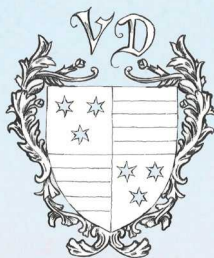


MUZEJI HRVATSKOG ZAGORJA  
DVOR VELIKI TABOR



MUSEUMS OF CROATIAN ZAGORJE  
VELIKI TABOR CASTLE

# LEGENDA O VERONIKI DESINIĆKOJ



## LEGEND OF VERONIKA OF DESINIĆ



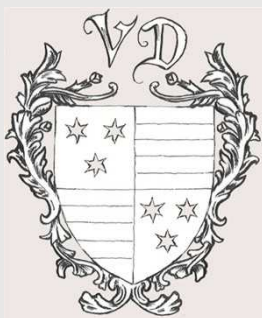
Desinić | 2024.

MUZEJI HRVATSKOG ZAGORJA  
DVOR VELIKI TABOR

MUSEUMS OF CROATIAN ZAGORJE  
VELIKI TABOR CASTLE

# LEGENDA O VERONIKI DESINIĆKOJ

Nematerijalno kulturno dobro



# LEGEND OF VERONIKA OF DESINIĆ

Intangible cultural heritage



Desinić | 2024.

Legenda o Veroniki Desiničkoj jedna je od najpoznatijih usmenih predaja Hrvatskog zagorja. Priča o tragičnoj ljubavi grofa Fridrika II. Celjskog i lijepe plemenitašice Veronike iz susjednog Desinića, duboko je urezana u povijesnu memoriju lokalne zajednice. Ova legenda usko je povezana s Velikim Taborom u jedinstvenu kulturnu cjelinu, svojevrsni je dijalog s prošalošću – često je spominjana kao jedna od sto najljepših i najznačajnijih hrvatskih legendi.<sup>1</sup>

Impresivna taborgradska arhitektura na vrhu Huma Košničkog oduvijek je intrigirala maštu prolaznika. Svi su željeli znati što se zbiva(lo) iza zidina staroga grada u kojem se, prema Legendi, još uvijek u dugim zimskim noćima mogu čuti jecaji nesretne Veronike.

Glavni protagonisti ove Legende živjeli su u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća, u ono davno doba prije oko 600 godina, kada je našim krajevima vladao moćni ban, grof Herman II. Celjski. Prema legendi, njegov mladi sin Fridrik, jašući očevim posjedima, zagledao se u nježnu, zlatokosu, ljepoticu Veroniku. Između Veronike i Fridrika buknuła je uzajamna ljubav koja nije bila po volji starom Hermanu. Unatoč njegovom protivljenju, Fridrik i Veronika su pobjegli u grad Fridrihštajn u blizini Kočevja u Sloveniji, gdje su se potajno vjenčali. Stari grof Herman ubrzo je doznao za njihovo vjenčanje. Poslao vojsku s nalogom da uhvate ljubavnike. Fridrik je uspio spasiti Veroniku iz grada, te je ona pobjegla preko Gorskog kotara i Kalnika do seoca Sveta Margita. Fridrika su očevi vojnici uhvatili i zatvorili u celjsku kulu, usku i visoku oko 23 m. Tu je bio zatvoren preko četiri godine. Od tada se ta kula zove Fridrikova kula. Veroniku su Hermanovi vojnici zatvorili u Velikom Taboru. Herman je nesretnu Veroniku optužio da je copernica koja je zavela njegovu sina. Organizirano je suđenje koje je trajalo puna dva dana.

<sup>1</sup> Rješenjem Ministarstva kulture RH, 2014. godine utvrđeno je da predaja o Veroniki Desiničkoj ima svojstvo nematerijalnog kulturnog dobra te je upisana u Registar kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske – Listu zaštićenih kulturnih dobara.

The Legend of Veronika of Desinić is one of the most well-known oral traditions of the Croatian Zagorje region. The story of the tragic love between Count Frederick II of Celje and the beautiful noblewoman Veronika from the nearby village of Desinić is deeply embedded in the historical memory of the local community. This legend is closely connected to Veliki Tabor Castle, forming a unique cultural folklore – a sort of dialogue with the past – and is often mentioned as one of the hundred most beautiful and significant Croatian legends.<sup>1</sup>

The impressive architecture of Veliki Tabor, on the top of the hill named Hum Košnički, has always intrigued imagination of visitors. Everyone wanted to know what was happening behind the walls of the old castle, where, according to the legend, even now, on long winter nights, one can still hear the sobs of the unhappy Veronika.

The main characters of this legend lived in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, some 600 years ago, when these lands were ruled by the powerful Ban Count Hermann II of Celje. According to the legend, his young son Frederick, while riding through his father's estates, fell in love with the delicate, golden-haired beauty Veronika. A mutual love blossomed between Veronika and Frederick, but it did not meet with the approval of old Hermann. Despite his objections, Frederick and Veronika fled to Friedrichstein Castle near Kočevje in Slovenia, where they secretly married. The old Count Hermann soon found out about their marriage and sent an army of his soldiers with orders to capture the lovers. Frederick managed to save Veronika, who then fled across Gorski Kotar and Kalnik to the village of Sveta Margita. Frederick was captured by his father's soldiers and imprisoned in the Celje Tower, which was very narrow and 23 meters high, where he was held for over four years. Since then, the tower has been known

<sup>1</sup> By a decision of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in 2014, the legend of Veronika of Desinić was recognized as an intangible cultural heritage and was registered in the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia – List of Protected Cultural Goods.

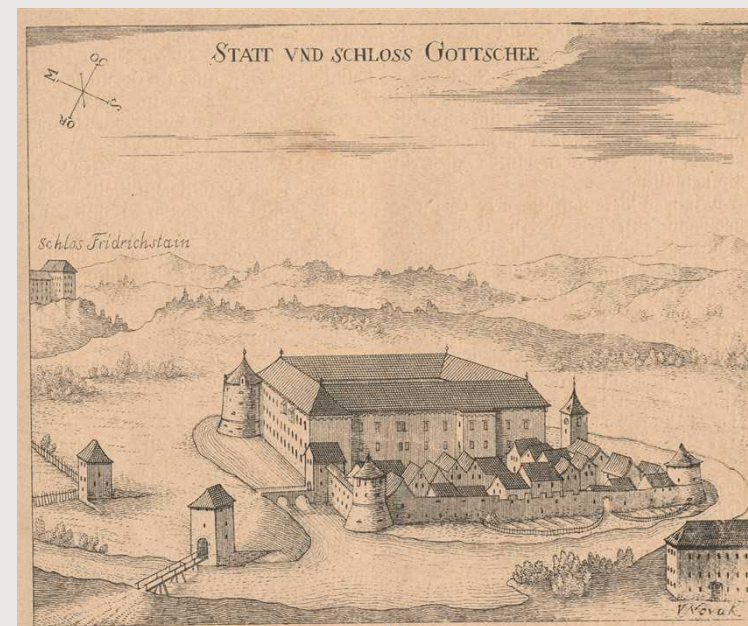
U predvečerje drugog dana suci su izjavili: “Gospodine bane! Na ovoj djevojci nema nikakve krivice, a kamoli zločina. Jedino što gaji veliku ljubav prema vašem sinu Fridriku. No, presvijetli bane, ljubav nikada nije bila grijeh, a kamoli zločin. Ljubav je jedna od najljepših ljudskih vrline! Time je naš posao, presvijetli bane, završen.” Unatoč presudi, čim su suci krenuli prema izlazu, grof Herman izdao je nalog kaštelanu da ubiju Veroniku. U dvorištu Velikog Tabora postavili su drvenu posudu punu vode i u njoj utopili Veroniku. Njeno mrtvo tijelo uzidali su u zid koji spaja peterokutnu kulu s ulazom u dvorac. Ipak, čak se i danas, osobito u dugim zimskim noćima, u Velikom Taboru uz zavijanje vjetra čuje jecanje nesretne Veronike...

Kroz stoljeća su stvarni povijesni događaji nadograđivani, mnoge su generacije sudjelovale u stvaranju i oblikovanju ove usmene predaje o zabranjenoj ljubavi koja i danas inspirira umjetnike.

Povijesnu pozadinu ove Legende donose nam tri povijesna izvora:

as Frederick's Tower. Veronika was captured by Hermann's soldiers and imprisoned in Veliki Tabor. Hermann accused the unfortunate Veronika of being a witch who had bewitched his son. A trial was held that lasted for two full days. On the evening of the second day, the judges declared: “My lord ban! There is no guilt, let alone a crime, in this girl. The only thing she harbors is great love for your son Frederick. But, most noble ban, love has never been a sin, let alone a crime. Love is one of the finest human virtues! With that, our work, most noble ban, is done.” Despite the verdict, as soon as the judges left, Count Hermann issued an order to the castellan to kill Veronika in the courtyard of Veliki Tabor. They placed a wooden tub full of water and drowned Veronika. Her lifeless body was then walled up in the section connecting the pentagonal tower to the castle entrance. Even today, especially on long winter nights, the wailing of the unfortunate Veronika can still be heard within the walls of Veliki Tabor, mingling with the howling wind...

Through the centuries, real historical events have been embellished, and many generations have contributed to the creation and



Kočevje, kat. .br. 4 | Kočevje, Cat. No. 4.

**Celjska kronika** (Die Chronic der Grafen von Cilli), djelo anonimnog suvremenika, koje opisuje posljednje tri generacije Celjskih, nastalo sredinom 15. stoljeća. Originalni tekst Celjske kronike nije sačuvan, postoje prijepisi, najstariji je iz 16. stoljeća.

**Ljetopis** o životu kralja Sigismunda, autora **Eberharda Windeckea**, koji je živio u 15. stoljeća.

Treći izvor su **Povjesnice**, vezane uz obitelj Celjski, koje je zabilježio **Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini** (1405. – 1464.), kasniji papa Pio II.

Prema povijesnim izvorima, **Herman II. Celjski (oko 1360. – 1435.)** dobio je darovnicom hrvatsko-ugarskog kralja Sigismunda Luksemburškog<sup>2</sup> (1368. – 1437.) Varaždin, Vinicu i Vrbovec (1397.) (kat. br. 1.), a nakon toga grofoviju Zagorje s gradovima Krapina, Lobar, Oštrc, Belec, Trakošćan, Lepoglava, Kostel, Cesargrad, Trnovec. S ovom grofovijom dobili su Celjski naziv grofova Zagorskih. Uskoro Herman II. dobiva u posjed Čakovec i Međimurje, 1406. godine imenovan je banom Dalmacije, Hrvatske i cijele Slavonije (do 1408. godine). Bansku službu obnašao je i od 1423. – 1435. godine. Svoj je položaj još više učvrstio udajom svoje kćeri Barbare (1392. – 1451.) za hrvatsko-ugarskoga kralja Sigismunda Luksemburškog (1405.)<sup>3</sup>. Barbara Celjska, sestra Fridrika II., u narodnoj je predaji ostala zapamćena kao zloglasna Crna kraljica.<sup>4</sup>

Herman II. želio je proširiti svoje posjede sve do Jadranskoga mora, stoga je sklopio dogovor sa Stjepanom Frankopanom prema kojem će se njegova kćer Elizabeta Frankopanska udati za Hermanova sina Fridrika II.

2 Herman II. Celjski spasio je kralja Sigismunda Luksemburškog u bitci kod Nikopolja, pomogao mu je da pobjegne i vrati se u Hrvatsko-Ugarsko Kraljevstvo.

3 Barbara Celjska i kralj Sigismund vjenčali su se u Krapini.

4 O njoj je sačuvano nekoliko narodnih priča koje se povezuju s njenim boravkom na Kalniku, Medvedgradu i u samoborskom Starom gradu. Prema jednoj priči napadala je ljude crnim gavranima. Navodno se bavila alkemijom, nastojala je iz bakra dobiti srebro, a potom i zlato.

shaping of this oral traditions of forbidden love, which continues to inspire artists today.

The historical background of this legend is documented in three historical sources:

**The Chronicle of the Counts of Celje** (Die Chronic der Grafen von Cilli), a work by an anonymous contemporary that describes the last three generations of the Counts of Celje, written in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. The original text of the “Chronicle” has not survived, but there are copies, the oldest of which dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

**The Chronicle** of the Life of King Sigismund by **Eberhard Windecke**, who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The third source are the historical tales related to the Celje family noted by **Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini** (1405–1464), later Pope Pius II.

