

## MINIATURES AFTER GUTENBERG IN CROATIA

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### **ABSTRACT**

The post-Gutenberg tradition of the illuminated book across Western Europe may be a well-researched topic, but far less is known about its Croatian counterpart. This article focuses on books with miniatures after Gutenberg that are related to Croatia. Some of these books were made in Croatia, and some were brought in for the benefit of Croatian users and patrons from production centres further afield, mostly those in Italy – although this is something that cannot be determined with certainty for each individual case. At any rate, all but a few of the books discussed are today kept in Croatia.

The material is primarily divided into two large groups. The first group comprises illuminated incunabula which combined the new technology of the movable type press with the traditional technology of decoration and illustration by hand. The other group covers hand-crafted books (codices) featuring illuminations and decorations also done by hand. The production until as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century is followed, observing examples which reflect the style of the period and the spirit of their native environment.

### **KEYWORDS**

Croatia, miniatures, illuminated incunabula, illuminated codices

It is common knowledge that the movable type press was “invented” by Johannes Gutenberg in Germany, around 1450. This was a ground-breaking discovery for mankind’s future history, but its contemporaries were not fully aware of the impact. The coexistence of manuscript and printed book continued throughout Europe for almost another century, until printing eventually prevailed. Besides, it is well-known that printed books attempted to copy the standard form of manuscript books, including decoration. Scribes and miniaturists continued their work almost as if nothing had happened, so that the late 15<sup>th</sup> century is remembered as one of the most glorious periods in the history of

illumination. Let us remember the illuminated codices created in Florence and Buda, commissioned by Matthias Corvinus in the 1480s! It was not until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that commissions began to dwindle to an appreciable degree, but even then there were still a number of renowned miniaturists operating, such as the Croatian-born Giulio Clovio, whose fame had begun to spread throughout Europe's aristocratic circles by the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

It was as a result of the wishes and needs of specific patrons that illuminated manuscripts continued to be made in Europe, and of course in Croatia, during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, but with decreasing intensity, and only for very specific purposes. Unlike the printed book, emerging on a broad and rather anonymous market, the illuminated manuscript is a unique product requiring an individual or corporate patron commissioning a certain type of more or less expensive hand-made book for his own pleasure or practice.

Nonetheless, there was a short period during which many copies of printed books, thanks to their layout with miniatures, achieved a high level of individuality. Miniaturists continued to illuminate printed books for buyers who wanted specially decorated copies. This transitional period, spanning about fifty years, during which a great number of incunabula mimicked the layout of manuscript codices, is one of the most exciting in the history of the old media. Illuminated incunabula, belonging to the world of typography and manuscript, deserve special attention. Their market waned dramatically at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Printed illustration became a part of the printed book, because it was technically the soundest method of inserting images into the text, while any additional manual interventions by the miniaturist were soon to be discarded for not being cost-effective. Of course, compared with miniature, the printed picture has many other advantages, especially in the field of early scientific illustration, but that is another story.

The post-Gutenberg tradition of the illuminated book across Western Europe may be a relatively well-researched topic, but far less is known about its Croatian counterpart. It is for this reason that this presentation focuses on books with miniatures after Gutenberg that are related to Croatia.<sup>1</sup> Some of these books were made in Croatia,

1 The practice of hand-making books in Croatia after Gutenberg's invention is most thoroughly described in Stipčević, Aleksandar. *Socijalna povijest knjige u Hrvata : od glagoljskog prvotiska (1483) do Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda (1835)*. Zagreb : Školska

and some were brought in for the benefit of Croatian users and collectors in the centuries past. At any rate, all but a few of the books we shall be talking about are in some way connected with patrons and artists from Croatia. Most of them are kept in public or Church collections in Croatia. The material is primarily divided into two large groups. The first group comprises illuminated incunabula, while the other, much larger, covers manuscripts featuring illuminations and decorations. We shall be following their production until as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century, observing examples which reflect the style of the period and the spirit of their native environment. In many cases it will become apparent that the miniaturists creating these books were in no position to ignore the emergence of the printed book and the printed image in their various incarnations.

### **Illuminated incunabula**

In the beginning, the printed book may have posed a danger to scribes, but not to miniaturists. American specialist in Venetian early Renaissance illumination, Lilian Armstrong, highlights the fact that the new printing industry provided miniaturists with increased opportunities for work. Some of the finest illuminators were drawn to Venice in the 1470s on the account of the extraordinary growth of the printing trade in the area.<sup>2</sup> It was, above all, in Venice, at the time the European printing capital and political “mistress of the Adriatic”, that patrons from Croatia had an opportunity to commission printed books. One of the earliest commissions was made by Osvald Thuz, the Bishop of Zagreb. It was a breviary: *Breviarium Zagradiense*, printed in the workshop of Erhard Radtoldt in 1484 (Figure 1).

knjiga, 2005. Pp. 67-78. However, his review of this “sociological” phenomenon in the history of the print comprises transcripts of all sorts of books, mostly those that did not feature miniatures. The catalogue overviews of illuminated manuscripts in Croatia, like Folnesics, Hans. *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Dalmatien*. Leipzig : Karl W. Hiersemann, 1917, and Badurina, Anđelko. *Illuminirani rukopisi u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb : Kršćanska sadašnjost ; Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1995 do not register illuminations in incunabula, or those in codices of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (except for the codex of Fra Bono Razmilović). The compilation of a critical catalogue of Croatian illuminated incunabula and codices featuring miniatures in the period between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries is the outstanding task.

2 See Armstrong, Lilian. *Studies of Renaissance miniaturists in Venice*. London : Pindar, 2003. Introduction.

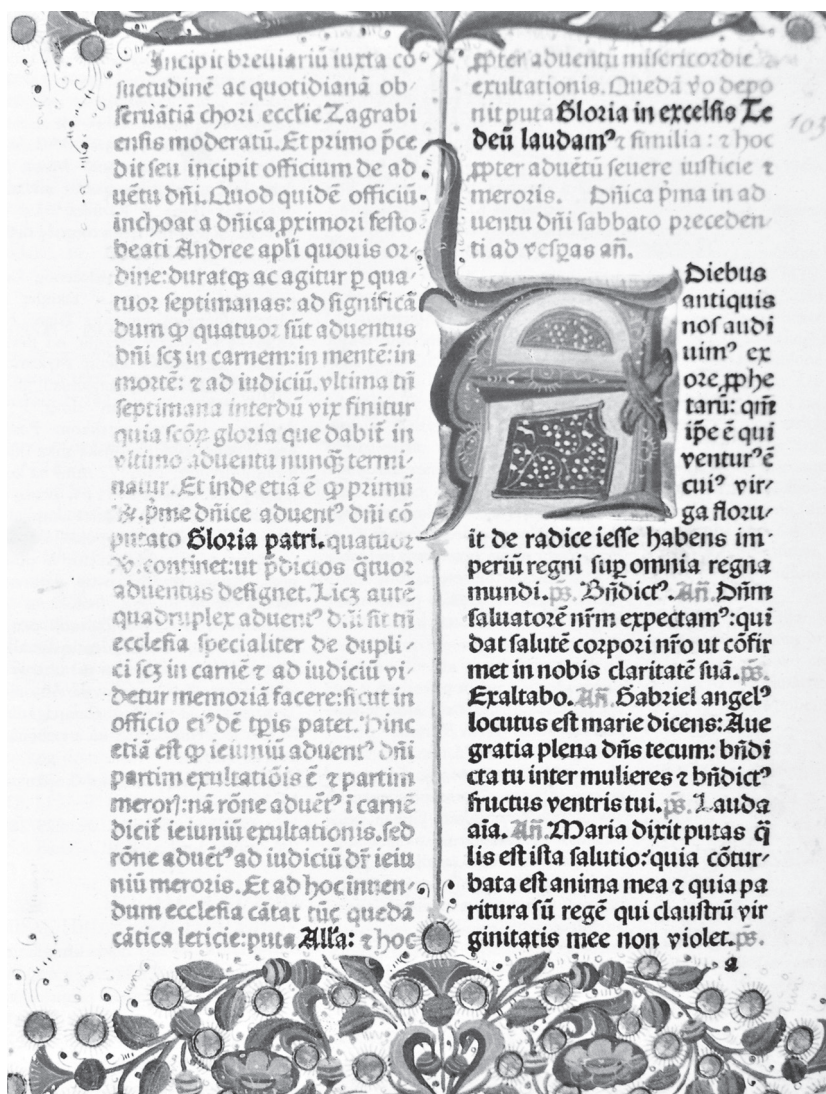


FIGURE 1.

