

**Religious Representations on Stove Tiles  
from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary**

by  
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## Acknowledgements

I once wrote an email presenting my work to someone and I accidentally ended by presenting myself not as a Romanian student researching medieval stove tiles, but, simply as “the Romanian stove tile.” Besides the normal embarrassment and laughs with my friends about it, I realized that the statement does in fact reflect both my deep involvement in the topic of my research and the significant number of women specialists in this field. But I am not complaining; stove tiles are fun. They are pieces of a larger puzzle, riddles that require detailed and passionate detective work. At the same time they open lines of research to fascinating topics such as medieval sex positions, alchemical iconography, magic and apotropaic beliefs, elements of costume, armor, and weapons, the history of folly, etc. I also fell in love with the tiles aesthetically, some of them decorated with charmingly ugly or, at times, very talented drawings. They inspired me in my own paintings, but I decided not to make the dissertation too personal, and I did not include a separate appendix with my own artistic interpretations.

It was difficult to work with publications in so many languages. I had to read (and find friends to help with translations from) German, Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak, Croatian, Slovenian, English, and French. This was also an argument for my choosing a general synthetic view of the collected material. The creation of a Microsoft Access database also posed a series of technical difficulties, and I still have to find resources in order to make it searchable online and to create a much needed open and interactive source on stove tiles, since the existing studies are spread among so many national historiographies.

I must acknowledge the vital role of several travel and research grants from the CEU. I thus had the opportunity to present tile-related work during various international conferences, receiving useful feedback; I was able to deepen my research during a one-month stay at the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in Krems/Donau, Austria (through the Doctoral Research Support Grant, September 2006), and I could search tile collections of museums or bibliography on tiles in libraries in Budapest, Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Zvolen, Klaštorisko, Cluj-Napoca, Târgu Mureș, and Ljubljana. The staff of the Medieval Studies Department gave me their vote of confidence by awarding me the Tanasa Fund (January-April 2006), and the CEU supported my final efforts through the Doctoral Writing-Up Grant (January-April 2009). The more personal acknowledgements go to people who helped me in various ways. As supervisors and examples of academic research, I want to thank Prof. József Laszlovszky, Prof. Gerhard Jaritz, Adrian Andrei Rusu,

Michal Slivka, Marta Mácelová, Edit Kocsis, and David Gaimster. They were also helpful in allowing me access to rare publications from their personal libraries and in making valuable bibliographic suggestions. Mladen Radić obligingly sent me materials dealing with stove tiles from Croatia. Martin Homza helped with the Klaštorsko material and was always available for my targeted Slovak-related enquires, as did Jan Zachar. Zoltán Soós was so obliging to let me study unpublished tiles from his own excavations. Several friends and colleagues help with my spelling in and translation of title from Slovak and Croatian (Zuzana Orságová, Stanislava Kuzmova, and Lovro Kunčević). It was also very helpful to see how stove tiles are actually made and I want to thank Mrs. Nicoleta Stoica from Teracota Mediaș (Romania) and Mr. Marko Auguštin from Pečarstvo Auguštin, Suhadole, Komenda (Slovenia) for sharing the secrets of their trade with me.

I am grateful to Judith Rasson for her minute observations and corrections; to Lojze Kalinšek who supported and helped me along the way, accompanying me to museums, libraries, and tile producers; to my friend Patricia Nedelea who lent me her apartment so that I could write the dissertation in peace, amidst my beloved and much hated piles of papers. My parents paid for most of my doctoral research years and I want to give them in return my gratitude and a reason to be proud(er) of their daughter – “the Romanian stove tile.”

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## Introduction

Material culture has and still is being used not only for functional purposes but also serves to express social, ethnic, religious, and general cultural identity and preferences. As preeminent decorative and visual elements of late medieval interiors, tile stoves were very suitable for carrying such representative values. Being serial products, created in molds and often copied and re-copied, tiles have been considered as the first mass-distributed images, prints before prints. By the end of the Middle Ages they were used in all types of interiors, from castles and palaces, manor houses and monasteries to the homes of burghers and even peasants. This study, focusing on fourteenth- to sixteenth-century tiles from medieval Hungary with religious representations, aims at discovering the inner mechanisms of tile production, use, and reception. It uses a two-fold approach. Both the transmission of motifs on tiles and the possible functions of such representations in their contexts of use constitute the red threads of research. Despite the fact that medieval stove tiles have been discovered in large numbers in Hungary, there is still no general perspective on how these items were produced, copied, and displayed; what made people prefer tiles decorated with certain motifs and what the functions of these images were is unknown. Attempting to formulate the answers to such questions, I will employ a specific interdisciplinary methodology dictated by the nature of the source material.

I started working with stove tiles in 2003, with my MA thesis, which made a comparison among the depictions of knightly saints on tiles from three neighboring but very different regions of the late medieval period: Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia. For the past seven years I have gathered and analyzed the tiles selected for the present research, but have occasionally dealt with more marginal types of representations. There is a great deal to write about tiles bearing depictions of demons, fools, alchemy, sex, magic, wives beating their husbands, or sirens holding up their two fish-tails. But only a large and homogenous group of tiles, discovered over a large enough area and properly provenienced, can provide insight into the intricate economic, social, religious, cultural, and symbolic mechanisms that regulate the production and use of such material culture objects. That is why my main efforts were dedicated to the study of religious tiles.

This is the first time that a catalogue recording tiles from the entire medieval Kingdom of Hungary has been compiled and analyzed. The research is also new in its focus on the religious tiles from the region and in the visual and cultural approach. It contributes to the English terminology of the topic, since most research on stove tiles has been done in German or in the numerous national languages in the regions with medieval stove tile use.

## Terminology

There is, as yet, no unified English terminology for stove tiles. This is, of course, due to the fact that they were typical mainly for German-speaking areas of Europe; the most developed terminology is in German. Considering also the numerous other languages in which specialists write about the topic (Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Croatian, Slovenian, Polish, etc.), an international English set of specialized terms is needed. I have partially fashioned some terms, others I have accepted from the writings of David Gaimster,<sup>1</sup> the only native speaker dealing with the topic; I translated the terms related to copying from German, from the seminal writings of Judit Tamási.<sup>2</sup>

The basic analysis unit and the unit of each catalogue entry termed for convenience as “one stove tile” actually refers to any number of fragments or identical tiles discovered on the same site. I have chosen this working term because the number of minimum (and maximum) identical tiles reconstructable from the same site is often not available, due either to the incomplete state of publication of the items or to the work in progress on large lots of materials. When such information is known, it is indicated in the catalogue, and if relevant, in the main text as well. Usually, the existence of one single tile or fragment is known; sometimes the preserved fragments can be said to have belonged to a few identical tiles; in very rare cases archaeologists describe up to 16 identical tiles discovered on the same site. Such sites with large number of tiles are discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 1 presents the evolution of stoves and tiles, elaborating on essential terminological distinctions related to tile shape, decoration, and copying. The terms “religious tiles” and “tiles decorated with religious motifs” are used interchangeably for the sake of simplicity. The main selection criterion is the iconography of the tiles and not their context of discovery. Some items were indeed found in monasteries or even churches, and they will receive special attention, but I analyze tiles decorated with saints, the Virgin, Christ, Old Testament motifs, religious inscriptions, and religious symbols from all types of contexts. I have left out of the analysis small fragments, too small to positively consider as depicting religious scenes. The numerous rosettes and roses could have been allusions to the rosary, and therefore to the Marian cult. Despite the use of rosaries in the devotional practices of the later Middle Ages, there is no evidence that representations on tiles can be connected to them. Indeed, many of the popular devotional themes can also be found on tiles: the Madonna, Mary adoring the child Christ, Anna Triá, Christ carrying the cross, the Crucifixion, or the Man of Sorrows.<sup>3</sup> Related to the representations on tiles created under the impact of the Reformation, I have excluded

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<sup>1</sup> Some are explained, in the context of their Finnish equivalents, in the glossary of *Pots and Princes*, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Tamási, 1995.

<sup>3</sup> van Os, 1994, chapter 4, “Devotional themes.”

those not depicting religious scenes, even if they are portraits of important figures that supported the new ideas. Although not included in the catalogue, such relevant cases will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The analysis envisages stove tiles found on the territory of medieval Hungary. The chronological framework, however, extends from the fourteenth century to 1600 and it would be difficult to track all the territorial changes in the entire period, especially those of the sixteenth century, which included the Turkish conquests, the territorial divisions of 1541, the transformation of Transylvania into an autonomous principality, and so on. I therefore use broad geographical divisions, such as Central Hungary (approximately present-day Hungary with the western parts of present-day Romania), Northern Hungary (for present-day Slovakia), Transylvania (one of the most clearly defined medieval provinces of Hungary), and Slavonia (those parts of continental present-day Croatia once included in the Kingdom of Hungary, excluding Dalmatia). The structure of the catalogue and analysis follow these divisions. I refer to them as provinces, although their unity and structure varied over this time span. I use “Kingdom of Hungary” or simply “Hungary” for the entire area under discussion.

Throughout the work I use place names in their present-day form. Correspondences (in Hungarian, German, Romanian, Slovak, and Latin) are provided in Appendix 3. As for people’s names, I try to use standard, English equivalents whenever possible. The different variants of proper names are also given in the appendix. In calculating the approximate distances traveled by certain motifs on tiles I have used the distances indicated by modern maps.

### **Chronology**

The lower limit of my chronological framework is a natural one, overlapping the production of the first decorated stove tiles. Such decorations, including the religious ones, appeared in the fourteenth century. The great flourishing period in the production and use of medieval stove tiles was the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. I also wanted to observe the possible changes triggered in this field of iconography by the Reformation, so my upper chronological limit is the end of the sixteenth century. The seventeenth century marked a drastic stylistic change in stove tile iconography, with a new taste for vegetal, geometric, and the so-called “wallpaper” motifs that continued on neighboring tiles.

In most cases tiles cannot be dated very precisely. When they contain inscriptions with dates, such elements can only be used tentatively. They are in general *post quem* elements of dating, considering that tiles were being copied (including their inscriptions of years) even a century after the creation of the original. On the other hand, one cannot exclude the possibility that certain motifs were added, such as inscribed borders or incised inscriptions, long after their creation, so the date is posterior

to the first creation of the motif. Other, safer, dating elements depend on the archaeological context of discovery (in the best of cases tiles are discovered as part of collapsed stoves or in archaeological layers that can be dated with coins or other objects). Usually, tiles are discovered in secondary contexts, such as refuse pits or as stray finds, which makes dating less exact. It has been noted that sometimes tiles are used in the dating of archaeological contexts, and not the other way around, which leads to confusions and circular arguments. In general, tiles are dated to intervals ranging from 50 to 100 years but their "life span" must have been shorter (see Chapter 1). One must keep in mind that in the absence of written evidence for the creation of certain tiles and the erection of certain stoves, their dating must be established according to a series of combined elements: the archaeological context of discovery, inscriptions of years on them, the dating of their analogies, their style, iconography, and technical characteristics.

Considering these difficulties, in most cases I accepted the dating provided by the archaeological publications and reports, since it would have been impossible to go through the details of such reports for all the sites. In special cases I mention in my text the debates over the dating of certain lots, such as that focusing on the tiles produced for the royal palace of Buda in the middle to second half of the fifteenth century. I also mention my corrections of previous dating when the discovery of new analogies has imposed such corrections.

### **Source material**

According to the present state of the discovery and publication of stove tiles, my catalogue comprises 389 entries of tiles with religious representations from fourteenth to sixteenth century Hungary. Considering also the available data on the actual number of tiles that can be reconstructed on the base of discovered fragments, I discuss here a group of over 650 individual items. Most are entire tiles or tile fragments, but the group also includes eight molds, seven made of clay and one, exceptionally, made of stone. According to the marks sometimes preserved on the front panels of tiles, one knows that the most popular were the positive molds made of wood in which the negative molds made of clay were pressed, but none of these have been preserved. Still, positive clay molds have also been discovered elsewhere.

The catalogue data is mainly gathered from stove tile catalogues, articles, exhibition catalogues, archaeological reports, and online databases, notably that of the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems (<http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc>). In some cases, the catalogue entries make reference to old publications, with bad quality reproduction and

few technical data. When they were the only source, I refer to the little information they provide and to the elements visible in the published images.

I have also been granted access to several stove tile collections in Romania (Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei Cluj-Napoca, Muzeul Județean Aiud, Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie Târgu Mureș), Slovakia (Stredoslovenské múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, Slovenské Banské múzeum Banská Stiavnica, Kláštorisko), and Hungary (Budapesti Történeti Múzeum). I inspected personally less than 10% of the tiles included in the catalogue, but there were numerous cases when the close inspection of tile fragments reportedly depicting a religious scene have proven too small or too worn-out for positive identification and I excluded them from the present analysis.

I have attempted, to the best of my knowledge and within the limits of accessibility, to compile an exhaustive catalogue. There must be more tiles fitting my criteria that lie unpublished in museum collections throughout the region, but I believe they are not too numerous. Some large groups of tiles are also incompletely published and in the process of being inventoried and processed (sometimes for decades), notably those from Banská Bystrica, Kláštorisko, and Bistrița. I hope all the relevant tiles from the first two lots are, through the permission of the respective archaeologists, included here. What is still unknown is the number of fragments from each tile type and motif and the reconstructed stoves that they were once part of. I believe though, after numerous conversations with archaeologists, museum employees, and tile specialists, that my catalogue includes the great majority of tiles with religious representations discovered so far in Hungary.

In general, I omitted fragments too small for positive identification. In some cases though, the preserved details have good analogies on other tiles, so their identification was based on such resemblances with related tiles and will be discussed in the text.

### **Research questions and methodology**

The selected stove tile material has a number of characteristics; most often the composition of the stoves they were part of is unknown; their physical properties (composition of clay and glaze) are often unknown, so there is no way of knowing the exact relations between tiles and their place of production. Detailed research on specific lots of tiles, those discovered together as collapsed stoves, will certainly reveal more about the composition and functioning of medieval stoves in Hungary. Physical and chemical analyses on large samples from tiles and clay deposits (such as neutron activation analyses<sup>4</sup> and 3D measuring<sup>5</sup>) will eventually identify production sites and exact copying

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<sup>4</sup> Already attempted for the study of stove tiles from England and Buda, see Gaimster, 2001 and Holl, 1995. Holl's publications were based on the studies of György Duma.

relations between similar items. At the present state of research, however, the collected material is best suited for iconographic analysis and inter-disciplinary methods such as the interpretation of distribution patterns – the geographic distribution of tiles, especially directly related ones, their social, ethnic, religious, and chronological distributions.

My working hypothesis is that image mattered, in the sense that the representations on stove tiles did influence their popularity, production, distribution and use. In order to test this idea I have introduced a control group, looking at the similarities and the differences in the distribution of each category. For the control group I selected tiles decorated with the so-called knight in tournament. The reasons behind this choice lay in the fact that these tiles form a unitary and fairly well researched group, and their knightly iconography is likely to have fulfilled different functions than the religious representations.

If the differences in distribution are significant between the two groups, then further questions arise: Why were tiles with certain representations more popular than others? What were the functions of such images, according to their context of use? How were motifs copied and transmitted? What is the relation between text and image on religious stove tiles? How can these tiles be interpreted in the context of the popular cults and devotion in different geographic units and among the different social and even ethnic groups of medieval Hungary? How do the tiles with religious representations reflect the spread of the Reformation in sixteenth-century Hungary?

The iconographic analysis of the source material starts with the identification of scenes and the correction of previous identifications, continues with the analysis of frequency and distribution of each motif, and then to the identification of directly related tiles. Based on the iconography, dimensions, and dating alone one can only establish the original-copy-imitation status of each object hypothetically within groups of tiles decorated with the same motif. Only the physical and chemical analysis and the close inspection of the tiles in question can clarify the details of copying mechanisms, but until then this research brings contributions to the identification of copy groups, indicating the potential candidates for further testing and comparison. After placing the tiles in their various contexts according to the available data (archaeological, social, religious, ethnic, chronological, geographical, and neighboring tiles in the composition of stoves), the analysis sets out to determine their possible functions. Can the preferences for certain tiles, in certain areas, by certain people, be interpreted as sources for popular religion, representative and propaganda practices, domestic protective magic, or domestic instruction in things religious?

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<sup>5</sup> Majantie, 2005.

These questions are addressed in more detail in specific case-study chapters. Besides the group analysis, some motifs are researched into more detail, since they are more relevant for the issues addressed here. I chose to focus more on the groups of tiles decorated with the image of St. George (by far the most popular saint on tiles) and on those bearing the representations of the Holy Kings of Hungary (Ladislas, Stephen and Emeric, the “national” saints of the country). Two more case-study chapters deal with the relation between image and text, focusing on the religious tiles that have inscriptions or empty text bands and open books, and on the impact of the Reformation on stove tile iconography.

### **State of the art**

For the territory under discussion, only Northern Hungary and Transylvania benefit from systematic catalogues of medieval and early modern stove tiles (Egyház-Jurovská, 1993; Marcu Istrate, 2004), and even these works are incomplete and imprecise. A very concise work presenting old stove tiles from Hungary (Holl, Voit, 1963) was unfortunately not followed by a more substantial catalogue. Nevertheless, the main author, the first to dedicate extensive articles to stove tiles from Hungary since 1958, presented a series of nine studies under the title “Medieval Stove Tiles from Hungary.”<sup>6</sup> Imre Holl was the first to establish a typology of tile shapes and motifs, starting from the large lot discovered among the ruins of the royal palace in Buda. Consistent and thorough, but sometimes contradictory, the cycle had limited goals and does not compensate for the lack of a catalogue. Other attempts are very limited in their chronology and geographical criteria, such as Anna Gyuricza’s book on Renaissance tiles from northeastern Hungary.<sup>7</sup> The catalogue of Mónika Kémenes, of very good quality, is limited to a part of the Szekler region in southeast Transylvania.<sup>8</sup> Folk stoves and tiles have been thoroughly researched by Tibor Sabján, but his chronological framework does not intersect that of the present research.<sup>9</sup> The volume edited by Peter Havassy focusing on tile from the area of the Hungarian Plane offers a good summary of the research problem and is particularly important for the vernacular usage of the tiles.<sup>10</sup> Judith Tamási’s research on related tiles from Buda and Switzerland marked a major step in the research of tile motif distribution and spread.<sup>11</sup>

In order to create a comprehensive catalogue including tiles from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century and all of medieval Hungary I had to complete and bring up to date the information contained

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<sup>6</sup> Holl, 1958, 1971, 1983, 1990, 1993, 1998b, 1999, 2001, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Gyuricza, 1992.

<sup>8</sup> Kémenes, 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Sabján, 1991.

<sup>10</sup> Havassy, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Tamási, 1995.

in the above mentioned works. The numerous additions come from contributions by archaeologists such as Imre Holl, Štefan Holčík, Jozef Hoššo, Marta Mácelová, and Michal Slivka (all publishing tiles from present-day Slovakia), Judit Tamási, Péter Boldizsár, and Tibor Sabján (focusing on tiles from Hungary), and Elek Benkő, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Horst Klusch (for Transylvania). Other tiles have been published in monographs (dedicated to sites rich in stove tile material such as Cristuru Secuiesc,<sup>12</sup> Visegrád,<sup>13</sup> Diósgyőr,<sup>14</sup> and Ružica<sup>15</sup>), exhibition catalogues (*A gótikától a habanokig* [From Gothic to Haban Ceramics], in Sárospatak on tiles from Abaúj, Sáros, and Zemplén counties;<sup>16</sup> *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi* in Zagreb with tiles from Nova Ves),<sup>17</sup> and collective works (such as *Pots and Princes*, 2007 and *Kachlice v Karpatoch*, 2005).

The first catalogue of tiles from the “homeland” of tiles (Germany, Austria, and Switzerland), written by Konrad Strauss, was published in 1966, but the most important book on tile stoves in Europe, still cited today, is that by Rosemarie Franz printed in 1969. She analyzes the development of stoves, tiles, and motifs, identifies sources of inspiration, and uses both written evidence and comparative data from the field of decorative arts in general.

Other catalogues are available for specific areas of Europe: England, Scandinavia, the Baltic,<sup>18</sup> Silesia,<sup>19</sup> Switzerland,<sup>20</sup> Bohemia,<sup>21</sup> Moldavia,<sup>22</sup> and Poland.<sup>23</sup> Despite the rising interest in medieval stove tiles, little has been published from certain areas. For Walachia, for example, there is only an unpublished doctoral dissertation,<sup>24</sup> and little has been published about the tiles from present-day Austria.<sup>25</sup>

From a general perspective, data on stove tiles is spread in a multitude of publications in numerous languages, sometimes in obscure archaeological reports. A great advance in the research on the topic would be achieved with the implementation of an English on-line, free-access, and open-to-contributions database. The first attempts to bring together specialists from different fields of study working with stove tiles have been made through thematic conferences. One should mention the Slovak

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<sup>12</sup> Benkő, Ughy, 1984.

<sup>13</sup> Kocsis, Sabján, 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Radić, Bojčić, 2004.

<sup>16</sup> Dankó, 1996.

<sup>17</sup> Mašic, 2002.

<sup>18</sup> Gaimster, 1990; *Pots and Princes*, 2007; Gaimster, 2001; Gaimster, 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Dymek, 1995.

<sup>20</sup> Tauber, 1980; Roth, Buschor, Gutscher, 1994.

<sup>21</sup> Richterová, 1982; Hazlbauer, 1998; Brych, 2004.

<sup>22</sup> Batariuc, 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Dąbrowska, 1987; Gruszczyńska, Targorńska, 1994.

<sup>24</sup> Rădulescu, 2000.

<sup>25</sup> Strauss, 1966; Krenn, 2000.

conference in 2002, entitled *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch* (with the homonym volume published in 2005), and the Transylvanian conferences in 2006 (*Stove Tiles from Transylvania*) and 2008 (*Medieval Heating Systems and their Auxiliaries*), which remain unpublished.

## Structure

The dissertation is organized in nine chapters, plus introduction, conclusions, bibliography, and four appendices. The first chapter contains a general presentation of stove and tile development and use, details on their production and transmission, and a classification according to shape and function. Chapter 2 focuses on the group of religious tiles from Hungary, presenting the source material included in the catalogue according to the iconography and geographical distribution. I have also included there the description of the most important archaeological sites, production centers, and a discussion of tile molds. In Chapter 3 I analyze the control group, composed of tiles decorated with knights in tournament, comparing its distribution to that of the main group. The fourth chapter is dedicated to groups of related tiles and the issue of copying and motif transmission. Other related tiles are included in the case studies analyzed in detail in chapters five (on depictions of St. George on tiles) and six (on representations of the Holy Kings of Hungary). Chapter 7 is dedicated to inscriptions and text bands depicted on stove tiles from Hungary, raising questions about the relation between image and text, and between different cults and literacy. Chapter 8 considers both the iconographic and chronological criteria, analyzing the impact of the Reformation on religious stove tiles. The ninth chapter dwells on the functions of images on stove tiles. This issue, scarcely discussed in the existing bibliography, leads to some of the most important contributions of the research. The data on the tiles included in the present catalogue is spread in numerous publications, and one cannot separate the sources into primary and secondary ones. The bibliography therefore lists them together, with the abbreviations used in both footnotes and catalogue, in order to make them easier to use. A number of appendices complete the dissertation, including the catalogue, a map locating all the find sites of religious tiles, a list of place and proper name correspondences, and an iconographical index.

The size of the material and the intricate issues addressed here require cross-references, which are always indicated in the text. The catalogue is meant to function together with the text, since catalogue data will not be repeated throughout the chapters and the tables; only the catalogue number of the respective tiles will be indicated. Bibliographic references and image credits for each tile are given only in the catalogue. References to tiles indicated as analogies or those not found in the catalogue are given in the footnotes of the main text and detailed in the bibliography.

Tiles in the catalogue are listed according to province and then in the alphabetical order of the find places. Each record contains information in this order: site of discovery, context of discovery, inventory number, iconographic scene, dating, photograph or drawing, a short description, technical data (type of tile, dimensions, number of fragments and identical tiles, glazing, other observations when necessary), current location, and bibliographic references.

## CHAPTER 1. Tile Stoves, a Hot Fashion

### Tile stoves

Stove tiles are rich source material for the study of material culture, everyday life, popular culture, popular medieval iconography, the circulation of visual motifs, connections among different minor arts and their centers of production, the economic relations between different regions, and even the mechanisms of popular devotion and mentality. A short introduction to the development of tiles and tile stoves is necessary before passing on to the analysis of their iconography and symbolic functions.

The first stoves, attested since the twelfth century, contained only a few pot-shaped tiles, resembling common pottery, set into the mass of clay that coated the brick structure. They functioned more like ovens, being used for both cooking and heating. Proper tile stoves, used exclusively for heating and with the coating made of regular horizontal rows of tiles, appeared in the southern Alps, in Switzerland, around 1300. During the fifteenth century stove walls came to be made exclusively of inter-connecting tiles. Tile stoves soon spread throughout Central and Eastern Europe, mostly in the German-speaking territories, becoming typical for the region.<sup>26</sup> In the late Middle Ages such heating systems were used from Alsace and the German lands to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Moldavia and Walachia. Fireplaces were preferred in the Mediterranean areas, France, Spain and even in Northern Europe;<sup>27</sup> the use of stoves, therefore, was not only determined by a colder climate, but was also a cultural phenomenon. The fashion of heating interiors with tile stoves spread with the waves of German colonization and trade, through the migration of merchants and artisans and the private travel of the nobility. In England, Scandinavia, the Baltic and the Netherlands, for example, tile stoves appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century, but only in those areas which had commercial links to the Hansa towns.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Franz, 1969.

<sup>27</sup> In certain areas there was of course a parallel use of stoves and fireplaces. For the case of continental Croatia for example see Horvat, 1994. For Hungary see Feld, 2006.

<sup>28</sup> Gaimster, 1990; Gaimster, 2005; Majantie, 2007.

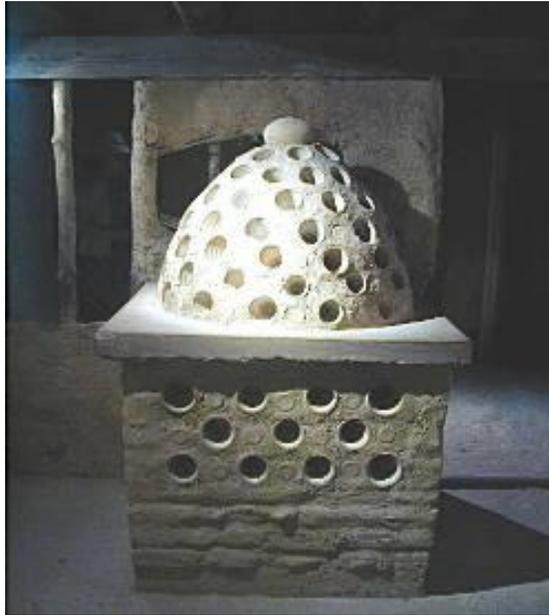


Fig. 1.1. Early stove, 1300, Alsace.<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 1.2. Typical Gothic stove, 1455-1465, Meran, South Tyrol.<sup>30</sup>

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the most luxurious stoves in Central Europe were highly decorated, with polychrome glaze and numerous small sculptures, and the tiles were now made of majolica. This type of earthenware ceramics is characterized by brilliant translucent glaze colors obtained through a series of specific procedures. In contrast, among the peasants, the tile stoves that became wide-spread only in the sixteenth century retained their shape and simple decoration for

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.dataphone.se/~ncteknik/kakelugnar.html>.

<sup>30</sup> <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc, no. 002408>.

hundreds of years. These popular folk stoves often included, up to the modern period, a heating chamber made of tiles and other clay parts used for cooking, drying clothes and even sleeping.<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 1.3. "The Golden Stove", 1501, Salzburg.<sup>32</sup>



Fig. 1.4. Popular tile stove, nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Sabján, 1991.

<sup>32</sup> <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc>, no. 002290.

<sup>33</sup> Sabján, 1991.

Stoves and tiles themselves enjoyed large popularity due to their efficiency in heating. Unlike open heating systems, like hearths and fire places, the stoves were much more efficient, requiring less wood and providing a smoke-free interior environment. The great advantage was that tiles accumulated heat fast but released it slowly, continuing to spread heat even after the fire was put out. Hypocaust systems, the technology for which had been inherited from the time of the Roman Empire, have also been documented for the Middle Ages, but they were definitely rarer and their use had almost ceased by the sixteenth century.<sup>34</sup>

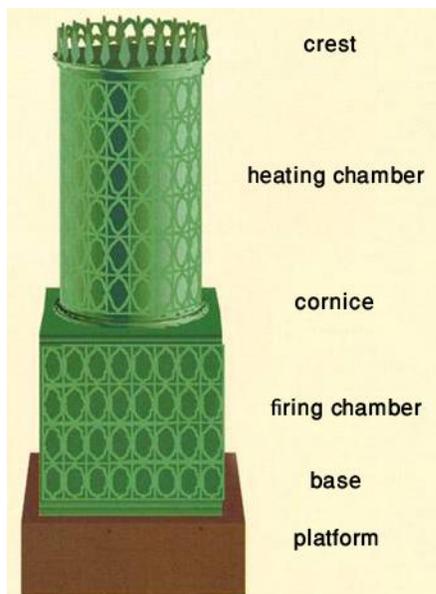


Fig. 1.5. The parts of a stove.<sup>35</sup>

Stoves were erected on brick or stone **platforms** elevating and isolating them from the floor. Above the platform, on a narrow **base** rose the rectangular **firing chamber**, connected to one of the room's walls, and a rectangular, polygonal or circular **heating chamber** topped with a **roof** hidden by a **crest**. The two main bodies of the stoves, often of different shapes, were separated by a row of cornice tiles that created a rim. The roof could take several forms and might have looked like a small dome, with clay or clay and simply decorated tiles partly hidden by triangular or pointed crest tiles (see Fig. 1.6, 1.22 and 3.1).

<sup>34</sup> Bingenheimer, 1998; Soós, 2008.

<sup>35</sup> After Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 52, fig. 27.



Fig. 1.6. Stove made of unglazed bowl-shaped and semi-cylindrical tiles.<sup>36</sup>

Medieval stoves had no doors, as they do now, but were stoked through a hole pierced through the wall and opening in another room or hallway. Smoke and gases, after circulating through the hollow parts of the stove, were evacuated through a horizontal flue positioned just above the **stoke-hole**. The heated room was thus completely smoke-free. To increase efficacy, stoves could be built in such a way as to heat two rooms at the same time.



Fig. 1.7. Access to the firing chamber of a tile stove.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Photo taken by the author in Pásztói Múzeum, Oskolamester Háza, Hungary, by permission.

<sup>37</sup> <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc>, detail of photo no. 006513A.

Each horizontal row is made of tiles with equal dimensions, or at least with equal height, bound to each other. Successive rows are not perfectly overlapping, the tiles being staggered. This disposition is imposed by the need for stability and is a desideratum for decoration.

As one of the most impressive elements of medieval interior decoration, stoves were remarkable not only for their color and decoration, but also for their general shape. In the Middle Ages, stoves usually imitated architectural structures, with heating chambers resembling towers ending in crenellations or Gothic fleurons (stylized floral ornaments). The images on the tiles, their shapes and color, completed the effect. Stoves could be monochrome, most often green (the glaze color easiest to produce), or polychrome, with multi-colored tiles or with alternating colors of tile rows.

Depending on their dimensions and the size of the tiles, stoves could be made of between 50 and 500 individual tiles. The latter case is exceptional, referring to the largest known stove from Europe, erected in 1545 in the town meeting hall of Gdańsk. This stove, made of seven successive chambers, measures a little over 10 meters in height.<sup>38</sup>

Besides the creators of positive molds (usually woodcarvers), and the pottery masters making the tiles, the line of trade also included specialist stove builders, who could also perform maintenance works. Tiles crack through intensive use, the clay between them crumbles, the smoke ducts become clogged, and after an interval of ca. 50 years at most, each stove had to be dismantled, cleaned, and rebuilt. If they were in good shape, tiles could be re-used, or if only some of them were recycled afterwards they could be used beside other, more recent, tiles provided they had the same dimensions. Maintenance was important because if they malfunctioned stoves could set fire to the house or asphyxiate the inhabitants with smoke and noxious gases.

### **Types of tiles and their development**

When tiles first appeared they resembled common pottery. The so-called **pot-shaped tiles** were undecorated and unglazed and were incorporated in ovens made of clay. In time, they acquired new shapes according to their position in the construction of stoves.<sup>39</sup> **Base tiles** play almost no role in heating, but they support the entire structure. They are usually flat and narrow. From the sixteenth century the base tended to be replaced with figurative feet that support the stove and elevate it from the ground.

<sup>38</sup> Kilarska, 2007, 138-139, 145, fig. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Franz, 1969, 24-37.



Fig. 1.8. Base stove tile.<sup>40</sup>

The tiles covering the burning and heating chambers can have various shapes, usually flat, semi-cylindrical or bowl-shaped. **Corner tiles** are less variable due to their specific angular shape; they are used for the different margins and bindings of the stove and are composed of two joined entire or half tiles.



Fig. 1.9. Corner tile composed of two panel tiles connected in a right angle, with the ridge decorated with a torsade (twisted cable molding).<sup>41</sup>

**Crest tiles** stand on the uppermost part of the stove and can have various shapes, from a triangular flat shape to small clay statuettes. They often have open-work decoration and/or an uneven upper edge. They are purely decorative, intended to hide the actual roof of the stove from view.



Fig. 1.10. Crest tiles: panel tiles ending in crenels, triangular tiles, and niche tiles ending in Gothic fleurons.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Photo taken by the author in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, by permission.

<sup>41</sup> <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc>, no. 013710.

As shown, the first tiles were little different from common pots. These **pot-shaped tiles** had rounded endings and various openings, most often round, but also lobed, triangular, or square. They were included in the mass of clay, with either with the opening or the closed end to the outside.

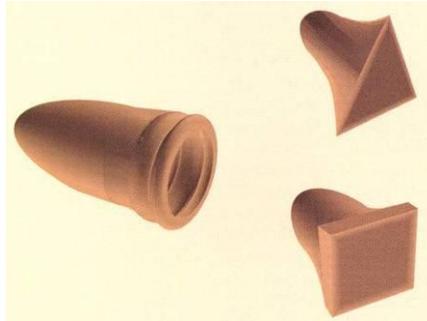


Fig. 1.11. Pot-shaped tiles.<sup>43</sup>

The pot-shaped tiles evolved into **bowl-shaped tiles**, with a flat ending, **semi-cylindrical tiles**, or **niche tiles**. Their advantage lay in the fact that the concavity offered more surface to radiate heat. The opening could be left uncovered (and decoration placed in the concavity), partially closed by open-work and tracery elements, or completely covered with a front panel.

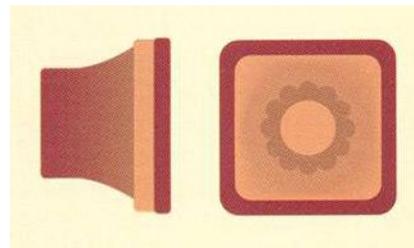


Fig.1.12. Bowl-shaped tile.<sup>44</sup>

Bowl-shaped tiles could have different shapes of openings, round, square, and lobed being the most frequent. Semi-cylindrical tiles were composed of a half cylinder with closed ends, sometimes completed by a front, partially cutout, panel. Niche tiles are very similar, but have a pointed upper edge.

<sup>42</sup> Cat. 91; <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc, no. 013711>; <http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/MLy1-OdCk9UTc9MU4Kwp8g>.

<sup>43</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 58, fig. 30, detail.

<sup>44</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 58, fig. 30, detail.



Fig.1.13. Bowl-shaped tiles with triangular, three-lobed and circular openings.<sup>45</sup>



Fig.1.14. Semi-cylindrical tile.<sup>46</sup>

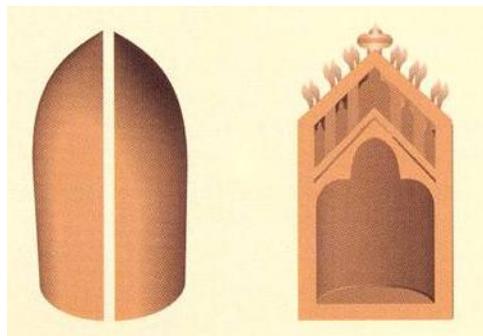


Fig.1.15. Niche tile.<sup>47</sup>

The most common and easiest to produce were the **panel tiles**, which appeared in the fourteenth century, consisting of a plaque decorated in relief through impression in a mold and a back rim added in order to allow the connection of tiles side by side in the construction of stoves. The back rim is perforated in two to four places on each side, allowing for the binding of neighboring tiles that create the horizontal rows.

<sup>45</sup> <http://tarvos.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/cgi-imareal/kleioc>, no. 000098.

<sup>46</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 58, fig. 30, detail.

<sup>47</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 58, fig. 30, detail.

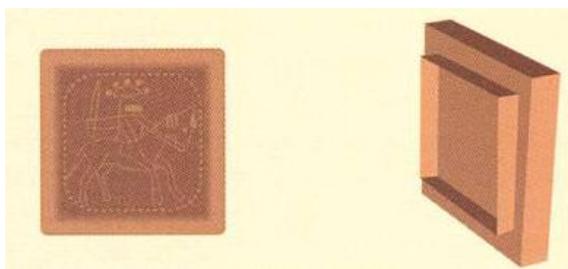


Fig. 1.16. Panel tile.<sup>48</sup>

The dimensions of tiles vary substantially. In the Middle Ages, small and medium-size tiles were preferred, measuring ca. 20 to 30 cm. The fashion changed during the Renaissance, when much larger pieces were used, reaching up to 60 cm.

Other elements, small sculptures, decorative rosettes or heraldic shields, were sometimes placed between tiles to hide the bindings and embellish the ensemble. Small sculptures could be placed on the cornice or the crest, open-work elements could be added to base and corner tiles. Separators have also been discovered, as very narrow strips of decorated clay inserted between tiles.



Fig. 1.17. Adjunct stove decorations: shield and free-standing clay sculptures.<sup>49</sup>

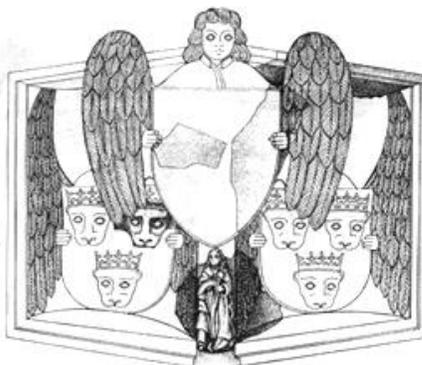


Fig. 1.18. Corner tile composed of two semi-cylindrical tiles decorated on the concave surface, a small sculpture and an open-work heraldic angel marking the ridge.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 58, fig. 30, detail.

<sup>49</sup> *Pots and Princes*, 2007, annexed electronic catalogue; <http://picasaweb.google.com/lh/photo/MLy1-OdCk9UTc9MU4Kwp8g>.

## Production methods<sup>51</sup>

Tiles can be considered, before prints, the first durable serial products because they were created in molds. The relief decoration of the tile surface, the open-work and tracery elements were all created by molding. **Open-work** designates a cut-out non-linear decoration while **tracery** is geometrically constructed.<sup>52</sup> Open-work partially encloses the opening of semi-cylindrical or bowl shaped tiles. Tracery can be used either in the same way or to decorate panel tiles.



Fig. 1.19. Green-glazed semi-cylindrical tile decorated with open-work (the knight and his horse) and tracery (the Gothic arch).<sup>53</sup>

**Molds**, created by woodcarvers or potters themselves, were made of wood, clay or stone. The carver would first create a **positive mold** in wood. It would be then pressed into a clay panel that then became the **negative mold**. It has been stated that wooden molds were most frequently used in tile-making, but clay positive molds and stone ones have also been discovered.<sup>54</sup> It has been estimated that up to ca. 50 identical tiles can be created with the same clay mold before the relief model wears out completely, but with each positive mold one could impress another 50 identical negative molds, the complete process leading to a maximum series of 2500 tiles decorated with the exact same motif. Several molds could also be combined to create new compositions.

<sup>50</sup> Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 35, 140-143, fig. LXVI-LXIX.

<sup>51</sup> Useful information can be also gathered from contemporary stove maker's manuals, such as Müller, 1915; Dujlić, 1976; Hebgen, 1980.

<sup>52</sup> Hazlbauer, 1992.

<sup>53</sup> Photo taken by the author in the collection of the Buda History Museum, by permission.

<sup>54</sup> Hazlbauer, Vitanovský, 1995 (creation of molds – experimental reconstruction); Ušiak, 2004; Parádi, 1957. For molds of tiles with religious representations in Hungary see Chapter 2.

Clay was pressed in molds directly with the fingers, or using a wet cloth or a wooden spatula; each procedure can be identified by the marks it leaves on the backs of the tiles. Some elements were made on a potter's wheel (such as the bowls and the clay cylinders cut in two and adjusted for the creation of semi-cylindrical and niche tiles); others were made by hand and attached to the molded plaques (like the back rim). Besides molding, potters sometimes made other changes or additions to the raw clay panels. They could correct the relief or add incisions. Some elements could be modeled entirely by hand, as small sculptures attached to the panels, leading thus to original and unique tiles.<sup>55</sup>

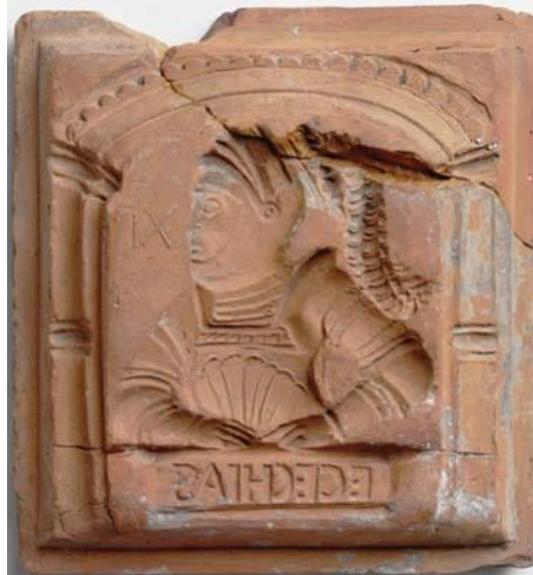


Fig. 1.20. Positive clay mold.<sup>56</sup>



Fig. 1.21. Attaching the back rim to a panel tile.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Hazlbauer, 1986.

<sup>56</sup> *Pots and Princes*, 2007, annexed electronic catalogue

<sup>57</sup> Photo taken by the author in Teracota Mediaș tile factory, by permission.

After being molded and completed with back rims, the tiles were left to dry for approximately two weeks, during which time the clay would shrink up to 10-15%, depending on its composition. Before firing, tiles were usually coated with **engobe** (slip), a mixture of fine clay and water applied over the surface of the tile. It was used either to give tiles a smoother surface or to create a base for glazing. Sometimes, if the clay of the tile was reddish, a fine layer of white engobe was used in order to obtain a neutral color as a base for a more luminous colored glaze. Thus prepared, the tiles were stacked on top of each other in a kiln and fired at a constant temperature (close to 1000 degrees Celsius) for about two days. Clay also shrank again through firing, but to a lesser degree than when raw.

Some tiles preserve traces of colored **paint**, but its exact composition has not yet been analyzed. Red paint was usually employed for the decoration of some tiles, while sometimes stoves were periodically painted over.<sup>58</sup>

If glazing was desired, tiles need to be fired a second time so that the glaze would adhere to the clay and increase the tile's thermal resistance and decorative effect. **Glaze** was made of a mineral base (usually lead oxide) and a pigment. Lead oxide is clear, so other oxides need to be added to produce various colors: copper for green, iron for brown, manganese for yellow. Tin glazes were also used from the end of the fifteenth century on and especially during the sixteenth century, producing bright colors and, especially, white. Tiles could be glazed in a single color, usually green, which was the easiest and cheapest to produce, but the more expensive and luxurious tiles were polychrome.

### Copying

Stove-tiles created with the same mold, even if used in very distant places, are all **original products**, directly connected to each other. Some may have less sharp relief and details due to the wearing out of the mold. The demand was often greater than the tiles created with one mold could cover, however, so the copying of tiles was widely practiced. A tile can be used as positive mold to create an entire series of negative molds and with them a series of **copies** may be created. The copy is ca. 30% smaller than the original (because the clay shrinks during each drying and firing up to 10-15% and the process takes place twice), but bears the same decoration.<sup>59</sup> A copy can be used to create another mold and thus other copies, so the process can be repeated several times. A category in between a copy and an imitation is created when small corrections are made to the raw copy by incision

<sup>58</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 31-32.

<sup>59</sup> For detail calculation of clay shrinking see Hazlbauer, Mikšík, 1992.

or modeling. Sometimes pottery masters created **imitations** of other tiles. The two objects are never identical, but filtered by the master's memory, ability, and imagination. Judit Tamási, who elaborated the German stove tile copying terminology, includes originals, copies, and imitations in the category of **directly connected tiles**. In the case of originals and copies the mould is the direct connection and in the case of imitations, the master is the connection. There are also **indirectly connected tiles**, inspired by a common image, usually by prints,<sup>60</sup> but not related to each other in any other way. Etchings, woodcuts, architectural shapes or other applied arts, sculpted reliefs and even paintings could have served as models. It is possible that model books existed for stove tiles, but none have been preserved.

### **Workshops**

The spread of tile stoves followed both the waves of German colonization and a top-down social transmission, ending up as the most popular heating system down to the rural level in the sixteenth century. The production of tiles and stove components gradually became specialized, requiring tools supplementary to common pottery production, especially the molds and tools for glazing. Throughout the Middle Ages, workshops usually produced both pottery and tiles although the high-quality tiles required increased specialization and skill. Not many such workshops have been excavated archaeologically in Central Europe; their existence is sometimes indirectly attested by the discovery of molds, misshapen items (wasters) and other technological waste, and large lots of tiles without traces of use (secondary burning that would attest their inclusion in stoves). The area of influence of other workshops is reconstructed starting from the geographical distribution of tiles sharing certain technological and stylistic characteristics. There are very few written sources for the production and use of stove tiles, mainly inventories and potter's guild documents from the sixteenth century onwards. In the Middle Ages masters did not usually sign their products, so the main evidence remains the tiles themselves. A more detailed presentation of tile workshops in Hungary is presented in Chapter 2.

### **Iconography**

Ever since they started to be decorated, in the fourteenth century, tiles have carried impressively varied representations, from the simple geometric and vegetal patterns to motifs imitating architectural elements, and fashionable knightly, courtly, and heraldic devices. Religious images have always played an important role in tile decoration, but one can also find, sometimes on the same stoves, unusual

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<sup>60</sup> Prints were used as models for tiles from the middle of the fifteenth century and frequently during the sixteenth century: Tamási, 1995, 16. See also Chapter 8.

representations: sex scenes, monsters, strange symbols and other curiosities. A change in iconography can be noted during the sixteenth century, with portraits, allegories, and personifications setting a new trend.

Only a few medieval stoves have been preserved standing (from the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth),<sup>61</sup> none from the Kingdom of Hungary. There are only some examples of physically or graphically reconstructed stoves. This means that in most cases one cannot know how the tiles under discussion were included in ensembles, if a certain motif prevailed, if another was unique and hidden in a less visible part of the stove. It seems that in most cases the stoves were not thematic, but they combined tiles were considered appropriate, nice, or interesting from among the available tiles with similar dimensions. Some stoves with unitary iconography have been documented, such as the “courtly stove” (*Minneofen*) from the castle in Schenkon (Switzerland), demolished in 1386, or the “Adam and Eve stove” featuring biblical narratives, from the end of the fourteenth century, from Bolesławiec nad Prosná (Poland).<sup>62</sup>

Among the reconstructed stoves from Hungary, one of the most discussed is the “knightly stove” type erected in the 1470s in the royal palace of Buda. Imre Holl reconstructed it graphically after a thorough study of the preserved fragments<sup>63</sup> (see Chapter 4). Despite the fact that it took the name from a predominant motif, the knight in tournament, the stove also included tiles decorated with an angel holding coats of arms, pairs of saints, the griffin, the lion guarding the Tree of Life, and a type of rosette. The examples from the Visegrád royal castle are more spectacular in the sense that thorough research has led not only to the graphic reconstruction of stoves belonging to different building periods of the castle, but to their physical reconstruction as well.<sup>64</sup> The Anjou period stoves displayed a mixed iconography (including tiles with the Pelican in her Piety, riders, and standing figures), but those from King Sigismund’s time were dominated by heraldic depictions (combined with geometric and tracery decorations) (see Fig. 1.22). The stoves erected in the time of King Matthias were again mixed, with tiles showing the lion guarding the Tree of Life, angels with coats of arms, and hunting scenes.<sup>65</sup> Reconstructions also indicate that polychrome, colorful stoves that alternated green, yellow, brown, and reddish tiles fashionable until the middle of the fifteenth century, were replaced by the end of the century with monochrome green-glazed stoves. Other stoves, like those from the castle of Diósgőr, also

<sup>61</sup> Franz, 1969, 40-69.

<sup>62</sup> Franz, 1969, 40-42.

<sup>63</sup> Holl, 1998a, 203, fig. 58; Franz, 1969, 51-53.

<sup>64</sup> Buzás, 2006 (color reproduction of four stove reconstructions from the time of Kings Sigismund and Matthias on the back cover); another Matthias stove reconstruction in Laszlovszky, 1995, 139, fig. 162; graphic and physical reconstructions of stoves from the times of Louis I, Sigismund, and Matthias in Buzás, 2005, 24, 27, 31.

<sup>65</sup> Kocsis, Sabján, 1998.

reconstructed graphically, show the same mixed iconography.<sup>66</sup> As yet for the Kingdom of Hungary there is no reconstructed stove with exclusively religious iconography. Cases when the overall composition of stoves displaying religious representations can be drawn hypothetically will be discussed in Chapter 3.

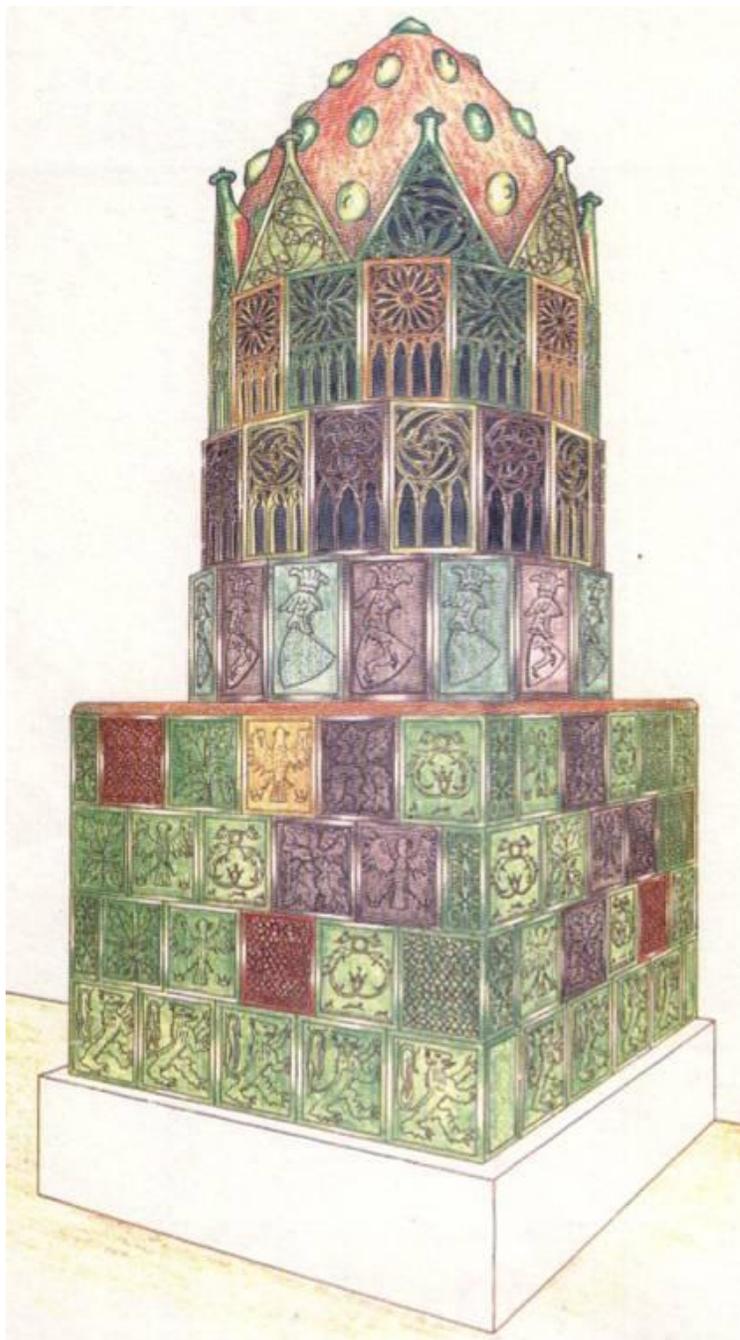


Fig. 1.22. Heraldic stove from the time of King Sigismund in Visegrád.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007.

<sup>67</sup> Buzás, 2006, color reproduction on the back cover.

## CHAPTER 2. Religious Motifs on Tiles from Hungary

I have included 389 tiles in the present catalogue, most of them found in Northern Hungary (138), then in Central Hungary (113), Transylvania (102), and many fewer in Slavonia (36). One should bear in mind that the unit of my analysis and the records of my catalogue define as one tile any number of fragments from identical tiles discovered on the same site. Counting the available data on the number of individual items discovered, including the identical items, I refer here to a minimum of 653 individual stove tiles and molds decorated with religious motifs. Referring again to individual tiles and fragments, the material from Northern Hungary rises to 203 items, from Central Hungary to 199 items, from Transylvania to 210 items, and from Slavonia to 41. These numbers are, of course, not final, since not all publications mention the exact number of identical or reconstructable identical tiles, and there are important lots still in the process of being catalogued (such as those from Bistrița, Banská Bystrica, and Kľačtorisko).

The following tables present the frequencies according to the preserved tiles and fragments, but several scenes depict two or more possible foci of devotion. Many tiles show pairs of saints; sometimes, as in the case of the magi, they are represented individually so it is not clear if they were part of the Adoration of the Magi scene or not. I therefore present first the number of tiles themselves (in ambiguous cases according to the most important character in the scene or naming both saints in the case of paired figures), and then the occurrence of various saints and scenes in the entire material (counting how many times a saint appears, either alone or in various compositions). The later frequencies are more relevant for issues of popular religious trends and devotion.

Religious tiles in Hungary contain over 100 different iconographic scenes, which I have grouped here in five broad categories: saints (depicted either iconically or in the narrative context of their legends), the Virgin, Christ, characters or scenes from the Old Testament, and a small category of various religious motifs (such as angels, crosses, and imprecisely identified scenes). Taking into consideration that some tiles depict more than one possible focus of religious interest (pairs of saints, saints and prophets, saints and religious symbols, Mary, Christ, and saints or angels, etc.), I will concentrate my analysis on the frequency with which every such person or symbol is represented. The following proportions therefore do not refer to tiles (389) but to individual motifs (462). One will notice that 73 tiles have been “counted” more than once, since they contain, as mentioned above, more

than one possible focus of interest. On average, each tile contains 1.18 major religious figures. Taking this average into consideration, I believe the general percentages presented below are representative.

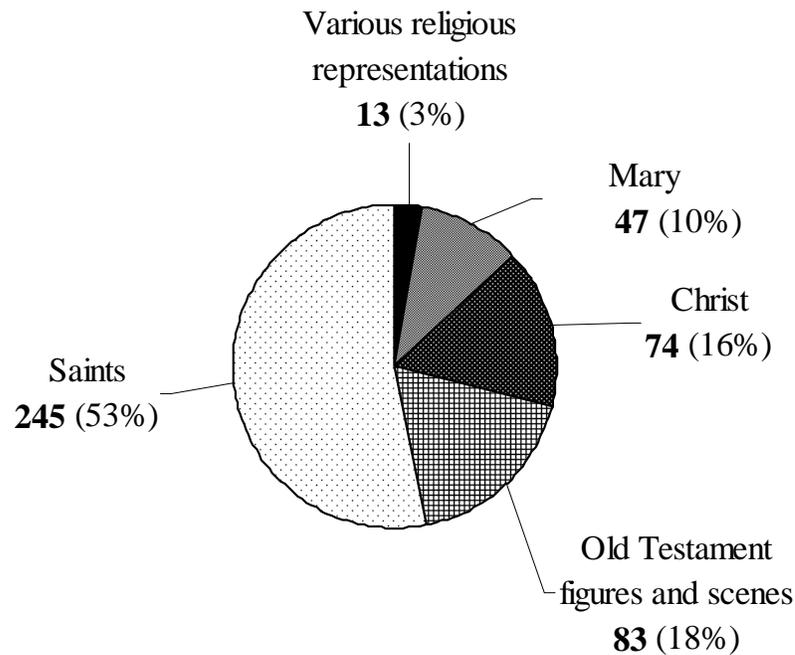


Fig. 2.1. Proportions of the different religious representations on tiles from Hungary (based on 462 religious figures or scenes depicted on 389 tiles and tile fragments).

