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ISTITUTO BALASSI - ACCADEMIA D'UNGHERIA IN ROMA

The Art of Medieval Hungary

edited by
Xavier Barral i Altet,
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viella

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ANNA BORECZKY

Book Culture in Medieval Hungary*

Prior to the twentieth century, Hungary had only existed as an independent entity with its own political sovereignty in the Middle Ages. After the Ottoman occupation (1526-1541) the country was divided into three parts, and was not reunited until more than 150 years later, as part of the Habsburg Empire. Even then, Transylvania and the southern frontier were governed separately. At the very moment when Europe – partly as a result of the fall of Constantinople (1453) and in parallel with the first waves of colonisation – was beginning to be conceived of as a continent with a common culture of shared traditions (first in the writings of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, whose *De Europa* starts with a presentation of Hungary and its history), Hungary vanished from the European political map. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when scholars started to piece together the medieval history of the country from the remains of the past, they tended to speak, on the one hand, of terrible loss and suffering, while on the other hand they celebrated the glorious Middle Ages. Europe's nineteenth-century rediscovery of medieval art and culture was therefore tinted, in Hungary, with a hue of romantic nostalgia, which set the tone of the narrative on Hungarian medieval art and architecture for many years to come.

Still in the nineteenth century, when the new discipline of art history joined the discourse on Hungary's past, scholars first had to set up the corpus of Hungarian medieval art and architecture. Since decorated books were (and are) among the most easily transported objects of artistic value, the primary sources of Hungarian book painting had become dispersed to – and had to be collected from – almost every corner of the world, but mainly from regions with traditionally strong links to Hungary, such as the German-speaking lands (especially Austria) and Italy. The collection of Hungarian codices did not necessarily mean the material acquisition of books; nevertheless, the process of registering and documenting them sometimes extended to making complete replicas of the text and images, as happened with the fourteenth-century Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (*Chronicon pictum*), the most splendidly illustrated historical text to emerge from medieval Hungary, which was copied in full by János Bicsérdy between 1872 and

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1877 (at that time the original was kept in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, but now it is in the possession of the Széchényi National Library, Budapest – Cod. Lat. 404 –, together with the Bicsérdy Codex – Fol. Lat. 3922).

The identification of codices as Hungarian could be based on coats-of-arms, colophons and/or (marginal) notes referring to names of places or individuals: scribes, artists and owners. Certain liturgical features also aided identification, such as the presence of typically Hungarian saints, especially those from the eleventh-century: King Stephen, Emeric, and King Ladislas. However, the definition of what “Hungarian” means has been subject to fluctuation and inconsistency over the last two centuries. Today there seems to be consensus among Hungarian scholars concerning the scope of Hungarian medieval book culture: we tend to take into account every single volume that was created by and/or for Hungarian scribes, artists, patrons or communities, or created and/or used within the political borders of the erstwhile Kingdom of Hungary, the majority of whose territories now form part of the modern states of Austria, Croatia, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine. However, the material that has come down to us does not allow us to construct a specifically Hungarian style of illumination, which causes serious terminological problems.

When referring to the Middle Ages it is obviously irrelevant to use the term “Hungarian” in its modern, national sense. The population of the Kingdom of Hungary was ethnically diverse, and the perception of “nation” was fundamentally different from the meaning it assumed in the nineteenth century. In art history, however, the use of such terms as “French”, “Italian”, “Bohemian”, seems to be inescapable. Especially in cases where the precise place of origin of a given object is unknown, such labels are useful for designating styles that are recognisable as typical of a particular region. The lack of a specifically Hungarian school of illumination, together with the virtually unavoidable conflation of the political-regional and ethnic-national meanings of these terms, can lead to certain discrepancies. An example of this is the title of Dušan Buran’s otherwise excellent study on the book painting of medieval Pozsony (Pressburg), one of the most important cities of medieval Hungary, today Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia. Despite being ahistorical as such, the adjectives “*Böhmisch – slowakisch – österreichisch?*” illustrate both the wealth of interrelationships characterising the medieval art of the country and scholarly difficulties in differentiating between related styles, where such distinctions might serve as the basis for reconstructing likely interactions.

With all this ambiguity and complexity in mind, I will use the term “indigenous” to designate local traditions, and “Hungarian” as a strictly political term referring to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. I will speak about Hungarian codices in their European context. Instead of isolating them as specifically or typically Hungarian, I will try to reconstruct their place within the book culture of Western Christianity, a culture which, united by the use of Latin, represents the common knowledge of medieval Europe. Placed against this background, the volumes in question will, in turn, reveal certain characteristics of the medieval literacy of the country that provided the setting for and determined the role of the illumination of manuscripts.

Books in the Service of Liturgy and Devotion: Eleventh-Thirteenth Centuries

Written culture and books arrived in Hungary at the same time as the nation converted to Christianity, starting in the early eleventh century. During the reign of Saint Stephen, the first king of Hungary (997/1000-1038), the ecclesiastical structure of the country started to take shape, which required the construction of a large number of churches. According to the statutes of Saint Stephen, every tenth village had to build a church, whose liturgical books were supplied at the expense of the given diocese. At the same time, the religious orders, especially the Benedictines, built their first monasteries in the country, establishing a broad network of contacts that enjoyed a degree of independence from the royal court or the secular clergy. In spite of this intense and obviously long-lasting period of construction, there is a dearth of Hungarian illuminated books from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, so it would be fallacious to make any kind of generalisation. Nevertheless, the few extant remains that we have indicate a conspicuous diversity of relationships.

The earliest illuminated manuscript to mention is an eleventh-century Gospel Book now in the Metropolitan Library of the Zagreb Archdiocese (Knjižnica Metropolitana MR 153), an institution that inherited the medieval books from Zagreb (now Croatia) Cathedral. This was the seat of the Zágráb Diocese (today Archdiocese), founded as part of the Archdiocese of Esztergom by (Saint) Ladislas I, king of Hungary (1077-1095), in the last years of his reign. The book is illuminated by zoomorphic author-portraits of the Evangelists Luke and John: they are full-length figures, sitting and writing, but their human bodies are surmounted with the heads of their animal symbols. The specific representation of zoomorphic Evangelists either standing or sitting was most frequent in the art of the Pyrenees (e.g. in the *Beatus Apocalypse* manuscripts) and of Ireland and Brittany in the ninth to eleventh centuries, also making a somewhat later appearance in the Romanesque art of German-speaking lands and Italy. Although there is no direct evidence to prove either that the manuscript was present in the early library of Zagreb Cathedral or that the model originated in the Pyrenees, it is interesting to note that illuminated manuscripts from the Pyrenees might have been familiar to the royal courts of eleventh-century Hungary and Croatia. Peter Orseolo, king of Hungary (1038-1041, 1044-1046), was descended from Saint Pietro Orseolo, Doge of Venice, who subsequently became a monk at the Benedictine abbey of San Miguel de Cuixá, in the Pyrenees, in 978. Saint Pietro's granddaughter (Peter Orseolo's aunt) was the wife of King Stephen I of Croatia, a former hostage of Doge Pietro Orseolo II.

Manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries reveal connections with less distant places. The oldest illuminated Bible that has come down to us from Hungarian use is a product of the famous Salzburg school of illumination from the second quarter of the twelfth century. This splendidly illustrated giant Bible, most widely known as the Admont Bible (or Gebhard Bible, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Ser. Nov. 2701-2702), was in the possession of the Benedictine abbey in Csátár (west Hungary) until 1263, when it was pawned.

Its way from Salzburg to Csátár is shrouded in mystery, and for such a precious volume to be in a Hungarian monastery in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries was certainly an exception rather than the rule. However, decorated books from German-speaking lands were probably used and copied in a number of Hungarian churches and *scriptoria* for a long time. The roughly contemporaneous pen-and-ink drawings of a Missal – 1/43 in the Franziskanerbibliothek, Németújvár (Güssing, today Austria/Burgenland) – and a Sacramentary (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, MNy 1) from around 1200 are usually interpreted within this context (Pl. 66). In the Missal, which probably originates from a parish of the Zagreb Diocese, there is a Crucifixion scene with Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. The composition, completed with the Sun and the Moon above the cross, and most of all the immobile form of the body of Christ, point to the use of old-fashioned models of possibly German origin. The conservative features of this image become clear when compared to the *Corpus Christi* drawing (in fact an unfinished Crucifixion) of the Sacramentary, the so-called Pray Codex (named after György Pray, the eighteenth-century historian who discovered it). The majority of this composite manuscript (which is famous for the oldest known continuous text in Hungarian: a funeral sermon) is a late twelfth-century Sacramentary made at a Benedictine abbey in Upper Hungary. A separate bifolio, which may have been added to the volume somewhat later, features five scenes from the Passion and Resurrection of Christ: in addition to the Crucifixion, the scenes are the Deposition from the Cross, the Embalming of Christ, the Three Marys at the Tomb, and Christ Enthroned with an angel standing on his right, holding the Weapons of Christ (Pls. 67-68). The images were made by two masters who did not necessarily work at the same time or place. The slightly curvilinear form of the body in the sensitive drawing of the *Corpus Christi* (fol. XXVIIr) speaks a visual language of Byzantine origin, which, in the art of Western Christianity replaced more static forms – like that of the above-mentioned Missal – from the middle of the twelfth century on. The full-page Deposition (fol. XXVIIv) and the two consecutive scenes (Embalming of Christ, Three Marys at the Tomb), placed one above the other on the facing page (fol. XXVIIIr), follow the example of complex compositions at a significantly lower quality of drawing. The compositions might have had Byzantine roots, while the sequence of images (atypical for sacramentaries) is similar to the visual narratives that were typically placed before the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin psalters, the prayer books of the age, in order to deepen the devotion of the patrons. Among the twelfth-century illuminations of the Winchester Psalter (British Library, London, Cotton MS Nero C IV) and that of the late twelfth-century Ingeborg Psalter (Musée Condé, Chantilly), there are pages with the same sequence and even arrangement of images, with the relatively rarely visualised Embalming of Christ appearing in the upper section, and the Three Marys at the Tomb coming in the lower zone. Nevertheless, it is also possible that the three episodes (or their models) originally formed part of a Gospel Book or a Gospel Lectionary, where the narrative Passion Cycles were

usually dispersed within the volume. Christ Enthroned, on the upper left side of the last illustrated page in the Pray Codex (fol. XXVIIIv), made by the same hand as the previous drawings, could not have been interpreted as the conclusion of a complete cycle of images. There is seemingly no reason for its small size, as the text of a prayer next to it and a few lines of musical notation below it are additional supplements, like the sketchy figure of a priest and a bird on the page of the *Corpus Christi*. The routes taken by Byzantine models to medieval Hungary might have led through German-speaking lands, but further research would be needed to provide specific evidence for this. At the same time, it is highly likely that Byzantine works of art arrived in Hungary directly from the empire, too. It is sufficient to refer to the *corona greca* (the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary), but some scholars believe that the so-called Esztergom Staurothek, a Byzantine cross reliquary which features a Deposition of Christ in a composition similar to that in the Pray Codex, was also kept in Hungary already in the late twelfth century. Even if this is rather dubious, the intense diplomatic relations between Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos and his father-in-law, King Béla III of Hungary (1172-1196), as well as the correspondence between the emperor and Job, archbishop of Esztergom (1185-1203), suggest there would have been plenty of opportunities for precious gifts to be exchanged.

While the Passion narrative in the Pray Codex may inform us indirectly about the use of devotional books in Hungary around 1200, we can hardly find any illuminated manuscripts that served the private religious needs of Hungarian patrons in the course of the thirteenth century. The Egbert Psalter (Biblioteca Capitolare-Museo Archeologico, Cividale, Ms. CXXXVI), an Ottonian book from the end of the tenth century that also contains supplementary Byzantine illuminations from eleventh-century Kiev, was long believed to be the erstwhile property of Queen Gertrude, wife of King Andrew II of Hungary (1205-1235), but her ownership of the manuscript has recently been challenged. Although it was allegedly bequeathed to Cividale Cathedral by Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, daughter of Queen Gertrude, the provenance of the codex is uncertain. The books owned by Saint Elizabeth (such as her psalter, Biblioteca Capitolare-Museo Archeologico, Cividale, Ms. CXXXVII) do not represent Hungarian book culture, since Elizabeth lived from her early childhood in Thuringia, and her books (at least the ones we know of) did not originate from Hungary either. The only illuminated manuscript that was very likely used for devotional purposes in thirteenth-century Hungary is a psalter, the product of a German (Saxon-Thuringian) workshop that followed French models in the middle of the thirteenth century (Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Cod. Guelf. Helmst. 52). The liturgical features of the volume indicate that it was made for a Hungarian Dominican nun from an institution under the patronage of the Virgin, probably the convent built by King Béla IV (1235-1270) on Rabbit Island (today Margaret Island, Budapest) for his daughter, Saint Margaret of Hungary (the niece of Saint Elizabeth). This relatively simple volume – decorated among other things with a *Beatus Vir* initial, whose upper and lower sections embrace the figure of Christ and that of King David – is

the only Hungarian witness to the thirteenth-century spread of devotional books, a process in which the patronage and the private religious needs of women in power played an important role.