*Breviarium Zagrabienense*, Venice, E. Radtoldt, 1484, Budapest,  
National Széchény Library

Only two copies have come down to us, one is kept in the Vatican Library, the other in Budapest (in the National Széchény Library). The Budapest copy was printed on parchment, many of its initials were hand-made, and the starting page margins of each of the chapters were decorated with floral patterns.<sup>3</sup> The initials and decorations were apparently made for a printer in Venice, who in turn delivered the finished copies to the patron in Zagreb. The artwork itself is routine and perfunctory: clearly the work of a mediocre illuminator. An entirely different story is the copy of the *Opus de natura caelestium spirituum quos angelos vocamos*, a book written by Franciscan priest and Neoplatonic theologian Georgius Benignus (Juraj Dragišić, around 1455-1520), published in Florence in 1499 (Figure 2).<sup>4</sup>

Dragišić became a Master of Theology in Florence in 1485, and later on professor of theology and philosophy. He stayed in Dubrovnik between 1495 and 1500 without severing his ties with the Florentine intellectual circles. The book, written in Dubrovnik in 1498, is dedicated to the Senate of Dubrovnik, as we read in the first paragraph of the *incipit*. The incipit page of the copy, preserved today in the Research Library in Dubrovnik, is richly illuminated, with the initial portraying the author wearing a Franciscan habit. The lower margin depicts St. Blaise, the patron saint of Dubrovnik, holding the model of the town in one hand and a candle in the other (distinguishing him from the patron saint of throat ailments). On the left side is the coat of arms of the Florentine patrician family Salviati, which Dragišić was given upon becoming Minister Provincial of the Franciscan Province in Tuscany. On the right we find the old coat of arms of the Bosnian Dragišić family (a pair of crossed bear paws). Symmetrically straddling the vertical axis of the decorative frame to the left and right, we observe Dragišić's own *impresa*: a "barbarian's" head capped by a fleur-de-lys and a motto reading "SICVT LILIVM INTER SPINAS". The frame also features figures of

3 The contents of the breviary are described in detail by Razum, Stjepan. *Osvaldo Thuz de Szentlászló vescovo di Zagabria, 1466-1499* : [doctoral dissertation]. Rome ; Zagreb : Stjepan Razum, 1995. Pp. 105 -111. Razum alleges that the Vatican copy is more complete since it also contains a calendar, whereas the Budapest copy is more ceremonial since the initials are made in colour (p. 105). For a description of the Budapest copy see: Pelc, Milan. *Tiskane liturgijske knjige. // Sveti trag : devetsto godina umjetnosti Zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094-1994*. Zagreb : Muzej Mimara, 1994. Pp. 471-480, specifically p. 479.

4 The printer was Bartholomaeus de Libris. The copy is kept in Dubrovnik, Znanstvena knjižnica, call number: R 45-Ink. See Urban, Mirjana. *Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus de Salviatis) u hrvatskoj literaturi od 16. do 20. stoljeća*. Dubrovnik : Dubrovačke knjižnice, 1998.

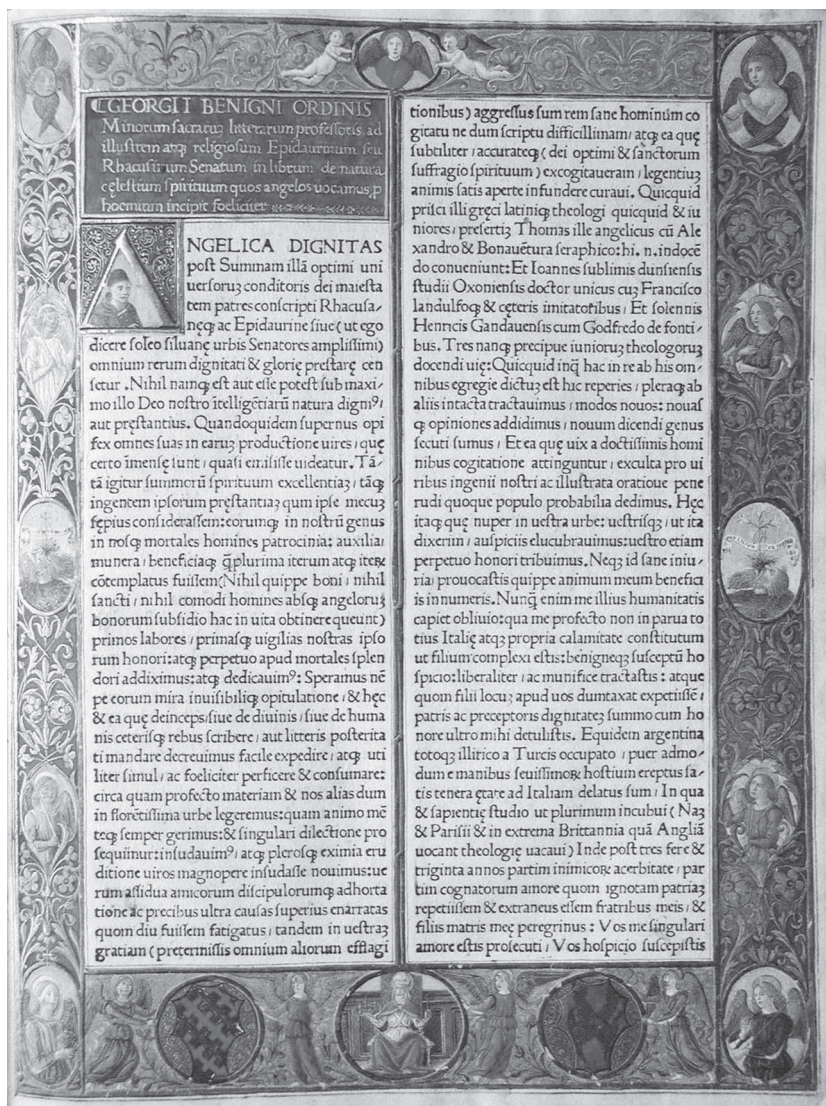


FIGURE 2.

Juraj Dražić, *Opus de natura caelestium spiritum*, Florence, B. de Libris, 1499, Dubrovnik, Znanstvena knjižnica

various angels, whose nature is the topic of Dragišić's work. The book contains numerous hand-illuminated initials. Although about twenty copies have been preserved, this appears to be the only one featuring an illuminated *incipit* page. Judging by the style of the miniatures, which is meticulous and consistent with other Florentine works of the time, it is safe to assume that the copy was made for the Dubrovnik Senate, which is known to have previously approved a 30-florin grant toward the publication of the book. Nevertheless, it is the way the book eventually reached Dubrovnik that deserves our attention: it arrived as late as 1932, as a gift from the famous archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans, whose dedication note can be found on the frontispiece, and who had himself purchased the book in Florence.<sup>5</sup>

This copy of Dragišić's work is perhaps the most beautiful illuminated incunabulum preserved in Croatia. Considering the quality of the illumination, as well as the way in which the decorations are shaped and arranged, it seems almost certain that the miniature was made in the workshop of Attavante degli Attavanti (1452-1525), who ranked among Italy's most renowned miniaturists of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. His Florentine studio provided miniatures for both codices and printed books. A large number of codices were, for example, illuminated for Matthias Corvinus. For instance, if we look closely at the painted incipit of Lucian's (Lucianus Samosatensis) incunabulum *Dialogi, Epistole* printed in Lorenzo d'Alopo's Florentine workshop in 1496, we can observe a number of similarities to Dragišić's frontispiece.<sup>6</sup> For example, the ornamented horizontal and vertical stripes, reminiscent of regular woodcut patterns; the way the golden foliate tendrils are thrown into relief against a flatly coloured background; the erotes bearing a coat of arms; the portrait of the author inside a letter featuring a monochromatic background with golden tendrils etc. Hence, it is our opinion

- 5 It should be noted that this particular copy was bound in brown leather, the binding sporting decorative features in gold press. The front and back covers feature centrally positioned medallion reliefs of the head of Hercules.
- 6 Lucian's frontispiece is reproduced in: Inconaboli ed edizioni rare : la collezione di Angelo Maria D'Elci : exhibition catalogue / edited by Dillon Bussi, Angela [et al.]. Florence : Biblioteca medicea laurenziana, 1989, no. 84. For comparison, we also cite several codices with miniatures attributed to Attavante and his Florentine workshop, made for the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus in Csapodi, Csaba; Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi. Bibliotheca Corvini-ana : Die Bibliothek des Königs Matthias Corvinus von Ungarn. Budapest : Corvina Kiadó : Helikon Kiadó, 1982, esp. no. 3, 33, 78, 85, 130, 137, 161, 182 and other. These miniatures evidence a higher level of artistic quality than those in Dragišić's book, but they show the same workshop style.

that this miniature may represent yet another addition to the extensive family of miniatures known or assumed to have been issued from Atavante's workshop.<sup>7</sup>

Time does not allow us to deal with the illuminated incunabula preserved in Croatia in a more comprehensive manner. We do, nevertheless, believe that it would be ill-advised not to mention the copies originating from the printing workshops of two printers of Croatian origin, who worked in Venice and elsewhere in northern Italy in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. One of them, Andrija Paltašić, was born in Kotor (today in Montenegro). The National and University Library in Zagreb is home to his 1487 illuminated edition of Catullus' *Carmina* (Figure 3).<sup>8</sup>

Quite noteworthy is the judicious arrangement of the decorations on the *incipit* page, with the text optically protruding, and the background revealing a piece of architecture *all'antica* with the corresponding decorative motifs: putti with coat of arms, sphinxes, dolphins, medallions with portraits, vases, garlands, and of course, the famous Lesbian sparrow on the top of ornamented frame. This is typical of early Renaissance illumination in Venice, calling to mind in particular the style of an artist to whom L. Armstrong refers to as the Pico Master.<sup>9</sup> We shall return to him later on.

