

Bolognese fame of Arpadian King: Krčelić, Zaniboni, Manelli and the Compendio in rime della vita, e di alcuni miracoli di S. Ladislao re d' Ungheria

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Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country:

Schiavoni/Illyrian
Confraternities and Colleges
in Early Modern Italy
in comparative perspective

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Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country: Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in comparative perspective

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Visualizing Past in a Foreign Country: Schiavoni/Illyrian Confraternities and Colleges in Early Modern Italy in comparative perspective

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Bolognese fame of Arpadian King: Krčelić, Zaniboni, Manelli and the *Compendio in rime della vita, e di alcuni miracoli di S. Ladislao re d'Ungheria**

Danko Šourek**

Abstract

In 1738 the Illyrian-Hungarian College of Bologna published a booklet with Italian verses containing episodes of the life of the holy Hungarian king Ladislao. It was, in a way, a product of cultural collaboration presented by the College alumnus Baltazar Adam Krčelić – the future Zagreb canon and famous historian – and Bolognese poet Antonio Zaniboni, founder of the *Accademia de' Nascosti*. The edition was adorned with an engraving by Bolognese artist Sante Manelli, representing the holy ruler on horseback, lacerating a rock with his lance and miraculously unsealing a hidden spring. The iconographical solution, as well as the composition of Manelli's engraving, shows interesting connections with several Central European examples, confirming College's role in bidirectional cultural mediation.

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Nel 1738 il Collegio illirico-ungarico di Bologna pubblicò un opuscolo in versi in lingua italiana contenente episodi di vita di San Ladislao, re d'Ungheria. In un certo senso si trattava di un prodotto di collaborazione culturale presentato da Baltazar Adam Krčelić, allievo del collegio, futuro canonico di Zagabria e famoso storico, e dal poeta bolognese Antonio Zaniboni, fondatore dell'Accademia de' Nascosti. L'edizione era adornata con un'incisione dell'artista bolognese Sante Manelli, che rappresentava il santo sovrano a cavallo, in atto di percuotere una roccia con la sua lancia, facendo miracolosamente sgorgare una sorgente nascosta. La soluzione iconografica, così come la composizione dell'incisione di Manelli, mostrano interessanti collegamenti con numerosi esempi dell'Europa centrale, confermando il ruolo di mediatore culturale rivestito dal Collegio bolognese.

The Illyrian-Hungarian College in Bologna existed from 1553 until 1781, governed by the Zagreb Cathedral Chapter. Its building, built between 1690 and 1701, still exists, and since the 1820s has been known as *Collegio Venturoli* (after its subsequent owner) (fig. 1). The central mission of this institution stipulated by its founder, Zagreb and Esztergom canon and titular bishop of Risan, Paulus Zondinus, was to provide a seven-year doctoral programme at the University of Bologna for Croatian and Hungarian students from the Zagreb Bishopric and Slavonia (i. e. present-day Northern and Eastern Croatia). However, as a quote from the opening passage of the book written by one of the College alumni, Juraj Patačić de Zajezda, entitled *Glory of the Hungarian-Illyrian College founded in Bologna under the care of Venerable Chapter of Nourishing Cathedral Church of Zagreb*, edited in Bologna in 1699¹, explains, the Illyrian part eventually comprised much broader context. According to Patačić, *Illyricum* is to be identified with six historical Slavic kingdoms – Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria – which were later (some of them at least nominally) united under the Hungarian Crown: «Illyricum verò generali nomine sena in se comprehendit Regna, Ungariæ omniæ Corona unita, Croaciam [*sic*] nempe, Dalmatiam, Sclavoniam, Bosniam, Serviam sive Mœsiam et Bulgariam»².

The current state of knowledge on the general history of the College is to be found in introductory essays of the book *Annali del Collegio Ungaro-Ilirico di Bologna*, edited by Gian Paolo Brizzi and Maria Luisa Accorsi, Bologna, 1988³. In 2014 Daniel Premerl published a book on the iconography and patronage of ceiling and wall paintings painted in 1700 and still preserved in the College refectory, executed by Bolognese painter Gioacchino Pizzoli⁴.

