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## The Illustrations in the Glagolitic Books Printed by Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja in Rijeka (1530–1531)

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### Abstract

*The Glagolitic printing office in Rijeka was established by Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja at the end of the year 1530 and in about six or seven months published six books in the Glagolitic script. As a group, these books contain six illustrations and a set of historiated Latin initials that connects them with contemporary Venetian publications and book design.*

*By examining books printed in Venice during the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the author has identified models for most of the illustrations and the initials printed by Kožičić. The illustrations used in books printed in Rijeka are analysed regarding their stylistic and iconographical features, and interpreted as carefully chosen elements of a visual program that reflects the idea of Kožičić's publishing undertaking.*

Keywords: *book illustration, woodcuts, Glagolitic printed books, Glagolitic printing office in Rijeka, Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki), Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja, 16<sup>th</sup> century*

In the late 1530, one of the most prominent Glagolitic humanists, Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja (around 1460 – 1536) established a Glagolitic printing office in Rijeka and in about six or seven months published six books in the Glagolitic script.<sup>1</sup> He started his publishing venture soon after his return to Rijeka from Venice on the 17<sup>th</sup> of October 1530, where he travelled most probably dealing with issues relating to the opening of his printing office.<sup>2</sup>

The first dated book was *The Roman Office – The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, a prayer book for personal devotion published on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 1530. However, because of its lack of a colophon, Anica Nazor convincingly proposed that the first book was actually a manual for learning how to read entitled *Psalter*, published sometime between Kožičić's return in October and the printing of the *Roman Office* in December that year.<sup>3</sup> Other four books were printed in 1531: the *Rijeka Missal* (28<sup>th</sup> of April 1531), the main and central book produced in the Rijeka office, the *Little Books of the Cross* (2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1531), the *Little Books of the Lives of the Roman Pontiffs and Emperors* (25<sup>th</sup> of May 1531), and the *Little Books on Being a Monk* (27<sup>th</sup> of May 1531). Unlike the *Psalter*, all the other books contain colophons upon which the chronology of their publishing is established, and which offer

insight into the activity of the Rijeka printing office. From colophons we know that Kožičić printed books in the house where he lived in Rijeka, that he was the sole financier of his publishing undertaking, and that in the process of printing he had the help of two printers, Dominic and Bartolomeo from Brescia, who probably came with him from Venice.

Today, the Glagolitic books printed in Rijeka are regarded as bibliophile rarities, with some of the titles preserved in only a single copy.<sup>4</sup> It is therefore praiseworthy that five of them were published as facsimiles, usually accompanied with the transliteration of the texts.<sup>5</sup> Along with the facsimile editions, the Rijeka titles have been exhaustively studied from a philological point of view.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast, the illustrations of these titles received little or no attention despite the fact that books stand out in the history of early Glagolitic printing as the most lavishly illustrated ones. As such, however, they were regularly featured in overviews on the Renaissance art in Croatia, as well as in works concerning the history of Croatian printing.<sup>7</sup> The literary historian Petar Kolendić dealt with their illustrations in the most detail, in an article published in 1934.<sup>8</sup> Although he only knew of the existence of four titles, he had all

the illustrations at his disposal.<sup>9</sup> Kolendić described these four titles in brief, connected the illustrations used in them with Venetian production, and after he had deciphered the signatures on three illustrations, identified the woodcutter as Matteo da Treviso. He concluded that the Rijeka printing office's hardware ended up in Venice because of the use of one illustration from the *Rijeka Missal* there in 1554. The state of research stayed mostly as it was at the time of Kolendić's findings, which were recently reaffirmed.<sup>10</sup> The exception to that is a contribution by Milan Pelc (2006) in which he identified the model for one illustration.<sup>11</sup>

This paper aims to expand the knowledge on illustrations used in the Glagolitic books printed in Rijeka from several points of view. Based on the insight into book production in Venice during the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, number of models for these illustrations will be identified in the titles published in the publishing world centre of that time. Noticeably different stylistic features detected among the illustrations used in Rijeka are the result of appropriating the models from several sources. These dissimilarities point to a more prominent intention than just making books visually attractive, especially since specific images are not firmly related to the textual segments of the books. Through analysis of individual illustrations, it will be disclosed that they were most likely chosen with the intention to communicate a message of patronage and propaganda – message that becomes readable when illustrations are considered as elements of the complete visual program.

### The Illustrations in the Glagolitic Books printed in Rijeka

The visual program of the Rijeka printing office, beyond the level of simple versal initials (Glagolitic and Latin), consists of the following elements: the printing office's sign, six illustrations (printed from eight woodcuts), one larger historiated Latin initial T, and set of 13 historiated Latin initials supplemented with 5 decorated Glagolitic initials of the same size. Not all of these elements were used with equal frequency (see Appendix). It is precisely their distribution within six Glagolitic titles that offers evidence that the visual program was pre-planned to fit the needs of specific editions, which will be elaborated on further in the text. Illustrations appear in four books, and in three of them (*Roman Office*, *Lives*, and *Psalter*) they are restricted only to title-page images. The fourth title, the *Rijeka Missal*, or as Kožičić entitled it, the *Misal hruacki* (*Croatian Missal*), includes most of the illustrations (*Saint Jerome in His Study*, *Annunciation*, *Crucifixion*, *Saint Mark*, *Saint Luke*) and all the initials at the disposal in Rijeka, which unquestionably makes it the central book produced in the Rijeka printing office. In view of that fact, it is important to add that half of the initials and four illustrations appear only in this book.<sup>12</sup> Of the other two illustrations, the *Missal* does not contain *Saint Simeon the God-Receiver*, so at least one of the books in which it was used – the *Psalter* or the *Roman Office* – must have been planned for publication at the moment Kožičić was in Venice acquiring the woodcuts. However, the sixth

illustration, depicting Saint Jerome, must have been intended only for the *Missal* at first. From his statement in the letter addressed to the Bishop of Trogir Toma Nigris dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of May, we know he decided to publish the historiographic work *Lives of Roman Pontiffs and Emperors* at a later date. In that letter, printed as a dedication in that book, Kožičić wrote: "After I finished this missal and some other books, it seemed to me appropriate to print this book as well."<sup>13</sup>