The other important Croatian-born printer in the period of incunabula was Dobrić Dobričević (Boninus de Boninis), born on Lastovo, an island under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Ragusa at that time. It was in Verona in 1481 that he printed the famous humanistic

- 7 Croatian libraries are home to a number of illuminated incunabula, produced in a number of different printing centres, most of them Italian. Most were previously kept in the historic libraries of their original Croatian patrons. Among those artistically most elaborate is the *Pontificalis liber*, a ritual book printed in Stephanus Planck's Roman workshop in 1485, the printer himself signing the colophon as *clericus Pataviensis, eiusdem artis expertissimus*. The margins on the incipit page are completely covered with a thick and lavish vegetable ornament (only the left margin was left unfinished). The initial **P** is designed as a *littera historiata*, featuring a priest (pontifex) administering Confirmation to a boy, anointing him with consecrated oil on the forehead. Some relevant sources assume that the copy was made for Bishop Oswald but the coat of arms at the bottom of the page does not belong to him. See Dobronić, Jelja. *Renesansa u Zagrebu*. Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1994. P. 34.
- 8 See Slika u knjizi : iluminirani kodeksi i ilustrirane knjige od XI. do XVI. stoljeća : iz riznica Metropolitane i Nacionalne i sveučilišne biblioteke u Zagrebu / exhibition edited by Dražen Budiša, Vladimir Magić, Milan Pelc. Zagreb : Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1987. No. 49 (R I-4° - 24).
- 9 Armstrong, L. *Op. cit.*, 233 pp. Researchers often named unknown miniaturist after their best works: e.g., the Pico Master, the Master of the Putti and the London Pliny Master. For these, compare Mariani Canova, Giordana. *La miniatura Veneta del Rinascimento 1450-1500*. Venice : Alfieri, 1969.

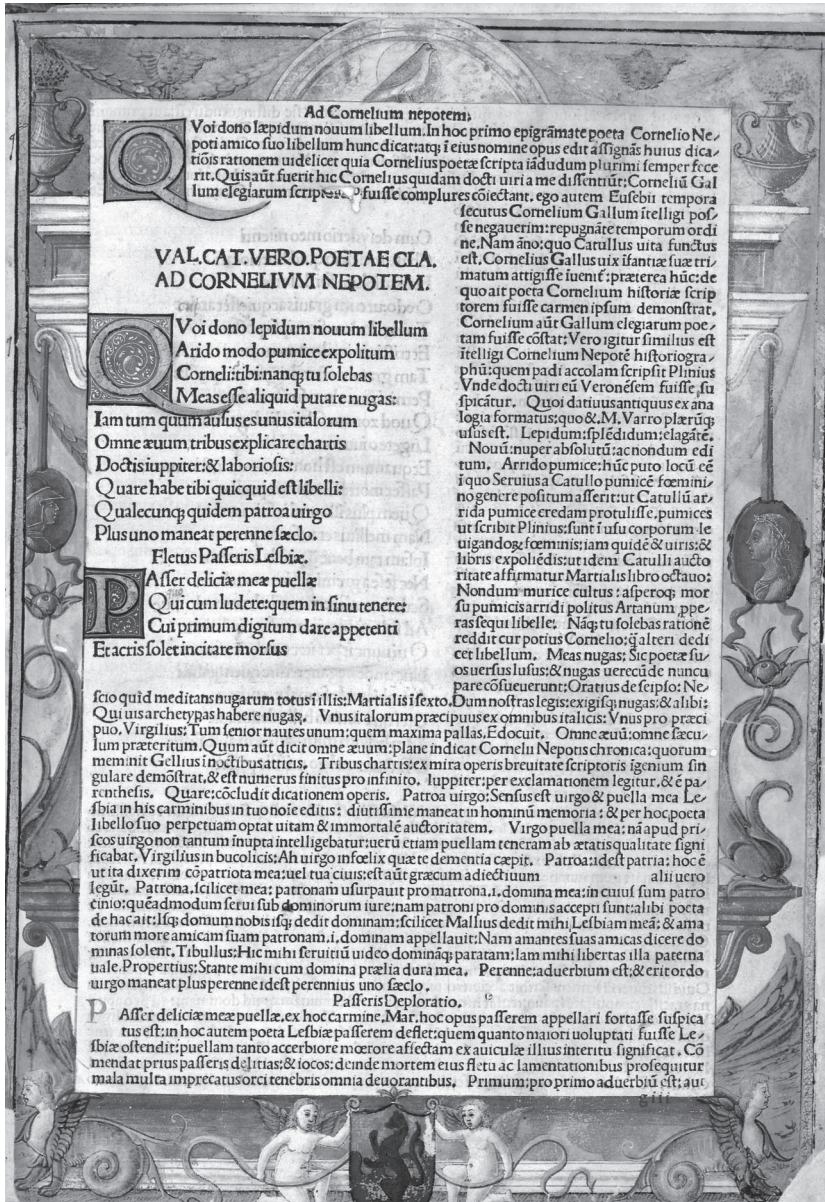


FIGURE 3.

Catullus' *Carmina*, Venice, A. Paltašić, 1487, Zagreb, National and University Library

manifesto *Roma instaurata* by Blondus Flavius.<sup>10</sup> The *incipit* page of the copy preserved in Zagreb has simple decorations, an ornamented initial, foliate tendrils on the margins, and an unclaimed coat of arms topped by a cardinal's hat.

One of the things revealed by these examples is, of course, the existence of a lively communication between Croatian patrons, authors and intellectuals with printing centres of Italy, where books were not only printed, but also illuminated. Illuminated incunabula originating from Northern Europe are rarely found in Croatian collections and often severely damaged. We shall mention here only one characteristic example. It is the famous 48-line Bible, printed in the Mainz workshop of Johann Fust and Peter Schöfer. It was produced as early as 1462: the earliest period of book printing.<sup>11</sup> Four loose pages from a copy of that Bible are kept in Zadar, in the Franciscan library, which may be assumed to have owned an integral copy of the Bible at some point.<sup>12</sup> These pages display modest handmade initials painted in red and clearly modelled on printing type, as their shapes indicate. This is an interesting and important feature which leads to the conclusion that the initials were inserted routinely, but with great care. We cannot know if the whole copy of the Bible was this modest or if it had individual illuminated pages with more elaborate initials and miniatures, as is the case with a number of other copies preserved in libraries across the world.<sup>13</sup>

### **Illuminated codices**

As seen from these examples of illuminated incunabula, normally the margins of the *incipit* pages were decorated, and sporadically also some bigger initial letters within the text: the Juraj Dragišić book provides an excellent example. However, at the same time, elaborate and fully illuminated codices were produced, which will be addressed in the following part of the paper. We shall speak about codices made in Croatia, or made for Croatian patrons, from the late 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

10 See description in Badalić, Josip. *Inkunabule u Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb : Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1952. No. 217 (a copy is kept in Zagreb, National and University Library in Zagreb, R I - 4<sup>o</sup> - 57).

11 For details on this Bible, see: König, Eberhard. *Biblia pulcra* : Die 48zeilige Bibel von 1462 : Zwei Pergamentexemplare in der Bibermühle. Ramsen, Schweiz : Antiquariat Bibermühle ; Rothalmünster : Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert, 2005.