According to historical sources, **Hermann II of Celje (ca. 1360–1435)** received from the Croatian-Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg<sup>2</sup> (1368–1437) the towns of Varaždin, Vinica, and Vrbovec as a gift in 1397 (cat. no. 1). Subsequently, he was granted the county of Zagorje, including the towns of Krapina, Lobar, Oštrc, Belec, Trakošćan, Lepoglava, Kostel, Cesargrad and Trnovec. With this county, the Counts of Celje family acquired the title of Counts of Zagorje. Hermann II soon gained possession of Čakovec and Međimurje. In 1406, he was appointed Ban (governor) of Dalmatia, Croatia, and all of Slavonia (until 1408). He also served as Ban from 1423 to 1435. He further strengthened his position by marrying his daughter Barbara (1392–1451) to the Croatian-Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1405<sup>3</sup>. Barbara of Celje, the sister of Frederick II remains infamous in folklore as the notorious “Black Queen.”<sup>4</sup>

2 Hermann II of Celje saved King Sigismund of Luxembourg during the Battle of Nicopolis, assisting him in his escape and return to the Kingdom of Croatia-Hungary.

3 Barbara of Celje and King Sigismund were married in Krapina.

4 Several folk tales about her have been preserved, linked

Celjskog (oko 1378. – 1454.). Ona je, prema pogodbi, donijela Celjskima u miraz 20 000 zlatnika, odnosno, umjesto gotovine pola otoka Krka, Bakar, Bribir i Trsat. Pogodba je sklopljena još 1388. u vrijeme kada su oboje, i Fridrik i Elizabeta, bili maloljetni. Brak je sklopljen vjerojatno oko 1405. jer su već sljedeće godine dobili sina Ulricha. No, supružnici u ovom dogovorenom braku nisu bili sretni, godinama nisu živjeli zajedno. Otac Herman II. i Frankopani pozvali su 1422. Fridrika u Stari grad Krapinu da se izmiri s Elizabetom. Pomirba nije uspjela jer je drugi dan kneginja Elizabeta nađena mrtva. Prema Aeneasu Sylviusu, javno se govorilo da je Fridrik ubio svoju ženu kako bi se mogao oženiti “... nekom lijepom djevojkom po imenu Veronika.”<sup>5</sup>

Nakon istrage kralj Sigismund, vjerojatno nastojanjem Fridrikove sestre Barbare, nije pokrenuo optužbu protiv Fridrika. No, nakon što su se Fridrik i Veronika vjenčali (1425.), kralj ga je lišio slobode i izručio ocu Hermanu koji ga je dao zatvoriti u kulu na celjskom Starom gradu.<sup>6</sup>

Brak s Veronikom izazvao je sumnje u Fridrikovu nedužnost, no još veće nezadovoljstvo kod Hermana II. Celjskog je izazvala činjenica da je Veronika bila tek obična plemkinja, čiji status nije bio u rangu grofovske obitelji Celjski. Veronika je uhvaćena u bijegu, Herman ju je doveo u Celje pred sud s optužbom da je vještica koja je začarala njegova sina. Iako je celjski sud presudio da nije kriva, Herman je naredio da Veroniku dovedu u grad Ojstricu gdje je 17. listopada 1425. utopljena.<sup>7</sup> Celjska kronika kaže da je Veronika pokopana u Braslovču. Nakon što je Fridrik oslobođen, dao je Veronikino tijelo prenijeti u

5 Povjesničarka Nada Klaić smatrala je, pak, da je priča o ubojstvu kneginje Elizabete Frankopanske izmišljena, te da je Fridrik II. najvjerojatnije bio nedužan.

6 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda. 2014., Grofje in knezi Celjski, Pokrajinski muzej Celje.

7 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda. 2014., Grofje in knezi Celjski, Pokrajinski muzej Celje.

Hermann II sought to expand his holdings of the Adriatic Sea, so he made an agreement with Stephen Frankopan, according to which his daughter, Elizabeth of Frankopan, would marry Hermann’s son, Frederick II of Celje (ca. 1378–1454). As part of the agreement, Elizabeth brought the Celje family a dowry of 20,000 gold coins, instead of cash, half of the island of Krk, along with Bakar, Bribir, and Trsat. The agreement was made in 1388 when both Frederick and Elizabeth were still minors. The marriage likely took place around 1405, as they had a son, Ulrich, the following year. However, the spouses were unhappy in this arranged marriage and did not live together for years. In 1422, Hermann II and the Frankopans summoned Frederick to the old town of Krapina to reconcile with Elizabeth. The reconciliation failed, as the next day, Duchess Elizabeth was found dead. According to Aeneas Sylvius, it was widely rumored that Frederick had killed his wife so that he could marry “...some beautiful girl named Veronika.”<sup>5</sup> After an investigation, King Sigismund, likely due to the efforts of Frederick’s sister Barbara, did not press charges against Frederick. However, after Frederick and Veronika were married in 1425, the king deprived him of his freedom and handed him over to his father Hermann, who imprisoned him in the tower of the Old town of Celje.<sup>6</sup>

Frederick’s marriage to Veronika raised suspicions about his innocence, but what provoked even greater dissatisfaction in Hermann II of Celje was the fact that Veronika was merely a common noblewoman, whose status was not on par with the noble family of Celje. Veronika was captured while fleeing, and Hermann

to her stays in Kalnik, Medvedgrad, and the old town of Samobor. According to one tale, she attacked people with black ravens. It is also said that she practiced alchemy, attempting to turn copper into silver and later into gold.

5 Historian Nada Klaić believed however that the story of the murder of Duchess Elisabeth Frankopan was fabricated and that Frederick II was most likely innocent.

6 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda, “Counts and Duches of Celje,” Regional Museum Celje, 2014.



*Veronikin rubac, kat. br. 7 | Veronica's Veil, Cat. No. 7*

kartuzijanski samostan u Jurkloštru.<sup>8</sup> No, do danas nije utvrđeno gdje se nalaze Veronikini posmrtni ostatci.

Većina istraživača smatra da je nakon Veronikine smrti vladalo neprijateljstvo između Fridrika II. i oca mu Hermana II.<sup>9</sup> Fridrik je svu svoju žalost iskazao na freskama u kapeli sv. Ivana,<sup>10</sup> koju je dao sagraditi 1448. godine kao donaciju Crkvi za legalizaciju vanbračnog sina Ivana, rođenog u vezi s Veronikom. Unutrašnjost ove kasnogotičke kapele, posvećene sv. Ivanu, bogato je oslikana u maniri "pittura infamante" – radi se o tzv. uvredljivim portretima kojima je naručitelj želio javno prokazati i osramotiti određene

brought her to Celje to stand trial on charges of being a witch who had bewitched his son. Although the Court of Celje court ruled that she was not guilty, Hermann ordered his army to send Veronika to the town of Ojstrica, where she was drowned on October 17, 1425.<sup>7</sup> The "Chronicle of the Counts of Counts of Celje" states that Veronika was buried in Braslovče. After Frederick was released, he had Veronika's body transferred to the Carthusian monastery in Jurklošter.<sup>8</sup> However, to this day, the location of Veronika's remains has not been determined.

Most researchers believe that after Veronika's death, hostility existed between Frederick II and his father, Hermann II.<sup>9</sup> Frederick expressed all

8 Srša, Ivan. 2009. Imaju li zidne slike u crkvi sv. Ivana u Ivančiču Miljanskom i skriveno značenje, KAJ, XLII, 1-2, Zagreb.

9 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda. 2014., Grofje in knezi Celjski, Pokrajinski muzej Celje.

10 Kapela se nalazi u Ivančiču Miljanskom, župna crkva sv. Katarine u Zagorskim Selima.

7 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda, "Counts and Princes of Celje," Regional Museum Celje, 2014.

8 Srša, Ivan, "Do the Wall Paintings in the Church of St. John in Ivančič Miljanski Have a Hidden Meaning?" KAJ, XLII, Zagreb, 1-2 (2009)

9 Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda, "Counts and Princes of

osobe koje je smatrao odgovornima za smrt voljene žene.<sup>11</sup> Voditelj restauratorskih radova na obnovi zidnog oslika u kapeli, Ivan Srša, smatra da je Fridrik, kao naručitelj izgradnje i oslikavanja kapele, na zidne slike uklopio portrete glavnih protagonista iz njegove tragične životne priče: Fridrik je portretiran u dvije scene, kako kleči pred sv. Leonardom i u sceni *Pohod i poklonstvo triju kraljeva*. U sceni *Hermanova gozba* prikazan je Herman II. Celjski kako sjedi sa strane i promatra one koji sjede za stolom – Heroda, kralja Filipa i njegovu ženu Herodijadu, na pladnju je glava Ivana Krstitelja i simbolizira Fridrikovu osudu na smrt i posredno ubojstvo Veronike. Herodov lik je paralela s Hermanom – kao što Herod nije

his grief through the frescoes in the Chapel of St. John,<sup>10</sup> which he commissioned in 1448 as a donation to the Church to legitimize his illegitimate son, John, born from his relationship with Veronika. The interior of this late Gothic chapel dedicated to St. John is richly decorated in the style of "pittura infamante" – a form of insulting portraiture intended to publicly denounce and shame certain individuals whom the commissioner blamed for the death of his beloved wife.<sup>11</sup> Ivan Srša, the head of the restoration work on the chapel's wall paintings, believes that Frederick, as the commissioner of the chapel's construction and decoration, incorporated portraits of the main protagonists from his tragic life story into the frescoes: Frederick is portrayed in two scenes, kneeling



*Herodova gozba, kat. br. 8 | The Feast of Herod, Cat. No. 8*

vlastoručno ubio Ivana Krstitelja, tako ni Herman nije osobno ubio Veroniku Desiničku, no

11 Srša, Ivan. 2009. Imaju li zidne slike u crkvi sv. Ivana u Ivančiču Miljanskom i skriveno značenje, KAJ, XLII, 1-2, Zagreb.

Celje," Regional Museum Celje, 2014.

10 The chapel is located in Ivančič Miljanski, and the parish church of St. Catherine in Zagorska Sela.

11 Srša, Ivan, "Do the Wall Paintings in the Church of St. John in Ivančič Miljanski Have a Hidden Meaning?" KAJ, XLII, Zagreb, 1-2, 2009.

oba su bili akteri koji su prouzročili smrt svojih žrtava. Kralj Filip bi predstavljao Sigismunda Luksemburškog, a Herodijada Barbaru Celjsku. Oba su supružnika bila upletena u suđenje Fridriku. Scena *Veronikin veo* zapravo je aluzija na tragično stradalu suprugu Fridrika II.

Kasnogotička kapela sv. Ivana izdvaja se ne samo zidnim oslikom, već i svojom arhitekturom koja je zasnovana na muzičkim intervalima himne posvećene sv. Ivanu Krstitelju (*Ut queant laxis*), što dokazuju analize brojčanih odnosa među mjerama u arhitekturi kapele.<sup>12</sup>



F. Quiquerez: *Herman II. Celjski*, HPM-PMH inv. br. 33068 | F. Quiquerez: *Hermann II of Celje*, Photograph of the painting, HPM/PMH inv. no. 33068

Gotovo istodobno s izgradnjom kapele, Fridrik II. dao je na susjednom brijegu sagraditi dvokatni palas. Vrlo vjerojatno, Fridrik II. nam progovara i kroz simboliku motiva na peč-

12 Srša, Ivan. Rujan 2013., Muzički intervali u arhitekturi kasnogotičke kapele sv. Ivana u Ivaniču Miljanskom, THEORIA, XV, broj 15.

before St. Leonard and in the scene of *The Journey and the Adoration of the Three Kings*. In the scene titled *Hermann's Feast*, Hermann II of Celje is depicted sitting on the side, watching those at the table – Herod, King Philip, and his wife Herodias. On a platter lies the head of John the Baptist, symbolizing Frederick's death sentence and, indirectly, Veronika's murder. The character of Herod parallels Hermann – just as Herod did not personally kill John the Baptist, neither did Hermann personally kill Veronika of Desinič, yet both ordered executions which caused the deaths of their victims. King

Philip represents Sigismund of Luxembourg, and Herodias represents Barbara of Counts of Celje. Both spouses were involved in Frederick's trial. The scene *Veronika's Veil* is an allusion to the tragically deceased wife of Frederick II.

The late Gothic Chapel of St. John stands out

njacima zidane peći na drugom katu palasa. Motiv sirene na našim pečnjacima po analogijama je blizak motivu ribe Faronike s uzdignutim dvostrukim repom, koji se često javlja u kompoziciji sa svetim Kristoforom na vanjskim zidovima slovenskih crkava još od 12. stoljeća<sup>13</sup>. Riba Faronika zavodljiva je morska sirena koja navodi na grijeh, ali i morska pošast koja uništava svijet. Riba Faronika je metafora za čovjekova grešna djelovanja zbog kojih će biti kažnjen po vlastitoj krivnji<sup>14</sup>.

Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641. – 1693.) prvi je u svom djelu *Slava Vojvodine Kranjske* (1689.),



Pečnjak, kat. br. 43 | Stove Tile, Cat. No. 43

13 Dr. Marjeta. 2017., Pisk pri proučavanju rukopisa pje-smarica iz 18. st. donosi informaciju da su svetu Veroniku nazivali i sveta Faronika, u: Marija Klobčar, Skrita pričevanja o potresu leta 1348. v slovenskih deželah, Studia mythologica Slavica, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje.

14 Tucovič, Vladka. 2006., Motiv ribe Faronike v slovenski književnosti in likovni umetnosti 20. stoletja, Traditiones, 35/1, 51-68.

not only for its wall paintings but also for its architecture, which is based on the musical intervals of the hymn dedicated to St. John the Baptist (*Ut queant laxis*), as proven by analyses of the numerical relationships among the measures in the chapel's architecture.<sup>12</sup>

Almost simultaneously with the construction of the chapel, Frederick II commissioned the building of a two-storey palace on a neighboring hill. It is very likely that Frederick II speaks to us through the symbolic motifs on the tiles of the stove on the second floor of the pal-

ace. The motif of the siren on these stove tiles is analogous to the motif of the Faronika fish with its raised double tail, which often appears in compositions with St. Christopher on the exterior walls of Slovenian churches dating back

12 Srša, Ivan, "Musical Intervals in the Architecture of the Late Gothic Chapel of St. John in Ivanič Miljanski," THEORIA, XV, issue 15, September 2013.

objavio priču o nesretnoj i lijepoj Veroniki koju on naziva Madame Veronica (kat. br. 4). Prema Valvasoru, Herman i Sigismund suprotstavljali su se vjenčanju Veronike i Fridrika zbog sumnjive smrti prve Fridrikove žene Elizabete i društvene nejednakosti para; to je bio logični razlog Hermanove ljutnje, zbog čega je dao do temelja porušiti Fridrihštajn. Veronikinu nasilnu smrt (utapanje u kadi pod Ostrovicom) ocjenio je Valvasor kao nepravedno i osvetničko djelovanje Hermana II. Upravo u znamenitoj XI. knjizi, koja se

to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The Faronika fish is a seductive sea siren who leads one into sin but also a sea monster that destroys the world. The Faronika fish is a metaphor for human sinful actions for which one will be punished by one's own fault.<sup>14</sup>

Johann Weichard Freiherr von Valvasor (1641–1693) was the first to publish the story of the unfortunate and beautiful Veronika, whom he called Madame Veronica (cat. no. 4), in his work *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* (1689). According to Valvasor, Hermann and



*Veronika Desinička, kat. br. 3 | Veronika of Desinić, Cat. No. 3*

najviše približila najširim narodnim slojevima i našla put među ljude, objavljena i priča o Veroniki Desiničkoj.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Marjeta Pisk, in her study of 18<sup>th</sup>-century hymn manuscripts, reveals that St. Veronika was also referred to as St. Faronika, in: Marija Klobčar, "Hidden Accounts of the 1348 Earthquake in the Slovenian Lands," *Studia mythologica Slavica*, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, 2017.

<sup>14</sup> Vladka Tucovič, "The Motif of the Faronika Fish in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Slovenian Literature and Visual Arts," *Traditiones*, 35/1, 2006, 51-68.

<sup>15</sup> Fugger Germadnik, Rolanda, 2013., *Grofje Celjski med zgodovino in mitom*, Celje.

U hrvatskome kulturnom prostoru prvo djelovanje pisane književnosti koje govori o obitelji Celjski i ljubavi Veronike i Fridrika javlja se početkom 19. stoljeća u Zagrebu, gdje je na njemačkoj gornjogradskoj Amade Schaubuhne, tzv. Varoškom teatru, u dva navrata 1811. godine postavljen *Friedrich Graf von Cilli*, prvi dio tragedije *Die Graffen von Cilli* austrijskog književnika Johanna Rittera von Kalchberga (1763. – 1827.), objavljene u Grazu 1790. – 1793.

Nešto kasnije, tijekom hrvatskog narodnog preporoda, pisci nastoje stvarati na materinjskom jeziku kako bi se potisnuo sveprisutni njemački jezik, te često crpe inspiraciju iz nacionalne povijesti.

Prvi koji je na hrvatskom jeziku literarizirao priču o Veroniki i Fridriku bio je **Dragutin Rakovac**, prvi kustos Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu. Za svoj igrokaz *Veronika od Desenic ili Lepota vu Medvedgradu*, Rakovac je, po vlastitim riječima, koristio "zviranke ...", istinite, ali i elemente narodne predaje.<sup>16</sup>

U Gajevoj Danici ilirskoj je 1838. u pet nastavaka objavljivana pripovijest *Veronika iz Desenicah*, prijevod iz Česke Včele Františka Kanke. Autor je Fridrikovo ime slavenizirao u Miroslav, a Veronika kao mjesto svog odrastanja opisuje graničarsku utvrdu na hrvatskoj obali Save.

**Stanko Vraz** (1810. – 1851.), iako podrijetlom Štajerac, bio je pjesnik hrvatskog romantizma, potpisivao se kao *Ilir iz Štajerske*. On je Veronikin motiv pretočio u stihove. Njegova balada *Fredrik i Verunika* podijeljena je u tri djela: 1. Sužanka, 2. Vitez Fredrik, 3. Čudni goso, te je objavljena u zbirci balada *Glasi iz dubrave Žeravinske*. Na kraju zbirke Vraz za Veroniku kaže da je prema jednom ljetopiscu, "tada bila poznata pod imenom **Biser Hrvatski**". (kat. br. 5)

<sup>16</sup> Cesarec, Ivan, Rujan, 2013., Veronika Desinička kao književni motiv, Hrvatsko zagorje, časopis za kulturu, 1-2, Krapina,

Sigismund opposed the marriage of Veronika and Frederick due to the suspicious death of Frederick's first wife, Elizabeth, and the social inequality of the couple. This was the logical reason for Hermann's anger, which led him to demolish Friedrichstein to its foundations. Valvasor described Veronika's violent death (drowning in a tub at Ostrovica) as an unjust and vengeful act by Hermann II. It was through the publication of this story in the famous 11<sup>th</sup> book, which reached the broadest public, that the story of Veronika of Desinic found its way into popular memory.<sup>15</sup>

In Croatian cultural space, the first written literary work that speaks about the Counts of Celje and the love of Veronika and Frederick appeared at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Zagreb, where the German-language Upper Town Amade Schaubuhne, also known as the Town Theater, staged *Friedrich Graf von Cilli*, the first part of the tragedy *Die Graffen von Cilli* by Austrian writer Johann Ritter von Kalchberg (1763–1827) in 1811. The play was originally published in Graz from 1790 to 1793.

A bit later, during the Croatian National Revival, writers began to create works in their mother tongue to suppress the omnipresent German language and often drew inspiration from national history. The first to literary adapt the story of Veronika and Frederick in Croatian was **Dragutin Rakovac**, the first curator of the National Museum in Zagreb. For his play *Veronika od Desenic or Lepota vu Medvedgradu*, Rakovac, by his own account, used "true sources" but also elements from folklore legends.<sup>16</sup>

In Gaj's "Danica Ilirska" in 1838, the story "Veronika iz Desenicah" was published in five parts, a translation from the Czech "Včela"

<sup>15</sup> Fugger Germadnik Rolanda, "Counts of Celje Between History and Myth," Celje, 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Cesarec, Ivan, "Veronika of Desinić as a Literary Motif," Croatian Zagorje, Cultural Journal, 1-2, Krapina, September, 2013.

Povjesničar, književnik i političar, **Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski** (1816. – 1889.), pišući o povijesti grada Krapine, opisuje i vrijeme vladavine obitelji Celjski. Između ostalog, za Fridrika II., kneza Celjskog i Zagorskog, Kukuljević piše: “Priča se da je ubio svoju ženu radi ljubavi proti Veroniki iz Desinića, liepoj kćeri uboga plemića, s kojim se spoznao sjedeći u Velikom Taboru i Krapini. Tri godine iza smrti svoje žene, vjenča se on potajno s Veronikom, ali opet iza tri godinah (1428.) dade istu Veroniku Fridrikov otac Herman II., ne bez tajnoga podrivanja kraljice Barbare, svoje kćeri, u tamnicu zatvoriti, te nakon toga u koruškom gradu Ostrovici iz osвете u kupelji utopiti ...”<sup>17</sup>

Književnik i političar **Franjo Žigrović Pretočki** (1814. – 1890.) napisao je 1874. godine tragediju *Veronika Desenić*, u pet činova. Predstava je izvedena dvije godine kasnije u Narodnom zemaljskom kazalištu na Markovom trgu u Zagrebu. Naslovnu ulogu Veronike glumila je poznata dramska umjetnica Marija Ružička Strozzi (1850. – 1937.) Završna scena ove tragedije razlikuje se od drugih pisaca: “... Veronika se na grobu Fridrikove prve žene Elizabete probada nožem.”<sup>18</sup>

Poznata hrvatska pedagoginja i spisateljica, **Marija Jambrišak** (1847. – 1937.), izdala je 1887. godine knjigu *Znamenite žene iz priče i poviesti* (kat. br. 6). U ovu zbirku od 34 priče o znamenitim ženama, Marija Jambrišak uvrstila je i priču o Veroniki Desinićkoj. Autorica je za ovu knjigu dobila nagradu Matice hrvatske.<sup>19</sup>

Popularnosti i širenju priče o Veroniki Desinićkoj pridonio je **Higin Dragošić** (1845. – 1926.), autor historijskog romana u dva dijela: *Crna kraljica* i *Kroz more jada* (kat. br. 28).

17 Standl, Ivan. 1870., Fotografijske slike iz Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije, Zagreb.

18 Cesarec, Ivan. Rujan, 2013., Veronika Desinićka kao književni motiv, Hrvatsko zagorje, časopis za kulturu, 1-2, Krapina.

19 Njezinom je zaslugom otvorena prva državna ženska srednja škola na području tadašnje Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Učiteljica Marija Jambrišak bila je razrednica Ivani Brlić Mažuranić.

by František Kanka. The author translated the name Frederick to Slavic version Miroslav, and Veronika describes her upbringing in a border fortress on the Croatian banks of the Sava River.

**Stanko Vraz** (1810–1851), though originally from Styria, was a poet of Croatian Romanticism and signed his works as *Ilir from Styria*. He transformed the theme of Veronika into verse. His ballad *Fredrik i Veronika* is divided into three parts: 1. The Captive, 2. Knight Frederik, 3. The Strange Guest, and was published in the collection of ballads *Glasi iz dubrave Žeravinske*. At the end of the collection, Vraz describes **Veronika** as “known at that time as the Croatian Pearl,” according to one chronicler. (cat. no. 5)

Historian, writer, and politician **Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski** (1816–1889), while writing about the history of the town of Krapina, also describes the era of the Celjski family’s rule. Among other things, he writes about Frederick II, Duke of Celje and Zagorje: “It is said that he killed his wife for love of Veronika from Desinić, the beautiful daughter of a poor nobleman, whom he met while staying in Veliki Tabor and Krapina. Three years after his wife’s death, he secretly married Veronika, in 1428, Frederick’s father Hermann II, not without the secret urging from Queen Barbara, his daughter, imprisoned Veronika and later, in the Carinthian town of Ostrovica, drowned her in a bath as an act of revenge...”<sup>17</sup>

The writer and politician **Franjo Žigrović Pretočki** (1814–1890) wrote the tragedy *Veronika Desenić* in five acts in 1874. The play was performed two years later at the National Theater on Marko’s square in Zagreb, with the famous dramatic artist Marija Ružička Strozzi (1850–1937) playing the title role. The final scene of this tragedy differs from other writers’ works: “...Veronika stabs herself with

17 Standl, Ivan, “Photographic Images from Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia,” Zagreb, 1870.

Glavni lik romana je okrutna Barbara Celjska, gospodarica Medvedgrada, udovica hrvatsko-ugarskog kralja Žigmunda Luksemburškog te sestra Fridrika II. Celjskog. Opisujući spletke na dvoru grofova Celjskih, autor donosi i priču o nesretnoj sudbini lijepe Veronike Desinićke i njene kćeri Zlate koju je imala s Fridrikom Celjskim. Autor ovog uzbudljivog akcijskog romana nevjerojatnim zapletima i raspletima drži čitatelja u stalnoj napetosti. Budući da je roman izlazio u novinama,<sup>20</sup> trebalo je na taj način, iz broja u broj održavati pozornost publike. Dragošić je pravi majstor u konstrukciji priče, dostojan prethodnik Marije Jurić Zagorke<sup>21</sup>. Poslije je roman doživio još nekoliko knjižnih izdanja (1921., 1953., 1993.).