St Ladislao – Hungarian king who reigned in the second half of the 10th century, and was canonized already in 1192 – played a central role in the complex iconographical programme of wall and ceiling decorations of the college refectory. This was certainly due to him being the founder of the Zagreb Diocese

¹ Patačić 1699a.

² Ivi, pp. 12-13.

³ Brizzi, Accorsi 1988.

⁴ Premerl 2014.

(in 1094), as well as to his role in – as 17th and 18th century Croatian historians (Juraj Ratkaj, Pavao Ritter Vitezović) were pointing out – a peaceful transition of power between Croatian king Dmitar Zvonimir and the Hungarian Arpadian dynasty. The essential moment for this narrative – Ladislav accepting the heritage of *Illyrian kingdoms* from his sister Jelena, the widow of king Zvonimir – is thus being presented as the central scene on the refectory vault (fig. 2)⁵. His pivotal role in this Bolognese painting furthermore corresponded with a particular resurgence of the cult of Arpadian royal saints in the 17th century Croatia. This is particularly true in the case of St Ladislav, who, «by the end of the century [...] had already been intricately linked with Croatian history, almost to the point of breaking with his Hungarian origins»⁶.

In addition to the, fortunately still preserved and certainly most distinguished, St Ladislav's depiction on the refectory vault, the holy ruler's presence in Bologna – as a specific sign of identity of one of its *national colleges* – is to be recorded in several other, albeit ephemeral, situations. Thus, from the archival records, we find out that already in 1610 the street front of the college building was decorated with an image of Blessed Virgin as *Patrona Hungariae*, flanked with holy Hungarian kings Stephen and Ladislav⁷, and that a certain (unnamed) painter received payment of 12 lire for its execution⁸. This iconographical scheme – that sometimes included St Stephen's son, duke Emeric – was well known in Hungarian-Croatian imaginary (e.g. the woodcut introductory page of *Missale secundum chorum et rubricam almi episcopatus Zagrabienensis Ecclesiae*, printed in Venice in 1511)⁹. In 1683 the analogous scene (*Patrona Hungariae*, St Stephen, and St Ladislav) was depicted on the wall in the college garden¹⁰.

The college inventories also provide us with information on iconography of easel paintings adorning its rooms, where we are to repeatedly meet St Ladislav (accompanied by other Hungarian and Croatian national saints – like the Hungarian king St Stephen; prince St Emeric; St Quirinus, bishop of ancient Siscia; St Jerome; Croatian king St Budimir and others)¹¹. Finally, the *Saintly*

⁵ Ivi, pp. 25-29.

⁶ Miladinov 2007, p. 215.

⁷ «Collegium quoque a platea publica renovatum est cum picturis Patronæ Ungariæ et hoc disticho, *Patrona Ungariæ patriæ succurre labenti, / Atque Jagustitii dirige vota tui*. Ed ad latera patronæ Beatæ Virginis, Sanctorum Stephani ed Ladislai Regum imagines sunt apositæ». Brizzi, Accorsi 1988, p. 76.

⁸ «Pictori pro imagi[ni]bus P[at]ronæ Vngariæ, SS. Steph[an]i & Ladislai Regu[m] Vngariæ [L] 12; Eidem pro porta Collegii & armis Vngariæ in eadem expressis [L] 1 [B] 20», Zagreb, Archives of the Archdiocese of Zagreb (NAZ), *Acta Collegii Bononiensis*, Rationes Bononienses Pauli Jagustich (Martius, 1610.), f. 516.

⁹ Premerl 2014, pp. 57-59. For *Missale Zagrabienense*, see: Dobronić 1994, pp. 64-65; Pelc 1994, pp. 474, 478; Germ 2002; Pelc 2005, pp. 24-28; Pelc 2007, p. 552.

