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

Original scientific paper – Izvorni znanstveni rad
Received – Primljen 12. 5. 2017.
UDK 7.044/.046.3(439): 27-523.41Zagreb”14/17”

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 Ladislas’ 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 Ladislas, 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 Ladislas 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 Ladislas’ 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 Ladislas, 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 Ladislas (r. 1077–1095, canonised in 1192), who dedicated its cathedral to the first king of the Arpad dynasty, Stephen (r. 997–1038). 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. The newly established bishopric was soon to assume a prominent 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. The cathedral was also presented with important relics, such as the head of St Steven, the arm of St Ladislas (both of them later incorporated in lavishly designed silver reliquaries), as well as Ladislas’ royal mantle, 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 Ladislas) 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.9 According to Ivan Krtitelić, 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 Osvald 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, Osvald also furnished it with a new high altar. Destroyed in fire in 1624, Osvald’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 Osvald is provided by a depiction of the Patrona Hungaricae 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 Osvald 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 Nedeljišće 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 Sakinski and Ivan Krtitelić.18

Levaković wrote that to the left of the high altar (ex parte evangelii) there was a beautifully and skillfully 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 Osvald and his brother, Bishop Ioannes.22 Searching for Osvald’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), and finally, the royal tavernicus (1479–1481).23 Like Osvald himself, he was an important member of the Matthias Corvinus’ (r. 1458–1490) court,24 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 1498.25 Ivan’s son Alphonso was a high cleric of the Zagreb diocese (canon and later praepositus major).26 Although Osvald’s testament (1499) refers to Alphonso as a son of his brother Ivan (Alphonso filio magnifici quaondam D. Ioannis Tuz fratris mei),27 the question of the exact relationship between Osvald 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 Osvald was indeed a brother of ban Ivan.28

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) praised Ivan’s prudence and his rhetorical skills in Latin, Hungarian, and Croatian (Slavonic).29 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 Milčević) and carpenters to work at his court.30 Although his Dubrovnik sojourn (1466) seems to have preceded the construction of the Zagreb tabernacle.
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, Ladislas and Emeric, but also St Martin of Tours, a saint whose cult was spreading from the royal abbey of Pannonhalma in north-western Hungary and had likewise been promoted by the Hungarian royal court since the 14th century.

As noted above, Osvald’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. In his writings, closely following these works, Ivan Krsitelj Tkalčić informed us that: “(...) in the course of the recent renewal of our cathedral, stone statues of St Stephen and St Emeric were found.” Unfortunately, their subsequent destiny remains unknown, but in the 1920s the Croatian 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). 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) allow for an assumption that it once belonged to the
sculptural programme of Osvald’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 Ladislas stood on each side of the baroque tabernacle, its dome likewise crowned with a marble statue, representing St John the Baptist. This ensemble was later dispersed and finally destroyed (in the earthquake of 1880), but the statues of St Stephen and St Ladislas (attributed to the Venetian sculptor Paolo Callalo) have luckily survived, and help us reconstruct the original iconographic arrangement (Fig. 2, 3). Although the aforementioned source mentions only St Stephen and St Ladislas 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. Furthermore, Ivan Kukuljević Šakinski, writing more than half a century after the statues of St Stephen and St Ladislas had been removed from their original location at the tabernacle, 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. Had there been only one marble statue at the tabernacle (St John the Baptist on its top), it is unlikely that Kukuljević Šakinski would have use 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 Ladislas. Furthermore, the comparative smallness of St Emeric (only 45 cm compared to the 102 cm of St Stephen and St Ladislas) may well indicate its original position in the upper part of the tabernacle.

Gothic and baroque altars (two Ladislas 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 Ladislas, 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 Osvald 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 Ladislas 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 Ladislas 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 Ladislas, 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 Ladislas thus called out to the girl, and said: ‘Sweet sister, grab the Cuman by the belt, and throw yourself to the ground.’ This she did. But when the blessed Prince Ladislas 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 Mügeln in Latin (1352) and German (1360), 51 Ladislas overpowered the Cuman precisely owing to the brave girl, who slashed the enemy’s foot with Ladislas’ 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 Ladislas 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)
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 Ladislas 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, Ladislas 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) Ladislas was still fighting with the Cuman warrior, slashing his foot with an axe. Finally, he was depicted in triumph. It is important to notice that in Levaković’s description, the Hungarian girl is persistently referred to as Ladislas’ sister (soror), 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 Ladislas 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). Scenes from Ladislas’ 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 Eisenhordt by Mirjana Repanić-Braun). They include some episodes from the traditional Ladislas legend (although without the episodes depicted on the previous wings) as well as five episodes distinctively connected to the local context.