O javljanju Veronikina duha u Velikom Taboru pisao je **Gjuro Stjepan Deželić** (1838. – 1907.), javni djelatnik, književnik i publicist. U svojoj putopisnoj crtici *Duh Veronike Desinićke*<sup>22</sup> (1890.) Deželić opisuje put do Velikog Tabora i obilazak dvorca u kojem su vidjeli sobu u kojoj je Veronika, navodno, godinama bila zatočena i na kraju utopljena. Žena upravitelja dvorca pričala im je o Veroniki i javljanju njenoga duha, u dvorcu kako se prenosi u tamošnjem puku.

O postojanju narodne predaje o Veroniki Desinićkoj u okolici Velikog Tabora pisao je u *Vien-cu* **dr. Luka Marjanović** (1844. – 1922.), redoviti profesor na Pravoslavnoj akademiji u Zagrebu. Dva je puta bio rektor (1889./1890.) i prorektor zagrebačkog sveučilišta (1890./1891.).<sup>23</sup>

20 Roman je izlazio u nastavcima u novinama Prosvjeta, 1898. i 1899.

21 Nemeč, Krešimir. 1993., *Crna kraljica Higin Dragošića*, u Dragošić, Higin, *Crna kraljica*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.

22 Ova je crtica objavljena u Dragoljubu 1890., tečaj XXVII, 49-57, Zagreb.

23 Godinama je sa svojom obitelji ljetovao u Prišlinu (Hum na Sutli) gdje je prijateljivao s barunom Kavanagh, vlasnikom obližnjeg dvorca Mali Tabor. Njegova kćerka Jelka je bila prijateljica Lucy Kavanagh. Budući da Lucy i njen brat James nisu imali potomstva, Lucy je dvorac Mali Tabor ostavila u nasljedstvo prijateljici Jelki. No, kako ni Jelka nije imala djece dvorac su nasli-

a knife at the grave of Frederick’s first wife, Elizabeth.”<sup>18</sup>

The well-known Croatian educator and writer **Marija Jambrišak** (1847–1937) published the book *Znamenite žene iz priče i poviesti* (Historical and Significant women from the past) (cat. no. 6) in 1887. In this collection of 34 stories about notable women, Marija Jambrišak included the story of Veronika of Desinić. The author received a prize from Matica hrvatska<sup>19</sup> for this book.

**Higin Dragošić** (1845–1926) contributed to the popularity and spread of the story of Veronika of Desinić with his historical novel in two parts: *Crna kraljica* (Black Queen) and *Kroz more jada* (Through the sea of misery) (cat. no. 28). The main character of the novel is the cruel Barbara of Celje, the Lady of Medvedgrad, widow of the Croatian-Hungarian King Sigismund of Luxembourg, and sister of Frederick II of Celje. Describing the intrigues at the court of the Celje counts, the author also recounts the tragic fate of the beautiful Veronika of Desinić and her daughter Zlata, whom she had with Frederick of Celje. This thrilling action novel, with its incredible twists and turns, keeps the reader in constant suspense, as the novel was serialized in newspapers<sup>20</sup> and needed to maintain the audience’s attention from issue to issue. Dragošić is a true master of storytelling, a worthy predecessor of Marija Jurić Zagorka<sup>21</sup>. The novel was later published in several book editions (1921, 1953, 1993).

18 Cesarec, Ivan, “Veronika of Desinić as a Literary Motif,” Croatian Zagorje, Cultural Journal, 1-2, Krapina, September, 2013.

19 Thanks to her efforts, the first state girls’ secondary school in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was established. Teacher Marija Jambrišak was the class teacher of Ivana Brlić Mažuranić.

20 The novel was serialized in the magazine “Prosvjeta” in 1898 and 1899.

21 Nemeč, Krešimir, “The Black Queen by Higin Dragošić,” in Dragošić, Higin, “The Black Queen,” Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1993.

U članku o Velikom Taboru i kapeli sv. Vida, dr. Marjanović je napisao: "Pripovijeda se da je u prvoj polovini 19. vijeka u prezidu jedne dvorane grada Velikoga Tabora nađen nekakav ženski kostur. Odmah se je po tradiciji pomislilo da bi to mogao biti kostur lijepe, ali nesretne Veronike Desiničke, druge žene Fridrika Celjskoga. Ona je umorena po želji svoje zle zaove ugarske kraljice Barbare, a po zapovijedi svekra, grofa Hermana Celjskoga, koji ju nije trpio kao snahu od prostoga roda. To je živa i istorijska istina. Samo se različito pripovijeda kako i gdje je usmrćena. Jedni kažu da je na gradu Ostrovici od bodeža umrla ili u vodi utopljena, drugi da je s grada Wurmberga u Dravu strmoglavljena. Pa zašto ne bi upravo

**Gjuro Stjepan Deželić** (1838–1907), a public figure, writer and publicist, wrote about the appearance of Veronika's ghost in Veliki Tabor. In his travel diary *Duh Veronike Desiničke*<sup>22</sup> (The Ghost of Veronika Desinić (1890), Deželić describes the journey to Veliki Tabor and the tour of the castle where they saw the room in which Veronika was allegedly imprisoned for years and finally drowned. The wife of the castle manager told them about Veronika and the appearance of her ghost in the castle, as passed down among the local people.

**Dr. Luka Marjanović** (1844–1922), who was a full professor at the Law Academy in Zagreb, wrote about the existence of folk traditions related to Veronika of Desinić in the vicinity of



*Veronika Desinička*, kat. br. 24 | *Veronika of Desinić*, Cat. No. 24

treći imali pravo da je naočigled svomu rodnomu mjestu Desiniću živa zazidana bila? Uz pripovijest i pjesma i drama spasiše Veroniku Desiničku od zaborava."<sup>24</sup>

jedili Jelkini nećaci.

24 Marjanović, Luka. 1890., *Veliki Tabor i Sv. Vid pod Vr-*

Veliki Tabor in "Vienac". He was twice a rector (1889/1890)<sup>23</sup> and a vice-rector of the Universi-

22 This travel diary was published in "Dragoljub", XXVII course, Zagreb, 1890, 49-57.

23 For years, he and his family vacationed in Prišlin (Hum na Sutli), where he befriended Baron Kavanagh, the

Prvi roman o tragičnoj ljubavi Veronike i Fridrika objavio je **Hinko pl. Davila** (1858. – 1925.) pod nazivom *Zagorska ruža, pripovijest iz XV. vijeka* (1890.). Roman je prvo izlazio u nastavcima u časopisu "Prosvjeta", a nakon toga krajem iste 1899. godine (kat. br. 23) i 1911., objavljen je kao posebna knjiga u nakladi Antona Šolza. Piščev sin Marcel Davila i Antun Kozina izdali su u Krapini 1966. godine isti roman, ali promijenjena naslova – *Veronika Desinička* (kat. br. 24). Ilustrator naslovnice je bio slikar Josip Brezinašćak.

Roman nije izdan u knjižnom izdanju, već u jedanaest nastavaka/sveščića. *Zagorska ruža* još je dva puta izdana u izdanju F.I.L. arta iz Krapine (2000. i 2023.).<sup>25</sup> Ovaj roman o zabra-

ty of Zagreb (1890/1891).<sup>23</sup> In an article about Veliki Tabor and the chapel of St. Vid, Dr. Marjanović wrote: "It is said that in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a female skeleton was found in the wall of a hall in Veliki Tabor castle. Tradition immediately suggested that this could be the skeleton of the beautiful but unfortunate Veronika of Desinić, the second wife of Frederick of Celje. She was murdered at the request of her wicked sister-in-law, Queen Barbara of Hungary, and on the orders of her father-in-law, Count Hermann of Celje who could not tolerate her as a daughter-in-law due to her lowly origins. This is a living and historical truth. However, the exact method and location of her death are recounted differently. Some say



*Veronika Desinička*, kat. br. 10 | *Veronika of Desinić*, Cat. No. 10

njenoj ljubavi zagorske plemenitašice Veronike iz Desinića i grofa Fridrika Celjskog naišao je

bovcem, Vienac 16, 254., Zagreb.

25 Cesarec, Ivan. 2013., *Veronika Desinička kao književni motiv*, Hrvatsko zagorje, časopis za kulturu, 1-2, Krapina.

she was killed by a dagger or drowned in water at the castle of Ostrovica; others claim she

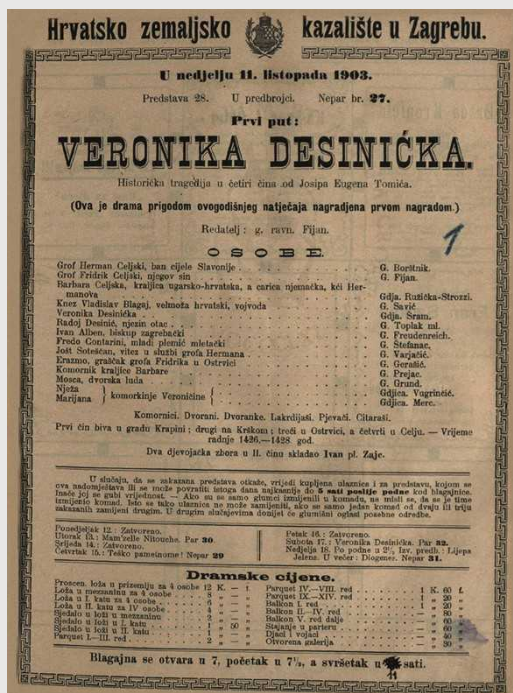
owner of the nearby Mali Tabor castle. His daughter Jelka was a friend of Lucy Kavanagh. Since Lucy and her brother James had no heirs, Lucy left Mali Tabor Castle to her friend Jelka. However, since Jelka had no children, the castle was inherited by Jelka's nephews.

na dobar uspjeh kod čitatelja. Za ovu sentimentalnu povijesnu priču Davila je građu crpio iz različitih povijesnih izvora. Za Veroniku kaže da je bila poznata čitavim Zagorjem po svojoj ljepoti, živjela je podno Velikog Tabora kojim je tada gospodario grof Fridrik Celjski. Prema Davilinu opisu, Veronika je po Hermanovu nalogu ubijena u gradu Ostrovici.

Sliku *Veronika Desinićka* (1901.) naslikao je **Oton Iveković** (1869. – 1939.), slikar rodnom iz obližnjeg Klanjca. Ova je slika (kat. br. 10) jedna od najboljih Ivekovićevih historijskih slika<sup>26</sup> u kojoj je ostvario sjajan spoj između povijesnih likova i ambijenta u kojem je smještena radnja<sup>27</sup>. Slika je slikana u tamnom tonu, prikazuje trenutak kad je stari Herman ulovio

was thrown into the Drava River from Wurmberg castle. So why shouldn't a third theory be correct, that she was buried alive in plain sight of her birthplace Desinić? Through storytelling, song, and drama, Veronika Desinić was saved from oblivion."<sup>24</sup>

The first novel about the tragic love of Veronika and Frederick was published in 1890 by **Hinko Davila** (1858–1925) under the title *Zagorska ruža, pripovijest iz XV. vijeka* (*The Rose of Zagorje, tale from 15<sup>th</sup> century*). The novel was first serialized in the magazine "Prosvjeta," and then later that same year 1899 (cat. no. 23) and in 1911, it was published as a standalone book by Anton Sholz. The author's son, Marcel Davila, and Antun Kozina



Plakat kazališne predstave, kat. br. 36 | Poster of theater performance,, Cat. No. 36

svog sina kod Veronike. Iveković je 1919. kupio Veliki Tabor na dražbi u želji da ga spasi od

26 Ljubo Babić. 1935., Umjetnost u Hrvata, Zagreb.

27 S. Pintarić; Oton Iveković. 2023., Antologijska djela; u: Oton Iveković – retrospektiva, Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Zagreb.

published the same novel in Krapina in 1966 but they changed the title to – “Veronika Desinićka” (cat. no. 24). The cover illustrator was the painter Josip Brezinščak. The novel

24 Marjanović, Luka: “Veliki Tabor and St. Vid under Vrbovec,” Vienac 16, 1890, Zagreb, 254.

propasti. Prodao je obiteljsku kuću u Zagrebu i velik dio svojih slika, te se preselio sa svojom obitelji u Veliki Tabor gdje je proveo sljedećih dvadeset godina. Stari grad je bio njegova stalna inspiracija, ali i stalni izvor financijskih teškoća koje su opterećivale njegov privatni život.<sup>28</sup>

Književnik i prevoditelj, Slavonac, **Josip Eugen Tomić** (Zagreb, 1843.) naslijedio je A. Šenou na mjestu dramaturga Hrvatskoga zemaljskoga kazališta.