### Saints

More than half of the tiles depict saints, which I have separated in my analysis from the representations of Virgin Mary and Christ. Saints are depicted alone on tiles, or grouped, most often in pairs, or shown in the narrative episodes of their legends. Among the saints I have listed the evangelists and their symbols, the Magi, archangels (Gabriel and Michael), and a small number of unidentified saints.

A significant number of these tiles contain pairs of saints, most pre-eminently on the niche tiles used in the royal castle of Buda and then copied elsewhere (discussed later in this chapter): Catherine, Adrian, George, Anthony the Hermit, Peter, John the Baptist, Jacob the Elder, Christopher, Agnes, Michael, and an unidentified holy bishop. Sometimes the tiles are preserved in fragments, so one does not always know how these saints were paired. It seems that individual molds containing the images of saints on corbels were used to create various combinations. The format of these tiles with saints varies (some being more vertical while others are almost square) and other elements, such as heraldic representations, could be added or changed when the niche tiles were copied and transformed into panel tiles. The saints are always the same, however, and when preserved fragmentarily researchers cannot identify the type of tiles they decorated. It is therefore more relevant to consider the number of

times each saint features in the lot analyzed, since this gives a more accurate reflection of their popularity.

The greatest number of tiles is decorated with the image of **St. George**. He appears 68 times in the study material. The great popularity of this saint becomes even more obvious when one takes into consideration that in most cases numerous identical tiles have been discovered on the same site (a minimum of 11 individual tiles in the castle of Kőszeg, a minimum of 16 in a house in Banská Bystrica, a minimum of 10 in the tile workshop from Feldioara, a minimum of 16 in the manor house of Racoșul de Jos, and a minimum of 13 identical tiles, both unglazed and decorated with green glaze, in the castle of Vințu de Jos, and undoubtedly elsewhere). This indicates that tiles decorated with St. George played an important role in the composition of stoves. Chapter 5 is entirely dedicated to this knightly saint and several other aspects related to this group of items are detailed there.

Second in popularity is **St. Ladislav** who features on 20 tiles, sometimes alone (either as a standing king or as a knight), sometimes in the narrative episode of chasing the Cuman, and sometimes in the company of Stephen and Emeric or just with Emeric. **Stephen** and **Emeric** are each depicted 8 times, individually or as part of the triad. Chapter 6 focuses on the group of tiles decorated with the images of the Holy Kings of Hungary.

**St. John**, apostle and evangelist, is depicted or referred to on tiles in various ways. Sometimes he is shown as a standing saint, as an apostle holding the chalice with a snake or as an evangelist holding a book (on 5 tiles, cat. 219, 220, 221, 349, 371). In 9 cases he is included in the scene of the Crucifixion, standing by the foot of the cross beside Mary. Although some of these tiles are only preserved in fragments too small to actually see John standing on the right of the cross, he probably features on all of them (cat. 163, 176, 179, 194, 196, 244, 333, 347, 382). On another two tiles he is more specifically referred to as an evangelist through his symbol, the eagle with a halo and scroll (cat. 29, 37). On a tile decorated with the Crucifixion discovered in Racoșul de Jos (cat. 179), St. John holds a book with horizontal bindings that is visible through a bag. The details are interesting for their accuracy in depicting elements of material culture.

There are thus 16 tiles referring to St. John. On the five tiles found in Transylvania he is only shown at the foot of the cross (mostly in fortifications, but also in a Franciscan friary, a castle, and a manor house), on the seven tiles from Northern Hungary he is depicted in the Crucifixion scene (in a castle, a fortification, and the barbican of an urban castle), or holding the chalice with the snake (two tiles from workshops and a mold from a workshop, all in Banská Bystrica). The latter town can be considered the most important production center of tiles with St. John, since four different motifs depicting him have been found there. The 2 tiles with this saint found in Central Hungary are both

decorated with his symbol as an evangelist, the eagle with a halo and scroll. The 2 tiles in Slavonia come from castles, one showing St. John standing, holding a book and the other showing him as witness at the Crucifixion.

**Archangel Gabriel** can be seen on 13 tiles. He usually appears in the scene of the Annunciation. Two tiles from Buda indicate that if not represented together, Mary and Gabriel could decorate neighboring tiles (cat. 19 and 20). Nevertheless, more often than not, only tiles with Gabriel alone have been discovered on a series of sites (cat. 82, 132, 141, 354, 357, 389). The archangel is also depicted on the same tile as the Virgin in 4 cases (cat. 116, 346, 353, 377). Other times, such as on the corner stoves of the royal palace in Visegrád (cat. 99), Gabriel stands alone on tiles with heraldic representations. In the castle of Ružica, in Slavonia, the archangel appears on the tiles with pairs of saints on corbels (cat. 362). The two fragmentary tiles depicting him in unknown compositions have thus been listed here, as probably not part of Annunciation scenes. He is identified by the scepter with scroll that he holds, indicating that he is the messenger of God.

**St. Catherine of Alexandria** can be seen on 13 tiles, sometimes alone, with her typical attributes, the wheel, the sword, and/or an open book (cat. 2, 55, 222, 238, 239, 313, 358, 372), twice beside St. Barbara (cat. 126, 138), and once kneeling in front of the Madonna (cat. 120). This scene is known as the mystical marriage of St. Catherine; in this image, the infant Jesus extends his hand towards her, probably holding a ring. Two tile fragments contain the inscription “kathes” or “katarina” (cat. 260, 263), probably referring to St. Catherine just as inscriptions “marya” refer to the Virgin. Two of these tiles have been discovered in Central Hungary (in castles), six in Northern Hungary (five of them in urban contexts, in Banská Bystrica, where one of the contexts is a tile workshop, and in Bratislava), three in Transylvania (a town house, an uncertain site in a city suburb, and a fortification), and two fragments from presumably different tiles from the castle of Ružica, in Slavonia.

**St. Peter** is depicted 12 times, six times probably alone (cat. 81, 90, 216, 223, 262, 380), three times in the company of St. Paul (cat. 54, 62, 200), and once beside each of the following saints: George (cat. 74), Anthony the Hermit (cat. 5), and Christopher (cat. 15). He is identified by the key he holds as his most typical attribute. Most of these tiles on which Peter features were found in Central Hungary (7), five in castles, one in a market town, and one in a Cistercian monastery. Three tiles featuring St. Peter alone were found in Northern Hungary, two different types in different workshops in Banská Bystrica and one fragment in Bratislava. There is only one such tile in Transylvania, in a castle, and one in a similar context in Slavonia. More than half of the tiles with St. Peter have been found in castles.

The image of **St. Barbara** decorated 10 tiles, none found in Central Hungary, one in Slavonia, the rest in Northern Hungary (five) and Transylvania (four). The distribution is explainable since Barbara is the protector of miners and the two regions were intensely colonized with a German population in order to organize and work in the mines there. The production of these various mines represented a large part of Hungary's wealth in the later Middle Ages. Barbara holding the tower is depicted alone on six tiles (cat. 218, 285, 311, 328, 336, 373) and in the company of other female saints such as Ursula (on two tiles, cat. 190, 205) and Catherine (on another two items, cat. 126, 138). One of these items is a fragmentary mold discovered in a Franciscan friary in Northern Hungary (cat. 336). The find contexts are very different, including one tile workshop, two fortifications, one palace, one castle, two monasteries, and probably three urban sites.

**St. Christopher**, the bearer of Christ, features on nine tiles. Most often he is represented crossing a river with the child Jesus on his shoulder (cat. 10, 186, 340, 359, 375). Once he is on a par with St. Peter (cat. 15). On several tiles (cat. 115, 185 [ a clay mold], and 316), secondary details described in the Golden Legend complete the representation: the banks of the river, sometimes fish and water creatures, trees, buildings, or a monk holding a lamp. The legend mentions a monk who instructed the giant in the Christian faith and advised him to honor Christ by carrying people across dangerous waters.<sup>68</sup>

Two of the preserved fragments depicting the saint belong to the niche tiles with pairs of saints from the royal palace in Buda. The same model was applied to both the right and left side corbel, indicating a random use of individual molds (cat. 10 and 15). The same image was used on a fragment from the castle of Ružica (cat. 375), where several other tiles also copied Buda prototypes. The other tile with the saint discovered in Ružica (cat. 359) has directly related analogies among tiles produced in Vienna (discussed in Chapter 4). Two different types of St. Christopher were thus used to decorate tiles in Ružica, both as copies of items produced in distant locations inside and outside the Kingdom of Hungary. The other five tiles are unique, created with different molds and not resembling each other. In Roșia, among the ruins of a Saxon leader's house, two different variants were also discovered together (a tile and a mold). All the items from Central Hungary, Northern Hungary, and Slavonia were found in castles or palaces. In Transylvania, the contexts are lower on the social scale, one probably in the house of a Saxon leader or a workshop, and another in a town.

**St. Margaret of Antioch**, virgin and martyr, features eight times on tiles from Hungary, either with the dragon by her feet as her attribute or in the narrative episode of slaying the monster (cat. 96,

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<sup>68</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, vol. 2, 8-9.

212, 265, 312, 327, 345, 381, 386). The Golden Legend speaks of the virgin of God who was swallowed by Satan in the shape of a dragon, but escaped with the help of the cross she was carrying.<sup>69</sup> Half of the tiles with St. Margaret were found in Northern Hungary (four) in castles, fortifications, and palaces, two in Slavonia in two castles, one in Transylvania, probably in a city, and one from a castle in Central Hungary. Thus the find contexts are mainly upper social ones, mostly castles.

**Archangel Michael** is shown slaying the dragon on six tiles (cat. 13, 56, 130, 140, 245, 361) and on two tiles he is depicted weighing souls (cat. 40, 146). Three tiles were found in Central Hungary, two in castles and one probably in a bishop's palace; one tile comes from the barbican of an urban castle in Northern Hungary; three are from Transylvania, from a fortification, a city suburb, a market town house, and a castle in Slavonia.

Six tiles represent the evangelists through their symbols. As noted, John's eagle can be found depicted on two tiles (cat. 29 and 37); **Mark's** lion decorates another two tiles (cat. 60 and 277), while **Luke's** ox and **Matthew's** angel only appear once each (cat. 276 and 275, respectively). One other tile from Buda depicts Matthew as a standing saint (cat. 33). The four symbols were probably used together in some cases, since in the Carthusian monastery of Kľaštorisko, in Northern Hungary, archaeologists have recovered three tiles, very similar in style, decorated with Matthew's angel holding a scroll inscribed "iohannes" (cat. 275), Luke's ox with a scroll inscribed "lucas" (cat. 276), and Mark's lion with an inscription band bearing the text "marcus" (cat. 277). If indeed four tiles of this sort formed a unit, one can hardly guess what the fourth could have been, considering the miss-identification of the eagle as John's symbol and not Matthew's. The fourth missing tile could have depicted, correctly, the eagle of St. John with the scroll "iohannes" or, in order to hide and deepen the mistake, it could have been inscribed "mateus". It is interesting to note that such a mistake was accepted in a highly intellectual and religious context such as this Carthusian monastery. It might be explained by the production of molds by an illiterate or not well educated potter, to whom the connection of evangelists and their symbols was not very clear. But this means that if the tiles were indeed ordered by the monastery, as other tiles suggest,<sup>70</sup> the inspection and control exerted by the monks was not very thorough in this particular case (also discussed in Chapter 7).

<sup>69</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, 452-455.

<sup>70</sup> I have argued that tiles such as the cross and magical symbols, the churning man and fool, and the alchemist with his muse might have been hints at the alchemical endeavors known to have taken place in the monastery (Gruia, 2008b). Some of these tiles are also discussed here, in Chapter 9.

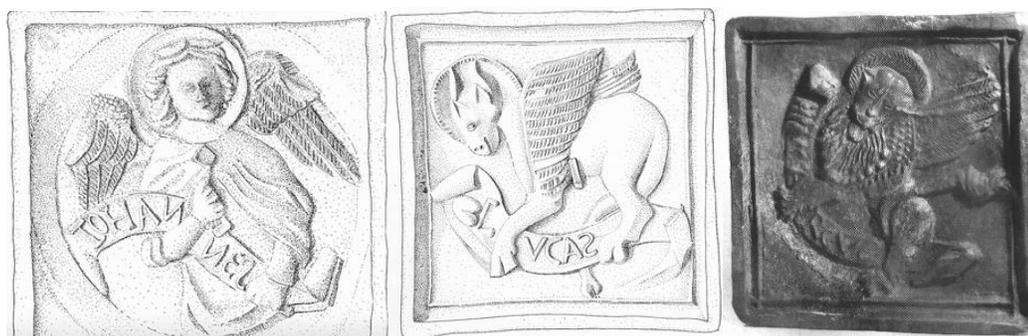


Fig. 2.2 Tiles with the symbols of the evangelists, Klaštorsko.

**St. Paul** can be seen on four tiles, only once alone (cat. 217) and three times beside St. Peter (cat. 54, 62, and 200). Paul is always holding his attribute, the sword. Three of these tiles were found in castles (two in Central Hungary and one in Transylvania), while one comes from one of the tile workshops in Northern Hungary, in Banská Bystrica.

The figure of a **holy bishop** was found on four tiles, three discovered in Slavonia (cat. 376, 387, and 388) two in castles and one in a town, and one in the royal palace of Buda (cat. 12). The motif is also discussed in Chapter 4.

**St. Dorothy** appears on 3 tiles (cat. 228, 310, and 334). Her identification is sometimes doubted and she is interpreted as St. Elizabeth of Hungary/Thuringia, but the figure is accompanied by a bucket of flowers and she does not hold them in her lap, so I argue for her identification with Dorothy. All three tiles in question have been found in Northern Hungary, one in a palace, one in a castle, and one is a mold that was found in a tile workshop. There was indeed a strong cult of St. Elizabeth in the province,<sup>71</sup> but none of the other Hungarian saints have been found on these sites as was the case in Klaštorsko, where tiles with Ladislav and (probably) Elizabeth as well have been discovered.

**St. Anthony the Hermit** decorated three tiles, being identified though the pig he has by his feet as an attribute. Twice he is depicted alone (cat. 6 and 80) and once he is together with St. Peter (cat. 5). All three tiles were found in Central Hungary, two in the royal palace of Buda and the third tile, directly related to the others, was discovered in the Cistercian monastery of Pilisszentkereszt (cat. 80).

**St. Agnes** has also been identified on three tiles. All these fragments come from the Buda-type niche tiles; in two of these cases only her figure has been preserved on tile fragments, so one does not know who the saint on the opposite corbel was (cat. 11 and 364); in the third case the entire tile has been preserved and St. Agnes is accompanied by St. Jacob the Elder (cat. 17). Another image of a

<sup>71</sup> Gerát, 2006; On Marburg, Sarospatok, and Košice as centers of her cult, see *Sant'Elisabetta*, 2003.

female torso covered in long hair could be her, but it probably depicts Mary Magdalene (cat. 374 discussed below).

**St. Ursula** also appears three times, once alone, sitting, depicted on a crown tile (cat. 16) and twice standing beside St. Barbara (cat. 190 and 205). She is identified by her attribute, the arrow. The tiles with Barbara and Ursula were discovered in two unclear locations in Transylvanian towns, while the tile with Ursula alone comes from the royal palace in Buda.

Three tiles bear depictions of **St. Jacob the Elder**, the apostle. His figure decorates two of the niche tiles from the royal palace of Buda, once with St. Agnes (cat. 9 and 17 respectively). **St. Martin** is probably depicted on two tiles from Transylvania (cat. 159 and 197). The items are preserved only in fragments, but they probably depict the saint in the most popular episode of his vita, that of cutting his mantle and sharing it with a beggar. Both fragments come from castles. **St. James**, shown as a pilgrim, with the typical shell on his hat and the staff, features on two tiles from Northern Hungary, from an urban context and a palace (cat. 261 and 314). **Mary Magdalene** appears on two tiles as well, once holding a jar and accompanied by an (unfortunately un-deciphered) inscription (cat. 250) and once wrapped in her own long hair (cat. 374). One tile comes from an urban context in Northern Hungary and the other from a castle in Slavonia. The Magi feature together on the tile depicting the Adoration of the Magi (cat. 156). They sometimes appear individually; **Balthazar** appears twice, carrying the ciborium (cat. 32 and 124), and **Melchior** once, descending from his horse (cat. 122).

Other saints appear only once on tiles in Hungary: **St. Adrian** (beside the prophet David, cat. 3), **St. John the Baptist** (cat. 8), **St. Sebastian** depicted during his martyrdom, pierced by arrows (cat. 117), **St. John the Almsgiver** (cat. 315), **St. Bartholomew** (cat. 378), **St. Anne** (beside Mary and Jesus, cat. 282), and probably **St. Elizabeth** (cat. 287) Among them, one may note that St. John the Almsgiver, or the Merciful, a seventh-century patriarch of Alexandria, is one of the few Byzantine saints to gain a following in the West. In 1489 some of his relics were offered by the Turks as a gift to Matthias Corvinus who deposited them in a royal chapel in Buda which received the saint's name.<sup>72</sup> He was one of the saints included in the *Golden Legend*,<sup>73</sup> but it was his role as an original patron of the order of St. John of the Hospital, the Hospitallers, that made his name famous.<sup>74</sup> This tile was discovered in the castle of Parič, in Northern Hungary, among numerous other religious tiles. The identification of St. Elizabeth of Hungary on the tile from Klačtorisko can be argued due to crown she is wearing, the flowers in the background and those she seems to be holding in her lap. The presence of

<sup>72</sup> Cevins, 2003, 232.

<sup>73</sup> *Legenda Aurea*, 153-160.

<sup>74</sup> Medieval Sourcebook: *The Life of St. John the Almsgiver*, at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/john-almgiver.html> (last accessed 06.04.2009).

St. Ladislav on another tile discovered on this site might also suggest the intention of the monks to have representations of the dynastic saints in their interiors. A close inspection of the coat of arms(?) depicted on her dress would perhaps confirm her identity.

Three tiles depict **unidentified saints**. One tile from the castle of Kőszeg (cat. 63) contains the unusual representation of four small saintly figures in the corners, separated by a large arch that continues from one tile to the another forming a sort of wall-paper motif (a type that became much more popular on tiles in the seventeenth century). One more tile fragment depicts an unidentified female saint (cat. 134). Another fragment, from Nitra, shows three standing saints holding orbs surmounted by crosses, suggesting that they are kings (cat. 305). This unusual representation might make reference to the Holy Kings of Hungary, but at least one of them, St. Emeric, was never king and is usually depicted just holding flowers and never an orb. The lower part of the tile contained another holy figure, only a part of his/her halo being visible.

In summary, 36 individual saints appear therefore on tiles from Hungary, by far the most popular being St. George, then Ladislav, John, Archangel Gabriel (his popularity probably not being so high in fact because in 13 cases he is depicted in the context of the Annunciation, which clearly places the accent on Mary), Catherine, Peter, and Barbara. Next in popularity come St. Christopher, Margaret, Archangel Michael, Stephen, and Emeric, each featuring on eight or nine tiles. A larger number of saints, including three evangelists other than John, the Magi, and other male and female holy figures, each appear on a limited number of tiles (on one to four). The following table (Fig. 2.3) presents the occurrence of each saint, taken individually:

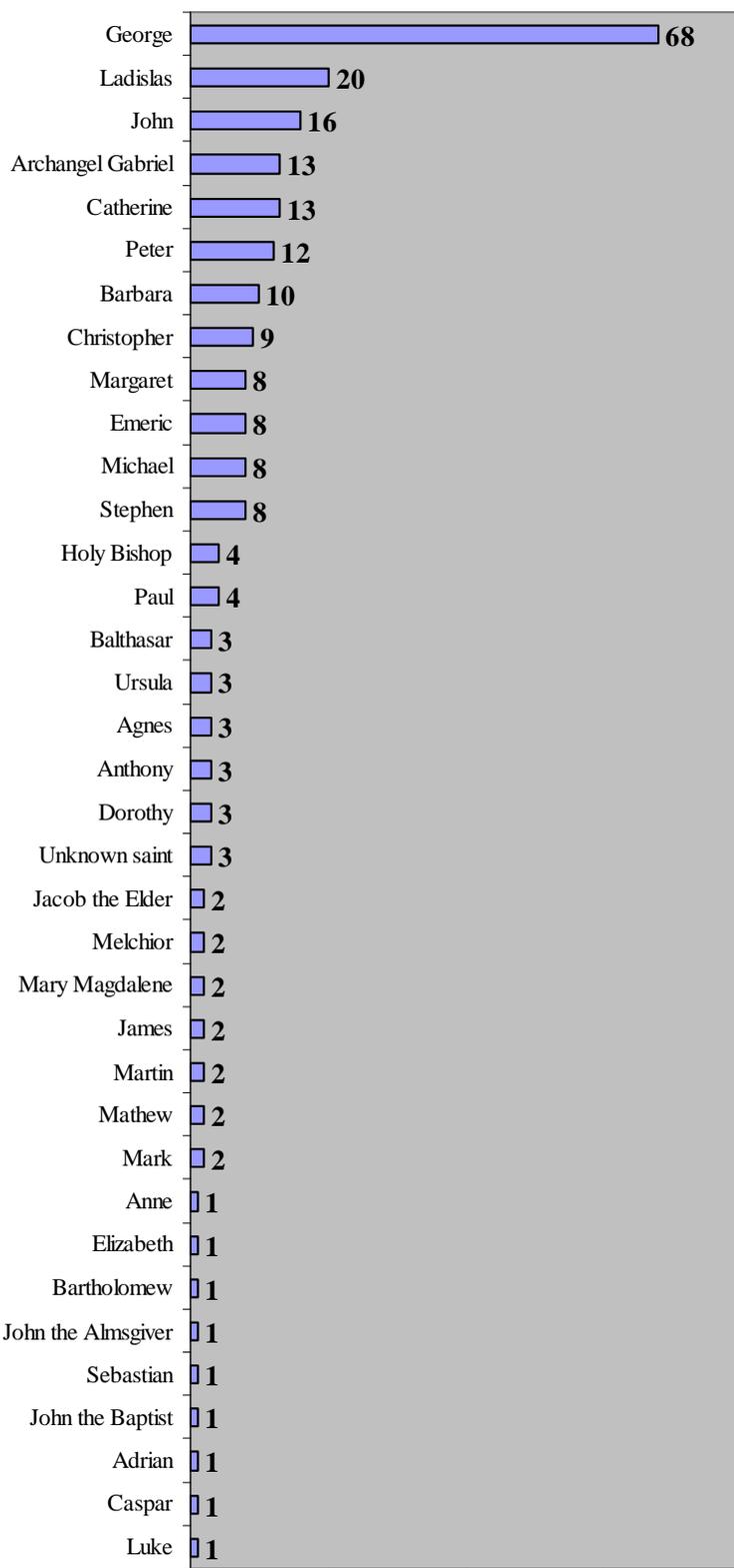


Fig. 2.3. The number of times each saint appears on religious tiles in Hungary (based on 389 tiles, some containing two or more saints together).

The saints (excluding Mary and Jesus and including the Archangels Gabriel and Michael among the males) show the following proportions between male and female saints:

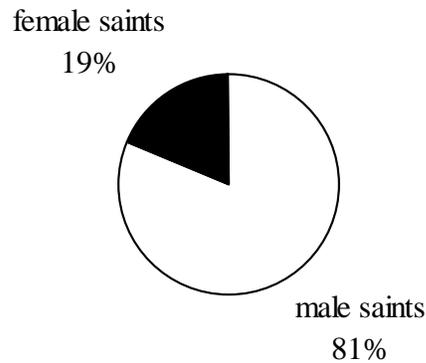


Fig. 2.4. Proportion of male and female saints (without Mary and Jesus) on religious stove tiles from Hungary.

It is significant that Catherine, Barbara, and Margaret feature among the most popular religious figures along with male saints such as George, Ladislav, Gabriel, John, Peter, and Christopher. Sometimes the female holy characters, especially the virgins, are depicted together, such as Barbara or Catherine and Barbara and Ursula. In the castle of Parič, all four capital virgins were depicted on separate but similar-looking stove tiles. In other cases though, male and female saints were paired, such as St. Agnes and St. James on the niche tiles with saints from Buda.

### Mary

The Virgin Mary is depicted or referred to on 47 tiles, but in some of these cases she is not the focus of interest, such as on tiles depicting Isaiah holding a phylactery inscribed with the initial words of his prophecy of the virgin birth (cat. 7) or on those illustrating the Crucifixion (9 tiles).

The scene of the **Annunciation** is often depicted. It decorates 12 tiles but the Virgin is only depicted on five of them, once alone (cat. 19) and four times together with Gabriel (cat. 116, 346, 353, and 377). The use of neighboring tiles to compose the Annunciation scene is attested for the palace of Buda (cat. 19 and 20), but it more often happens that tiles with the kneeling archangel are discovered without their pair. Most Annunciation scenes are analyzed in detail in Chapter 7, which deals with inscriptions and inscription bands on religious stove tiles. The **Madonna** with the child Jesus can be seen on 10 tiles, all except one discovered in Transylvania and Northern Hungary (cat. 46, 166, 172, 191, 207, 236, 237, 280, 292, and 309). **Inscriptions** “maria,” “marya,” or “maria panno,” also discussed in detail in Chapter 7, can be found on six other tiles. In most cases the text is the most important visual element of the respective compositions (cat. 91, 227, 274, 318, 319), while in one case the inscription accompanies another scene, that of the Pelican in her Piety (cat. 69). Six tiles depict the iconographic type known as *Maria in sole* which shows the crowned Virgin surrounded by rays (discussed in Chapter 4). In two of these cases the scene is combined with that of **Mary crowned by**

**angels** (cat. 281 and 337). The Madonna, depicted without rays of sun around her, is also seen crowned by angels on another tile (cat. 39). Three circular tiles showing a young woman with halo have been interpreted as depicting Mary's **portrait** (cat. 27, 73, and 102). The **Adoration of the Magi** is depicted as such only once (cat. 156), but there are two representations of the magus Balthazar and one of Melchior on individual tiles that might be related to this scene; or they might indicate a cult of the Magi alone. Other scenes that include the Virgin appear only once in the material analyzed: **Mary adoring the child Jesus** (or Madonna of Humility, since she is kneeling on the ground – cat. 30); **Mary crowned by the Holy Trinity** (cat. 118); **Mary crowned by Jesus** (cat. 119); **St. Catherine's mystical marriage**, with the saint kneeling in front of the seated Madonna (cat. 120); and **St. Anne, the Virgin, and the child Jesus** (cat. 282). The latter scene makes one think of the iconographic type *Ana Selbdrit* or *Anna Meterza*, popular in the later Middle Ages due to the increase in popularity of the cult of St. Anne, the Virgin's mother.<sup>75</sup> That scene, however, represents Anne holding the Virgin in her lap, who holds Jesus in her turn, while the tile from Hungary shows the two holy women both holding the infant Jesus, who occupies the center of the representation.

A significant number of tiles related to the Virgin contain inscriptions, text bands and open books. The relation between text, writing supports, and the Marian cult is detailed in Chapter 7.

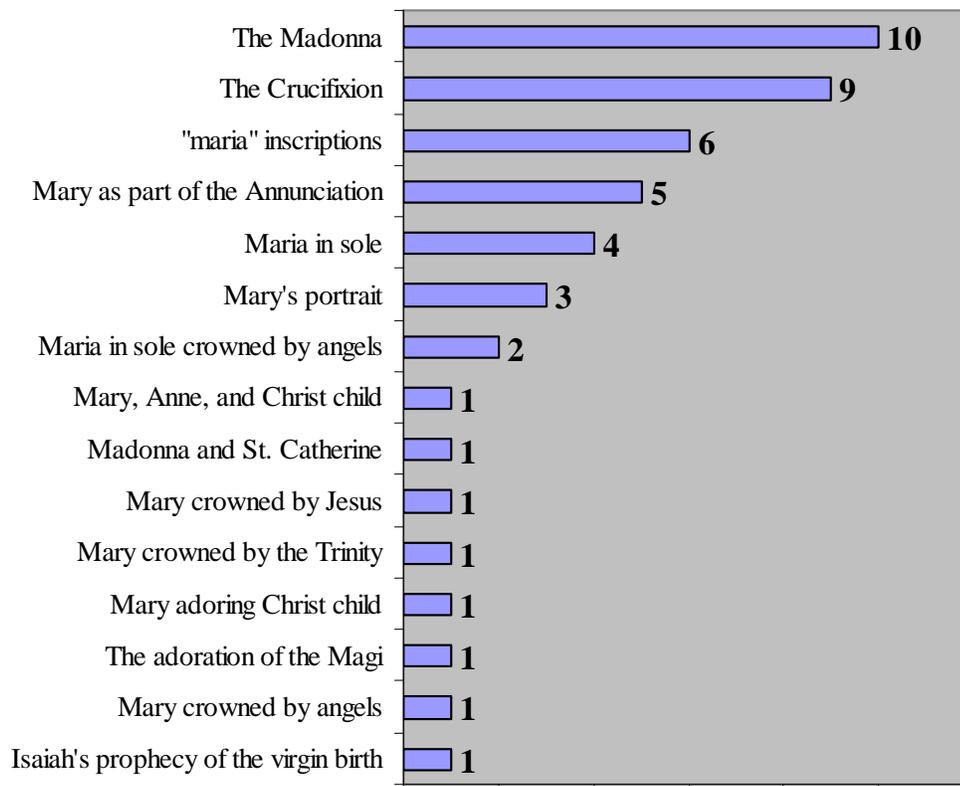


Fig. 2.5. Depictions of Virgin Mary on tiles from Hungary (based on 389 tiles).

<sup>75</sup> Nixon, 2004.

Appearing on 47 of the 389 tiles analyzed here, the Virgin was the most popular female saint, and second in popularity only to St. George. The situation is understandable considering the great popularity of the Virgin in the Late Middle Ages everywhere in Europe. If one includes the Virgin, who appears on tiles more often than all other female saints together (47 compared to 45), the proportion of the latter rises from 19% to 33%.

### **Christ**

All representations of the child Jesus have been listed in the group of representations related to Mary's cult. The baby Jesus appears in several of the previously mentioned scenes, from tiles showing the Madonna (10 tiles), *Maria in sole* (4 tiles), *Maria in sole* crowned by angels (2), St. Anne and Mary with the child Christ (1), St. Catherine's mystical marriage (1), Mary adoring the child Christ (1), and the Adoration of the Magi (1). Mary's crowning by the Trinity or by Christ (1 tile each) have also been considered above as also reflecting devotion towards the Virgin. In contrast, some of the scenes including Mary are analyzed here, such as the Crucifixion.

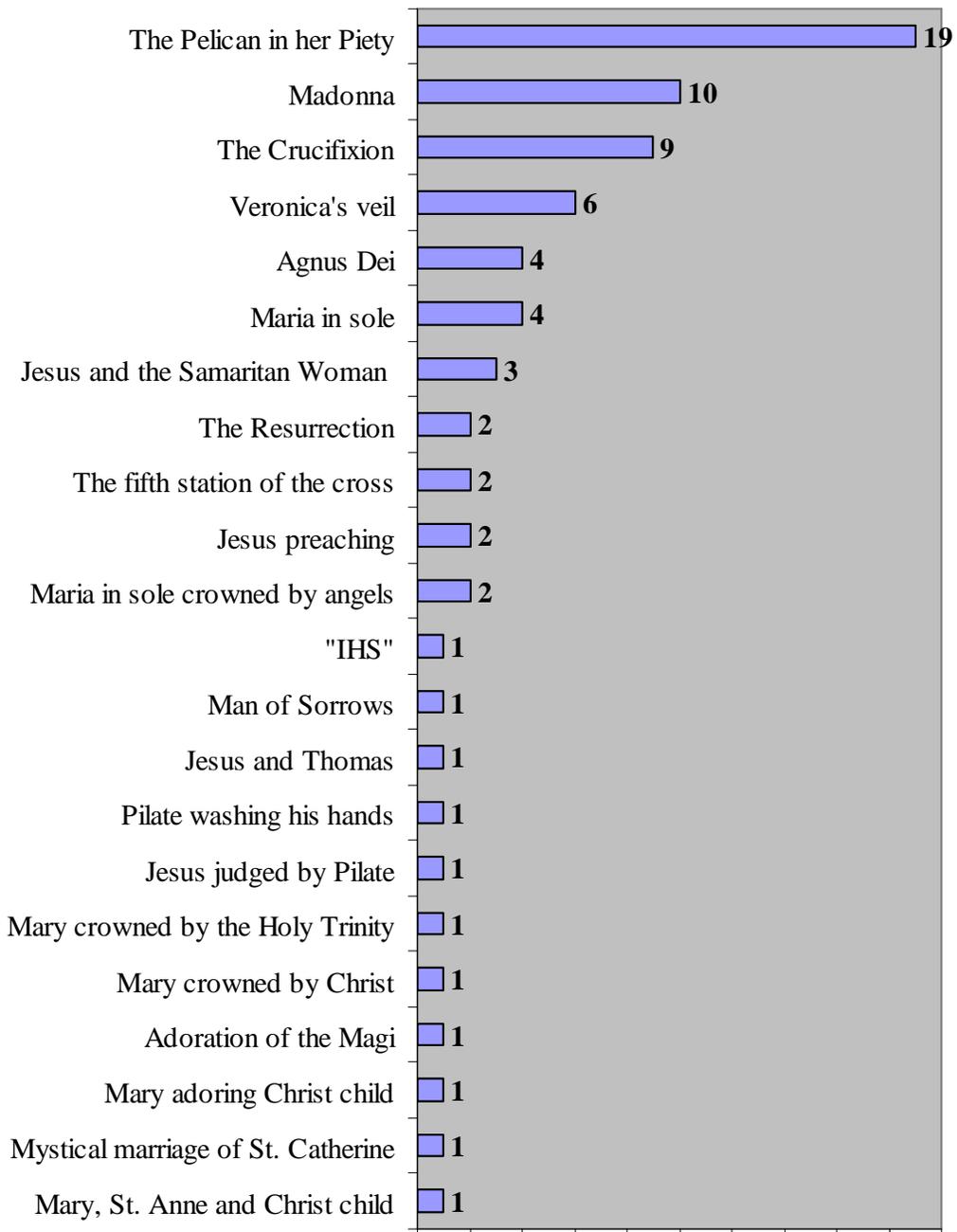


Fig. 2.6. Depictions and symbols of Christ on medieval tiles in Hungary (based on 389 tiles).

The most numerous are the depictions of the Pelican in her Piety, an allegorical representation referring to Christ's sacrifice on the cross. It appears on 19 tiles, 18 times as the sole motif (cat. 18, 57, 58, 69, 78, 79, 88, 92, 101, 103, 153, 192, 193, 211, 214, 229, 355, 379) and one included in a depiction of the Original Sin, the pelican tearing her breast being placed in the Tree of Knowledge (cat. 302). These tiles are analyzed in detail in Chapter 4, while the inscriptions that are sometimes included in such representations are discussed in Chapter 7. Then come, in order of popularity, the **Crucifixion**, depicted on nine tiles from Northern Hungary and Transylvania (cat. 163, 176, 179, 194, 196, 244, 333,

347, 382) and the **Mandylion** or Veronica's veil, decorating six tiles, either by itself (cat. 230, 231, 246, 252, 300) or held by an angel (cat. 283). All these items, panel and crown tiles, have been discovered in Northern Hungary. The encounter between **Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well**, described in the Bible (John 4: 4-42) features on three tiles (cat. 51, 121, and 160) which are discussed in Chapter 4. Other scenes appear twice: **Jesus preaching** (cat. 295 and 267, the latter containing a German inscription, is referred to in Chapter 7), the **fifth station of the cross** (cat. 293 and 339, see Chapter 4), and the **Resurrection** (cat. 123 and 299). A collection of fragmentary tiles illustrating scenes from the Passion of Christ have been discovered in Esztergom, probably comprising the scenes of **Christ judged by Pilate** (cat. 48), **Pilate washing his hands** (cat. 49), **Jesus and Thomas** (cat. 50). Another symbol of Christ, the **Agnus Dei**, decorates four tiles. Sometimes the Lamb of God is the only motif depicted (cat. 232, 233, 284), but once it appears in a composition representing St. Catherine and St. Barbara standing under Gothic arches (cat. 126). Other scenes are unique, appearing on only one tile each, such as the **Man of Sorrows** (Christ showing his wounds, supported by angels, cat. 184) and the **monogram of Christ**, the "IHS" (cat. 189, discussed in Chapter 7).

Overall, the Savior is represented or symbolized 74 times in the material analyzed, making him, as expected, the most popular religious figure depicted on tiles. Including Mary and Christ, the proportion between male and female saints is 25% to 75%, probably reflecting similar percentages of the favor these two groups of saints enjoyed on a general level in late medieval Hungary (see also Chapter 9).

### Scenes and characters from the Old Testament

There are 84 tiles related to the Old Testament in the group analyzed, containing 23 characters (kings, heroes, prophets, patriarchs, the first people, even God the Father) and 27 scenes (Fig. 2.7, below). I will present the group briefly, since many will be taken up again in Chapter 8, in the context of the impact the Reformation had on tile iconography, since many of these items are dated to the sixteenth century.

The most popular Old Testament scene is **Samson fighting the lion** with his bare hands (Judges 14:4-6). It is represented on 16 tiles, the majority of which have been discovered in Transylvania (cat. 14, 107, 111, 125, 127, 142, 145, 150, 151, 181, 183, 187, 199, 209, 213, 253, 303, 348, 384, and 385). Several of these tiles are directly related and they will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. One fragmentary depiction shows **Samson asleep and Delilah** cutting his hair and thus taking away his

strength (Judges 16). The tile (cat. 24) makes reference to the medieval topos of the power of women, which includes stories of men defeated, tricked, or ruled by women.<sup>76</sup>

Just as popular as Samson are the scenes from Genesis related to **Adam and Eve**. The forbears of mankind are depicted on 16 tiles in Hungary. On 14 of them the scene selected is the Original Sin, with **Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge** (Genesis 3:6) (cat. 28, 38, 108, 154, 164, 226, 242, 248, 256, 294, 322, 338, 365). Most of these have been discovered in Northern Hungary. Once, the representation includes the Pelican in her Piety, shown with her chicks in a nest on the branches of the Tree of Knowledge (cat. 302). One tile fragment shows a naked woman covering her genitals, probably Eve (cat.77). Due to the small size of the fragment one cannot identify the larger composition that included Eve's figure. One other tile represents **Adam and Eve banished from Eden** (cat. 366). As a consequence of the Fall of Man, God drove Adam and Eve out of the Garden of Eden, placing a cherub with a burning sword to watch the gate (Genesis 3:23-24). Another scene depicted only once is the **creation of Eve** from Adam's rib (Genesis 2: 21-22). At God's gesture, Eve is rising from Adam's rib while he is sleeping under a tree (cat. 110).

An interesting group consists of representations of Old Testament heroes, often accompanied by inscriptions. The tiles inspired by prints popular during the Reformation are analyzed in detail in Chapter 7. Six of these related tiles depict **Jephthah** (cat. 1, 45, 53, 94, 290, and 323), one each show **Jonathan** (cat. 59), **David** (cat. 325), **Nebuchadnezzar** (cat. 326), and **Solomon** (cat. 324). The latter also features on a tile decorated with the Judgment of Solomon (cat. 363). The king is represented in front of the two women and the disputed child (1 Kings 3: 16-28). David is also shown fighting the bear and killing Goliath. David fighting a bear is depicted on a tile from Nitra (cat. 304). The biblical episode recounts how David, in his youth, defeated a lion and a bear that attacked the flock he was guarding (1 Samuel 34:37). Despite looking like a usual hunting scene, a lily, a royal attribute, is represented in the center of the composition. A man with a similar costume and hair is depicted fighting a lion on one of the other tiles from the same lot that share stylistic and technical characteristics; taking into consideration the fact that the biblical episode recounts how David fought both a lion and a bear on that occasion, the latter item (cat. 303) might therefore represent David's and not Samson's fight with the lion. David killing Goliath with a sling decorates two Renaissance-looking tiles (cat. 31 and 210). The scene shows David ready to release his sling against the giant Goliath, depicted in armor (1 Samuel 17). The other tile fragments depict David as a prophet, accompanied by inscriptions mentioning his

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<sup>76</sup> Smith, 1995.

name and the first words of his prophecies (cat. 3, 254, and 369). In the entire material, therefore, David appears seven times.

Other representations on tiles are also taken from the Old Testament. **Abraham sacrificing Isaac** (Genesis 22) is shown on one tile (cat. 52). Abraham is depicted ready to strike his kneeling son Isaac in an architectural setting. The scene is accompanied by an inscription in capitals recording the names of the characters. **Judith with the severed head of Holofernes** can be seen on nine tiles (cat. 7, 106, 133, 169, 188, 203, 216, 329, and 360). Some of these were inspired by prints and they show the details of the scene, the war tent, the female servant, and the sword mentioned in the Bible (Judith 13). The episode can also be included among those illustrating the power of women, mentioned above. Two tiles from Northern Hungary are decorated with the representations of **Cain and Abel** bringing offerings to God (Genesis 4:1 – cat. 268 and 330). One other tile from a castle in Northern Hungary depicts the patriarch Jacob's dream (cat. 335), also known as **Jacob's ladder**. The Bible describes Jacob's dream at Bethel, a vision of a staircase to Heaven on which angels were ascending and descending (Genesis 28: 10-20). God appeared and promised Jacob his protection, revealing also the symbolism of the stair that is, in both Jewish and Christian interpretations, a connection between heaven and earth. The prophet is also depicted as a bust, holding a scroll (cat. 26). Another unique representation shows **Joab and Amasa** (cat. 288), discussed in Chapter 8. Joab, David's nephew, killed Amasa by pretending to grab him by his beard to kiss him (2 Samuel 20:9). **Moses** features on 4 tiles. One is an unpublished item, which reportedly depicts the prophet (cat. 331), while three tiles from Transylvania show him in front of the brazen serpent elevated on a pole (Numbers 21). The latter cases (cat. 135, 136, 161) are discussed in Chapter 8. More prophets are represented as busts, holding scrolls with or without inscriptions (discussed in Chapter 7): **Elijah** (cat. 225, 251, and 296), **Isaiah** (cat. 7 and 224), **Zachariah** (cat. 44 and 264), and **Daniel** (cat. 89). In these cases, the fragmentary state of preservation or blank inscription bands do not always allow for a positive identification of the prophet in question. Unidentified prophets are depicted on three tiles (cat. 76, 93, 98), while another, published as being decorated with the image of a prophet or an evangelist (167), is listed in the category of various representations discussed below.

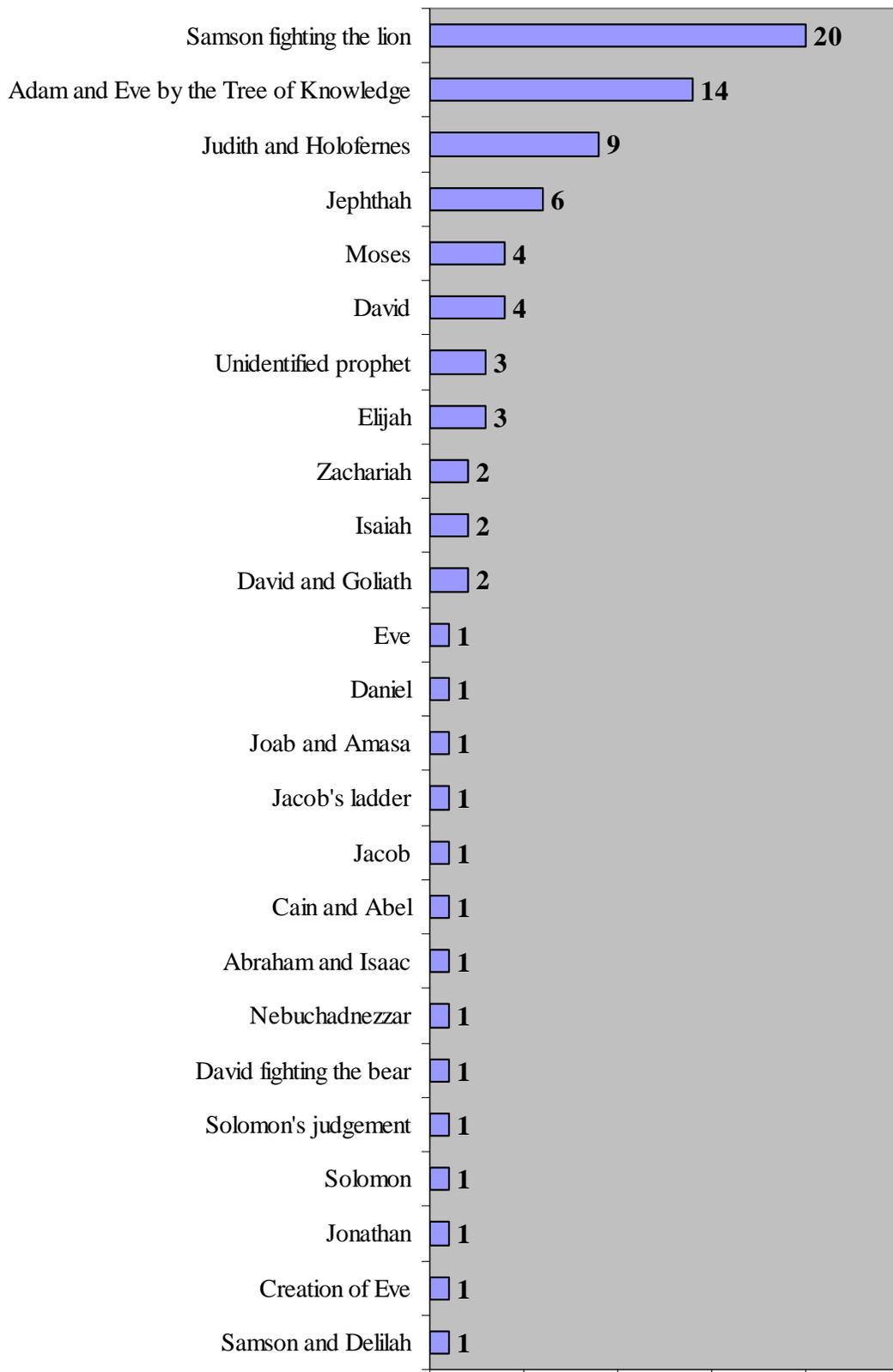


Fig. 2.7. Old Testament characters and scenes on medieval stove tiles from Hungary (based on 389 items).

Among the Old Testament characters, the analysis has shown that Samson was the most popular appearing 21 times, and that most of the tiles depicting him come from Transylvania; then come Adam and Eve, the episodes showing them as protagonists decorating 16 tiles; and at some distance, Judith (seen nine times), David (seven), and Jephthah (six).

### **Various representations**

I have excluded numerous representations of **angels** on tiles when they are just bearers of coats of arms, part of heraldic and not religious compositions. Other angels can be included in the group of religious tiles; the most popular were the archangels Gabriel and Michael, who are included here among the saints. Other angels feature on tiles as well, carrying different objects: the Mandyllion (cat. 283), coats of arms with crosses (cat. 289), and censers (cat. 23 and 356). The latter tiles are discussed in Chapter 4. An athletic angel features on a tile fragment too small to allow for an identification of the corresponding motif or scene (cat. 195). An angel holding a scroll is depicted on a tile as symbol of the evangelist Matthew (cat. 275). On one tile that depicts the banishment of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, an angel (a cherub) with a raised sword is pushing them away (cat. 366). Angels appear on one tile supporting the dead Christ (cat. 184), three times crowning the Virgin (cat. 39, 281, 337), and three times as assistants in scenes such as the Virgin crowned by the Trinity (cat. 118) or by Christ (cat. 119), and the Adoration of the Magi (cat. 156). Angels are depicted as supernatural beings, winged (but not always), emerging from clouds, sometimes crowned themselves or wearing cross-surmounted diadems, or having crosses in their hands. They are manifestations of divine intervention or divine presence at different important moments. Represented on 14 tiles, angels are almost always included in larger scenes in which they do not play an important role. I will list here only those cases when they appear as independent motifs: holding coats of arms with crosses and censers.

Four tiles depict just **crosses**, sometimes accompanied by rosettes (cat. 84, 85, 86, and 301). These cases are discussed in Chapter 4. Unsurprisingly for such Christian representations as the religious tiles in Hungary, crosses appear very often, decorating shields and cuirasses, surmounting orbs, the standard held by the Agnus Dei, on crowns and diadems, and so on (see Fig. 2.8 below).

Another six tiles are just mentioned in the literature, identified by the authors as containing **biblical representations** (not specifying the Old or New Testament – cat. 257 and 341), **a woman and evangelists** (cat. 342), and a **prophet or an evangelist** (cat. 167). Two more fragments reportedly have the inscriptions “**domin**” (cat. 343 and 344) and I discuss them in Chapter 7 when dealing with inscriptions.

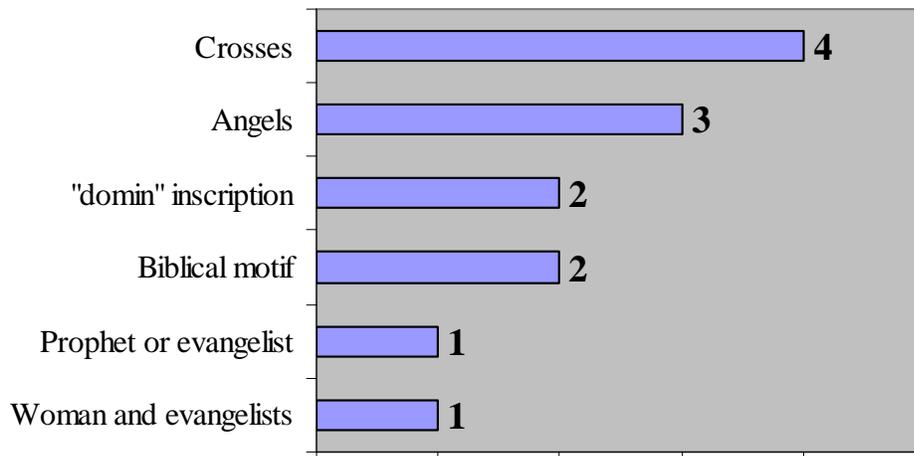


Fig. 2.8. Various religious representations on tiles from Hungary (based on 389 tiles).

### Discovery contexts

Religious tiles in Hungary come from almost 160 sites (including 35 cases with unknown places of finding). Almost equal numbers of sites are located in Central Hungary, Northern Hungary, and Transylvania (approximately 50 each), while many fewer are in Slavonia (11). This geographic distribution is consistent with the surface area of each of the four regions, Slavonia being the smallest.

The value of these sites is not comparable, since some of them have revealed large collections of tiles, including religious tiles, such as the royal palace in Buda, the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorsko, the castle of Parič, the workshops and houses of the town of Banská Bystrica, and others described below in more detail. The map in Appendix 2 lists the 112 places of discovery included in the catalogue, although some sites are located today in the same city. All the details about finding sites are given in Appendix 3.

Most sites were occupied by upper social groups; they are palaces, castles, and fortifications (54), representing 34% of all sites. Adding the seven manor houses and one royal hunting lodge, the proportion rises to 40%. There are 31 urban contexts, in city and town houses, administrative buildings such as town halls and headquarters of a mining business, urban castles, or unspecified locations. They represent 20% of all contexts. Four of the five archaeologically excavated tile workshops producing religious items are also located in cities. Two of them in particular were very rich in stove tile material, and will also be discussed in detail below. Five sites are village houses, representing 3% of all contexts. There are 19 religious contexts, representing 12% of the total: seven Benedictine monasteries, four Franciscan friaries, one Carthusian monastery, one Pauline monastery, one Cistercian monastery, one

Johanite monastery,<sup>77</sup> three Catholic churches and one castle chapel. 22% of sites are unknown locations (Fig. 2.9).

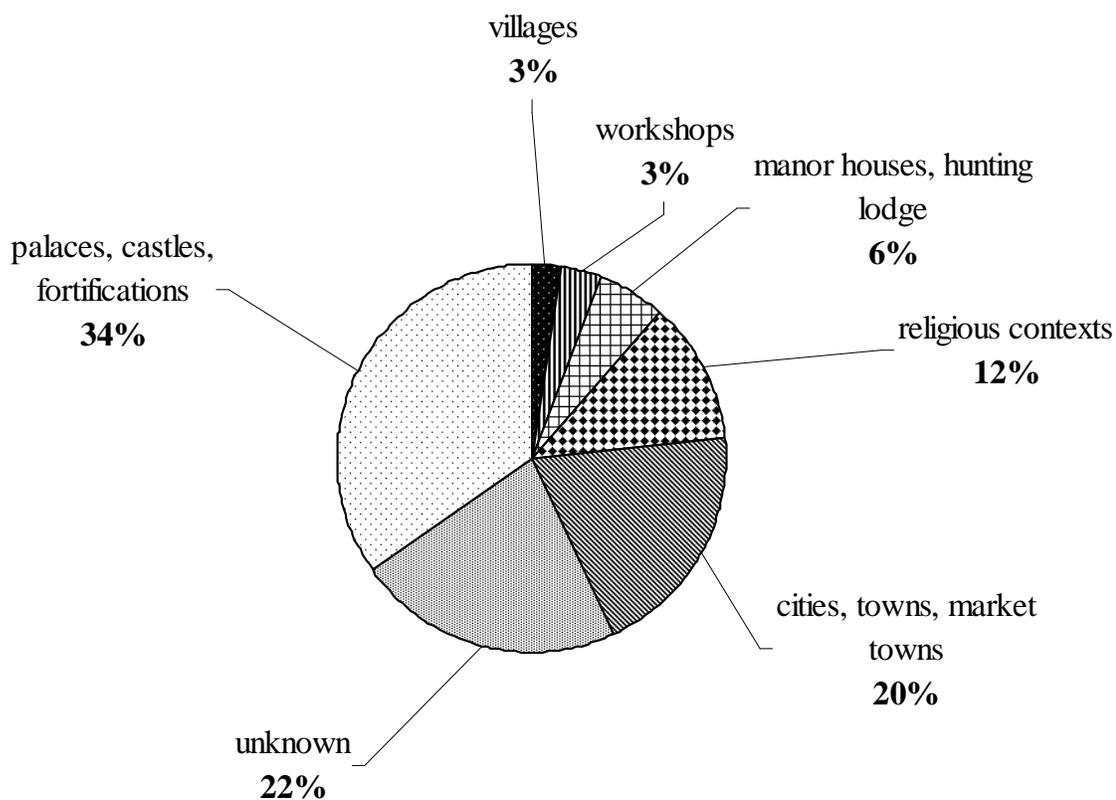


Fig. 2.9. Types of discovery sites of religious tiles in Hungary (based on 158 sites).

<sup>77</sup> Belonging to the Hospitaller Order, whose members were called Johanites in Hungary after their patron, St. John of Jerusalem (see Cevins, 2003, 386).

	<b>Central Hungary</b>	<b>Transylvania</b>	<b>Northern Hungary</b>	<b>Slavonia</b>	<b>Total</b>
Palaces, castles and fortifications	20	8	20	6	<b>54</b>
Manor houses, hunting lodge	4	5	-	-	<b>9</b>
Cities, towns, market towns, suburbs (town hall, mayor's house, burgher houses, urban castle)	6	8	15	2	<b>31</b>
Villages	2	3	-	-	<b>5</b>
Workshops	-	2	2	1	<b>5</b>
Religious contexts (churches, castle chapel, monasteries: Pauline, Benedictine, Cistercian, Carthusian, Johanite, Franciscan)	6	6	7	-	<b>19</b>
Unknown contexts	12	18	3	2	<b>35</b>
<b>All sites</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>158</b>

Fig. 2.10. Contexts of religious tiles in Hungary according to province.

Some contexts have revealed large collections of stove tiles, most of them also including items decorated with religious motifs. In some rare cases, such as the market town of Ete, tiles with religious representations are completely missing from the lots discovered.<sup>78</sup> Some contexts are tile-producing workshops and sites located in their area are predictably rich in their products. I will present here some of the main sites, according to their importance (either from the point of view of the number of items discovered there or considering their importance, especially when they were destroyed in the late Middle Ages or the early Modern Period and remained undisturbed afterward).

### **Buda**

The stove tiles from Buda palace have been studied over the years and a long series of articles, mainly by Imre Holl, are dedicated to them.<sup>79</sup> They have been grouped according to types, analyzed and re-analyzed, sometimes with corrections and the addition of new data. Still, a monograph on the topic would greatly clarify the matter and create a more encompassing and accurate picture.