Books in the Service of Liturgy and Devotion: Fourteenth-Fifteenth Centuries

In contrast to the Hungarian illuminated manuscripts from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, very few of which have survived (and many more of which may have perished in the Mongol invasion of the country in 1241-1242), the books from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries enable us to form a picture of a society living under a well established ecclesiastical structure. Besides the secular clergy and the Benedictines, Cistercian and mendicant orders had also built up networks of Hungarian brethren by this time. One of the oldest known Franciscan Missals, a manuscript from the 1260s, decorated with ornamental initials, is of Hungarian origin (Biblioteca del Sacro Convento di Assisi, Cod. 607). Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts now allow us to distinguish between the preferences of different social groups, and in the special case of one civic town, Pozsony, we can trace the changing tastes of the patrons throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see below).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the House of Árpád (the dynasty that had ruled over Hungary for more than 300 years) died out, the Neapolitan branch of the Angevin dynasty assumed power over the country. The dynastic change certainly had an effect on literacy and book culture, and, indeed, a number of fourteenth-century illuminated Hungarian manuscripts bear traces of Italian connections. However, some of them speak a strong Bolognese (as opposed to Neapolitan) accent, while others testify to various channels of communication, independent to a certain extent from the networks of the royal family. Some books were directly bought in (or commissioned from) Bologna, while others might have been decorated by wandering Italian illuminators working throughout central Europe. The provenance of one of the most important illuminated manuscripts from the circles of the Hungarian Angevin court, the famous Néksei Bible (Library of Congress, Washington, Med. Mss. 1.) is still open to debate (Pl. 72). The coats-of-arms and the dedication picture on one of its pages (fol. 5v) tells us that it was given to an (unidentified) ecclesiastical institution by Demeter Néksei, who held various official positions and was *magister tavarnicorum* in the court of King Charles I of Hungary (1301-1342) until his death in 1338. While the paleographic features of the manuscript are atypical of Bologna, the decoration is the product of a well-established workshop of Bolognese illuminators, so the book might have been either written in Bologna by scribes (university students?) of northern origin, or painted by Italian masters in Hungary. (Hungarian scholars nowadays tend to accept the theory of Bolognese origin).

Out of almost two dozen fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Missals that have come down to us from Pozsony, the early pieces also show some sort of familiarity with Italian works, but these connections are far less direct. In line with the social structure of the town (among whose families there was a high number of thirteenth-century settlers from Bavaria) they seem rather to fit in with certain tendencies of central European (especially Austrian) book culture of the time. The *Ad te levavi* initial with the figure of King David elevating his soul to the Lord in the so-called Missal B from the mid-fourteenth century (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 215, fol. 8v; Fig. 290) obviously follows a letter type of Italian origin. Its model must have been very similar to the *Ad te levavi* initial of a contemporary Missal written in the Augustinian canonry of Klosterneuburg (Austria) and decorated by a wandering Italian illuminator (Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg, CCI 615, fol. 7r; Pl. 74). At the same time, the Missal B may also have followed local traditions, as seen in its *Puer natus* initial and some marginal decorations composed from colourful peacocks, which are similar to the decoration of Missal I (Archív mesta Bratislavy, EC Lad 3, El 18; Múzeum mesta Bratislavy, A/9; Spolok svätého Vojtecha, Fasc. 20 c. 15, TR. A 61). The script of this latter volume, which is perhaps the earliest in the series of Pozsony Missals, shows Italian characteristics, while its musical notation is indigenous, partly typical for Esztergom, the seat of the archdiocese with jurisdiction over Pozsony. It may even have been produced directly in Esztergom for the needs of Saint Martin's Chapter, the most important ecclesiastical institution in Pozsony, after it was plundered by the army of Ottokar II of Bohemia in 1271-1273.

Further illuminated books made in or for Pozsony in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are specifically central European and testify to an intense cultural exchange between the various areas of the region. Counterparts of the Crucifixion scene on the canon page of Missal C (mid-fourteenth century, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 220; Pl. 75) can be found among Austrian works, such as the canon page of the somewhat older Tobler Missal from the Augustinian canonry in Sankt Florian (Stiftsbibliothek, Sankt Florian, Cod. XI, 391), while the decoration of Missal E (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 218) is the work of a prolific illuminator, known as Master Michael, who primarily worked in and around Vienna for clerics, such as the Augustinian canons of Klosterneuburg, between the early 1420s and the middle of the fifteenth century. Decorated with seven historiated initials, Missal E played an important role in the spread of modern iconographic formulae in Hungary. Perhaps the most telling is the Adoration of the Christ Child by the Virgin (fol. 20v), a pattern of Bohemian origin inspired by the Revelations of Saint Bridget of Sweden, which became the dominant representational form of the Nativity in the fifteenth century.

Results of leading Bohemian book-painting workshops were not only transmitted to but also directly represented in the book culture of Pozsony, as exemplified by a Bible, bequeathed to the Chapter around 1400 by one of its superiors, *Custos* Wenceslaus Ganoys (Széchényi National Library, Budapest,

Cod. Lat. 78; Pl. 76). The name of *Custos* Wenceslaus Ganoy's seems to reflect Bohemian and French connections, and, indeed, artists working both in France and Bohemia took part in the decoration of the volume. Its superb pen-flourished initials were most probably made in Avignon, by the so-called Calligrafo meridionale, who was a decorator in the service of Pope John XXII (1316-1334), while its historiated initials and marginal ornaments were executed a few decades later in a Prague workshop, which was also responsible for the decoration of the famous four-volume Antiphonary now kept in the Augustinian canonry in Vorau, Austria (Cod. 259).