12 Described in Badalić, J. *Op. cit.*, no. 188, with reproduction.

13 Two copies printed on parchment from the collection of Heribert Tenschert in Bibermühle are reproduced and described in full detail in König, E. *Op. cit.*

### *The Zagreb codices*

It is no surprise that Zagreb, being the centre of the largest Croatian diocese, has managed to preserve the most valuable store of mediaeval illuminated codices, many of which were, however, produced in post-Gutenberg times. Near the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Zagreb Episcopal See was occupied by the aforementioned bishop Oswald (1466-1499), a church dignitary with a humanistic background and one of the greatest promoters of culture in the spirit of the Early Renaissance in Northern Croatia. In the latter, he very much took after his patron and ruler, king Matthias Corvinus. It was for this very bishop who had, as we have pointed out, commissioned for his diocese its first printed breviary from Venice, that a few outstanding illuminated codices were made. Canon Toma Kovačević, a 17<sup>th</sup> century chronicler of the diocese and Bishop Oswald's biographer, notes that the bishop commissioned many books to be written. The remark bears witness to the peaceful coexistence of handwriting and typography at the time – just like the parallel courses of digital and printed publishing that we witness today.

This is no place to discuss at length Zagreb's illuminated codices from the period, but we must mention at least the three most important ones. The first is the *Antifonarium* (MR 10), nowadays in the Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archbishopric, the illumination of which was never completed (Figure 4).<sup>14</sup>

On one page, one discerns a preparatory sketch featuring the bishop's coat of arms as part of a scene depicting the consignment of the book. The scene is somewhat unclear. It seems that the monk, who was probably the copyist of the text, is handing the book to the bishop, who is himself not completely discernible, as the upper portion of the sketch is cut off. At the same time, the bishop can be seen again in the lower part of the scene, next to the coat of arms, holding a book in one hand and a mitre in the other, an attendant angel carrying his crosier. Apart from unfinished sketches, which shed light on the very beginning of the illuminating process, the *Antifonarium* also contains miniatures, such as the portrait of the bishop in ceremonial apparel, pointing his right index finger at the initial letter A. The portrait also remained unfinished, since the crosier in the Bishop's left hand is missing.<sup>15</sup>

14 See Razum, S. Op. cit., p. 111 etc.

15 In his dissertation about Bishop Oswald and his activities, S. Razum states that the miniaturist was probably a man named Ivan Prebičević (*Joannes Prebicheuich*), who left his signature on one of the decorative flowers constituting the initial S (fol. 143v and 163v). Razum believes this to be the signature of the illuminator, not the copyist (notary, calligrapher) of the codex.



FIGURE 4.

*Antifonarium* MR 10, about 1495, Zagreb, Library of the Zagreb Archbishopric

At the same time, Juraj of Topusko, a Cistercian abbot, commissioned two sumptuously illuminated missals, which were made in Zagreb.<sup>16</sup> The *Missale Georgii de Topusco* (MR 170), kept in the Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archbishopric, was copied by priest Matej of Miletinec, and its decoration was executed by two miniaturists, one of them assumed to be Master *Johannes Hans Almannus pictor* from Germany. The other remains unknown (Figure 5).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Badurina, A. Op. cit., no. 230, 253.

<sup>17</sup> See Kniewald, Dragutin. Misal čazmanskog prepošta Jurja de Topusko i zagrebačkog biskupa Šimuna Erdödy. // Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 268(1940), 45-84, esp. pp. 56, 60, 66. Perhaps the second master was the aforementioned Ivan Prebičević, whose signature was found in the Antiphon of Bishop Osvald.

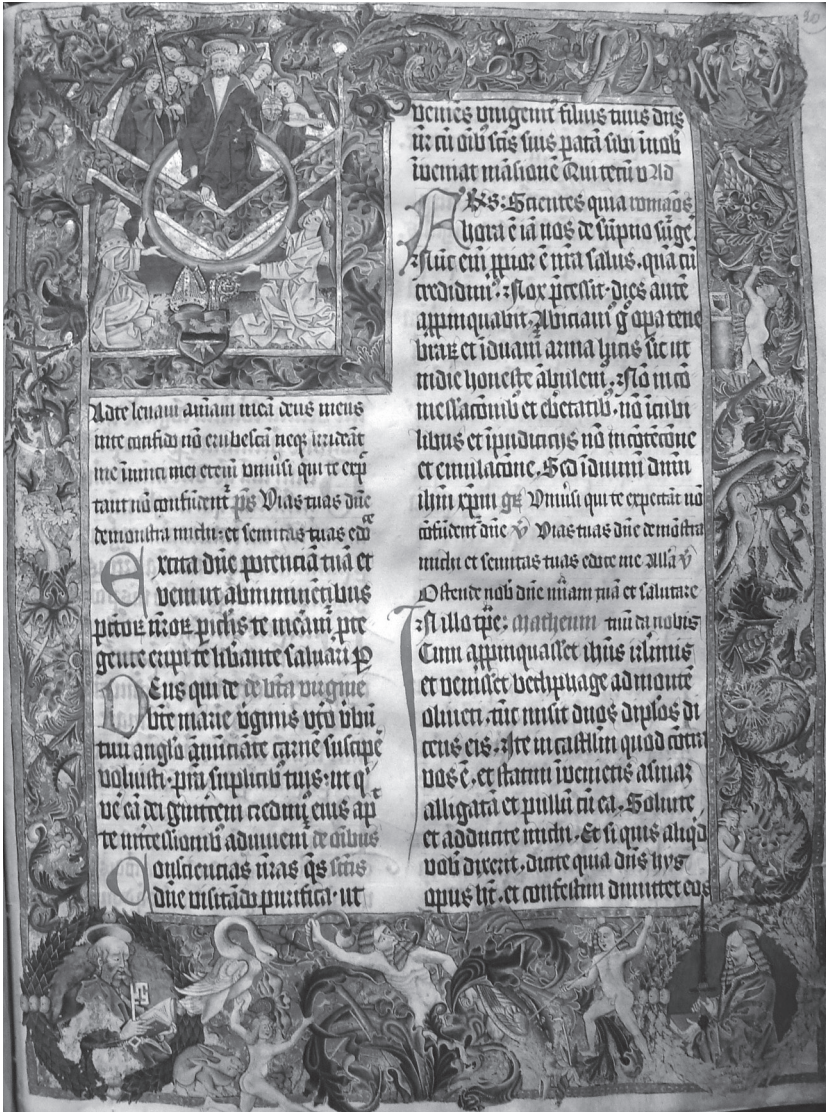


FIGURE 5.  
 Hans Almannus, *Missale Georgii de Topusco* MR 170. Zagreb, Library of the  
 Zagreb Archbishopric

Hans Almannus is also mentioned in Zagreb documents from 1503, when he was paid for the illumination of a calendar and parts of a missal.<sup>18</sup> As demonstrated by the style and execution of the illuminations, he took over, but never completed, the illumination of Abbot Juraj's second missal, kept in the treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral (No. 354). The missal was later probably taken to Buda, where its illuminations were completed by one of the miniaturists working for Cardinal Toma Bakač. Given the pronounced Renaissance spirit of some scenes and motifs, such as putti, grotesque motifs etc., it was believed that the miniaturist involved may have been Giulio Clovio, who was staying at the Hungarian court in Buda in the years preceding the battle of Mohács.<sup>19</sup> In all likelihood, though, it was not Clovio, but another miniaturist, known as Bakač's monogrammist.<sup>20</sup> He was probably of Northern Italian origin, and stayed in Buda some time around 1520 to illuminate the *Graduale* for Cardinal Bakač, as well as a number of charters featuring coats of arms that were issued at the time.<sup>21</sup>

Be that as it may: the fact is that both missals commissioned by Juraj of Topusko sport elaborate illuminations. In the first missal, they are Late Gothic with early Renaissance details. In the other, as has been mentioned, some pages are painted in the Renaissance style. In both cases, the exuberant ornamental page frames, often taking over the whole margin and penetrating the text itself, display plenty of curious figures, fantastic creatures, comic scenes (in the second missal, for instance, we come across a scene showing a group of rabbits roasting the hunter on a spit), minuscule hunting scenes, and various ornaments. It is noteworthy that many of the motifs and entire compositions are modelled on contemporary prints. Hence, we are witnessing yet another instance of the modernisation of artistic procedures going hand-in-hand with the new media production technology. Hans Almannus

18 Painter Hans is mentioned in a Zagreb decree dated 8<sup>th</sup> March 1504, whereby prince John Corvinus grants him a plot of land on Gradec, see Tkalčić, Ivan Krstitelj. *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba*. Zagreb : Brzotiskom K. Albrechta, 1896. Vol. 3, document no. 25. However, we cannot be certain whether this *Hans pictor* was the same person that painted the aforementioned codices, although this appears very likely.