Napisao je tragediju *Veronika Desinićka* (1903.) za istoimenu predstavu kojoj je redatelj bio Andrija Fijan, (ujedno je glumio i Fridrika), dok je muziku napisao Ivan pl. Zajc. U predstavi je glumio i Đuro Prejac (igrao je ulogu komornika). *Narodne novine* od 9. listopada 1903. posvetile su mnogo prostora najavi ove predstave. Tomićeva tragedija izdana je 1904. (kat. br. 25), 1943. (kat. br. 26.) i 1999. godine.

Naš ugledni povjesničar, konzervator i muzeolog, **prof. Gjuro Szabo** (1875. – 1943.), objavio je 1911. godine *Izvještaj o radu zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje spomenika* u kojem detaljno opisuje i sredovječni grad Veliki Tabor. Štoviše, Szabo nam donosi još jednu vrijednu informaciju: “Tradicija tvrdi da je tu u odaji na drugom spratu svršila život Veronika Desinićka... Odaja je smještena u prikropini između okrugle kule H i ulaznog dijela. U prizemlje te prikropine ne može se ući...”. Dopunjen, ovaj izvještaj iz 1911. u osnovi je “najvažnijeg djela hrvatske burgologije”<sup>29</sup> kojeg je Szabo objavio 1920. pod naslovom *Sredovječni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*.

28 S. Pintarić; Oton Iveković. 1994., Slike i crteži iz Velikog Tabora i okolice, Galerija Ulrich, Zagreb.

29 Žmegač, Andrej. 2006., Najvažnije djelo hrvatske burgologije, u Szabo, Gj. Sredovječni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb.

was not published in book form but rather in eleven booklets.

“Zagorska ruža” was reissued twice by F.I.L. art from Krapina (2000 and 2023).<sup>25</sup> This novel about the forbidden love between the noblewoman Veronika from Desinić and Count Frederick of Celje was well received by readers. For this sentimental historical story, Davila drew material from various historical sources. He describes Veronika as being well-known throughout Zagorje for her beauty, living beneath Veliki Tabor, which was then governed by Count Frederick Celjski. According to Davila’s account, Veronika was killed at the command of Hermann in the town of Ostrovica.

The painting “Veronika Desinićka” (1901) was created by **Oton Iveković** (1869-1939), a painter from the nearby Klanjec. This painting (cat. no. 10) is one of Iveković’s finest historical works,<sup>26</sup> where he achieved a brilliant blend of historical figures and the ambiance in which the story is set.<sup>27</sup> The artwork is painted in dark tones, depicting the moment when the old Hermann caught his son with Veronika. In 1919, Iveković purchased Veliki Tabor at an auction, wishing to save it from ruin. He sold his family house in Zagreb and a large part of his paintings, relocating with his family to Veliki Tabor, where he spent the next twenty years. The old castle was a constant source of inspiration for him, but also a continuous source of financial difficulties that burdened his personal life.<sup>28</sup>

The writer and translator, Slavonian **Josip Eugen Tomić** (1843 – Zagreb) succeeded August Šenoa as the playwright of the Croatian National Theatre. He wrote the tragedy

25 Cesarec, Ivan, “Veronika of Desinić as a Literary Motif,” Croatian Zagorje, Cultural Journal, 1-2, Krapina, 2013.

26 Ljubo Babić, “Art of Croats,” Zagreb, 1935.

27 S. Pintarić; “Oton Iveković – Anthological Works; in: Oton Iveković – Retrospective,” Klovićevi Dvori Gallery, Zagreb, 2023.

28 S. Pintarić, “Oton Iveković, Paintings and Drawings from Veliki Tabor and the Surrounding Area,” Ulrich Gallery, Zagreb, 1994.



Veronika Desinićka, kat. br. 35 | Veronika of Desinić, Cat. No. 35

Viktor Kučinić<sup>30</sup> (1892. – 1958) objavio je serijal o Veroniki Desinićkoj u 32 nastavka lista *Novosti*, a kasnije je izdao i posebnu knjigu pod naslovom *Veronika Desinićka* (kat. br. 27). Naslovnicu ove knjige s crtežom Veronike Desinićke, kao i nekoliko ilustracija u samoj knjizi, izradio je hrvatski slikar **Marijan Trepše** (1897. – 1964.)<sup>31</sup>.

U svojoj knjizi Kučinić iznosi najnovija otkrića o Veronikinu porijeklu citirajući E. Laszowskog kako je Veronika Desinićka zapravo šleska kneginja Veronika von Teschen. No, u istom članku Kučinić iznosi i stav slovenskog književnika, dr. A. Novačana, koji opovrgava ovu njegovu tezu i tvrdi da je Veronika ipak Hrvatica ....

<sup>30</sup> Završio je limarski zanat i postao vlasnikom limarske radionice "Maruzzi".

<sup>31</sup> Trepše, Marijan, hrvatski slikar, grafičar i scenograf (Zagreb, 25. III. 1897. – Zagreb, 4. X. 1964.), jedan je od najznačajnijih hrvatskih umjetnika između dva svjetska rata.

*Veronika Desinićka* (1903) for the eponymous play directed by Andrija Fijan (who also played Frederick), with music composed by Ivan Zajc. The cast included Đuro Prejac (who played the role of the chamberlain). The newspaper "Narodne novine" on October 9, 1903, dedicated ample space to the announcement of this performance. Tomić's tragedy was published in 1904 (cat. no. 25), again in 1943 (cat. no. 26), and in 1999.

Our respectable historian, conservator, and museologist **prof. Gjuro Szabo** (1875–1943) published a report in 1911 detailing *The work of the provincial commission for the preservation of monuments*, which describes the medieval town of Veliki Tabor. Moreover, Szabo provides another valuable piece of information: "Tradition claims that Veronika of Desinić ended her life in a room on the second floor... The room is located in the annex between the round tower H and the entrance section. One cannot enter the ground floor of that annex...". This Report



Umorstvo Veronike, kat. br. 38 | The Murder of Veronika, Cat. No. 38

I u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća, legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj bila je često zastupljena u visokotiražnim dnevnim (*Večernji list*<sup>32</sup>, *Vjesnik*) i tjednim novinama (*Arena*, *Vikend*).

Krapinski muzealac i publicist, **Antun Kozina**, objavio je 1978. godine u *Muzejskom vjesniku*, glasilu muzeja sjeverozapadne Hrvatske, tekst pod naslovom *Najsačuvanija "turistička" legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*. U ovom je tekstu Kozina zabilježio više verzija ove legende. Prema prvoj verziji Veronika je ubijena u dvorcu Ostrovica u Sloveniji, prema drugoj verziji Veroniku su "radi strastvene ljubavi s Fridrikom Celjskim, u kuli Velikog Tabora uzidali i radi toga nastaju sve veće pukotine, a da će se Veronika osloboditi kad grad bude porušen." Prema trećoj verziji, kako navodi Kozina, Fridrikov otac ukleo je Veroniku

<sup>32</sup> U *Večernjem listu* je objavljen tekst Ivana Žabarića: *Veronika Desinićka i grofovi Celjski*, objavljen 31. 7. 1974., str. 21. Tekst je ilustrirao crtežom Veronike, umjetnik Fedor Vajić, hrvatski grafičar (1910 – 1987). Diplomirao 1932. na Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

from 1911, amended, essentially became "the most important work of Croatian burgology,"<sup>29</sup> which Szabo published in 1920 under the title *Sredovječni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (*Medieval Towns in Croatia and Slavonia*).

**Viktor Kučinić**<sup>30</sup> (1892–1958) published a series about Veronika of Desinić in 32 booklets in the newspaper *Novosti*, and later issued a special book titled "Veronika Desinićka" (cat. no. 27). The cover of this book, featuring a drawing of Veronika Desinićka along with several illustrations in the book itself, was created by Croatian painter **Marijan Trepše** (1897–1964).<sup>31</sup>

In his book, Kučinić presents the latest dis-

<sup>29</sup> Žmegač, Andrej, "The Most Important Work of Croatian Burgology," in Szabo, Gj., \*Medieval Towns in Croatia and Slavonia,\* Zagreb, 2006.

<sup>30</sup> He completed only a tinsmith's trade and became the owner of the "Maruzzi" tinsmith workshop.

<sup>31</sup> Trepše, Marijan, Croatian painter, graphic artist, and set designer (Zagreb, March 25, 1897 – Zagreb, October 4, 1964). He was one of the most significant Croatian artists between the two world wars.



Lubanja, kat. br. 39 | Skull, Cat. No. 39

i zato se ona u obliku zmije skriva u Velikom Taboru. Tko će nju u zmijskoj podobi uhvatiti i u čelo poljubiti, oslobodit će je prokletstva i ponovno pretvoriti u lijepu djevojku.”

U dnevnom listu *Vjesnik*, od 3. ožujka 1991., **Miroslava Jandrić** objavila je tekst *Veronika Desinićka – hrvatska Ivanka Orleanska*, kojim najavljuje novu seriju iz produkcije Hrvatske televizije. Redatelj TV novele bio je Milivoj Puhlovski, scenarij je napisao Petar Šarčević, glazbu je skladao Zdravko Šljivac. Veroniku je glumila Suzana Nikolić, a Fridrika Velimir Čokljat. Scenografija nije bila potrebna. Ova je TV-novela (kat. br. 46) snimljena u Velikom Taboru.<sup>33</sup>

Posljednjih dvadesetak godina 20. stoljeća gradom Veliki Tabor upravljala je udruga “Društvo Veliki Tabor” na čelu s predsjednikom Josipom Štimcem. Prema njegovim navodima: “Prilikom čišćenja dvorca 1982.

<sup>33</sup> Zahvaljujem mr. sc. Ivanu Cesarcu na pomoći pri davanju članka u *Vjesniku*.

coveries about Veronika’s origins, quoting E. Laszowski that Veronika Desinićka was actually the Silesian duchess Veronika von Teschen. However, in the same article, Kučinić also presents the opinion of Slovenian writer Dr. A. Novčan, who refutes this thesis and claims that Veronika was indeed a Croat...

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the legend of Veronika of Desinić was frequently featured in high-circulation daily (*Večernji list*<sup>32</sup>, *Vjesnik*) and weekly newspapers (*Arena*, *Vikend*).

Krapina museum curator and publicist, Antun Kozina, published in 1978 in the *Museum Gazette*, the journal of the museum of north-west Croatia, a text titled *The Best-Preserved “Tourist” Legend of Veronika of Desinić*. In this

<sup>32</sup> An article by Ivan Žabarić titled “Veronika Desinićka and the Counts of Celje” was published in *Večernji list\** on July 31, 1974, p. 21. The article was illustrated by a drawing of Veronika by Fedor Vajčić, a Croatian graphic artist (1910–1987), who graduated in 1932 from the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb.

godine, u južnoj kuli Velikog Tabora, među ruševinama, otkrivena je lubanja (kat. br. 39), za koju je naknadno utvrđeno da je ženskog roda”. Lubanju je Štimac izložio u kapeli, u niši zida sa sugestivnom natpisom: “Veronika Desinićka?!”

Priča o Veroniki Desinićkoj uvrštena je i u suvremena izdanja zbirke legendi: *Priče ispod Ivančice i Medvednice*, **Željka Bajze**, 1996. godine (kat. br. 47), *Sto najljepših legendi iz hrvatske prošlosti*, **Tomislava Đurića** (1996.) i *Hrvatske legende*, **Hrvoja Hitreca**, 2007. godine.<sup>34</sup>

Legenda o Veroniki uprizorena je kao folklorni balet u izvođenju ansambla narodnih plesova i pjesama Hrvatske LADO (2007.) (kat. br. 29). Skladatelj je bio Davor Bobić, a koreograf Dinko Bogdanić. Folklorni balet s

text, Kozina recorded several versions of this legend. According to the first version, Veronika was killed in Ostrovica Castle in Slovenia, while according to the second version, Veronika was walled up in the tower of Veliki Tabor due to her passionate love affair with Frederick of Celje, causing cracks to appear, and she would only be freed when the city was demolished. In the third version, as Kozina notes, Frederick’s father cursed Veronika, and thus she hides in Veliki Tabor in the form of a snake. Whoever catches her in the form of a snake and kisses her on the forehead will free her from the curse and turn her back into a beautiful girl.