Like the Bible and the somewhat emblematic person of Wenceslaus Ganoy's, the names of patrons, scribes, illuminators and bookbinders of the liturgical books that were used in Pozsony reflect the wealth of the cultural network of the town. The Missal of another *custos* of the chapter, Johannes, son of Emericus, was signed in 1377 by Heinricus, son of Stephanus from Westphalia. According to the colophon, Heinricus was a priest in Csukárd (Veľké Trnie, Vinosady, today Slovakia), a settlement under the jurisdiction of Saint Martin's Chapter; most interestingly, he was not only the scribe but also the illuminator and binder of the volume (Biblioteca Batthyaneum, Alba Iulia, Ms II. 134). Although Heinricus was not a sophisticated artist, he had a sense of humour, and his many pen-flourished initials attest to a trained hand. As we will see, his ability to produce a complete illuminated book on his own was not unique in late medieval Hungary, and his employment by *Custos* Johannes indicates that even in one of the wealthiest towns in the country there were no permanent workshops of illuminators. This might have changed only around the 1480s, when artists from the circle of the highly productive Austrian illuminator and bookbinder, Ulrich Schreier, worked on a number of illuminated liturgical books for patrons in Pozsony. Whether they settled in the town or spent time there on a campaign-like series of commissions, they already worked for a much broader circle of patrons than their peers a hundred years earlier. They might have come to Pozsony at the invitation of Provost Georg Schönberg (Schomberg), and they also worked for *Custos* Johannes Han who, among other things, commissioned them to repaint some of the pages from the 1377 Missal, and replace its canon page with an up-to-date composition of the Crucifixion, portraying the view of a medieval town (Pozsony?) in the background. At the same time, however, they also decorated Missals for civic patrons, including Johannes Pottenberg (Missal F, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 222) and Magdalena Rosentalerin, widow of a judge, who donated her Missal to the main altar of Saint Martin's Church (Missal G, Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 219).

Civic associations in other Hungarian towns also enjoyed the means to commission their own liturgical books, as attested by the book of a goldsmiths' guild that was copied by the illuminator (!) of the bishop of Vác in 1423 (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 377; Pls. 77-78). Although it is not known if there were illuminators in the service of other Hungarian bishops at that time, and no illuminated manuscript owned by the bishop of Vác,

Nicholas Alcsebi (1419-1430), has survived, it is still possible to form a picture of his tastes from the decoration of the goldsmiths' manuscript. The high quality historiated initial of the codex depicting the standing figure of Saint Eligius, the marginal ornament composed from acanthus leaves, together with a number of smaller, but fine initials enriched by a variety of imaginative figures and animals, are the work of an artist who represents the specifically central European (in this case primarily Bohemian-Austrian) branch of the International Gothic style. Certainly it is no coincidence that the two liturgical books – a splendid Breviary (Universitätsbibliothek, Salzburg, Cod. M. II. 11) and a rather modest Missal (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 359) – owned by Georg Pálóci, archbishop of Esztergom (1423-1439) and alumnus of Vienna University, reflect the same stylistic and cultural orientation.

While it seems that different social groups shared similar ideals in the first third of the fifteenth century (at least along the Vienna-Pozsony-Esztergom-Vác line of the River Danube), by the end of the century a new, polarised situation arose, brought about by the appearance of printed books, the spread of printed images (woodcuts, copperplates) and most of all the Renaissance art patronage of King Matthias I (1458-1490). Gothic and Renaissance books lived side by side, and moreover, Gothic and Renaissance forms appeared simultaneously in a number of codices. Factors that determined the visual language(s) of a particular volume cannot be categorised without oversimplification. As we have seen, preference was given (if there was a choice at all) to Gothic compositions and decorative patterns in the books of the Pozsony secular clergy and those of the town's citizens, but the Late Gothic proved to be the preferred style in the books of some high priests, as well. The Antiphonal of the bishop of Zagreb Oswald Thuz (Thúz; 1466-1499, Knjižnica Metropolitana, Zagreb, MR 10), the unfinished Missal of his suffragan bishop, Georgius de Topwusko/Thopwska (Topusko, today Croatia), titular Rosonian bishop (Cathedral Treasury, Zagreb, No. 354; Pls. 79-80), and the Matthias Gradual (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 424; Pl. 81), which was very likely donated to the royal chapel by the king, are sufficient to demonstrate this. While the Gradual has recently been identified as the work of a Flemish artist from Tournai or Lille working in central Europe (either in the royal court of Buda, or in Vienna), the Thuz Antiphonal and the Topusko Missal are the products of a local master or workshop. The human and animal figures that enliven their pages are based on various German prints and decorations from printed books, which (together with further examples) attest to the popularity and inspirational power of the new media in Hungarian book culture. Oswald Thuz was apparently open to new forms of expression and made good use of modern technologies. The first printed book of the Zagreb Diocese was made at his initiative. This is a Breviary from 1484, which aimed at the unification of liturgical practice in the diocese.

Whilst being a careful pastor of his diocese, Oswald Thuz was also a member of the circle of humanist high priests, who declared their power, political aspirations and position in the royal court of King Matthias through the

Renaissance. There is no question that they also took delight in the inventiveness and playfulness of the new visual culture. The interrelationships within this rising ecclesiastical elite can be best exemplified with a Missal (Cathedral Treasury, Zagreb, No. 355), which contains the coat of arms of both Oswald Thuz and Dominicus Kálmáncsehi, provost of the prestigious provostry in Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, 1474-1495), the burial place of numerous Hungarian kings, and later bishop of Várad (Nagyvárad, Grosswardein, Oradea, today Romania). The Thuz-Kálmáncsehi Missal, together with further books belonging to the provost – a Breviary Missal (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, G7), a Breviary (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 446; Pl. 82) and a Book of Hours (BnF, Paris, NAL 3119) – are generally agreed to have been made in Buda (now part of Budapest), the most important seat of the royal court. The Breviary Missal is dated to 1481 and the Book of Hours to 1492, while the Breviary is signed by the artist, Franciscus de Castello Ithallico de Mediolano. Although decorated by a number of hands, it is likely that all of them except the Book of Hours were created around 1481, and, in one way or another, each of them can be associated with the activities of Franciscus and/or his supposed workshop. In the Breviary Missal there is only one decorated page (fol. 256r) in his style, probably by his own hand. What makes this volume especial is the characteristic juxtaposition of Renaissance floreate borders with partly Gothic, partly Renaissance initials and compositions that follow German prints, such as the Crucifixion of Master E. S. In turn, in the splendid Breviary, Franciscus worked alone. Besides a large number of heavily painted and gilded borders and historiated initials, he was also responsible for the “secondary” layers of decoration, consisting of very fine penwork initials and border ornaments.