19 Kniewald D. *Op. cit.*, p. 54 etc, p. 66 etc.

20 See Árpád, 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. // Mary of Hungary : the Queen and Her Court 1521-1531*. Budapest : Budapest History Museum, 2005. Pp. 81-95.

21 See Matthias Corvinus, the King : tradition and renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458-1490. Budapest : Budapest History Museum, 2008. No. 575.

used mostly prints by the Master ES, the Master of the Playing Cards, and those by Israhel van Meckenem.<sup>22</sup> In the *Missal* from Cathedral Treasury the most impressive feature is a miniature that covers a whole page, showing St. George slaying the dragon, its composition based on an engraving by the Dutch Master of Zwolle.

### *The Zadar codices*

While a workshop featuring a leading German miniaturist called Hans Almannus was active in Zagreb in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, patrons along the Adriatic coast were still commissioning illuminated codices from Venice. The most important group was commissioned by the abbot of the Benedictine abbey in Zadar, Deodat Venier. We are familiar with four codices belonging to his commission, illuminated with miniatures displaying a preponderance of early-Renaissance formal features and *all'antica* motifs blending with Late Gothic floral ornament (Figure 6).<sup>23</sup>

The elaborately illuminated Missal from 1480 was stolen from Zadar in 1921 to disappear without a trace. The *Epistolarium* and the *Evangelistarium* both commenced in 1479, bought from a Zadar nobleman in 1830, are kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Only the mutilated *Rituale*, begun in the same year, is kept in Zadar. The most prestigious piece of illumination work was lavished on the lost Venier missal. Fortunately, its illuminated pages are known from the reasonably good photographs in H. Folnesics's catalogue.<sup>24</sup> The upper part of the *incipit* page depicts the patron saint of Zadar, St. Grisogonus, on horseback amid a landscape, with a partial view of the city in the background. The margin is decorated with floral and figural patterns. There are also inserted medallion portraits *all'antica* and depictions of animals in foliage wreaths.

The *Epistolarium* appears to be finished during Venier's lifetime, unlike the *Evangelistarium*. Following the abbot's death, it was left to Bernardo Rossi of Parma, the then Bishop of Belluno and Comendator of the Zadar abbey, to see to its completion. The calligra-

22 See Quien, Enes. Miniature gotičkoga stila u Misalima Zagrebačke nadbiskupije : magistarski rad. Zagreb : E. Quien, 2002. Pp. 47-59, with older references.

23 Kolanović, Josip. Liturgijski kodeksi svetokrševanskog opata Deodata Venijera. // Radovi Instituta za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Zadru 29-30(1982-1983), 57-84, esp. p. 61 etc.; see also Hilje, Emil; Radoslav Tomić. Slikarstvo : umjetnička baština Zadarske nadbiskupije. Zadar : Zadarska nadbiskupija, 2006. Pp. 190 etc. Conte Giovanni Battista da Ponte from Zadar sold the codices for 20 gulden each to the Vienna library in 1830.

24 Folnesics, H. Op. cit., p. 3 etc.



FIGURE 6.  
Pico Master, Missal for abbot Deodat Venier, 1480 (After Folnesics)

pher who finished it, Albertus Borgondiensis, left his signature and the date, 15<sup>th</sup> July 1491, on two of the initial letters (folio 108 and 113). He is, however, unlikely to have authored the high-quality miniatures on the starting pages of this and other codices. The incipit page of the *Evangelistarium* is probably the work of a skilled Venetian miniaturist influenced by Mantegna and Gentile Bellini.<sup>25</sup> As a matter of fact, it could be the miniaturist Leonardo Bellini, who lived in Venice and Padua at that time, and his style was indeed influenced by both of the mentioned painters. On the other hand, the illuminations in the *Epistolarium* and in the lost missal bear a pronounced resemblance to the style of the aforementioned Pico Master.<sup>26</sup> There are similarities both in terms of style and motif between the miniatures of the two Zadar codices and the miniatures which L. Armstrong attributes to the Pico Master, leading to an identification of this miniaturist and his workshop as the probable author of illuminations in these two manuscripts.<sup>27</sup> These works substantially amplify the catalogue of miniatures attributed to the Pico Master.

- 25 For descriptions of both codices from Austrian National Library in Vienna see Hermann, Julius Hermann. *Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der italienischen Renaissance. // Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich. 2. Oberitalien : Venetien.* Leipzig : Hiersemann, 1931. Nos. 97, 98.
- 26 The figure of St. Grisogonus on horseback can be compared with the figure of St. George in his miniature on the incipit of Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, printed in 1469 in Johannes de Spyra's Venetian workshop. The rabbits painted both left and right in the wreaths in the lower margin can be compared to those found in the lower margin of Peter de Abano's *Expositiones problematum Aristotelis*, Venice, Johannes Herbort, 1482. The floral ornament featuring miniscule pearl motives is consistent with that found in the Latin Bible printed the same year, 1480, in Franciscus Renner's workshop in Venice. According to L. Armstrong, all these incunabula were illustrated by the Pico Master. Although the pearl motif also appears in the work of other illuminators, such as Girolamo da Cremona, the remaining stylistic features display a marked proximity to those seen in the Pico Master's miniatures. For example, from Girolamo da Cremona's work, compare Petrus de Abano, *Expositiones* from 1482, fol. 2, in Armstrong, L. Op. cit., ill. 28. See also Mariani Canova, G. Op. cit., ill. 21, with plenty of pearl beads. For pearl ornaments from the Pico Master, compare also the work of Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, 1481. It is kept in Venice, The National Library of St. Mark's, MS Lat., VI, 245 [=2976], book 1, fol. 3, reproduction in Armstrong, L. Op. cit., ill. 1 – this is the very same codex that was in Pico della Mirandola's possession, and after which the master was named.
- 27 For comparison see frontispice miniature in Petrus de Abano, *Expositiones* from 1482 (Den Haag, National Library of the Netherlands), esp. similarities between the landscapes, like for example the motif of tree stumps dispersed on the ground as a kind of personal signature of the Master. See about this my forthcoming article: Picov Majstor i kodeksi opata Veniera. // Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti 35(2011).

*The Glagolitic codices*

When discussing miniatures in Croatian codices from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, no historical perspective is complete without the inclusion of important handwritten and decorated Glagolitic books. As is known, local communities, priests and noblemen, on whose land liturgy was celebrated in the vernacular, commissioned copies of liturgical books, mostly missals and breviaries, in Glagolitic script. A large number of such codices from the late middle Ages have been preserved, some of them elaborately illuminated, such as the famous 1404 *Missal of Duke Hrvoje*. The tradition of producing such books was not disrupted by Gutenberg's novel printing technology, although the oldest Croatian printed book happens to be the *Missal*, printed in Glagolitic script in 1483. Priests throughout the territories where the vernacular liturgy prevailed remained, as it were, on the cutting edge of these developing technologies. Proof is offered by the only printing house known with certainty to have been operating in Croatia during the incunabula period. It was located in Senj, at the time the seat of a diocese and the principal port of the Kingdom of Hungary. The printing house was founded by Blaž Baromić, a Senj-based canon, who had previously worked as proof-reader for a Glagolitic edition of the breviary printed in Torresani's printing house in Venice in 1493. There can be no doubt that Baromić brought back from Venice a printing press and typographic equipment, which allowed him, along with his associates Silvestar Bedričić and Gašpar Turčić, to undertake the printing of the Glagolitic edition of the Senj Missal in 1494. The Senj printing house went on to publish a few more books for the Glagolitic priests, and remained in operation until 1508.<sup>28</sup>

Canon Baromić was born in Vrbnik on the island of Krk, one of North Adriatic's chief centres for the copying of Glagolitic codices. As far as this period is concerned, we shall refer to an important missal, copied in Vrbnik in 1462, featuring an elaborately decorated incipit page and some *littera figurata*, initials similar to those on the starting page. However, the *littera figurata* evidently feature a style that is entirely different from that seen in the more modest Glagolitic initials in the same book. The letter is Latin, not Glagolitic, and its design reveals a Veneto influence. The same can be said of the crucifixion page, torn out and now kept in Princeton (Figure 7).<sup>29</sup>

28 See Bošnjak, Mladen. *Slavenska inkunabulistica*. Zagreb : Mladost, 1970. Pp. 67-73.

29 Description of Missal in Badurina, A. Op. cit., p. 181.; See also Bratulić, Josip; Stjepan Damjanović. *Hrvatska pisana kultura : izbor djela pisanih latinicom, glagoljicom i ćirilicom od VIII. do XXI. stoljeća*. 1. svezak : VIII. - XVII. stoljeće. Križevci ; Zagreb : Veda, 2005. P. 150; for visual comparison see Bellini's Crucifixion in Mariani Canova, G. Op. cit., ill. to p. 18.