<sup>78</sup> Vizi, Miklós, 2003; Vizi, Miklós, 2002; Parádi, 1957; Parádi, 1970.

<sup>79</sup> Holl, 1958, 1971, 1983, 1990, 1995, 1999, 2001, 2002; Holl, Voit, 1956.

Holl presumed the existence of tile workshops working for the royal palace, yet no written source attests to them. The large and rich number of tiles discovered here argues for the existence of such workshops. One has been named, according to the iconography of its products, “the workshop of the knightly stoves,” producing tiles depicting the knight in tournament (detailed in Chapter 3), an angel holding coats of arms, pairs of saints, the griffin, the lion guarding the tree of life, and a type of rosette. The tiles are of very high quality, with open-work and tracery elements, with perfect details and glazing, and were produced around 1475 (see the discussion on chronology in Chapter 3). Several of the products of the “workshop of the knightly stoves” have indirect analogies in southern Germany, dated to around the same time, but a dispute goes on as to which might have been created first. One can only conclude that the influence and relations of tiles from the Hungarian and the German areas remains unknown, but that neither region copied the other’s tiles nor did they use common molds.<sup>80</sup>

What is clear is that the Buda stove tiles became very popular throughout the kingdom. It was the first time that tile motifs circulated over long distances and enjoyed such a large-scale diffusion. Similar molds were used by other workshops; the tiles were copied and imitated until the sixteenth century. The religious tiles in this group are not exceptions and their analogies will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 4. Most numerous are the niche tiles with pairs of saints, prophets, and Old Testament characters on corbels flanking the central box of niche tiles surmounted by Gothic open-work tracery. These are among the best quality tiles ever made in medieval Hungary, and their impact will be analyzed in Chapter 4. Fourteen different figures feature on these tiles (saints: Catherine, Adrian, George, Anthony the Hermit, Peter, John the Baptist, Jacob the Elder, Christopher, Agnes, Michael, a holy bishop, prophets: David and Isaiah, and Old Testament characters such as Judith). Some preserved fragments show what some of the pairs were (Fig. 2.11, cat. 3, for example). One tile puts together Adrian and David, others depict Christopher and Peter, Agnes and Jacob, and Anthony and Peter. The unequal occurrence of each character and these combinations suggest that separate molds of these figures were used randomly, or at least according to a yet-undiscovered logic. The saints were used in the composition of tiles with different formats, some more vertical, others almost square. When copied, these figures could also appear on panel tiles and elements such as heraldic representations could also be added.

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<sup>80</sup> Tamási, 2004.



Fig. 2.11. Niche tile with St. Adrian and Prophet David, royal palace of Buda.

Another very successful tile type created in Buda contains different scenes in central medallions, such as the Pelican in her Piety, also widely copied throughout Hungary, or the Annunciation divided on two neighboring tiles, one depicting the kneeling Virgin, and the other the kneeling archangel. These also have analogies in the south German and Swiss area. All are detailed in Chapter 4.

Other religious tiles are attributed to another workshop, the majolica workshop dated during the reign of King Matthias Corvinus, to the period between 1485 and 1490.<sup>81</sup> This is the case of a depiction of David and Goliath, with polychrome glaze (cat. 31).

### **Banská Bystrica**

This North Hungarian town was one of the most important tile production centers of the kingdom, probably the second largest after Buda, according to the number of discoveries. But, unlike the capital, tile workshops and molds have been archaeologically excavated in Banská Bystrica, proving local production beyond doubt.

Banská Bystrica became a city through royal privileges granted by King Béla IV of Hungary in 1255. It owed its significance to copper mines, for the exploitation of which skilled German miners enjoyed royal favor. The town became one of the most important mining centers of Northern Hungary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was linked by trade routes to all of Europe and merchants from Buda came to settle and do business there. In 1494 the *Ungarischer Handel* was founded in the

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<sup>81</sup> Holl, Voit, 1956.

town, a joint enterprise of the affluent Fugger and Thurzo families, exploiting the copper mines and exporting their products on a European scale. The urban castle dominated the central area of Banská Bystrica, with its imposing defensive walls, towers, and barbican (1480-1510). The enclosed area contained a Romanesque church, the Town Hall, the house of King Matthias' wife and several other buildings. The houses of the important merchants and mine owners surrounded the central square near the urban castle. As for the religious devotions of the town, one may note those for the Virgin (the main church is dedicated to her Assumption) and St. Barbara, protector of miners (a side-chapel with an important altar of master Paul of Levoča is dedicated to her, and she is also depicted in a fresco from an urban house known as the Thurzo House.)<sup>82</sup> In 1503 the St. Anne hospital is mentioned, having a lay founder, and in 1526 a confraternity of the Holy Sacrament appears in documents.<sup>83</sup> By the fifteenth century, the town was a prosperous German settlement. Not surprisingly, stove tiles appear in large numbers in archaeological excavations there. Two tile workshops have even been uncovered in the town, and at least 70 individual tiles with religious representations have been published as coming from the town.

Tiles produced in Banská Bystrica spread throughout the region.<sup>84</sup> Two workshops have been archaeologically researched in the town, and the existence of another is suggested by another large number of technically and stylistically related tiles. During the excavations conducted in 1894 at Dolná Street no. 35, for the sewer works at the house of a Dr. Samuel Bothár, a large group of glazed and unglazed tiles and molds were found (Fig. 2.12). The workshop was active around 1480 to 1500, being destroyed during the great fire that ravaged the city on April 1, 1500. Typical for its production are the square panel tiles or rectangular semi-cylindrical ones decorated with images of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Barbara.<sup>85</sup> Tiles created with identical molds have been excavated as far away as the Bratislava castle (Margaret) and the fortification of Šintava in Northern Hungary (Margaret and Barbara). Products of this workshop are to be found in museum collections in Budapest, Bratislava, Cervený Kamen, and Kremnica.<sup>86</sup> Four molds were also found here, one depicting St. John, the other St. Dorothy, one fragmentary mold with a roof-like decoration, and one with a pair of burghers. The clay molds depicting St. John the Apostle (cat. 221) and St. Dorothy (cat. 228) were not accompanied by tiles created with them:

<sup>82</sup> Other subjects depicted on the 1465-1478 mural are: a dance with a bear, St. George and the dragon, the legend of Daniel, Susanna and the old men, Christ and the Samaritan woman, the prayer on the Mount of Olives, and the Last Judgment (Durdiaková, 1971, 121-144, 128, fig. 8).

<sup>83</sup> Cevins, 2003, 74, 194, 225.

<sup>84</sup> Cserey, 1974, 205-217.

<sup>85</sup> Holčík 1974, 175-193.

<sup>86</sup> Holčík 1977, 133-138. He debates the data published by Eva S. Cserey.



Fig. 2.12. Molds from the tile workshop at Dolná Street no. 35, Banská Bystrica.

The second workshop was discovered in 1907 in the central square, now Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22 (henceforth: SNP 22) during excavations at the house of a Dr. Ebner. It was active around 1450 and produced religious tiles with inscriptions (Elijah, Isaiah, “marya”, etc), but also lay scenes.<sup>87</sup>

The existence of yet another workshop is hypothesized based on related tiles found in two different locations in Banská Bystrica. Tiles depicting the Madonna, St. George, St. Ladislav, St. Catherine, the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in her Piety, the two-tailed siren, the wolf preaching to the geese, geometric motifs, a heraldic lion and another lion, and a unique sex scene, were found in the destruction area of the city hall in the town castle and the house of Mayor Stefan Jung (in the central square, now Slovenské Národné Povstanie no.1, in modern times City Hall). The Pelican-in-her-Piety tile was found only in the castle area. According to their shape and dimensions, the tiles occupied different positions in the composition of stoves in these locations: the triangular ones were part of the stove’s crown and the narrower ones part of the corners. Such corner tiles were preserved and they connected St. Catherine with the preaching wolf, St. George, or the rectangular geometric motif. The iconography of this group is very heterogeneous, but technical and stylistic aspects indicate the hand of the same master. There are altogether hundreds of fragments in the deposits of the History Museum of Banská Bystrica, still being catalogued and reconstructed. The tiles from the town castle were excavated from the destruction area of the Old Town Hall, in secondary deposition. In the modern City Hall, the remains of at least three stoves were discovered on the ground and first floors, destroyed during the reconstruction of the building in the sixteenth century. The Buda burgher Vit Mühlstein probably bought the house from Stefan Jung in 1465. The latter, mayor of Banská Bystrica between 1450 and 1454, owner of a mining business, probably commissioned the stoves in both his house and

<sup>87</sup> Mácelová, 1999.

the Old Town Hall. Other documents show that he had previously been mayor of Kremnica and was a member of a wealthy family that owned property in and around Banská Bystrica.<sup>88</sup> It seems therefore that the stoves with this mixed iconography were created through a combined public and private commission by Mayor Stefan Jung between 1450 and 1454. The large number of tiles necessary for building at least five stoves (four in the mayor's house and one in the town hall) and the presence of local workshops suggest they were produced locally, though the work may have been done by a traveling master or with imported molds. Other religious tiles were found in Banská Bystrica in the barbican of the urban castle and other sites in the central square, some copying originals from Buda.

### **Klaštorskó**

Rich stove tile material has been discovered over the years in the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorskó (Northern Hungary).<sup>89</sup> The monastery, dedicated to St. John the Baptist and established in 1307, is located in a remote place in today's Slovak Paradise National Park in the Spiš region, Letanovce Department. Due to its location, in accordance with the typical Carthusian site selection, on a hill fortified against the Mongol raids of the thirteenth century, the monastery was called *Lapis Refugii* in the Latin sources.<sup>90</sup> Klaštorskó was reconstructed between 1478 and 1530 and this is when decorated stoves were installed in each monk's cell and in some of the common spaces.<sup>91</sup> The tile collection from Klaštorskó is unique in its dimensions, variety, and good archaeological context (the site was not re-used after the destruction of the monastery around the middle of the sixteenth century). Remains of more than 200 tiles and the bases of at least fourteen stoves have been discovered there. Several types of images can be found on these stove tiles: religious representations, especially related to the Virgin, but also symbols of the evangelists, the Agnus Dei, other saints and Old Testament scenes, heraldic representations, angels supporting coats of arms, knights, vegetal and animal decoration, but also a series of "strange" images. The latter include tiles depicting combinations of signs and symbols (discussed in Chapter 9), a wild man with a crab, a man working with retorts and containers in front of a character in orant position (an alchemist?), and a man and a fool pounding together in the same mortar.<sup>92</sup>

### **Parič (Třebišov)**

The palace of the fortification in Parič, Northern Hungary, is very rich in Renaissance stove tiles dated around 1504, when the owner, Imrich Perényi, became palatine of Hungary. More than 30

<sup>88</sup> Mácelová, 2005, 208.

<sup>89</sup> The archaeological material is still in the process of being catalogued and inventoried and I thank Dr. Michal Slivka for allowing me to study several of the tiles.

<sup>90</sup> www.klastorsko.sk.

<sup>91</sup> Slivka, 1988; Slivka, 1990; Slivka, 1991a; Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 207-248, fig. 31-40; www.klastorsko.sk.

<sup>92</sup> Gruša, 2008b.

motifs decorated these tiles, most of them polychrome glazed. Their similar characteristics and the tracery, base, and crown elements discovered at the site allow for theoretical reconstructions of the stoves heating the interiors of this palace at the very beginning of the sixteenth century. Considering the unity of the lot, one may easily conclude that the tiles were probably the products of the same workshop or potter. The discovery of a tile decorated with an angel supporting a coat of arms with the three lilies of the city of Košice offers further support for placing the workshop in that town. The religious motifs on these tiles include the Madonna, the four capital virgins (Barbara, Dorothy, Margaret, and Catherine), St. James, St. John the Almsgiver, Christopher, and George. There are also different other motifs, however, such as a couple of burghers playing cards, couples in love, dancers, vegetal and geometric motifs.<sup>93</sup> Some of the depictions were inspired by contemporary engravings.

### **Bistrița**

Bistrița was an important German town in eastern Transylvania, owing its status to its location as a main stop on the commercial routes to Moldavia.<sup>94</sup> Masters and artists from the city were also employed in the neighboring country, where their activity contributed, for example, to the introduction of architectural Gothic elements.<sup>95</sup> In 1453 the town and its estates entered the possession of John Hunyadi, governor of Hungary.

Several stove tiles have been recovered from a row of medieval houses in the town center, known as the Șugălete Street.<sup>96</sup> The two-storey houses with arcades and shops on the first floor forming a covered arcade, constitute clear contexts for the type of tiles that decorated the homes of rich burghers in Transylvania. Ten religious tiles, dated to the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, come from one particular house, located at no. 22, which was heated with stoves decorated with images of the saints and scenes from the New Testament. Some are unique in Hungary, such as the martyrdom of St. Sebastian (cat. 117), Mary crowned by the Holy Trinity (cat. 118), Mary crowned by Jesus (cat. 119), and the Mystical marriage of St. Catherine (cat. 120). The lot is still being analyzed and is not fully published, so detailed observations on the iconography of these stoves cannot be made except for the fact that the decorative effect was probably enhanced by the alternation of unglazed, green glazed, and polychrome glazed tiles. The house was built around 1500 by Andreas Beuchel, former mayor and member of an important patrician family. In 1532 it was sold to a certain Christian Pomarius, a notary, and in 1538 sold again to John the Mason, known to have received

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<sup>93</sup> Chovanec, 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Gonța, 1989.

<sup>95</sup> Vătășianu, 1959, 711; Moiescu, 2001, 151.

<sup>96</sup> Sebestyen, 1985; Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993.

princely commissions in Moldavia in the time of Petru Rareș (1527-1538; 1541-1546).<sup>97</sup> All the tiles have been dated around 1500, so this stove or stoves, certainly belonging to the Renaissance style, were presumably assembled at the orders of the house's first owner, Andreas Beuchel. It is not clear how long were in use, and whether latter owners also used them.

### **Vințu de Jos**

German colonists settled in Vințu de Jos (Transylvania) in the thirteenth century; in 1248 they were granted important privileges. At the end of the same century, the place was so prosperous that a Dominican friary was about to be built. The religious establishment reached its “golden age” in the fourteenth century, a period from which rich material culture has been discovered archaeologically (including Byzantine cult objects, book bindings and appliquéés),<sup>98</sup> but declined after a series of Turkish attacks in the middle of the fifteenth century, after which it was occupied by a series of lay owners who transformed it into a castle. The most important was George Martinuzzi, bishop of Oradea, cardinal and then governor of Transylvania. The castle ended up in ruins in the eighteenth century.

In the fifteenth century, the Dominican friary introduced tile stoves, and at least some of them might have been reused in the reconstructions that led to the transformation of the building into a luxurious castle in the middle of the next century. Partial results of the excavations indicate that the stoves of the friary were probably decorated with religious motifs (the Crucifixion, probably pairs of saints and variants of St. George) and geometric motifs, while the largest tile collection comes from the early castle, bearing various representations such as St. George, the Holy Kings of Hungary, allegories, antique scenes, and heraldic representations.<sup>99</sup> Through the variety and dimensions, the assemblage of stove tiles discovered on the site, comprising almost 1500 types and variants, is one of the most important in Transylvania. According to the technical characteristics, the style, and especially the dimensions, the tiles can be grouped and considered as forming individual stoves. One such stove included tiles decorated with saints (St. George slaying the dragon decorated approximately 20 glazed and unglazed individual tiles), Samson fighting the lion, various allegories, and hunting scenes.

In the seventeenth century, the castle, then owned by the Bethlen family, was decorated with new stoves created by the Haban potters. These Anabaptists were colonists on the estates of Vinț in 1621. They were famous for their skill in pottery, including stove tiles, mainly due to the new types of glazes they used, such as the rare cobalt blue and white.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Lapedatu, 1912.

<sup>98</sup> Rusu, 1998, 13-21.

<sup>99</sup> Rusu, 1998, 3, 9.

<sup>100</sup> Bunta, 1971; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 45-47.

## Visegrád

Visegrád is the second most important medieval site in Hungary after Buda, where a series of important monuments has been thoroughly excavated and researched.<sup>101</sup> Some of them also revealed stove tile material: the upper castle (from the Arpád Age), the buildings of the royal curia (from the Angevin period), the lower castle, the royal palace, and the Franciscan friary. The few religious representations come from the curia (the Pelican in her Piety), the citadel (upper castle: St. George, Mary's portrait), and the palace (a prophet, Mary's portrait, St. George, and the Archangel Gabriel). Visegrád palace became important in the early fourteenth century when the court moved there for a period. The palace was furnished with a new heating system for the period, tile stoves. The large number of tile discoveries at the site is also relevant because of the fact that the castle was destroyed in 1544 and the remains were undisturbed. This allowed for detailed stove reconstructions. The Angevin stoves were destroyed at the end of the fourteenth century, when the great reconstruction works of King Sigismund started. Another important reconstruction period dates to the time of King Matthias, at the end of the fifteenth century. The tiles of each period have been analyzed and the general characteristics researched, until the final period, the sixteenth century. Heraldic and geometric representations dominate the tiles from this site.<sup>102</sup>

## Diósgyőr

An important group of stove tiles were discovered during the archaeological excavations in the castle of Diósgyőr.<sup>103</sup> The castle was owned by members of the royal family until 1536, so it was decorated with lavish tile stoves, some of them tentatively reconstructed according to technical and chronological criteria.<sup>104</sup> Some included niche tiles with Gothic tracery and hand-made statuettes, others contained rare triangular tiles with individual imprints of faces and maybe badges. The iconography is again mostly heraldic, but there are also different monsters, animals, geometric patterns, and a few religious tiles: the eagle of St. John (dated to the fourteenth century), Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge, Mary crowned by angels, St. Michael weighing souls, and St. George (all dated to the middle of the fifteenth century).

## Nova Ves

This settlement was first owned by the bishops of Zagreb, but it soon freed itself and gained in importance, maybe also due to its urban tile workshops, excavated in the so-called Centar-Kaptol in the

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<sup>101</sup> Buzás, 2006; Laszlovszky, 1995.

<sup>102</sup> Kocsis, Sabján, 1998.

<sup>103</sup> Czeglédy, 1988.

<sup>104</sup> Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007.

center of the town. These urban workshops were the most productive during the fifteenth century.<sup>105</sup> Only one religious scene decorated these tiles, a kneeling angel, part of the Annunciation scene. Several individual tiles of the knight in tournament have been found, simpler geometric tiles, angels with coats of arms, and griffins, usually lower quality interpretations of the models from Buda.

### **Ružica**

Among all the castles in Slavonia, Ružica is the only one with a thorough analysis of its tile material.<sup>106</sup> The rich stoves built by Nicholas of Ilok, king of Bosnia, and after 1477 by his son, Lovro, were composed of tiles with a wide range of analogies to Hungary and other regions. The site is relevant due to this mix of tiles from numerous and usually very distant locations, analyzed in detail in Chapter 4. The iconography of the tiles is also varied, including the knight in tournament, numerous religious scenes, vegetal, geometric, heraldic, and lay scenes. Nicholas of Ilok (1410 - 1477) occupied the position of ban of Slavonia and at the end of his life, that of king of Bosnia.<sup>107</sup> These, and his other positions, testify to his rank and importance in the Kingdom of Hungary. His fortune is also reflected in the frequent use of stove tiles in his castle of Ružica.

### **Feldioara**

The only tile workshop excavated in Transylvania to include kilns was built on the ruins of the fortification in Feldioara.<sup>108</sup> It was dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and revealed a large number of pottery fragments and tiles, some of them with religious motifs (Adam and Eve and St. George). Other motifs include the two-tailed siren, the wolf preaching to the geese, a royal couple, riders, and vegetal representations. It is interesting that some of the elements on the tiles, such as the specific depiction of trees, closely resemble local motifs from the church in Feldioara, from a relief outside the church and a corbel from inside the altar. The case is analyzed in detail in Chapter 5 dedicated to tiles with St. George.

### **Cluj**

An urban workshop was excavated at Prahovei Street no. 12 in Cluj-Napoca, including tile fragments, materials, and a fragmentary clay mold depicting the Annunciation (cat. 132).<sup>109</sup> A tile imprinted with this mold was found in the Hungarian suburb of the Transylvanian city, Cluj-St. Peter (cat. 141). This case illustrates the local production and use of tiles in one of the most important cities of Transylvania. The workshop was active in the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next, also

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<sup>105</sup> Mašić, 2002.

<sup>106</sup> Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 229-304.

<sup>107</sup> Pálosfalvi, 2008.

<sup>108</sup> Marcu, 1992; Marcu Istrate, 2003a; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 37-40.

<sup>109</sup> Crișan, 1996; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 40-41.

producing tiles decorated with the knight in tournament, pedestrian knights, hunting scenes, St. Ladislav, and geometric motifs.

### **Racoșul de Jos**

Around 4000 tiles and tile fragments have been discovered in Racoșul de Jos, Transylvania, belonging to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manor house of the Sükösd family (destroyed in a fire in 1624) and the later Bethlen castle built on the same spot. The context of discovery allows for the reconstruction of the stove used in the manor house. It included ca. 10 tiles decorated with the Crucifixion, ca. 15 decorated with St. George, between six and nine tiles with the coat of arms of Sibiu, and a large number of tiles with very simple decoration (torsades) or completely undecorated, probably corresponding to the less visible sides of a stove placed in a corner.<sup>110</sup> The resulting stove would have been dominated by the two religious representations, the models of which share a similar style and similar technical characteristics. The other figurative representation from the composition of this stove depicts a rampant lion holding a shield with the coat of arms of Sibiu and a flag. The model is to be found on a fifteenth-century tile from Sibiu with much clearer details and the flag inscribed “GOT IST GER N.7,3”<sup>111</sup> indicating the possible production of the tiles from Racoș in Sibiu, a city with an important potters’ guild.

### **Molds**

There are eight molds in the group used here as source material. The ones from Banská Bystrica and Cluj have already been discussed. Another four molds have been discovered in Hungary, four made of clay and one made of stone. One clay mold represents the seated Madonna and comes from a secondary deposit on the castle hill in Esztergom (cat. 46) (Fig. 2.13), another shows St. Christopher carrying the Christ child on his shoulder crossing a stream and was found in a deposit with tile fragments in Roșia (cat. 185) (Fig. 2.14); another fragmentary clay mold is decorated with the image of St. Barbara holding the tower, found in the Franciscan friary in Slovenská Ľupča (cat. 336) (Fig. 2.14). The latter two molds date to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next. A fourth clay mold was discovered in the old city of Varaždin (cat. 388). It is preserved as a fragment depicting the head of an unidentified holy bishop. Tiles created in it have been found in Ružica (cat. 376) and Buda (cat. 12). This example indicates that at least in some cases the transmission of motifs relied on the transmission of molds between workshops. A stone mold decorated with the scene of the Annunciation comes from an unknown location in Northern Hungary, now kept in the collections of the

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<sup>110</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 148-150.

<sup>111</sup> Roșca, 2006, 65, cat. 1.

Hornonitrianske Múzeum in Prievidza (cat. 353). A tile probably created with this mold was found in Bohemia, in the castle on Vsetinský Peak.<sup>112</sup> The image belongs stylistically to the sixteenth century, showing Archangel Gabriel and Mary under a semicircular arch. It is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

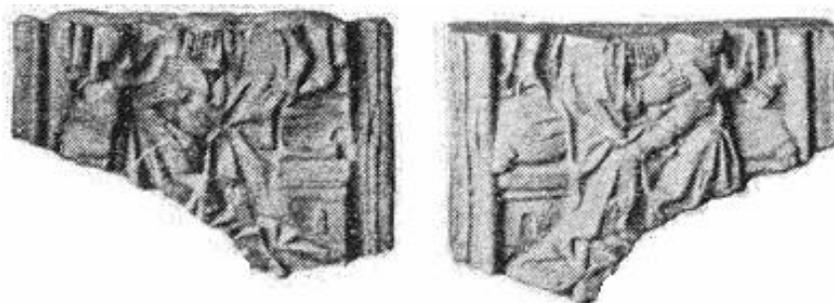


Fig. 2.13. Mold from Esztergom and tiles impressed by it.



Fig. 2.14. Molds from Roşia and Slovenská Ľupča.



Fig. 2.15. Stone mold from Northern Hungary.

<sup>112</sup> Kahoutek, 1991, 245, fig. 6.

### CHAPTER 3. Tiles Decorated with the Knight in Tournament

Some of the images that once decorated medieval stove tiles were much more popular than others. Among those ranking first in the top of preferences was certainly the so-called „knight in tournament.”<sup>113</sup> The representation on tiles of a mounted knight riding towards an imaginary opponent with a tournament lance ready to strike can be found on medieval tiles from the Swiss areas.<sup>114</sup> In Bohemia, the knights hold the lances upwards and they are sometimes accompanied by servants and fools.<sup>115</sup> Some tiles present the two opponents on one single tile;<sup>116</sup> the same scene was discovered on tiles from the Benedictine cloister in Altenburg, Austria.<sup>117</sup>

The motif was most popular in Hungary, however, where high-quality tiles depicting the knight in tournament were used in the royal palace of Buda and then spread through the entire kingdom and even into the neighboring areas such as in Moldavia. On these high-quality tiles, decorated with glazing, open-work, and tracery, a knight in full armor holding a small shield decorated with a rampant lion and a lance is riding his horse under an elaborate Gothic arch. The tiles were produced for the palace sometime in the mid-second half of the fifteenth century, presumably by royal workshops active in the capital. According to Imre Holl, the knight-in-tournament tiles were produced by the so-called “workshop of knightly stoves.” The existence of such workshops in Buda is attested by the impressive quantity of tiles discovered in the royal palace and the city, but they have not been identified archaeologically and there is no written mention of them. The coat of arms depicted on the knight’s shield (otherwise anonymous) and the analysis of glazing led Holl to date the items and the workshop to the reign of Ladislas V (the Posthumous, 1454-1457).<sup>118</sup> Judit Tamási, mainly quoting the archaeological dating of tiles and stoves produced with the same molds in Visegrád, has suggested that the workshop was active until later, into the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>119</sup> Admitting the entire second half of the fifteenth century as time of production, the dating of several tiles that has been established based on Imre Holl’s strict identification of the production interval between 1454 and 1457 must be re-considered in order to establish a strict chronology of the series. Some authors tend to

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<sup>113</sup> In Hungarian: *lovagalakos*.

<sup>114</sup> Tamási, 1995, 57-59, fig. 143-161;

<sup>115</sup> Brych, 2004, 118-122, fig. 258-269. Identical scenes can be found in illuminations: Holl, 1998a, 167.

<sup>116</sup> Richterová, 1982, 55, table 6.

<sup>117</sup> Krenn, 2000, 217, cat. 19.37.

<sup>118</sup> See the full discussion in Holl, 1998a; Rusu, 2008.

<sup>119</sup> Tamási, 2004.

compromise and date the original items to around 1475.<sup>120</sup> In the table below (Fig. 3.3) I present each author's dating, but the reader must keep in mind that they are relative, being the subject of on-going debate. What is certain is that the products of this workshop made their way throughout the Hungarian Kingdom and even beyond its borders into neighboring Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Moldavia, being the first example of such a large-scale transmission of motifs on stove tiles.

The knight-in-tournament tiles have enjoyed special favor in the studies of medievalists. The workshop of the knightly tiles, the knightly stoves in Buda and their copies and imitations have been thoroughly analyzed and reconstructed by Imre Holl in several of his studies.<sup>121</sup> His research, complemented by a few focused articles<sup>122</sup> and several other finds published in dispersed articles and exhibition catalogues, allow me to present a synthetic view of the matter. Despite the lengthy discussion of their production, dating, copying, and imitation, I will consider the tiles with knights in tournament as a homogenous group dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century and I will use them here as a control sample for the group of tiles with religious motifs, paying special attention to their iconography and distribution. If the geographical, social, and chronological distributions of the two groups reveal diverging patterns, then one can conclude that the transmission of motifs on stove tiles followed other reasons besides sheer availability. If there are differences, one can take the interpretation further, trying to find arguments for the importance of fashion, religious beliefs, and other meanings attached to images on such objects.

In the royal palace of Buda, the knight-in-tournament tiles were once part of stoves that also included tiles depicting an angel holding coats of arms, pairs of saints flanking Gothic arches, the griffin, the lion guarding the tree of life, and a type of rosette. The tiles are of very high quality, with open-work and tracery elements, with perfect details and glazing. The semi-cylindrical tiles depicting the knight were part of the heating chamber on the upper part of the stove and they were of two types: with the knight riding towards the left and with the knight facing right. They were probably assembled so as to suggest pairs of opponents competing in tournament. Glazing also varied, some tiles being completely green, other unglazed, and yet others leaving a red-painted knight detached in open-work against a green-glazed background. One should also note the existence of another variant produced by the same workshop, of knights in tournament with the lances continuing on a neighboring tile. Such

<sup>120</sup> Rusu, 2008.

<sup>121</sup> Holl, 1958; Holl, Voit, 1963; Holl, 1998a.

<sup>122</sup> Tiles with the knight in tournament have raised the focused interest of two Romanian researchers in particular: Daniela Marcu Istrate has published a series of articles on the topic (2003b, 2004 Chapter VII, and other repeated or translated versions. For the full bibliography see Rusu 2008) trying to create and then correct a lengthy and impractically complicated typology of the series of tiles, strongly criticized by Adrian Andrei Rusu (2008). Maria Venera Rădulescu also attempted (but failed) to throw light on the matter (Rădulescu, 2000b), while Vasile Mizgan has tried to complete the classification and add more tiles to the group (2001).

pairs of tiles, among the few examples confirming the use of more than one tile to compose one scene, have also been dated around 1450<sup>123</sup> but are probably a few decades later. Imre Holl published a graphic reconstruction of the “knightly stoves:”<sup>124</sup>

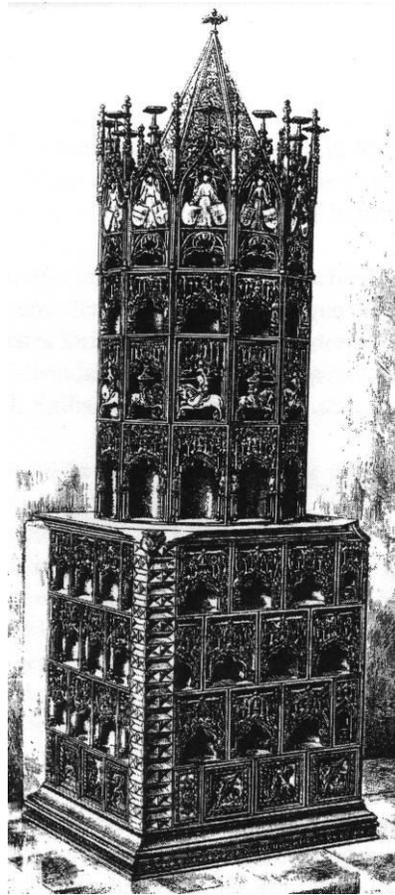


Fig. 3.1. Graphic reconstruction of the “knightly stove” from Buda palace (ca. 1475).

Products of the same workshop or other types of directly related tiles (copies and imitations) have showed up in large numbers in several locations in Hungary and the neighboring regions. Precisely because of the motif’s great popularity, which triggered numerous copies, re-copies, and imitations, one faces a problem in delimitating the group under discussion. During its transmission, the image lost or gained elements, to the point where it changed beyond immediate recognition. In order to show where I have set the limit, I will also discuss the late and indirectly related tiles originally inspired by the most famous product of the workshops in Buda.

<sup>123</sup> Gerevich, 1971, fig. 207.

<sup>124</sup> Holl, 1998a, 203, fig. 58.



Fig. 3.2. Semi-cylindrical tiles decorated with the knight in tournament (Buda, ca. 1475) – no. 1.

The way it was created by the royal workshop in Buda, the exquisite motif of the knight in tournament was composed of a mounted knight in armor under a Gothic arch surmounted by the architectural elements of a Gothic tracery. The arms, armor, and horse tack are depicted in great detail and with great accuracy, reflecting the realities of the mid-second half of the fifteenth century. The knight wears a great bascinet helmet with rounded visor and skull, adorned with a tall feather crest, a complete suite of armor with prominent pauldrons, cubitieres with rosettes, gauntlets, tassets, poleyns, and spurs ending in six-spike rowels. In his right hand he holds a lance with striped shaft and a small shield decorated with a rampant lion. His left hand rests on the saddle, holding the reins. The high-backed saddle, fixed with a girth, includes jambs protecting and partly hiding the knight's legs. The horse's tack is just as impressive, with a decorated bridle and reins with an attached cloth covering the knight's sabbatons.

Two main variants of the knight-in-tournament tiles were produced: a more frequent one, showing the knight riding left (Holl type 5) and another showing the knight turned to the right (Holl type 5a). I will consider both as forming a unitary group. Tiles belonging to this category have been discovered on about 33 sites throughout the Hungarian Kingdom. All together 38 tiles are known at present (according to the definition of "tile" described in the introduction), a minimum of 57 individual tiles including the cases when the exact number of tiles discovered on one site is available.

The motif is one of the popular ones, but not the most popular. The two-tailed siren, for example, features on 80 tiles (at least 100 individual items)<sup>125</sup> and St. George on 68 (see Chapter 5). The knight is, nevertheless, one of the images that generated the most variants, copies, and imitations. At least fourteen different variants can be identified among the tiles from the Kingdom of Hungary, not counting the differences in glazing. There were also numerous late copies or representations inspired by the image of the knight in tournament. Such are the tiles decorated with hussars, mounted knights under vegetal portals that included Turk's heads in the foliage,<sup>126</sup> and images of St. George that sometimes borrowed the “looks” of the knight in tournament.

I have assembled the published data on the tiles belonging to this group in the following table. It only shows those tiles identified with certainty as depicting the knight in tournament, excluding thus all fragments only containing elements of the Gothic arch and tracery, which also featured on tiles with exclusively architectural decoration and on those including pairs of saints on corbels. I have generally preserved the dating of the archaeologists, but they are in most cases not based on stratigraphic data and therefore open to debate. The numbers in this table are also indicated in the figure captions below:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Find Place</i>	<i>Status of the Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Directly Related Tiles</i>	<i>Number of Tiles and Glazing</i>	<i>Observations</i>
Hungary	1. Buda <sup>127</sup>	royal palace		ca. 1475	2; 11, 13, 17, 20	green glaze/ green glaze + red paint/ unglazed	knight to the left; openwork, tracery; local workshop
	2. Buda <sup>128</sup>	royal palace		ca. 1475	1; 27	green glaze	knight to the right; openwork, tracery; local workshop
	3. Pécs <sup>129</sup>	bishop's palace	Sigismund Ernest Csáktornya	1473-1505	26, 38	2 tiles	panel tile, added rosette

<sup>125</sup> Gruia, 2007d. Three more tiles have been discovered or published since, one in Cluj (A. A. Rusu, personal communication, 6.19.2007) and two types in Diósgyőr (Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 12, fig. 6, 50, fig. 49, 70-71, plates VI, VII, 74, plate X).

<sup>126</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2006. More variants existing in the bibliography are indicated in note 10.

<sup>127</sup> Holl, 1958, 252, 258, fig. 80; Holl, Voit, 1963, 21, 65, fig. 15; *A középkori Buda*, 1984, 26-27.

<sup>128</sup> Holl, 1958, 259, fig. 81.

<sup>129</sup> Holl, 1958, 269, 270, fig. 96.1-2; Holl, 1995, 271, fig. 12.3; Holl, 1998a, 178.

	4. Tata <sup>130</sup>	castle	king				
	5. Esztergom <sup>131</sup>	town suburb					
	6. Csesznek <sup>132</sup>	castle	palatine László Garai				
	7. Vác <sup>133</sup>	town					
	8. Sopron <sup>134</sup>	town					
	9. Bátmonostor <sup>135</sup>	palace	László B. Töttös Obermundschnek				
	10. Eger <sup>136</sup>	bishop's palace					knight to the right?
	11. Ozora <sup>137</sup>	castle	Hédervári family	end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	1, 13, 17, 20	4 tiles	openwork, tracery
	12. Piliszentlélek <sup>138</sup>	Pauline monastery					knight to the right
Northern Hungary	13. Bratislava <sup>139</sup>	royal castle	king		1, 11, 17, 20		openwork
Slavonia	14. Nova Ves <sup>140</sup>	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466-1500	15	2 tiles, green glaze	panel tile; local workshop
	15. Nova Ves <sup>141</sup>	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466-1500	14	5 tiles; green glaze/ brown glaze	openwork; local workshop
	16. Susedgrad <sup>142</sup>	fortification		end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	22	green glaze	panel tile
	17. Ružica <sup>143</sup>	castle	Nikola and Lovro of Ilok	second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	1, 11, 13, 20	green glaze	openwork, tracery

<sup>130</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>131</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>132</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>133</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>134</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>135</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>136</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>137</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178; Tamási, 2004, 521, 522, fig. 8.

<sup>138</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>139</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178; Polla, 1979, 149, fig. 80.5.

<sup>140</sup> Mašić, 2002, cat. 21, 22.

<sup>141</sup> Mašić, 2002, cat. 4, 29, 30, 31, 32.

<sup>142</sup> Stahuljak, Klobučar, 1958, 209, 210, fig. 2.

<sup>143</sup> Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 255, cat. 536.

	18. Moslavina <sup>144</sup>	fortification	Čupor fam. until 1493			white paint	openwork?
	19. Svetina <sup>145</sup>	noble residence	Cilli family				
	20. Čakovec <sup>146</sup>	castle	Cilli family		1, 11, 13, 17		openwork, tracery
	21.? (kept in Bjelovar) <sup>147</sup>	?					
Transylvania	22. Hunedoara <sup>148</sup>	castle	governor John Hunyadi	soon after 1475	16	green glaze	panel tile
	23. Șiclod <sup>149</sup>	?		1515	29, 30, 31, 33		panel tile, added date 1515
	24. Mălăiești <sup>150</sup>	fortification	Sărăcin family (Romanian cnez)	end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	25	4-5 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, added button border, coat of arms with unicorn, Turk's head
	25. Orăștie <sup>151</sup>	urban fortification	Saxon community	end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	24	unglazed	panel tile, added button border
	26. Făgăraș <sup>152</sup>	castle		end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	3, 38		panel tile, added rosette
	27. Cristian <sup>153</sup>	?		end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	2	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
	28. Cristian <sup>154</sup>	?		end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed	panel tile, added border
	29. Lăzarea <sup>155</sup>	castle	Lázár family	beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	30; 23, 31, 33	min. 2 tiles, unglazed/ green glaze	panel tile, added year 1515, decorative arch

<sup>144</sup> Bobovec, 2003, 165, 173, fig. T.3.5

<sup>145</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.

<sup>146</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178, fig. 38.1; Vidović, 1994.

<sup>147</sup> Stahuljak, Klobučar, 1958.

<sup>148</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 237; Balogh, 1943, fig. 37; Möller, 1913, 87, fig. 55; Balogh, 1966, 203, fig. 652; Vătășianu, 1959, 754-55, fig. 721; Rusu, Eskenasy, 1981, 114-115

<sup>149</sup> Holl, 1958, 273, fig. 98; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 273; Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 59, plate 26.

<sup>150</sup> Rusu, Eskenasy, 1981; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 242, 435, fig A1; Rusu, 2008.

<sup>151</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 249, 444, fig 1.

<sup>152</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 219, 400, fig.50.

<sup>153</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 202, 377 fig. A1; Roșca, 2006, 81, cat. 17, 216.

<sup>154</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 202, 356, fig. C2; Roșca, 2006, 81, cat. 18, 216-217.

<sup>155</sup> Kémenes, 2005, 146, cat. 60, plate 20, fig. 1-2.

30.Sâncrăieni <sup>156</sup>	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	29; 23, 31, 33	min.3 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, decorative arch
31.Sâncrăieni <sup>157</sup>	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	33; 29, 30, 23	min.1 tile, unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, dots
32.Sâncrăieni <sup>158</sup>	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	35	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
33.Sânsimion <sup>159</sup>	?		first half of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	31; 29, 30, 23	unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, dots
34.? <sup>160</sup>	?		end 15 <sup>th</sup> c. beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	36, 37	min. 2 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, star on shield
35.? (Szekler region?) <sup>161</sup>	?		beg. of the 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	32	green glaze	knight to the right; panel tile, added year 1511?
36.? (Saxon region?) <sup>162</sup>			16 <sup>th</sup> c.	37; 34	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
37. ? <sup>163</sup>				36; 34	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
38. Alba Iulia <sup>164</sup>	?		end of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	3, 26	unglazed	knight to the left; panel tile

Fig. 3.3. Stove tiles decorated with the knight in tournament from the Kingdom of Hungary.

### Groups of directly related tiles

Several sub-groups of directly related tiles can be distinguished, although more thorough considerations on copying cannot be made without the close analysis of the dimensions and details of the tiles involved.

<sup>156</sup> Kémenes, 2005, 111, cat. 8, plate 21-22.

<sup>157</sup> Kémenes, 2005, 111, cat. 9, plate 23.

<sup>158</sup> Kémenes, 2005, 111, cat. 10, plate 25, fig. 1.

<sup>159</sup> Kémenes, 2005, 119, cat. 4, plate 24.

<sup>160</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 197, 371, fig. 33.18; *Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 42, fig. 9.

<sup>161</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 267, 472, fig B4.

<sup>162</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 272, 476, fig. B4.

<sup>163</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 197, 371, fig. 19; Mizgan, 2001, 138, fig. 7b.

<sup>164</sup> Rusu, 2008, fig. 6b; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 178, 344, fig. B1; Rusu, 1996b, 129.

The original products of the Buda workshop, that were also found in places such as Ozora, Bratislava, Ružica, Čakovec, and others listed by Imre Holl.<sup>165</sup> They are all semi-circular tiles decorated in openwork and tracery, nicely cut and glazed. The sites indicate that the most high-quality pieces of the series were used in the residences of the king or his high dignitaries. Such tiles could have been the object of royal gifts. Their original prestige contributed undoubtedly to a high degree to their fashionable and popular character:

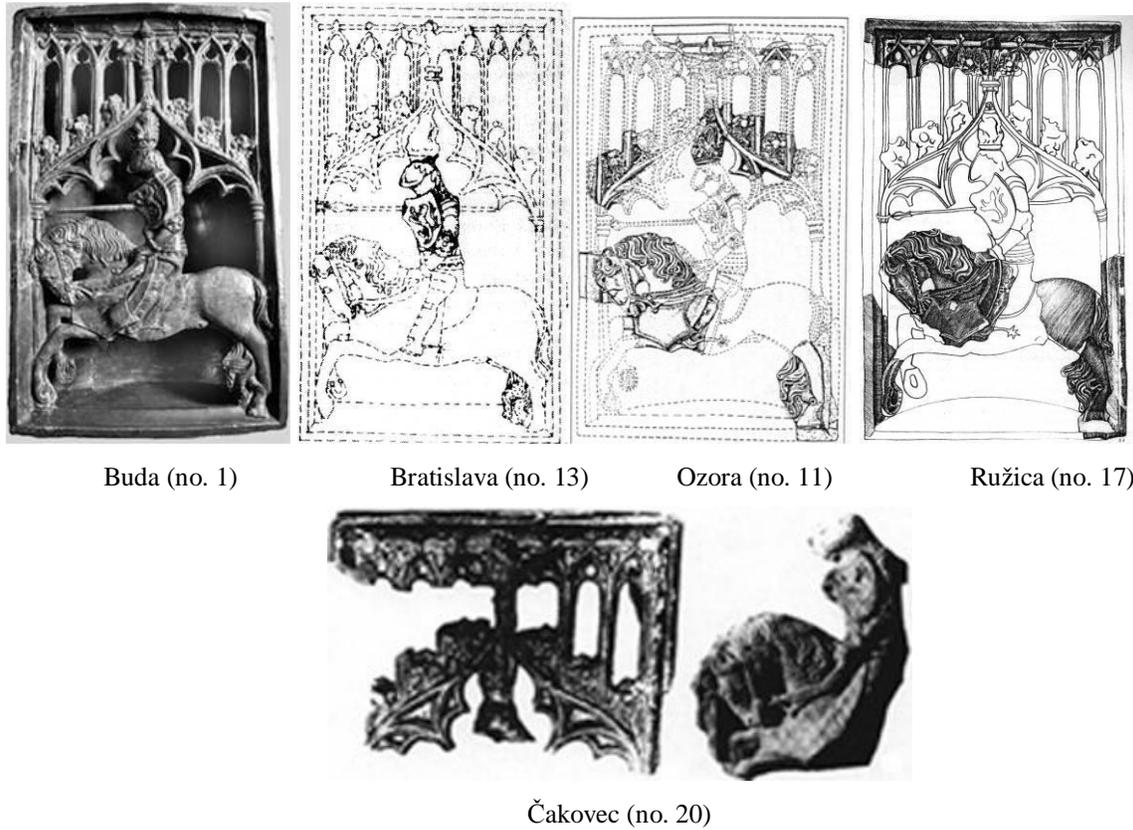


Fig. 3.4. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- original products.

Green-glazed panel tiles copied after the model in Buda have been found in the castles of Susedgrad (Slavonia) and Hunedoara (Transylvania).

<sup>165</sup> Holl, 1998a, 178.



Susedgrad (no. 16)



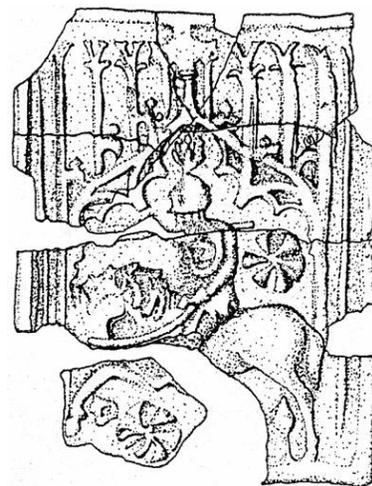
Hunedoara (no. 22)

Fig. 3.5. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- copies.

The imitations (copies with small additions), can be grouped further down the line of filiation. The tiles in Pécs and Făgăraș, both panel tiles, present one or two rosettes added in the background. It may well be the case that the tile in Făgăraș, having less clear details and being slightly cut in the upper part, was copied from the tile in Pécs. A fragment from Alba Iulia might also be related, but only the front part of the horse and lance are visible on the preserved item.



Pécs (no. 3)



Făgăraș (no. 26)

Fig. 3.6. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- imitations with an added rosette.

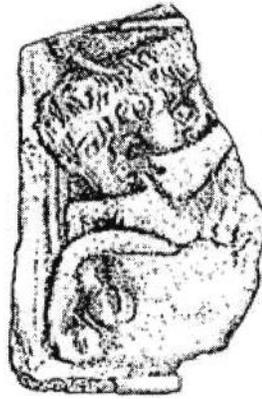
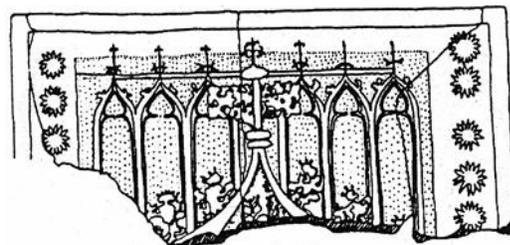


Fig. 3. 7. Tile fragment from Alba Iulia, probably related to the previous group – no. 38.

Two other tiles have a border of dots added, this being a typical means of correcting the dimensions of copies made smaller than their models due to the natural shrinkage of clay during drying and firing. The tiles from the fortifications in Mălăiești and probably the fragment from Orăștie also include supplementary details such as a coat of arms depicting a unicorn and a Turk's head. The unicorn has been interpreted as probably deriving from the composition of the owner's coat of arms (the Sărăcin family's blazon being otherwise unknown from other sources) and the Turk as being a frequent heraldic device in the anti-Ottoman context of the fifteenth century. A. A. Rusu has also advanced the hypothesis that both elements could have been dress accessories included in the composition just because they were considered interesting (as in the case of bronze bells that were cast in molds that included pilgrim badges, belt buckles, and various metal accessories).



Mălăiești (no. 24)



Orăștie (no. 25)

Fig. 3.7. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- imitations with added borders.

Tile number 34, with unknown place of discovery but kept in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, is another imitation of the Buda original, changing the depiction from the knight's shield and its shape. What was originally an asymmetrical shield with a rampant lion became a round shield decorated with a star with eight(?) rays.



Fig. 3.8. Tile fragment depicting the knight in tournament -- imitation with a changed shield from an unknown location in Transylvania – no. 34.

A distant copy of the original is another unglazed tile from the Saxon settlement of Cristian in Transylvania, which has an added a double border and displays fade-out details. The representation is schematic and it was probably created in a local workshop:



Fig. 3.9. Tile depicting the knight in tournament – imitation from Cristian – no. 28.

The tiles in Nova Ves, decorated either in open-work or flat relief, could be distant “relatives” of the model in Buda or very bad imitations created from it. All the items are drowned in a very thick green to brown glaze. They are the products of a provincial, local workshop, the archaeological traces of which have been excavated in this town belonging to the bishop of Zagreb.

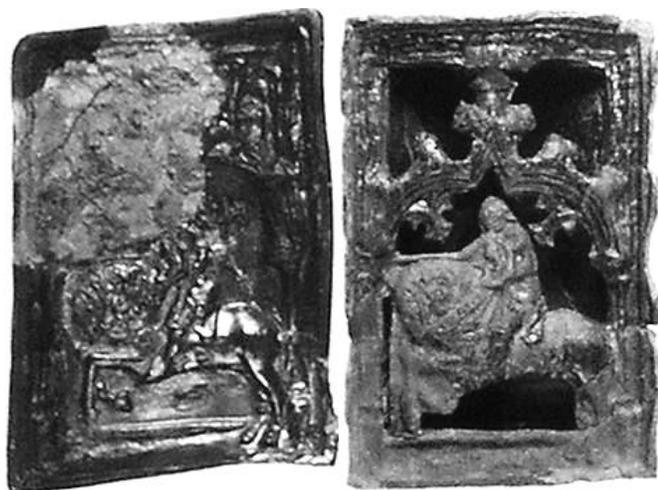


Fig. 3.10. Tiles depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Nova Ves – no. 14 and 15.

From a chronological point of view, the latest products of the group are the tiles from the Szekler region in Transylvania. They are provincial imitations of the higher class products, used in the first half of the sixteenth century in the interiors of the manor houses in the Szekler region, from Lăzarea, Șiclod, and Sâncrăieni. The tiles have similar dimensions and they were probably produced with the same molds, with slight alterations. The tiles in Lăzarea are of the better quality among the group, with clearer details and green glaze. On the tiles from this series, a bird is depicted on the knight's shield, unlike on the tiles from Buda that have a rampant lion in the same place. The bird could have been taken from the Corvin coat of arms. Tiles from this series bear the date 1515. Copies made from the first series have preserved the inscription with the date, so the year is only a *post quem* dating element. Three sub-groups can be distinguished, consisting of directly related tiles from Lăzarea, and Sâncrăieni (having the arch decorated with spirals), a tile from Șiclod that does not have the two semicircular arches above the arcade, and the tiles from Sâncrăieni and Sânsimion (adding a series of dots around the knight and his horse and instead of the two arches):

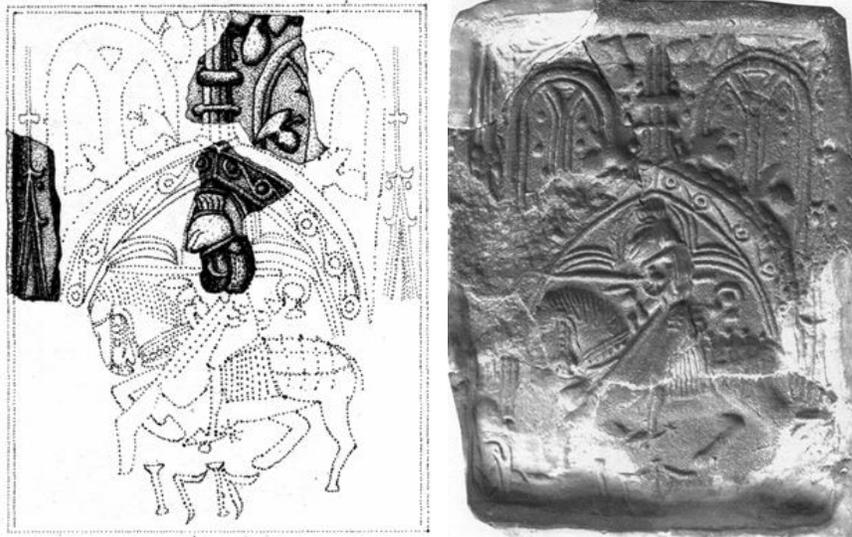


Fig. 3.11. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Lăzarea (no. 29) and Sâncrăieni (no. 30).



Fig. 3.12. Tile depicting the knight in tournament – imitation from Șiclod (no. 23).

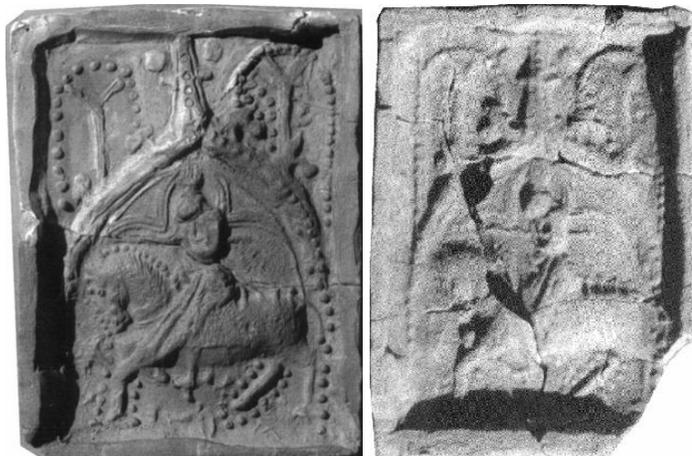
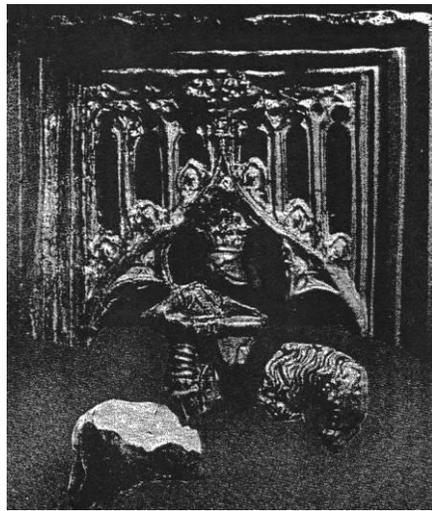
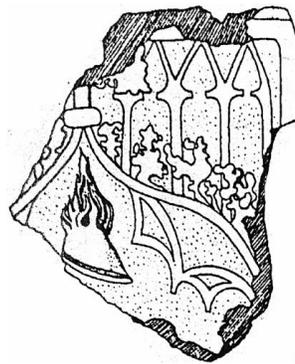


Fig. 3.13. Tiles depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Sâncrăieni (no. 31) and Sânsimion (no. 33).

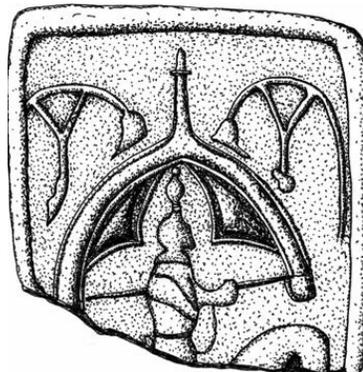
Tiles depicting the knight turned to the right are much rarer finds, but their transmission can also be traced and the existence of missing links can be argued for. The original of this variant was also produced in Buda, having the same high-quality details and careful open-work decoration and green glaze as the variant with the knight turned to the left. A tile fragment discovered as stray find in Transylvania, at Cristian, seems to be from a copy replicating the motif on an unglazed panel tile. Later imitations have been found in Sâncrăieni and an unknown location in Transylvania (the tile being preserved in the collection of the Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe). On these tiles the Gothic arch is strongly modified and simplified, and an inscription is added under the horse, probably indicating the year 1511. Other two directly related fragments, kept in the museums in Sighișoara and Cluj-Napoca, are also later imitations since they adapt the arch, adding vegetal elements, and place the motif under a semicircular line, with decorative elements in the upper corners. The composition is typical of the Renaissance representations on tiles, and thus the unglazed fragments can be dated to the sixteenth century.