### The illustrations in *The Rijeka Misal* (*Misal hruacki*)

The most elaborate illustrations in the *Missal* and the entire visual program of the Rijeka printing office are two full-page illustrations depicting the Annunciation (Fig. 1) and the Crucifixion (Fig. 2). Both of them are composed of several segments, in both a visual and material sense. Central fields with the main themes are framed by smaller fields that depict narrative scenes or individual figures, bearing no deeper semantic connection to the central frame they surround. Besides the visual and iconographical separation, scenes are divided materially as well: two fields on the lower border are made in one woodblock, and the upper ones are an integral part of another, separate one.<sup>14</sup> On their own, these multi-level separations point to several sources from which these images are composed of.

Milan Pelc identified the *Annunciation* in the *Rijeka Missal* as a composition identical to the one in the *Missale Romanum*<sup>15</sup> published by LucAntonio Giunta in 1501.<sup>16</sup> LucAntonio Giunta (1457–1538) was one of the most outstanding Venetian publishers/printers of the late 15<sup>th</sup> and first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> He owed his great success to embellishing books, especially liturgical books, with woodcuts. While earlier missals were illustrated mostly only with the so-called Canon Crucifix, in a group of 1501 publications Giunta introduced a broader spectrum of images in his books.<sup>18</sup> During his publishing career, which lasted until 1535, Giunta published about 50 missals, as well as other liturgical books. Woodcuts he used appear repeatedly in more than one edition, and from this large number of illustrated liturgical books published by Giunta a number of models for the *Rijeka Missal* has emerged.

Along with the *Annunciation*, Giunta's 1501 *Missale Romanum* includes a *Crucifixion* comparable to the one in the *Rijeka Missal*. However, other elements of the visual program used in the Rijeka printing office are not detectable in this edition. This *Crucifixion* (Fig. 3) and more comparative examples, on the other hand, appear in Giunta's later publi-

1. Annunciation, *The Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki)*, Rijeka, 1531 *Navještenje*, *Misal hruacki*, *Rijeka*, 1531.
2. Crucifixion, *The Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki)*, Rijeka, 1531 *Raspeće*, *Misal hruacki*, *Rijeka*, 1531.
3. Crucifixion, *Missale Romanum*, Venice, LucAntonio Giunta, 1507 *Raspeće*, *Missale Romanum*, *Venecija*, *LucAntonio Giunta*, 1507.





4. *Missale predicatorum*, Venice, LucAntonio Giunta, 1504  
*Missale predicatorum, Venecija, LucAntonio Giunta, 1504.*



5. *Missale Romanum ordinarium*, Venice, LucAntonio Giunta, 1521  
*Missale Romanum ordinarium, Venecija, LucAntonio Giunta, 1521.*

cations in a similar small format, namely a set of historiated initials, and bottom-margin historiated borders (Fig. 4).

Scenes occupying two fields on the lower borders of the *Annunciation* and the *Crucifixion* were used in several of Giunta's missals along with the *Annunciation* and the *Crucifixion*, but only as decorative borders in the bottom margins, and not as part of these illustrations (e.g. the *Missale predicatorum*<sup>19</sup> from 1504 and the *Missale monasticum*<sup>20</sup> from 1515). There, they were parts of a broader iconographical cycle depicting scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary, and in lesser part, the life of Christ.<sup>21</sup> The scenes on the upper borders and those flanking the central depictions of the *Annunciation* and the *Crucifixion* derived from other publications, not only from those published by Giunta. LucAntonio Giunta used the decorative border with *God the Father surrounded by musician and praying angels* (Fig. 5) in the 1521 *Missale Romanum*.<sup>22</sup> Because of the larger dimensions of Giunta's missal, the cutter of the woodblock used in the *Rijeka Missal* "broke" the frame into three pieces and tailored them so they could fit the newly created composition of a full-page illustration. He used the greater part of the frame as

an upper margin border, while he placed praying angels on the lateral sides below, in columns with other figures. Here the depicted apostles Peter, Andrew, Paul, and John came from yet another marginal side-border used in the *Missale Romanum*<sup>23</sup> published by Giacomo Penzio (1495–1527) in 1521 (Fig. 6).<sup>24</sup> That same edition of Penzio's contains models for two more illustrations copied in the *Rijeka Missal*: smaller independent illustrations with the Evangelists Saint Luke (Fig. 7) and Saint Mark (Fig. 8).

The identification of models within the corpus of Venetian books published in the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century further provides a basis for the correct interpretation of the scenes in the Latin historiated initials. Regardless of the Latin form of the letters, the initials in the *Rijeka Missal* were used in accordance with the Old Church Slavic language. However, scenes placed within these initials do not correspond to the texts that begin with them.