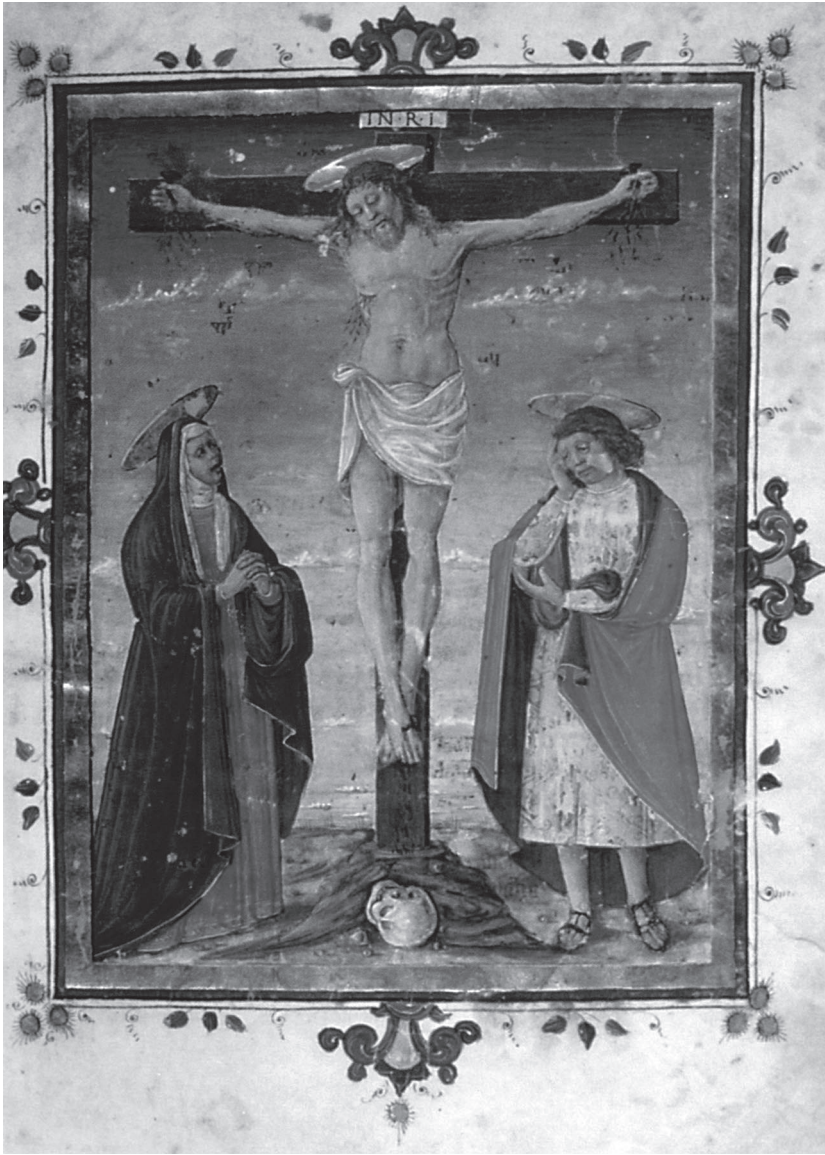


FIGURE 7.  
The Second Vrbnik Missal, 1462 (crucifixion page), Princeton University  
Library

One can assume that, once the copying work had been completed, the book was sent to Venice or another place in the Veneto, where it was decorated and illuminated, thus acquiring its eventual prestigious appearance.

At a time when many priests were already using printed Glagolitic breviaries and missals, others were diligently copying Glagolitic codices. Among those the best known is the so-called The Second Novljanski Breviary (*Drugi novljanski brevijar*) which was copied in 1495 by a priest named Martinac for a Pauline convent in Osap, near Novi Vinodolski.<sup>30</sup> In addition to some Glagolitic *littera historiata*, the breviary also contains a large number of vegetal and wattle-style decorations redolent of both the traditional flourished penwork motifs (*fleuronné*) and the then fashionable Italian white tendrils known as *bianchi girari*. These under-researched initials are exceptionally interesting, bearing witness to an elaborate Glagolitic decoration style that appears to have gained ground among the scribes and calligraphers across the North Adriatic during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The fusion of different ornamental systems enabled the illuminators to create their own decorative idiom which proved compatible with the “rustic” forms of Glagolitic letters. However, as demonstrated by the example of the *Vrbnik Missal*, in the case of more demanding commissions, books would normally be sent to professional miniaturists somewhere in Venice or across the Veneto for the finishing touches in both miniatures and decoration.<sup>31</sup>

#### *Father Bonaventura Razmilović and choir books*

Our presentation so far has focused on books with miniatures during the transition from a manuscript-based culture to a typographic one. Now, we shall fast forward for more than a century and focus our attention on an extraordinary figure in the world of illumination, born at a time when typography completely superseded the manuscript. As if out of the blue, a Franciscan from a convent in Poljud, a district in Split, going by the name of Father Bonaventura or Fra Bono Razmilović (1626-1678), copied on parchment and hand-decorated two volumes of a great *Psalter* used by the convent’s friars for the joint choir prayer (Figure 8).

30 For description, see Badurina, A. Op. cit., no. 103.

31 It is less probable and as yet unconfirmed that such miniaturists appeared in small towns on Croatian side of the North Adriatic.



FIGURE 8.

Fra Bonaventura Razmilović, *Psalterium diurnum*, 1670, Split, Poljud, Franciscan convent

The first of these, the *Psalterium diurnum*, running into a total of 109 folios, was completed in 1670, and the other, the *Psalterium nocturnum*, comprising 82 folios, five years later. Thus, we can safely assume that the making of both volumes took over ten years. The abundance of illuminations and their demanding execution offer a clear indication that a prolonged, patient, and meticulous effort on the part of the artist was required. Apart from the two Split books, Bono Razmilović also illuminated the second part of the *Graduale et*

*Antiphonarium de sanctis* for Franciscan convent in Hvar, its earlier part dating back to the late 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup>

From the perspective of art history, Bono Razmilović is seen as a conservative, if sincere and endearingly backward, provincial miniaturist who, locked away in his convent cell and “isolated from the dominant visual trends of his time”, as was said about him, upholds the – by this point lifeless – mediaeval discipline of book illumination.<sup>33</sup> From the perspective of book history, his *Psalterium* in Split is described as “the most unnecessary manuscript to appear during that period”, since priests could by now just as well make use of printed books.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, neither had Father Bono Razmilović, as A. Stipčević suggests, “completely lost contact with the world and all things happening in it”, nor is it true that copying and book illumination had by that time ceased to exist. The great codices continued to be used and copied until well into the modern era in a number of monasteries where joint choir services were performed.<sup>35</sup>

Some monasteries continued to make copies of such psalters even as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In Croatia, a copy has come down to us of a *Graduale et vespérale* from the Franciscan convent on the island of Cres, which was also copied and illuminated in the 17<sup>th</sup> or even 18<sup>th</sup> century (Figure 9).

Naturally, the Franciscans were well-acquainted with printed books and were using them. Nonetheless, it was for the purposes of their choir prayers that they still produced manuscript codices, sometimes using and imitating printed models in the process. The Cres copy is a clear evidence of this: the letter type mimics the printed antiqua.

32 For basic description, see Badurina, A. Op. cit., no. 76, 145 and 146. Split Psalters also described in Jakšić, Nikola. *Illuminirani korali. // Milost susreta : umjetnička baština Franjevačke provincije sv. Jeronima*. Zagreb : Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2010. Pp. 230-260, IR/11 and IR/12. On Bono Razmilović See Prijatelj, Kruno. *Barok u Dalmaciji. // Barok u Hrvatskoj / A. Horvat, R. Matejčić, K. Prijatelj*. Zagreb : Liber : Odjel za povijest umjetnosti Centra za povijesne znanosti : Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske : Grafički zavod Hrvatske : Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1982. Pp. 864-868.

33 Prijatelj, K. Op. cit., p. 864.

34 Stipčević, A. Op. cit., p. 76.

35 Just this spring, Munich's Bavarian State Library drew on its own collections to mount an exhibition showcasing an exquisite selection of elaborately illuminated Psalter manuscripts spanning the range between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The late end of the show's timeline is marked by a monastic psalter from Ottobeuren that was made in 1583: thus, quite late in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its scribe was a Benedictine priest named David Aichler, while Johann Werle, a painter, is assumed to have executed the illuminations. See the catalogue *Gemalt mit lebendiger Farbe : Illuminierte Prachtpsalterien der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek vom 11. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert / Leitung Claudia Fabian*. Luzern, 2011. Pp. 112 etc.