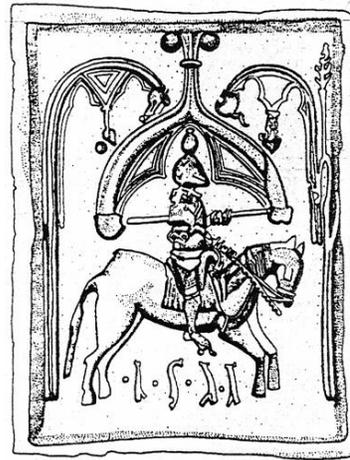
Buda (no. 2)



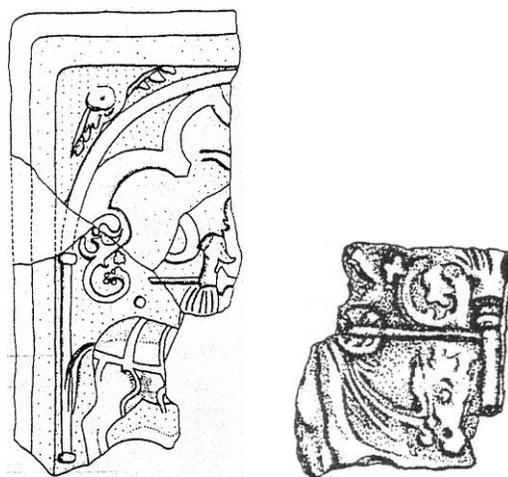
Cristian (no. 27)



Sâncrăieni (no. 32)



Unknown location in Transylvania (no. 35)



Unknown locations in Transylvania (no. 36 and 37)

Fig. 3.14. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament turned to the right.

### Contexts of discovery and distribution patterns

Turning back to the tiles considered as a group, the various distribution patterns can be discussed from several perspectives. As for the social distribution of the motif, it is a good illustrative example of the vertical social transmission of images on tiles. The motif seems to have been created and used first in Buda, in the royal palace. It was then used in other royal castles and those belonging to a number of the kingdom's magnates. Originals might have been offered to them as royal gifts or royal permission might have been granted for the creation of copies; lesser noble families also acquired it through similar means. The members of the Romanian local nobles of the Sărăcin family, for example, who owned the fortification in Mălăiești, were among the familiars of John Hunyadi, who, in his turn, received the tile (or its model) from the king for his castle in Hunedoara. The copies closest to the originals in Buda have been discovered in palaces and castles. In 16 cases the tiles featured in castles or fortifications, as would best fit such a knightly representation, but it also ended up, through imitation, in manor houses (in Transylvania) and urban contexts (in Hungary). It is also noteworthy that the only religious context of discovery is a Pauline monastery (in Piliszentlélek). A different type of knight in tournament, represented in a medallion, has been excavated in another Pauline monastery, Nagyvázsony, which will be discussed below. One cannot say that this association is a distribution pattern, since the number of cases is very small, but it is interesting that a tile motif made in and promoted from Buda would be found in monasteries belonging to the Pauline monks, the only Hungarian medieval religious order. The monastery in Nagyvázsony was established very late (1480-1483) and it was the private foundation of Paul Kinizsi whose residence was also located close-by. The

tiles and the monastery itself can be considered therefore as an act of noble prestige representation on the part of king Matthias's greatest military leaders. In four cases, tiles depicting the knight in tournament have been discovered in palaces and residences of bishops in Central Hungary and Slavonia. These cannot be considered religious contexts of discovery, but they can rather be grouped together with palaces and castles owned by other high-ranking dignitaries of the kingdom.

In summary, in 24 cases out of 38 the tiles can be related to royal or noble residences (palaces, castles, manor houses) and fortifications, in four cases to urban contexts (including an urban fortification), and in one case to a Pauline monastery. In nine cases the exact contexts of discovery remains unknown. It is noteworthy that none of the tiles have been discovered in market towns or villages, just as none have been unearthed in tile workshops. On the contrary, most of the distant imitations of the knight-in-tournament tiles, especially flourishing in Transylvania,<sup>166</sup> have been used precisely in middle and lower status social contexts, in cities, towns, market towns, and then villages.

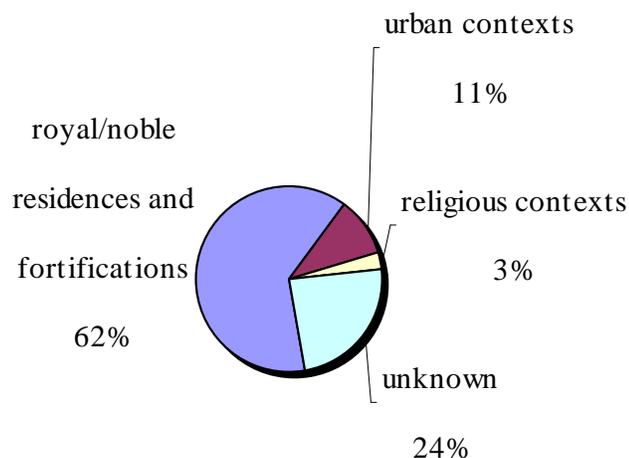


Fig. 3.15. Social distribution of tiles with the knight in tournament in the Kingdom of Hungary.

Geographically, most tiles are from Transylvania (17) and almost as many are from Central Hungary (12). Others are from Slavonia (8) and just one comes from Northern Hungary. It seems that in present-day Slovakia, the knight in tournament tiles did not enjoy favor, the only known context of use being in the royal castle in Bratislava, which is in fact part of northwestern Hungary close to Vienna. In Slavonia and Transylvania copies were certainly made in local workshops, such as the one in Nova Ves or others in the Szekler region. None of the pottery workshops identified so far from the latter region, from Cristuru Secuiesc, for example, have turned out to contain such pieces. If the first directly related tiles, original products or first-hand copies of the tiles in Buda were donated by the king

<sup>166</sup> Or just better researched. Some examples will be discussed later in this chapter, and more can be found in the bibliographic references indicated in note 10.

to his magnates, the later and less luxurious examples were certainly produced locally. In the absence of written records, one does not know the exact mechanisms of transmission in the case of the first tiles. Did the royal workshops produce more originals with the same mold? Did masters move and receive permission to work for other projects? Were tiles and molds transported or just drawings? The issue remains unsettled, since the mere archaeological evidence of directly related tiles in different locations cannot clarify that. Chronologically, a pattern of vertical social transmission seems to be supported by dating. The first copies have all been dated close to the time when the originals were produced (ca. 1475). Considering the fact that the dating of the originals and of the entire group is still under debate, one can only note that some Transylvanian variants are later in the series. Only in this province does one find tiles decorated with the knight in tournament created in the first half of the sixteenth century. They usually have added dates (1511 and 1515), although they could have been re-copied, thus the years inscribed on them can only be taken as being *post quem* dating indicators. It also shows a pattern that tiles probably no longer visible in Buda, since they must have been replaced with more fashionable tiles, were still imitated in the eastern end of the province from other distant copies of the originals.

In some places, more variants of the knight-in-tournament tiles have been discovered and were probably used together. This is the case of Buda (the knight to the right, to the left, and the related motif of the pair of knights in tournament), Nova Ves (where the knight turned to the left is done both in open-work and on relief panel tiles), Cristian (the knight turned to the left with and without added borders), and Sâncrăieni (where a collection of three variants of the motif was gathered in the first half of the sixteenth century, some depicting the rider to the right and some the rider to the left, under an arch decorated with spirals or with added dots). Despite the fact that tiles no. 34 and 37, together with smaller fragments from identical tiles, are preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, from Cluj-Napoca, without a known context of discovery they are technically and iconographically very similar. One can presume that they were presumably used together and all discovered on the same site. These cases indicate a certain intention to assemble stoves with chivalric iconography, and probably the combination of tiles in such a manner as to suggest the confrontation between two knights. It is also interesting to note that the greatest number of variants come from the manor house of a lesser noble family in Transylvania, pointing towards a late and pretentious display of chivalry by the time when it was more a fashion than a social and military reality. It might also have been a reflection of this tradition among Szeklers military leaders (in Hungarian, *lófők*) and lesser nobles who wanted to imitate important dignitaries.

### Indirectly related tiles decorated with the image of the knight in tournament and similar tiles outside Hungary

Another group of tiles that depicted the knight in tournament, facing either left or right but inscribed in a medallion and lacking the upper architectural tracery, was popular in the Swiss area.<sup>167</sup> An indirectly related tile was found in the Pauline monastery of Nagyvázsony.<sup>168</sup> The unglazed piece is dated to the end of the fifteenth century and it was paired with another round panel tile decorated with the Pelican in her Piety (cat. 69):

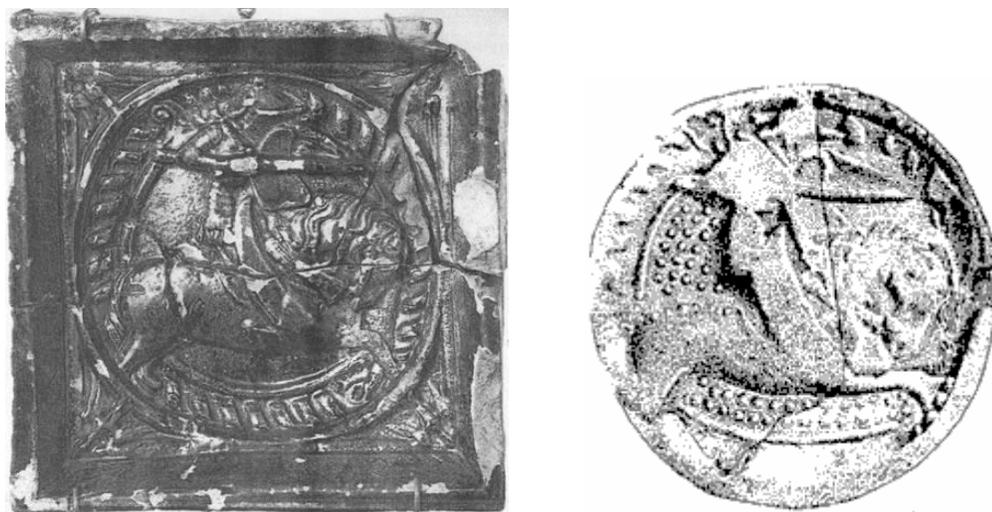


Fig. 3.16. Knight in tournament in medallions on tiles from Hallwil and Nagyvázsony.

The Swiss and the Hungarian tiles depicting the knight in a medallion, due to their differences in size and decoration (the tile in Nagyvázsony has a dotted background added), are indirectly related, having a missing earlier model as connection.<sup>169</sup>

As for the later tiles related to the Buda type of knight in tournament, one can find, as previously mentioned, an endless line of distant and indirectly related tiles, adding and changing elements to the point where they lose all resemblance to the original. Such later imitations, which I did not include in the group analyzed, come from the fortification in Bajcsa-Vár<sup>170</sup> (dated 1558 by the inscription) or from the Carthusian monastery in Kľaštorskó<sup>171</sup> (in Northern Hungary, dated before 1543).

<sup>167</sup> Tamási, 1995, 57-59, 132-134, figs. 143-157.

<sup>168</sup> Tamási, 1995, 59, 137, fig.158; Holl, 1983, 215, 216, fig. 29, 217.

<sup>169</sup> Tamási, 1995, 59.

<sup>170</sup> *Bajcsa-Vár*, 2002, 123, cat. 46-47.

<sup>171</sup> *Egyház-Jurovská*, 1993, cat. 238, fig. 39.

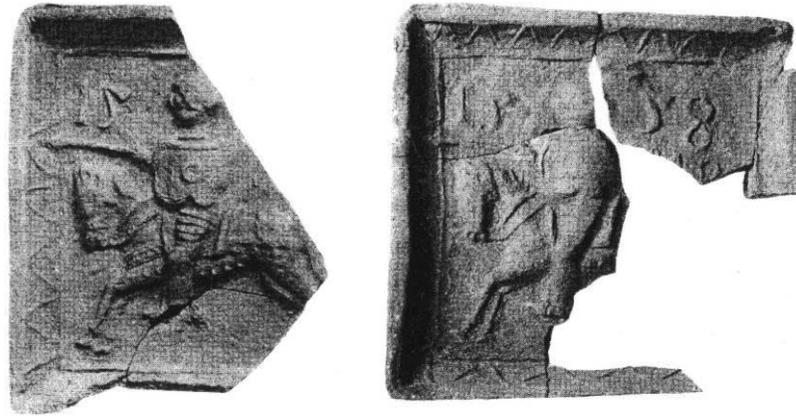


Fig. 3.17. Tiles with rider and added date (1558) from Bajcsa-Vár.



Fig. 3.18. Tile with a knight in tournament from Kľaštorisko.

The latest in the long series of copies seem to be those produced in the Szekler region of Transylvania. In Cristuru Secuiesc,<sup>172</sup> a medieval market town two tiles of the type have been discovered, one bearing the date 1573 and the initials of the potter (LF), and another in Lăzarea,<sup>173</sup> probably from the adjacent buildings of the manor house owned by the Lázár family.

<sup>172</sup> First tile: Marcu Istrate, 2004, 202, 377, fig. B1; Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 59-60, plate 27. Second tile: Marcu Istrate, 2004, 203, 377, fig. B3; Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 61, fig. 29.

<sup>173</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 239; Marcu Istrate, 2003b, 120, fig. 7; Molnar, 1978; Kémenes, 2005, 147, cat. 65, plate 26, fig. 3.

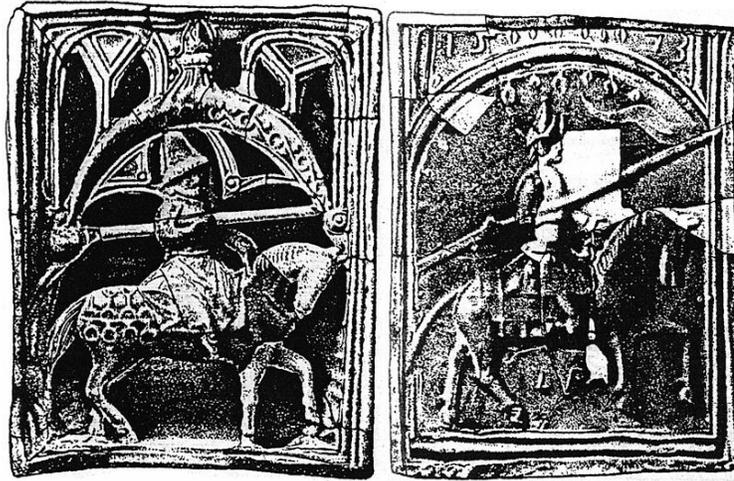


Fig. 3.19. Stove tiles from Cristuru Secuiesc depicting riders.



Fig. 3.20. Graphic reconstruction of a tile with rider from Lăzarea.

More direct imitations of the Buda tiles have been discovered in Moldavia, at Suceava (in the princely fortification, the princely court, the princely inn, and the yard of St. Nicholas' Church), the fortification in Hotin, and the boyar residences in Spătărești,<sup>174</sup> Arbore, Bălinești, and Părhăuți.<sup>175</sup> This group of tiles depicts the rider either turned to the right or to the left, they maintain the Gothic tracery and the arch, but they add two characters in the lateral niches, elements probably inspired by the other productions of the knight in tournament tile workshop from Buda such as the pairs of saints on corbels.

<sup>174</sup> Rădulescu, 2000b, fig. 2a.

<sup>175</sup> Batariuc, 1999, 118-119, 246, fig. 49.1-2, 247, fig. 50.5-6.



Fig. 3.21. Tile with the knight in tournament from Spătărești in Moldavia.

It seems probable that the image reached Moldavia through Transylvania, but the tiles from the Szekler region showing the knight turned to the right are all later, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century. Some specialists believe that the tiles in both the Szekler region and Moldavia copy an intermediate model, maybe produced in Bistrița, an important commercial point between the two areas. Bistrița is a likely guess for the location for the missing link since the Szekler tiles depict the Corvin coat of arms on the knight's shield and Bistrița was in the possession of John Hunyadi in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>176</sup> The governor of Hungary was granted the city and its estates in 1453 and it became one of his most important estates, since he held the title of count of Bistrița. The issue of motif transmission on tiles from Transylvania to Moldavia is debated, since most Moldavian archaeologists tend to date their finds earlier than those from Transylvania. In some cases the issue has been settled. Motifs such as the two-tailed siren<sup>177</sup> and the angel bearing coats of arms<sup>178</sup> probably could not have reached Moldavia through Poland because no such tiles have been discovered there. Transylvania therefore remains the most probable intermediary in the transmission of several motifs on tiles towards the state of Stephen the Great.

Two tiles depicting tournament scenes, very different from those belonging to the group here, have been discovered in Bistrița. One shows a knight turned to the right, in full armor and holding a lance, but there is no architectural element. Instead, the background decoration consists of lines that suggest wings or flames behind the knight and grass in the foreground. There are other significant differences as well; there is no shield, the horse is not galloping, etc.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Kémenes, 2006.

<sup>177</sup> Gruia, 2007d.

<sup>178</sup> Rusu, C., 1995-1996.

<sup>179</sup> Mizgan, 2001, 136, fig. 5.



Fig. 3. 22. Tile from Bistrița depicting a knight with wings (?).

The other tile fragment from Bistrița is interesting because that it depicts a more detailed tournament scene, with the knight galloping toward the left observed by two figures depicted as busts at the windows of a rear building.<sup>180</sup> The reconstruction drawing is based on a directly related tile from Suceava, in Moldavia.<sup>181</sup> The case is relevant for the transmission of motifs from Transylvania to the neighboring medieval state, but it is not helpful for the present discussion of the knight in tournament since the motif is iconographically very different; the Gothic arch is replaced by a two-window building and a circular tower(?), the knight wears a different type of helmet, and the horse's front feet are in a different position. The two tiles from Bistrița, despite depicting knights in tournament, are not related to those that spread from Buda. The only connection is thematic, all representations appealing to the same knightly culture and fashion.

<sup>180</sup> Mizgan, 2001, 135, fig. 4.

<sup>181</sup> Mizgan, 2001, 139, fig. 8b; Batariuc, 1999, 250, fig. 53.4.

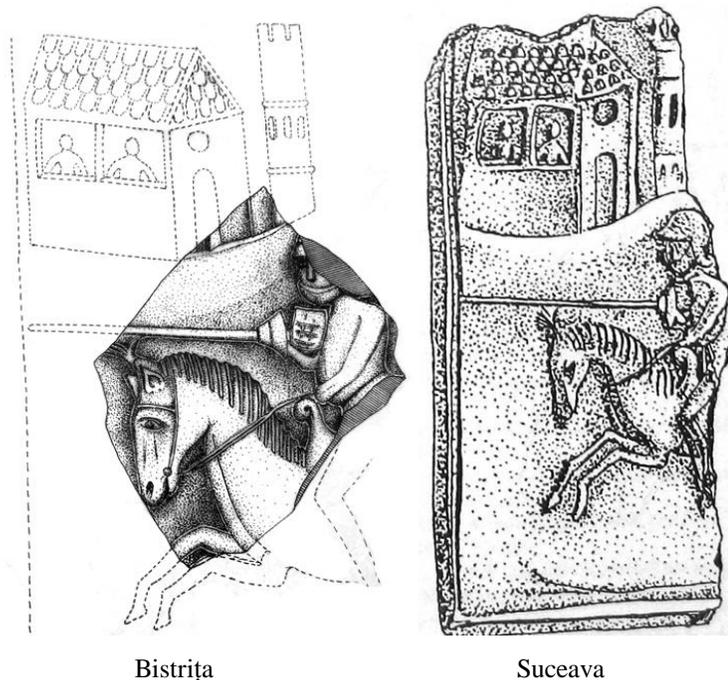


Fig. 3. 23. Directly related tiles depicting a tournament scene.

### Conclusions

An overview of the group of tiles decorated with the knight in tournament allows the formulation of several general conclusions on their production, transmission, and use. In terms of their production, sometimes the tiles were created using several individual molds, some containing secondary motifs (such as the shield, the unicorn, and the Turk's head). One does not know the exact means of transmission of the originals and close copies, but it can be affirmed that the later imitations enjoyed favor among provincial workshops in Slavonia and Transylvania. In Nova Ves and in the Szekler region of Transylvania, for example, the motif inspired numerous imitations, local potters virtually “playing” with the visual elements, combining and modifying them freely. In terms of copying, the original open-work tiles from Buda were transformed into panel tiles with relief decoration. Other differences in quality have been obtained through the presence or absence of glazing. The imitations change or add several elements of the original motif. Such modifications are usually applied to the decoration of the knight's shield (originally depicting a rampant lion, but later on depicting a star or a bird), or they refer to added borders with dots, rosettes, and inscriptions of dates. The number of Gothic arcades decorating the arch can be reduced, redrawn or even completely eliminated (as on one of the variants from Nova Ves), and the arch can be decorated with Gothic fleurons, decorative dots or spirals. This group of tiles well illustrates the transmission, diffusion, and

transformation of motifs on stove tiles in Hungary and beyond it. Half a century after its first creation for the context of aulic interiors in Buda, the knight in tournament on tiles reached the manor houses and the towns of the distant parts of the provinces almost completely stripped of its carefully rendered details. It is interesting to note how a motif appeared, flourished, and was transformed beyond recognition in an interval of ca. 65 years (accepting the creation of the originals around 1475 and taking into consideration the tiles with riders dated by inscriptions around the middle of the sixteenth century). The fourteen different variants of the motif tentatively identified here, not considering the differences in glazing, need further refinement that is only possible through the close inspection of all the items. A typology, which has posed so many problems to those approaching it, is made more difficult by the fragmentary preservation of some tiles, but especially by their uneven state of publication. In the attempt to obtain tighter dating for the items, one should take into consideration the spread and dating of the other products of the “workshops of the knightly stoves” in Buda.

Besides reflecting the countless ways in which a motif could be copied, imitated, adapted, and eventually completely transformed, the analysis of this group of stove tiles illustrates a clear case of the top-down social transmission of a visual representation. Created for the kingly interiors, tiles belonging to this group were also used by the higher and lesser nobles, but they also featured sometimes in monasteries and even cities. The quality of their copies and imitations also decreased along with the transmission of the motif, with the carefully cut open-work details and glazing being abandoned. This reflects both the element of prestige, the need to emulate higher social examples, and the diffusion of knightly culture that also permeated Hungarian society from top to bottom, reaching provincial, diluted, and hybrid forms in the sixteenth century.<sup>182</sup>

### **Comparison with the distribution of religious stove tiles**

The tiles decorated with the representation of the knight in tournament have been used here as control group. Despite being less numerous than the tiles with religious depictions (37 compared to 389) and circulating in a shorter chronological interval (ca. 1475-1550 compared to the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries), the two groups can be compared due to their kingdom-wide spread and popularity and their very different iconography. Although some religious motifs were influenced by the knightly culture, especially the knightly saints such as St. George and St. Ladislav, the groups reflect different mentalities and are likely to have fulfilled different functions.

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<sup>182</sup> On knightly culture in Hungary see Chapter 5.

Both groups of tiles come mostly from upper social contexts. 63.8% of tiles with knight in tournament have been discovered in upper social contexts, compared to 40% of tiles with religious motifs among the same group. “Upper social” is only a general term, encompassing various cases here for simplification, such as palaces, castles, fortifications, noble residences, and even manor houses owned by kings, magnates, and nobles. They not only constitute the finding places of knight-in-tournament tiles in more cases, but they were more often owned by royalty or magnates.

19 tiles with religious decoration have been discovered in religious contexts, while only 1 tile with a knight-in-tournament comes from the same type of context. Comparing the results to the size of each tile group, the proportion is of 12% to 2%. The religious contexts also encompass different types of sites. Knights in tournament have only been found in a Pauline monastery, while religious tiles come from seven Benedictine monasteries, four Franciscan friaries, and one Carthusian, one Pauline, and one Cistercian monastery, three Catholic churches and a castle chapel, probably Catholic as well. The use of a knight-in-tournament tile in a monastery might seem surprising, suggesting that monks were keen on the values of knightly culture. The fact that the monastery in question is a Pauline one and the prototype of the knight was created for the royal palace, the explanation might in fact be that the Paulines, supported by the kings, as members of the only Hungarian monastic order, might have maintained a closer contact with the court (receiving tiles or tile models) or they just wanted to create the illusion of such a connection (obtaining the motif through other channels).

Another difference can be noted in the proportion of urban contexts of discovery, which refer to private or public buildings in cities, town, and market towns. An almost double proportion of religious tiles come from such contexts compared to the knightly tiles (20% to 10.5%). This indicates that twice more often burghers and town officials chose religious depictions on their stoves than they did the knight in tournament.

Knight-in-tournament tiles have never been found in villages or workshops, while 3% of religious tiles come from each type of context. The fact that none of the tiles from the first group have been discovered in workshops is only a matter of chance, since they were, according to their geographic distribution, certainly produced in several of them: Buda, Nova Ves, and at least one of the workshops from the Szekler region in Transylvania. The absence of tiles with the knight in tournament in villages though seems to indicate that the motif never became popular and accessible enough to be used in such low social-status buildings.

The only comparable proportion is that of unknown contexts, which are relatively numerous (around 22% for both groups of tiles). These cases either represent stove tiles that were stray finds or those with no information available on their context of discovery.

<i>Context of finding</i>	<i>Knight-in-tournament Tiles</i>	<i>Religious tiles</i>
palaces, castles, and fortifications	55.2%	34%
manor houses	7.9%	6%
cities and towns	10.5%	20%
religious contexts (churches, monasteries, and chapels)	2.7%	12%
villages	-	3%
workshops	-	3%
unknown	23.7%	22%

Fig. 3.24. Comparison of the distribution patterns of tiles decorated with the knight in tournament and religious representations in Hungary.

The comparison reveals that the two distributions are significantly different: tiles with knights were found more often in upper social contexts (including a greater proportion of elite ones, such as castles and palaces owned by the king or his magnates – governors, palatines, bishops), less in cities and towns, and not at all in villages or workshops. The religious tiles come from more varied contexts, including lower social sites such as villages and workshops. As expected, they were also used in more numerous and more varied religious contexts.

These conclusions, although not based on the most accurate quantitative methods, are still useful to indicate that the representations on stove tiles also played a role in their transmission and use. The analysis of religious tiles as a group will therefore take into consideration not only the research of motif transmission and use, but also a tentative enquiry on the function that such images might have fulfilled for their medieval beholders.

## CHAPTER 4. Motifs and Their Transmission on Tiles

Recent studies have shown how technical details can reveal copying issues.<sup>183</sup> Due to the fact that clay shrinks through firing, by detailed measuring of the dimensions of motifs, tiles and borders and through the analysis of clay, glaze and firing techniques, one can indicate which tile was the original and which the copy (or re-copy) in a typological series. The geographical distribution of groups of directly related tiles can reveal the direction and distance traveled by certain motifs. A detailed study of the artifacts is essential in establishing which was the original and which the copy or imitation, but the dimensions of the sample under discussion and its dispersion in numerous museum collections have forced me to rely mostly on published technical data. Taking into consideration the fact that such data is not always available or reliable, the topic will be discussed here mostly from an iconographic perspective. The identification of copy-groups is nevertheless useful for preliminary considerations and in setting the directions for further research.

Related tiles and copying issues are also analyzed in detail in the following four chapters containing case studies (Chapters 5-8). The other groups of directly related tiles are discussed here, revealing both motifs circulating over small distances, in restricted areas, or in one province, and yet others that were transported across the kingdom and even beyond its borders. Some indirect connections show that images on tiles were inspired by other arts, such as reliefs, manuscripts, engravings, and manuscript illumination. All cases are relevant for the intricate issue of tile production and motif transmission, artistic and economical connections, circulation of tiles, molds, drawings, or pottery masters themselves.

### **Mary's portrait**

Decorated circular tiles are infrequent finds. Due to their shape, they are usually embedded in the upper areas of stoves, on their dome-like roofs (see reconstructed stove in Fig. 1.22) or they are inserted between the rows of rectangular tiles with a ceramic nail on the back, thus enriching the decorative effect and covering the joints (see adjunct stove decorations in Fig. 1.17). Three such related tiles depict an angelic face framed by braids of hair and a halo of rays or petals. These are probably portraits of the Virgin, as she appears on round key vaults for example. The three items (cat. 27, 73, and 102) were only found in royal courts and residences (in Buda, Nyék, and Visegrád). Besides being

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<sup>183</sup> Tamási, 1995.

very close in rank, the sites also lie in close proximity, the first two in present-day Budapest and Visegrád less than 30 kilometers away. It could be inferred that the motif circulated among the royal workshops creating tiles for the palace, the castle, and the hunting lodge in question here, or that the same potters were used for these royal constructions, carrying molds or tiles with them. The tiles have been dated to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century, the context of the citadel in Visegrád allowing for a more precise dating of 1420 to 1430. In the latter case, a minimum number of 21 identical items with diameters ranging from 13 to 14 centimeters were used, differing only in their glazing (unglazed, and with green or yellow glaze).

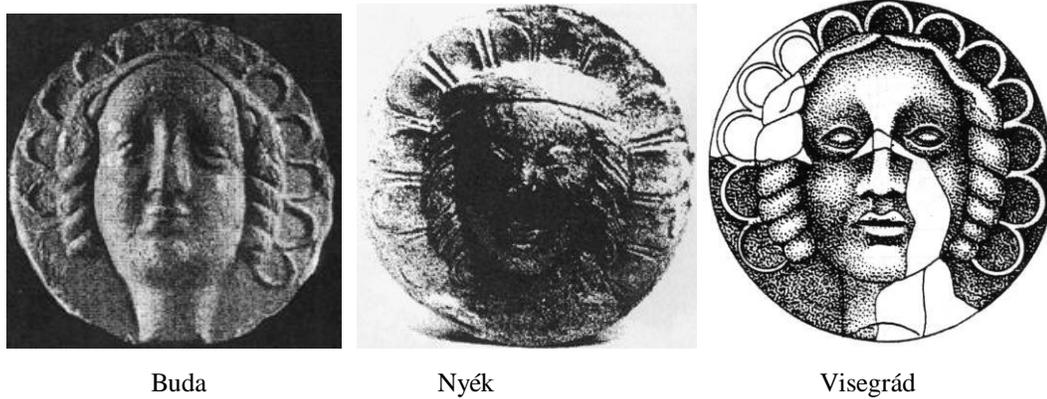


Fig. 4.1. Circular tiles decorated with Mary's portrait.

In case the halo can be considered as an indication of the fact that the maiden portrayed is indeed the Virgin, she is certainly depicted as model of beauty. In Visegrád, crown tiles with the portraits of two young women have been discovered as well, but depicted without the halo.<sup>184</sup> Both types of tiles were used in the composition of the same graphically reconstructed stove that was created in the last years of reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg. The multicolored stove had a composite iconography, including tiles with Sigismund's coat of arms, animal, vegetal, and architectural motifs; the cornice tiles with portraits were included in the upper part of the stove and the circular tiles with Mary's portrait were included in the roof (Fig. 4.3.)<sup>185</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Buzás, 2006, 160, fig. 47.

<sup>185</sup> Buzás, 2006, 132-133, 161, fig. 51.

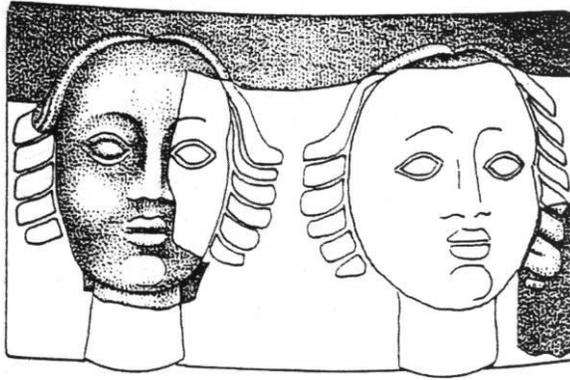


Fig. 4.2. Cornice tile from Visegrád depicting the portraits of two young girls.

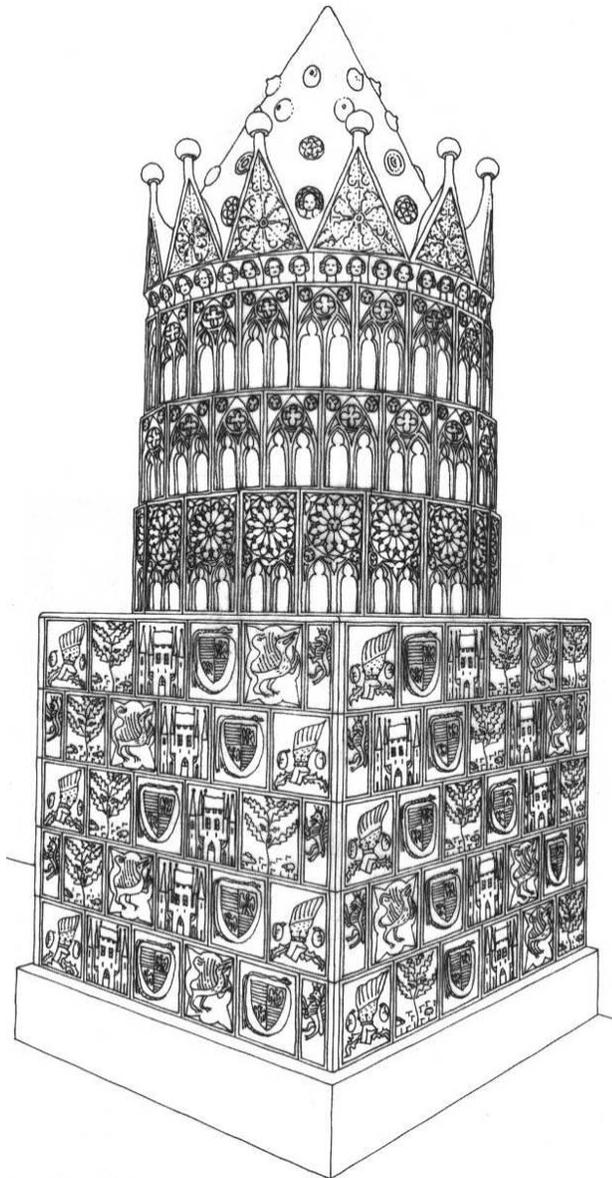


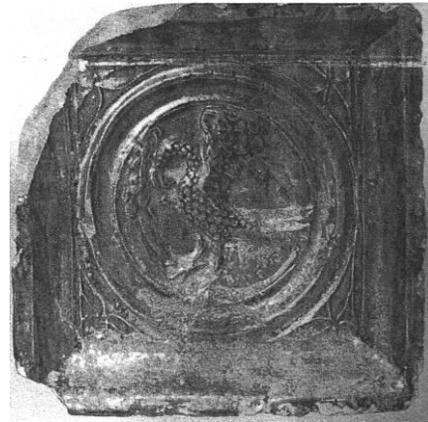
Fig. 4.3. Reconstruction of a late Sigismund era stove from Visegrád.

### The Pelican in her Piety

The pelican, one of the animals of the Physiologus and medieval bestiaries, was believed in the Middle Ages to be the one most loving its young, but when they grow up they begin striking their parents and the parents kill them. Then, after three days, the mother, full of remorse, tears her own breast and sprinkles the young with her own blood so that they come back to life. The pose of the mother pelican tearing her breast and feeding her chicks, known as the Pelican in her Piety, was allegorically interpreted in the Middle Ages as standing for Christ's self-sacrifice. In Hungary it is represented on 18 stove tiles. The most important group of directly related tiles depicts the scene in a double medallion. Some of the representations from Switzerland and Hungary have been analyzed by Judit Tamási.<sup>186</sup> Despite the great similarity between the tiles from around Zurich and those from the Pauline cloister in Nagyvászony (cat. 69), dated to the middle-second half of the fifteenth century, specialists have been unable to determine where the motif was first produced:



Nagyvászony



Zürich

Fig. 4.4. Tiles with the Pelican in her Piety depicted in a medallion.

The motif was adapted by the Buda workshops around 1475 and included in the so-called stoves of the knight in tournament (cat. 18). The Pelican in her Piety, framed by a medallion intertwined with vegetal decoration, featured on these stoves besides representations of knights, griffins, lions by the tree of life, angels with coats of arms, pairs of saints on corbels, and rosettes (see the discussion at the beginning of Chapter 3). Copies of tiles with the pelican in a medallion have also been found in the Franciscan friary in Hahót (cat. 58), the Benedictine monastery in Zalavár (cat. 103), the castles of Ozora (cat. 79), and Ružica (cat. 379), the manor house in Ötvöskónyi (cat. 78), and a

<sup>186</sup> Tamási, 1995, 51-53, 124-126.

city house in Székesfehérvár (cat. 92). As in the case of other panel tiles with central medallions,<sup>187</sup> two separate molds seem to have been used, one for the central motif and the other for the frame. This might explain why in some cases, such as those in Zalavár and probably also the tile from Nagyvászony belonging to the previous group, just (parts of) the central medallion have been preserved. The motif, first used in a royal context, followed a top-down social transmission to castles, monasteries, a manor house, and even an urban context. The fact that people and families with preeminent positions in the royal court in that period were related to some of these sites (Paul Kinizsi in Nagyvászony and the Báthori family in Ötvösköny) might explain the presence of these tiles. A detailed study of the dimensions of both the central motif and added frame and a close inspection of the details of the items might reveal the exact means of such a transmission. The group can be dated to the final quarter of the fifteenth century. The location of these sites even indicates a “line of transmission” of the motif from Budapest to the southwest, to Lake Balaton and then to Slavonia. Székesfehérvár lies ca. 63 kilometers from Buda, Ozora some further 80, Hahót and Zalavár are close by, in Zala County, and Ötvösköny is by the border with present-day Croatia. The furthest distance traveled by this motif is again that between Buda and Ružica, almost 650 kilometers.



Fig. 4.5. Group of directly related tiles depicting the Pelican in her Piety.

<sup>187</sup> Tamási, 1995, 55; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 27.

Two directly related but fragmentarily preserved tiles have been found in Gyula (cat. 57) and Seleuş (cat. 88). The pelican is this time turned to the right, tearing its breast in front of three small chicks in a nest. No information is available on their exact dimensions or context of discovery. The two unglazed tiles also lack precise dating, being published as produced and used in the fifteenth or and sixteenth century. The distance between the two sites from east Central Hungary is 58 kilometers:



Gyula



Seleuş

Fig. 4.6. Tiles with the Pelican in her Piety, turned to the right.

A different group of directly related tiles with the Pelican in her Piety circulated in Transylvania. These tiles, dated to the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, have been discovered in an unknown context in Deva (cat. 153) and two other unknown sites, probably in Sibiu (cat. 211) and Hunedoara (cat. 214). The scene is still framed by a medallion, like on the tiles from Buda, but the representation is much more clumsily rendered and two vegetal borders are added to the upper and lower sides of the tiles. These tiles from Deva and Hunedoara(?) might have been created with the same mold, being both original products, since they have the same dimensions, of 25 x 22 centimeters. It is nevertheless problematic that the representation is horizontally flipped, probably indicating a mistake in the processing of drawing during publication.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 430, plate 92.A, fig. 8, and 387, fig. 13.

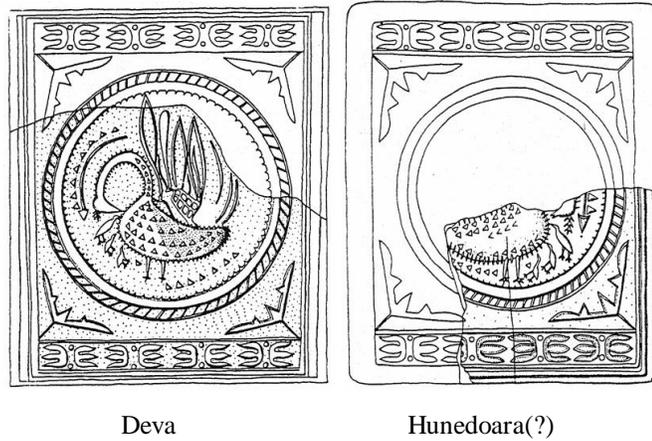


Fig. 4.7. Tiles depicting the Pelican in her Piety in central medallion and two added vegetal borders.

The group was probably inspired by two other directly related tiles from Sibiu (cat. 192 and 193, discussed in Chapter 7) since some elements were taken over but simplified. The imitations represent the chicks in a similar manner, in front of mother pelican but not in a nest; one of the pelican's wings becomes a decorative border in front of the pelican's head and neck. Deva and Hunedoara are located in close proximity, being 22 kilometers apart, while Sibiu lies 120 kilometers further east. The fact that three items decorated with the two different variants of the motif have been discovered in Sibiu seems to indicate that a pottery/tile workshop in this Saxon city produced both motifs.

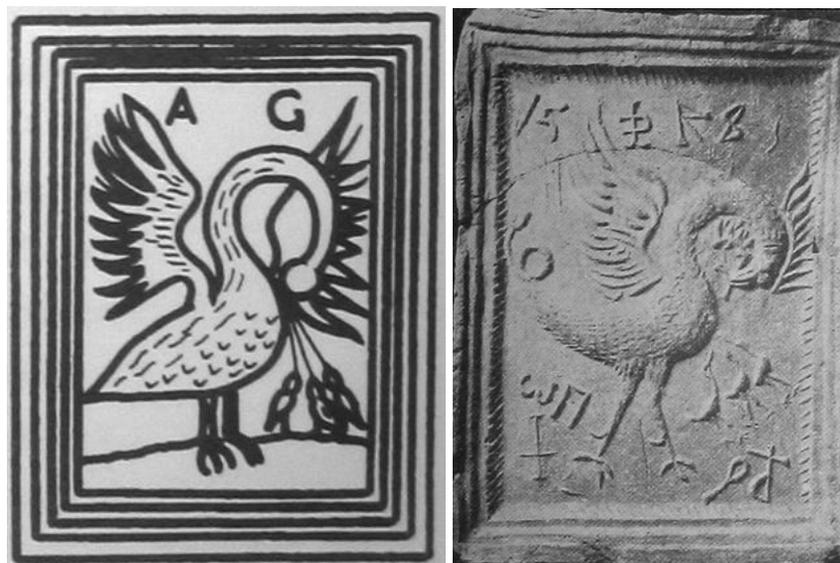


Fig. 4.8. Directly related tiles with inscriptions, from Sibiu.

Two more tiles from Hungary carry unique representations of the Pelican in her Piety. Both tiles, discovered in Northern Hungary and Slavonia, are dated to the fifteenth century and were created in simplistic and clumsy manners, despite their contexts of use: a town hall in Banská Bystrica (cat. 229) and a castle in Garić (cat. 355):

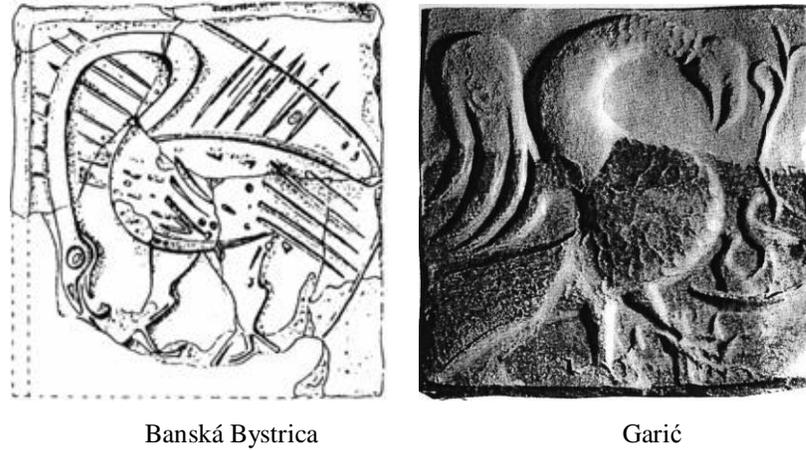


Fig. 4.9. Unique tiles decorated with the Pelican in her Piety.

### Samson fighting the lion

There are 17 tiles decorated with Samson fighting the lion. Most of them are unique representations (Buda, cat. 14, Cluj-St. Peter, cat. 142, Banská Stiavnica, cat. 253, Nitra, cat. 303, and two unknown locations cat. 107, 111). Others are just mentioned in the existing literature (like the tile from the castle of Trenčín, cat. 348). In Varaždin, identical tiles have been discovered both in the area of the castle and in the old town (green glazed: cat. 384, unglazed: cat. 385). They have perfect analogies among the tiles produced for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna around 1500. In Vienna, on one side of a crest corner tile with a small sculpture of a woman in a turban holding a shield decorated with the image of St. John, Samson wearing a turban and with a moustache is fighting a lion in an identical pose.<sup>189</sup> The same headdress, facial characteristics, and costume are found on tiles decorated with the image of St. Christopher from tiles in Vienna and Ružica (see Fig. 4.21). Similar tiles were reportedly found in Buda (but not included here because no further data is available on them), showing the connections between Hungary and Austria by the time of King Matthias Corvinus' death.<sup>190</sup> Specialists have interpreted the facial characteristics of both Samson and Christopher as being the portrait of a typical Hungarian, implying that wherever the motif was first created, it took as source of

<sup>189</sup> Franz, 1969, fig. 108.

<sup>190</sup> Holl, Voit, 1963, 39.

inspiration the oriental turban and the moustache considered typical for Hungarian men.<sup>191</sup> If the tiles from Varaždin are copied after those in Vienna or Buda, the motif was transmitted over a distance of ca. 300 kilometers.

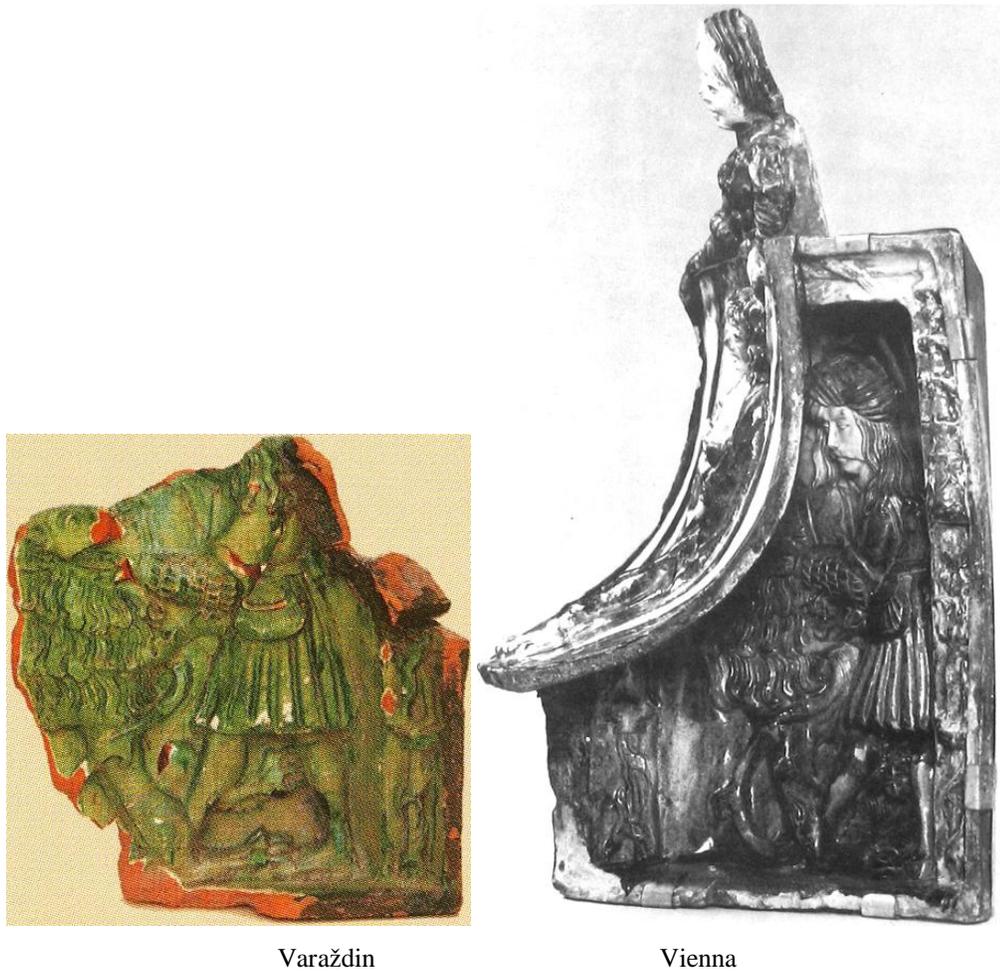


Fig. 4.10. Tile and tile fragments depicting Samson, with turban and moustache, fighting the lion.

Samson fighting the lion seems to have been the most popular in Transylvania (9 out of the 17 tiles), and two related groups of tiles decorated with the scene come from this province. They are all later products, dated to the sixteenth century, created in a simplified and not very talented manner.

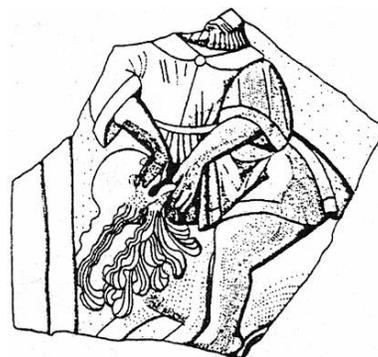
Five directly related tiles have been discovered in Bodogaia (cat. 125), in a village house in Cechești (cat. 127), another in Rugănești (cat. 187), and in the cellar of a late medieval market town house in Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 145). One other fragment is preserved in the Museum of Odorheiu Secuiesc (cat. 213). All of them are probably unglazed and were used in lower social contexts in the Szekler region of eastern Transylvania. Potters and workshops are attested for the same period in

<sup>191</sup> Franz, 1969, 55.

Cristuru Secuiesc<sup>192</sup> and the production center of this group of stove tiles seems to have been located there. The iconography is fully Renaissance, with the main scene under a semicircular arch decorated with human masks in the corners. Samson, an older vigorous man with a beard and moustache, wears a small cap and a costume with short sleeves, collar and buttons. Bodogaia, Cechești, and Rugănești are all villages around Cristuru Secuiesc, while Odorheiu Secuiesc is 25 kilometers away. The transmission of this motif is therefore restricted to a small geographic area in the Szekler region of southeastern Transylvania:



Rugănești



Odorheiu Secuiesc

Fig. 4.11. Tiles depicting Samson fighting the lion under a semi-circular arch decorated with human masks.

Another group from Transylvania is composed of indirectly related tiles. The five tiles are imitations of the same motif. The original seems to be the item discovered at Roșia (cat. 183). Samson is depicted in full armor, opening the mouth of the lion and leaning his left bent leg on the animal's back. The upper part of the tile represents an arch and has two heraldic shields in the corners, one inscribed with a star. Archaeologists consider the discovery context the house of a Saxon leader (*greb*). A transformation of the motif decorated two tiles, one found in a secondary position at the castle in Vințu de Jos (cat. 199) and the other among the ruins of a manor house in Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 150). There are significant differences: the image is flipped horizontally, the arch and the shields have disappeared, and the background is decorated with lines that suggest wings, or a mantle (inconsistent with the scene). In Vințu de Jos the recovered fragments, both unglazed and with green glaze, suggest the existence of minimum 10 and maximum 12 tiles of the sort, some with slight differences indicating

<sup>192</sup> Benkő, Ughy, 1984.

the use of different molds. Despite looking very similar, the tiles in Vințu de Jos and Cristuru Secuiesc are probably not copies but also imitations, taking into consideration the added border and the confusing dimensions (Vințu de Jos: 30.3 x 20.8 x 1.2 cm, Cristuru Secuiesc: 27.3 x 21.2 cm.)

Another variant decorated a tile kept in Sighișoara (cat. 209) and a fragment discovered among the ruins of the manor house in Racoșul de Jos (cat. 181). On the two unglazed tiles, Samson is turned to the right and the background suggests more of a vegetal decoration. Again, the very similar tiles still display diverging details and thus seem to be imitations and not copies of each other.

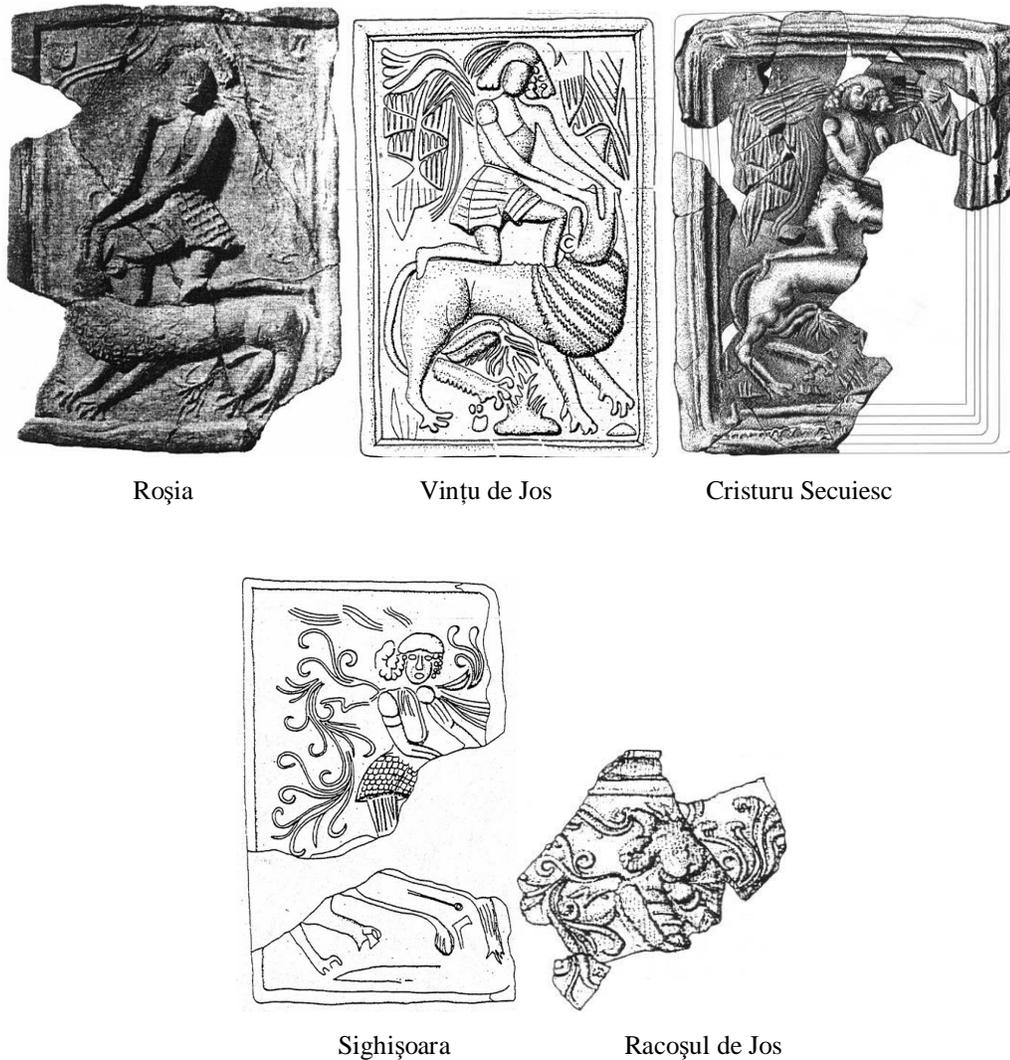


Fig. 4.12. Group of indirectly-related tiles depicting Samson fighting the lion.

All the discovery sites are located in southern Transylvania around the cities of Sibiu and Brașov. The most similar tiles (Vințu de Jos - Cristuru Secuiesc, Sighișoara - Racoșul de Jos) were

used on sites 148 and 73 kilometers away, respectively. Racoșul de Jos and Vințu de Jos are the farthest away, 200 kilometers from one to another.

### **Kneeling angel**

Among the religious tiles there are two groups of directly related items depicting kneeling angels, probably part of Annunciation scenes divided on two neighboring tiles. One such mold was discovered in a pottery workshop in Cluj (cat. 132), while a fragmentary tile created with it was discovered somewhere in the St. Peter Hungarian suburb of the same city (cat. 141). This confirms the local production and market for religious stove tiles (these examples are also discussed in Chapter 7).

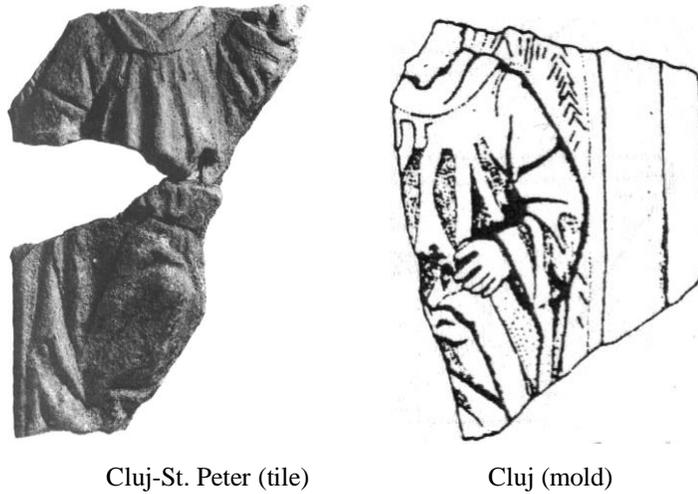


Fig. 4.13. Mold and tile fragment depicting a kneeling angel holding a scroll.