The theme of a larger historiated initial T, an angel approaching the front facade of a church (Fig. 9), used at the beginning of the Mass Canon in the *Rijeka Missal* does not correspond to the text. The canon of the Mass, which in Latin



6. *Missale Romanum*, Venice, Giacomo Penzio, 1521  
*Missale Romanum, Venecija, Giacomo Penzio, 1521.*

begins with the words “Te igitur clementissime pater”, is one of the most fixed places, usually and permanently reserved for the so-called Te-igitur initial, specific for its depictions. While from early on the place of this initial was occupied by the image of Crucified, in the Late Middle Ages, in its place it was also possible to find a depiction of a priest celebrating mass.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, the theme from the *Rijeka Missal* is far away from both of them. In its original context, however, the image of the angel approaching the church explains the iconography – in Giunta’s 1521 *Missale Romanum* mentioned above, this initial was used as the introduction to the Mass of the Consecration of the Church.

Finally, the set of 13 historiated Latin initials (Fig. 10) unified by dimensions and used in the *Rijeka Missal* have their models in several of Giunta’s publications. Since these examples were even in Latin texts used more than once, not specifically relating to the text, identification for some of them is not as specific. The figures in the letters D, G, L, M, O, S, and U seem to depict the general idea of a saint or martyr. Others can be more precisely identified, depicting King David in prayer (A), God the Father (B), Ss. Philip and Jacob (E), the



7. Saint Luke the Evangelist, The *Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki)*, Rijeka, 1531  
*Sveti Luka Evandelist, Misal hruacki, Rijeka, 1531.*



8. Saint Mark the Evangelist, The *Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki)*, Rijeka, 1531  
*Sveti Marko Evandelist, Misal hruacki, Rijeka, 1531.*



9. Historiated initial T, The *Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki)*, Rijeka, 1531  
*Historizirani inicijal T, Misal hruacki, Rijeka, 1531 .*



10 a–s. Historiated Latin initials (A, B, D, E, G, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, U) and decorated Glagolitic initials (Ž, Z, I, K, Ê), The Rijeka Missal (Misal hruacki), Rijeka, 1531

Historizirani latinični inicijali (A, B, D, E, G, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, U) i dekorirani glagoljski inicijali (Ž, Z, I, K, Ê), Misal hruacki, Rijeka, 1531.



11. Saint Jerome in His Study, The Rijeka Missal (*Misal hruacki*), Rijeka, 1531  
*Sveti Jeronim u svojoj radnoj sobi*, Misal hruacki, Rijeka, 1531.



12. Saint Simeon the God-Receiver, *The Roman Office*, Rijeka, 1530  
*Sveti Šimun Bogoprimec*, Oficij rimski, Rijeka, 1530.

Crucifixion (N), the Dominican martyr Saint Peter (P), and Death as Skeleton (R).

The significant resemblance between elements in the *Rijeka Missal's* visual program (and thus of other books from the Rijeka printing office) with those in several of Giunta's missals leads to the conclusion that one of these publications probably functioned as the main model upon which the woodcuts were made, supplemented with illustrations from as-yet unidentified books.

**Style of the Illustrations**

Generally, all of these illustrations are considered to be works in a Renaissance style, but close analysis refutes this standpoint. In terms of style, the full-page illustrations from the Venetian missals, and by extension the *Rijeka Missal*, were attributed by Lilian Armstrong to two different designers collaborating with LucAntonio Giunta. She identified Benedetto Bordon (1460–1531), a leading Venetian illuminator, and later on, woodcuts designer from the turn of the century, as the designer of the *Crucifixion*.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, she

discarded the *Annunciation* as potentially being a design by Bordon, leaving it as the work of an unknown artist.<sup>27</sup>

The stylistic features of two other larger illustrations used in the Rijeka publications, the title images with Saint Jerome (fig. 11) and Saint Simeon (fig. 12), distance them even further and suggest the appropriation of models from more contexts.

Saint Jerome in his Study is a common theme in Renaissance painting, and especially in illuminated manuscripts and printed books.<sup>28</sup> This composition usually appears at the beginning of Latin Bibles, since Saint Jerome is taken as the translator of the *Vulgate*. In an image from the Rijeka printing office, Saint Jerome is positioned in the box-like interior of an accentuated focal point and open to the viewer like a window into another space. Compared to other illustrations used in the Rijeka printing office, the spatial features strikingly differentiate this one.

The illustration *Saint Simeon the God-Receiver* is even more distant from other examples as well as from the Renaissance style in general. The robust form of the saint, closed within its own outlines is, in terms of style, reminiscent of Late Gothic

models. The saint's firmly defined broad figure is frontal and stiff, looking directly at the viewer, and his placement on an undefined stretch of ground in front of a plain sky completely negates spatial dimension. Contrary to the accomplished stiff contours of the figure, the inner proportions fall to pieces – the broad cloak must be hovering around his body, while the arms in which he holds the baby Jesus are placed too low. Generally, the motif of the baby Jesus in Simeon's hands gives the impression that the image is derived from the scene of the Presentation in the Temple, since he is usually a solitary figure depicted without Christ in his arms.<sup>29</sup>

Stylistic differences in the illustrations are primarily the results of several artist's designs. While the work of designers in the woodcuts is indirect, the woodblocks used are the immediate work of the woodcutter. As already mentioned, Kolendić was the first to conclude that Mateo da Treviso was the author of the illustrations and historiated Latin initials, but he rejected him as the possible creator of five Glagolitic initials (Fig. 10) and the printer's sign, proposing Kožičić ordered them from some "other, weaker master."<sup>30</sup>