The significance of Franciscus de Castello in Hungarian art historiography cannot be overemphasised. He is a documented Italian artist from the workshop of the Milanese illuminator Bartolomeo Gossi da Gallarate, and he apparently collaborated with a number of artists in or around the royal court of King Matthias. Through a study of his *œuvre* it is possible to gain a closer understanding of the role Italian artists played in the formation of a Hungarian dialect of the Renaissance. This will be discussed below in the context of King Matthias's library, the famous Bibliotheca Corvina, but here we need to question whether, as is usually believed, Dominicus Kálmáncsehi and the humanist clergy were simply following the fashion for the Italian Renaissance promoted by the king, or whether they were active agents in introducing the style to Hungary. The latter possibility may shed new light on the case of a psalter (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 369) which belonged to Urbanus Nagylucsei, bishop of Eger (1486-1491). The Nagylucsei Psalter is a *Psalterium iuxta Hebraicum*, which was not intended for liturgical use. It was a book of a humanist scholar and a great patron of the arts. Between 1478 and 1490 Urbanus Nagylucsei was the royal treasurer, responsible for managing the income and the expenditure of the king. He was the economist behind Matthias's military success and art patronage. The famous Sobieski Book

of Hours (The Royal Collection, Windsor), an early fifteenth-century codex with splendid miniatures by the Bedford Master, an exponent of the Parisian Gothic, was once in his possession. The superb decoration of the psalter is, in turn, the work of an artist from the circle of the so-called Master of the Cassian Corvina (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Ms. Lat. 2129), one of the best painters who worked for King Matthias. The volume is bound in a blind-stamped leather binding that has recently been discovered beneath a velvet cover. In Árpád Mikó's presentation it proved to be a typical Corvina binding but without the coat of arms of the king. Since Corvina bindings were especially designed for the royal books, the Nagylucsei Psalter raises a number of questions. Was it a royal gift? Or could Urbanus have commissioned the work from artists and craftsmen who were in the service of the king? Was he, as the person in charge of paying the royal expenses, the direct contact person between artists/craftsmen and the court? Was the volume completed shortly after the death of Matthias? Even if we never conclusively solve these puzzles, it is apparent that the art patronage of the high clergy was a determining factor in the Hungarian reception of the Italian Renaissance.

The role high priests played in the spread of the new visual culture did not radically change with the death of the king, and, if anything, it actually increased. A comparison of two grandiose liturgical choir books from the early sixteenth century illustrates this. The first is the so-called Wladislas Gradual (Archiepiscopal Library, Esztergom, Hungary, Ms. I. 3; Pl. 83), which is believed to have been given to the Buda royal chapel by Matthias's successor to the throne, the Wladislas II Jagiellon (1490-1516); it is illuminated with high-quality Late Gothic historiated initials and border decorations, attributed to a Bohemian master, Janíček Zmílelý z Písku. The second is the Bakócz Gradual (Archiepiscopal Library, Esztergom, Hungary, Ms. I. 1a), the unfinished, yet nevertheless outstanding work of a Renaissance artist known as the Bakócz Monogrammist. According to the coat of arms, the patron of the volume was either Johannes Erdődi or his brother, Simon. They were nephews of Archbishop Thomas Bakócz (1497-1521), and successively they both held the post of bishop of Zagreb, in 1514-1518 and 1518-1535 respectively. The same coat of arms appears in the above-mentioned Topusko Missal, whose unfinished decoration was also completed by the Bakócz Monogrammist (Fig. 297). The Bakócz Gradual was intended to serve the liturgy in Esztergom Cathedral, while the Missal seems to have always been kept in Zagreb; furthermore, the workshop of the Bakócz Monogrammist also worked on a Gradual for the abbot of the Benedictine archabbey in Pannonhalma. The workshop took part in the decoration of a number of grants of arms issued between 1514 and 1525 in the royal chancellery. Apparently, patrons and artists were far more mobile than the traditional, static concept of the Middle Ages would allow us to think, and books also circulated among them on a regular basis. In the particular case of the Bakócz-monogrammist, Buda, the royal seat, seems to be the most probable place where the paths of patrons, artists and their books might have crossed at a given moment of time. The culture of the Hungarian royal centres, as seen through their books, is the question that we turn to next.

Books and the Royal Court

Among the illuminated manuscripts that have come down to us, there are no traces of a royal book culture before the fourteenth century. This was the era of the Neapolitan Angevin kings, Charles I, and his son, Louis the Great (1342-1382). In order to consolidate power the new dynasty had to demonstrate its legitimacy. Its programme of propaganda consisted of promoting the cult of local saints from the House of Árpád – Stephen, Emeric, Ladislav and Elizabeth – and constructing a narrative of historical continuity. It is no coincidence that the two outstanding book projects of the Hungarian Angevin court were related to these fundamental issues.

The so-called Hungarian Angevin Legendary, the folios of which are scattered around the world (the two largest collections are in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), was a long picture book (Pls. 69-70). There are four depictions on each page of every second opening (every other opening remained blank), and the images are accompanied by short explanatory captions. The question of whether there was a textual part in the original codex is one that cannot be definitively answered. The visual language of the manuscript is closely related to that of the above-mentioned Nekcsei Bible: it is the work of a number of Bolognese painters from the 1330s. It does not seem very likely that a complete Bolognese workshop would have moved to Hungary, but the programme of imagery must have been compiled by someone who was closely familiar with the interests and preferences of the Hungarian royal court. The selection of saints and the narratives of their lives were based on the *Golden Legend*, with a Hungarian supplement. Saints Emeric, Ladislav and Gerard were not accorded separate sections in the codex, but appear within the community of other confessors and martyrs. The addressee of the codex is not known, but the message of promoting Hungarian saints is clear, having the aim of showing the Hungarian Angevin dynasty as the rightful heir of local traditions. At the same time, the publicity of the saintly ancestors helped the Hungarian Angevins to reinforce their position among European dynasties.