In the daily newspaper *Vjesnik*, on March 3, 1991, Miroslava Jandrić published the text *Veronika of Desinić – Croatian Joan of Arc*, an-



Veronika, folklorni balet, kat. br. 37 | Veronika, Folk Ballet, Cat. No. 37

<sup>34</sup> Zbirku legendi Ž. Bajze ilustrirala je akademska slikarica Nada Žiljak, dok je zbirku H. Hitreca ilustrirao Dušan Gačić, autor stripova, crtač i animator.

nouncing a new series by Croatian Television productions. The director of the TV novel was

pjevanjem, zamišljen u pet slika (Proštenje, Elizabetina smrt, Vjenčanje, Pogubljenje i Oproštaj), donosi priču utemeljenu na mješavini povijesnih činjenica i hrvatske legende o zabranjenoj ljubavi plemića i mlade pučanke, ljubavi s tragičnim svršetkom koja i danas živi u kolektivnoj svijesti stanovnika sjeverozapadne Hrvatske.<sup>35</sup>

Legende o Veroniki Desinićkoj dotaknuo se i Drago Miletić u svom djelu **Plemićki gradovi kontinentalne Hrvatske** (2012.). On smatra da Veronika nije mogla biti zazidana u Veliki Tabor, jer je njegova gradnja započela pola stoljeća nakon Veronikine smrti i izumrća roda Celjskih. No, u međuvremenu, u proteklih dvadesetak godina provedena su brojna arheološka i konzervatorska istraživanja na samom Taboru, ali i lokalitetima u neposrednoj blizini (kapela sv. Ivana u Ivaniću Miljanskom), te su uvelike produbljene spoznaje o prošlosti ovog značajnog kompleksa i dovedene u pitanje Miletićeve konstatacije. Prema spomenutim arheološkim i konzervatorskim istraživanjima, dvokatni Palas, budućeg velikotaborskog kompleksa, izgrađen je upravo u vrijeme Fridrika II. Celjskog.<sup>36</sup>

Tijekom konzervatorskih radova, koje su stručnjaci iz Odjela za kamen, Hrvatskog restauratorskog zavoda izvodili 2012. na kamenim dijelovima arhitekture Velikog Tabora, u kamenom dovratniku na ulazu u spojno krilo (krilo koje spaja sjeverni ulazni dio i središnji dio, kasnogotički palas) pronašli su dva pramena kose. U jednom se otvoru nalazio pramen svijetlosmeđe kose (kat. br. 40), a u drugom otvoru pramen tamnosmeđe kose (kat. br. 41). Vijest o otkriću ovih nalaza u brojnim medijima je povezana s legendom o Veroniki Desinićkoj.<sup>37</sup>

35 Folklorni ansambl Lado, 2006., Veronika, (kat. br. 24.)

36 O tome je opširnu analizu u svojim tekstovima dao Ivan Srša u: *Tajanstvena gotika, Veliki Tabor i kapela sv. Ivana*, Muzeji Hrvatskog zagorja, 2012.; Krešimir Regan *Srednjovjekovne i renesansne utvrde Hrvatskog zagorja*, Kajkaviana, 2017.

37 Uzorak kose i uzorak lubanje dani su 2012. godine na

Milivoj Puhlovski, the script was written by Petar Šarčević, and the music was composed by Zdravko Šljivac. Suzana Nikolić played Veronika, and Velimir Čokljat played Frederick.

The TV novel (cat. no. 46) was filmed at Veliki Tabor therefore scenography was not needed.<sup>33</sup>

For the past twenty years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the “Veliki Tabor Society” association led by President Josip Štimac organised the cleanup of the castle of Veliki Tabor. According to his statements: “During the cleaning of the castle in 1982, in the southern tower of Veliki Tabor, among the ruins, a skull was discovered (cat. no. 39), which was later determined to be female.” Štimac exhibited the skull in the chapel, in a niche in the wall with a suggestive inscription: Veronika of Desinić?!

The story of Veronika of Desinić has been included in contemporary editions of collections of legends: *Priče ispod Ivančice i Medvednice* by Željko Bajza 1996 (cat. no. 47), *Sto najljepših legendi iz hrvatske prošlosti* by Tomislav Đurić 1996, and *Hrvatske legende* by Hrvoje Hitrec 2007.<sup>34</sup>

The legend of Veronika has been staged as a folk ballet performed by the Ensemble of Folk Dances and Songs of Croatia, LADO, in 2007 (cat. no 29). The composer was Davor Bobić, and the choreographer was Dinko Bogdanić. The folk ballet, envisioned in five scenes (Repentance, Elizabeth’s Death, Wedding, Execution, and Farewell), tells a story based on a mixture of historical facts and Croatian legend about a forbidden love between a nobleman and a young commoner, a tragic love story that still lives on in the collective consciousness of the residents of northwestern Croatia.<sup>35</sup>

33 I extend my gratitude to Mr. Sc. Ivan Cesarec for assisting with dating the article in “Vjesnik”.

34 The collection of legends by Ž. Bajza was illustrated by the academic painter Nada Žiljak, while the collection by H. Hitrec was illustrated by Dušan Gačić, a comic artist, illustrator, and animator.

35 “Veronika”, Folklore Ensemble Lado, 2006 (catalog no.

Hrvatska radiotelevizija je 2014. predstavila dokumentarno-igrani film autora Davora Borića i Ljiljane Šišmanović, *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*, sniman u Sloveniji i Hrvatskoj, kao još jedan pokušaj traganja za istinom, koji polazi od tvrdnje Umberta Ecca da je “istina, nažalost, nigdje ponekad”, ali da je potreba za pričanjem priča vječna i sveprisutna, osobito kada se radi o ljubavnoj priči koja nadahnjuje već stoljećima, a živa usmena predaja ne dopušta da se zaboravi postojanje žene o kojoj povijest malo zna. Njezina tragična priča pobijedila je zaborav vremena i postala *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*.<sup>38</sup>

Drago Miletić also touched upon the legend of Veronika of Desinić in his work **Plemićki gradovi kontinentalne Hrvatske** (2012). He argues that Veronika could not have been walled up in Veliki Tabor since its construction began half a century after her death and the extinction of the Celje family. However, in the past twenty years, numerous archaeological and conservation studies have been conducted at Tabor and its immediate surroundings (the chapel of St. John in Ivanić Miljanski), this significantly deepens the understanding of the history of the area and Miletić’s assertions. According to these archaeological and conservation studies, the two-storey palace of the future Veliki



Tavola, kat. br. 42 | Tavola, Cat. No. 42

istraživanje u Institut Ruder Bošković, gdje je izvršena C-14 analiza. Prema njihovom izvještaju o rezultatima mjerenja, kalibrirana starost uzorka kose može se smjestiti u vremenski okvir između 1658. – 1805. (uz vjerojatnost 57 %), odnosno starost uzorka lubanje u period između 1652. – 1802., što znači da se ovi nalazi (uz vjerojatnost 57 %) ne bi mogli datirati u razdoblje 15. stoljeća kada je živjela Veronika Desinićka

38 [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)

Tabor complex was built during the time of Frederick II of Celje.<sup>36</sup>

24).

36 Ivan Srša provided an extensive analysis in his articles: “Mysterious Gothic, Veliki Tabor, and the Chapel of St. John,” Museums of Croatian Zagorje, 2012; Krešimir Regan: “Medieval and Renaissance Fortresses of Cro-

Jedini ženski lik koji je tijekom konzervatorskih istraživanja Velikog Tabora 1996. godine otkriven uzidan u zidu peterokutnog palasa jest žensko poprsje ucrtano u podnu ploču od opeke. (kat. br. 42). Na opeki su urezani i znakovi koje jedni tumače kao brojke (1550), a drugi kao slova (ISSU)<sup>39</sup>.

Prof. Darko Periša s Hrvatskog katoličkog sveučilišta pretpostavlja da bi se ženski lik na opeci mogao povezati s Veronikom Desinićkom, odnosno da je nepoznati autor, inspiriran Veronikinom tragedijom, njezin lik nacrtao na opeci i ugradio u zid Palasa. Brojke 1550, urezane kraj ženskog lika, Periša tumači kao slova (ISSU (ili O)) i pretpostavlja da bi se ova slova mogla protumačiti kao skraćeno i nevjesto napisano Isusovo ime u dativu, odnosno molitveno zazivanje i upućivanje nepravedno i nevino ubijene Veronike Isusu. Periša upozorava na postojanje još jedne opeke s ucrtanim ženskim likom koja se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu<sup>40</sup> i koju je vjerojatno prilikom obilaska Velikog Tabora otkrio Gj. Szabo te odnio u Zagreb u tadašnji Arheološko-historički odjel Narodnog muzeja.



Mini mljekara Veronika iz Desinića, logotip | Veronika Mini Dairy from Desinić, logo

During conservation work carried out by experts from the Stone Department of the Croatian Restoration Institute in 2012 on the stone parts of Veliki Tabor's architecture, two strands of hair were found in the stone doorframe at the entrance to the adjoining wing (which connects the northern entrance section and the central part, the late Gothic palace). One opening contained a strand of light brown hair (cat. no. 40), while the other had a strand of dark brown hair (cat. no. 41). News of this discovery was linked to the legend of Veronika of Desinić in numerous media outlets.<sup>37</sup>

In 2014, Croatian Radio Television presented a documentary-drama film by Davor Borić and Ljiljana Šišmanović, *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*, filmed in Slovenia and Croatia, as another attempt to search for the truth, starting from Umberto Eco's assertion that "truth, unfortunately, is sometimes nowhere," but the need to tell stories is eternal and ubiquitous, especially when it comes to a love story that has inspired for centuries, and the living oral tradition does not allow the existence of the woman about whom history knows little of, to be forgotten. Her tragic story has triumphed

atian Zagorje," Kajakviana, 2017.

<sup>37</sup> In 2012, a hair sample and a skull sample were sent for analysis to the Ruđer Bošković Institute, where a C-14 analysis was performed. According to their report on the measurement results, the calibrated age of the hair sample could be placed within the time frame between 1658–1805 (with a 57% probability), while the age of the skull samples is dated between 1652–1802, meaning that these findings (with a 57% probability) could not be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century when Veronika of Desinić lived.

<sup>39</sup> Ova je opeka bila ugrađena na trećem katu velikotaborskog palasa, na ulazu za unošenje žita u žitnicu.

<sup>40</sup> Periša, Darko. 2023., Neautentična antička figurina iz Livna i osvrt na neke neautentične nalaze u antičkoj arheologiji, Marinov zbornik, Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište, Zagreb.

Priča o Veroniki i Fridriku glavna je tema lutkarske predstave *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj* koju u dvoru Veliki Tabor izvodi muzejsko lutkarsko kazalište "loculatori" za naše najmlađe posjetitelje od 2006. godine.

Promociji *brenda Veronika* pridonijela je i istoimena mini mljekara iz Desinića, koja svojim kvalitetnim mliječnim proizvodima već više od dvadeset godina promovira *Legendu o Veroniki Desinićkoj* diljem Hrvatske (od Zagreba do Rijeke, Splita i Karlovca)<sup>41</sup>.

Za sve posjetitelje našeg muzeja osmišljena je i izvedena 3D projekcija *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*. Ovim videomappingom koji se projicira na arhitekturu dvorca oživljavaju se zidine staroga grada, čime se za posjetitelje stvara jedinstveni doživljaj živopisnog sadržaja legende<sup>42</sup> (kat. br. 44).

Još jednu literarnu verziju dobila je ljubavna priča o Veroniki u romanu **Jadranke Ivandić Zimić** pod nazivom *Dvije Veronike* (2020.). Autorica je u romanu ispreplela dvije ljubavne priče koje povezuju slične sudbine glavnih junakinja, iako se jedna radnja odvija prije gotovo šesto godina, a druga je suvremena i opisuje Zagrepčanku koja se u mladosti zaljubila u oženjena muškarca.

Posljednja u nizu kazališnih predstava koje tematiziraju legendu o Veroniki izvedena je pod nazivom **Črne noći** u izvedbi Boss teatra u Velikom Taboru krajem 2023.

<sup>41</sup> [www.veronika.hr](http://www.veronika.hr)

<sup>42</sup> Ovaj 3D videomapping izveden je u okviru projekta Living castles, Mreža živih dvoraca, kao oblik održivog turizma za očuvanje i promicanje kulturnog nasljeđa koji je financiran iz Europskog fonda za regionalni razvoj u okviru Programa suradnje Interreg V-A Slovenija – Hrvatska 2014. – 2020. 3D videomapping je izveden uz tehnički potporu tvrtke Pando pad iz Samobora.

over the forgetfulness of time and become the Legend of Veronika of Desinić.<sup>38</sup>

The only female figure discovered during the conservation research at Veliki Tabor in 1996, embedded in the wall of the pentagonal palace, is a female bust engraved in a brick floor slab (cat. no. 42). On the brick, there are also signs interpreted by some as numbers (1550) and by others as letters (ISSU)<sup>39</sup>. Prof. Darko Periša from the Croatian Catholic University suggests that the female figure on the brick could be linked to Veronika of Desinić, implying that an unknown author, inspired by Veronika's tragedy, drew her figure on the brick and embedded it in the palace wall. The numbers 1550 engraved near the female figure are interpreted by Periša as letters (ISSU or O), which he theorizes could be a poorly written and abbreviated form of Jesus' name in the dative case, a prayerful invocation directing the unjustly and innocently slain Veronika to Jesus. Periša also points out the existence of another brick with an engraved female figure preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb<sup>40</sup>, likely discovered during a visit to Veliki Tabor by Gjuro Szabo, who took it to Zagreb to the then Archaeological-Historical Department of the National Museum.