One of these scenes (Representatives of the Croatian Nobility offer the coats-of-arms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia to King Ladislas) stresses the role of Jelena (Lepa), widow of the Croatian king Dimitar Zvonimir and sister to King Ladislas, in his legal and peaceful successor 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 borum regnorum Dalmatie, Croatiae et Slavonie (1652). 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.

Finally, yet another traditional aspect of Ladislas’ 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-
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). According to the legend that was, once more, first recorded in the Chronicle of the Hungarians, this vision of Prince Ladislas, 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 Ladislas 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 Ladislas 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.’”

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

* An earlier version of this paper entitled “Osvald’s Tabernacle and the Presence of Hungarian Royal Saints in Zagreb Cathedral” was presented at the International workshop Between Venice, Hungarian Kingdom and Habsburgs: State and Religious Iconography and the Places of its Dissemination during the Early Modern Period in Historical Croatian Territories (Zagreb, Institute of Art History, 2–3 June 2016), organized as a part of the project Visual Arts and Communication of Power in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800): Historical Croatian Regions at the Crossroads of Central Europe and the Mediterranean financed by the Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ – Hrvatska zaklada za znanost).

** The research was supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project number 2305 – Visualizing Nationhood: the Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Italy and the Artistic Exchange with South East Europe (15th – 18th c.)


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 Ladislas 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.


11 Cf. ANDELA HORVAT, Spomenici arhitekture i likovnih umjetnosti u Medimurju [Architectural and artistic monuments in Medimurje], Zagreb, 1956, 74; ANA DEANOVIC, Zagrebčka katedrala. Od XI. do sredine XIX. stoljeća [Zagreb’s cathedral from the 11th until the mid-19th century], in: Zagrebčka katedrala, Zagreb, 1988, 7–90, here 68. Both authors are referring to the description in the manuscript of RAFAEL LEVAKOVIC, Historiola de fundatione et structura Ecclesiae Zagrabiensis (Descriptio ecclesiae Zagabriesensis), 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 Jadranorum Gallicorum et Hungarorum. Missale Zagrabiense, (ed.) Ivanka Reberski and Tugomir Lukšić, Zagreb, 1994, 471–489, here 474 and 478; TINE GERM, Missale Zagrabienze [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.

12 Andela Horvat presumed that the tabernacle was destroyed as early as the 17th century and Ana Deanovic does not mention its further destiny. See: ANDELA HORVAT (note 11), 74 and ANA DEANOVIC (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.


15 RAFAEL LEVAKOVIC (note 11).
16. PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIC, De Zagrabieni Episcopatu, MS, 1703, Zagreb, National and University Library, Collection of Manuscripts and Rare Books.


18. IVAN KUKULJEVIC SAKCINSKI, Prvostolna crkva zagrebačka. Opisana s gledišta povijestnice, umjetnosti i starinah [Zagreb's cathedral, described from the art historical and antiquarian perspective], Zagreb, 1856, 21; IVAN KRSTITEJ TKALCIC (note 7), 54; DANKO SOUREK (note 12), 313–314.

19. _Ad latus eiusdem [altari maiori] ex parte ecclesiae erectum habetur ad modum columnae tabernaculum superbissime fabrirectum et exornatum status primo Ss. Marini Subariensis episcopi Taron- ensis, Stephani regis, Emerici ducis et Ladislai regis, deauratis et depictis; inde paulus superiori imagine sculpta Salvatoris plagati, posita inter duos angelos, quorum dexter tres clavos, sinister lanceam et arundinem cum spongia tenet. Summatimet pelicanus rostro pectus feriens, pullosque sanguine vivificans. In hoc taber-

20. (…) condinantur tribus gradibus lapideis in pede insignia N. & E. episcoporum habentur. Ibid.


22. In hoc etiam[m] Sanctuarium[m] e[st] tabernaculum[m], opere mirifico ad latus aeae dextra parieta elaboratam[m]: expensis Osvaldi et fratris ejusd[em] Ioannis Ep[isco]porum factum[m]. See: PAVAO RITTER VITEZOVIC (note 16).

23. IVAN BOJNIČIĆ KNINSKI, Der Adel von Kroatien und Sla-

24. For AntIndian 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 GELICCH – LAJOS THALLÓCZY, Diplomatarium relationum Reipublicae Ragusanae cum Regno Hungariae. Raguza és Magyarország összekötteté-

25. Even he seems to have been the king’s godfather. Cf. IVAN KUKULJEVIC SAKCINSKI, Grad Veliki Kalnik [The town of Veliki Kalnik], in: Leptir. Zabavnik za godinu 1859., (ed.) Ljudevit Vukotinović, Zagreb, 1859, 243–323, here 300.