Another group comes from Slavonia, probably produced in the urban workshops of Nova Ves around 1500. At least three identical tiles of this type have been found in the castle(?) there (cat. 357). Green glazed and unglazed items with half-kneeling angels have been discovered in Čazma (cat. 354), and somewhere on the estate of the castle of Varaždin (cat. 389). This motif travelled some 100 kilometers.



Nova Ves

Varaždin

Fig. 4.14. Tile and tile fragment depicting a kneeling angel.

A fragment from probably a similar tile was recovered from the castle of Planina pri Sevnici, in present-day Slovenia, being dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>193</sup> The site is located 87 kilometers from Nova Ves and 100 kilometers from Varaždin, indicating that the areas over which motifs travelled, though not very large, could comprise sites in different provinces that were part of different states, in this case Slavonia (Hungary) and Carinthia (Duchy of Austria, Holy Roman Empire).



Planina pri Sevnici

Fig. 4.15. Tile fragment depicting a kneeling figure.

### Holy Bishop

Three directly related tiles and a mold depict a holy, unidentified, bishop. One of these representations was found in the royal palace in Buda, part of a niche tile with pairs of saints on corbels (cat. 12). An indirectly related tile was discovered in the castle of Ružica where several copies of the tiles produced by the workshops of the stoves with knights have been found (cat. 376). The fragment is

<sup>193</sup> Stopar, 1976, 199, fig. 5.

dated to the second half of the fifteenth century. This particular image is not a copy, but an imitation inspired by those originals. The bishop holds the crozier in his right hand, not the left, and probably does not hold an open book. A fragment identical to that from Ružica dated between 1460 and 1500 was found in another Slavonian castle, Varaždin (cat. 387). All three tiles are green glazed. What is most interesting is that a mold of this bishop's figure was discovered in the old town of Varaždin (cat. 388), ca. 100 km away from Ružica. A close inspection of this mold would allow one to decide whether the tiles from Buda were copied or imitated in Varaždin and from there circulated in Slavonia. The dimensions of the items from Slavonia are not known, making any precise consideration of copying futile.

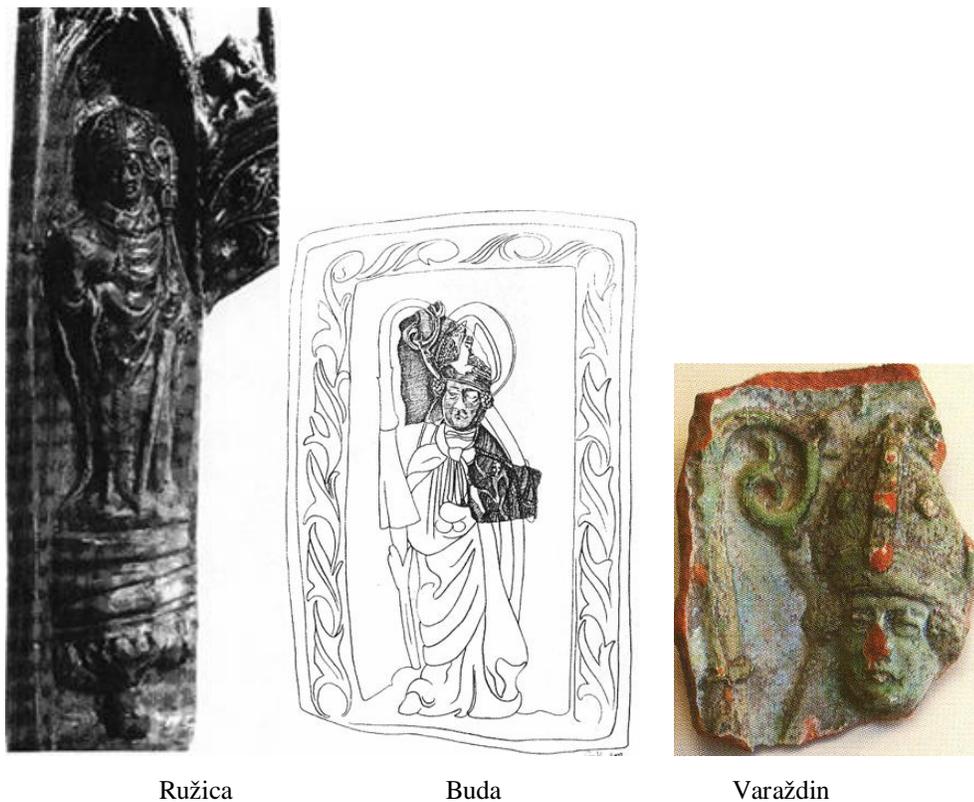
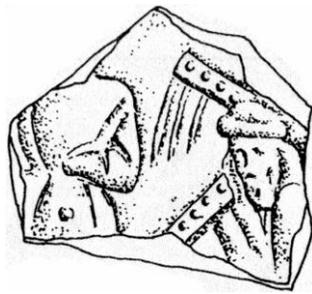


Fig. 4.16. Tile fragments depicting a holy bishop.

### The fifth station of the cross

Among the New Testament scenes depicted on tiles in Hungary, one can mention two directly related items from Northern Hungary representing Christ carrying the cross. Combining the two fragments one can better interpret that the scene is in fact the fifth station of the cross, when Simon of Cyrene was compelled to help Christ when He fell (Gospel of Mark 15:21-22, Matthew 27:32, Luke 23:26). The tiles depict a soldier ready to strike Jesus, who is kneeling under the weight of the cross,

and Simon lifting the cross from behind. This fragment, found in the gate area of the city of Kremnica, is dated to the fifteenth century (cat. 293), while the tile from the castle of Strečno is dated to the sixteenth (cat. 339). According to their style and analogies, I suggest the sixteenth century as a more accurate dating. The two tiles are directly related, displaying the same dotted ornamentation of the cross. The sites are located 61 kilometers apart.



Kremnica



Strečno

Fig. 4.17. Tile fragments depicting the fifth station of the cross.

The same scene is depicted on a tile found in the destruction layer of the castle in Ljubljana (Carniola, Holy Roman Empire).<sup>194</sup> It was certainly created with a different mold, since there are some differences: Christ carries the cross with both hands; the dotted decorative pattern is missing, and Christ's portrait is not in profile. The dark grey-glazed tile fragment is also dated to the sixteenth century. It was accompanied by a series of Renaissance tiles with scenes from Christ's passion, like the prayer in the garden of Gethsemane,<sup>195</sup> the scourging of Christ,<sup>196</sup> and the Resurrection.<sup>197</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 110-111, fig. 65.

<sup>195</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 112-113, fig. 69.

<sup>196</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 110-111, fig. 64.

<sup>197</sup> Guštin, Horvat, 1994, 112-113, fig. 70.

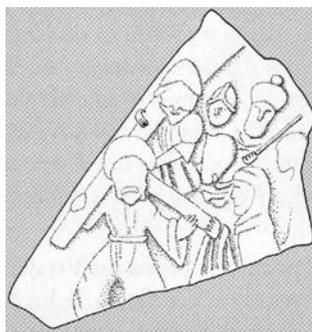


Fig. 4.18. Tile fragment from Ljubljana with the fifth station of the cross.

The previous example shows the circulation of motifs on tiles across neighboring provinces; tiles decorated with the fifth station of the cross were used in sites ca. 650 kilometers apart, from two distant provinces belonging to different states: Northern Hungary (Hungary) and Carinthia (Holy Roman Empire). Unfortunately, the tile from Ljubljana is only available in a simplified drawing, probably due to its worn relief details, and all items under discussion are in fact small fragments. It is therefore impossible at this state of research to establish which is original and which copy or imitation.

### **Adam and Eve**

Adam and Eve standing by the Tree of Knowledge feature on 15 tiles, some unique, others copied or imitated. Among the unique depictions one can mention those on tiles from Feldioara, Diósgyőr, and Nitra. The first was found in a tile workshop built on the ruins of a fortification (cat. 164), so it must have been produced locally. A second unique representation comes from a tile from the castle of Diósgyőr, dated to the middle of the fifteenth century (cat. 38). The preserved fragments have been given a graphic reconstruction that points to a rarer variant of the scene, where Eve is taking the apple from the mouth of the serpent coiled on the tree. The glazing is also interesting; the entire tile is green glazed except for the dark brown snake. This places the accent on Satan's (the snake's) role in the episode:

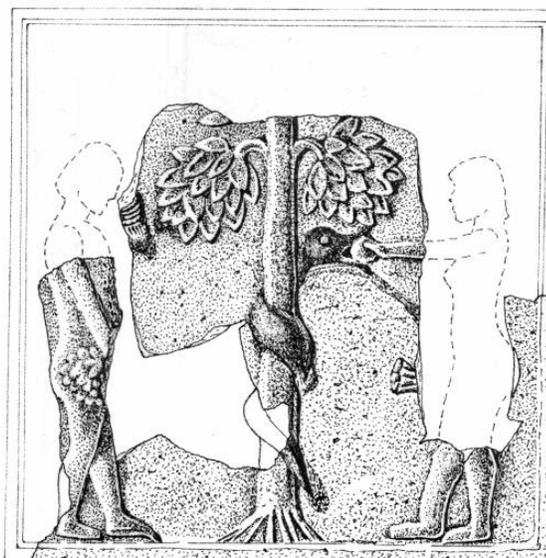


Fig. 4.19. Tile from Diósgyőr.

Another unique tile was found in Nitra (cat. 302) in a private or administrative building in the medieval town. Dated to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, the brown-glazed tile shows Adam and Eve standing by the Tree of Knowledge where the Pelican in her Piety nests. Adam, standing on the left side, holds a leaf, while Eve, on the right, holds a leaf and a fruit. The snake is coiled on the tree trunk, with its head emerging over Eve's. This panel tile is unique through the combination of motifs that points theologically to the fact that the Original Sin was redeemed through Christ's self sacrifice. Discovered together and sharing technical characteristics and style with tiles with various other representations, including one with St. George and the coat of arms of Nitra, the tile is indirectly connected to them.<sup>198</sup> Several tiles decorated with religious (Adam and Eve, Samson, David, George, three holy kings) and non-religious representations (geometric, animal) were produced in molds created by the same master expressly to order. The inclusion of the local coat of arms indicates that the lot was made in Nitra (but no tile workshop has been excavated yet in the city) or it was brought from neighboring production centers, such as Banská Bystrica (120 kilometers to the northeast) or Bratislava (92 kilometers southwest).

<sup>198</sup> Bielich, Samuel, 2007.



Fig. 4.20. Tile from Nitra.

Two directly related tiles decorated with Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Knowledge, dated to the fifteenth century, were used in the royal palace of Buda (cat. 28) and in the town of Banská Bystrica, 172 kilometers to the north. In the latter location, identical tiles have been found in the barbican of urban castle (cat. 242) and a higher-social-level building complex in the city center (cat. 248). The published items are preserved in fragments, Eve offering the apple and Adam holding up his right hand in refusal while with the left he is covering his genitals. The shape of the tree is very particular, with long leaves. The fragmentary state of preservation and the bad reproductions prevent any final considerations on the copy/imitation type of the items or their production place. It seems possible that the tile in Buda was used as a model for the others, produced locally in one of the tile workshops of Banská Bystrica. A similar case is discussed in Chapter 5 referring to tiles depicting St. George.

Another variant was produced by the workshop excavated archaeologically at Slovenské Národné Povstanie no. 22 in Banská Bystrica (cat. 226). A minimum of three glazed and unglazed tiles were found on the site. An indirectly related tile is preserved in the collections of the Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (cat. 108). This unglazed item also seems inspired by the same scene depicted on tiles from Vienna and Ružica (Fig. 4.21). The style of the tiles reproduced below is so similar that they were probably created in the same workshop, with molds produced by the same master:



Banská Bystrica



unknown

Fig. 4.21. Indirectly-related tiles depicting The Fall of Man.

In the castle of Ružica, both Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and their banishment from Eden are depicted on tiles produced around 1500 (cat. 365 and 366):

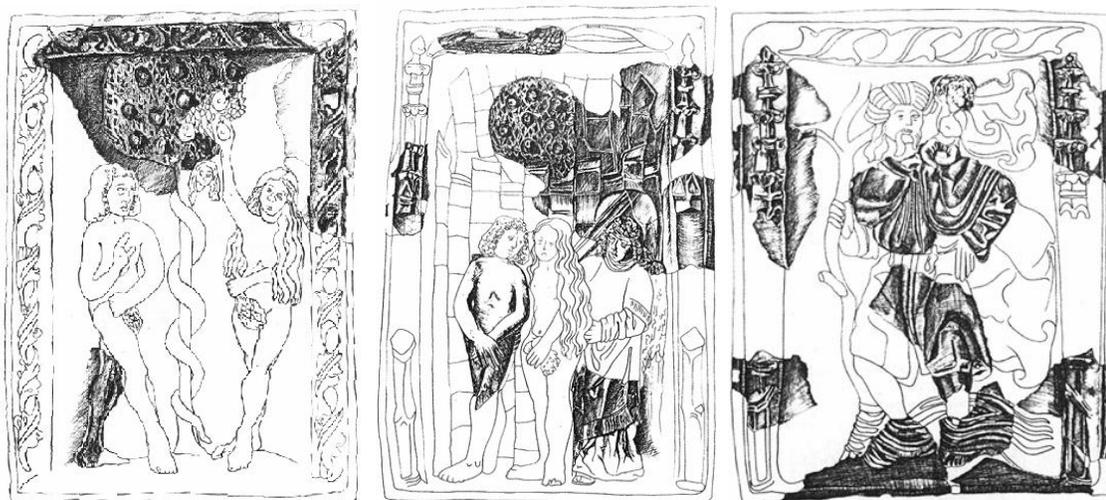


Fig. 4.22. Graphically reconstructed tiles from Ružica.

Both of them are identical to tiles created by the workshop of St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna in 1500, and so is a representation of St. Christopher.<sup>199</sup> Since other tiles in Ružica have exact analogies in Buda (the Pelican in her Piety, pairs of saints) and in present-day Slovenia, one might presume that Nicholas of Ilok, the owner of the castle, made an effort to compile a nice collection of tiles for the stoves in his castle, probably in this case bringing tiles or moulds from Vienna, located almost 450 kilometers away.

<sup>199</sup> Franz, 1969, 54-55, fig. 109-111.

Tiles with Adam and Eve were also produced later, in the sixteenth century. One such unique representation lacks any Gothic elements as it is made in a clearly Renaissance style (cat. 338). The central scene on the tile, from the town of Spišska Nová Ves, in Northern Hungary, is framed by a garland forming a medallion. The corners are decorated with tulips and supplementary elements complete the depiction of Heaven, such as trees and a deer lying in front of the Tree of Knowledge:



Fig. 4.23. Panel tile from Spišska Nová Ves depicting Adam and Eve.

### Angel with censer

Two related items are niche crest tiles ending in Gothic fleruons, having the representation of an angel holding a censer on the concavity. They come from the castles of Buda and Ilok (cat. 23, 356) and are dated to the end of the fifteenth century. The tile from Ilok, dated 1487-1490, is polychrome glazed, but its dimensions are not published so it is impossible to say if it is indeed a copy of the item from Buda. As noted above, Nicholas of Ilok, owner of the castle in Ružica as well, was very interested in having fashionable stoves in his interiors. For Ružica he acquired tiles with the latest motifs from Buda and Vienna. Despite the fact that the item decorated with the angel holding a censer is the only religious tile published so far from Ilok, one can presume that the same personal initiative of the rich Nicholas brought from distant places the components of the stoves from his castle in Ilok. In this case, the motif traveled 297 kilometers, from Buda to Slavonia. It also has analogies on tiles from Regensburg that inspired the pottery masters from Buda in producing for the royal buildings.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Holl, 1980.

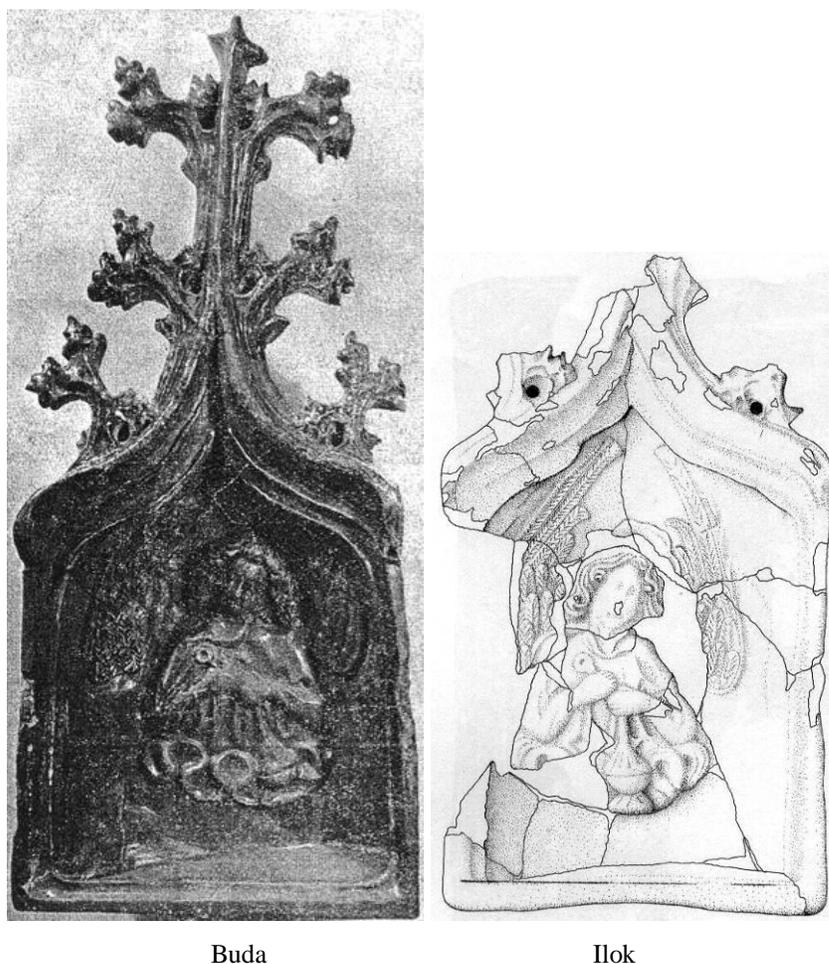
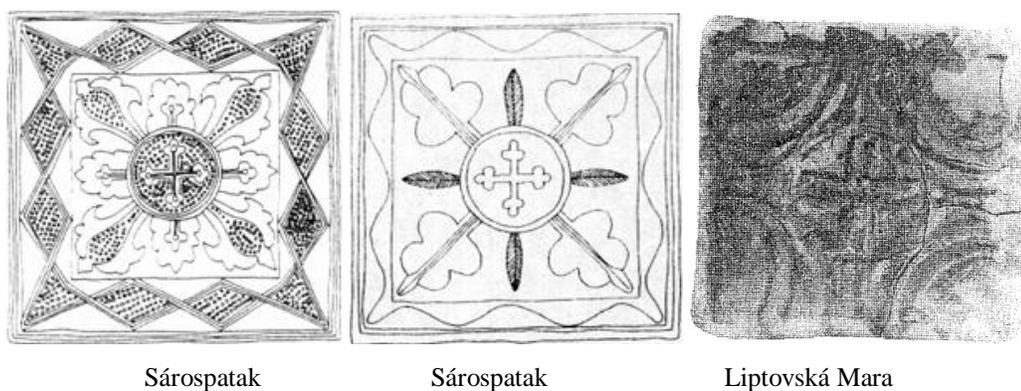


Fig. 4.24. Crest tiles decorated with an angel with censer.

### Medallions with crosses

As would be expected for a group of religious tiles, crosses feature in many cases, either on shields (of St. George, for example, whose banner was a red cross on a white background), on banderoles worn by saints or angels, on crowns, and so on. In only three cases do they constitute independent motifs. Two related tiles from Sárospatak (cat. 84 and 85), dated ca. 1530, have medallions with crosses in the center, surrounded by vegetal and geometric motifs. Consistent with their late dating, the tiles are covered with polychrome glaze. Another tile, from the fortification in Liptovská Mara, is dated earlier, to the end of the fifteenth century or beginning of the next. This brown-glazed tile is more schematic, depicting the central cross-inscribed medallion surrounded by semicircular lines (cat. 301). It seems probable that all three tiles were in fact made sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century, and their innovative iconography for religious tiles was due to the impact of the new ideas of the Reformation (see Chapter 8).



Sárospatak

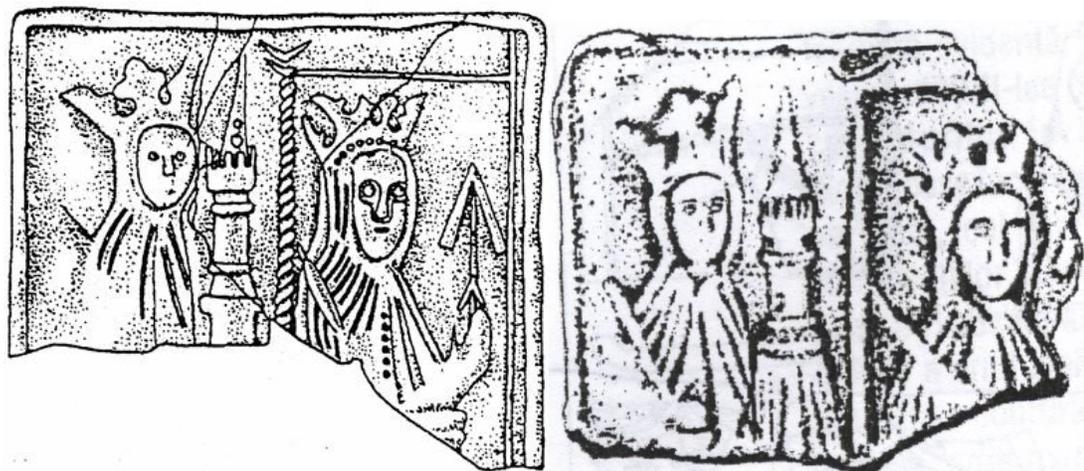
Sárospatak

Liptovská Mara

Fig. 4.25. Unique representations of crosses on tiles.

### St. Barbara and St. Ursula

Two directly related tiles from Transylvania depict a pair of female saints, Barbara and Ursula, as standing crowned characters holding their attributes, the tower and the arrow, respectively. The discovery place of one tile is unknown; it is kept in the collections of the museum in Alba-Iulia (cat. 205), while the other was found during a rescue excavation in the city of Sebeş (cat. 190). It might be that both come from the same area, the two cities are located only 15 kilometers apart. The items are only preserved as fragments (without exact measurements) and only known through drawings; nevertheless, it seems that the tile from Sebeş is a copy of the one from Alba-Iulia, with certain details fading away, such as the torsade separating the two saints. Both are dated to sometime at the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth:



Unknown (kept in Alba Iulia)

Sebeş

Fig. 4.26. Directly related tiles depicting St. Barbara and St. Ursula.

### St. Barbara and St. Catherine

On two tiles, Barbara appears in the company of another popular female saint, St. Catherine of Alexandria. On the item discovered in the castle of Brâncovenești (cat. 126), the saints are represented standing, crowned, holding their attributes, placed under Gothic arches surmounted by animal symbols. Barbara holds a tower and a lily and has a deer above her on the tracery of the arch. Catherine, holding a sword, has the wheel by her feet and the animal corresponding to her is the Agnus Dei. The unglazed reconstructed tile dated to the fifteenth century is very large: ca. 36 x 24 cm. Another tile, depicting the same motif, but in a different manner, comes from the Hungarian suburb of Cluj named of St. Peter (cat. 138). The two saints, with their attributes (sword and probably tower), are placed under small hexagonal domes. The tile, unglazed but covered in red paint, is dated more generally to the fifteenth-sixteenth century and is slightly smaller: 28.5 x 23.3 cm. The find sites are 100 kilometers apart in central Transylvania, showing the popularity of tiles depicting the two female saints together in that area, although the tiles in question are both unique products.



Brâncovenești

Cluj-St. Peter

Fig. 4.27. Unique tiles depicting St. Barbara and St. Catherine.

### Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well

The scene described in John 4:1-26 refers to Jesus conversing with a Samaritan woman at a well. On two directly related tiles from Transylvania, the central scene, depicting the two characters beside a well and a water pitcher in front of it, is placed under a vegetal arch and framed by a thick and

richly decorated vegetal border. One tile once decorated the interior of an urban house in Bistrița owned by a certain Andreas Beuchel (cat. 121) and the other comes from the castle in Făgăraș (cat. 160). Seven or eight tiles of this kind, created with almost identical molds, have been discovered on the latter site. Considering the fact that the tile in Bistrița is unglazed and slightly smaller (25 x 19 cm) than the green glazed one from Făgăraș (26 x 20.3 cm), the first is probably copied from the latter. The case is another example of top-down social transmission of a motif, first used in a castle and then in an urban house. The two sites are located 190 km apart. The tiles are dated to the sixteenth century and their iconography is fully Renaissance.

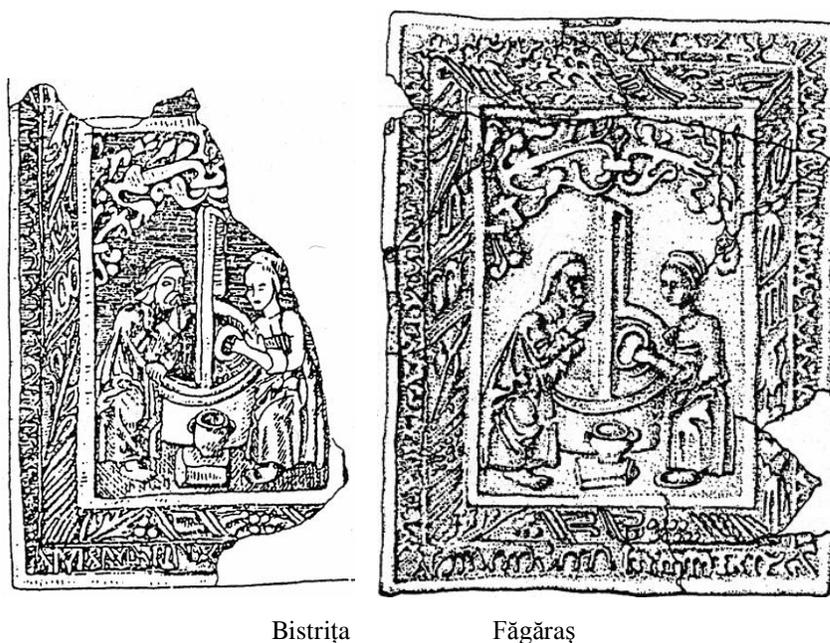


Fig. 4.28. Directly related tiles decorated with Jesus and the Samaritan woman.

A representation of the same scene probably appears on a tile from Esztergom (cat. 51), but it is only preserved in fragments. One can see the upper part of the well and its wheel, a detail which does not appear on the other two tiles, under a semi-circular arch with vegetal decoration. The tile fragment, recovered from the area of the archbishop's palace, has been dated to the very end of the sixteenth century and beginning of the seventeenth, in the interval 1595-1605.



Fig. 4.29. Tile fragment from Esztergom decorated with Jesus and the Samaritan woman.

Another interesting detail is the fact that the same characters used to represent Jesus and the Samaritan woman appear on another tile from Făgăraș, flanking the Báthory coat of arms.<sup>201</sup> Although they have fewer details, either due to the wearing out of molds or the application of thick glaze on these heraldic tiles, the two figures are identical to those employed on the religious item. Jesus, bent slightly forward next to the well, seems to be falling backwards when depicted under the heraldic shield. The effect is caused by a faulty stamping or placing of the individual mold in the composition. The use of separate molds or stamps for smaller elements on tiles that could be combined to create new compositions is suggested by other cases as well, such as the saintly figures part of niche tiles produced for the royal palace in Buda.

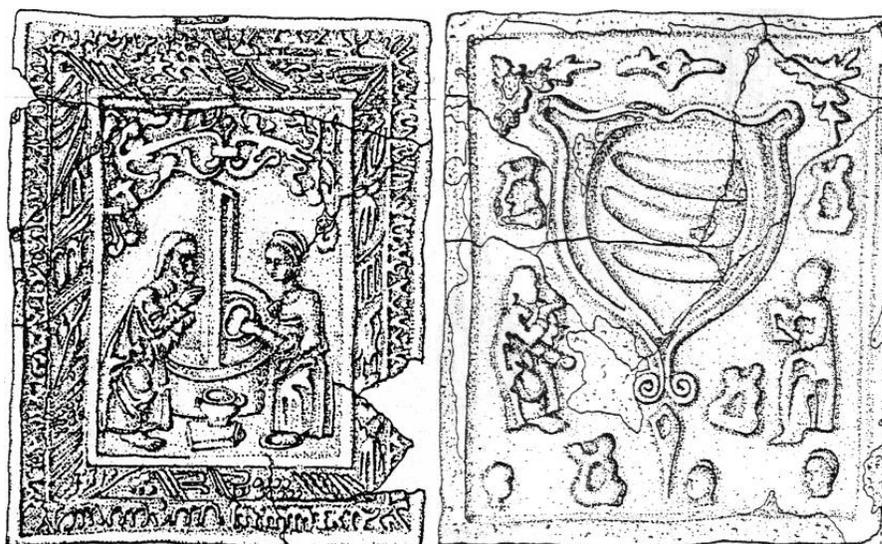


Fig. 4.30. Tiles from Făgăraș using identical molds for the figures.

<sup>201</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 218, 399, plate 61, fig. 43.

## The Madonna

Three related tiles from Northern Hungary depict the seated Madonna holding a scepter in her right hand and the baby Jesus in the left. The fragmentary state of the items discovered in the castle of Parič, in Trebišov (cat. 309) and the Benedictine monastery in Krásna nad Hornádom (cat. 292) and the reconstructed state of the tile from the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorsko (cat. 280) prevent making final conclusions in this case. The tiles date to the end of the fifteenth century and maybe the early years of the next one. The latest seems to be the polychrome-glazed fragment from Parič, while another fragment from the same site and the tile from Klaštorsko are green-glazed. No information is available for the glazing of the tile from the third location. Parič and Krásna lie only 40 kilometers apart, in the area of Košice, but Klaštorsko is another 100 kilometers to the northwest. Some researchers have indicated that the motif, probably similar on all three tiles, was inspired by engravings such as those signed by Master ES and Israhel van Meckenem.<sup>202</sup>



Fig. 4.31. Group of directly related tiles showing the seated Madonna and child.

### *Maria in sole* crowned by angels

Two directly related tiles combine the motif of *Maria in sole* and the Virgin's crowning by angels. *Maria in sole*, also called the Virgin on the Crescent, *Mulier Amicta Sole* or the Woman of the Apocalypse, was a very popular late medieval devotional image drawn from St. John's Vision (Revelations 12) in order to figurate the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>203</sup> To a large extent

<sup>202</sup> Chovanec, 2005.

<sup>203</sup> Ringbom, 1962; Jenei, 2004, 43.

until the late fifteenth century, when the iconographic type became more stable, but also later, depictions of *Maria in sole* follow various prototypes and models that add or eliminate various other elements: other virgins (usually Barbara and Catherine), attendants, God the Father, and so on.<sup>204</sup> The simple type appears on four unique tiles (cat. 157, 178, 249, and 367) while a conflation of two visual motifs, *Maria in sole* and the Virgin crowned by angels, appears on other two directly related stove tiles. One was found in the Carthusian monastery of Klaštorisko (cat. 281) and the other in the Franciscan monastery in Slovenská Ľupča (cat. 321). The tiles are almost identical, with very small differences such as the rosette on Mary's forehead (absent on the latter). A close inspection of the items, their details and their dimensions, would reveal if they are both originals or one is the copy or imitation of the other. It is interesting to note that the motif only appears in monasteries, revealing the contacts between the various orders in erecting their buildings and furnishing their interiors. Klaštorisko and Slovenská Ľupča are 100 kilometers apart, in the central part of present-day Slovakia.

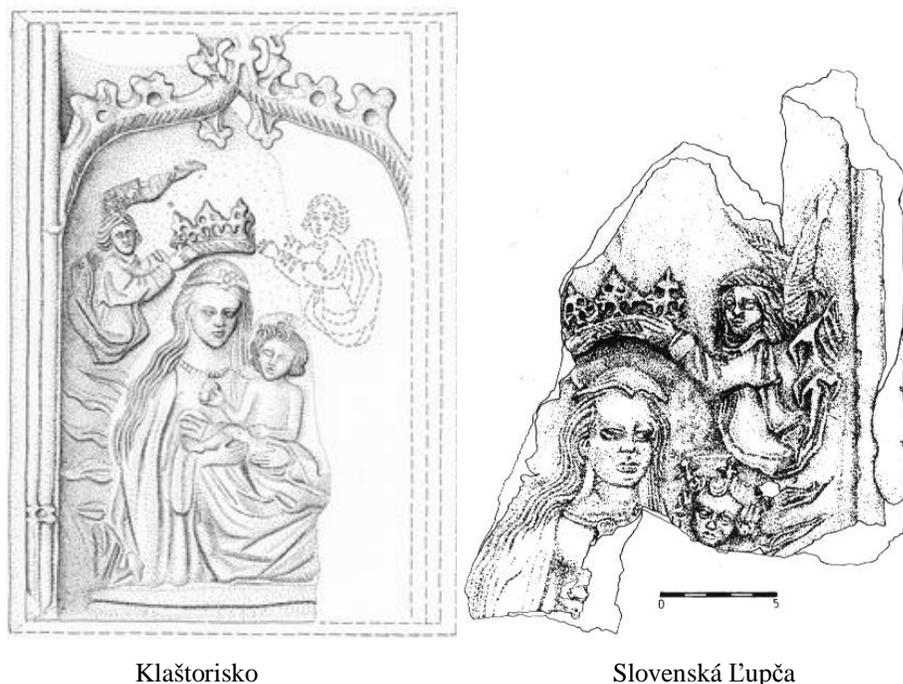


Fig. 4.32. Directly related tiles depicting *Maria in sole* crowned by angels.

### Conclusions

The 22 groups of directly related tiles presented here (to be completed with several others included in the case-study chapters and summarized in the final conclusions) allow for a series of considerations on the production and spread of religious motifs on stove tiles. Most groups include tiles

<sup>204</sup> Cutler, 1966.

dated in the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, suggesting that the circulation of motifs increased at this time (either as molds, tiles, drawings, or through the traveling of potters).

As for the production sites of tiles with religious representations that one can identify either on the basis of tiles and molds discovered in workshops (very rare cases) or according to the large numbers of tiles found on one site and the geographical distribution of directly related items, six centers can be located so far. Several variants of the Pelican in her Piety were probably produced in Sibiu; others with Samson fighting the lion are found on sites close to Cristuru Secuiesc, where numerous potters are also attested; in Cluj, a partial mold was discovered in a pottery workshop and a tile fragment imprinted with that mold was used in a suburb of the city; workshops in Nova Ves probably produced tiles decorated with a kneeling angel that could have been used in two-tile compositions depicting the Annunciation. The case of Buda is discussed in several places in this study, the royal workshops producing motifs that enjoyed great popularity in the kingdom and beyond its borders. The examples detailed here refer to tiles with a holy bishop, an angel with censer, and Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge, which have been discovered in distant parts of Hungary in Ružica, Ilok, and Banská Bystrica; numerous identical tiles decorated with Jesus and the Samaritan woman have been found in the castle of Făgăraș, and copies of them in Bistrița. One can presume that the motif was created in Făgăraș because the figures of Jesus and the woman were created with individual molds and re-used in heraldic compositions.

Some of the copy groups include related tiles from outside Hungary. Tiles with the Pelican in her Piety might have imitated those from Zürich, circulating thus over a distance of almost 1000 kilometers to Buda. Copied tiles decorated with the representation of Samson fighting the lion have been discovered in Vienna and Varaždin, the motif travelling in this case ca. 300 kilometers. The same workshops producing for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna made tiles with St. Christopher, Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge, and Adam and Eve thrown out of Eden, which were copied in another castle in Slavonia, Ružica, 430 kilometers away. The tiles in Nova Ves are probably responsible for a variant of a kneeling angel (part of the Annunciation scene) that has been discovered in other locations in Slavonia but also in Planina pri Sevnici, located at a distance of 100 kilometers in the Duchy of Austria.

Most of the directly related groups of tiles circulated only inside the kingdom. Some were popular enough to be transported longer distances, such as those transported from Buda to castles in Slavonia. The motif of the holy bishop, just like other saintly and biblical figures that decorated niche tiles, traveled a maximum of 750 kilometers to Ružica and Varaždin. Similarly, a variant of the Pelican

in her Piety made in Buda was found in several locations in Central Hungary, the farthest in Ružica. The location of these sites even indicates a “line of transmission” of the motif, from Budapest to the southwest, to Lake Balaton and then to Slavonia (Buda - Székesfehérvár - Ozora - Hahót - Zalavár - Ötvöskőny). The furthest distance traveled by this motif is again that between Buda and Ružica, almost 650 kilometers. It is worth noting that the motifs traveling furthest are the prestigious ones used in the royal palace in the capital and then copied in other castles (Ružica, Varaždin, Ozora). The top-down social transmission also led to the use of these motifs in monasteries, manor houses, and urban contexts. The “line of transmission” is therefore only partially relevant; the tiles with the Pelican in her Piety were probably copied first in the highest social context that was also the farthest from the production center (the castle in Ružica), and only afterwards at the other sites located in the same direction.

Most motifs circulated over more restricted areas, traveling an average of 120 kilometers. They were the products of local, provincial workshops, circulating among lower-social-status sites.<sup>205</sup> One example is provided by the tiles depicting Samson, in a Renaissance costume, fighting the lion that was used in villages and a market town around Cristuru Secuiesc where they were probably produced. The maximum distance traveled by the motif in this case is 25 kilometers. Other motifs with restricted circulation were not necessarily the products of smaller workshops although they were used in sites of equal importance. Circular tiles decorated with the Virgin’s portrait were used in royal contexts around Buda, at a maximum of 30 kilometers away, while tiles representing the iconographic motif *Maria in sole* functioned on stoves from monasteries in Northern Hungary that were 100 kilometers apart. One is a Franciscan and the other a Carthusian monastery; this example reveals the contacts between the various religious orders while erecting their buildings and furnishing their interiors. Other cases discussed in this chapter indicate that directly related tiles were used in different contexts (castles and cities, castles and monasteries, castles, manor houses, and cities), but future studies need to confirm the top-down direction of such transmissions.

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<sup>205</sup> These conclusions are confirmed by the recent results in the research of market districts (areas influenced by certain markets), indicating that there were big markets (like Buda) which influenced the entire kingdom, while on local level markets and market towns were the most important and their influence can be seen in circles of a diameter max. 20-25 kilometres. See: Kubinyi, 2000; Kubinyi, 2008.

## CHAPTER 5. St. George on Stove Tiles

St. George was by far the most popular saint represented on medieval stove tiles throughout Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>206</sup> St. George slaying the dragon is the most frequently encountered scene on tiles from Hungary (featuring on 68 of the 389 tiles). Among the saints portrayed, George leads by far, with the 68 depictions, while the other most popular saints (Ladislav, John, Archangel Gabriel, Catherine, Peter and Barbara) feature between 20 and 10 tiles each.<sup>207</sup> This reflects the dimensions of the cult of St. George in the late Middle Ages, in both the western and the eastern traditions. What is interesting is that the saint is only represented on stove tiles in the episode of slaying the dragon, although in other artistic fields he is also represented during the lengthy narrative of his martyrdom, in an iconic manner, as a standing or a mounted saint or in the context of his miracles. As everywhere else, in the Kingdom of Hungary in the late Middle Ages, the stove tiles always depict George as dragon slayer.

The cult of St. George is attested in Asia Minor as early as the fourth century and in Western Europe in the sixth century. Until the central Middle Ages he was worshiped only as a martyr. Sometime in the eleventh century, a Byzantine hagiographer added to the legend the dragon-slaying episode so typical for George throughout the later periods. It appears in Byzantine art in the twelfth century, both in the East and in Italy, from where it spread throughout Western Europe. There, the episode was made very popular by its inclusion in the thirteen-century hagiographic collection of Jacobus da Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*.<sup>208</sup> It is the basic textual reference for the episode and the main source for the iconography of dragon-slaying St. George in the later Middle Ages:

Saint George was a knight and born in Cappadocia. On a time he came in to the province of Libya, to a city which is said Silene. And by this city was a stagne or a pond like a sea, wherein was a dragon which envenomed all the country. And on a time the people were assembled for to slay him, and when they saw him they fled. And when he came nigh the city he venomed the people with his breath, and therefore the people of the city gave to him every day two sheep for to feed him, because he could do no harm to the people, and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep. Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people

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<sup>206</sup> Strauss, 1983, 17-23; Hazlbauer, 1998, 156-160; Brych, 2004, 86-91; Gruia, 2007b.

<sup>207</sup> I have excluded numerous small fragments reportedly depicting St. George, but in fact too small for any certain identification and other unconvincing visual reconstructions. Such was the case with a tile from Buda (Melis, 1986, 261, fig. II), and with analogies from Visegrád (Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 40, 154, fig. 161) that probably depict a hunting scene and not the dragon-slaying saint. Another example of an “unconvincingly” identified St. George is a tile fragment from Ónod (Tomka, 2007, 243, fig. 1.6, 244, 246. I thank Edit Kocsis for indicating these references to me.)

<sup>208</sup> *LCI*, vol. 2, 1974, 366-390; Flood, 1996; Künstle, 1926, 263-279; Kaftal, 1978, 348-374; Walter, 2003, 109-144.

of them of the town by lot, and every each one as it fell, were he gentle or poor, should be delivered when the lot fell on him or her. So it happened that many of them of the town were then delivered, insomuch that the lot fell upon the king's daughter, whereof the king was sorry, and said unto the people: 'For the love of the gods, take gold and silver and all that I have, and let me have my daughter.' They said: 'How sir! ye have made and ordained the law, and our children be now dead, and ye would do the contrary. Your daughter shall be given, or else we shall burn you and your house.' When the king saw he might do no more, he began to weep, and said to his daughter: 'Now shall I never see thine espousals.' Then returned he to the people and demanded eight days' respite, and they granted it to him. And when the eight days were passed they came to him and said: 'Thou seest that the city perisheth.' Then did the king do array his daughter like as she should be wedded, and embraced her, kissed her and gave her his benediction, and after, led her to the place where the dragon was. When she was there Saint George passed by, and when he saw the lady he demanded the lady what she made there and she said: 'Go ye your way fair young man, that ye perish not also.' Then said he: 'Tell to me what have ye and why weep ye, and doubt ye of nothing.' When she saw that he would know, she said to him how she was delivered to the dragon. Then said Saint George: 'Fair daughter, doubt ye no thing hereof for I shall help thee in the name of Jesu Christ.' She said: 'For God's sake, good knight, go your way, and abide not with me, for ye may not deliver me.' Thus as they spoke together the dragon appeared and came running to them, and Saint George was upon his horse, and drew out his sword and garnished him with the sign of the cross, and rode hardly against the dragon which came towards him, and smote him with his spear and hurt him sore and threw him to the ground. And after said to the maid: 'Deliver me your girdle, and bind it about the neck of the dragon and be not afeared.' When she had done so the dragon followed her as it had been a meek beast and debonair. Then she led him into the city, and the people fled by mountains and valleys and said: 'Alas! Alas! We shall be all dead.' Then Saint George said to them: 'Ne doubt ye no thing, without more, believe ye in God, Jesu Christ, and do ye to be baptized and I shall slay the dragon.' Then the king was baptized and all his people, and Saint George slew the dragon and smote off his head, and commanded that he should be thrown in the fields...<sup>209</sup>

This episode gained extensive popularity, in both the written and visual sources of the Middle Ages. It was based on the belief in the actual existence of dragons. The beast was one of the monsters of the bestiaries, believed to prey on people in Europe and especially in the Orient. Nonetheless, the narrative episode received a symbolic interpretation, with the dragon becoming the embodiment of the Devil, destroyed by the brave Christian knight who was in fact saving the Church.<sup>210</sup> Over 100 saints slew dragons, thus overcoming evil, paganism, or heresy, but none of them is as strongly associated to the deed as St. George.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Granger, 1993.

<sup>210</sup> Riches, 2000, 140.

<sup>211</sup> Hogarth, 1980, 20.

St. George was a very popular saintly figure, included among the Fourteen Intercessors (*Vierzehn Nothelfer*), but he was mainly invoked by crusaders, knights, and soldiers, being chosen as patron saint of several chivalric orders. The dragon-slaying episode was essential in the development of the saint as a chivalric model: he became the Christian knight saving the princess, refusing all reward but baptizing the king, the queen, and the inhabitants of the rescued city.<sup>212</sup> If in the early centuries of his cult George was represented as a Roman soldier, later he became the most important military saint in the Orthodox world and the embodiment of the perfect knight in the Catholic areas.

The saint as dragon-slayer features on stove tiles everywhere and the image seems to have been taken out of the narrative and become an iconic image, with the dragon as the most typical attribute. Only when the composition expands to include the rescued princess, the castle, and the viewers of the scene, most notably the king and the queen, can one speak of a proper narrative representation. Some of the tiles from Hungary do include such collateral details. Certain rarer elements on tiles seem to reflect the Golden Legend's textual tradition more closely. On a tile from Visegrád (cat. 100) one can see the pond where the dragon lived, suggested by the depiction of water and specific small animals; on a tile from Târnava (cat. 177), both the sword and the spear used by the saint during the deadly encounter have been depicted; on two directly related tiles from Făgăraș (cat. 158) and Racoșul de Jos (cat. 180), the princess is holding the leash of the sheep that was to share her fate.

As previously stated, 68 medieval stove tiles decorated with St. George in the Kingdom of Hungary have been discovered and published. Counting the cases when the minimum number of individual tiles is known, there are at least 172 actual tiles decorated with this motif, forming a very consistent group. Most of these tiles have been discovered in Central Hungary (28), others in Northern Hungary (today Slovakia) (20) and Transylvania (17), while only 3 come from Slavonia. All of them depict the saint, most often on horseback (55), slaying the dragon. When he is represented on foot, St. George can be compared to St. Michael who is also represented in the same posture. Sometimes the only element marking the difference between the two figures are the wings that identify the archangel. St. Margaret is also depicted several times with a dragon by her feet or killing the monster with a hammer or a cross-ended staff. St. George slaying the dragon was also popular on stove tiles from neighboring regions, notably in the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Walachia. The numerous tiles decorated with St. George discovered here (27 and 21, respectively) provide good iconographical comparative material for the analysis of Eastern and Western representations of the saint in the late Middle Ages.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Riches, 2000, 24.

<sup>213</sup> Gruia, 2007b.

## St. George and the knightly ideal

The cult of St. George in Europe developed on multiple levels from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. He was the protector of monarchs, an emblem of knightly orders in Hungary, England, Spain, Burgundy, Austria, the German Empire, the Low Countries, and of orders established by the popes<sup>214</sup>, but also a popular saint in other levels of society. He was the patron saint of cities and countries (especially England) and of the urban elite in Europe, grouped in guilds and fraternities.<sup>215</sup> Although there are fewer available sources for it, it seems that the popularity of St. George spread in the Middle Ages to all social levels, entering popular culture and then folklore.

His reception and representation changed from that of a soldier saint in the Roman army, according to the legends refusing to make sacrifices to the Roman gods, to a military saint (wearing the typical Roman and then Byzantine armor and mantle), and eventually a knightly saint, fully armed according to the chivalric Western tradition.

The concept of knightly culture itself and its diffusion in Central and Eastern Europe is a debated issue.<sup>216</sup> Ágnes Kurcz concluded that a culture of a knightly type developed in Hungary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was nevertheless less rich and chronologically delayed compared to Western developments. Most of the clear examples of such a chivalric influence date to the reign of Charles Robert, the first Anjou king of Hungary. The first tournaments were organized in 1318 and after 1324 the king granted his knights “coats of arms” (helmet crests). Most importantly for the topic here, in 1326 Charles Robert founded the Order of Saint George, one of the earliest military orders in Europe and the first secular order in Central Europe.<sup>217</sup> The seal of the order bore an equestrian image of the patron saint slaying the dragon. It was only several years later that Edward III established the Order of the Garter in England, having St. George as patron as well. In 1416, Sigismund of Luxemburg, king of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor, was also admitted into the British order. In 1408 Sigismund established the Order of the Dragon in Hungary, having a dragon biting its own tail as the symbol.<sup>218</sup> All three military orders were strongly connected to St. George in his emblematic posture of dragon-slayer.

Taking into consideration this strong association, the representation of the saint on stove tiles and the details of arms and armor depicted on these items might be used as indications of the degree

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<sup>214</sup> Riches, 2000, 136.

<sup>215</sup> Riches, 2000, 106-110.

<sup>216</sup> Kurcz, 1988.

<sup>217</sup> Engel, 2001, 147.

<sup>218</sup> Bertényi, 1999, 112.

and social distribution of a more popular knightly ideal, reflecting more of a fashion and a taste for certain images than an actual chivalric way of life. Other stove tiles can also be included in the analysis, mainly those decorated with the image of St. Ladislas depicted as a knight and the tiles with a knight in tournament (see Chapter 3). In Hungary, the cult of St. Ladislas was strongly associated with that of St. George. In the fourteenth century, the two become patron saints of the Hungarian knights, a delayed reflex of Western knightly culture.<sup>219</sup>

### **Social distribution**

Most of the tiles decorated with St. George were used in upper social contexts, in palaces, castles, manor houses, and fortifications. Therefore, it appears that the motif was the most popular among the rich, among those adopting a chivalric way of life and aspiring to chivalric ideals. But some contexts of discovery reveal the fact that the image of the saint was also used in the composition of stoves for urban contexts (city and town houses and administrative buildings), monasteries (especially Benedictine, but also Carthusian) and even in village houses. In fact, the number of village houses with such tiles is close to that of urban interiors, indicating the spread of the cult, and maybe a reflection of the same chivalric ideals in lower social contexts at the end of the Middle Ages. At any rate, St. George slaying the dragon is one of the best known stories of the Middle Ages and the saint was invoked as protector of various social groups.

Although the analysis of tiles has revealed several possible production centers for tiles with St. George, only one such item has been discovered archaeologically in a workshop (in Feldioara, Transylvania, cat. 165). Palaces, castles and fortifications having St. George among the motifs depicted on their stoves are most frequent in Central Hungary (15), then in the northern part of the kingdom (8), in Transylvania (4), and in Slavonia (3). One could also include here the tiles used in manor houses, one in Central Hungary and five in Transylvania. Upper social contexts are most numerous (36, representing 58% of all known contexts) and the only ones to employ the motif in all provinces of Hungary. The urban contexts, including city and town houses, administrative buildings, urban fortifications, and suburbs are less numerous (10) and most are located in Northern Hungary (6). The rural contexts are almost as numerous (8), being located in Central Hungary (6) and Transylvania (2). Seven contexts have been considered as mostly religious (the archbishop's palace in Esztergom has been counted with the upper social residential contexts). These can be found in Northern Hungary (4), Central Hungary (2) and Transylvania (1). Tiles belonging to this category were used in heating of

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<sup>219</sup> Kurcz, 1988, 213-215; Klaniczay, 1992, 53-61.

rooms from one Carthusian and four Benedictine monasteries (in Klaštorisko and Vértesszentkereszt, Zalavár, Hronský Beňadik, and Krásna nad Hornádom, respectively) and somewhere in the precinct of the Saxon fortified church in Drăușeni, Transylvania, probably before its community abandoned Catholicism.

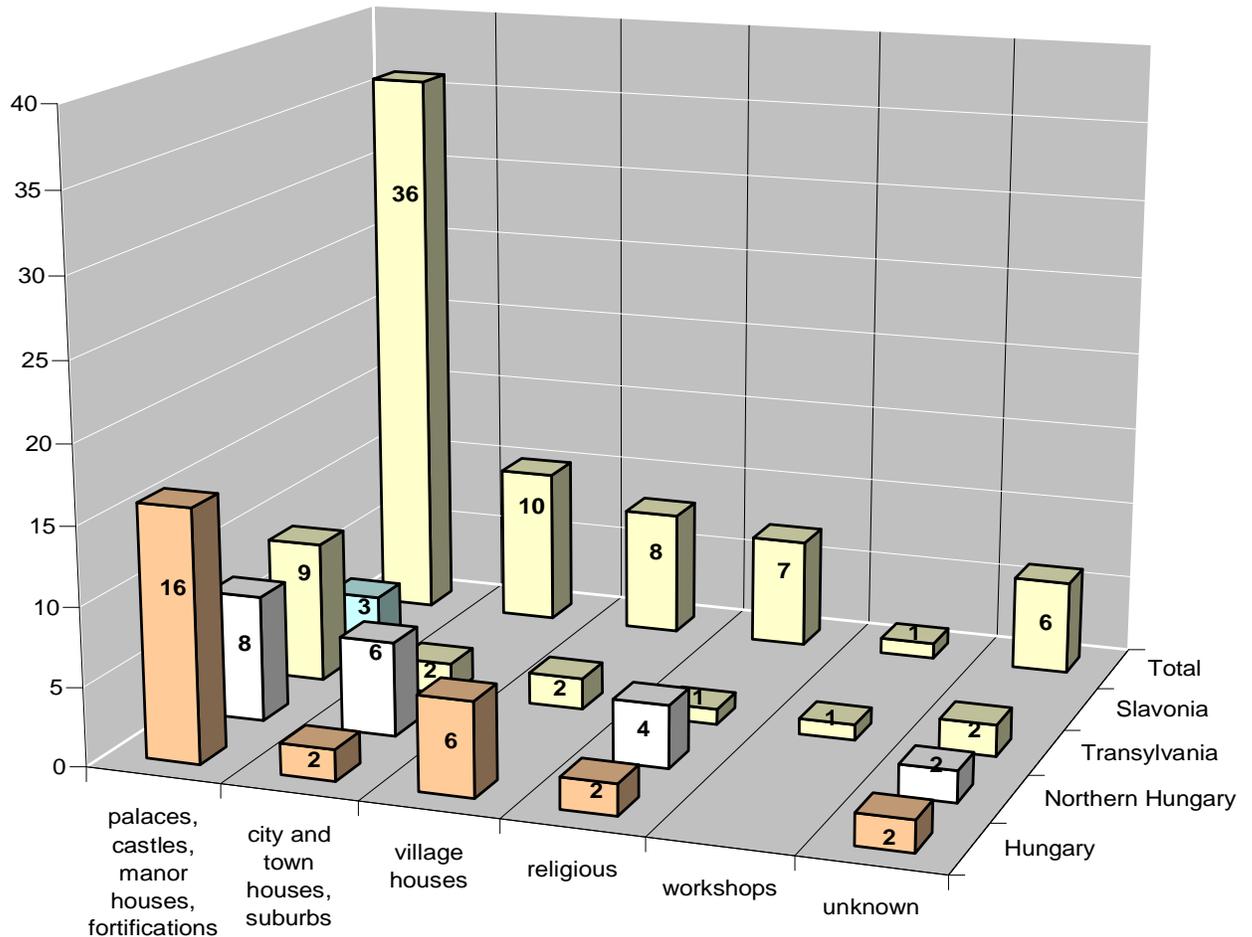


Fig. 5.1. Social distribution of medieval stove tiles decorated with St. George in Hungary, according to province (based on 68 tiles).

Comparing these distributions to those of neighboring Moldavia and Walachia, it can be noted that the upper social and military contexts prevail there as well. In Moldavia, most tiles with St. George come from princely courts and fortifications, but also from several urban houses. The situation is slightly different in Walachia, where a larger number of tiles come from town houses and Orthodox monasteries, and some even from rural dwellings.<sup>220</sup>

<sup>220</sup> Gruia, 2007b.

## **Chronology and glazing**

Considering the tiles with St. George from Hungary as a group, one notices that only one item is dated to the fourteenth century, the one from Esztergom, from the second half of that century (cat. 47). The tile found in Vértesszentkereszt (cat. 97) was dated sometime during the fourteenth century, but its analogy to Buda leads me to correct that dating to the beginning of the fifteenth century). All other items are dated between 1400 and 1600. Most of the more precise chronologies place tiles with St. George to the middle and second half of the fifteenth century, but an equally numerous group of items is dated more generally to one or the other of the two hundred years or even to the entire interval of the fifteen-sixteenth century. As far as glazing is concerned, almost equal numbers of items are unglazed (26; one revealing traces of red paint) and glazed (28). In two cases tiles decorated with the same motif discovered on the same site are both glazed and unglazed. Among the glazed tiles, the majority are green (25), while in two cases, both discovered in Nitra, brown glaze was employed; a tile from Esztergom has yellow glaze. The only polychrome examples come from two sites in Northern Hungary (the castle of Párič and the area of the urban castle in Banská Bystrica, both tiles being dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century). A significant number of tiles from the analyzed group have no published information on their glazing (12; 8 in Central Hungary and 4 in Northern Hungary).