The story of Veronika and Frederick is the main theme of the puppet show *Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj*, performed at Veliki Tabor by the museum puppet theater "loculatori" for our youngest visitors since 2006.

The brand promotion of Veronika has also been supported by a mini dairy farm of the same name from Desinić, which has been promoting the Legend of Veronika of Desinić throughout Croatia with its quality dairy

<sup>38</sup> [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com)

<sup>39</sup> This brick was embedded on the third floor of the Veliki Tabor palace, at the entrance for grain storage.

<sup>40</sup> Periša, Darko, "Unauthentic Ancient Figurine from Livno and Reflection on Some Unauthentic Finds in Ancient Archaeology," Marinov zbornik, Croatian Catholic University, Zagreb, 2023.



**Festivalski trofej, kat. br. 30 | Festival Trophy, Cat. No. 30**

Već dvadeset dvije godine u Velikom Taboru se održava festival kratkometražnog filma – **Tabor Film Festival**<sup>43</sup>. Najbolji filmovi svih ovih godina nagrađivani su festivalskim trofejem *Veronikina lubanja* (kat. br. 30). Izmijenilo se nekoliko likovnih verzija nagrade *Veronikina lubanja*. Uz snažnu medijsku promociju samog festivala, organizatori su proteklih godina snažno promovirali i Veliki Tabor, a time i Legendu o Veroniki Desiničkoj.

products for over twenty years (from Zagreb to Rijeka, Split, and Karlovac).<sup>41</sup>

A 3D projection titled *Legenda o Veroniki Desiničkoj* has been created for all visitors to our museum. This video mapping, projected onto the castle's architecture, brings the walls of the old town to life, creating a unique experience of the vivid content of the legend for visitors.<sup>42</sup> (cat. no. 34)

Another literary version of the love story of Veronika appears in the novel *Dvije Veronike* (2020) by **Jadranka Ivandić Zimić**. The author weaves together two love stories that connect similar fates of the main female characters,

<sup>43</sup> [www.taborfilmfestival.com](http://www.taborfilmfestival.com): Tabor Film Festival pokrenut je na inicijativu Građanske udruge za kulturu Gokul koja ga je organizirala do 18. festivalskog izdanja 2020. godine, nakon čega vodstvo preuzima kreativna produkcija SABMARINE, a od 2023. godine, glavni organizator postaje Obnomika d.o.o. Partneri Festivala su Hrvatski audiovizualni centar, Muzeji Hrvatskog zagorja, Krapinsko-zagorska županija, Općina Desinić i dr.

<sup>41</sup> [www.veronika.hr](http://www.veronika.hr)

<sup>42</sup> This 3D videomapping was executed as part of the Living Castles project, a network of living castles, as a form of sustainable tourism for the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, funded by the European Regional Development Fund within the Interreg V-A Slovenia – Croatia 2014–2020 Cooperation Program. The 3D videomapping was carried out with the technical support of Pando pad from Samobor.

U želji da kod novih, mladih generacija potaknemo i razvijemo interes za ovaj nematerijalni dio naše kulturne baštine pokrenuli smo **likovni natječaj** za prikupljanje dječjih likovnih radova na temu *Legende o Veroniki Desiničkoj*. Odazivom velikog broja djece iz brojnih osnovnih škola iz Hrvatske nastali su fascinantni dječji radovi inspirirani ovom usmenom predajom (kat. br. 34).

even though one story takes place nearly six hundred years ago, while the other is contemporary and describes a Zagreb woman who fell in love with a married man in her youth.

The latest theatrical performance themed around the legend of Veronika was titled **Črne noći**, produced by Boss Theatre at Veliki Tabor at the end of 2023.

For the past twenty-two years, the Veliki Tabor has hosted **the Tabor Film Festival**<sup>43</sup>, which celebrates short films. The best films over the years have been awarded the festival trophy “Veronika’s Skull”. (cat. no. 30). Several artistic versions of the “Veronika’s Skull” award have changed over time. Alongside robust media promotion of the festival itself, the organizers have strongly promoted Veliki Tabor and thus the Legend of Veronika of Desinić in recent years.

In a desire to inspire and develop interest in this intangible part of our cultural heritage among new, young generations, we launched an art competition to gather children’s artworks on the theme of the Legend of Veronika of Desinić. The enthusiastic response from numerous children from various elementary schools in Croatia resulted in fascinating children’s artworks inspired by this oral tradition (cat. no. 34).

<sup>43</sup> [www.taborfilmfestival.com](http://www.taborfilmfestival.com): Tabor Film Festival was initiated by the Civic Association for Culture Gokul, which organized it until the 18th edition of the festival in 2020, after which the creative production SABMARINE took over the leadership, and from 2023, the main organizer became Obnomika d.o.o. The festival partners include the Croatian Audiovisual Centre, Museums of Croatian Zagorje, Krapina-Zagorje County, Desinić Municipality, and others.

## KATALOŠKI POPIS IZLOŽAKA

1. **Isprava** kojom kralj Sigismund Luksemburški potvrđuje svoju raniju darovnicu od 17. kolovoza 1397. kojom je Hermanu Celjskom poklonio burgove Vinicu i Vrbovec (3. 8. 1405.). Tom je darovnicom započelo stvaranje zagorskog kneštva u vlasništvu obitelji Celjski. Izvornik ove replike čuva se u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu (HR-HDA-25. Ugarska dvorska komora. Hrvatske plemićke obitelji i vlastelinstva; fasc. 1599, no. 44)
2. **Cesargrad i Königsberg**, Vischer, G. M., Topographia Ducatus Stiriae, 1681., fotografija grafike
3. **Veronika Desinićka**, J. R. Kalchberg, Die Graffen von Cilli, Pokrajinski muzej Celje, fotografija grafike
4. **J. V. Valvasor**, Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain XI, 1689., preisak iz 1877., Kajkaviana
5. **Děla Stanka Vraza**, 1863., DVT – 2241
6. **Marija Jambrišak**, Znamenite žene iz priče i poviesti, 1887., DVT – 2231
7. **Ivanić Miljanski**, kapela sv. Ivana, fotografija zidne slike Veronikin rubac, sred. 15. st.
8. **Ivanić Miljanski**, kapela sv. Ivana, fotografija zidne slike Herodova gozba, sredina 15. st.
9. **Celjski grad**, Vischer, G. M., Topographia Ducatus Stiriae, 1681., fotografija grafike
10. **Oton Iveković**, Veronika Desinićka, HPM/PMH inv. br. 17801, fotografija slike
11. **Ulomak zdjelice**, lokalitet Veliki Tabor, Valencija majolika, Lusto Valenziano Maturo grupa, sredina 15. st., DVT – 1845
12. **Ulomak čaše** tipa Celje, lokalitet Veliki Tabor, 15. st., DVT – 4745
13. **Ulomak čaše** tipa Celje, lokalitet Veliki Tabor, 15. st., DVT – 4744
14. **Ulomak pećnjaka**, 15. st., DVT – 4742
15. **Keramička posuda s uskim otvorom**, lokalitet Veliki Tabor, oslikana crvenim slikanim ukrasom, 15. st., DVT – 1769
16. **Ulomci tanjura iz starog grada Vrbovca**, majolika prva desetina 15. st., DVT – 1643
17. **Pećnjak s perforiranom prednjom pločom**, lokalitet Stari grad Vrbovec, 15. st., DVT – 1437

## CATALOG LIST OF EXHIBITS

1. **Document** in which King Sigismund of Luxembourg confirms his earlier grant dated August 17, 1397, by which he gifted the castles of Vinica and Vrbovec to Herman of Celje (August 3, 1405). This grant marked the beginning of the creation of the Zagorje Principality under the ownership of the House of Celje. The original of this replica is preserved in the Croatian State Archives (HR-HDA-25. Hungarian Court Chamber. Croatian Noble Families and Estates; fasc. 1599, no. 44).
2. **Cesargrad and Königsberg**, photograph of the engraving from: Vischer, G. M., "Topographia Ducatus Stiriae", 1681.
3. **Veronika of Desinić**, photograph of the engraving from J. R. Kalchberg, "Die Graffen von Cilli", Regional Museum of Celje
4. **J. V. Valvasor**, Die Ehre des Herzogthums Krain XI, 1689, Reprint iz 1877?, Kajkaviana
5. **Works of Stanko Vraz**, 1863, DVT – 2241
6. **Marija Jambrišak**, Historical and Significant women from the past, 1887, DVT – 2231
7. **Ivanić Miljanski**, Chapel of St. John, Photograph of the wall painting "Veronica's Veil", Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century
8. **Ivanić Miljanski**, Chapel of St. John, Photograph of the wall painting "The Feast of Herod", Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century
9. **Celje Castle**, photograph of the engraving from Vischer, G. M., "Topographia Ducatus Stiriae", 1681
10. **Oton Iveković**, Veronica of Desinić, photograph of the painting, (HPM/PMH inv. no. 17801)
11. **Fragment of a Bowl**, Site: Veliki Tabor, Valencija, Majolica, Lusto Valenziano Maturo group, Mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1845
12. **Fragment of a Glass**, Celje Type, Site: Veliki Tabor, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 4745
13. **Fragment of a Glass**, Celje Type, Site: Veliki Tabor, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT - 4744
14. **Fragment of a Stove Tile**, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 4742
15. **Ceramic Vessel with a Narrow Opening**, Site: Veliki Tabor, Decorated with red painted ornamentation, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1769
16. **Fragments of a Plate from the Old Town of Vrbovec**, Majolica, First decade of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1643

18. **Pećnjak s lovačkom scenom**, lokalitet Stari grad Vrbovec, 15. st., DVT – 1638
19. **Glazirana figura konjanika**, lokalitet Stari grad Krapina, 15. st., Pučko otvoreno učilište – Galerija grada Krapine
20. **Ulomci keramičkog vrča/boce**, lokalitet Stari grad Krapina, prva polovica 15. st., Pučko otvoreno učilište – Galerija grada Krapine
21. **Ulomak majoličkog vrča**, lokalitet Stari grad Krapina, 15. st., Pučko otvoreno učilište – Galerija grada Krapine
22. **Mali lonac**, lokalitet Stari grad Krapina, 14. – 15. st., Pučko otvoreno učilište – Galerija grada Krapine
23. **Hinko pl. Davila**, Zagorska ruža, 1899., Kajkaviana, kb. 453
24. **Hinko pl. Davila**, Veronika Desinićka, 1966., vlasnik Dragutin Kozina
25. **Josip Eugen Tomić**, Veronika Desinićka, 1904., DVT – 2234
26. **Josip Eugen Tomić**, Veronika Desinićka, 1943., privatno vlasništvo
27. **Viktor Kučinić**, Veronika Desinićka, 1939., DVT – 2236
28. **Higin Dragošić**, Crna kraljica, 1993., privatno vlasništvo
29. **LADO**, ansambl narodnih plesova i pjesama Hrvatske, Veronika, 2006.
30. **Festivalski trofej – Veronikina lubanja**, dodjeljivan pobjednicima na Tabor Film Festivalu, vlasnik: Nenad Borovčak
31. **Promotivni materijali Tabor Film Festivala**, vlasnik: Nenad Borovčak
32. **Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj**, Ivana Škiljan, 2007., Muzejsko edukativna i nagradna igra Iznenađenje, Veronika Desinićka – plemkinja, seljanka ili čarobnica?, MHZ – Dvor Veliki Tabor,
33. **Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj**, Nadica Jagarčec, 2014., Povezanost materijalne i nematerijalne baštine, MHZ – Dvor Veliki Tabor.
34. **Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj**, Nadica Jagarčec; Danijela Maček, 2015., Zbornik dječjih likovnih radova, MHZ – Dvor Veliki Tabor.