27. Tuz de Lak (note 23), 589.

28. DANIELE FARLATI (note 11), 335.

29. BÁLTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ, Povijest stolne crkve zagrebačke [History of the Zagreb cathedral], (trans.) Zlatko Šešelj, Zagreb, 1994, 212; STJEPAN RAZUM (note 9), 24.


31. Inter quos traxerat rex Ioannem Thuz, virum prudentissimum, & Latine, & Hungaricae, Scelovinceque eloquentissimum… GALE-


33. ANTONIJA ZARADIJA KIS, Sveti Martin. Kult svca 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 našlo (se) u ruševinah na kamene jedan metar visoke kipove sv. Stjepana i Emerika…” – IVAN KRSTITEJ TKALCIC (note 7), 51–52.

37. Cf. MIRKO VALENTIĆ, Kameni spomenici Hrvatske XIII.– XVIII. stoljeća [Croatian stone monuments (13th–18th centuries)],...
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Rad. Inst. povij. umjet. 41/2017. (47–58)


38 DIANA VUKIČEVIĆ-SAMARŽIJA (note 37), 166.


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

44 “U sredini 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, uresenog bielim mramornim kipovi.”

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.


47 IVAN KRSTITELJ TKALČIĆ (note 7), 61.

48 RAFAEL LEVAKOVIĆ (note 11).


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 Mügeln in Latin (1352) and German (1360). See: GÁBOR KLANICZAY (note 2), 191.

52 An dem selben tag sah der herzog Ladisla, daz ein hayd fuchjfechwer furte hinten ym auf einem ros, die was gar schon. Dem eylt er noch auf seim rosz, daz waz Zaug genant. Do kunt der herzog des heyden nit ereyten. Do ruft sant Lasla die juchkfechwern an und sprach: Nym den heyden pey der gurtel und val mit ym auf daz erreicht! Das tet die selb mut. Do wünte (d. i. ‘verwandete’) der heilig herzog 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; als lang, das die juchkfechwern dem heyden ein paym abslug mit einer streitahten, das er viel. Da hiet sant Lasla ym pey dem hore; do slug ym die mayt den hals ab. Also erlost der kunig und der herzog die juchkfechwern von dem gevegnuscz und czugen heim mit freuden. Citation of Mügeln’s text from: NIKOLAOS TRUNTE, Wie König Ladislaus Chan Batu erschlaug, in: Die Welt der Slaven, 51 (2006), 315–356, here 328.


ERNŐ MAROSI (note 54), 223.

In tabula inferiori, qua clauditur altare ad cornu evangelii, idem Ladislaus coronam in capite tenens atque in sinu sororis quiescens iacet. In eadem, ubi eiusmod consciunt, hostem, qui sororem rapuerat, persecuturus. In superiori idem Ladislaus eoque insidias scitum cruce insignitum sintra tenens, securinique ad feriendum elevatum in dextra habens, cum Tartaro soror gestante condigori. In superiore ad latus epistolare, idem cum eodem luctans atque soror Tartari pedem securi seriatem, in inferiore idem Ladislaus triumphans. – RAFAEL LEVAKOVIC (note 11).

In the Chronicle of the Hungarians, she is just referred to as a beautiful Hungarian girl (puella Hungara speciosa), and Ladislas 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.


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: Ladislas praying at Mary’s altar of Nagyvárad, levitating in front of the amazed spectators; Before the battle with the infidels (Cumans), Ladislas prays on the battlefield that his soldiers may be relieved from starvation and a herd of stags and oxen appears miraculously; During Ladislas’ 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 Ladislas hands over a monstrance and church vessels to the first bishop of Zagreb, Duh; Ladislas protects widows, orphans and the poor; Representatives of the Croatian nobility offer the coats-of-arms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia to King Ladislas, while Queen Jelena (Lepa) is standing next to him; Ladislas meets a deer in front of the building site of the Zagreb Cathedral; The architect shows his plans for the Zagreb Cathedral to Ladislas; Ladislas gives alms to the poor; Bishop Duh offers the Croatian crown to Ladislas. Cf. MARINA MILADINOV (note 59), 216–218.

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 skulpturalni 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 sucesivnih 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.

**Sažetak**

**Danko Šourek**

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

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