can also be found here.

illuminations to the young Giulio Clovio, a famous sixteenth-century miniaturist of Croatian origin who spent some time at the Buda court and participated in the battle of Mohács.\footnote{See Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, “Jure Glović prozvan Julijo Klovio: hrvatski sitnoslikar...” [Jure Glović known as Julijo Klovio: a Croatian miniaturist...] (Zagreb 1878), 7; Dragutin Kniewald, “Misal,” 68–73, and Antun Ivandija, “Marginalije...” 20–24. For a more recent opinion on this issue see Milan Pelc, “Iluminirani kodeksi između gotike i renesanse” [Illuminated codices between the Gothic art and the Renaissance] in his Renesansa (Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak, 2007), 547–8, referring to the research of Árpad Mikó, “Illuminated Grants of Arms of King Louis II: Art Historical Questions Linked to a Specific Form of Heraldic Representation in the Hungary of the Late Jagiellon Period,” in Mary of Hungary. The Queen and Her Court 1521–1531 [exhibition catalog] (Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2005), 81–95 and idem., “All’antica ...,” 53–60.} Although the identity of this artist remains an unsolved puzzle, Hungarian scholars have rejected the possibility of Giulio Clovio as the illuminator for lack of comparative material from this early stage of Clovio’s career, preferring to refer to the artist as “the Bakócz monogrammist,” a term coined by Edith Hoffman.\footnote{Árpad Mikó, “All’antica ...,” 59, referring to Edith Hoffman and Tünde Wehli, Régi magyar bibliofilek [Old Hungarian bibliophiles] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészetttörténeti Kutatóintézet, 1992).} The same monogram which initially led Croatian scholars to attribute it to young Giulio Clovio also appears in the monumental, two-volume Bakócz Gradual of Esztergom, bearing the same Bakócz-Erdődy coat of arms that graces the Renaissance pages of the Zagreb missal, and has also been noted in two grants of arms issued by Louis II. The fact that two styles of illumination – late Gothic and Italian Renaissance – coexist on the pages of the Zagreb missal and were probably painted within a relatively short interval of time from each other is one of the distinguishing and wonderfully heterogeneous features of Central European book art and book culture at this time, bearing witness to a dynamic cultural exchange and mobility of artists.\footnote{See Anna Boreczky, “Book painting in Hungary in the Age of János Vitéz,” in A Star in the Raven’s Shadow... (Budapest: National Széchény Library 1994), 25–45}

What is interesting from the point of view of the socio-cultural context of the second part of the treasury missal is an astute observation made by the late Zagreb cathedral treasury custodian, Antun Ivandija, regarding the benedictio nubentium portion of the text. Ivandija drew attention to the fact that the name of the future young Hungarian ruler who later wed Mary of Habsburg and died at Mohács, King Louis II Jagiellon, Ludovicus in Latin, is explicitly mentioned in the text of the missal usually reserved for an impersonal form of a wedding blessing. Indeed, the text of the second column on folio 283v begins with a rubric Ordo benedictionis nubencium that goes on to explain which words to use in the case of a...
royal wedding: *Et presertim si inter principes conubium celebretur. Tunc primum interrogatio facienda est ad regem sic: Serenissime rex...* 39 The text continues on the next folio, 284r, specifically mentioning the name of King Louis: ...

39 “And especially if a wedding is to be celebrated amongst royalty. In that case, the question should first be addressed to the king: Oh the most serene king...”

30 “...does your Majesty hold Her Most Serene Highness present here in matrimonial affection? ...Then a question for the queen: Does Her most serene highness hold your Serenity, the most serene Lord Louis the king here present in matrimonial affection and thus accept His Majesty as a spouse?”

41 Tkalčić, MCZ XI Appendix IV, 187, Item unum Missale in asseribus non ligatum at non completum per condam dominum Georgium suffraganeum ecclesie legatum.

42 Kniewald, “Misal,” 45.

43 See Orsolya Réthelyi, “Mary of Hungary in the Court Context (1521–1531), ” PhD dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, Department of Medieval Studies, 2010), 24,72,79, 120,177, 197–198. The ceremony of 1515 was a double wedding in which two Jagiellon siblings were betrothed to two siblings of the Habsburg family; Anne Jagiello’s hand was given to Ferdinand, while Louis Jagiello was wed to Mary Habsburg, with Cardinal Tamas Bakócz conducting the ceremony. It is quite possible that the cardinal, as Ivandija suggests, may have seen the lavishly illuminated Zagreb missal and decided to have it completed with the intention of using it for this occasion.

44 Ivandija, “Marginalije...”, 18 The author suggests the *terminus ante quem non* as June 4, 1508, the date when Louis II was crowned king of Hungary while still a child, and the *terminus post quem non* as July 28, 1515, when the very young king was wed to Mary, granddaughter of the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian in Vienna.
artistic styles of the Northern and Southern regions of Europe, intersections of high and low, secular and religious culture of late fifteenth-century Europe – all finding their place in the medium of liturgical books, forming a local book culture whose patrons were the ecclesiastical elite. The transition from the fifteenth to sixteenth century saw a wide variety of local book cultures across Europe, each responding to the great cultural revolution of the printed book with its own specific socio-cultural dynamics in a process comparable to the coexistence of print and electronic cultures of written information in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries.

The ambition to develop the Zagreb cathedral chapter in an intellectual and cultural sense as a center of the large medieval diocese of Zagreb started with the foundation and growth of the cathedral chapter library, one of the more extensive ones in scope and content in the territory of the medieval Hungarian kingdom. It continued through the fifteenth century to include the new medium of the printed book and came up against the unwanted political and economic turbulence of the intensifying battles against the invading Ottoman armies. Nevertheless, the Zagreb region experienced the horizons of the late medieval world merging with the new intellectual and cultural trends of early modern Europe at its own local pace and dynamic. The surviving body of sources for late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century book culture of the diocese of Zagreb offer rich material for exploring various aspects of the intersections between two different media of written communication, intersections which perhaps never before reverberated so sympathetically with our own time.