17. **Stove Tile with a Perforated Front Panel**, Site: Old Town of Vrbovec, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1437
18. **Stove Tile with a Hunting Scene**, Site: Old Town of Vrbovec, 15<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1638
19. **Glazed Figure of a Horseman**, Site: Old Town of Krapina, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Public Open University – Gallery of the Town of Krapina
20. **Fragments of a Ceramic Jug/Bottle**, Site: Old Town of Krapina. First half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Public Open University – Gallery of the Town of Krapina
21. **Shard of a Majolica Jug**, Site: Old Town of Krapina, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Public Open University – Gallery of the Town of Krapina
22. **Small Pot**, Site: Old Town of Krapina, 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century, Public Open University – Gallery of the Town of Krapina
23. **Hinko Davila**, "Zagorska ruža" (Zagorje Rose), 1899, Kajkaviana, Kb 453
24. **Hinko Davila**, Veronika of Desinić, 1966, Private collection of Dragutin Kozina
25. **Josip Eugen Tomić**, Veronika of Desinić, 1904, DVT – 2234
26. **Josip Eugen Tomić**, Veronika of Desinić, 1943, Private Collection
27. **Viktor Kučinić**, Veronika of Desinić, 1939, DVT – 2236
28. **Higin Dragošić**, "Crna kraljica" (The Black Queen), 1993
29. **LADO**, Ensemble of Croatian Folk Dances and Songs, Veronika, 2006
30. **Festival Trophy – Veronika's Skull**, Awarded to winners at the Tabor Film Festival, Private Collection: Nenad Borovčak
31. **Promotional Materials** for the Tabor Film Festival, Private Collection: Nenad Borovčak
32. **Legend of Veronika of Desinić**, Museum Educational and Prize Game "Surprise: Veronika of Desinić – Noblewoman, Peasant, or Witch?", Ivana Škiljan, MHZ – Veliki Tabor Castle, 2007
33. **Legend of Veronika of Desinić**, "Connecting Tangible and Intangible Heritage", Nadica Jagarčec, MHZ – Veliki Tabor Castle, 2014

35. **Veronika Desinićka**, 1939., Kučinić, V., Veronika Desinićka, fotografija crteža Marijana Trepše.
36. **Plakat kazališne predstave Veronika Desinićka**, *Josipa Eugena Tomića*, 1903., Zavoda za povijest hrvatske književnosti, kazališta i glazbe HAZU.
37. **Veronika**, folklorni balet s pjevanjem u izvođenju ansambla Lado, Fotografija iz promotivne publikacije folklornog baleta Veronika, 2007.
38. **Umorstvo Veronike**, 1939., Kučinić, V., Veronika Desinićka, fotografija crteža Marijana Trepše.
39. **Lubanja**, sred. 17. – poč. 19.st., DVT – 1952
40. **Kosa**, sred. 17. – poč. 19.st., DVT – 2226
41. **Kosa**, sred. 17. – poč. 19.st., DVT - 2227
42. **Tavola**, 1550.(?), DVT – 51
43. **Pećnjak**, 15. st. (?), rekonstruirani pećnjak s prikazom sirene, ribe Faronike (?)
44. **Legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj**, 3D videomapping projekcija realizirana je u sklopu projekta Mreža "živih" dvoraca kao oblik održivog turizma za očuvanje i promicanje kulturnog nasljeđa/*Living Castles*, u sklopu Programa suradnje Interreg V-A Slovenija – Hrvatska 2014. – 2020. financiranog iz Europskog fonda za regionalni razvoj. Izradu projektorskog sustava, sadržaja za projekciju te završno podešavanje cjelokupnog sustava u prostoru dvorca izvela je tvrtka Pando pad d.o.o.
45. **Kako je Veronika spasila Veliki Tabor**, Dečman, R.; Jagarčec, N., 2016., Tragom Veronike Desinićke, fotografija crteža, ilustratorica K. Halužan.
46. **Veronika Desinićka**, TV-novela Hrvatske televizije, 1991.
47. **Priče ispod Medvednice i Ivančice**, Željko Bajza, 1996.
34. **Legend of Veronika of Desinić**, Collection of Children's Artworks, Nadica Jagarčec, Danijela Maček, MHZ – Veliki Tabor Castle, 2015
35. **Veronika of Desinić**, Photograph of a drawing by Marijan Trepše from "Kučinić, V., Veronika of Desinić", 1939
36. **Poster of Veronika Desinićka's theater performance** by Josip Eugen Tomić, Institute of Croatian Literature, Theatre, and Music History, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), 1903.
37. **Veronika**, Folk Ballet with Singing Performed by the Ensemble Lado, Photograph from the promotional publication of the folk ballet "Veronika", 2007
38. **The Murder of Veronika**, Photograph of a drawing by Marijan Trepše from "Kučinić, V., Veronika Desinićka", 1939
39. **Skull**, Mid-17<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 1952
40. **Hair**, Mid-17<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 2226
41. **Hair**, Mid-17<sup>th</sup> – early 19<sup>th</sup> century, DVT – 2227
42. **Tavola**, 1550(?), DVT – 51
43. **Stove Tile**, 15<sup>th</sup> century (?), reconstructed tile depicting a mermaid, the fish Faronika(?)
44. **Legend of Veronika of Desinić**. 3D video mapping projection realized as part of the "Living Castles" network project, a form of sustainable tourism for the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage / LIVING CASTLES, within the Interreg V-A Slovenia – Croatia 2014–2020 Cooperation Program, funded by the European Regional Development Fund. The projector system, content for projection, and final adjustments of the entire system in the castle were executed by the company Pando pad d.o.o.
45. **How Veronika saved Veliki Tabor**, Photograph of a drawing by illustrator K. Halužan, From Dečman, R., Jagarčec, N., "In the Footsteps of Veronika of Desinić", 2016
46. **Veronika of Desinić**, Croatian television, TV-novel, 1991
47. **Stories from Beneath Medvednica and Ivančica**, Željko Bajza, 1996.

## LITERATURA

- Babić, Lj., 1935., Umjetnost u Hrvata, Zagreb.
- Bajza, Ž., 1996., Priče ispod Medvednice i Ivančice, Belošević, S. – Gornjostubički, 1926., Županija Varaždinska i slob. kralj. grad Varaždin, Varaždin.
- Cesarec, I., 1996., Tri i pol stoljeća hrvatskokajkavske dramske i scenske riječi, u *Kajkaviana Croatica: Hrvatska kajkavska riječ*, Zagreb.
- Cesarec, I., rujna, 2013., Veronika Desinićka kao književni motiv, *Hrvatsko zagorje, časopis za kulturu*, 1-2, Krapina.
- Davila pl. H., 1899., Zagorska ruža, pripovijest iz XV. Vijeka, Zagreb,
- Fugger Germadnik, R., 2013., Grofje Celjski med zgodovino in mitom, Celje.
- Fugger Germadnik, R., 2014., Grofje in knezi Celjski, Pokrajinski muzej Celje.
- Hitrec, H., *Hrvatske legende*, 2007.
- Jembrih, A., 2010., Franjo Žigrović Pretočki hrvatski političar, pjesnik i dramski prevoditelj, u *Franjo Žigrović Pretočki – Zbornik radova*, Muzej Sveti Ivan Zelina.
- Klaić, N., 1982., Zadnji knezi Celjski v deželah sv. krone, Celje.
- Klobčar, M., 2017., Skrita pričevanja o potresu leta 1348. v slovenskih deželah, *Studia mythologica Slavica*, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje.
- Kozina, A., 1978., Najsačuvanija "turistička" legenda o Veroniki Desinićkoj, u *Muzejski vjesnik, glasilo muzeja SZ Hrvatske*
- Kučinić, V., 1939., Veronika Desinićka, Zagreb.
- Laszowski, E., 1938., Novi podaci za hrvatsku povijest, Podrijetlo Veronike Desinićke, u *Hrvatsko kolo*.
- Marjanović, L., 1890., Veliki Tabor i sv. Vid pod Vrbovcem, *Vijenac 16*, Zagreb,
- Nemec, K., 1993., Crna kraljica Higin Dragošića, u *Dragošić, Higin, Crna kraljica*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.
- Periša, D., 2023., Neautentična antička figurina iz Livna i osvrt na neke neautentične nalaze u antičkoj arheologiji, *Marinov zbornik, Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište*, Zagreb.

## REFERENCES

- Babić, Lj., *Art of Croats*, Zagreb, 1935.
- Bajza, Ž., *Stories from Beneath Medvednica and Ivančica*, 1996.
- Belošević, S.–Gornjostubički, *Varaždin County and the Free Kingdom of Varaždin, Varaždin*, 1926.
- Cesarec, I., *Three and a Half Centuries of Croatian Kajkavian Drama and Theatre*, in *Kajkaviana Croatica: Croatian Kajkavian Words*, Zagreb, 1996.
- Cesarec, I., *Veronika of Desinić as a Literary Motif, Croatian Zagorje, Journal of Culture*, 1-2, Krapina, September 2013.
- Davila H., *Zagorje Rose: A Tale from the 15th Century*, Zagreb, 1899.
- Fugger Germadnik, R., *The Counts of Celje Between History and Myth*, Celje, 2013.
- Fugger Germadnik, R., *The Counts and Duches of Celje, Pokrajinski Muzej Celje*, 2014.
- Hitrec, H., *Croatian Legends*, 2007.
- Jembrih, A., *Franjo Žigrović Pretočki: Croatian Politician, Poet, and Dramatic Translator*, in *Franjo Žigrović Pretočki Collection of Works*, Muzej Sveti Ivan Zelina, 2010.
- Klaić, N., *The Last Duches of Celje in the Lands of the Holy Crown, Celje*, 1982.
- Klobčar, M., *Hidden stories of the 1348 Earthquake in Slovenian Lands*, "Studia mythologica Slavica", Scientific Research Center of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, 2017.
- Kozina, A., "The Best-Preserved "Tourist" Legend of Veronika of Desinić", in "Muzejski vjesnik", *Journal of the Museums of Northern Croatia*, 1978.
- Kučinić, V., "Veronika of Desinić", Zagreb, 1939.
- Laszowski, E., "New Data for Croatian History: The Origin of Veronika of Desinić", in "Hrvatsko kolo", 1938.
- Marjanović, L., "Veliki Tabor and St. Vitus beneath Vrbovec", "Vijenac 16", Zagreb, 1890.
- Nemec, K., "The Black Queen by Higin Dragošić", in "Dragošić, Higin, The Black Queen", Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1993.
- Periša, D., "Unauthentic Ancient Figurine from Livno and a Review of Some Unauthentic Finds in Ancient Archaeology", "Marinov Zbornik", *Croatian Catholic University*, Zagreb, 2023.

- Pintarić, S., 1994., Oton Iveković, Slike i crteži iz Velikog Tabora i okolice, Galerija Ulrich, Zagreb.
- Regan, Krešimir, 2017., Srednjovjekovne i renesansne utvrde Hrvatskog zagorja, Kajkaviana.
- Srša, I., 2009., Imaju li zidne slike u crkvi sv. Ivana u Ivaniću Miljanskom i skriveno značenje, Kaj, XLII, 1-2, Zagreb.
- Srša, I., rujan 2013., Muzički intervali u arhitekturi kasnogotičke kapele sv. Ivana u Ivaniću Miljanskom, THEORIA, XV, broj 15,
- Stančić, N., 1985., Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790. – 1848., Zagreb,
- Standl, I., 1870., Fotografijske slike iz Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije, Zagreb.
- Škoberne, Ž., 1986., Viktor Kučinić, Zagreb.
- Tomić, J. E., 1904., Veronika Desinička,
- Tucovič, V., 2006., Motiv ribe Faronike v slovenski književnosti in likovni umetnosti 20. stoletja, Traditiones, 35/1.
- Valvasor, J. W., Die Ehre des Herzogthumus Krein, Ljubljana/Nurnberg, 1689.
- Vraz, S., 1861., Dela Stanka Vraza,
- Žmegač, A., 2006., Najvažnije djelo hrvatske burgologije, u Szabo, Gj. Sredovječni gradovi u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, Zagreb.
- Žmigavec, M. D., 1935., Veronika Desinička.
- Pintarić, S., Oton Iveković: Paintings and Drawings from Veliki Tabor and Its Surroundings, Galerija Ulrich, Zagreb, 1994.
- Regan, Krešimir, Medieval and Renaissance Fortifications of Croatian Zagorje, Kajkaviana, 2017.
- Srša, I., "Do the Wall Paintings in the Church of St. John in Ivanić Miljanski Have Hidden Meanings?", "Kaj, XLII", Zagreb, 1-2, 2009.
- Srša, I., "Musical Intervals in the Architecture of the Late Gothic Chapel of St. John in Ivanić Miljanski", "THEORIA, XV", No. 15, September 2013.
- Stančić, N., The Croatian National Revival 1790–1848, Zagreb, 1985.
- Standl, I., Photographic Images from Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, Zagreb, 1870.
- Škoberne, Ž., Viktor Kučinić, Zagreb, 1986.
- Tomić, J.E., Veronika of Desinić, 1904.
- Tucovič, V., The Motif of the Fish Faronika in Slovenian Literature and Visual Arts of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, "Traditiones", 35/1, 2006.
- Valvasor, J. W., "Die Ehre des Herzogthumus Krein", Ljubljana/Nurnberg, 1689.
- Vraz, S., Works of Stanko Vraz, 1861.
- Žmegač, A., The Most Important Work of Croatian Burgology, in Szabo, Gj. Medieval Cities in Croatia and Slavonia, Zagreb, 2006.
- Žmigavec, M. D., Veronika of Desinić, 1935.