Earlier literature has seen Matteo da Treviso as a mediocre woodcutter active mainly, if not exclusively, as a copyist in Venice during the first decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> In recent literature, due to several monograms containing the letter P, he has been cautiously equalised with Matteo Pagano, a printer active during the later decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> During his career, Matteo copied other artists' designs and frequently added his signature.<sup>33</sup> In the *Rijeka Missal* Matteo signed/monogrammed three illustrations in three different ways. The *Crucifixion* bears the signature 'matio fecit' (Fig. 2), the *Annunciation* is monogrammed 'M.F.' (Fig. 1), and the historiated initial T only with 'm.' (Fig. 9). In a close comparison of the *Rijeka Missal Crucifixion* (Fig. 2) and the one from the *Missale Romanum* of 1507 cut by Jacobus de Strasbourg (Fig. 3), Matteo's limited capabilities become more obvious. The weaker execution of his woodcuts is characterised by firmer and heavier lines that produce flatness and stiffness in the figures, in which volume is not fully accomplished. Facial features in Matteo's woodcuts lack the expressiveness immanent in the figures in Jacobus de Strasbourg's woodcut; for instance, while in the Venetian edition John's expression evokes ethereality, in the Rijeka edition he is disinterested in the scene his in. Throughout, details are simplified; for instance, the skull in the lower right corner lacks recognisability.

Regarding the question of the two woodcutters, there are not enough similarities nor differences between the 'Latin' and 'Glagolitic' parts of the visual program to completely dismiss or accept the possibility that Matteo cut the entire program. In comparison with the Latin ones, the simpler form of the Glagolitic initials and the sign of the office is the result of the modest design after which they were cut. In that sense, it should take into consideration the possibility that Matteo cut all of them, in which case it would be reasonable to assume Kožičić ordered him to cut everything. Furthermore, in favour of this proposition is the fact that none of the signed/monogrammed illustrations were recognised in books printed prior to the *Rijeka Missal*.

## Planning the Visual Program

Despite the problem of the woodcutters, the Glagolitic initials are an important element for understanding the visual program. Firstly, they were certainly introduced for practical reasons, to fill the void in the grapheme repertoire, since not all of the phonemes used in the Old Church-Slavic language were represented in the Latin alphabet. Secondly, they probably had the function of keeping a hint of the design from previous Glagolitic publications.

This duality, which includes the transmission of Italian/Latin book culture into Glagolitic printing and the maintenance of the remembrance of the Glagolitic tradition, imbues every segment of the books. Namely, it becomes more prominent when considered in relation with the findings of philological analysis. Slavic philologists came to the conclusion that Kožičić was not only the printer or publisher, but also the translator and editor of the texts, which is in keeping with his own statement that he translated anew and clarified numerous passages from the Holy Scripture.<sup>34</sup> Research into the texts and language revealed not only precise textual templates or proofs that point to the conclusion that he translated from an as-yet unknown Latin source (as is the case with the *Missal*), but to a duality in his editorial focus. On the one hand, Kožičić turns to the Slavic language tradition (e.g. using old lingual forms), and on the other, he looks to Latin literacy for textual models and with the intention to harmonise the translation of the Bible into Church Slavic with the *Vulgate* so that his congregation can listen to God's Word as accurately as possible.

The creator of the Rijeka printing office's visual program, in all likelihood Kožičić himself, thus constructed it guided by the same idea. A visual program similar to up-to-date Venetian publications testifies to Kožičić's humanist endeavours and high awareness of contemporary Venetian book design, while through the preserved references to the Glagolitic tradition, Kožičić entered into the role of heritage's protector and promotor. The books printed in Rijeka are the result of the only pre-imagined visual program in Glagolitic printing that had the function to communicate a message on a visual level.

Adopting illustrations from other titles was the usual practice in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, even from different sources with the intention to create a new narrative that would fit thematic needs. Even though it is not to be expected that earlier books would have a more elaborate program, the Rijeka publications surpass expectations.

In that sense, in the context of Glagolitic printing, the main novelty of the Rijeka publications was an elaborate title page that included images. As was usual in (Venetian) missals of the time, the title page was reserved for saint(s) important for the recipient of the book, in some way connected to the patrons. For example, Giunta's *Missale predicatorum*,<sup>35</sup> intended for Dominican friars, depicts Dominican saints (Dominic, Thomas Aquinas and Catherine of Siena, among others), while on the Benedictine *Missale monasticum*<sup>36</sup> are the saints Benedict, Placid and Maurus along with the note



*Congregatio Casinensis* at the bottom referring to the newly established congregation of Saint Iustina.

Saint Jerome was suitable for the title page of the *Rijeka Missal* for two main reasons. Studying the text and language of the *Misal*, Mateo Žagar has already concluded that the “graphic of Saint Jerome gets its full meaning” on the title page due to the fact that Kožičić “put an effort into editing the text in order to be as close as possible to the Latin template”, i.e. to edit it according to Saint Jerome’s *Vulgate*.<sup>37</sup> While further afield Saint Jerome is considered to be the translator of the *Vulgate*, in the local, Glagolitic tradition, he was also held to be the creator of the Glagolitic script. Looking through the prism of political propaganda, the use of Saint Jerome’s image not only reflects both elements, but aims to affirm the Glagolitic tradition as a specific yet integral type of liturgy within the Roman Catholic Church.

It is unquestionable that this illustration was intended especially for the *Missal*. The only other use within the Rijeka printing office is recorded in the *Lives of Roman Pontiffs* (...) which, as noted before, Kožičić decided to print at a later time, when half of his books, including the *Missal*, had already been published.

Venetian publications find fit to depict the author of the contemporary writings through the image of his heavenly protector and namesake. Just like, for example, Girolamo Savonarola’s *Lo sottilissimo & deuotissimo libro della Verita della fede christiana dimandato Triumpho della croce di Christo*<sup>38</sup> have the author’s namesake Saint Jerome as the title page illustration, Kožičić employed the same customary practice by using the image *Saint Simeon the God-Receiver* (Fig. 12).