In Festo Assumptionis B. Mariæ Virginis 121

bi Mari a: quæ non aufe re  
 tur ab e a in æ ter num. 8.



IN ASSUMPTIONE  
 B. MARIE VIRGINIS  
 Ad Vesperas, Antiphona.



Sfumpta est Maria in cæ-  
 lum, gaudent Angeli, lau-  
 dantes benedicunt Dominum. Psalmus.  
 Dixit Dñs. 7. Ant. Maria virgo assump-  
 ta est ad æthereum thalamum, in quo

FIGURE 9.  
*Graduale et vesperale*, 17/18 ct. Cres, Franciscan convent

The same goes for the overall page design – an illusion is created that leaves the book look like a “printed” codex. In Gutenberg’s time, it was the printed books that mimicked the codices, whereas now the codices started mimicking the printed books! The Zagreb Cathedral canons also continued to have their choir books copied up until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup> Choir codices, as such, constitute a special chapter in the history of the manuscript book: a peculiar manuscript format that long outlived Gutenberg.

All these as well as numerous other examples of book copying in Croatia during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, which the shortness of time prevents us from dwelling on, point to the fact that the technology of handwriting and illuminating was by no means forgotten. Rather, it persisted in a number of small niches of users, mostly members of the clergy and nobility, who cherished it for their own peculiar and pragmatic reasons. In this regard, we would also like to mention a few Franciscan manuscript songbooks dating back to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and originating from the North of Croatia. These were written on paper, the margins of the cover and specific pages adorned with ornamental drawings. Particularly interesting from a purely visual perspective are the songbooks of the Franciscan friar Filip Vlahović Kapošvarac (around 1700-1755). Their margins are graced with interlacing ornament reminiscent of that used by Bono Razmilović.<sup>37</sup> There is no doubt that, in many cases, the Franciscans – and, occasionally, other clerical users, found it most practical and cheaper to transcribe codices to serve the needs of a large convent or choir, rather than to order the required quantity of printed copies.<sup>38</sup>

In his capacity as copyist and illuminator, Father Bono Razmilović is not an isolated figure in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Croatia. Despite this, he stands apart because of the extraordinary complexity of the illuminations in his codices. The richness of illuminations in Bono Razmilović’s codices is outstanding: he even portrays himself on an elaborately decorated page of the *Split codex*. He depicts himself kneeling, quill in hand,

36 See many examples in Kniewald, Dragutin. Iluminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih rukopisa. // Rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 279(1944), 5-108. The special rite of the Zagreb diocese was abolished 1788.

37 See Kinderić, Petar-Antun; Marija Riman. Glazba u franjevačkim samostanima kontinentale Hrvatske. // Mir i dobro : umjetničko i kulturno nasljeđe Hrvatske franjevačke provincije sv. Ćirila i Metoda. Zagreb : Galerija Klovićevi dvori, 2000. Pp. 119-125.

38 A number of examples and explanations of this custom is provided by Stipčević, A. Op. cit., pp. 72-78.

to receive divine inspiration for his copying work. His decorations are true virtuoso performances, which is particularly apparent in his decorative interlaces. The latter are redolent of arabesques or, indeed, of the kind of decoration that Albrecht Dürer, who used them for a series of six of his own virtuoso woodcuts, referred to as “knots” (*Knoten*) in the early days of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> Amid an ever-evolving plethora of shapes, these types of ornament remained popular even during the Baroque, and Father Bono might have drawn on a number of different printed models or books for their creation. Indeed, Fra Bono was not a particularly skilful draughtsman of figures and figurative compositions. For that purpose, he would resort to templates, inserting them in appropriate places, and colouring them to resemble miniatures. The strategy is apparent in his rendition of the birth of Jesus, or, rather, King David, which can be seen on an elaborately decorated page containing the incipit of the First Psalm. In a reversal of the procedure used for decoration of incunabula, the printed image is now incorporated into the manuscript!

Father Bono’s mastery of ornament and individual motif attains a high level of naturalistic plausibility. Moreover, following in the footsteps of Late Gothic illuminators, he depicts flowers of different kinds and shapes with a great deal of authenticity, throwing into the mix insects, butterflies, grasshoppers, crickets, bees, and especially flies, using the *trompe l’oeil* technique, so that these appear to be alive to the observer. While painting them, he must have had in mind Pliny’s anecdotes about the painters of classical antiquity who used this technique to deceive the observer’s eye, showing the onlooker just how far a master-painter could take the imitation of nature. Little is known about the training received by this gifted miniaturist and self-assured artist and monk: the sources and models he used in his work are yet to be researched. Among art historians, it was Kruno Prijatelj who penned the loveliest write-up: “Heir to a long-surviving tradition, Father Bono knew how to create works infused with a genuine lyricism: something that we so often fail to find in the work of some of his contemporaries whose fame is infinitely greater.”<sup>40</sup>

39 Meder, Josef. *Dürer-Katalog : Ein Handbuch über Albrecht Dürers Stiche, Radierungen, Holzschnitte, deren Zustände, Ausgaben und Wasserzeichen*. Vienna : Gilhofer und Rauschburg, 1932. Pp. 274-279.

40 Prijatelj, K. Op. cit., p. 868.

### *The Mariegolas*

So far we have tried to concisely present the most important groups of books with miniatures created after Gutenberg, each linked to Croatia in one way or another. Apart from the examples provided, there are a number of other books with miniatures which were created as individual commissions for different needs. In the field of religious book production, I wish to mention the important group of confraternity Mariegolas, their frontispieces usually featuring a miniature depicting their patron saint. Thus, the *Mariegola of Zadar Confraternity of Priests* from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century features Virgin Mary, whereas the *Mariegola of the Confraternity of St. John* in Šibenik features St. John the Baptist (Figure 10).

Both miniatures are in a clumsy, rustic-amateurish idiom indicating the involvement of artists who were obviously no professional miniaturists or painters. It is assumed that the Šibenik Mariegola figure of St. John was painted by the local goldsmith Horacio Fortezza, who figured as the brotherhood's secretary from 1561 to 1569. It was not until much later, in 1592, that he also made silver reliefs for the cover of that same Mariegola.<sup>41</sup>

### *Some secular commissions*

Finally, we must briefly consider some secular commissions of handwritten books with miniatures after Gutenberg. This group is, as is understandable, given the historical circumstances, much smaller than the group of clerical commissions. We shall mention here the statutes of two Croatian towns, written on parchment and containing pertinent illuminations executed by professional miniaturists. A note in the *explicit* states that it was Marko Navager (Marco Navagerio), Venetian governor of Pula, who commissioned a copy of the *Pula Statute* dating from 1500. The author of the copy was *friar Antonius de Lendenaria, ordinis minorum*, a Franciscan from a convent in the town of Lendinara, near Rovigo. The transcript was based on an older model from 1433. Facing the first page with the text, we find a high-quality (although severely damaged) whole-page miniature of the crucifix with an orna-

41 See Pelc, Milan. Horacije Fortezza, šibenski zlatar i graver 16. stoljeća. Zagreb : Institut za povijest umjetnosti ; Šibenik : Gradska knjižnica "Juraj Šižgorić", 2004. Pp. 20 and 91-95. For a mariegola with miniature from Poreč see Folnesics, Hans. Die illuminierten Handschriften im Österreichischen Küstenlande, in Istrien und der Stadt Triest. Leipzig : Karl W. Hiersemann, 1917. P. 45 etc.



FIGURE 10.  
*Mariegola of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist* attributed to Horatio Fortezza.  
Šibenik, Cathedral treasury

mental frame, clearly inspired by the “canon” crucifix found in missals. The style suggests that the author originated from a Northern Italian circle close to Foppa and Mantegna. The next page (f. 8r) reveals a large initial D, illuminated with the figures of Jesus and Doubting Thomas (also damaged), and the entire page has an ornamented frame, the lower part bearing the Pula coat of arms (Figure 11).<sup>42</sup>

An even more elaborate miniature can be found in the *Ilok Statute*, written in Buda in 1525, on the eve of the fatal battle of Mohács. It was the hand of a skilful miniaturist, working in a classical Renaissance idiom, that filled an entire page with the coat of arms of Hungarian King Louis II the Jagiellonian, surrounded it with an architectural frame, and lined up some putti to support the shield.<sup>43</sup> This elaborate coat of arms is attributed to the young Giulio Clovio, whose presence as a miniaturist at the Buda court from around 1520 to the battle of Mohács is reported by none other than Giorgio Vasari. The penultimate page of the Statute is a painting of the Ilok coat of arms. It is beautifully executed, with its two yellow-golden lions buttressing a grey tower on greenish-brown ground against a blue backdrop. Although many city statutes of that time were printed (for example, those of Šibenik and Zadar), such hand-written luxury examples, needless to say, held for their commissioners the special significance of prestigious originals.