¹⁰ «Item hoc anno curavi fieri unam imaginem depictam Beatæ Virginis Mariæ in horto cum sanctissimis patronis Regni Hungariæ». Brizzi, Accorsi 1988, p. 164.

¹¹ E.g. NAZ, *Acta Collegii Bononiensis*, Inventarium literalium instrumentorum, et supellectilis Collegii Illyrico-Ungarici [...], 1711, f. 373v. (*In foresteria maiori*); Inventarium Literarium

King was included in the *corpus* of lives of Hungarian and Illyrian (Croatian) historical heroes, compiled by aforementioned Juraj Patačić of Zaječda and issued in Bologna in 1699¹².

To our misfortune, after the dissolution of the College in 1781, all its inventory was sold in the auction and – although at least some of the paintings should be iconographically unusual in the Italian context – none of them had yet been recognized. So, in addition to the monumental vault painting in the college refectory, the only surviving and to us known Ladislav's depiction connected to Bologna is the one occurring in the booklet entitled *Compendio in rime della vita, e di alcuni miracoli di S. Ladislao re d'Ungheria*, issued in Bologna in 1738¹³. It commemorated a public presentation of doctoral theses by Baltazar Adam Krčelić – a future famous historian of the Zagreb Diocese, and at the time, an alumnus of the *Collegio Illirico-Ungarico*¹⁴. As Krčelić himself notes in the dedication to the cardinal Giovanni Battista Spinola (contemporary papal legate in Bologna), the Italian verses praising the life and some miracles of St Ladislav were composed by his personal friend, *conte* Antonio Zaniboni¹⁵.

Before concentrating on the engraving itself, a few words can be said on the author of Ladislav's Bolognese versified glory. Antonio Zaniboni (†1767) was Bolognese poet and orator who founded the *Accademia de Nascosti* in 1717¹⁶. Zaniboni was also a member of, certainly more famous Roman *Accademia degli Arcadi* (his pseudonym being *Estrio*). The *Accademia de Nascosti* was apparently short-lived and while it existed, its members congregated in the Dominican church and cherished a special devotion towards Dominican saint Thomas Aquinas. However, their formal patron was an Oratorian saint, St Philip Neri which was lauded in the month of May in Bolognese church of Santa Maria in Via Mascarella. In addition to numerous Zaniboni's sermons, *penegyrics*, and arguments, his major works include ten oratories, dramas and comedies as well as a number of published translations from French. An interesting, although puzzling fact regarding 1790 list of Zaniboni's writings is that our 1738 edition (*Compendio in rime*) is being quoted not as an original work, but as a translation from French¹⁷.

As the initiator of the whole editorial enterprise, Baltazar Adam Krčelić most probably chose the main subject of the poem (starting with dramatic evocation: «O

Instrumentorum, et supellectilis Collegii Illyrico-Vngarici [...], 1718, f. 393v. (*In cubiculo d[omi]ni rectoris*). Some of them (St Quirinus, St Budimir, St Stephen and St Emeric) were also depicted on the Pizzoli's frescoes in the refectory. Premerl 2014, pp. 31-38, 51-61.

¹² Patačić 1699b, pp. 29-36. For Patačić's book, see: Premerl 2014, p. 105; Blažević, Premerl 2016, p. 406.

¹³ Zaniboni 1738.

¹⁴ For Adam Baltazar Krčelić, cf.: Shek Brnardić 2013.

¹⁵ Brizzi, Accorsi 1988, ill. 16; Shek Brnardić 2009, pp. 127-128, ill. 35.

¹⁶ Fantuzzi 1790.

¹⁷ «Oltre a ciò tradusse dal Francese, e pubblicò [...] Compendio in Rime della Vita, e di alcuni miracoli di S. Ladislao Re d'Ungheria etc. Bologna a S. Tommaso d'Acquino 1738». Fantuzzi 1790, p. 253.

sette! O fonte! O Condottier sovrano, / Cui natura ubbidisce in ogni evento!»)¹⁸, as well as that of an accompanying engraving, signed by Bolognese engraver Sante Manelli («Sante Manelli Incisit») (fig. 3)¹⁹. It was based on the events recorded in Ladislav's medieval *Vitae*, where king miraculously strikes water from a rock – proving his supernatural power over the elements and saving his army and horses from thirst²⁰. In the 18th century, those miracles were also recorded by the Pauline monk Hilarion Gašparoti, who in 1756 issued the second volume of his lives of saints (*Czvet szveteh*) in Croatian, containing St Ladislav's *Vita*²¹.