The image of Saint Simeon appeared on two titles, the *Psalter* (an abecedary) and the *Roman Office* (a book of hours). Since Kožičić was certainly familiar with contemporary publishing practices, we should consider the possibility that this image was originally planned for an abecedary, a book for which he could claim authorship, and on which he could present himself (through Saint Simeon) as the author.<sup>39</sup> As such, it is even more plausible that the image of Saint Simeon was planned for the *Psalter* as probably the first book to be published.

Finally, Kožičić, as a true humanist, bumped the stamp that promotes him not only as a publisher, but also as a patron of the Glagolitic printing office in Rijeka, and by extension, of Glagolitic heritage in its entirety. He didn’t pass over the opportunity to include elements in the visual program that can be interpreted as references to his noble descent and as memories of his fatherland, the Zadar County that is one of the cradles of the Glagolitic tradition.

In the titles and the colophons of some books, the bishop named himself ‘Šimun Kožičić Zadranin’ (Simeon Kožičić from Zadar).<sup>40</sup> Saints from the title pages are references to this familiar context as well. Generally, the cults of both saints were highly developed at that time both on the Adriatic coast and in Zadar. Saint Simeon’s body had lain in the town from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century inside a gilded shrine ordered under the patronage of the Bosnian queen Elisabeth Kotromanić. As an important local saint, Saint Simeon is depicted right next to Saint Jerome on the *Ugljan polyptych*, for which Emil Hilje noted “all of depicted saints are patrons of Zadar or Ugljan churches.”<sup>41</sup> This polyptych was originally placed on the altar in the Franciscan monastery church of Saint Jerome in Ugljan, located on an island facing Zadar. That same monastery dedicated to Saint Jerome was founded in 1430 by Kožičić’s grandfather Šimun as family foundation, and later served as Bishop Kožičić’s resting place. He was buried in the cloister of the Franciscan Monastery in a family tomb in 1536. His brother Ivan Donat erected him a tombstone with the family coat of arms – the same one used in his books as a sign of his printing office.<sup>42</sup>

\* \* \*

Empowered by printing as a powerful medium of the early modern period, Bishop Kožičić Benja set up a platform for personal representation and for spreading messages and ideas. By appropriating Venetian models, Kožičić represents himself as an intellectual familiar with contemporary book and art production in Venice, while through a dissemination of the national script, and language and literacy in general, he underlines his role as protector and promotor of Glagolitic heritage. Even though it is hard to imagine Kožičić could choose saints other than those depicted on the title pages, it seems more important that he was conscious of the political-propaganda connotations imprinted in the visual program featuring these saints. Only when observed through Kožičić’s role and activity does the full meaning of the visual program imagined for the books from the Rijeka printing office become quite vivid.

\* An earlier version of this paper, entitled “The Layers of Propaganda in Glagolitic Books printed by Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja in Rijeka”, was presented at the international conference *The Power of Media: Patronage, Representation and Propaganda in the Early Modern Period (1450–1800) between the Mediterranean and Central Europe* (Split, Split City Museum, 13–15 June 2018).

## Appendix

## The distribution of the visual program's elements used in the Glagolitic books printed in Rijeka

	<i>Psalter</i>	<i>Roman Office</i>	<i>Rijeka Missal</i>	<i>Little Books of the Cross</i>	<i>Lives of the Roman Pontiffs and Emperors</i>	<i>Little Books on Being a Monk</i>
<b>Illustrations</b>						
Saint Simeon the God-Receiver	•	•				
Saint Jerome in His Study			•		•	
Annunciation			•			
Crucifixion			•			
Saint Luke			•			
Saint Mark			•			
<b>Larger historiated initial T – an angel approaching a church</b>						
			•			
<b>Historiated Latin initials</b>						
A			•			
B		•	•			
D			•		•	
E			•			
G		•	•			
L			•			
M			•			
N	•		•			•
O	•	•	•			
P			•		•	
R			•			
S			•			
V	•	•	•			
<b>Decorated Glagolitic initials</b>						
Ž			•			
Z	•	•	•			
I			•		•	
K			•			
Ê			•			
<b>Printing office's sign (Šimun Kožičić Benja's coat of arms)</b>						
	•	•	•	•	•	•

## Notes

1 On Bishop Šimun Kožičić Benja, see: ANICA NAZOR [A. Nr.], Kožičić Benja, Šimun (Simon Modrusiensis; Kožičić, de Begna, Begnii, Begnio, Begnius), in: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, VII, Zagreb, 2009, 838–841.

2 Cf. PETAR KOLENDIĆ, Zadranin Šimun Kožičić i njegova štamparija na Reci [Šimun Kožičić from Zadar and his printing office in Rijeka], in: *Južni pregled* (Skopje), IX (1934), 61–71, 63.

3 Cf. ANICA NAZOR, Kožičićev Bukvar [Kožičić's Abecedary], in: *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, 14 (1964), 121–128, 128.

4 For the list of preserved copies see: ANICA NAZOR, "Ja slova znajući govorim": *Knjiga o hrvatskoj glagoljici* ['I, who know the letters, speak': The Book about Croatian Glagolitic Script], Zagreb, 2008, 106–113. Afterwards, one copy of the *Little Books of the Cross* and one copy of the *Roman Office* were discovered in Italian libraries. Cf. KRASSIMIR STANCHEV, Due cinquecentine Slave di area Croata ritrovate nella Biblioteca civica di Vicenza, in: *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, 58 (2008), 1–19; AKSINIJA DŽUROVA – KRASSIMIR STANCHEV, Neizvestni ekzempjari ot hrvatski glagoličeski izdanija v 'Biblioteka Ambrosiana' (Milano), in: *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, 60 (2010), 235–253.