Finally, we shall conclude the presentation with a manuscript written on paper, entirely dedicated to something that was quite rare in Croatia in the early modern period: a game book serving no other purpose but that of fun and pastime. It is a copy of a book called *Sibila : knjiga gatalica* (*Sibyl : The Book of Divinations*). It contains a social divination game with numbered dice and appropriate charts along with instructions on how to play and comments about the results of divination. According to the available documents, Katarina Zrinska, the wife of Petar Zrinski, Croatia’s most prominent nobleman of the time, commissioned the book around 1660 at the family court in Čakovec.<sup>44</sup>

42 See Badurina, A. Op. cit., no. 122; Pulski statut / glavni i odgovorni urednik Davor Mandić. Pula : Grad Pula ; Povijesni muzej Istre, 2000.; Pelc, Milan. *Renesansa*. Zagreb : Naklada Ljevak, 2007. P. 546 etc.

43 The description of the manuscript in Unterkircher, Franz. *Inventar der illuminierten Handschriften, Inkunabeln, und Frühdrucke der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Teil 1 : Die abendländischen Handschriften*. Wien : Prachner, 1957. P. 122.

44 See Bartolić, Zvonimir. *Sibila : knjiga gatalica zrinskoga dvora u Čakovcu*. Čakovec : Matrica hrvatska, Ogranak “Zrinski” ; Zagreb : Metropolitana, 2007. [Commented facsimiles with transcripts of texts.]



FIGURE 11.  
*Ilok Statute* - Coat of arms of Louis II Jagiello, 1525, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

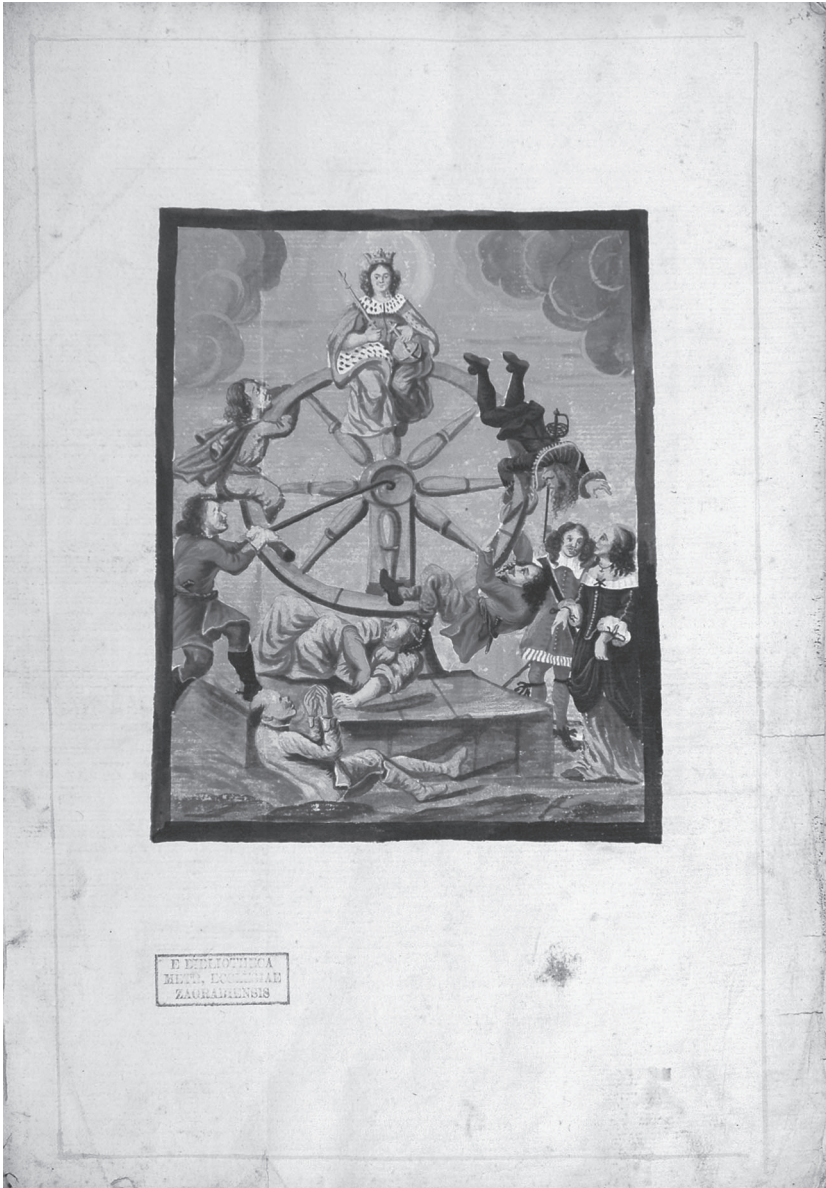


FIGURE 12.  
*Sibila: knjiga gatalica* (Sibyl: The Book of Divinations), around 1660, Zagreb,  
Library of the Zagreb Archbishopric

The book takes up a late Mediaeval tradition of making “manuals” for games to be played by the nobility. The most beautiful pieces in the book are two miniatures (actually watercolour illustrations on paper) featured at the beginning of the volume. The first is mediaeval in inspiration and depicts the goddess of fortune on the wheel of destiny, with figures of earthly mortals carried up and then falling off the wheel (Figure 12).

The other is a Renaissance *Fortuna*, blindfolded and floating on a shell, her sail billowing, with Eros, her escort, hovering behind her, he too blindfolded. Those two images convey at least two eternal truths to past and present readers: the former avers that fortune is fickle, while the latter concedes that fortune and love are blind. And, indeed, some ten years later, Petar Zrinski was charged with conspiracy, sentenced to death, and executed in Wiener Neustadt. Katarina, his wife, spent the rest of her life abandoned and indigent. Her Book of Divinations remains a crucial testimony documenting the culture of the high nobility of Croatia in the Baroque period.

Translated by Tvrtko Černoš

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### Biographical sketch

Dr. Milan Pelc graduated from the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Zagreb in 1984. He obtained a master's degree at the same Faculty in 1988 with the thesis *Illustrations of Croatian Protestant Books Printed in Urach from 1561-1565*. In 1992 he earned a doctoral degree at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in Zagreb with the dissertation *Life and Work of Martin Rota Kolunić (cca 1540-1583), a Printmaker from Šibenik*. Since March 1993 he has been employed at the Institute of Art History in Zagreb, becoming the director of the Institute in January 2003. At the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in Zagreb he taught courses on *History of Visual Communication*, *Prints as a Medium of Information* and *History of Art History*. Since 2003 he has been teaching a course *Visual culture* at the study of design at the Faculty of Architecture in Zagreb. From 1999 he has taught at the post-graduate study of art history at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities in Zagreb. In July 2007 he was appointed associate professor at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities, University of Zagreb. Fields of research: visual communication (history of book illustration and illumination, history of prints, esp. illustrated broadsheets), history of art history, Croatian renaissance art.

## MINIJATURE NAKON GUTENBERGA U HRVATSKOJ

### Sažetak

Tradicija iluminiranja knjiga u razdoblju nakon Gutenbergova pronalaska tiska u Zapadnoj Europi realtivno je dobro istražena, no kad je riječ o Hrvatskoj o njoj se još uvijek razmjerno malo zna. Ovaj članak fokusiran je stoga na knjige s minijaturama povezane s Hrvatskom nastale nakon Gutenbergova. Neke su od njih nastale u Hrvatskoj, a neke su za potrebe naručitelja i korisnika iz Hrvatske bile nabavljene iz središta njihove proizvodnje u drugim zemljama, ponajviše Italije – što nije uvijek moguće odrediti s potpunom preciznošću. U svakom slučaju, gotovo sve ovdje prikazane knjige danas se čuvaju u Hrvatskoj. Građa je primarno razdijeljena u dvije velike skupine. Prva skupina obuhvaća iluminirane inkunabule u kojima se tehnologija tiska pokretnim slovima povezuje s tradicionalnom tehnologijom ručnog ukrašavanja. Druga skupina obuhvaća ručno izrađene knjige (kodekse) u kojima su iluminacije i ukrasi također izrađeni rukom. Njihovu ćemo proizvodnju pratiti sve do kasnog 18. st., služeći se izabranim primjerima koji odražavaju stil razdoblja i kulturno raspoloženje okruženja u kojem su knjige nastajale.

**Ključne riječi:** Hrvatska, minijature, iluminirane inkunabule, iluminirani kodeksi