In Central Hungary, the eleven glazed tiles come from various contexts, while the nine unglazed ones mostly belong to the popular workshops of Transdanubia producing simplified and lower-quality tiles. In Transylvania, most tiles are unglazed (16 out of 17), including those from higher social contexts. In Northern Hungary only three items out of twenty are unglazed, while the others are covered in green and polychrome glazes. The three examples from Slavonia are also green-glazed.

It is interesting to note that from a series of identical tiles some were left unglazed while others were further decorated through monochrome or polychrome glazing, which made them more expensive. Unglazed items were easier to produce, not requiring a second firing, while green lead glaze was apparently the most frequently used during the Middle Ages. Since they were discovered together, it might have been the case that glazed and unglazed tiles bearing the same representation could be used in the composition of the same stove, creating an alternation of colors (in Vințu de Jos and Banská Bystrica).

## **Transmission of motifs**

Among the tiles decorated with the image of St. George slaying the dragon, 34 are unique, discovered in only one place each, while other 34 belong to 12 directly related groups. The most

numerous models were found in Buda (6) and among them four were copied and used in other, sometimes very distant, places of the kingdom.

Some exquisite examples of glazed tiles with St. George were used in the royal palace of Buda. Among the tiles probably produced by the royal workshops of the knight in tournament stoves in the mid- to second half of the fifteenth century, some of the niche tiles included pairs of saints standing on corbels. One of them is St. George on foot, fully armed and armored, slaying the dragon with his lance (cat. 4). The depiction of the armor is very detailed. One can see the saint's helmet, his bevor with gorget (for the protection of neck and chin), his breastplate completed by pauldrons (for the shoulders), tassets (attached to the cuirass in order to protect the lower torso and the hips) and the coat of mail worn underneath. George is also wearing gauntlets (armored gloves) and poleyns with side wings (protection plates for the knees). The same image was found on tiles in the castles of Nyirbátor (cat. 74) and Ružica (cat. 368). The latter revealed a rich stove tile collection that included other motifs that were copies after similar items from Buda. This indicates a conscious and expensive initiative that led to the transmission of the motif over 650 kilometers. Unfortunately, in the absence of written sources, the exact means of such a transmission remain unclear. One cannot say whether tiles themselves or molds were transported to Slavonia, or whether this was done with the permission of the king or even as a royal gift. This might have been the case here, considering the preeminent position of Nicholas of Ilok, made King of Bosnia by King Matthias Corvinus in 1471 after impressive social advancement.<sup>221</sup> The same mold with St. George was also used to create tiles in the castle of Nyirbátor, 270 kilometers from Buda. A royal connection can be presumed in this case too, considering the rise of the owners, the Báthory family, at the end of the fifteenth century. The fragments with St. George have been graphically reconstructed, placed in the context of large tiles decorated with the figures of St. George and St. Peter on corbels, flanking a central heraldic representation. The tile from the castle of Nyirbátor indicates that these figures of saints used in the composition of niche tiles were created using individual molds that could thus be combined in various ways. The observation refers to the figures alone, since the corbels differ.

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<sup>221</sup> *Matthias, the King*, 2008, 267-268.

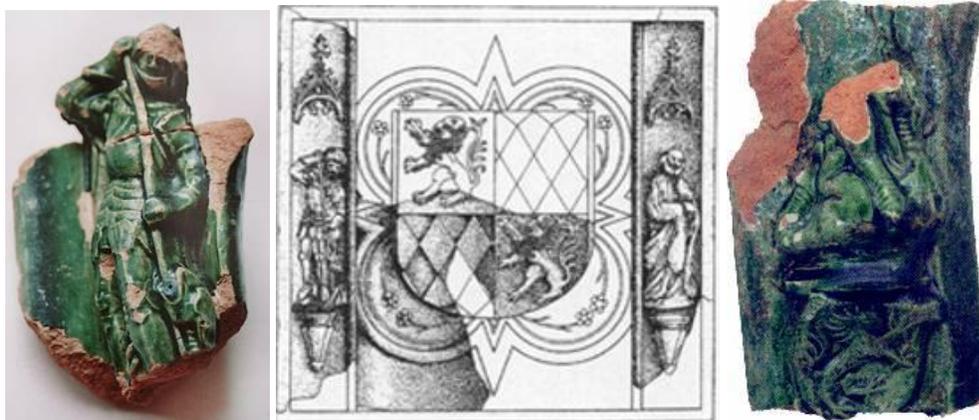


Fig. 5.2. St. George on foot slaying the dragon on tiles from Buda, Nyirbátor, and Ružica.

Two more tiles from Buda have directly related analogies. One panel tile (cat. 25) represents the saint in the narrative episode of slaying the dragon, accompanied in the background by the princess kneeling under a tree and the depiction of the castle. The representation is also very detailed in its depiction of armor (tassets, poleyn, sabatons), horse tack (the saddle with pommel, blanket, bridle, reins, stirrups), the princess's costume, and architectural and natural elements (tree, grass, flowers, rocks). The castle in the background is suggested through the depiction of a building with two windows, a roof with two globes as roof bosses, and a tower. Similar tiles were found in Banská Bystrica, in the barbican (cat. 243) and other areas of the urban castle (cat. 247). The dimensions of the tiles are known: 25.5 x 21.5 cm (the reconstructed item from Buda) and ca. 20.5 x 20.5 cm (the fragmentary tiles from Banská Bystrica). Although approximate, these dimensions indicate that although the latter town was one of the main centers of tile production in Hungary, these particular items decorated with the representation of St. George the dragon-slayer there were copied from the model in Buda. Considering that Banská Bystrica was an important tile-production center and that many fragments with this particular motif have been discovered in two distinct locations of the town, it seems that the copies were produced locally from a tile or a mold brought from Buda. The reason behind such an initiative seems to have been the desire of city representatives to copy a motif rendered prestigious by its initial use in the interiors of the royal palace in Buda. As in the case of nobles, the leaders of a free royal town would have desired such items for considerations of symbolic representation and prestige. The fashionable motif was transported in this case over a distance of ca. 170 kilometers.



Fig. 5.3. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Buda and Banská Bystrica.

Sixteen-century tiles representing St. George on horseback with a flapping mantle and accompanied by a “SGEORGIUS” inscription have been found in Buda (cat. 21) and Zvolen (cat. 352). Both tiles are reconstructions and this poses small problems, but the originals were probably directly related (see Chapter 6). If indeed the tile from Northern Hungary was found in the castle of Zvolen where it is exhibited, then this motif was transmitted over a distance of ca. 150 kilometers.



Fig. 5.4. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Buda and Zvolen(?).

Fragmentary tiles with St. George on horseback and a tree in the corner come from the royal palace in Buda (cat. 22) and the Benedictine monastery in Vértesszentkereszt (cat. 97). The fragmentary state of these presumably related items precludes any further discussion of the transmission of the motif.

The most numerous group of indirectly related tiles was created in the rural workshops of Transdanubia where tiles depicting St. George in a schematic manner have been discovered. The eleven similar-looking, indirectly-related tiles, probably created by the same master, can be grouped into four directly related groups. One motif, with the dragon’s body decorated with small dots, was found in

Csabrendek (cat. 36), Külsővat (cat. 64-66), Nagyvázsony (cat. 70), and Zalavár (cat. 104). All these location are in the area of Lake Balaton, each some 35 kilometers away from the other. It is interesting to note that the available tiles, although not of very high quality, were used in several village houses and also a fortification, a castle, and a Benedictine monastery.



Fig. 5.5. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Csabrendek, Külsővat, and Zalavár.

Another model depicts the knightly saint in an equally schematic manner, but turned to the left. The distinctive feature of tiles in this group is a flower(?) rising from the horse's croup. It might be an item of parade tack or a stylized tree in the background depicted clumsily. The representation is similar to the previously described model, but with different decorative patterns on the dragon and on the saint's costume. Tiles imprinted with this model have been found in Sarvaly (cat. 87), Külsővat (cat. 67), and Szombathely (cat. 95), two village houses and a fortification. Geographically, the motif was transmitted in this case over a maximum distance of 50 kilometers:

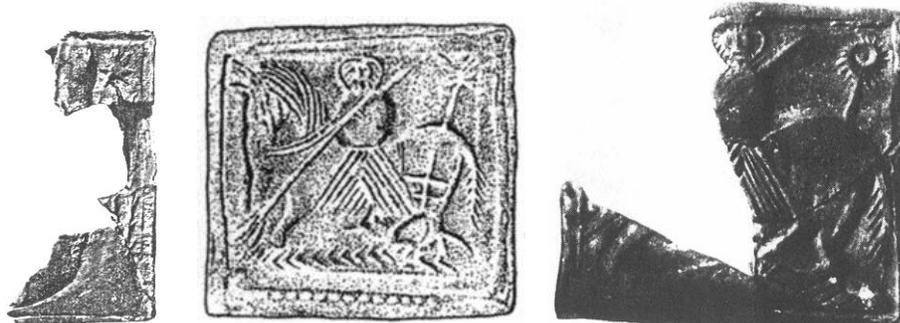


Fig. 5.6. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Sarvaly, Külsővat, and Szombathely.

Two more tiles, from Nagyvázsony (cat. 72) and Külsővat (cat. 68), are also related, the distance that the motif "traveled" being thus ca. 60 kilometers. More important is the difference in social contexts, because the tiles were used in a castle and a village house. This variant of the scene is of very poor quality, with flat and unclear details, and an added border of dots. They are probably both copies of other tiles, created with a worn-out mould, the border being added in order to compensate for the shrinking of clay during copying. St. George on horseback is slaying the dragon with a spear, while

in the background one can discern the castle and, maybe, the kneeling princess as well. On the tile from Külsővat these details look like dragons. If considered without its analogy, this tile could lead the art historian to interpret the scene as following those variants of St. George's legend that present the dragon as a mother, together with her offsprings.<sup>222</sup>

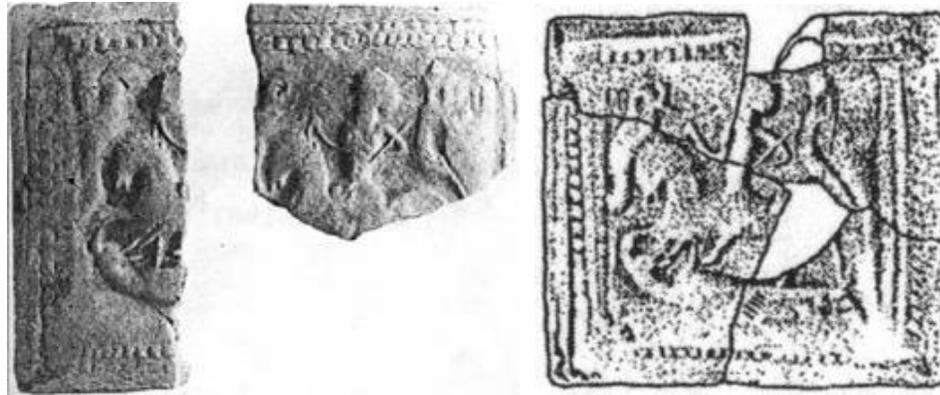


Fig. 5.7. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Nagyvázsony and Külsővat.

Workshops in Transdanubia were therefore producing for a geographically small but socially very wide local market. Here, sheer availability seems to have been the primary reason in the selection of tiles. The same motif could be found, either unglazed or covered in green glaze, in castles, fortifications, and village houses. Considering the high number of identical tiles discovered on each of these sites, one could also conclude either that St. George was popular in Transdanubia in all social levels, or that the variety of tiles on offer was limited.

Other representations of St. George on tiles circulated across the different provinces of the Kingdom of Hungary. A previously unidentified group includes two directly related tiles from Northern Hungary and Transylvania: one from the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorisko (cat. 279) and the other from the village of Mihăileni (cat. 175). The tiles, depicting the knightly saint on horseback, are rich in details of arms and armor. St. George wears a helmet with side wings and a feathered crest, cuirass and pauldrons, tonlet and poleyns. He holds a small shield in his left hand, while with his right he is raising a slightly curved sword, probably a saber, over his head, ready to strike the fallen dragon. The horse is equally well-equipped, with shaffron (armor for the head), reins, decorated open-type bards over the chest and croup, a saddle with pommel and a blanket under it. The tile in Klaštorisko probably served as the model, since it has more details and is a higher-quality product. It is a niche tile with an added architectural tracery in the upper part. The inner relief with St. George was copied in Mihăileni and applied to a panel tile with an added decorative border and a semicircular arch. The princess, depicted

<sup>222</sup> Riches, 2000, 172.

behind St. George in Northern Hungary, probably became the standing figure on the border of the tile in Transylvania. The distance between the two sites is significant, ca. 640 kilometers. The different status of the sites is also noticeable: a Carthusian monastery and a village. The transmission of the motif in this case might have been mediated by other, as yet undiscovered, tiles.

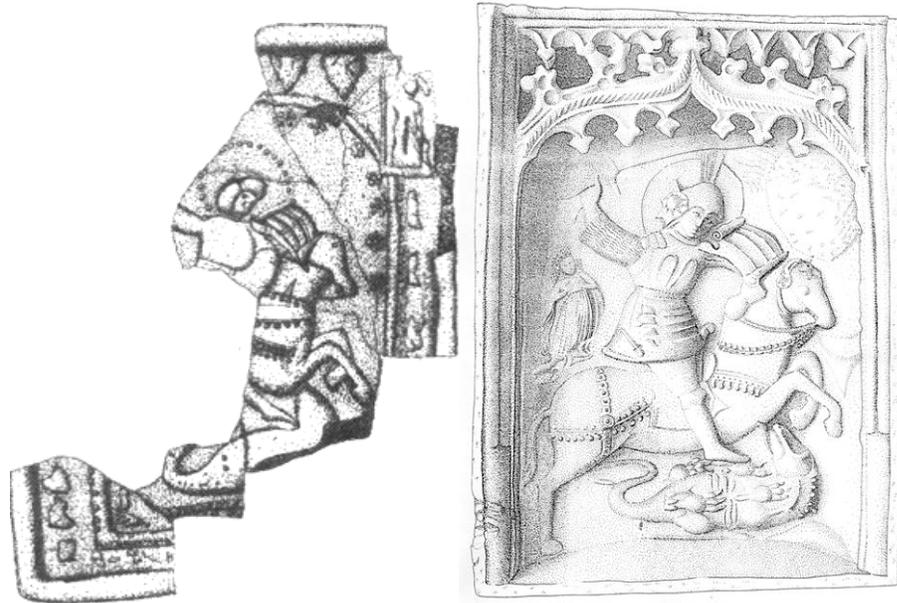


Fig. 5.8. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Mihăileni and Kľaštorisko.

Another group is composed of directly related tiles from various sites in Transylvania. One type of St. George, used to decorate tiles at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was found in a town house in the Szekler market town of Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 148), the fortified church in Drăușeni (cat. 155), and the castle in Făgăraș (cat. 162). It depicts the saint on horseback, under a vegetal arch, slaying the dragon in an effortless manner, holding the spear (quite strangely) vertically and not diagonally. The saint is as usually armored, with cuirass with haute pieces, paultrons, cubitiers, a coat of mail underneath, and gauntlets. The three sites, a castle, a fortification, and a Szekler market town, lie close together in southeastern Transylvania, the maximum distance between them being ca. 100 kilometers. Tiles of this type might have been produced in Cristur, a market town with attested medieval potters and workshops producing both pottery and stove tiles.<sup>223</sup>

<sup>223</sup> Both textual and archaeological. See Benkő, Ughy, 1984.

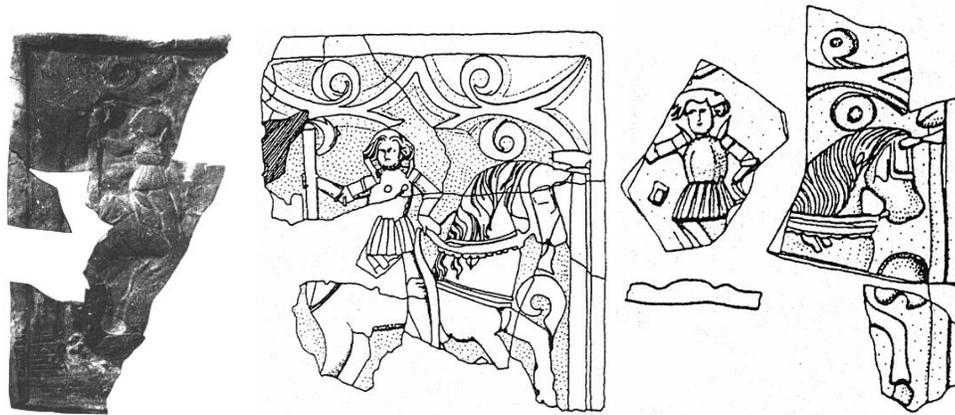


Fig. 5.9. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Cristuru Secuiesc, Drăușeni, and Făgăraș.

Only two tiles represent another case, one from the castle of Făgăraș (cat. 158) and the other from the manor house in Racoșul de Jos (cat. 180), located some 50 kilometers away. Considering the number and quality of details, it seems that the first is a copy of the latter. It is interesting that tiles produced for a manor house would be copied and then used on the stoves of a much more important type of residence. The representation is especially rich among all tiles depicting St. George as dragon slayer in the context of the narrative episode. One can see in the foreground the saint on horseback, slaying the dragon with his spear, and in the background the kneeling princess holding a sheep by the leash, and busts of the king and the queen visible in a balcony or a window. Details of vegetation, costume, crowns, arms and armor, are also abundant. St George is wearing a kettle hat(?), a small shield or a tabard decorated with a cross, tassets, poleyns, gauntlets, and sabbatons. The horse also wears armor, the shaffron, clearly depicted on the tile from Făgăraș. One can also see the saddle, the stirrups, and decorated open-type bards. Fragments from at least sixteen unglazed such tiles have been discovered in the manor house at Racoșul de Jos. It seems probable that the motif featured prominently on the stove or stoves once heating the interiors.

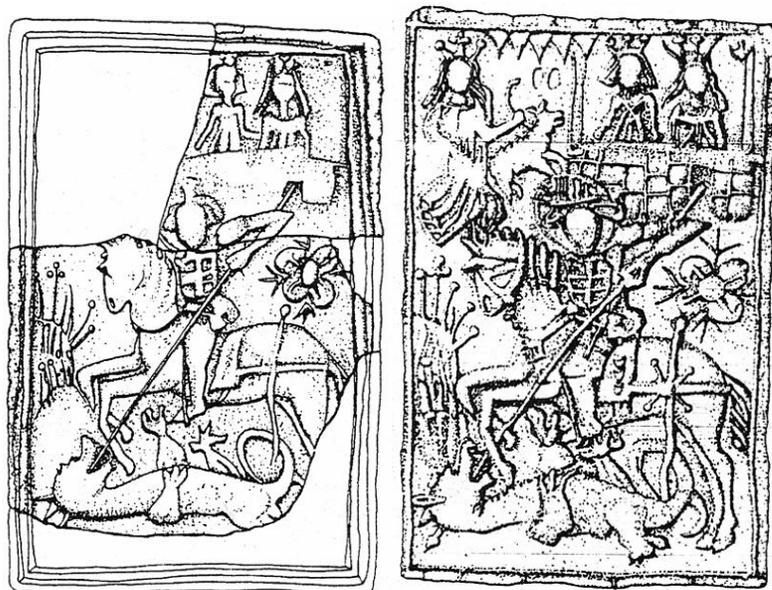


Fig. 5.10. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Făgăraș and Racoșul de Jos.

Other directly related tiles with St. George were used in Hungary and the neighboring regions. A type of crown tile depicting the saint fighting the dragon on foot has been discovered in castles in both Slavonia and Carinthia (part of the Duchy of Austria). These niche tiles, with vegetal borders ending in Gothic fleurons, show the fully armed saint in the center. Although not wearing a helmet, George is protected by a breastplate with a cross, pauldrons, cubitieres, tassets, and poleyns. He holds a saber, not a sword, and a small shield. The group is composed of five directly related tiles from castles in Slavonia and Carinthia: Ružica (cat. 370) and Susedgrad (cat. 383), both in Slavonia, part of Hungary, Podsreda<sup>224</sup> and Celje<sup>225</sup> from Carinthia (Austria, part of the Holy Roman Empire), and another unknown location. Podsreda and Celje are 40 kilometers apart, while the distance between Ružica and Celje is about 650 kilometers. Another analogous tile was once part of the Walcher Moltheim collection, now in the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>226</sup> Until all the tiles in the group are analyzed and measured, it is impossible to decide on the copying relations among them. What can be affirmed for the time being is that high-quality niche tiles decorated with the motif circulated in Central Europe, being used in a number of castles, in the fifteenth century. The transmission of this motif is probably explained by the travels of the nobility.

<sup>224</sup> Photo by the author in the castle museum.

<sup>225</sup> Bregant, 1984, cat. 17. The status of the Cillei family was very similar to that of Nicholas of Ilok. This major aristocratic family also held high ranks in the Holy Roman Empire, therefore Celje and Ružica can be placed on the same level of prestige. See Kurelić, 2006.

<sup>226</sup> Strauss, 1983, 20, 112, table 31, fig. 4.



Fig. 5.11. Niche tiles decorated with the image of St. George on foot slaying the dragon, discovered in Ružica, Susedgrad, Podsreda, and Celje.

The tile with St. George from Trenčín (cat. 350) is directly related to a fragment of unknown provenience kept in the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest (cat. 109). Although the item from Budapest is only a fragment of the upper right corner of a tile, it contains elements identical to those in Trenčín: the kneeling princess with her hair in a long braided tail, wearing a tall cross surmounted by a cross and raising her hands in invocation of God's protection over her rescuing hero. The fragment also contains a part of the saint's hand elegantly holding his spear.



Fig. 5.12. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Trenčín and an unknown location in Hungary.

Both items vaguely resemble a number of tiles depicting the saint in Bohemia. The Hungarian representation seems to combine elements from several such items, for example one from Prague from the middle of the fifteenth century and one from an unknown location dating back to the second half of the same century.<sup>227</sup> Even if more simplified, the north Hungarian example preserves very particular details such as the open jaws placed by the dragon's tail, the upraised reins of the saint's horse, and

<sup>227</sup> Richterová, 1982, plate 35, fig. 1-2.

George's position, turned backwards towards the kneeling princess. Other details are nevertheless different, such as the horse's front feet, indicating that the tiles are only indirectly connected and certainly not made with the same molds:



Fig. 5.13. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Prague and an unknown location in Bohemia.

Another indirectly related tile comes from Poland, from the castle in Żarnowiec.<sup>228</sup> The differences consist of the saint's different way of holding the spear and the rendition of the horse and its tack. But the kneeling princess and the saint turned towards her are very similar:

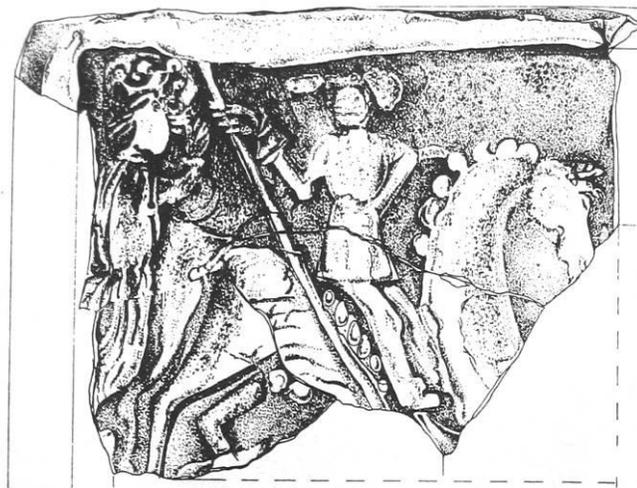


Fig. 5.14. St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on a tile fragment from Żarnowiec (Poland).

It seems that this type of St. George was popular enough on tiles to be imitated in three different regions: Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. This variant of the scene is therefore widely spread, crossing between three different states.

<sup>228</sup> Augustyniak, 1997-1998, 78, fig. 24.

In the case of other tiles from this group, one can identify their sources of inspiration in other artistic representations of the period. In Feldioara the tile was created locally, in a workshop established over the ruins of a medieval fortification (cat. 165). The motif was inspired by a relief on the outside of the local church and by a corbel in the altar. The depiction of trees is particularly similar in all three examples, with their crowns rendered as fir tree cones, although they are part of different iconographic scenes: St. George on foot on the tile, St. George on horseback beside the princess, and a tower (on the corbel), and a badly preserved Prayer on the Mount of Olives scene (on the relief).<sup>229</sup>



Fig. 5.15. Feldioara: stove tile, corbel depicting Saint George fighting the dragon in the sanctuary of the church, and relief with the Prayer on the Mount Olives on the southern façade of the church.

Elek Benkő has identified the western European models of a stove tile from Transylvania, from Cluj-St. Peter (cat. 137).<sup>230</sup> One and the same image, with small modifications, depicting St. George on horseback, was used in the illumination of a manuscript, the relief decoration of a clay plaque, and the decoration of the stove tile in question. The creator of the clay relief borrowed and adapted the illumination from a Belgian Book of Hours<sup>231</sup> (changing the saint's weapon, adding inscriptions, eliminating the castle in the background), while the tile potter simplified the relief (eliminating details of armor and eliminating the inscription scrolls, replacing them with vegetal elements). The location of the clay relief is not published, but the connection between a Belgian manuscript and a tile from a Transylvanian Magyar suburb could have been established by a traveling master. Considering the fact that at least one tile workshop functioned in Cluj, it seems probable that the tile in question was produced locally after an imported or once-seen model.

<sup>229</sup> Photos by the author. For the analogy: Marcu, 1992; Marcu Istrate, 2003a.

<sup>230</sup> Benkő, 2004, 65-69.

<sup>231</sup> [http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/print\\_single\\_image2.cfm?imagenam=m421.023v.jpg&page=ICA000151880](http://utu.morganlibrary.org/medren/print_single_image2.cfm?imagenam=m421.023v.jpg&page=ICA000151880); <http://www.cla.purdue.edu/medieval-studies/Ohlgren/Handlist10.html> (last accessed 06.04.2009).



Fig. 5.16. Stove tile from Cluj-St. Peter (XV-XVI century), manuscript illumination (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS 421, ca. 1430), and clay relief (1430-40).

As a summary of the direct and indirect connections between stove tiles with St. George in Hungary, it seems that the top quality models produced by the workshops in Buda were transmitted over the greatest distances (650 kilometers to Ružica, for example), while the schematic, poor-quality motifs produced by Transdanubian workshops circulated over distances restricted to 35-50 kilometers. Another motif traveled a long distance between sites 640 kilometers apart, between Transylvania (Mihăileni) and Northern Hungary (Klaštorsko). It also seems that Nicholas of Ilok, owner of the castle in Ružica, went to the most trouble to obtain the motifs on his stove tiles with St. George from the greatest distances, from Buda and from Carinthia, each some 650 kilometers away. The direct connections indicate the transmission of St. George motifs on tiles over an average distance of 247 kilometers. Most directly related tiles come from the same province, but four other motifs were used across the inner borders of the kingdom, while in one case a motif of St. George was taken from outside Hungary. Several indirect connections have also been identified, pointing to tiles from Bohemia and Poland, and to other types of representations (on stone reliefs, sculptures, and manuscript illuminations) from inside Hungary or from Western Europe.

In general, the transmission of these motifs took place among contexts of equal rank (mostly rural around Lake Balaton, castles in Slavonia and Carinthia, castles in Buda, Ružica, and Nyirbátor). In some cases a top-down transmission is apparent. The most relevant example is Buda, where tiles with St. George used in the royal palace and probably produced by the royal workshops in the capital, were also used in noble castles, urban castles, and monasteries. In the Transylvanian village of

Mihăileni, a tile was found inspired by a motif from the Carthusian monastery in Northern Hungary. It seems probable that the transmission was mediated by other, as yet undiscovered or unpublished “missing links.” The pottery workshops in the Szekler market town of Cristuru Secuiesc in Transylvania seem to have produced tiles for nobles to use in their castles and for Saxon communities to use in their fortified churches. In the case of workshops from Transdanubia, their products were used in various contexts, from village houses to fortifications, castles, and monasteries. The most peculiar case of tile copying is that from the manor house of Racoșul de Jos to the near-by castle in Făgăraș.

### **Finding places**

The greatest variety of tiles with St. George comes from Buda (6 different motifs). The saint was represented on both niche and panel tiles of very good quality and with clear details. St. George was depicted on foot or on horse, slaying the dragon iconically or doing so in the context of the narrative, with the princess, the castle, and other elements visible in the background. From the capital city, most of these motifs were disseminated throughout the kingdom. Four out of the six tiles, all those used in the royal palace from Buda Hill, were copied and used on other sites in Central Hungary (2), Northern Hungary (2), and Slavonia (1). All were used in upper social contexts, mostly castles, monasteries, and important urban buildings.

Besides Buda, other finding places also revealed two or more different representations of the saint among the decorated tiles from the same site. Due to the present state of archaeological research and publication of material, in very few of these cases can one discern whether the tiles were once part of the same stove or not. Nevertheless, the fact shows that tiles decorated with St. George slaying the dragon were available and popular enough for more than one variant to be used on one site.

In Külsóvat five very similar yet different depictions of the scene appear on bowl-shaped and corner tiles. The representation is schematic, in the case of corner tiles pairing St. George with equally schematic representations of vegetal motifs. The tiles were once part of stoves from rural houses, and the variety of St. George representations is due to a very active Transdanubian popular workshop. Three of these different motifs were also found among the ruins of Paul of Kinizs’ castle in Nagyvázsony. If indeed this is the finding place of the tiles (but further research is needed for clarification), it seems strange to find the same motif in the interiors owned by villagers and in the castle of Matthias’ captain general.<sup>232</sup>

In Banská Bystrica, two different representations of St. George were found each on two sites. This northern Hungarian city was an important tile production center, but one of the motifs under

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<sup>232</sup> *Matthias, the King*, 2008, 270-271.

discussion was discovered among the ruins of the barbican and another, copied after an original in Buda, was recovered from a site inside the urban castle. The other motif was almost certainly produced by a local workshop as it bears strong technical and stylistic similarities to another group of religious and lay stove tiles used both in the town hall from the urban castle (cat. 234) and in the house of Mayor Stefan Jung (cat. 235). The lot was probably created at the latter's express commission sometime during his office between 1450 and 1454. These tiles are still being researched and inventoried, but one knows that the tiles with St. George were used both independently and as part of corner tiles, paired with representations of St. Catherine of Alexandria. The iconography of the stoves under discussion is hard to interpret as a unit, since it combines representations of saints (Ladislav, George, Catherine, the Madonna), religious symbols (the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in her Piety), lay fables (the wolf preaching to the geese), heraldic representations (the Czech lion), animals of the bestiary (the lioness breathing over her dead cubs), and a unique depiction of a copulating couple. The sole reason for such a combination of images seems to have been the interest of the commissioner, Stefan Jung.<sup>233</sup> In this case, the pairing of St. George with St. Catherine might not have carried any deeper meaning. It is still interesting to note that the two knightly patrons of Hungary, Ladislav and George, were part of the same stoves that heated urban official and private interior spaces in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Two representations of St. George, on foot and on horseback, decorated tiles found in the Carthusian monastery of *Klaštorsko* (cat. 278 and 279). This site has revealed one of the most valuable and rich collections of tiles in Hungary. Over 200 tiles and at least fourteen stove bases have been recovered from the monastery, in both cells and common spaces, but the material is still being inventoried and remains mostly unpublished, so one cannot reconstruct and interpret the iconography of individual stoves. Comment can only be made on the fact that two different and good-quality motifs of St. George were used in a monastery that did not display any special favor for the saint. It is just a good example of his popularity that might be explained locally by the bellicose history of this site in Northern Hungary, several times attacked by enemies or nobles and abandoned by monks.<sup>234</sup>

Two different motifs of St. George were found in the castle of *Trenčín*, two in the castle in *Făgăraș*, three in the manor house of *Lăzarea*, two in the castle (formerly a Dominican cloister) in *Vințu de Jos*, and two in the castle of *Ružica* (one copied from Buda, another popular in castles in Slavonia and Carinthia). It is therefore not infrequent to find two or more different representations of St. George on the same site (maybe even on the same stove).

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<sup>233</sup> Gruia, 2007a.

<sup>234</sup> Slivka, 1991a.

## The cult of St. George and his representation in other arts

Mező András lists 333 medieval churches, monasteries, and chapels dedicated to the saint throughout Hungary, dated between the twelfth and the middle of the sixteenth century. George ranked fourth from the top in preference, after the Virgin, St. Martin, and St. Michael.<sup>235</sup> Most of the churches dedicated to St. George are first attested in the first half of the fourteenth century, around 1330, but there are some from the Arpád period, some from the fifteenth century, many of them continuing to have the same patron saint until the middle of the sixteenth century and even beyond. In Pest County, George was the third most popular patron saint of the Middle Ages, after the Virgin and St. Martin.<sup>236</sup> In Tolna, on the other hand, he was only the seventh most popular, on a par with St. Martin.<sup>237</sup>

The fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century were unsettled times for Hungary, engaged in frequent wars against the Turks. This atmosphere certainly contributed to raising the knightly saint's popularity, and its spread in wider levels of the population according to their involvement in the war.

St. George appears in Hungary, as elsewhere in Europe, in many medieval wall paintings, reliefs, sculptures, manuscript illuminations, and various minor arts. I will refer to the most notable cases here, or to those that can be used either as stylistic or chronological analogies to the tiles under analysis.

A famous *ronde-bosse* sculpture of St. George on horseback slaying the dragon was created by the brothers Martin and George of Cluj at the order of King Charles IV for his castle in Prague. The equestrian cast-bronze statue was delivered in 1373. Its excellent qualities and early dating have triggered several analyses. Most researchers believe that it was inspired by the Roman equestrian statues available especially in Italy, combined with the Byzantine iconography of St. George, mediated through Venice.<sup>238</sup>

St. George, mostly as the dragon-slayer, appears in numerous wall paintings throughout Hungary from the late medieval period. There are too many to enumerate here.<sup>239</sup> He also features on polyptic altars, either painted on the wings or represented by the sculptures placed in the central cases of such items.<sup>240</sup> An impressive sculpture of the dragon-slaying scene features in the central case of the polyptic altar in Spišská Sobota (1516). The saint also appears in relief, sculptures, and paintings from

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<sup>235</sup> Mező, 1996, 92-115.

<sup>236</sup> Tari, 2000, 243.

<sup>237</sup> Németh, 2006.

<sup>238</sup> Băldescu, 2006; Beneškovská, 2007.

<sup>239</sup> Radocsay, 1954; Gérard, 2001.

<sup>240</sup> Radocsay, 1955.

altars in Bardejov, Levoča, Pukanec, and in an altar from around Banská Bystica kept in Budapest.<sup>241</sup> Similar representations can be found on late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Transylvanian altars, such as those, for example, in Șmig and Mălâncrav.<sup>242</sup>

Motifs on stove tiles are sometimes similar to those cast on bronze bells and baptismal fonts, but the image of St. George was rarely used on such items in Hungary. Among the almost 400 medieval bells from Transylvania, only four feature St. George: the one from Corvinești, made in 1532 in Bistrița; the one from Cireșoaia, made in 1534 in Bistrița and signed by master George; the bell in Fântânița, made in 1541 in Bistrița and signed by the same master; and the bell from Hetiur, bearing the inscription “MAGISTER GREGORIUS 1544.”<sup>243</sup> One and the same mold was used in all cases, probably showing the devotion of the master who had George as his name patron. The knightly saint also features on baptismal fonts from Northern Hungary, from Veľka and Bardejov.<sup>244</sup>



Fig. 5.17. Saint George on foot slaying the dragon, representation used on bells cast by master George of Bistrița between 1532 and 1544.

It seems that in these cases, especially the Transylvanian ones, it was not the knightly protection determining the selection of St. George, despite the detailed rendition of his arms and armor in these representations.

Other minor arts using the image of St. George for decoration or protection are either not related to his knightly character, such as metal fixtures for clothes or books, or directly refer to it, such

<sup>241</sup> Gérard, 2001, 154-155, fig. 65.

<sup>242</sup> Firea, 2004-2005.

<sup>243</sup> Benkő, 2002, 478-479, fig. 167.

<sup>244</sup> Gérard, 2001, 154-155.

as the Hungarian exquisite horse saddles from the time of Sigismund, created according to the international Gothic style.<sup>245</sup>

### Elements of arms, armor, tack, and costume

Tiles with St. George are very rich in details of arms, armour, horse tack and several other elements. About 170 individual pieces of armor, 150 details of horse armor and tack, and ca. 70 arms can be seen; that is an average of 6 such elements on each tile. It seems that the tiles most imbued with knightly elements are those from Transylvania and Northern Hungary (an average of 7 elements), then Central Hungary and Slavonia (with an average of 4). Of course these numbers can only give a general picture, since many items are fragmentary, published in poor-quality reproductions or even not illustrated in the existing scholarship. Some of these pieces of military equipment can be precisely identified; others are schematic or poorly rendered, but in general they can be analyzed and interpreted as indications of the knightly fashion and culture popular in Hungary in the late Middle Ages in various social contexts. Starting with elements of body armor, helmets are visible on 12 tiles: one is a *sallet* helmet with mobile visor (on the tile from Târnava, cat. 177), two are spiked helmets (on tiles from Kőszeg, cat. 61, and Cluj-St. Peter, cat. 137), while another is surmounted by a crest (Pomáz, cat. 83). Sallets, the helmets of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, are easily recognizable due to their long tail meant to protect the back of the neck. Spiked helmets, inspired by the oriental *shishak*, entered Eastern Europe in the middle and second half of the fifteenth century as a consequence of battles with the Turks. The head of Saint George is in other cases protected by a *kettle hat* (Sitno, cat. 332 and Racoșul de Jos, cat. 180). These plain iron hats were common from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. On some tiles the helmet is replaced by more courtly elements such as headpieces surmounted by crosses or feathers (7). The saint's lower face and neck are protected by *bevors* (a piece of armor designed for the lower part of the face, used in the fifteenth century, depicted on the tile in Buda – cat. 4 and Kőszeg – cat. 61) or *gorgets* (close-fitting plate defense for the neck, throat, and upper chest, on the tile in Klaštorsko – cat. 278). On three Transylvanian tiles, directly related (Făgăraș - cat. 162, Drăușeni – cat. 155, Cristuru Secuiesc – cat. 148), the protection of the neck is ensured by *haute pieces*, protection plates rising from the breastplate. On the tile from Pomáz (cat. 83), the helmet is continued by an *aventail* (mail for the neck). The main piece of armor is the *cuirass*, of which only the breastplate is visible due to the saint's frontal rendition in all cases. It is depicted on 27 tiles, sometimes with extremely detailed elements like the component plates, inscribed crosses (Ružica – cat. 370, Susedgrad – cat. 383, Vințu de Jos – cat. 202, Visegrád - cat. 100), or other engravings (Cechești – cat. 129,

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<sup>245</sup> *Sigismundus*, 2006, 275.

Feldioara – cat. 165). The cuirass is completed and partially covered by other elements of armor, such as *pauldrons* for the shoulders (on 12 tiles, in 4 Northern Hungarian cases with decorative rosettes). Other elements of arm protection depicted on these tiles are the *cubitieres* (elbow protection plates, visible in 9 cases) and *gauntlets* (or iron fists, shown on 11 tiles). In a full suit of plate armor, the lower body is either protected by *tassets* (overlapping plates that cover the juncture of hip and thigh; represented on 21 tiles) or *tonlets* (a deep, hooped skirt of steel worn on armor designed for foot combat, typical for the fifteenth and sixteenth century, depicted only once, on a tile from Klaštorisko, cat. 279). The *coat of mail* worn under the armor is visible on ten of the tiles analyzed. Among the leg and foot protection elements, the tiles depict *poleyns* (knee protection plates, on 16 tiles, sometimes with side wings as well, on the items from Buda – cat. 4, and Ružica – cat. 370), *sabbatons à la poulaine* (pointed armed footwear, on 24 tiles) sometimes with attached *spurs* (16). The latter are sometimes so detailed that one can identify the rowels and their number of spokes.

Spurs were only worn by knights on horseback, and this leads the analysis to the armed and tack elements pertaining to the horse. Just as the saint, his horse is sometimes shown very well armored, in three cases wearing a *shaffron* (or *chauffron*, an articulated piece of armor protecting the animal's head and neck). Other elements of tack are almost ubiquitous on tiles, being essential in riding: the *bridle* (the head tack, visible on 17 tiles), the *reins* (depicted on 32 tiles), the *saddle* (26), and *stirrups* (15). Pertaining to the saddle, its high front and back sides, designed to better hold the rider at impact, are sometimes depicted: the *pommel* on 17 tiles and the *cantle* on 6. One can also see *saddle blankets* (in 11 cases) and the *girth* (the strap encircling the animal's body in order to secure the saddle, visible on 6 tiles). Other depicted elements are typical for tournament and parade tack, such as *horse feathered headpieces* (4) and *open-type bards* (either *breast collars* or *cruppets*, or both, represented on 15 tiles). Some of the straps are even shown as decorated, mostly girths and collars.

As for the weapons, on most tiles St. George is depicted as slaying the dragon with a spear (49), but sometimes he is using a sword, especially in foot combat (7). On the tile from Târnava (cat. 177) one can identify a two-hand sword with its typical long handle and a curved guard. On other tiles (from Cluj-St. Peter – cat. 137, and Ružica – cat. 370) the weapon is a saber, hardly known in the medieval west; it was a more oriental type of weapon, re-introduced in Southeastern Europe during the fifteenth century due to the conflicts with the Turks.<sup>246</sup> In two cases, on tiles from Buda – cat. 25, and Lăzarea – cat. 171, the knightly saint seems to have a battle-knife hanging by his belt. Small shields are depicted on 12 tiles, sometimes asymmetrical, other times curved and composed of two or four plates, most

<sup>246</sup> Pinter, 2001, 77; Pinter, 2007, 18.

times with inscribed crosses. The latter are either to be interpreted as pointing only to the Christian character of the depiction, or as George's individual banner, the red cross on a white background.

In a previous article, I have analyzed the proportion of "Eastern" and "Western" elements on tiles with St. George, counting among the first haloes, mantles, and cross-ended spears.<sup>247</sup> That comparison focused on Transylvania, Moldavia, and Walachia, and I concluded that despite the fact that these elements were not exclusive to one of the iconographies, just more popular and fashionable, an overall analysis may indicate that Moldavia and Walachia were much more influenced by eastern, Orthodox, post-Byzantine iconography. Among the tiles from Hungary, mantles are depicted on 6 tiles (4 in Central Hungary) and haloes on 9 (5 in Central Hungary, 3 in Transylvania and 1 in Northern Hungary). In this case, these elements are either typical for late, sixteenth century representations, or for the schematic or popular character of the depictions. Their small number is also insufficient to clearly indicate any influence of "Eastern" iconography.

Considering the elements that appear most often, one may describe the typical St. George on tiles in Hungary as wearing cuirass and sabbatons, riding a horse with reins and a saddle, and slaying the dragon with a spear. The analysis of arms and armor included in the depiction of St. George on stove tiles in Hungary reveals that these elements were highly fashionable and that they were typical for the region. Spiked helmets and sabers were only used in Central and Eastern Europe in the fifteenth century due to the changes triggered by the constant fights with the Turks. Produced locally, these stove tiles reflect the local realities and render St. George according to the fashionable knightly and courtly fashion of that time and place.

### Conclusions

On all 68 tiles, discovered at 58 different sites in Hungary, St. George is shown killing the dragon. The illustrated episode was one of the best-known popular stories of the late Middle Ages, and it featured prominently on tiles from Hungary, as it did on those from Moldavia and Walachia. This indicates the wide popularity of the saint and his deeds throughout the entire region, despite its political and religious borders. St. George is also one of the few saints important for both the Latin and Orthodox traditions. The saint was fashionable on tiles from social elite and especially military contexts, where the depictions contain the most numerous and accurate details of arms and armour, but also permeated other social levels, being even employed in rural houses as early as the fifteenth century.

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<sup>247</sup> Gruia, 2007b.

In Hungary, the popularity of the saint on all social levels is also indicated by the numerous groups of directly or indirectly connected tiles depicting him. Such items were copied and re-copied, transmitted over as much as 650 kilometers. The detailed study of these groups leads to pertinent observations on the production and transmission of motifs on tiles: how partial molds were used in the creation of new compositions, how the nobles wanted the best, the most fashionable, and most knightly depictions of St. George in their interiors but sometimes had to use what was available on the local market; how burghers occasionally and exceptionally copied tiles from the royal palace in Buda but usually used those produced by the urban workshops; how carvers or potters used other artistic creations as means of inspiration and how they sometimes individualized the tiles with St. George by adding, for example, the emblems of their towns (see the item from Nitra, cat. 306).

<i>province</i>	<i>Cat No.</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Place of Discovery</i>	<i>Status of the Site</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Related Tiles</i>	<i>Number of Tiles, Type and Glaze</i>	<i>Elements of Arms and Armor, Dress, and Tack</i>
Central Hungary	4	1. on foot	Buda	royal palace	1454-1457	Nyirbátor, Ružica?	niche tile green glaze	helmet, cuirass, bevor, pauldrons, tassets, coat of mail, gauntlets, poleyn, spear
	21	2. on horseback	Buda	royal palace	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Zvolen?	reconstructed panel tile, green glaze	helmet, mantle, cuirass, poleyn, sabbatons, spurs, spear, saddle, blanket, girth, stirrups, reins, bridle, open-type bards
	22	3. on horseback (princess)	Buda	royal palace	beg. 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Vértesszentkereszt	min. 3 panel tiles, green glaze	small shield inscribed with cross
	25	4. on horseback (princess and castle)	Buda	royal palace	1440?	Banská Bystrica	min. 3 panel tiles, green glaze	tassets, poleyn, sabbatons, spear, knife?, saddle, pommel, blanket, bridle, reins, stirrups
	34	5. on horseback	Buda	suburb	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green glaze	helmet, mantle, spear, horse feathered headpiece, saddle, blanket, stirrups, open-type bards, knife?
	35	6. on horseback	Buda	suburb	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green glaze	helmet, mantle, spear, bridle, reins, saddle, blanket, horse feathered headpiece
	36	7. on horseback	Csabrendek	fortification	?	Külsővat, Nagyvázsony Zalavár	panel tile, green glaze	spear, spur, reins
	41	8. on foot	Diósgyőr	castle	1435-1440		min. 1 panel tile, green glaze	spear, spur
	47	9. on horseback	Esztergom	archbishop's palace	second half 14 <sup>th</sup> c.		yellow glaze	?

<b>61</b>	10. on foot	Kőszeg	castle	first half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.		min. 11 tiles, unglazed	spiked helmet, bevor, pauldrons, cubitieres, spear gauntlets, cuirass, tassets, sabbatons,
<b>64</b>	11. on horseback	Külsóvat	village house	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Csabrendek, Nagyvázsony Zalavár, Külsóvat	min. 5 bowl-shaped tiles, unglazed	halo, spear, reins, spur
<b>65</b>	12. on horseback	Külsóvat	village house	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Csabrendek, Nagyvázsony Zalavár, Külsóvat	min. 5 bowl-shaped tiles, unglazed	halo, spear, reins, spur
<b>66</b>	13. on horseback	Külsóvat	village house	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Csabrendek, Nagyvázsony Zalavár, Külsóvat	min. 1 corner tile, unglazed	halo, spear, reins, spur
<b>67</b>	14. on horseback	Külsóvat	village house	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Sarvaly, Szombathely	min. 7 bowl-shaped tiles, unglazed	halo, spear, reins, sabbatons, open-type bards, flower?
<b>68</b>	15. on horseback	Külsóvat	village house	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Nagyvázsony	bowl-shaped tile	spear, reins
<b>70</b>	16. on horseback (princess?)	Nagyvázsony	castle	?	Külsóvat Csabrendek, Zalavár	min. 3 panel tiles, unglazed ?	spear, reins
<b>71</b>	17. on horseback	Nagyvázsony	castle	?		min. 2 panel tiles	?
<b>72</b>	18. on horseback	Nagyvázsony	castle	?	Külsóvat	min. 1 panel tile	?
<b>74</b>	19. on foot	Nyirbátor	castle	1488-1493	Buda	unglazed	spear, helmet, cuirass, pauldrons, tassets, coat of mail, gauntlets, poleyn, sabbatons
<b>83</b>	20. on horseback (princess)	Pomáz	manor house	1423-1437?		min. 1 semi-cylindrical tile, green glaze	spear, helmet with crest, aventail, mantle, shield with cross, sabbatons, spur, reins
<b>87</b>	21. on horseback	Sarvaly	village house	first half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Külsóvat, Szombathely	?	?
<b>95</b>	22. on horseback	Szombathely	fortification	?	Külsóvat Sarvaly	min. 6 tiles, green glaze	halo, spear, flower?

	<b>97</b>	23. on horseback (princess)	Vértesszent-kereszt	Benedictine monastery	beg. 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Buda		shield with cross
	<b>100</b>	24. on horseback (princess, castle, trees, animals)	Visegrád	royal palace	ca. 1410		green glaze	spear, cuirass with cross, gauntlet, saddle, bridle
	<b>104</b>	25. on horseback	Zalavár	Benedictine monastery	?	Külsóvat Csabrendek, Nagyvázsony	min. 2 tiles	spear, reins
	<b>105</b>	26. on horseback	unknown Gyula?	castle	?		min. 1 crown tile	spear
	<b>109</b>	27. on horseback ? (princess)	unknown	?	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Trenčín	unglazed	spear
	<b>112</b>	28. on horseback (princess)	unknown	?	15 <sup>th</sup> c. ?		panel tile, unglazed	coat of mail, spear, bridle, reins, saddle, pommel, cantle, stirrups
Transylvania	<b>129</b>	29. on foot	Cechești	village house	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		min. 3 panel tiles, unglazed	cuirass with two inscribed crosses?, spear, hat?
	<b>137</b>	30. on horseback (princess)	Cluj-St. Peter	Hungarian suburb	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		min. 2 panel tiles, unglazed	halo, saber, shield, spiked helmet, cuirass, saddle, pommel
	<b>148</b>	31. on horseback	Cristuru Secuiesc	wooden house in Szekler market town	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Drăușeni, Făgăraș	unglazed	spear, cuirass, haute pieces, coat of mail, sabbatons, bridle, reins, saddle, stirrups, open-type bards
	<b>149</b>	32. on horseback (princess)	Cristuru Secuiesc	manor house	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed red paint	spear
	<b>155</b>	33. on horseback	Drăușeni	fortified church	first half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cristuru Secuiesc, Făgăraș	min. 4 unglazed tiles	spear, cuirass, cubitiere, poleyn, pauldrons, coat of mail, gauntlets, haute pieces, bridle, reins, open-type bards
	<b>158</b>	34. on horseback (king and queen)	Făgăraș	castle	end 15 <sup>th</sup> beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Racoșul de Jos	unglazed	cross, spear, shield, tassets, sabbatons, gauntlet, saddle, stirrups, open-type bards, girth, shaffron
	<b>162</b>	35. on horseback	Făgăraș	castle	beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Drăușeni, Cristuru Secuiesc	min. 3 tiles, unglazed	cuirass, cubitiere, pauldrons, coat of mail, haute pieces, bridle, reins

165	36. on foot	Feldioara	ceramic workshop on ruins of medieval fortification	end. 15 <sup>th</sup> – beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		min. 10 max 12 panel tiles, unglazed	spear, cuirass, tassets, poleyn, sabbatons
168	37. on horseback	Lăzarea	manor house	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		semi cylindrical tile, relief and open work, unglazed	halo?, cuirass, spear, saddle, pommel, reins
170	38. on foot	Lăzarea	manor house	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed	cross-ended spear, mantle, decorative elements, sword, coat of mail
171	39. on horseback	Lăzarea	manor house	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, unglazed	spear, hat, battle knife (?), bridle, reins, saddle pommel, stirrups, open-type bards
175	40. on horseback (princess)	Mihăileni	village (deserted in the 15 <sup>th</sup> century)	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Klaštorisko	min. 7 panel tiles, unglazed	halo, shield, cuirass, sabbatons, reins, open-type bards, shaffron
177	41. on horseback (princess, castle, king and queen)	Târnavă (previously Proștea Mare)	?	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, unglazed	crosses, spear, two-hand sword with curved guard, shield, sallet helmet with mobile visor, tassets, sabbatons, reins, saddle, cantle
180	42. on horseback (princess, king and queen)	Racoșul de Jos	manor house	end 15 <sup>th</sup> - beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Făgăraș	min. 16 panel tiles, unglazed	spear, shield, kettle hat, tassets, poleyn, gauntlets, bridle, saddle, stirrups, open-type bards
201	43. on horseback (princess, castle)	Vințu de Jos	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		min. 3 max. 4 panel tiles, green glaze/ unglazed	sword, tassets, gauntlet, feathered headpiece, reins, saddle, pommel, open-type bards
202	44. on horseback	Vințu de Jos	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		min.7 max. 8 panel tiles, green glaze, and 6-7 unglazed ones	cross, spear, cuirass, pauldrons, coat of mail, sabbatons, bridle, reins, saddle pommel, saddle blanket, stirrups, spurs, girth, horse feathered headpiece
204	45. on horseback (princess,	Zalău	?	first half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green	spear, sabbatons, saffron, saddle, spurs, open-type

		king and queen)					glaze	bards
Northern Hungary	234	46. on horseback (princess)	Banská Bystrica	town hall	1450-1454	Banská Bystrica mayor's house	green glaze	cross-ended headpiece, cuirass, pauldrons with rosettes, cubitieres, tassets, coat of mail, poleyn, sabbatons, spurs, spear, saddle, pommel, cantle, blanket, girth, stirrups, bridle, reins
	235	47. on horseback (princess)	Banská Bystrica	mayor's house	1450-1454	Banská Bystrica town hall	green glaze, min. 16 tiles, some corner tiles paired with St. Catherine	cross-ended headpiece, cuirass, pauldrons with rosettes, cubitieres, tassets, coat of mail, poleyn, sabbatons, spurs, spear, saddle, pommel, cantle, blanket, girth, stirrups, bridle, reins
	243	48. on horseback (castle)	Banská Bystrica	barbican of urban castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Buda	min. 2 tiles, green glaze	tassets, poleyn, sabbatons, spear, saddle, pommel, blanket, bridle, reins, stirrups
	247	49. on horseback (castle)	Banská Bystrica	area of city castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Buda	min. 2 tiles, green glaze, polychrome beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	tassets, poleyn, sabbatons, spear, saddle, pommel, blanket, bridle, reins, stirrups
	255	50. on horseback (princess)	Beckov	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.			?
	259	51. ?	Branč	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed ?	?
	266	52. on horseback	Brekov	fortification	16 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green glaze	tassets, spear, reins
	272	53. on horseback (princess)	Hlohovec	?	end? 15 <sup>th</sup> c.		niche tile	?
	273	54. on horseback (princess, castle)	Hronský Beňadik	Benedictine monastery	15 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green glaze	cuirass, spear, saddle
	278	55. on foot	Klaštorisko	Carthusian monastery	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c. 1487-		panel tile, green	helmet, gorget, cuirass, pauldrons with rosettes,

				1543		glaze	cubitieres, gauntlets, tassets, poleyn, sabbatons, spear
279	56. on horseback (princess)	Klaštorisko	Carthusian monastery	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c. 1487-1543	Mihăileni	niche tile, relief and tracery	halo, helmet, ear plates??. cuirass, pauldrons, tonlet, poleyn, sword, shield, shaffron, reins, saddle, pommel, blanket, open-type bards
291	57. on horseback	Krásna nad Hornádom	Benedictine monastery	?		?	spur
298	58. on horseback	Kremnica	?	15 <sup>th</sup> c.		?	?
306	59. on horseback (princess, Nitra coat of arms)	Nitra	town hall?	end 15 <sup>th</sup> -beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		brown glaze	cuirass, tassets, sabbatons, spur, spear, sword, reins, saddle pommel, cantle
307	60. on horseback (princess, tree)	Nitra	town hall?	end 15 <sup>th</sup> -beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		brown glaze	cross-ended diadem, cuirass, gauntlets, tassets, sabbatons, spur, spear, sword reins, saddle, cantle, pommel
317	61. on foot	Parič	palace	ca. 1504		min 2 panel tiles, green and polychrome glaze	headpiece with feather, cuirass, pauldrons with rosettes, cubitieres, sabbatons, spear
332	62. on horseback	Sitno	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed	kettle hat, spear, tassets?., open-type bards
350	63. on horseback (princess)	Trenčín	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	unknown	panel tile, unglazed ?	headpiece, cuirass, shield with cross (medallion??), poleyn, sabbaton, spur, spear, saddle, pommel, stirrup, reins, open-type bards
351	64. on horseback (princess)	Trenčín	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.		panel tile, green glaze	headpiece, cuirass, tassets, gauntlets, spear, sword, saddle, pommel, cantle, reins
352	65. on horseback	Zvolen?	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.?	Buda	green glaze	helmet, mantle, cuirass, poleyn, sabbatons, spurs, , saddle, blanket, girth, stirrups, reins, bridle, open-type bards

Slavonia	368	66. on foot	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Buda?	min. 3 niche? tiles, green glaze	sabbatons, spear
	370	67. on foot	Ružica	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Susedgrad, Podsreda in Carinthia, Celje in Carinthia	crown tile, green glaze	saber, cuirass with cross, pauldrons, cubitieres, tassets, shield, poleyn
	383	68. on foot	Susedgrad	castle	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Ružica, Podsreda in Carinthia, Celje in Carinthia	crown tile, green glaze	cuirass with cross, cubitieres, shield

Fig. 5.18. Stove tiles depicting St. George slaying the dragon in medieval Hungary.