As for Sante Manelli, almost unrepresented in accessible surveys²², the span of his *oeuvre* can be partly grasped by an insight into book editions of the first half of the 18th century in Bologna, Rome and some other cities²³. In addition to a dozen of books with his signed individual engravings, the importance of his work is suggested by his inclusion in the group of artisans working on an important two-volume edition on the history of the famous Bolognese art academy (*Storia dell'Accademia Clementina*), printed only a year after our booklet, in 1739. Manelli's name (in a capacity of an engraver; «Sante Manelli Inc.») appears on the first vignette of the second volume, with a humorous band of *putti*-painters, as well as on three portraits of the Academy members – that of the sculptor Giuseppe Maria Mazza, and two Bolognese painters – Donato Creti and Ercole Graziani (fig. 4)²⁴.

It is however obvious that – although highly skillful, Manelli can hardly be described as a great figurative inventor. As a matter of fact, even St Ladislav's image was his incision after another engraving, in this case, one deriving from

¹⁸ Zaniboni 1738, p. 9.

¹⁹ «Divus Ladislaus Rex Hungariae». Zaniboni 1738, p. 6.

²⁰ For St Ladislav's *Vitae*, see: Klaniczay 2002, pp. 173-194, 417-419. For his iconography: Marosi 1987-1988.

²¹ Gašparoti mentions that St Ladislav performed those miracles striking a rock with a hoof of his horse, with his spear, or helmet. Further he states that still, there are some wells called *Ladislav's springs*: «Szpodobnem nachinom dabi vechkrat junakom, y konyom voda menykala, Sz. Ladislav ali z-kopitom konya szvojega, ali z kopjem, ali z-viteskem shisakom vu pechinu vudrenem, kakti drugi Mojsez najchisztesse vode, zvirajuče zdenchecze van jeszt zvabil; odkuda tak lyudi kak marsicza obilno sedgyu vgasziti mogli jeszu. Ovi y dan danassnyi Sz. Ladislava zdenczi ozivajusze». Gašparoti 1756, p. 842.

²² He was being briefly mentioned, e.g., in Filippo De Boni's *Biografia degli artisti*: «MANELLI (Sante), bolognese, che operava circa il principio del secolo decimottavo, intagliò a bulino alcune vignette e qualche ritratto per la storia dell'accademia Clementina, che lo dimostrano non più che mediocre», as well as in Tieme – Becker's *Lexicon*: «Manelli, Sante (Santi), Bilnis- u. Vignettenstecher aus Bologna, 1. Hälfte 18. Jahrh». De Boni's 1840, p. 602; Vallmer 1930, p. 2.

²³ In addition to Italian cities such as Bologna, Rome, Genova, Naples and Lucca, one of the books containing Manelli's engravings (Antonio Maria Mazzoni, *La clemenza di Tito*, 1755) was even printed in Lisbon <http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/ricercaExpansion.jsp?q=&searchType=avanzato&channel__creator=Manelli%2C+Sante+%3Csec.+18.%3E&channel__contributor=Manelli%2C+Sante+%3Csec.+18.%3E&opCha__contributor=OR&opCha__creator=OR>, 12.07.2017.

²⁴ Zanotti 1739, pp. [V], 2, 98, 274.

Vienna. This was commissioned in 1731 by a philosopher and physician of Bohemian (or better to say Moravian) origin, Franciscus Iosephus Ignatius Frid, and signed by two Viennese engravers – brothers Andreas and Joseph Schmuzer (Schmutzer) (fig. 5)²⁵. Although the actual inventor of the composition – for now – remains unknown, Frid's motivation for the particular commission is being explained by a short Latin inscription, in which he is being indicated as *procurator* of the *Natio Hungarica* at the Viennese University.