5 Cf. *Psaltir* [Psalter], (ed.) Anica Nazor, Zagreb, 1976; *Knjižice krsta* [Little Books of the Cross], (prep.) Anica Nazor, Ljubljana – Zagreb, 1984; *Knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov* [Little Books of the Lives of the Roman Pontiffs and Emperors], (ed.) Anica Nazor, Rijeka, 2007; *Od bitija redovničkoga knjižice* [Little Books on Being a Monk], (prep.) Anica Nazor, Rijeka, 2009; *Misal hruacki Šimuna Kožičića Benje* [Rijeka Missal], (ed.) Mateo Žagar, Zagreb – Rijeka, 2015.

6 From the large number of titles see especially (with quoted literature): ANTON BENVIN, Pitanje predložaka Kožičićevih izdanja [The Question of Kožičić Edition's templates], in: *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, (ed.) Mile Bogović, Rijeka – Zagreb, 1988, 151–185; *Zbornik radova o Šimunu Kožičiću Benji* [Proceedings about Šimun Kožičić Benja], (ed.) Anica Nazor, Zagreb, 1991. A whole number of the philological journal *Fluminensia: časopis za filološka istraživanja* (24/1, 2012) was dedicated to the Rijeka printing office. Recent studies on the language of the *Rijeka missal* are gathered in: MATEO ŽAGAR (ed.), *Jezik "Misala hruackoga": Studije o jeziku "Misala" Šimuna Kožičića Benje (1531.)* [The Language of the 'Misal hruacki': Studies on the Language of Šimun Kožičić Benja's Missal], Zagreb, 2015.

7 Cf. MILAN PELC, Miniatura, tipografija, grafika i zlatarstvo [Illuminations, typography, engravings and goldsmith works], in: *Hrvatska renesansa*, (eds.) Miljenko Jurković, Alain-Erlande Brandenburg, Zagreb, 2004, 197–220, 203–204; MILAN PELC, Od primanja do stvaranja: hrvatska grafika 15. i 16. stoljeća [From Acceptance to Creation: Croatian Prints from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries], in: *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 48/3–4 (2005), 16–49, 28; MILAN PELC, *Renesansa* [Renaissance], Zagreb, 2007, 550.

8 Cf. PETAR KOLENDIĆ (note 2), 61–71.

- 9  
After his article, two more books printed in Rijeka were discovered, both preserved in only one copy. Cf. ANICA NAZOR (note 3), 121–128; VANDA EKL, Kožičić: Ođb bitiē redovničkoga knjižice [The Little Books on Being a Monk], in: *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, 21 (1971), 223–226.
- 10  
Cf. ANICA NAZOR, Šimun Kožičić Benja i njegova tiskara u istraživanjima Petra Kolendića [Šimun Kožičić Benja and His Printing Office in Petar Kolendić's Research], in: *Fluminensia: časopis za filološka istraživanja*, 24/1 (2012), 29–39.
- 11  
Cf. MILAN PELC, Podrijetlo drvoreza Marulićeve "Judite" (1521–1523) [The origin of the woodcuts in the 'Judite' by Marulić (1521–1523)], in: *Mogućnosti*, 53/4–6 (2006), 1–12, 7.
- 12  
The uneven distribution of the Latin initials set is evident in the *Rijeka Missal*, and in the books in general. Of the 13 examples of Latin initials, six of them (A, E, L, M, R, S) were used only in the *Missal*. Seven others (B, D, G, N, O, P, V) were used in all other titles only 14 times altogether. Moreover, three of five decorated Glagolitic initials were designed especially for the *Missal* since they do not appear elsewhere.
- 13  
"Svršiv juže misale i inije nike knjižice: podobno se jest vidilo nam da knjižice sije šampamo". Cf. *Knjižice od žitija rimskih arhijerejev i cesarov* (note 5).
- 14  
In his article Kolendić refers to the upper woodblock of this illustration, noticing that the lower border was replaced in the missal from 1554. Cf. PETAR KOLENDIĆ (note 2), 71. Distinct damage on the left border proves the same woodblock was used.
- 15  
*Missale Romanum nouiter impressum cum quibusdam missis de nouo additis multum deuotis (...)*. Venice, 1501, LucAntonio Giunta, 8°. Cf. Edit 16 = Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche – ICCU, *EDIT 16: Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, Roma. <<http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/>> (13 January 2019), CNCE 11499.
- 16  
Cf. MILAN PELC (note 11), 7.
- 17  
Cf. MASSIMO CERESA, Giunti, Lucantonio, il Vecchi, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 57, 2001. Available at: <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giunti-lucantonio-il-vecchio\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giunti-lucantonio-il-vecchio_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)> (18 January 2019).
- 18  
Cf. LILIAN ARMSTRONG, Venetian and Florentine Renaissance Woodcuts for Bibles, Liturgical Books, and Devotional Books, in: *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books*, (ed.) Daniel de Simone, New York, 2004, 25–45, 37.
- 19  
*Missale predicatorum nuper impressum ac emendatum cum multis missis: orationibus pulcherrimisque figuris in capite missarum festiuitatum solemnium (...)*. Venice, 1504, LucAntonio Giunta, 8°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 17451.
- 20  
*Missale monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis Congregationis alias sancte Iustine (...)*. Venice, 1515, LucAntonio Giunta, 8°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 5205.
- 21  
Since woodblocks circulated among printing offices in Venice, this cycle of illustrations can be found in a number of later publications. For example, they were used in the second edition of the *Lectiary of Bernardin from Split* [Lekcionar Bernardina Spličanina] printed in Venice in 1543. Cf. TAMARA RUNJAK, *Rijetkosti u Knjižnici Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti: katalog inkunabula i knjiga 16. stoljeća* [The Rarities in the Library of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts: Catalogue of Incunabula and Books of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], Zagreb, 2011, 74–77.
- 22  
*Missale romanum ordinarium*. Venice, 1521, LucAntonio Giunta, 2°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 11532.
- 23  
*Missale Romanum*. Venice, 1520 (i.e. 1521), Iacobi de Leucho, 4°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 11530.
- 24  
Giacomo Penzio, or Iacobi de Leucho as signed in this book, was active until 1527. For Croatian early printed books, he is interesting as the publisher of several books by Marko Marulić. Cf. PETAR RUNJE, O ranim izdanjima *Evandelistara i Institucije* [On the Early Editions of the Evangelistarium and the De Institutione by Marko Marulić], in: *Colloquia Maruliana*, 3 (1994), 93–98, 94–96.
- 25  
Cf. OTTO PACTH, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, London, 1994, 36–44.
- 26  
Cf. LILIAN ARMSTRONG, Woodcuts for Liturgical Books Published by LucAntonio Giunta in Venice, 1499–1501, in: *Studies of Renaissance Miniaturists in Venice*, 2, London, 2003, 683–731, 721.
- 27  
Cf. LILIAN ARMSTRONG (note 26), 720; DANIEL DE SIMONE (ed.), *A Heavenly Craft: The Woodcut in Early Printed Books*, New York, 2004, 147–148.
- 28  
Cf. ANICA NAZOR, Osvrt na povijest naših najstarijih štamparija [Review on the history of our oldest printing offices], in: *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 13/1–2 (1967), 1–22, 16–17.
- 29  
Cf. BRANKO FUČIĆ [BF], Prikazanje u Hramu [Presentation in the Temple], in: *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, (ed.) Anđelko Badurina, Zagreb, 2006, 517–518; MARIJAN GRGIĆ [MG], Šimun Bogoprimec [Simeon the God-Receiver], in: *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, (ed.) Anđelko Badurina, Zagreb, 2006, 590–591.
- 30  
Cf. PETAR KOLENDIĆ (note 2), 62.
- 31  
Cf. DUC DE RIVOLI [VICTOR MASSENA, PRINCE D'ESSLING], *Les missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600: description, illustration, bibliographie*, Paris, 1896, IV; PRINCE D'ESSLING, *Les livres à figures vénétiens de la fin du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle et du commencement du XVI<sup>e</sup>*, pt. 1, vol. 1, Florence – Paris, 1907, 150–151.
- 32  
Cf. GIORGIA ATZENI, Gli incisori alla corte di Zoppino, in: *ArcheoArte: Rivista elettronica di Archeologia e Arte* <<http://archeoarte.unica.it/>>, 2 (2013), 299–328, 306; MASSIMO DONATTINI, Pagano, Matteo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 80, 2014. Available at: <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-pagano\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-pagano_(Dizionario-Biografico))> (18 January 2019).