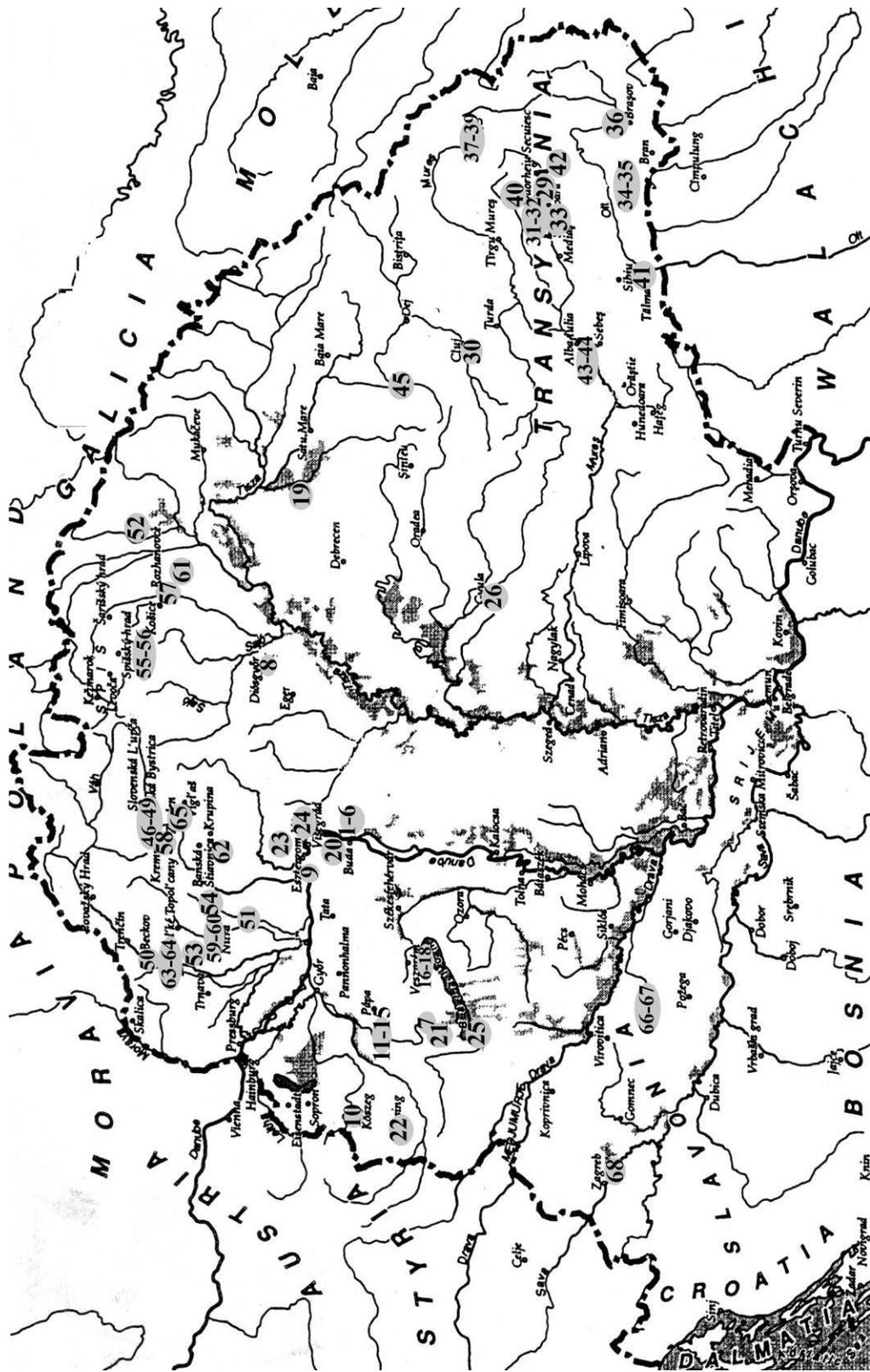


Fig. 5.19. Distribution of stove tiles with St. George in Medieval Hungary.

## CHAPTER 6. Tiles Depicting the Holy Kings of Hungary (Stephen, Emeric, Ladislas)

Stephen (István), Emeric (Imre), and Ladislas (László) constitute the Hungarian triad of royal saints. Despite the fact that Emeric was only a ruling prince at the time of his death, they are known as the Holy Kings of Hungary. By the end of the Middle Ages they became the emblematic patrons and national saints of Hungary, just as they still are today.<sup>248</sup>

Previous studies have concentrated on the representations of the Holy Kings of Hungary in higher artistic examples, such as wall painting, altar painting, manuscript illumination, sculpture, and later also in prints,<sup>249</sup> but stove tiles depicting them also form a consistent group, showing a more popular expression of their cult.<sup>250</sup> The representation of these dynastic saints of the Arpads evolved during the Middle Ages, reaching a standard iconography by the end of the period. It is worth investigating how these visual patterns were reflected in the minor arts and how these visual sources can nuance the knowledge on the cults of Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas in wider social contexts.

### Historical characters and their representation

Stephen I (d. 1038) was the first king of Hungary, the leader who Christianized and organized the country.<sup>251</sup> His son Emeric (d. 1031), educated in an ascetic manner by Bishop Gerard (who was later sanctified as well), died in his twenties during a hunting accident.<sup>252</sup> Ladislas I (d. 1095) ruled between 1077 and 1095, expanding the boundaries of the kingdom and defending it from enemies. The third member of the triad, King Ladislas, canonized his forbears Stephen and Emeric some half a century after their deaths. He proceeded to a five-fold canonization as a means of gaining sacral legitimacy. In 1083 Ladislas was directly involved in the elevation of five persons to the rank of saint: the saintly hermits Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict, Gerard, Bishop of Csanád, Stephen, and Emeric.<sup>253</sup> Ladislas himself was canonized in 1192 on the initiative of King Béla III. The centers of their cults were their burial places: Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia, Hungary) for Stephen and Emeric and Várad (Oradea, Romania) for Ladislas. Although by the late Middle Ages the three saints were venerated as a group, each of them stands for a different type of holy person and ruler. Stephen, depicted as an older

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<sup>248</sup> Klaniczay, 2002.

<sup>249</sup> Mezey, 1980; Marosi, 1987; László, 1993; Kerny, 2007.

<sup>250</sup> Gruia, 2005a; Gruia, 2005b.

<sup>251</sup> Györfy, 1994.

<sup>252</sup> *Szent Imre*, 2007.

<sup>253</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 123-173.

king, is the father of the state and of Christianity in Hungary. He is the *rex iustus* and a *miles Christi*. He is most often identified through his royal attributes, the crown, the scepter, and the orb. Emeric, represented in his youth, holding lilies, is the embodiment of the chaste prince. This type of sainthood is a distinctive central European model.<sup>254</sup> Later on, the type was also influenced by the knightly model and Emeric was depicted as hunter. Ladislas, the most popular among the three, is the ideal Christian knight, a saint and a warrior in the same time. He also stands as a powerful national symbol, being the *atleta patriae par excellence*.<sup>255</sup> His particular attribute is the battle-axe. He is either depicted as a king, a knight, or a combination of both, in an iconic manner or in the context of his legend that narrates his various deeds. The most successful deed was the episode in which the king rescued a maiden from the hands of a Cuman abductor.<sup>256</sup> The story was popular in both the written and visual traditions related to St. Ladislas.

### Cults

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries one may speak of an ardent fervor for royal saints in East Central Europe, encompassing two hagiographical types: the martyr and the knight. In the fourteenth century royal cults had already incorporated the ideals of the flourishing Western chivalric culture. A new accent was placed on these latter elements under the influence of the crusades, the popular theory of holy war, and Western courtly and knightly cultures. The cults of Stephen, and especially of Ladislas, became even more popular in Hungary under these influences. This rise in popularity is visible in the new offices dedicated to them, in chronicles, church dedications, and art.<sup>257</sup> They were promoted by the ruling Anjou dynasty as national emblems, and they were depicted as such on coins, as was the Virgin, who was the patron of the country.<sup>258</sup>

The cults of the three royal saints were especially promoted by the Anjou dynasty, which used patronage of religious art as propaganda, trying to present their own rule as paying homage to their Arpadian predecessors. This model was imitated by members of the royal court and then also by the lesser nobility throughout the kingdom.<sup>259</sup> The textual legends of these national saints were promoted through their inclusion in Hungarian chronicles, legendaries, breviaries and missals,<sup>260</sup> while their

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<sup>254</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 150-161, 396.

<sup>255</sup> Mezey, 1980.

<sup>256</sup> Klaniczay, Madas, 1996, 136-137.

<sup>257</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 295-367.

<sup>258</sup> Szakács, 2006, 319.

<sup>259</sup> Szakács, 2006.

<sup>260</sup> Veszprémy, 2006.

visual representations flourished, sometimes accompanying these texts but soon spreading to diverse artistic media, also reaching stove tile decoration in the middle of the fifteenth century.

### Stove Tiles

The Holy Kings of Hungary are depicted on twenty-seven stove tiles from throughout the Kingdom: in five cases two or all three are represented on the same tile. St. Stephen and St. Emeric alone feature on 4 and 3 tiles, respectively. St. Ladislas, by far the most popular of the group, is shown on 15 tiles, on some as a standing king and knight and on some during the most popular moment of his vita, during the pursuit of the Cuman. He was also the second most popular saint depicted on religious stove tiles from Hungary after St. George. The latter features on 68 tiles, Ladislas appears in different compositions on 23 tiles, while the third in popularity is St. John, depicted in person or through his symbol on 16 tiles. Counting the known number of individual tiles, there are at least 32 items representing some or all the members of the triad. The only one who is represented on tiles outside the borders of the kingdom is St. Ladislas (in Moldavia and Poland). From the entire area of tile production and use, 23 tiles are decorated with his image. As a general total, there are 35 tiles with the Holy Kings of Hungary known on tiles throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

	<i>Central Hungary</i>	<i>Transylvania</i>	<i>Northern Hungary</i>	<i>Kingdom of Hungary</i>	<i>Moldavia</i>	<i>Poland</i>	<i>Total</i>
Holy Kings of Hungary together	-	5	-	<b>5</b>	-	-	<b>5</b>
St. Ladislas	3	7	5	<b>15</b>	5	3	<b>23</b>
St. Stephen	-	-	4	<b>3</b>	-	-	<b>4</b>
St. Emeric	-	-	3	<b>3</b>	-	-	<b>3</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>35</b>

Fig. 6.1 Geographic distribution of tiles depicting the Holy Kings of Hungary.

This group of tiles is also homogenous as to dating, all being produced and used in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, but mostly between ca. 1450 and 1550. Polychrome glazing, which became more frequent in the sixteenth century, was used on five of the tiles from this group. Tiles decorated with the images of the royal triad therefore reflect a late and popular aspect of their cults. The social distribution of these items is also relevant for this aspect: 11 tiles come from castles and manor houses (the great majority in Northern Hungary), six from urban contexts (a town hall, a mayor's house, but also suburbs and market town houses, mostly in Transylvania), one from a village (also in

Transylvania), one from a Carthusian monastery, one from a pottery workshop, while in six cases the exact discovery context is unknown. It seems that royal cults were popular in the interiors of nobles and aristocrats in Northern Hungary, while in Transylvania they spread to more modest interiors, towns, and even villages. It should also be noted that very few tiles of this type have been discovered in Central Hungary and none in Slavonia. The peripheral distribution, in Transylvania and Northern Hungary, can be related to the distribution of wall paintings depicting the three holy rulers (discussed later in this chapter).

### St. Ladislav

St. Ladislav was as popular on stove tiles as he was in other artistic contexts throughout Hungary. On tiles, his image was popular enough to be copied and re-copied. Out of the 15 tiles that depict him alone there are five groups of directly related items. The most numerous such group depicts St. Ladislav on horseback, raising his battle-axe. Six fragments are preserved from similar tiles from Central Hungary and Transylvania:



Oradea



? (Hungary)



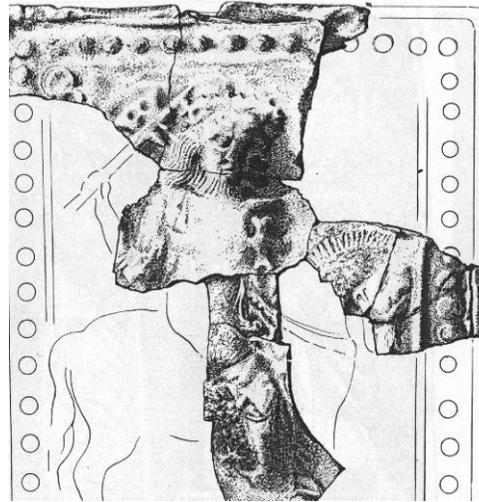
Transylvania (around Aiud ?)



Cluj-Napoca



Cluj-St. Peter



Cristuru Secuiesc

Fig. 6.2. Group of directly related tiles decorated with the image of St. Ladislav on horseback.

This group can be dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, considering the date (1540) inscribed on the tile from Oradea (cat. 75). The model could have been produced and used even before that date, since the border with the inscriptions seems to be a later addition, but it nevertheless reveals that in 1540 the tile was still being copied, confirming that the image remained popular. It is possible that the originals came from Oradea, a flourishing center of Ladislav's cult and an important pilgrimage center until the Reformation.<sup>261</sup> The cathedral of Oradea, one of Ladislav's foundations and his final resting place, in the context of a local cult, was presumably one of the important centers of production of iconographic patterns even before the official canonization of the saint.<sup>262</sup> In 1565, the cathedral passed to the Protestants and the relics and other treasures were transferred to Gyulafehérvár. The latter town was conquered by the Turks in 1660-1661 and the remaining statues of the three kings as a group and the equestrian statue of Ladislav were melted down.<sup>263</sup> Taking into consideration this context one may safely assume that the tiles belonging to the group under discussion were being produced until the middle of the sixteenth century when the Reformation displaced the local cults. Another production center was Cluj, where a fragment from this group was discovered in a pottery workshop (cat. 131). The fact is supported by the find of a similar fragment in another location, in the Hungarian suburb of the same city (cat. 139). A third production center was probably located in the Szekler area of Transylvania, in Cristuru Secuiesc. Two different types of tiles with St. Ladislav (on horseback – cat. 144 and on foot fighting the Cuman – cat. 152) have been discovered there. They have similar technical

<sup>261</sup> Balogh, 1982.

<sup>262</sup> Marosi, 1987, 212-213.

<sup>263</sup> Băldescu, 2008, 108.

characteristics and an added border of dots that indicates that they are copies of other tiles. Such borders were added in order to compensate for the shrinking of the clay during drying and firing.

In other cases St. Ladislav is depicted standing, holding his typical attribute -- the battle-axe. Two directly related tiles, from the castles in Eger (cat. 42) and Fiľakovo (cat. 270), show him with a halo, crowned, and holding the orb. The two tiles look identical, so they are either both original products, created in the same series, or precise copies (one of the other). It is impossible to decide which is the correct situation in the absence of clear measurements and a close inspection of the items.

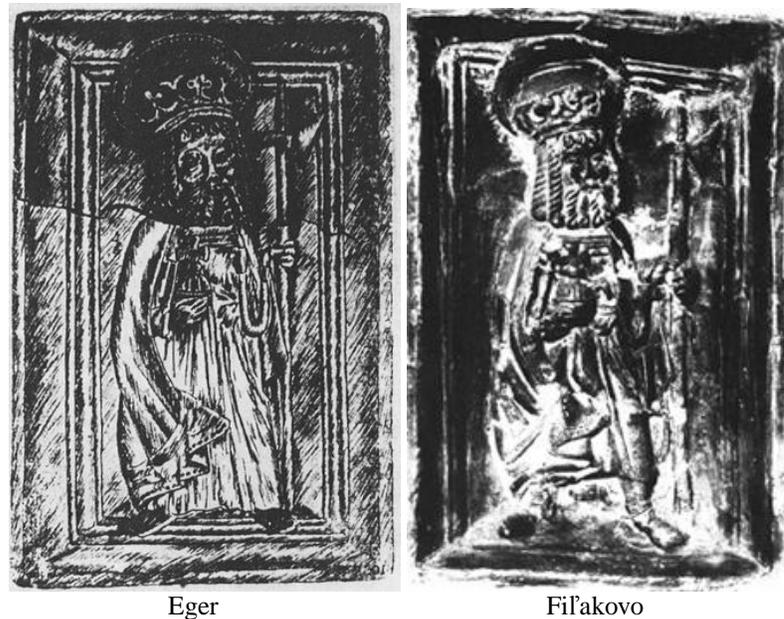


Fig. 6.3. Directly related tiles depicting St. Ladislav as a standing king.

On a tile from Klaštorisko (cat. 286) the king is also standing, with crown, mantle and his typical weapon, the battle-axe. This brown-glazed tile is dated between 1487 and 1543. On tiles from Banská Bystrica, probably created locally and used in both the house of the mayor (cat. 241) and the town hall (cat. 240), Ladislav appears in full armor, holding a shield inscribed with the double cross of Hungary. These green-glazed tiles are dated to the middle of the fifteenth century. They are remarkable in quality and for the number of details they depict; the knightly saint wears a crown and full body armor: cuirass with pauldrons, tassets, a coat of mail underneath, cubitieres and gauntlets, and plate armor for the feet completed by poleyns and sabbatons.



Fig. 6.4. Tiles depicting St. Ladislav as standing knight.

The most popular scene of the saint's legend, in both other artistic depictions and literary accounts, refers to Ladislav chasing and fighting a Cuman who abducted a Christian maiden. The scene is depicted on three tiles, all from Transylvania. In a rural house from the village of Cechești, Ladislav is shown in the moment of his face-to-face combat with the pagan enemy. The latter is easily recognizable by his typical pointed hat and his bow. This unglazed tile is dated to the first half of the sixteenth century:



Fig. 6.5. Stove tile decorated with the combat between St. Ladislav and the Cuman, discovered in Cechești.

This narrative episode was an interesting and popular addition to Ladislás's legend. The episode is known in two different variants, but the basic text is included in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, written around 1358.<sup>264</sup>

The saintly prince, Ladislás, then espied a Pagan carrying on the back of his horse a beautiful Hungarian maiden. The prince thought that this maiden had been the daughter of the bishop of Várad, and, although being in severe wound, he started to pursue him, riding his horse whose name was Szög. But, then, when he reached by a lance's point, he could do nothing, for his horse was unable to run faster, while the other's did not fall back in speed, and thus, something like an arm's length had remained between the tip of the lance and the Cumans's back. Then St. Ladislás cried to the maiden, saying: "Fair sister! Take the Cuman by his belt and jump off from the horse to the ground!" And she did as she was asked. But then, when the Cuman lay on the ground and Prince Ladislás wanted to kill him with his lance, the maiden strongly asked him not to do so, but let him [the Cuman] go free. So it is clear from this as well, that there is no faith in women, for surely she wanted to spare the Cuman out of lusty love. The saintly prince, then, after a long battle, cut his [the Cuman's] sinew, and killed him. But the maiden was not the bishop's daughter.<sup>265</sup>

The episode is constructed in such a way as to highlight the basic chivalric virtues of the holy saint, presenting him as a true *miles Christi* and in the same time a true *athleta patriae*: the hero fights the evil embodied by the pagan Cuman, rescuing a maiden in distress, showing abnegation and bravery in battle. Ladislás is fighting to protect his future kingdom from barbarian invaders.<sup>266</sup> He is also fighting for his Christian faith, defending a Christian girl from the hands of a pagan enemy.

One should note, though, that the textual and visual traditions related to the episode do not coincide. Some of the frescoes place great accent on scenes such as individual combat, on the active role played by the girl during the fight, and especially on the scene known as "the rest of St. Ladislás." It is a courtly addition to the legend that depicts the knight resting in the lap of the rescued maiden. Sometimes the severed head of the Cuman on a stick and Ladislás' weapons are depicted hanging in a tree in the background. The resting scene has been interpreted as having antecedents in the Eastern tradition but also in the Western one, where delousing between lovers lay at the core of such courtship scenes.<sup>267</sup> This final scene appears in the illuminations of the Anjou Legendary (created in the first half of the fourteenth century),<sup>268</sup> on wall paintings such as those from Poniky, Bijacovce, Dârjiu, and

<sup>264</sup> Summary of the textual references for the saint and further bibliography can be found in Klaniczay 2002; Klaniczay, Madas, 1996; Kovács, 2000, 145.

<sup>265</sup> Szentpétery, 1999, 368–369, translation from Kovács, 2000, 145.

<sup>266</sup> The episode is considered to have taken place during the battle of Kerlés, in 1068, when Ladislás was still prince. Although the narrative tradition calls the enemy Cumans, they were in fact Pechenegs.

<sup>267</sup> László, 1993, 241–248.

<sup>268</sup> *The Angevin Legendary*, 1998.

elsewhere. Also, despite the fact that the text mentions a lance, in the visual tradition St. Ladislav is always fighting with his typical weapon, the battle-axe.

A tile preserved in the collection of the History Museum in Sighișoara (cat. 208) and probably also discovered in that area, only depicts the riding Cuman, aiming backwards with his bow. The abducted maiden can be seen in the bottom left corner of the tile. A poorer copy of the tile has been discovered in a manor house from Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 152). Unlike the original, which has clear details and is decorated with polychrome glazing, the copy shows a flat, worn relief and is unglazed.

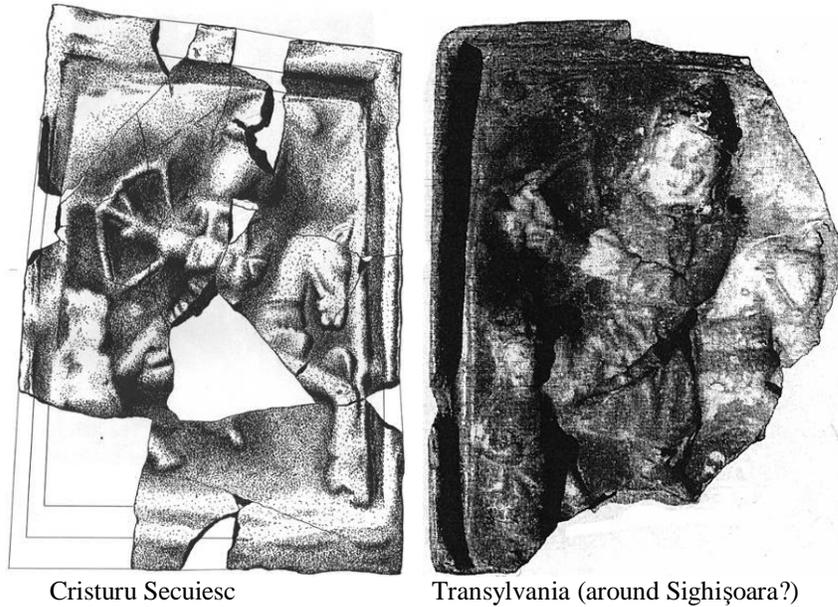


Fig. 6.6. Directly related stove tiles depicting the Cuman aiming backwards and the abducted girl.

One may presume that a paired tile once existed, maybe similar to those in the first group described, showing Ladislav on horseback, raising his battle axe, like on a popular print illustrating the episode in János Thuróczi's *Chronica Hungarorum*.<sup>269</sup> The 1488 edition displays an added inscription identifying the scene with the story of St. Ladislav (*historia sancti ladislai*).<sup>270</sup>

<sup>269</sup> Marosi, 1987, 220, fig. 18.

<sup>270</sup> Balogh, 1966, 417, fig. 588.



Fig. 6.7. Illustration in János Thuróczi, *Chronica Hungarorum*, Augsburg, 1488.

The “story” therefore contains the depiction of the Cuman carrying away the stolen maiden on his horse and turning to shoot backwards with his bow and Ladislás in full armor chasing him and raising his battle-axe. In the background the print also shows the face-to-face combat of the saint and his enemy, in the variant showing the girl cutting the Cuman’s sinew with a sword. This detail is also popular in wall paintings, the girl sometimes using the battle-axe to help her rescuer fight her abductor. In the visual tradition she plays an active role in the combat, as in the Anjou Legendary or on the wall paintings from Kraskovo, where the maiden fights side by side with St. Ladislás, or on wall paintings such as those in Velká Lomnica, Poniky, Vitkovice, Bijacovce, and many others, where one sees Ladislás and the Cuman in foot combat and the girl in the background using the battle axe to cut the Cuman’s sinew.

A good analogy can be seen on a floor tile preserved in the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, dated to the fourteenth century.<sup>271</sup> The representation is similar, the character having the same oriental elements of costume and weaponry. The ability of nomad warriors, such as the Cumans, to fight and shoot arrows backwards while riding was well known in the Middle Ages.<sup>272</sup> But considering the absence of the girl and the presence of a small dog under the horse, one may not completely exclude the possibility that the floor tile could depict some other type of hunting or battle scene:

<sup>271</sup> <http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/>, fig. 013805.

<sup>272</sup> On elements of oriental costume in the scene see Kovács, 2000.



Fig. 6.8. Floor tile kept in the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest.

On stove tiles, St. Ladislav is depicted either as a holy king or as a knight. As a standing king he is crowned, wearing a mantle, and sometimes holding an orb. As a knight, he is in full armor, sometimes with a shield (inscribed with a Greek cross or the double cross of Hungary), most often depicted on horseback. In all cases he is holding the battle-axe, his most characteristic attribute and identifying element. Ladislav was much more popular as a knight than him as a holy king. The latter image can only be found on tiles from Eger (cat. 42), Fiľakovo (cat. 270), and Klařtorisko (cat. 286). The first two discovery contexts have also revealed similar tiles depicting the other holy kings, so the type of representation might have been influenced by that of the triad together. The latter discovery context is a Carthusian monastery, so the image of the national saint selected was understandably less bellicose. Ladislav is also shown more often as a king than a knight on tiles from Cristuru Secuiesc, which depict him beside another character, probably Emeric (cat. 143 and 146). The fragmentary state of the tiles from Vințu de Jos, Lita, and Râșnov do not allow any consideration of the manner of depicting St. Ladislav in the display of the triad of holy kings.

Representations of Ladislav as a knight are also important for the elements of arms and armor they contain. Such elements are sometimes used to date stove tiles, but considering the process of copying and motif transmission, they can only be taken to point to the time when or after which the original image was made. The Cluj-Oradea-Cristur group contains several details of armor (cuirass, pauldrons with rosettes, cubitieres, tassets, poleyns, and sabbatons with spurs), arms (an asymmetrical shield inscribed with a cross, a battle-axe), and horse tack (reins, stirrups, bridle, and open-type bards). The asymmetrical shield in particular has attracted the interest of specialists. It was dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, and this was taken as an argument for an earlier dating of the tile than the

inscription in the added border indicates (1540).<sup>273</sup> As counter examples I indicate a print from the Zagreb Missal, dated 1511, depicting asymmetrical shields in the foreground of a representation of the seated Mary crowned by angels (as *Patrona Regni Hungariae*) flanked by Stephen and Emeric on one side and Ladislav on the other.<sup>274</sup> The image is also relevant for the grouping of the members of this holy triad (relevant for the discussion of the tile from Cristur depicting Ladislav beside another character). As for arms and armor elements, a very detailed representation can be found on the tiles with Ladislav from Banská Bystrica. One can see the king in full armor, with cuirass, pauldrons rosettes, tassets, a coat of mail underneath, poleyns, sabbatons, and gauntlets. He is holding the battle-axe in one hand and a symmetrical shield inscribed with the symbol of Hungary, the double cross, in the other. According to Benkő's dating, these shields were more typical for the first part of the sixteenth century, yet it is known that the tiles in Banská Bystrica were produced between 1450 and 1454.

### **St. Emeric**

St. Emeric depicted alone is not that popular on stove tiles, just as his independent depiction is not popular in wall paintings, altars or manuscript illuminations.<sup>275</sup> Only three tiles depicting him alone are known, all from castles in Northern Hungary: Eger (cat. 43), Devin (cat. 269), and Fiľakovo (cat. 271). The tiles in Eger and Fiľakovo seem to be directly related (although the dimensions of the preserved fragments from Eger are not clear on the published drawing), while the tile in Devin is an imitation. It has the same general look, but there are several differences: the halo has a star-like shape inscribed on it, the prince is wearing a crown, he is not holding his mantle with his right hand, and his legs are depicted slightly apart. The tiles should probably be dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Their polychrome glaze is a supplementary argument for the dating.

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<sup>273</sup> Benkő, 2004, 70, dates the asymmetrical shield to the second half of the fifteenth century and the symmetrical one rather to the first part of the sixteenth century. I think that the tiles did not necessarily follow arms and armor fashion closely, so the first half of the sixteenth century is a fairly accurate dating.

<sup>274</sup> *Pannonia Regia*, 1994, 442, cat. IX-21.

<sup>275</sup> *Szent Imre*, 2007, 73-105.

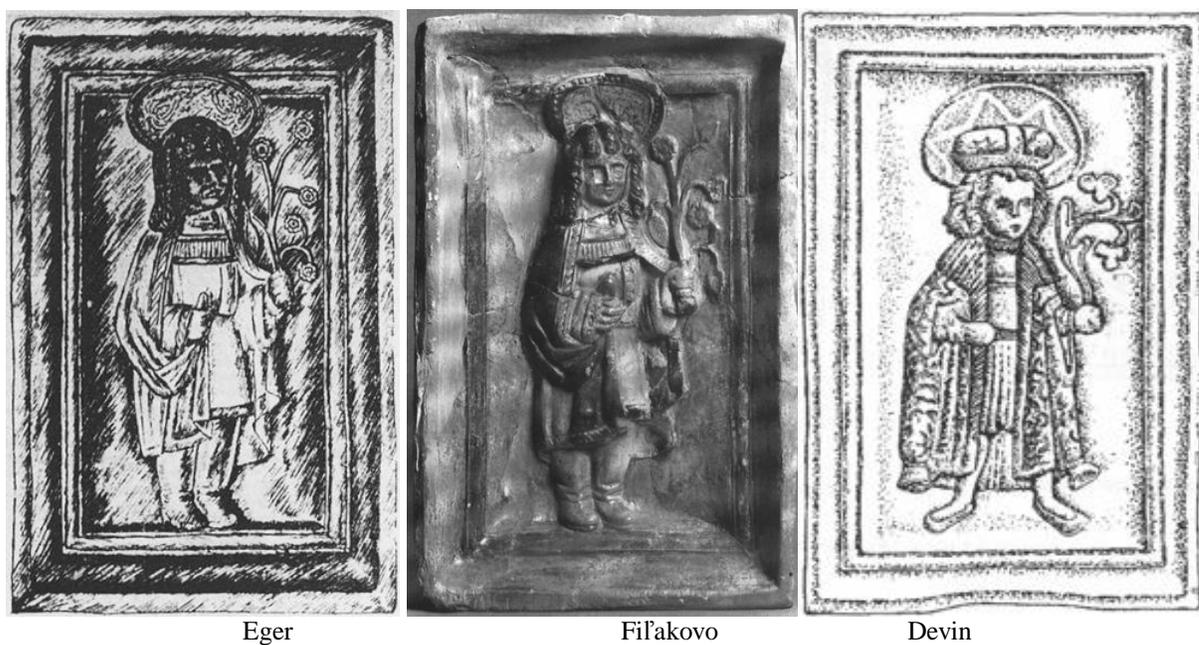


Fig. 6.9. Group of tiles depicting St. Emeric.

### St. Stephen

In my previous studies<sup>276</sup> I have interpreted the following tiles as depicting St. Ladislav, but despite their fragmentary state of preservation and their similarities with some other depictions of the saint, the absence of the battle-axe and its shaft constitute sufficient arguments to agree with other specialists<sup>277</sup> and correct my identification. Thus, rather than St. Emeric, the tiles in Branč (cat. 258), Kremnica (cat. 297), and a related fragment from Orava (cat. 308) depicts St. Stephen with royal and saintly attributes: the halo, the crown, the mantle, and the orb surmounted by a cross:

<sup>276</sup> Gruia, 2005a; Gruia, 2005b.

<sup>277</sup> Mácelová, 2006, 378.

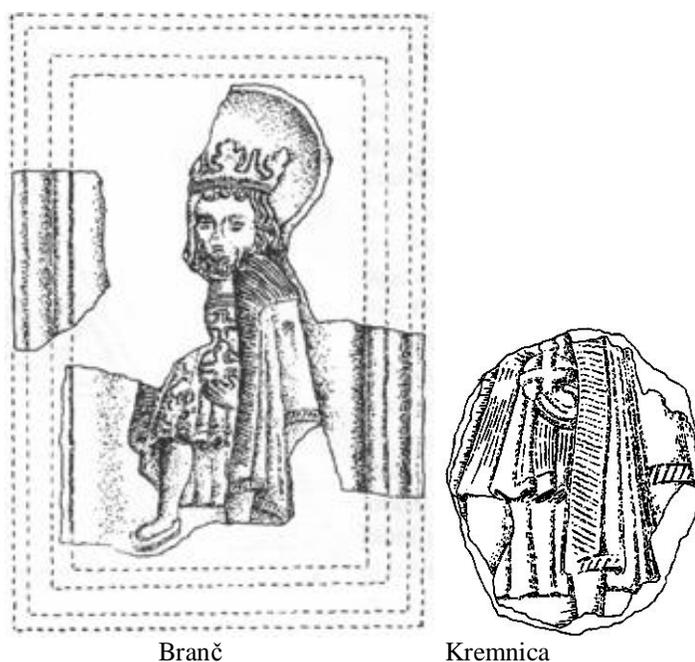


Fig. 6.10. Tile fragments depicting St. Stephen.

This group of directly related tiles is only known from Northern Hungary, so it had a limited circulation. It was popular enough to be copied, since the tile in Kremnica is 15% smaller than the one in Branč, which probably served as model. Unfortunately these tiles have no clear dating, only the item from Kremnica has been published as dating from the fifteenth century.

Another tile has been mentioned in the existing literature but not properly published.<sup>278</sup> Discovered in Sabinov (cat. 321), Northern Hungary, it presumably depicts St. Stephen with the Angevin lily. In the absence of a reproduction, one may presume that it is in fact a representation of St. Emeric whose iconographic attribute is the lily. Probably Sabinov is another Northern Hungarian case where tiles decorated with each of the three holy kings were used, since another item with St. Ladislav was reportedly found on the same site.

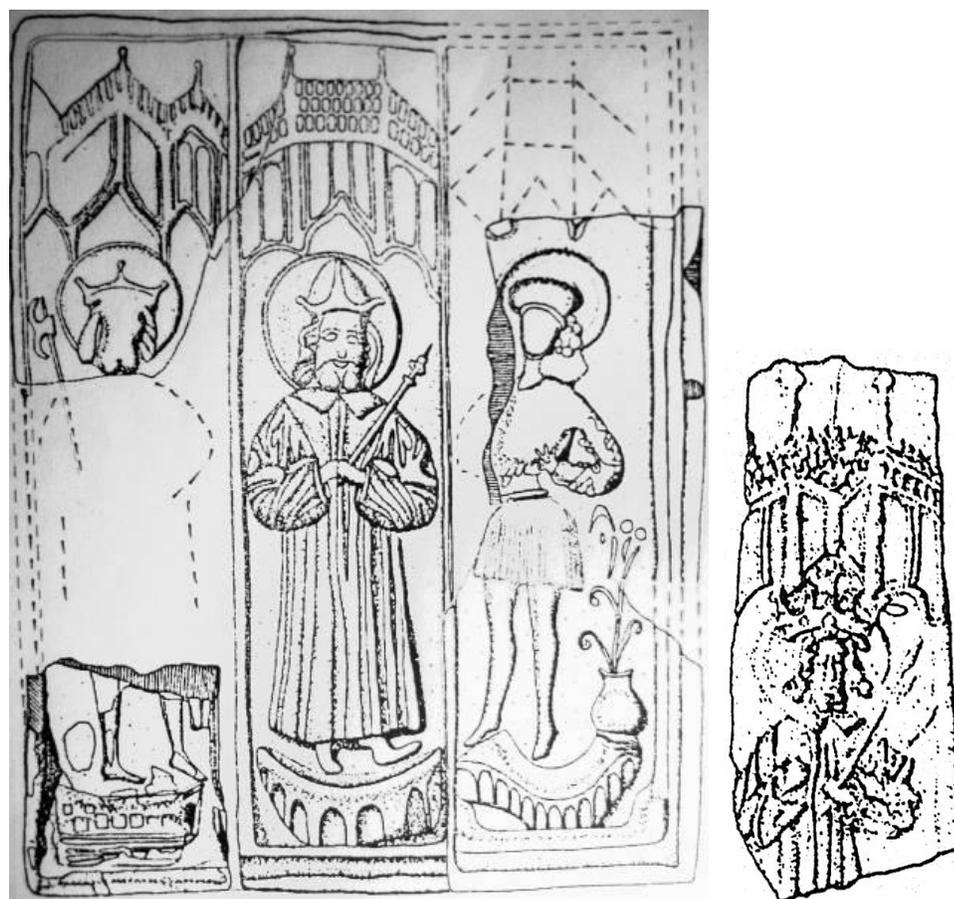
### Holy Kings of Hungary

Tiles depicting the members of the triad together are not very frequent finds. Only five such items have been published and only from Transylvania: Vințu de Jos,<sup>279</sup> Râșnov, Lita, and Cristuru Secuiesc. One group of directly related tiles shows the three royal saints standing under Gothic arches, holding their attributes and separated by columns. The tile in Râșnov (cat. 182) could depict either Ladislav (considering the hair style and the beard) or Stephen (judging by the costume and the position

<sup>278</sup> Slivka, 1979, 16.

<sup>279</sup> The graphic reconstruction of the tile from Vințu de Jos, as yet unpublished, belongs to A. A. Rusu and I thank him for allowing me to use it here.

of the held object – whether it is a scepter or a battle axe is not visible in the available drawing). Only two very small tile fragments depicting royal saints have been recovered from the fortification of Lita, near Cluj (cat. 173, 174). Despite their dimensions, the characteristics of the figure on the right (the split beard, the halo, and the crown) indicate with enough certainty that it is a representation of St. Ladislav. In other artistic representations as well, when the accent is placed on his royalty, Ladislav is shown with a split beard, interpreted as being influenced by the usual fourteenth-century physiognomy of Christ. By the late Middle Ages the most frequent human type assigned to Ladislav is the vigorous manly figure with long split beard.<sup>280</sup>



Vințu de Jos

Râșnov

<sup>280</sup> Marosi, 1987, 239-240.



Lita

Fig. 6.11. Reconstructed tile and fragments depicting the three Holy Kings of Hungary standing under Gothic arches.

Identical tiles from two neighboring plots in Cristuru Secuiesc show Ladislav standing beside another character (cat. 143, 146). The battle axe and the grouping of characters on the two sides of a central column indicate a tile inspired by the depiction of the three royal saints together. The added border of dots indicates that the item is a copy, maybe one that also cut off the arches above the characters. Tiles with Ladislav on horseback were found during the excavations on one of these plots in Cristuru Secuiesc. It may be presumed that a stove containing both representations once stood there in a market-town house.

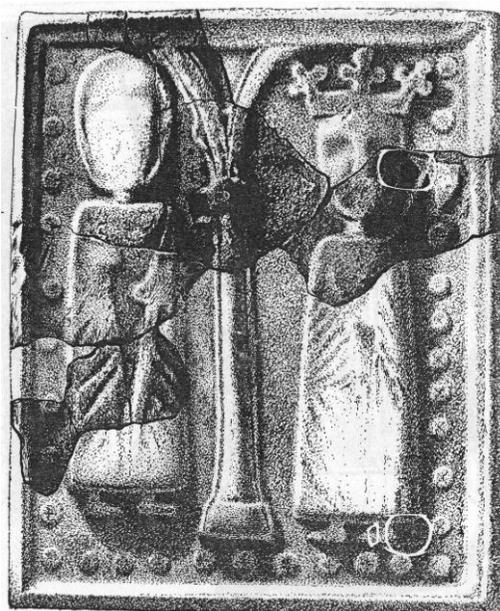


Fig. 6.12. Stove tile from Cristuru Secuiesc depicting St. Ladislav and another figure flanking a column.

If the tile is inspired by the other representations of the holy kings as a group, then the other character is either Stephen or his son Emeric. The latter is the only one sometimes depicted without a crown, so the schematic character could be him. It would be unusual to pair Emeric with Ladislav, however, and not with Stephen, his father (see the previously discussed grouping of figures in the

Zagreb Missale). The oval around the character's head could be interpreted either as a halo or as a female head cover. Another possible hypothesis is that the tile depicts Ladislav beside the rescued maiden. Or, considering the shape on the character's robe as an arrow and the oval as a halo, it could be in fact a depiction of St. Ursula, but such a combination has no analogies on stove tiles.

When depicted together on tiles, Stephen, Ladislav and Emeric are always shown standing, haloed, and with their most typical attributes: the scepter, the battle-axe, and the flower. Stephen and Ladislav are always crowned while Emeric is not, since he died before acceding to the throne. The group frequently appears together in the late medieval visual tradition, in wall paintings (Racoș, Tileagd, Crișcior), altar pieces (such as the sixteenth-century polyptic altar from Spisska Kapitula), prints (the Zagreb Missale of 1511), and others. By the mid-fourteenth century, the three saints together had come to form a harmonious iconographic scheme.<sup>281</sup> There are other European parallels (French and Scandinavian) for a grouping of holy kings in a triad.<sup>282</sup>

It seems that representations of the three dynastic saints of the Arpads on separate tiles were used together. Tiles with St. Ladislav and tiles with St. Emeric with similar artistic and technical characteristics have been discovered together in the castles of Fil'akovo and Eger. Precisely because of the resemblance between the depictions of Ladislav and Stephen, fragments of tiles decorated with the image of the latter could have been merged during the graphic reconstruction with the fragments depicting the first. Therefore sets of tiles with all three holy kings could have existed, just as pairs of tiles depicting Ladislav chasing the Cuman could have existed.

The importance and representative character of Stephen, Ladislav, and Emeric as national saints is reflected in their frequent depiction as a group in manuscript illuminations, wall painting, prints, and sculpture. Gilt-bronze statues of the three, larger than natural size, were erected in front of (or on the façade of) the cathedral in Oradea in 1370. These sculpted figures have been described as follows: one had a precious necklace, the other held the orb surmounted with a cross, and the third, without beard, held a scepter. Although the identification of the characters has raised some debate (the figure of Emeric especially was sometimes taken to represent in fact Bishop Gerard), it is generally accepted that the statues belonged to the "classical" triad of Hungarian holy kings. Another statue was added in 1390 and placed in the square in front of the cathedral, facing it. It represented Ladislav on horseback, in full armor, raising the battle axe, just like on tiles. All four works of public art were created by the brothers Martin and George from Cluj, who also made the statue of St. George on horseback slaying the dragon in Prague. In 1660-1661 the Turks occupied Oradea and took the statues to Belgrade, where they were

<sup>281</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 339.

<sup>282</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 341.

melted down.<sup>283</sup> What is important here is the state dimension of the cult of the Holy Kings as a group, and of that of Ladislav alone as an embodiment of the perfect Christian knight. One can also see that the two saintly models (the holy triad and St. Ladislav) were popular at the same time, just as the stove tile material shows for the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

### Tiles with St. Ladislav outside Hungary

As previously indicated, St. Ladislav is the only one among the three holy kings of Hungary depicted on tiles outside the kingdom. Five tiles come from neighboring Moldavia. Four of them form a directly related group, depicting the king on horseback. They were discovered in the medieval residence of a boyar and two princely courts in Borniș, Bacău, and Suceava:

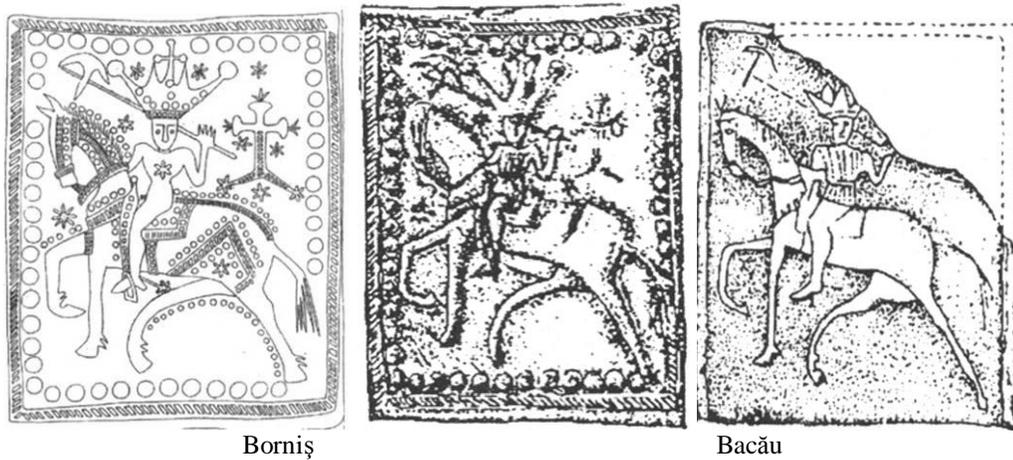


Fig. 6.13. Directly related tiles with St. Ladislav on horseback from Moldavia.

The depiction in Borniș<sup>284</sup> decorates an unglazed panel tile containing various decorative elements: a border of dots, stars, and a strange cross in the background. Two tiles from Bacău<sup>285</sup> are more simplified copies of the first, without most of the decorative elements. Another related tile from Suceava, green glazed, has not been published yet.<sup>286</sup>

The other tile with St. Ladislav from Moldavia has been discovered among the ruins of an urban house in Baia,<sup>287</sup> near the Catholic church of the town. It is a unique representation on stove tiles, with Ladislav on horseback raising his battle-axe to strike the Cuman, riding in front of him, whom he has already grabbed by the hair:

<sup>283</sup> Marosi, 1987; Băldescu, 2006; Balogh, 1982; Vătășianu, 1959, 319.

<sup>284</sup> Popovici, 1998, 176.

<sup>285</sup> Artimon, 1986–1987; Batariuc, 1999, 260, fig. 63.1, 263, fig. 66.3.

<sup>286</sup> Batariuc, 1994, footnote 87; Batariuc, 1999, 179; Popovici, 1998.

<sup>287</sup> A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990.



Fig. 6.14. Stove tile depicting the combat between St. Ladislav and the Cuman, discovered in Baia.

The representation of the scene departs greatly from the visual canon. It is usually the girl who pulls the Cuman down from his horse and never Ladislav grabbing his hair; the pagan usually holds a bow and arrows; he is often identified by a typical pointed hat, which is also missing from the tile. The tile from Baia therefore seems to mix some of the typical elements of the scene, while preserving others, such as the crown worn by Ladislav and his battle-axe.

The tiles with St. Ladislav found in Moldavia have several problematic aspects. Unlike in Transylvania and Northern Hungary, in Moldavia there are no frescoes or other major visual depictions of the saint or his legend. Even if some textual variants of the saint's legend could have made their way to Moldavia as early as the sixteenth century,<sup>288</sup> the transmission of texts is different and later than the transmission of images. The existence of a series of directly related tiles indicates that at least some of them were produced or copied locally. So where did potters find their models? Does this indicate that there was a cult of St. Ladislav in Moldavia? Or could his image have been used by Catholics, like in Baia, who brought the object from across the Carpathians? Maybe the three directly related tiles, due to their schematic and decorative character, were not even understood as depicting the holy king but just a rider.<sup>289</sup> Apart from the problem of image reception, several theories about the transmission of the motifs can also be made. The Moldavian tiles depicting Ladislav on horseback could have been inspired (thus are indirectly related to) the tiles of the Oradea-Cluj-Cristur group. Or, representations from other media could have been used as models. I have advanced the hypothesis of a transmission of the motif from coins.<sup>290</sup> Despite the fact that the holy kings, and especially Ladislav, often featured on coins

<sup>288</sup> Drăguț, 1974, 30.

<sup>289</sup> For a longer discussion of the possible functions of the image see Gruia, 2005b.

<sup>290</sup> Gruia, 2004, 49-50; Gruia, 2005a.

minted in Hungary,<sup>291</sup> the king was only depicted on horseback raising the battle-axe on golden forints and ducats minted during the reign of Wladislas II (1490-1516), on emissions from 1499, 1500, 1504 and 1506, around the time the tiles were made as well. It was a period when Hungarian coins were frequently used on the Moldavian market.<sup>292</sup> The scene with Ladislas fighting the Cuman on the tile from Baia is unique and lacks analogies both in Transylvania and elsewhere. It could also have been an original Moldavian product.

Another issue is related to the dating of the Moldavian examples. Those from Borneș and Suceava are dated to the end of the fifteenth century, those in Bacău to the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth (thus contemporary to the coins mentioned above), while the one in Baia has been considered as being produced before 1477. The dating is based on stratigraphic observations (below a strong burning level) and historic interpretation (identification of the destruction phase with the fire of 1477). If they were inspired by Transylvanian tiles, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century, then some of these chronologies are incorrect. One can wonder whether Moldavian scholars have a tendency to date tiles earlier than the more skeptical researchers from Transylvania. Or one could also blame the habit of dating contexts according to the style of the stove tiles rather than using the archaeological context to date such items.

The transmission of motifs on tiles to Moldavia is still open to discussion. It has been demonstrated that some Moldavian tiles were imported, copied, or inspired by tiles in Transylvania (like the two-tailed siren<sup>293</sup> or the angel bearing coats of arms<sup>294</sup>). But others, especially those of the seventeenth century, made their way through Poland. In the case of the holy king of Hungary, the three tiles depicting St. Ladislas found in Poland do not resemble those in Moldavia. In Włeri,<sup>295</sup> Krakow,<sup>296</sup> and Oświęcimiu<sup>297</sup> the saint is depicted as a standing king. Among these early sixteenth century items, the last two are directly related:

<sup>291</sup> Huszár, 1979; Unger 1980; Szakács, 2006; Gyöngyössi, 2008.

<sup>292</sup> Oberländer-Târnoveanu, 2003-2005; Monica Gogu, "The Currency of Hungarian Coin in Moldavia during the 15<sup>th</sup> century", at: [http://www.domus.mtaki.hu/kutatasi\\_beszamolok\\_pdf/gogu\\_monica\\_15.pdf](http://www.domus.mtaki.hu/kutatasi_beszamolok_pdf/gogu_monica_15.pdf).

<sup>293</sup> Gruia, 2007d.

<sup>294</sup> Rusu, C., 1995-6.

<sup>295</sup> Dymek, 1995, 255, table XVIII, fig. a.

<sup>296</sup> Tesori, 1985, 175, cat. 1163.

<sup>297</sup> Dąbrowska, 1967, fig. II.60.



Fig. 6.16. Tiles depicting St. Ladislas as standing king discovered in Poland.

The presence of tiles with St. Ladislas in Poland could be explained by the dynastic ties between the royal houses of the two countries. Ladislas's mother Richeza (Adelhaide) was Polish and the future saint was born in that country.<sup>298</sup> Several rulers of the period 1490-1526 in Hungary were from the Jagiello dynasty and Wladislas II (1490-1516) was also king of Poland.

Extending the comparisons to Central Europe, one may note the similarities between St. Ladislas and St. Wenceslas, often depicted in an analogous fashion on tiles in Bohemia. Comparing, for example, tiles from the cities of Banská Bystrica and Prague,<sup>299</sup> both dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, one can see the illustration of the same ideal knightly national saint:

<sup>298</sup> Kristó, 2000, 198.

<sup>299</sup> Richterová, 1982, cat. 163, fig. 38.

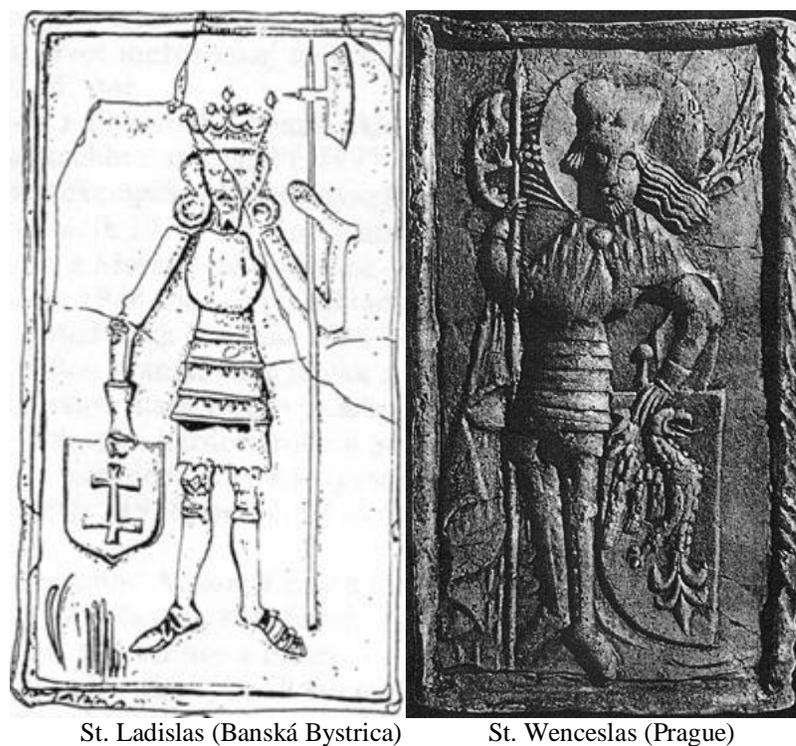


Fig. 6.17. Comparison of tiles depicting St. Ladislav and St. Wenceslas.

On the tiles from Banská Bystrica and Prague, the two saints can be distinguished mainly through the symbols on their shields: the Hungarian double cross and the eagle of St. Wenceslas (which was used as the state herald in the early Middle Ages until it was replaced by the two-tailed Bohemian lion). Even the typical weapons of the two saints are similar, a battle-axe and a halberd. Several depiction of St. Ladislav, including some on tiles, actually depict halberds, testifying to a mix of different visual patterns or a misidentification of the weapons. Similar tiles with St. Wenceslas have been discovered in Heraltice (Třebíč),<sup>300</sup> Tučapy (Vyškov),<sup>301</sup> and an unknown location in Bohemia,<sup>302</sup> all dated to the end of the fifteenth century. The dating and social distribution of tiles depicting the two holy kings indicates that not only the cults of Ladislav and Wenceslas followed similar patterns, but that the knightly culture which fashioned and transformed their iconography and legends (in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries)<sup>303</sup> had become similarly “national” by permeating all levels of society by the end of the Middle Ages.

<sup>39</sup> Vlčková, 2001, 377, fig. II.5.

<sup>301</sup> Vlčková, 2001, 377, fig. II.6.

<sup>302</sup> Vlčková, 2001, 377, fig. II.2-3.

<sup>303</sup> Klaniczay, 2002, 163-168 (on St. Wenceslas being depicted as *athleta Patriae* and *miles Christi*), 173-195 (on Ladislav), 365-366 (on the comparison between the two).

## Cults, distributions of tiles, and representations in other arts

No comprehensive study on the cult of the saints in medieval Hungary is as yet available. Partial studies focus only on some of the elements of such cults: liturgical texts, church dedications,<sup>304</sup> toponyms, and artistic representations (usually concentrating on the top artistic achievements such as wall paintings,<sup>305</sup> altarpieces,<sup>306</sup> and manuscript illuminations). Such studies include the cult(s) of the holy kings of Hungary as the most popular examples of local “national” saints.<sup>307</sup> The data provided by stove tiles has not yet been integrated into the scholarly discourse on the topic. But can stove tiles, as items of material culture with a primarily functional use, be used as indicators of saints’ cults? The distribution of tiles certainly obeyed practical considerations, but the very different distribution of religious motifs, compared to the scene of the knight in tournament, do indicate that personal preference and fashion contributed to the production and use of tiles with certain decorations. Therefore, saintly depictions can, with certain methodological precautions and in relation to other sources, be employed as indicators of popular religiosity or at least of the familiarity of common people with the saintly stories.

As patron saints of churches, the Hungarian royal figures (with Ladislas, Stephen, and Emeric being the most popular, in this order) were used only moderately: country-wide, only 4-8% in some regions, up to 10.75% in Pest County.<sup>308</sup> Similarly, the 27 tiles decorated with their depiction represent 7% of all religious tiles in Hungary.