The inscription features Ladislav as Hungarian Moses, and praising his power over the inanimate nature, as the one whose commands are obeyed even by a deaf rock: «Divo Regi Ladislao / Hungariae Moysi, / Cujus / Imperium Surda Petra Audiens / Misipata Sitientem Militem / Lacrimas Fudit / Nacionem omnem Hungaricam / Seq. / D D D / Franc. Ios. Ignat. Frid Phil. Ac Med. Doct. / P. T. ejusdem Nationis / Procurator / M.D.C.C.XXX.I.»²⁶. No wonder, it was precisely in 1731 that Frid issued his panegyric to St Ladislav, held in Viennese St Stephen's cathedral and dedicated to count Emeric Eszterházy, *primas* of Hungary²⁷. In any case, Krčelić – who before coming to Bologna in 1734 was, from 1731, an alumnus of yet another Croatian College, the one in Vienna²⁸ – might have well heard or read Frid's panegyric and, more importantly, obtained Schmuzer's engraving taking it with him to Bologna. If this was the case, we may say that the Viennese engraving served as a model not only for Manelli's work but also had an immediate influence on Zaniboni's verses, reversing the usual concept of the picture following the text. It is important to notice that Frid only briefly mentions the episode with a spring, within a broader context of *Holy King* miraculously feeding his troops with herd of deer and cows²⁹.

Although he consistently followed this Viennese model, Manelli, however, introduced some slight changes. He excluded a genre-motif of a spotted dog drinking the water in the left foreground, and embellished the bare rocks with delicate motifs of leaves and branches that can – arguably – be interpreted as an echo of richer solutions in drawings by his contemporary (and, in several occasions a provider of models for his engravings) Domenico Maria Fratta³⁰.

The Viennese engraving served as an initial model for at least two easel paintings: a small watercolour on parchment from 1737, now in Bratislava

²⁵ Kronbichler 1995, p. 138. For Andreas and Joseph Schmuzer (Schmutzer), see: von Wurzbach 1875, pp. 343-344.

²⁶ Hilarion Gašparoti makes a similar connection between the medieval king and the Old Testament hero, referring to St Ladislav as to the *Second Moyses*. Gašparoti 1756, p. 842.

²⁷ Frid 1731.

²⁸ Šek Brnardić 2009, pp. 83, 107. For Croatian College in Vienna, see: Dočkal 1996.

²⁹ «Vidit ad confinia Ungariæ totus LADISLAI exercitus prodigium illud humanas excedens vires, dum sititenti è Petra fons, tamen è converso laboranti ingens sese cervavorum [*sic*], bubalorúmque grex ultró praebeuit manducandum», Frid 1631, s. p. [9].

³⁰ E.g. *Episode from life of the pope Honorius III; St Michel leading the nuns; St Philipp Neri*. Cfr. <<http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/stampe/autori/23965/>>, 12.07.2017.

communal gallery (*Galéria mesta Bratislavy*) in Slovakia (fig. 6)³¹, as well as a much larger altarpiece attributed to Michael Angelo Unterberger in the former Jesuit church in Târgu Mureş (*Marosvásárhely* in Hungarian, *Neumarkt am Mieresch* in German) in Transylvania (*Erdély* in Hungarian, *Siebenbürgen* in German; present-day central Romania) (fig. 7). To some extent, regarding the figure of the *Holy King* himself, it also served as an inspiration for a much larger and more elaborate composition, frescoed by Austrian painter Franz Anton Maulbertsch on the dome of the Bratislava bishop's palace chapel (1781) (fig. 8)³².