While the Hungarian Angevin Legendary seems to be a Bolognese work, the second grandiose book project of the court, the Illuminated Chronicle from the 1360s, is very likely the product of a Hungarian *scriptorium* (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 404; Pls. 44-47). The text, written in 1358 and compiled from earlier Hungarian chronicle compositions, tells the history of the Hungarians from the mythical beginnings up to 1330. The style of its illumination – consisting of a combination of larger narrative scenes and historiated initials with narrative episodes or portraits of the Hungarian kings – appears at first sight to be Italian. However, attempts to connect it with the art of any particular Italian centre or workshop have so far failed to provide any convincing evidence. Rather, it is believed to be a local adaptation of a variety of Bolognese, Neapolitan, Siennese and Venetian compositional structures, motifs, and decorative patterns. The assimilation of Italian visual elements was, at the

same time, not at all unique in central Europe. Similar processes also led to the formation of fourteenth-century Bohemian illumination. As in the case of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, we do not know precisely who the constructor, addressee and recipients of the Illuminated Chronicle were. The volume is, however, very much in line with the contemporary trend for richly illustrated chronicles, designed to serve as representations of entire nations. As well as the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, another work to be taken into consideration here is the so-called Chronicle of Dalimil, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the Czech (Bohemian) language (Pl. 71). The recently discovered Latin translation of this text, illustrated with a Bolognese-style cycle of images in the 1330s (acquired in Paris for the Czech National Library in 2005) provides an interesting contrast against which the Illuminated Chronicle can be compared. There would have been several reasons motivating the creation of a national chronicle, and the social positions of both the patrons and the composers/compilers/editors could have been diverse. It seems that the Chronicle of Dalimil was a critical response to the final years in the decline of the Přemyslid dynasty. The context in which the illustrated Latin version was created has not yet been established. The Illuminated Chronicle, by contrast, emerged from the political aspirations of a new dynasty. It constructs and propagates a “national” narrative, in which the ruler acts as the representative of continuity and appears as the legitimate heir to power over a land of historical significance.

The Hungarian Angevin Legendary and the Illuminated Chronicle provide an insight into the royal book culture of the Hungarian Angevins, even if they do not necessarily prove the existence of a royal library. Almost a century more would pass before the explicit will arose to establish a royal collection of books. It seems as if King (and later Emperor) Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) was not particularly interested in books or their cultural-political potential. At the very least, it is hard to identify a single volume that was not only dedicated to him, but was in his possession. Nevertheless, he might have inherited books from his brother, Wenceslas IV of Bohemia (1378-1419), one of the greatest bibliophiles of his age. The *Haly Aberudiam Corvina* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 2271), a codex from Wenceslas's collection, is just one example of a book that must have ended up in the court of King Matthias having passed through the library of King Sigismund.

King Matthias's *Bibliotheca Corvina* (to use a term coined in modern historiography) was created as the result of conscious royal intention. Due to its great significance, the history and stock of the library has developed into a specific field of study over the last century, the results of which are presented elsewhere in this volume. Nevertheless, any study of Hungarian illumination would be incomplete without a brief overview of the main aspects. According to the most recent estimations, the number of books contained within the *Bibliotheca Corvina* probably totalled around a thousand (as opposed to the earlier assumption of 2,000-2,500 volumes) at the time King Matthias died in 1490. (At present we know of approximately 200 *Corvina*s, around fifty of which are in Hungarian

libraries). Matthias was a disciple of the first Hungarian humanist, John Vitéz, archbishop of Esztergom (1465-1472), who was a well-known collector of books in his time. It is conceivable that books were always within the reach of the young king, and there is evidence of him actively acquiring codices as early as the late 1460s. Matthias's marriage to the Neapolitan princess, Beatrix of Aragon, in 1476, gave added impulse to the collection of books, but it would seem that the most spectacular growth of the library took place in the last five years of Matthias's rule, i.e. 1485-1490. It was at this time that works by the most talented and fashionable Florentine book painters appeared in the royal library in Buda, taking their place alongside the earlier, rather simpler volumes, typically decorated with Florentine white vine-stem ornaments (*bianchi girari*). The Missal by Attavante degli Attavanti (Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, Ms. 9008), the *Philostratus Corvina* by his pupil, Boccardino il Vecchio (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 417), and the *Didymus Corvina* by the brothers Gherardo and Monte di Giovanni del Fora (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M. 496), are just a few examples of the Florentine *cimelia*. The construction of the Bibliotheca Corvina was in the hands of humanist scholars, most of all Taddeo Ugoletto, who was also the instructor of John Corvinus, the illegitimate son and proposed heir of the king. Accordingly, some of the Latin or Greek volumes had real philological value, and some even served as the basis for the *editio princeps* of given works. However, the real value of the library was the splendid appearance of its volumes, which carried the clear message of power, both cultural and economic. A library comparable to the famous contemporary book collections of the great Italian lords (rulers from the houses of Aragon, Medici or Montefeltro) was an unassailable status symbol, the explicit expression of Matthias's political aspirations.

The intensive import of Italian books is evident in the extant material, and we also know of a great number of books that remained in Florence unfinished, which were acquired by the Medicis after Matthias died. More problematic are certain questions related to the possible visits of Italian artists to Buda, and the role they might have played in the formation of the so-called "Buda workshop of illumination". The debates centre around the above-mentioned artists of Lombard origin, Franciscus de Castello Ithallico de Mediolano, and the Master of the Cassian Corvina. As the names themselves indicate, Hungarian scholars discuss them as two illuminators, representing two distinct waves of Lombard art appearing in Buda, the first around 1480, the second in the very last year(s) of Matthias's life, around 1490. In international scholarship, however, their works are seen rather as different stages in the *œuvre* of a single artist, Franciscus. The problem becomes even more complicated (and more interesting) when the collaboration of further hands is taken into account, not to mention the evidence provided by related codices. There is still, therefore, great deal of work to be done in this field.

It may be seen, even from this short summary, that the Bibliotheca Corvina was a diverse collection of books. The majority of the illuminations and decorations,

however, were composed in a language that was connected in one way or another to the art of various Italian centres, workshops, or artists of the Renaissance. Italianism was, apparently, the determining factor in the visual culture of the whole Hungarian royal court. However, humanist scholars and high priests constituted only a part of the social structure of the court, and it seems that the literacy and cultural orientation of secular officers differed to a noticeable extent. Further light may be shed on this issue with an examination of four particular chronicles. The first is a fifteenth-century copy of a world chronicle, originally written in the fourteenth century by a Franciscan author, Johannes de Utino, and supplemented with a list of Hungarian kings up to Matthias (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. Lat. 479; Pl. 84). This manuscript, whose depictions are exemplars of the popular central European textual illustrations of the Late Gothic, was very likely in the possession of Thomas (Tamás) Drági, the *personalis presentiae regis* of King Matthias, one of the most powerful judges of the court and the country. It seems very likely that the so-called Thuroczy Chronicle, the last Hungarian chronicle to follow the traditions of medieval historiography, was written on his initiative. In the first edition, printed in Brno in March 1488, John Thuroczy, himself a notary and lawyer in the court, dedicated his work to his superiors, without any reference to the king. This obvious deficiency was corrected in the second edition (Augsburg, June 1488), but the work still failed to gain favour with the king, and even with the queen. Probably as a response to this, Matthias commissioned Antonio Bonfini, and Beatrix commissioned Pietro Ranzano to compile humanist versions of the history of Hungary. The significance of these parallel medieval and humanist (self-)narratives is that they reveal the different parallel realities coexisting in the royal court. Set against the background of the culture of the Hungarian local nobility, we are also given a multi-dimensional image of King Matthias's patronage of Renaissance art.