33

Cf. PRINCE D'ESSLING (note 31), pt. 1, vol. 1 (1907), 150–151 (note 1), pt. 3 (1914), 249–250.

34

All six books are defined as “having features of translation”. Cf. MATEO ŽAGAR, *Zadaci i perspektive istraživanja jezika glagoljskih tiskanih izdanja Šimuna Kožičića Benje (uz pripremu kritičkog izdanja ‘Misala hruackoga’) [Tasks and Perspectives of the Language Analysis of Šimun Kožičić Benja's Glagolitic Publications (Alongside the Critical Edition of ‘Misal hruacki’)]*, in: *Fluminensia: časopis za filološka istraživanja*, 24/1 (2012), 111–123, 112.

35

*Missale predicatorum nuper impressum ac emendatum cum multis missis (...)*, Venice, 1512, LucAntonio Giunta, 4°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 17464.

36

*Missale monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis Congregationis alias sancte Iustine (...)*, Venice, 1515, LucAntonio Giunta, 8°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 5205.

37

MATEO ŽAGAR (note 34), 115–116.

38

*Lo sottilissimo & deuotissimo libro della Verita della fede christiana dimandato Triumpho della croce di Christo: composto in latino per*

*el reuerendo padre frate Hieronymo Sauonarola da Ferrara del lordine de li Frati predicatori: e da poi traducto in uulgare per esso frate Hieronymo: a consolatione delle persone meno literate*, Venice, 1505, Lazaro di Soardi, 8°. Cf. Edit 16 (note 15), CNCE 47751.

39

The contents of the *Psalter* (abecedary) are similar to the earlier one published by Andrea Torresano in Venice in 1527, but some differences are observed in the choice of texts and in the language. Cf. ANICA NAZOR (note 3), 128.

40

With this word, Kožičić refers to his origins in the titles of the *Little Books of the Lives of the Roman Pontiffs and Emperors* and the *Little Books on Being a Monk*, as well as in the colophon of the *Rijeka Missal*.

41

Cf. EMIL HILJE, *Ikonografski program predele Ugljanskog poliptiha [The Iconographical Program of the Predella from the ‘Ugljan Polyptych’]*, in: *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 36 (1996), 43–58, 46.

42

Cf. RADOSLAV TOMIĆ, *Umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije: Kiparstvo II – od XVI. do XX. stoljeća [The Artistic Heritage of the Zadar Archbishopric: Sculpture II – from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Century]*, Zadar, 2008, 59–61.