The Târgu Mureş painting – dated in the mid of the 18th century, when the local Jesuits were finishing up their new church – has been connected with a preparatory drawing preserved in Innsbruck Ferdinandeum (fig. 9), and subsequently with the Viennese engraving of 1731³³. Yet, apart from featuring some minor (although obvious) alteration in different position of the saint's head, and a new format adapted to its placement on the altar, Unterberger's works may also show some similarities with the Bolognese example: notably in excluding a dog to the left, and – at least in the case of the preparatory drawing – including delicate leaves and branches on otherwise bare rock.

At this point, we can again turn to Zaniboni's verses, some aspects of which could hold a special significance for the Transylvanian commissioners. The verses in the sixth and the seventh strophe of the poem – starting with lines «Nel tempio Varadino avea prescritto, / Che la salma regal si riserbasse» – are describing miraculous events connected to Ladsilas's death and burial³⁴. Actually, according to the legend that inspired Zaniboni, the chariot with Ladislav's corpse was miraculously, without harnessed horses, brought to *Varadin* (Hungarian *Nagyvárad*, present-day *Oradea* in Romania)³⁵, an important religious and cultural centre of Transylvania, not so far from Târgu Mureş. Given the fact that Sante Manelli's engraving was a part of an edition of some interest to the cultural public of Habsburg Monarchy, it is possible to presume that it might have had some influence on the visual arts, offering (for a change) an Italian *translation* of the original Central European composition. Finally, the image of St Ladislav striking water from a rock found its inseparable counterpart in Zaniboni's Italian verses, confirming once more Horace's phrase: *Ut pictura poesis*.

³¹ <http://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:GMB.A_413>, 12.07.2017.

³² For the fresco see: Da Costa Kufmann 2005, pp. 68-69, plate 13.

³³ Kronbichler 1995, p. 138; Sabău 2005, pp. 145-146.

³⁴ «Nel tempio Varadino avea prescritto, / Che la salma regal si riserbasse. / Or mentre a prender sonno, a prender vitto; / Dal gir col cocchio chi 'l traeva, ritrasse; // Del cocchio, in qui giacea, da se le ruote / Proseguiro il cammin non tarde, o lente; / Nè le traean cavalli Ove le ignote / Destre angeliche all' opra erano intente». Zanoboni 1738, pp. 9-10.

³⁵ Klaniczay 2002, pp. 418-419.

*Compendio in rime della vita, e di alcuni miracoli di S. Ladislao re d'Ungheria
dedicato all'eminantissimo e reverendissimo principe il signor cardinale
Giovambattista Spinola legato a lathere di Bologna*

O sette! O fonte! O Condottier sovrano,
Cui natura ubbidisce in ogni evento!
Dalla selce percossa e l'erba, e l'piano,
Scorre a bagnar dell onda il chiaro argento.

Ne beon Cavalli, e Fanti, e siegne ancora
Il portentoso innassio, a par di quello,
Che uscito dall' Orebbo, omdonne allora
Dietro per lo Deserto ad Israello.

Ciò, che volea dal Ciel, supplice ottenne,
A pro di suoi Vassalli in cento guise:
E di gir contro il Trace ei fe solenne
Voto, e forti milizie in pronto mise.

Quando gl' investigabili decreti
Dell' alta Providenza al Campidoglio
Superno il trasser fra' beati, e lieti
Spiriti trionfatori in miglior soglio.

Così morte qualora il tolse a fido
Regno piagnenete, di gramaglia, e lutto
Vestissi, e risonar di flebil grido
Fe lo Stato, la Reggia, e il Popol tutto.

Nel Tempio Varadino abea prescritto,
Che la Salma Regal si riserbasse.
Or mentre a prender sonno, a prender vitto;
Dal gir, col cocchio chi 'l traeva, ristasse;

Del coccio, in qui giacea, da se le ruote
Proseguiro il cammin non tarde, o lente;
Nè le traean Cavalli Ove le ignote
Destre Angeliche all' opra erano intente.

Fuvvi lingua sacrilega, che disse,
Che dale sacre membra uscia fetore;
Ma tosto volle il Ciel, che la rea gisse
Bocca pemità con mortale orrore.