Some Final Remarks

The subject of book painting in medieval Hungary is broad and wide-ranging, and it was my intention to present it in its complexity. However, my text could only be based on a rough survey of a heavily decimated body of source material, which limits the relevance of any general observations. Nevertheless, there are certain characteristics of Hungarian book culture that cannot pass unnoticed.

It is apparent that the majority of painted and decorated books were made either for practical use in the service of the liturgy and devotion, or for royal representation, intended to propagate the legitimacy of their power by virtue of historical continuity and/or competence. At the same time, there is a conspicuous lack of books in the private sphere, whether with religious or literary content. Only a few examples of the Book of Hours, a prayer book that enjoyed great popularity in Western Christianity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have survived from medieval Hungary. In addition to the prayer book

of Dominicus Kálmáncehi and the Sobieski Book of Hours, once owned by Urbanus Nagylucsei, both of which have already been referred to, we must also mention a prayer book that belonged to a lady, Benigna Magyar (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, M.Ny. 73; Pl. 85). She was the wife of Paulus Kinizsi, a successful general who served under King Matthias. The codex was compiled in the Pauline monastery in Nagyvázsony, which was founded by Kinizsi. Both the text and the imagery of this manuscript were composed in a vernacular language. Originally written in Latin, the prayers from the Book of Hours and Petrarch's *Seven Penitential Psalms* were translated into Hungarian, while the decorations are local adaptations of Renaissance floral patterns found e.g. in the Regiomontanus Corvina (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 412), a work attributed to Francesco Rosselli.

Illustrated typological manuscripts, such as the *Biblia Pauperum* or the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, which constitute a distinct branch of moralistic and didactic works, are completely missing from our source material. The early fifteenth-century *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Lat. 99) that was once believed to have been made in Kassa (Kaschau, Košice, Slovakia) after a Bolognese model is, in fact, an Italian work. The words in a note on the last folio are potentially misleading. The final word in the phrase "Fieri fecit noster Petrus deque Vitali maioris cantor ecclesiae Cassaquenensis" should not be interpreted as referring to Kassa, since the Latin genitive is properly *Cassoviensis*. *Cassanensis* instead refers to *Cassanum* (Cassano allo Ionio, Calabria), a diocese mentioned in the sources as early as 1059. Apart from a late-fifteenth-century illustrated Bestiary, which was used together with the sermons of a Dominican preacher, Johannes Herolt, in the southern regions of the Kingdom of Hungary (Széchényi National Library, Budapest, Cod. Lat. 506), there are no traces of illustrated religious volumes (e.g. *Ars moriendi*) or even illustrated literary texts (romances, travelogues, etc.).

All these types of books – Books of Hours, illustrated typological manuscripts and other didactic and moralistic texts, as well as literary works – were read by the literate strata of medieval society, though not necessarily the ecclesiastic layers. Beyond the secular and monastic clergies, such works represented the book culture of women, and of wealthy, civic secular intellectuals. The scarcity or even complete absence of such volumes from Hungary would seem to indicate that the secular literate layer, including men and women alike, did not constitute a significant part of society, and did not have the strength to sustain permanent workshops of illuminators. Major ecclesiastical centres, such as cathedral chapters and larger monasteries and cloisters, must have had their own schools and *scriptoria*, but medieval Hungary was not famous as a centre for learning. Not one of the universities in Hungary (Pécs, Óbuda or Pozsony) survived for more than a couple of years, so none was able to establish itself as a constant force in higher education. Hungarian students traditionally studied in Italy (Bologna, Padua), and later in Vienna, Prague and Kraków, which, at the same time, had the benefit of facilitating a continuous and intense cultural exchange.

Our perception of medieval Hungarian book culture may, however, be delusive. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, countless battles and other acts of destruction led to entire regions of the country being plundered and despoiled. Items of particularly high value, such as luxury codices, had a much better chance of survival than simpler everyday objects. Documentary evidence, such as the testament of Liebhard Egkenfelder, a notary in mid-fifteenth-century Pozsony, offers proof that secular intellectuals did indeed possess books, even illustrated ones. Nonetheless, it seems that the most outstanding products of Hungarian illumination did not evolve in the soil of long-standing, local traditions. The Nekcsei Bible, the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, the Illuminated Chronicle, the goldsmiths' book of 1423, the partly Gothic, partly Renaissance Missal of Georgius de Topusko, the codices of Dominic Kálmáncsehi, and – last but not least – the Bibliotheca Corvina were all born out of an intense interchange of ideas, both textual and visual. They testify to the wealth of interrelationships, and demonstrate that Hungarian patrons, scribes and artists were deeply imbedded in the extensive European cultural network of Western Christianity.

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Pl. 44. *Chronicon pictum*, fol. 1r, ca. 1360, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Clmae 404).

apud prologus de fo ingressu et de
 casibus profusis et aduersis coprem.



Egestis
 igitur hu
 manum i
 natalibus
 plus feli
 citatis et si
 miltis q
 aientis co

rum loca immutauerit videndum
 nunc equo tempore inuentione re
 diunt iusto quique redimuntur
 fuerunt capitanei quibusq
 nuntius amatoz inuentione ap



Donce in pnti opusito dignu
 mo dicit
 ab incarna
 tione anni
 sexcentesimo
 lxxvi. a mo
 te nero ayle
 regis hunga

rum anno centesimo quinto
 tempe constantini imperatoris
 terris et zacharie pape. sic scribit
 in Cronica romanorum. huius
 de syria sedo egressi s hoc modo.