## Sažetak

Ivan Ferenčak

### Ilustracije u glagoljskim knjigama biskupa Šimuna Kožičića Benje tiskanim u Rijeci (1530.–1531.)

Glagoljsku tiskaru u Rijeci osnovao je krajem 1530. godine biskup Šimun Kožičić Benja (oko 1460.–1536.). U svega šest ili sedam mjeseci u njoj je glagoljicom otisnuto šest naslova knjiga. Sva su izdanja ilustrirana barem inicijalima i označena tipografskim znakom Kožičićeve tiskare, a osobito je bogato ilustriran *Misal hruacki*. *Misal* sadrži pet ilustracija (*Sveti Jeronim*, *Raspeće*, *Navještenje*, *Sveti Marko*, *Sveti Luka*), jedan veći historizirani latinični inicijal te seriju od 13 historiziranih latiničnih inicijala koja je nadopunjena s pet glagoljskih inicijala iste veličine. Osim ilustracija iskorištenih u *Misalu*, tiskara je raspolagala još jednom ilustracijom, *Sveti Šimun Bogoprimec* koja je korištena kao naslovnica dvaju izdanja.

Uzore za ilustracije prepoznajemo u više liturgijskih knjiga tiskanih u Veneciji tijekom prvih desetljeća 16. stoljeća i to u najvećoj mjeri u izdanjima LucAntonia Giunte (1457.–1538.). Osim što potječu iz različitih izdanja, ilustracije su međusobno i stilski različite. Od pretežito renesansnih ilustracija odudara ona *Sveti Šimun Bogoprimec* u kojoj su se zadržali tragovi gotičkoga leksika.

Preuzimanje uzora iz više izvora i zanemarivanje stilskih razlika ukazuje da su ilustracije, iako nisu čvrsto vezane uz tekstove, birane s namjerom. Razmatrane u kontekstu cjelovitoga vizualnog programa ilustracije *Sveti Jeronim* i

*Sveti Šimun Bogoprimec* iskorištene na naslovnicama pružaju uporišta tumačenju Kožičićeve namjere da približi svoja izdanja suvremenoj praksi venecijanske produkcije knjiga. Likovi svetaca na naslovnicama s jedne strane identificiraju zajednicu kojoj su namijenjene, a s druge strane identificiraju autora teksta koji slijedi nakon njih. U tome smislu, lik sv. Jeronima ima funkciju ukazati na glagoljaško bogoslužje kao specifičan, ali integralan segment Rimokatoličke crkve te ujedno istaknuti tekstove u *Misalu* za koji je prvotno namijenjen kao nove prijevode prema Jeronimovoj *Vulgati*. Lik sv. Šimuna, kao imenjaka biskupa Kožičića, na naslovnici je dospio s funkcijom ilustriranja njegova autorstva izdanja. Kako se ova ilustracija nalazi na naslovnicama dviju knjiga, *Psaltira* (abecedarija) i *Oficija* (časoslova), prvotno je vjerojatno bila namijenjena *Psaltiru* koji Kožičić snažnije može predstaviti kao autorski rad od stabilnijih obrazaca molitvene knjige. Konačno, u ilustracijama s likovima tih dvaju svetaca uočavaju se političko-propagandne konotacije koje je Kožičić spretno iskoristio i kao reference na vlastitu ulogu u očuvanju i promicanju glagoljaške baštine.

**Ključne riječi:** knjižne ilustracije, drvorezi, glagoljske tiskane knjige, glagoljska tiskara u Rijeci, *Misal hruacki*, biskup Šimun Kožičić Benja, 16. stoljeće

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- 1: Matthias Dögen, *Architectura militaris moderna* (...), Amstelodami, 1647., 354–355.

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5: Pompeo Giustiniano, *Delle guerre di Fiandra libri 6. Di Pompeo Giustiniano del Consiglio di guerra di S. M. C. (...) Posti in luce da Giuseppe Gamurini (...) con le figure delle cose più notabili*, In Anversa, 1609., 84–85

#### Radoslav Tomić

Generalni providur Leonardo Foscolo i umjetnost u Dalmaciji / *Provveditore generale Leonardo Foscolo and Art in Dalmatia*

- 1–30: Fotografije iz arhive autora  
4: Presnimak iz: Alfons Pavich pl. Pfauthenthal, *Prinosi povijesti Poljica*, Sarajevo, 1903., 79.

#### Petar Puhmajer

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- 1, 2, 9: Paolo Mofardin, Fototeka IPU  
3 a, b; 6 a, b, c, d: arhitektonski snimak Sanja Štok i Barbara Kulmer, grafička obrada Marin Čalušić  
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- 1, 2: Bojan Goja  
3, 4: Branko Maroević, dipl. ing. arh., izrada nacrtu

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- 1, 3, 6: Arhiv Strossmayerove galerije HAZU, dokumentacija Weiss  
2: MAK – Museum of Applied Arts (Museum für angewandte Kunst), Vienna  
4: RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie), Den Haag  
5: Palais Liechtenstein, Vienna  
6: © Strossmayerova galerija starih majstora HAZU  
7: BDA – Bundesdenkmalamt Archiv (Federal Monuments Authority Austria Archive), Vienna

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Prva tri djela u fundusu Moderne galerije Društva umjetnosti / *The First Three Artworks in the Holdings of the Modern Gallery of the Art Society in Zagreb*

- 1, 4: Goran Vranić, Moderna galerija, Zagreb  
2: Paolo Mofardin, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb  
3: digitalna presnimka iz kataloga izložbe: *Ivan Meštrović. Skulpturen*, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, 1987. (Nenad Gattin?)  
5: Arhiv Galerije grada Praga / Archive of Prague City Gallery