Se non che, ravveduto il cuor dell' empio,
E implorata mercè, salvezza ottenne.
Ma qual, senza egual sorte, a Lui nel Tempio
Cieco, Mutolo, Storpio, Egro sen venne?

A tal, che Celestin dal Vaticano
Fra quei de' Santio il di Lui nome inciso

Volle, all' Ibero, al Gallo, ed al Germano
Partecipando un così lieto avviso.

Fino a' confine della Terra uscio
Il nome allor di *LADISLAO*, possente
Ogni spirito a fugar malignoso e rio,
A sedar la procella altra, e fremente;

Tutti a spegner gl' incendj, e l' ire atroci,
A serbar le raccolte, e da' perigli
Trar quanti ergono a Lui sospiri, e voci
Come a padre comun clienti, e figli.

Tali a te ricoriamo, e come tali
Ci accogli, o *LADISLAO*, dall' alto seggio:
Speriam (la tua mercè) favori eguali,
E quel di più, che umilente i' chieggio:

Di tua fe, di tua speme, e di tuo amore
Una scintilla, a viver giusto e pio:
Così, che al Ciel pervenga, e tuo splendore,
Tua Gloria miri, e la contempi in Dio.

Ecco il mio voto: or tu l' avvrei, e sia
Pregio de' merti Tuoi la mia salvezza.
Io calcherò da lungi pur la via
Che m' additò la Tua Regal fortezza.

Che s' io mai vengo men, tu mi sostieni,
Tu mi rincora, incoraggisci, e guida
Per drita via su Colli almi e sereni,
Ov' ha pace per sempre ogn' alma fida.

IL FINE

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Appendix

Fig. 1. Bologna, ex Illirian-Hungarian College



Fig. 2. Gioacchino Pizzoli, *St Ladislav and queen Jelena*, 1700, vault painting, Bologna, ex Illirian-Hungarian College (refectory)



Fig. 3. Sante Manelli («Sante Manelli Inc.»), *St Ladislaus striking water from a rock*, 1738, engraving in Zaniboni 1738

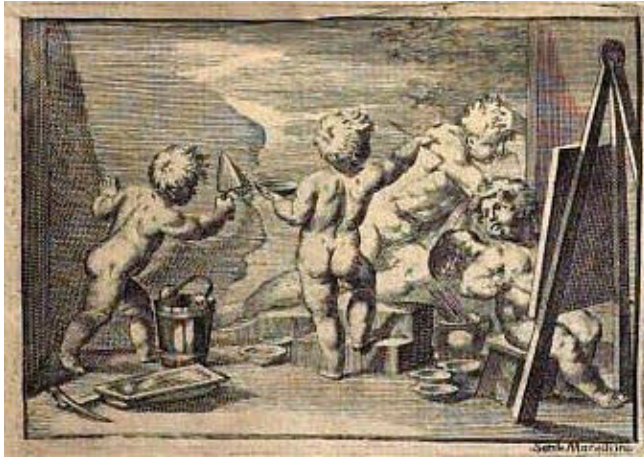


Fig. 4. Sante Manelli («Sante Manelli Inc.»), *Putti painting*, engraving in Zanotti 1739



Fig. 5. Andreas and Joseph Schmutzer, *St Ladislav unsealing a spring*, 1731, engraving



Fig. 6. Unknown painter, *St Ladislav striking water from a rock*, 1737, watercolour on parchment, Bratislava, Galéria mesta Bratislavy



Fig. 7. Michael Angelo Unterberger (attributed to), *St Ladislas striking water from a rock*, ca. 1750, oil on canvas, Târgu Mureș, former Jesuit church of St John the Baptist, side altar



Fig. 8. Franz Anton Maulbertsch, *St Ladislav striking water from a rock* – detail, 1781, Bratislava, dome of the Bratislava bishop's palace chapel



Fig. 9. Michael Angelo Unterberger (attributed to), *St Ladislaus striking water from a rock*, ca. 1750, ink on paper, Innsbruck, Ferdinandeum

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