Pl. 45. *Chronicon pictum*, fol. 4r, ca. 1360, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Clmae 404).

ferunt filieque humano generi
 immortale. qd ad magnum spa
 cum extendi p̄hibetur. ubi nu
 bum denitas p̄ nouem mēses
 continue iacet. ubi sol nō ē uē
 p̄mē ses memoratos. nisi in
 se julio junio et augusto. et hoc
 n̄ tanta hora diei. quanta est
 a serā usq̄ ad nonam. sumon
 tō: cum deson memorati cristal
 lus inueniunt. gusones nōn̄ pa
 rant. Aueq̄ legisat. que hun
 ganc̄ berechem appellatur. pul
 los prostrare dignoscuntur.

**primus ingressus hungarorum
 in pannoniam**

Anno ab incamace
 domini. ccc. lxvij.
 temp̄ valentis im
 pat̄is et celestini
 p̄m̄i pape romae
 ecclesie. In terra etar̄ seu m̄lta

placati hum̄ in scythia h̄icando.
 congregati in unum inter se ca
 pitaneis constitutis. uelē filio
 chele et genere zemein onūdo
 beue et kadicha eiusdem. Et chele
 beue et guda filius benedictus de
 genere eatar ad occidentales re
 giones uiuere decernerūt. De
 centum enim et octo tribub; re
 ctes centena milia. s. de uno q̄q̄
 genere decem milia armatorū
 uirorum eligentes. derelictis alijs
 humis in scythia. qui ip̄s sedes
 regnumq̄ ab ip̄s custodierunt.
 Constituentes inter se rectores
 unum. nomine kadam d̄ gene
 turda. qui litos sopiter diligen
 tum. fures et latrones ac malefco
 res castigaret. ita tam̄. ut si uide
 rem̄ innocētiam sententiā dis
 fineret. minimum post̄ comitatus
 reuocare euantem rectore et capi



Pl. 46. *Chronicon pictum*, fol. 11r, ca. 1360, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Clmae 404).



Pl. 47. *Chronicon pictum*, fol. 70v, ca. 1360, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Clmae 404).



Pl. 66. Crucifixion, Missal, ca. 1200, Franziskanerbibliothek, Güssing (Ms. 1/43).

Pl. 67. Crucifixion, *Pray Codex*, ca. 1200, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. MNY 1).



Pl. 68. Deposition from the Cross, Embalming of Christ, Three Marys at the Tomb, *Pray Codex*, ca. 1200, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. MNY 1).

V. qm̄ s. Gerardi uidebat̄ hūm̄ et̄ sc̄it̄ē intel? VI. qm̄ Cordus uuit ad papaz.



VII. qm̄ uuit ad sepulchz. s. reḡ sac̄.
 ⁊ sis rex septis uultu ue ad sepulchz
 filij sui

VIII. qm̄ uuit ad sepulchz sui ⁊ est
 uicatus.

Pl. 69. Scenes from the life of St Gerard, Hungarian Angevin Legendary, 1330-1340, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (Vat. Lat. 8541).

I. Gerardi qm̄ uenit̄ ante regem

II. qm̄o fuit in heremo.



III. qm̄o fuit in ep̄m electus

III. qm̄o p̄dicabat populo.

Pl. 70. Scenes from the life of St Emeric, Hungarian Angevin Legendary, 1330-1340, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (Vat. Lat. 8541).



Pl. 71. *Dalimil Chronicle*, 1330s, National Library of the Czech Republic, Prague (Ms. XII E 17).



Pl. 72. Dedication picture, Nekcesi Bible, Italian illuminator, 1330s, Library of Congress, Washington (Ms. 1, fol. 5v).



Pl. 73. *Ad te levavi*, Missal “B” of Pozsony, mid-14th century, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 215).

Pl. 74. *Ad te levavi* initial, Missal, Italian illuminator, mid-14th century, Stiftsbibliothek, Klosterneuburg (Ms. CCI 615).

Pl. 75. Canon-page, Missal “C” of Pozsony, mid-14th century, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 220).

Pl. 76. Frater Ambrosius initial and decorated margins, Ganoy's Bible, Avignon, first third of the 14th century, Calligrapho meridionale, and Prague, mid-14th century, workshop of the Vrau-Antiphonary, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 78).

Sept. 1423 in Vac. 1423

7



Super alt. ann. ann. eli. **D**e sco eligno
episcopo ad
uespas sup
ps antiphō

gus oraret odor quasi balsam
domū illam repleuit Euouac. **C**ū
ergo assiduis in aula re
gia desudaret laboribus rex
cum ab opere fabrilī renaxit et uigilans ecclesie
fecit cum amantem Euouac. **V**irum
exilio eli gus uiuit ce
li in saluo quem deus

Pl. 77. *Super* initial, liturgical book of a goldsmiths' guild, illuminator of the bishop of Vác, 1423, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 377).



Pl. 78. *Cadel* flourished initials with tinted drawings, liturgical book of a goldsmiths' guild, illuminator of the bishop of Vác, 1423, Széchenyi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 377).



Pl. 79. St George and the dragon, Topusko Missal, late 15th century, Cathedral Treasury, Zagreb (Ms. No. 354).



Pl. 80. *Te igitur* initial and decorated margins with scenes from the Passion of Christ, Topusko Missal, Bakócz Monogrammist, early 16th century, Cathedral Treasury, Zagreb (Ms. No. 354).
 Pl. 81. *Ecce Deus* initial, Matthias Gradual, Flemish artist, 1480s, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 424).



Pl. 82. *Hec dicit* initial and decorated margins, Kálmáncsehi Breviary, Franciscus de Castello Ithalico de Mediolano, ca. 1481, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. Cod. Lat. 446).



Pl. 83. Pentecost, Vladislav Gradual, attributed to Janíček Zmílelý z Písku, early 16th century, Archiepiscopal Library, Esztergom (Ms. I. 3).

Pl. 84. Expulsion from Paradise, Utino Chronicle, second half of the 15th century, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome (Ms. Ott. Lat. 479).

Pl. 85. Madonna and decorated margins, prayer-book of Benigna Magyar, 1492-1494, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Ms. MNY. 73).



Pl. 89. Title page of the *Cassianus Corvina*, 1490-1491, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Cod. Lat. 2129, fol. 1r).



Pl. 90. Psalter of Orbán Nagylucsei, bishop of Eger, ca. 1490, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Cod. Lat. 369, fol. 1r).

Pl. 91. Lower cover of the *Xenophon Corvina*, 1480-1490, Széchényi National Library, Budapest (Cod. Lat. 422).

Pl. 92. Upper cover of the psalter of Queen Beatrice of Aragon, 1476-1480, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (Cod. Guelf. 39. Aug. 4°).