Starting with St. Emeric, the least popular and the least individualized among the three royal figures, the analysis of medieval patrocinia indicates the spread of his cult throughout the kingdom, but especially in two areas: Transdanubia, around the Upper Tisza, and in Transylvania. Most church dedications with Emeric as patron date to the first half of the fourteenth century, around 1330, few in the fifteenth century, and none in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>309</sup> In medieval art, he mostly appears in the company of Stephen and Ladislas.<sup>310</sup> As seen above, Emeric figures very rarely on stove tiles: alone only on three tiles from Northern Hungary and probably on other five tiles as part of the triad in Transylvania. Even when depicted alone, probably tiles with all three royal saints were used together in the same stoves.

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<sup>304</sup> Mező, 1996.

<sup>305</sup> Radocsay, 1954; Dvoráková, Krása, Stejskal, 1978.

<sup>306</sup> Radocsay, 1955.

<sup>307</sup> Klaniczai, 2002; Marosi, 1987; Szakács, 2006.

<sup>308</sup> Németh, 2006.

<sup>309</sup> Bálint, 2006.

<sup>310</sup> *Szent Imre*, 2007.

At the level of the entire kingdom St. Stephen was the tenth most popular option for church dedications in the Middle Ages, being the patron of 3.49% of them.<sup>311</sup> Among the three kings, he is the most rarely depicted on tiles: four times in Northern Hungary and three times, as part of the triad, in Transylvania. In the case of both saints, father and son, one cannot speak of tiles as indicators of popular cults dedicated only to them. In the late Middle Ages, the representations of Stephen and Emeric on tiles may only indicate a popular devotion to the three royal kings, probably made popular in fact by St. Ladislav. On tiles, he is by far the most popular of the group, as he was in general in the late medieval period.

The distribution of medieval frescoes depicting St. Ladislav in the context of his legend<sup>312</sup> shows that these representations, ordered by noble patrons, were significantly more numerous in the border regions of the Hungarian Kingdom (especially in Transylvania and in Northern Hungary). It has been concluded that the saint was venerated as a border-defender hero and his protection was invoked in regions more vulnerable to enemy attacks. Another argument nuances the statement, taking into account the fact that frescoes in the central part of the country were mainly destroyed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, therefore how much they were typical for that area remains unknown. A few surviving wall paintings do support this argument but they are too few to formulate a final conclusion. So the preference in the border region may be true, but one needs to mention all aspects in order to present a balanced view.

Does stove tile evidence show that St. Ladislav became a border-defending hero in the Late Middle Ages? Vasile Drăguț was the first to suggest this, in 1974, after having analyzed the spread of the iconographic cycle of Ladislav fighting the Cuman.<sup>313</sup> He observes that all of these church frescoes were painted between the beginning of the fourteenth and the middle of the fifteenth century and were located in southeastern Transylvania, Northern Hungary, with one in southwestern Hungary. He explains this particular chronological and spatial distribution through a shift in the devotion towards St. Ladislav, who was being venerated as border-defender hero. This widely accepted theory<sup>314</sup> implies that Ladislav ceased to be an exclusively ethnic (Hungarian) and royal saint, but instead the details of his legend and the chivalric values attached to him made him popular in the border regions of the Kingdom of Hungary and among several (noble) ethnic groups. The geographic distribution of the stove tiles with Saint Ladislav seems to confirm the theory, if one considers entire provinces as “border-regions”

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<sup>311</sup> Németh, 2006.

<sup>312</sup> The topic is popular among scholars. See Marosi, 1987, 222–230; A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990; Dvořáková, 1972; Drăguț, 1974; Dvořáková, Krása, Stejskal, 1978; László, 1993; Jenei, 2007; Kollár, 2008.

<sup>313</sup> Drăguț, 1974.

<sup>314</sup> Crăciun, Florea, 2003.

and ignores the uneven destruction of Ottoman raids that caused more damage in certain areas, such as Central Hungary. Still, a valid comparison cannot be made only between representations of the saint on stove tiles and his depiction in wall paintings, either as a standing king in the company of Stephen and Emeric or in the context of his legend. The distribution of the wall paintings shows that indeed they are concentrated in Transylvania (21 frescoes) and Northern Hungary (20), but not only on the borders of these provinces. Another five frescoes are to be found in Central Hungary and one in southwestern Hungary (present-day Slovenia).<sup>315</sup> Compared to the distribution of tiles, one can see a similarity their preponderance in Transylvania and Northern Hungary, but the tiles are also found in Moldavia and the frescoes also in Central Hungary. The chronology is also quite different, in that the tiles are clearly later than the frescoes, which might suggest that the image of Ladislas became popular in decorative arts after it ceased to be attractive for church wall paintings. The study of late medieval altars in Hungary reveals that Ladislas is depicted on sixteen of them (according to a 1955 survey), always in the company of either Stephen or both Stephen and Emeric. These altars and panels are all dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, thus contemporary with the stove tiles. Almost all of them are from Northern Hungary.<sup>316</sup> The written sources also mention a number of chapels and altars dedicated to St. Ladislas: in Buda (1436), Esztergom (1397), Oradea (1446), Cluj (1467), and Bratislava.<sup>317</sup> The study of urban religious life in Transylvania shows that the cult of the national saints was almost nonexistent there at the end of the fifteenth century. Still, there was a chapel dedicated to St. Ladislas in Braşov, one in Sibiu (probably used by the guild of the tailors, who chose him as patron), and another, as mentioned above, in Cluj (the chapel in the parish church maintained by the guild of blacksmiths).<sup>318</sup>

### **Workshops and motif transmission**

Only one tile belonging to this group has been discovered in a ceramic workshop: a tile depicting St. Ladislas from Cluj (cat. 131). Several other items, however, can be assigned with a high degree of probability to other workshops, like an archaeologically unidentified one in Banská Bytrica around 1450, producing tiles for the town hall and the house of the mayor, and another one active in the

<sup>315</sup> Considering data from Drăguţ, 1974; Kovács, 2000; Lángi, 2001.

<sup>316</sup> Radocsay, 1955: Bardejov, Kremná, Spišsky Stvrtok, Sliache, Chyžné, Svätý Kríž, Ludrová, Jazernica Markovice, Nitrianska Poruba, Selo, Poniky, Spišská Kapitula, Spišské Podhradie?, Turdošin, Vitkovce, and Tătârlaua/Jidvei. Only the latter is from Transylvania, and recent studies have added another altar from the province, in Bruuiu. I thank Ciprian Firea for indicating these to me.

<sup>317</sup> Radocsay, 1955, 33, 34, 38, 88.

<sup>318</sup> Gross, 2004, 118, 261-263.

Szekler area of Transylvania, in Cristuru Secuiesc. Identical tiles with St. Ladislav in additional locations in the same town and the tile workshops active in the two towns support this hypothesis.

The geographical distribution of the different groups analyzed above show that most directly related tiles were used in relatively restricted areas. Only in Northern Hungary did tiles circulate with St. Ladislav as standing king (Fil'akovo and Eger), with St. Stephen (Branč, Orava, Kremnica) and St. Emeric (Eger, Devin, Fil'akovo). The first motif thus circulated some 70 kilometers, the second some 240 kilometers, and the third ca. 350 kilometers. The group of tiles depicting the three kings together was used only in Transylvania in Vințu de Jos, Râșnov, and Lita near Cluj. This motif traveled distances up to 250 kilometers. Two Transylvanian tiles depicting only the Cuman and the maiden (one discovered in Cristuru Secuiesc and the other probably from around Sighișoara) were found on sites only 20 kilometers apart. The only group of related tiles from this category that was transported across different provinces of the kingdom is the group with Ladislav on horseback. Items of this sort have been discovered mostly in Transylvania (two in Cluj, one in Cristuru Secuiesc, one somewhere around Aiud) but also in Oradea and another unknown place presumably in Central Hungary. The maximum distance can only be calculated between certain places of discovery (Oradea and Cristuru Secuiesc): ca. 300 kilometers.

Some of the few reconstructable medieval stoves from Hungary also contained images of St. Ladislav. The general iconography of the tiles from Banská Bystrica, ordered around 1450 by Mayor Stefan Jung for both the interiors of the town hall and his own private house, is known: besides the image of St. Ladislav, sometimes used on corner tiles pairing him with a heraldic lion, in religious representations were used in the composition of these stoves (the Madonna, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. George, Veronica's veil, the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in her Piety), geometric motifs, lions, and also lay scenes such as the two-tailed siren, the wolf preaching to the geese and a very unusual and explicit sexual scene.<sup>319</sup> Each image can be interpreted in various ways, but the stoves as ensembles can only be said to have been collections of images probably selected, or even expressly ordered, by the mayor of those times. Researchers have "blamed" Stefan Jung for this mosaic of images because since Banská Bystrica was an important tile producing center it was probably other reasons that dictated the selection, beside their sheer availability.

Some find places reveal the fact that different tiles with the holy kings were used together: Ladislav and Emeric in Eger and Fil'akovo, Ladislav and Stephen(?) in Sabinov. In other cases, different representations of the same saint were probably paired in the composition of stoves: in

<sup>319</sup> Mácelová, 1999; Mácelová, 2005; Gruia, 2007a.

Cristuru Secuiesc, Ladislas on horseback and Ladislas beside another character have been discovered on the same spot. Iconographic analogies also suggest the probable use of paired tiles with St. Ladislas on horseback and the fleeing Cuman carrying the abducted Hungarian maiden.

### **Reception**

What about the reception of the holy kings on tiles? How were these images viewed by their medieval beholders? One can easily presume that depictions of Stephen, Emeric, and especially Ladislas indicated loyalty to the dynasty and the state on the part of people using them in their private interiors, and even more in the public interiors (like the town hall in Banská Bystrica). In some cases the saints could have been selected as personal patrons of the tile owners, as name-sakes, or as ideals. The representations showing St. Ladislas as a rider in full armor or in the narrative context of his warrior exploits might also indicate a taste for chivalric and/or courtly scenes and the knightly ideal. What is interesting, though, is that these representations are only found (when the context of discovery is known) in public and private town houses or even in rural houses. These were most probably manor houses owned by lesser noblemen. The preference for the saints as standing kings in castles and fortifications and the popularity of their images as knights in lower social contexts is a paradox that might be explained chronologically by the transfer of the knightly ideal from the upper contexts that created and nurtured it down to urban and even rural levels. The analysis of stove tiles depicting the three holy kings of Hungary indicates a top-down transmission of their cults, promoted by the Angevin ruling dynasty in the fourteenth century, then adopted by the nobles in the fifteenth century, and then spreading to wider social strata in the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century.

### **Conclusions**

Tiles decorated with the representations of Ladislas, Stephen, and Emeric were produced and used almost exclusively in Hungary. The great popularity of these saints on tiles reflects the national character of their cults. As in other artistic representations, Ladislas was the most popular in the group, most often depicted as a knight, but the image of the triad together also often appeared on tiles. The groups of tiles analyzed here suggest that several of them were used together in the composition of the same stoves, testifying to an interest in the creation of more complex compositions than previously thought. Even if there are very few examples of thematic stoves in Hungary, evidence indicates that at least groups of two or three tiles were designed to be used together, forming visual units. Tiles depicting each of the saints forming the Hungarian national triad seem to have been grouped together on tiles, and as were tiles with St. Ladislas on horseback with the raised battle-axe and the Cuman

stealing the maiden and shooting backwards with his bow against his opponent. In the first case, the resulting composition was iconic, grouping the three figures as standing kings, while in the latter the resulting image was narrative, illustrating the well-known episode from St. Ladislav's life.

Tiles in this group also give indications of the production and use of such objects of material culture. Consistent with the preponderance of tiles depicting the holy kings of Hungary in the northern part of the kingdom and Transylvania, several production centers have been identified there: in Banská Bystrica, where tiles with St. Ladislav were being made in the middle of the fifteenth century, and in Cluj, Oradea, and Cristuru Secuiesc, where the image of the same saint became popular as tile decoration almost a century later. Referring to the contexts in which such items were used, the group illustrates a top-down social transmission of motifs. In Northern Hungary tiles were, as shown, generally dated earlier, around 1450, and used in castles, fortifications, and larger cities, while in Transylvania they are dated to the first half of the sixteenth century and permeated lower social contexts, such as market towns and even villages. The preference for the saints as standing kings in castles and fortifications and the popularity of their images as knights in lower social contexts is a paradox, one that might be explained chronologically by the transfer of the knightly ideal from the upper social contexts that created and nurtured it down to smaller urban and even rural levels. The analysis of stove tiles depicting the three Holy Kings of Hungary indicates a top-down transmission of their cults, promoted by the Angevin ruling dynasty in the fourteenth century, then adopted by the nobles in the fifteenth century, and then spreading to wider social strata in the second half of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century. Another explanation might lie in the function of such images, in the upper contexts denoting more the loyalty of the respective nobles and urban magistrates to the royal power and in the lower ones referring to a visual fashion of images reflecting the knightly culture. The latter trend is also visible in the distribution and dating of tiles decorated with the knight in tournament or those with St. George depicted in full armor. A parallel can also be drawn between the similar popularity and development of the cults of St. Ladislav and St. Wenceslas, featuring in a comparable fashion on tiles from Hungary and Bohemia, respectively. Despite the fact that Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav were emblems and protectors of the nation, their popularity reached beyond the confines of the kingdom. Tiles with Ladislav have also been discovered in neighboring Moldavia and in Poland, either because of popular devotion and the preferences of their buyers and users or as indications of dynastic ties. It is also worth mentioning that in the two areas different images of St. Ladislav were preferred on tiles; the saint was always depicted as a king in Poland and always as a mounted knight in Moldavia, this indicating that the transmission of motifs followed different channels. In Hungary itself, analysis of

the six groups of directly related tiles shows that the motifs were used in relatively restricted areas, traveling average distances of about 200 kilometers.

Comparing the representations on tiles with the other depictions of the Holy Kings of Hungary, it becomes apparent that the images are usually not very elaborated and sometimes created in a very unskillful manner. In the case of these lower-quality tiles, used in urban and rural contexts especially in Transylvania, one even wonders if the identity of the figures was recognized by their medieval beholders or they ended up being perceived as symbols of royalty or knighthood in general. What is certain is that tiles came to be used as a medium for the spread of representations of Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislas at a time when wall paintings depicting them ceased to be created, reflecting therefore the latest medieval visual expression of their popularity.

<i>Scene</i>	<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Place of Discovery</i>	<i>Status of the Site</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Related tiles</i>	<i>Number of Tiles and Glazing</i>	<i>Province</i>
<b>1. Holy Kings</b> (Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric)	198	Vințu de Jos	castle	beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Râșnov, Lita	green and unglazed	Transylvania
<b>2. Holy Kings?</b> (Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric)	182	Râșnov	fortification	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Vințu de Jos, Lita	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>3. Holy Kings?</b> (Emeric? and Ladislás)	143	Cristuru Secuiesc	market town	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cristuru Secuiesc	?	Transylvania
<b>4. Holy Kings?</b> (Emeric? and Ladislás)	146	Cristuru Secuiesc	market town	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cristuru Secuiesc	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>5. Holy Kings?</b> (Ladislás, Stephen, Emeric)	173 174	Lita	royal fortification	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Vințu de Jos, Râșnov	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>6. St. Stephen</b>	258	Branč	castle	?	Orava, Kremnica	min. 2 tiles green glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>7. St. Stephen</b>	308	Orava	castle	?	Branč, Kremnica	?	Northern Hungary
<b>8. St. Stephen</b>	297	Kremnica	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Branč, Orava	green glaze? 15% smaller than Branč	Northern Hungary
<b>9. St. Stephen?</b>	321	Sabinov	?				Northern Hungary
<b>10. St. Emeric</b>	43	Eger	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Devin Fil'akovo	polychrome glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>11. St. Emeric</b>	269	Devin	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Eger Fil'akovo	polychrome glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>12. St. Emeric</b>	271	Fil'akovo	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Eger Devin	min 2 tiles polychrome and green glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>13. St. Ladislás</b>	75	Oradea	?	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cluj, Cluj-St. Peter, Aiud,		Central Hungary

					Budapest, Cristuru Secuiesc		
<b>14. St. Ladislas</b>	113	? (kept in Budapest)	?		Cluj, Cluj- St. Peter, Aiud, Oradea, Cristuru Secuiesc	unglazed	Central Hungary?
<b>15. St. Ladislas</b>	206	Aiud?	?	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cluj, Cluj- St. Peter, Oradea, Budapest, Cristuru Secuiesc	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>16. St. Ladislas</b>	131	Cluj-Napoca	pottery/tile workshop	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Oradea, Cluj-St. Peter, Aiud, Budapest, Cristuru Secuiesc	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>17. St. Ladislas</b>	139	Cluj-St. Peter	?	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cluj, Oradea, Aiud, Budapest, Cristuru Secuiesc	green glaze	Transylvania
<b>18. St. Ladislas</b>	144	Cristuru Secuiesc	market town	beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cluj, Cluj- St. Peter, Aiud, Budapest, Oradea	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>19. St. Ladislas</b>	42	Eger	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Fil'akovo	min. 2 tiles, polychro me glaze	Central Hungary
<b>20. St. Ladislas</b>	270	Fil'akovo	castle	end 15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Eger	green glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>21. St. Ladislas</b>	286	Klaštorskó	Carthusian monastery	1487- 1543		brown glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>22. St. Ladislas</b>	240	Banská Bystrica	town hall	mid 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Banská Bystrica	green glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>23. St. Ladislas</b>	241	Banská Bystrica	mayor's house	mid 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	Banská Bystrica	green glaze	Northern Hungary
<b>24. St. Ladislas</b>	320	Sabinov	?				Northern Hungary
<b>25. St. Ladislas fighting the Cuman</b>	208	Sighișoara?	?	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Cristuru Secuiesc	polychro me glaze (white, yellow, green, blue)	Transylvania

<b>26. St. Ladislav fighting the Cuman</b>	152	Cristuru Secuiesc	manor house	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	Sighișoara?	unglazed	Transylvania
<b>27. St. Ladislav fighting the Cuman</b>	128	Cechești	rural house in Szekler village	first half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.		unglazed	Transylvania

Fig. 6.13. Stove tiles from the Kingdom of Hungary depicting St. Ladislav, St. Stephen, and St. Emeric.

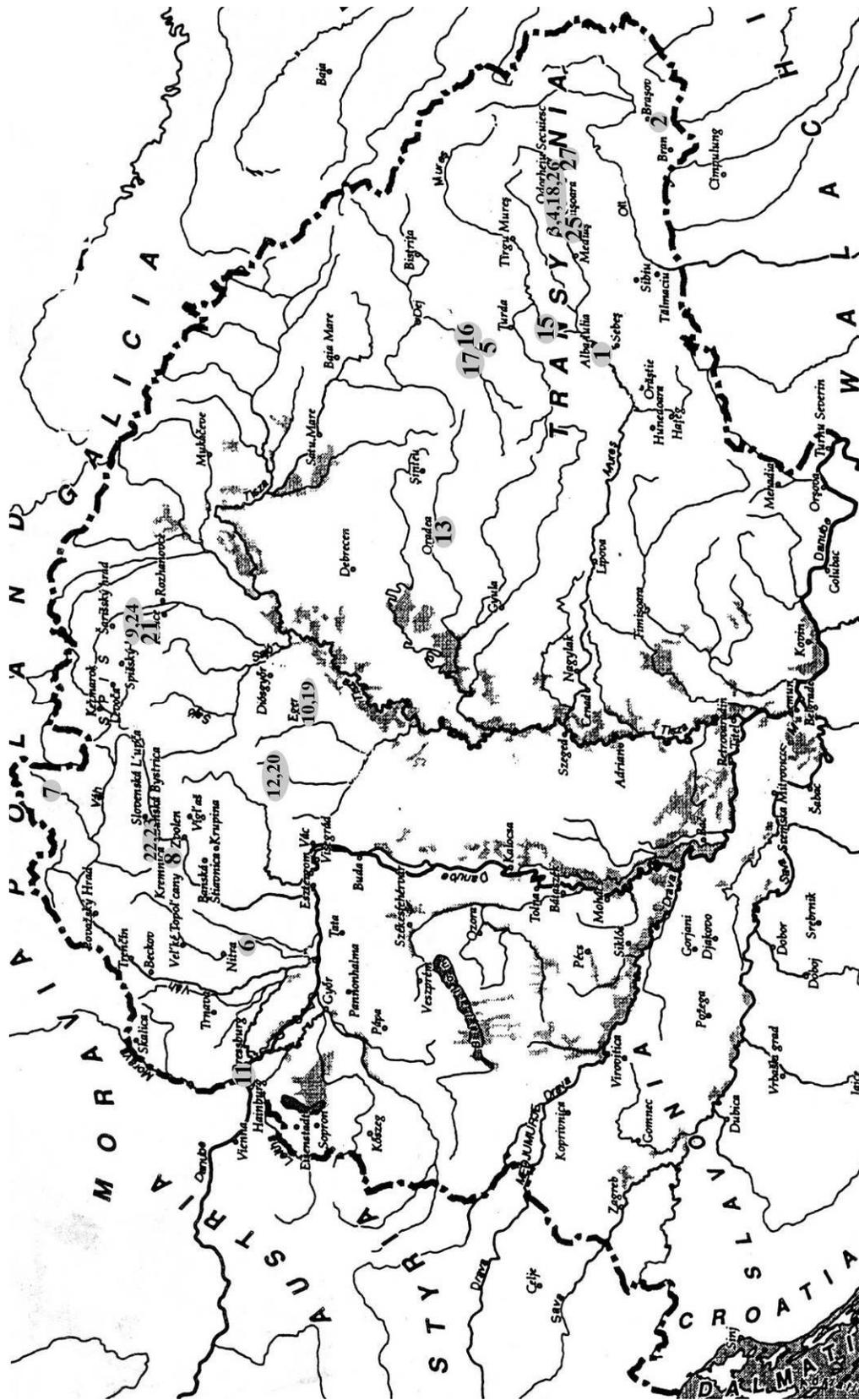


Fig. 6.14. Distribution of stove tiles with Ladislás, Stephen, and Emeric in Medieval Hungary.

## CHAPTER 7. Inscriptions and Scrolls on Religious Tiles from Hungary

Inscriptions do not feature very often on medieval stove tiles from Hungary. Still, sometimes they occur, even more often than previously thought. Considering the entire group, consisting of 72 items, it represents 18% of all religious tiles in Hungary. In the group analyzed there are 57 tiles with inscriptions (readable, partially readable, fragmentary or unreadable). Besides these, I will discuss another 15 tiles depicting empty or decorated text bands and open books. I consider all these 72 cases relevant for the relation between image and text in this context. The management of inscription bands indicates the different things that such elements can signify visually: name tags, acts of speech, well-known texts, or just attributes of famous biblical authors or clerics.<sup>320</sup>

In some cases, the language in which the inscriptions are written can give some information on the ethnicity of the designer, producer, or buyer of the decorated stove tiles. Such data is important in the study of medieval tiles because of the general lack of written sources on workshops, masters, and markets for such material culture objects. The relation between the find context/location, language of the inscriptions, and iconography has often been used to clarify aspects of production, artistic patronage, and trends in the spirituality of different ethnic groups in the study of wall paintings or tombstones. Stove tiles with inscriptions offer a rare glimpse into the spirituality of more diverse, and especially also lower, social categories, and lay and private or semi-private contexts. In most cases they are short standard inscriptions in Latin, mentioning the names of the characters depicted. In other cases, the inscriptions are in German, Romanian, and probably also Slovak, all appearing on sixteenth-century tiles. The only longer texts come from the end of the period analyzed, in the second half of the sixteenth century. The lettering changes from Gothic minuscule to classical, antique capitals. They are good illustrations of the changes introduced by the Reformation in the field of decorative arts. I will pay special attention here to two groups of related tiles: those depicting the Annunciation and those inscribed “marya.” The Reformation tiles with inscriptions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

### General characteristics

The group analyzed consists of 72 stove tiles, tile fragments and molds with inscriptions, scrolls or open books. The tiles with inscriptions (fully readable, fragmentary, or unreadable due to worn molds or the bad state of reproduction), 57 all together, are un-equally distributed geographically: 26 in

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<sup>320</sup> Jaritz, 2001.

Northern Hungary, 21 in Central Hungary, 8 in Transylvania, and 2 in Slavonia. It seems that in Northern and Central Hungary the public was more receptive to the association between religion and text on stove tiles. The geographic distribution follows the general proportion of tiles in each region, with the exception of Transylvania, where a much smaller number of tiles contain inscriptions or writing supports. Another 15 items depict empty inscription bands or open books with no writing on them. In two more cases the inscriptions have turned into mere decoration imitating Gothic script or into decorative dots.

Considering the group in general, the table (Fig. 7.1) includes 27 tiles from Central Hungary, 29 from Northern Hungary, 10 from Transylvania, and 6 from Slavonia. Initials of pottery masters are completely lacking on religious tiles until late in the sixteenth century, but they became more frequent in the subsequent centuries. The years were also rarely marked, and only in the sixteenth century: 1540, 1553, 1562, 1578 (probably), and 1581. These in themselves are not accurate indicators for the dating of tiles and can be used only as *post quem* elements. Later copies may preserve the date inscribed on the original mold or on the tiles used in the creation of new molds. In some rare cases, like on the tile from Oradea depicting St. Ladislav (cat. 75), when the date is placed on an added border, the image may also be earlier than the date, in which case it shows when the copy was made for the first time with that particular border.

In most cases, the inscribed letters or just their support are intended to help the viewer identify the figures depicted. Most of the characters having text bands as attributes or identifiers are prophets (David, Isaiah, Daniel, Zachariah, and Elijah, besides other three unidentified prophets), who figure on fifteen tiles. One might add here the patriarch Jacob, also known for his prophecies (on one tile). The scene of the Annunciation appears on nine tiles, either depicting Archangel Gabriel and Mary on separate tiles or on the same one, or even the archangel as an independent figure holding a scepter with a floating text band as an attribute. One should also note, on the connection between inscriptions/text bands and the Marian cult, the number of tiles on which the Virgin's name is inscribed, spelled "maria", "marya" or "maria panno". On five tiles the inscription is the main element; it also appears besides a representation of the Pelican in her Piety. Another tile decorated with the Pelican bears the initials "A.G.", probably those of the pottery master. Third in order of popularity come the Old Testament characters, depicted on fourteen tiles (Moses, Jephthah, Solomon, David, Nebuchadnezzar), some of them inspired by prints. Their representation on tiles in the sixteenth century may be connected to the rise in their popularity during the Reformation.<sup>321</sup> The symbols of the evangelists are also

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<sup>321</sup> Scribner, 2001; Michalski, 1993.

depicted beside inscriptions or scrolls (on six tiles), as is the representation of St. John in person on another tile. Tiles decorated with the symbols of the four evangelists seem to have been used together in the composition of stoves. In *Klaštorsko*, one may suspect the existence of a series of four such thematic items, since only Matthew is missing from the known lot. Other saints, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions, are St. George, Mary Magdalene, and St. Peter. Two tile fragments from Bratislava preserve the inscriptions “m?kathes” and “katarina”, probably referring to St. Catherine of Alexandria. Despite being preserved only fragmentarily, at least one of these tiles seems to have been composed of some central representation and an inscribed border with a longer text (cat. 260). If these inscriptions do refer to the saint, then there are three tiles with text/empty books related to Catherine of Alexandria.

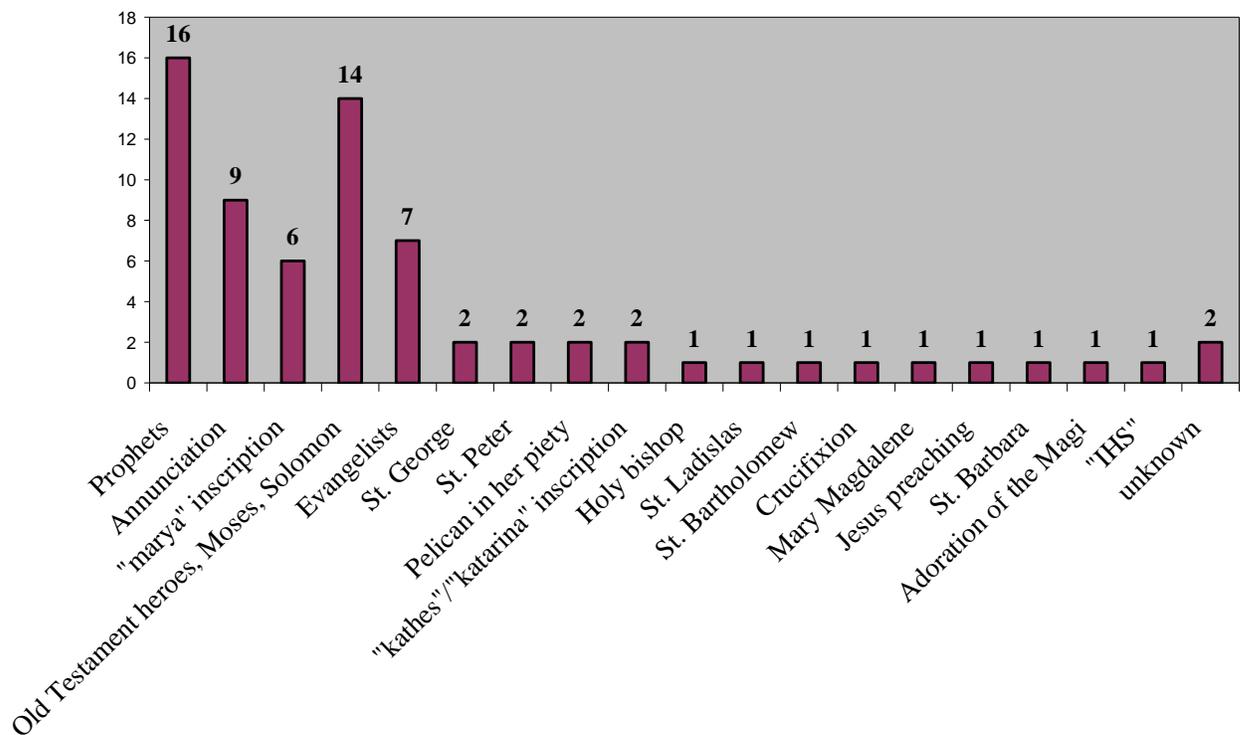


Fig. 7.1. Religious scenes containing inscriptions or empty scrolls and books on medieval stove tiles from Hungary.

Chronologically, in Central Hungary and Slavonia most of the tiles are dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, in Northern Hungary between 1450 and 1560, while in Transylvania the dating of the items is very uncertain but extends predominantly over the sixteenth century. As a group, this type of tiles is most frequent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (31 in the fifteenth, 25 in the sixteenth, and 12 in the fifteen-sixteenth century). Four items from Transylvania are dated to the end of the sixteenth-beginning of the seventeenth century, but probably belong to the earlier interval. Only

two tiles are dated to the end of the fourteenth century, one depicting an orant angel and a Marian inscription (cat. 82) and one decorated with the representation of St. John's eagle (cat. 37).

### Social contexts

It is interesting to note that numerous items from the group under discussion have been discovered in tile workshops or can be related to their activity. Many of the tiles can be traced back to two main workshops, those in Buda and Banská Bystrica. Tiles probably produced by the royal workshop of Buda and used in the construction of stoves from the royal palace are of very high quality. They feature some of the rare longer inscriptions dated to the fifteenth century. The prophets are not only identified by name, but also through words from their better-known verses, written in a careful Gothic minuscule. David (cat. 3), identified through the inscription on the corbel on which his bust rests ("david"), also holds up a phylactery with the words: *in sole posuit tabernaculum* from Psalm 18:6: *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum; et ipse tamquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo* (He has put his tabernacle in the sun, and the sun like a bridegroom going forth from his bedroom). Isaiah (cat. 7), depicted in a very similar manner, is identified by the inscription on the corbel ("isaias") and holds up the scroll inscribed: *ecce virgo concipiet...* (Isaiah 7:14) (The virgin will be with child and will give birth). The two prophets appear on niche tiles containing pairs of saints on side corbels. Considering their fragmentary state of discovery, it is not always certain how these images of saints and prophets were paired. Some reconstructed cases show David besides St. Adrian and Isaiah besides Judith, but other tiles suggest that the high-relief figures were modeled independently and therefore several combinations of the same images could have been used. The products of the Buda workshop of the knightly stoves, which included the niche tiles in questions, were very popular and they spread or were copied and imitated throughout the Hungarian kingdom and beyond. A tile fragment depicting David in a manner identical to that discovered in Buda comes from the fortification in Ružica (Slavonia – cat. 369). Another tile with inscription found in the royal palace of Buda depicts patriarch Jacob (cat. 26), wearing his typical large hat and holding a phylactery across his chest with the letters: *Jacob pro p*. A sixteenth-century tile found on the same site shows the inscription "georgius" in the upper left corner of a green-glazed tile decorated with the scene where the saint on horseback is slaying the dragon (cat. 21). A directly related tile is exhibited in the castle of Zvolen in Northern Hungary, with the inscription "sgeorgius" (cat. 352). The tiles were probably identical, the differences originating in the different manners of reconstruction, but they are far from the typical medieval iconography, not only in the stylistic characteristics but also in the presence of an inscription beside such a scene.

In Banská Bystrica, at least two tile workshops were active in the fifteenth century. One of them, archaeologically excavated in Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22, produced religious tiles with shorter inscriptions sometime around the middle of the century: St. Peter with the text “sa petro” in the background (cat. 223), Prophet Elijah holding the text “elias” (cat. 225), and a crown tile inscribed “marya” (227). On a sixteenth-century tile depicting the Crucifixion, discovered in the area of the barbican of the urban castle from the same town, the “inri” plaque features on top of the cross. In the near-by mining town of Banská Stiaavnica, a series of tiles usually seen as related to the workshops in Banská Bystrica have been discovered through archaeological investigations. Two of them, dated to the end of the fifteenth century, come from the so-called Kammerhof, the headquarters of the mining administration: one is decorated with the image of Mary Magdalene with an inscription in the background (unfortunately not readable in the available reproductions – cat. 250), and another polychrome fragment probably depicting the Prophet Elijah, since a hand holding a text band with a final letter “s” is visible (cat. 251). The latter tile can be related to a similar representation of the prophet on a tile produced in Banská Bystrica. Also comparable, but not directly related, is a fragment from the courtyard of the fortification in Kremnica, on which a hand holding an inscription ending in “a?s” can be seen. A final item to be mentioned in this context comes from a tile depicting David, with the text “dawid”, which was discovered among the ruins of a city house in Banská Stiaavnica.



Fig. 7.2. Tile and tile fragments from Banská Bystrica, Banská Stiaavnica, and Kremnica depicting Prophet Elijah.

A significant number of religious tiles with inscriptions or inscription bands (9) were certainly produced by these tile workshops. Other tiles can be identified as copies with models in the German area (the Pelican in her Piety with the inscription “marya” from Nagyvázsony [cat. 69] and the

Annunciation scene divided on two tiles from Buda [cat. 19 and 20]). These will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Besides these considerations on production centers, the overall group shows a relevant social distribution. Based on the chart in Figure 7.3, one can readily see the large numbers of tiles with inscriptions that have been discovered in castles (40 out of 72, over 55%). Out of these, 13 come from royal palaces and castles, notably in Buda. Two more tiles were once used in manor houses, while ten come from religious contexts. Ten tiles from this group have been discovered in Pauline, Carthusian, Benedictine (some became Jesuit during the interval to which the tiles have been dated), Johanite, and Catholic monasteries or churches. Twelve more come from urban houses, market towns, or administrative urban buildings, most from Northern Hungary (the most active urban workshops from the province contributing to this distribution). Four tiles come from unknown contexts. It is remarkable how many of these items belong to upper social contexts, with a preponderance of (royal) castles, fewer from sites of more humble character, such as market-town houses, and none from rural contexts. This indicates that, in this case, one may draw a strong relation between tiles with inscriptions or writing supports and contexts liable to have literate viewers. Monks, kings, and high nobles were more likely to be able to decipher the inscriptions on their stoves, or at least to be able to complete the empty scrolls with the appropriate words. In these, but maybe more in the case of other types of viewers, there existed at least a certain prestige of written words and objects associated with them (open books, phylacteries). Even if they could not actually read the inscriptions on tiles, they at least appreciated having writing-like decorations.

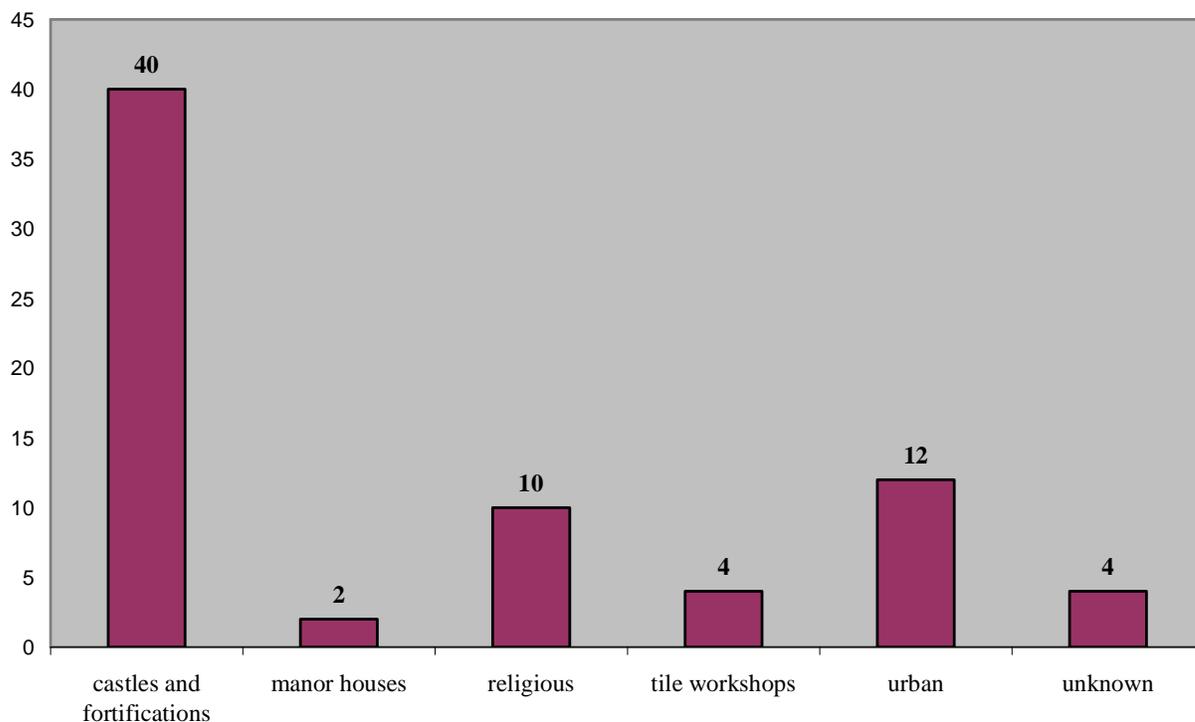


Fig. 7.3. Discovery contexts of religious scenes with inscriptions.

### Empty scrolls and books

In the case of empty scrolls, the viewers were expected to have some previous knowledge of their appropriate contents. Most cases refer to the Annunciation scene, when the Marian salutation *Ave Maria gratia plena Dominum tecum* is just hinted at by the inscription band wrapped around Archangel Gabriel's scepter. This is the scene in which empty scrolls feature on tiles in Visegrád (cat. 99), Bistrița (cat. 116), and Ružica (two--cat. 362 and 377). Two tiles in Strečno containing the letters *domin...*, dated to the sixteenth century, might pertain to the same group (cat. 343 and 344). On the tile from Făgăraș (cat. 156), an angel holds another empty text band above the scene of the Adoration of the Magi, symbolizing the good news of Christ's birth. On a tile depicting the prophet Isaiah, produced in Banská Bystrica, the phylactery also remains empty (cat. 224). Due to the empty space in the lower part of the tile, the item is either a later copy that has eliminated or erased an existing inscription or the intention was to represent an anonymous prophet (who can be identified only through comparison to other tiles).

The empty scrolls may be the result of the mold wearing out through molding or copying, or it may suggest that the writing was not always important, but the writing support was in itself. A similar meaning is carried by the blank, open books sometimes depicted on tiles. When closed, books can be interpreted as attributes of the respective figures. When opened, they are much stronger symbols,

standing for the act of reading itself, inviting the viewer to imitate the saints and decipher the writing. Open books often feature beside the Virgin in the scene of the Annunciation. In the early iconography, Mary was represented spinning and weaving in this scene according to the apocryphal texts. Only from the eleventh century, and especially in the late Middle Ages, was her spindle replaced by a book, in some renditions open to Isaiah's prophecy. Mary's reading has been interpreted, besides as a symbol of piety, as an indication and encouragement of female literacy, supported by scenes such as the Virgin being taught to read by her mother, Anne.<sup>322</sup> Open books are also the attribute of other figures related to literacy who are depicted on tiles, such as holy bishops, St. Catherine, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Barbara.

### **Tiles related to the cult of the Virgin**

One may note that many of the tiles in this group can be related to the Marian cult. The words accompanying prophet Isaiah on the fragment from Buda are a prophecy of the virgin birth. On the tile from Făgăraș, an angel holds an empty phylactery over the scene of the adoration of the Magi. Different versions of Mary's name appear on tiles. The Marian salutation or empty banderoles appear on the numerous scenes depicting the Annunciation.

A circular tile decorated with the Pelican in her Piety has been recovered from St. Michael's Pauline monastery in Nagyvázsony (cat. 69). The central depiction of the pelican tearing her breast is surrounded by a frame containing a twisted-rope decoration and two small dragons flanking the inscription "maria" written in Gothic minuscule. The tile, dated to the end of the fifteenth century, has several analogies in the Swiss space. Different variants of the tile, with and without inscriptions, have been discovered on several sites in Zürich.<sup>323</sup> The association between this inscription and this iconographic scene points to Mary's self-sacrifice, paralleled to that of the mother pelican wounding herself to feed her young, so often described in the Physiologus and medieval bestiaries. Although usually a symbol of Christ, the pelican is here connected to the Virgin's devotion and sacrifice. The depiction in Nagyvázsony lacks parallels on other tiles from Hungary, where "maria" inscriptions and the pelican in her piety are never associated on the same tile.

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<sup>322</sup> Sheingorn, 1993, 69.

<sup>323</sup> Tamási, 1995, 59, 135-136, fig. 123; Holl, 1983, 215, 216, fig. 29, 217.



Fig. 7.4. The Pelican in her Piety and “maria” inscription, Nagyvázsony, end of the fifteenth century.

A group of crown tiles containing Marian inscriptions can be analyzed here under several aspects: motif transmission, language, geographic, and social distribution. The group consists of four tiles from Central and Northern Hungary with the inscription of the Virgin’s name placed above a decoration consisting of grapes, dated to the fifteenth century. One variant contains the inscription “maria panno” above bunches of grapes and under merlons decorated with coats of arms (cat. 91). A minimum of two identical tiles dated to the fifteenth-sixteenth century come from the market town of Szécsény, preserved in museums in Budapest and Nógrád.



Fig. 7.5. Crown tile from Szécsény inscribed “maria panno”.

The text, written in middle Slovak, reads “Oh, Virgin Mary!” in the vocative. This indicates the production of the tiles by or for an audience speaking Slovak. If the latter is the case, then the items testify to the existence of Slovak-speakers in Szécsény at the end of the Middle Ages, raising questions therefore about the language borders within Hungary in this period. Szécsény is now very close to the Slovak-Hungarian border, but for the Late Middle Ages the language border is believed to have been

set much northern of the present administrative border.<sup>324</sup> Some historians have suggested that the inscription could in fact be in Latin, but incomplete. The supposed entire text, completed on a hypothetical neighboring tile (“maria pannoniae”), would have referred to Mary’s role as patron saint of Hungary.<sup>325</sup>

Analogies of crown tiles with similar decoration but different texts come from Bohemia.<sup>326</sup> The inscriptions have been identified by Czech specialists as referring to the names of various pottery masters from Prague: “pan yan pyczka” (Jan Picky, d.1551), “widlaczek” (Vít Vidláček, d.1562), “i gicha” (Jan Jích, d.1554). Other tiles bear the name of a certain “fyula zyd”, unidentified from other sources but noting himself as a Jew. There is also the name “mortonos”, the misspelling being either due to a mistake or to the reduced literacy level of the creator of the mold. The latter hypothesis is supported by the fact that the writing must be read from right to left (the right-left flip of the image from mold to tile sometime posing difficulties for potters). When tiles from this group preserve the upper part, the merlons show coats of arms with different symbols (stars, hearts, jugs – probably relating to the specialization of the masters -- or chessboard patterns). The Bohemian examples provide useful data for the present study. First, they illustrate the first potter’s signatures on tiles in the first half of the sixteenth century. Then, they point to the ethnicity of these masters: Czech, Hungarian(?), and Jewish. They also show the circulation, from Prague, of partially blank molds on which different potters could add text. It is interesting that in Hungary the masters took the pattern over from the Bohemian area and chose to inscribe it not with their own names, but to put it in a religious context and add an invocation to the Virgin. This choice might be explained by their less developed self-awareness or by a lesser social status of such groups of artisans in Hungary.

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<sup>324</sup> Engel, 2006, 348.

<sup>325</sup> I thank all those who contributed to the discussions following my presentation “Marian Inscriptions on Medieval Stove Tiles and Mary’s Cult in Hungary,” during the international conference *Matthias Corvinus and his Time* organized by the Romanian Academy, the Babeş-Bolyai University, and the Patrimonium Transylvanicum Society in Cluj-Napoca, October 2008.

<sup>326</sup> Richterová, 1982, 52-53, fig. 64.1-5; Brych, 2004, 20-21, 131-135, cat. 298-312.



Fig. 7.6. Crown tiles with inscriptions discovered in Prague.

Another more popular variant bears the text “marya”, probably also referring to the Virgin. On one tile, probably discovered in the Johanite monastery in Rimavská Sobota (cat. 319), the inscription is also placed on a crown tile beside heraldic merlons and grapes. A (probably) directly related tile comes from the Benedictine monastery of St. John the Baptist in Rimavské Janovce (cat. 318). The tiles are dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and their places of discovery are in close proximity, only 6 kilometers apart. It is interesting to note that if the tiles are indeed directly related, the motif traveled a very small geographical distance, and an even smaller one in the status of the use contexts, since both sites are monasteries. Comparable crown tiles decorated in relief, also inscribed “marya”, were found in Bohemia<sup>327</sup> and Poland.<sup>328</sup> An open-work tile from Poland is also inscribed with the Virgin’s name.<sup>329</sup>

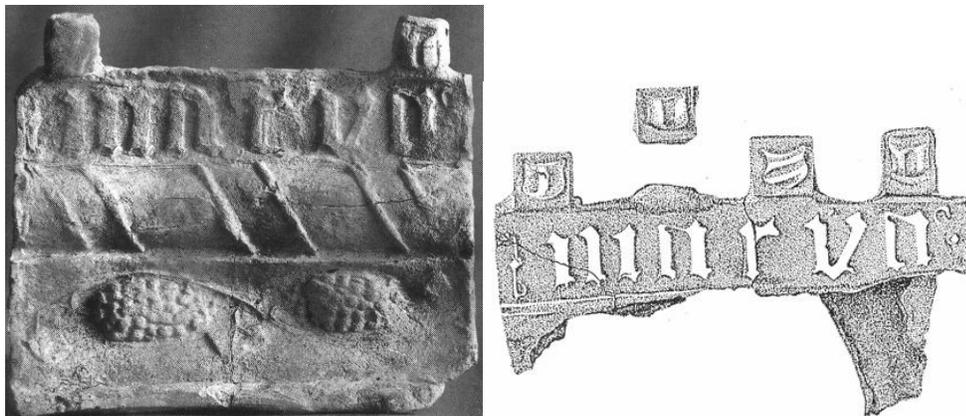


Fig. 7.7. Crown tiles inscribed “marya” from Rimavská Sobota and Rimavské Janovce.

<sup>327</sup> Brych, 2004, 75, fig. 128.

<sup>328</sup> Dąbrowska, 1967, fig. 54

<sup>329</sup> In Inwołódz: Dąbrowska, 2005, fig. 26.

Another group of directly related tiles with “marya” in Gothic minuscule and a heart-shaped motif in the middle of the word has been discovered in the tile workshop in Banská Bystrica (cat. 227) and in Kežmarok (cat. 274). These crown tiles were probably both produced in the workshop from the first town, excavated in SNP 22 and active around 1450. Kežmarok lies 140 kilometers northwest of Banská Bystrica. Not many observations can be made in this case since the tile in Banská Bystrica has only been preserved in a small fragment. Its identification is based on the identical border with diagonal lines and the upper part of the first letters.

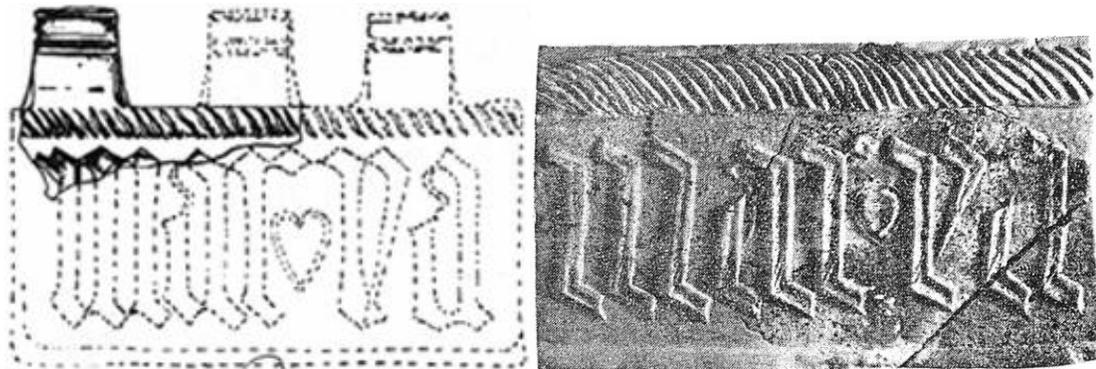


Fig. 7.8. Crown tiles and tile fragments from Banská Bystrica and Kežmarok, inscribed “mar♥ya”.

One should note that with the exception of the circular tiles from Nagyvázsony, probably used in the clay roof of a stove, the other five items inscribed with one or another variant of the Virgin’s name have been discovered in Northern Hungary. Sometimes Bohemian analogies can be found for their composition and decorative motifs accompanying the letters. Marian inscriptions, including those with “maria”, have been found in several locations in Northern Hungary, on book bindings, appliques, belt buckles, even knives. One may note the numerous book appliques from the Carthusian monastery in Kľaštorskó, including some inscribed “maria” and “ihs” (discussed below).<sup>330</sup> Some of these objects have been discovered on sites that also revealed other stove tiles without Marian inscriptions.

Other tiles related to the Virgin and containing inscriptions and phylacteries are decorated with the scene of the Annunciation. Of better quality amongst them are the items found in the royal palace in Buda (cat. 19 and 20). Decorating stoves erected between 1458 and 1490 under the reign of King Matthias, they have good Swiss analogies.<sup>331</sup> The scene is divided on two tiles meant to be assembled together and form a single iconographic unit. On one, Archangel Gabriel, kneeling facing to the right, is enclosed in a medallion containing the inscription: *ave ma[ria] gratia plena*. On the other, the Virgin is kneeling between a lectern supporting an open book without text and a table with a vase with lilies,

<sup>330</sup> Slivka, 2002, 12.

<sup>331</sup> Tamási, 1995, 135, fig. 104; Holl, 1983, 204, fig. 5, 205; Magyar, 1991, 283.

turned towards the archangel. Mary is surrounded by a medallion similar in decoration but without any text.

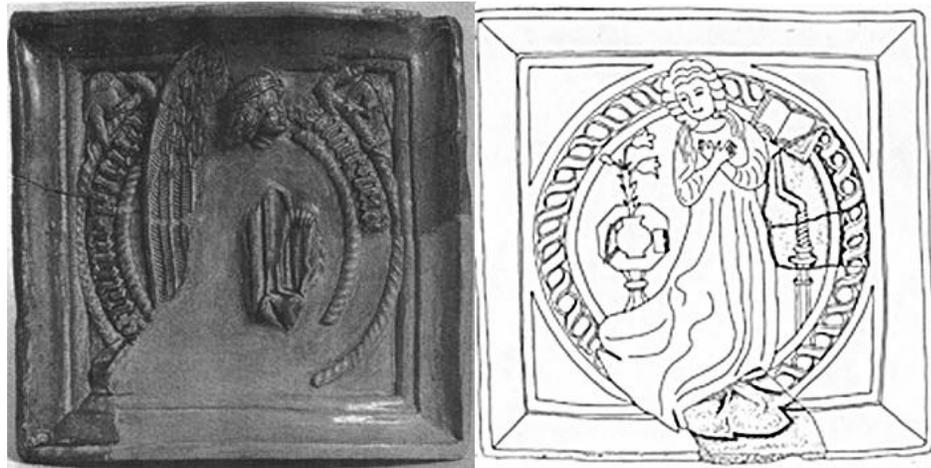


Fig. 7.9. Paired tiles depicting the Annunciation, Buda palace, second half of the fifteenth century.

An early and unusual variant of the scene was discovered during the excavation of a manor house in Pomáz (cat. 82). Several late fourteenth-century fragments from at least six tiles with slight differences (probably created using two molds) were discovered there. These items represent an orant angel surrounded by a large inscription interpreted by researchers as reading *ave gratia plena d(omini)*, but in fact looking rather like *avd gr[atia] pndnad*. The inscription poses several paleographical difficulties, due both to its fragmentary state and the shape of the letters. No paired tile with the Virgin has been identified on the site and no analogies can be found so far. There is a possibility that the tile had an apotropaic use because it was probably used beside tiles decorated with animals and monsters because of the cryptic rendition of the text and the protective position of the angel.<sup>332</sup> Another explanation might lie in the poor literacy level of the master creating these molds.

<sup>332</sup> On the apotropaic associations of orants and Marian invocations see Gruia, 2007c, 16-17.

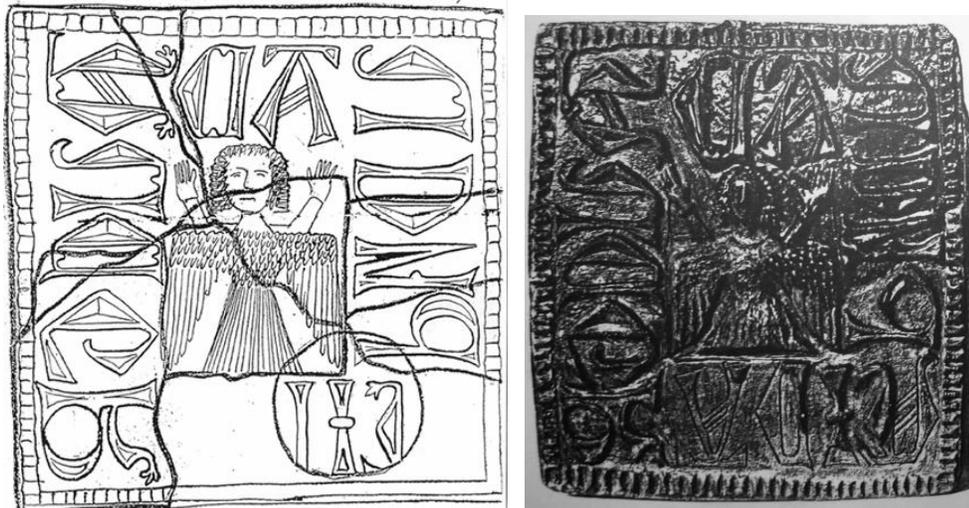


Fig. 7.10. Stove tile from Pomáz.

A large collection of medieval tiles has been discovered in the fortification of Ružica, many among them copies of Buda originals. One may include in this copy category a fragment, probably coming from a niche tile with pairs of saints, depicting Archangel Gabriel holding up a scepter with a floating unwritten scroll (cat. 362). The archangel, turned to the right, might have been paired with a depiction of Mary, but this tile might have stood beside another saint, considering the random pairing of figures on this type of tile. Gabriel could also be part of tiles with different compositions. He stands alone, for example, on tiles from the royal castle in Visegrád, in compositions with an angel holding shields decorated with various coats of arms.<sup>333</sup> Although presenting small differences and despite being part of different compositions, the two figures of Gabriel are very similar and probably directly related. If so, the motif traveled a distance of 345 kilometers.

<sup>333</sup> Laszlovszky, 1995, 40, 141, fig. 167; Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 35, 140-143, fig. LXVI-LXIX.



Fig. 7.11. Tile fragments from Ružica and Visegrád decorated with the figure of the Archangel Gabriel holding a scepter with a blank scroll.

Another type of Annunciation can be found on other tiles from Ružica. It shows the main characters together on the same tile, the archangel still holding his attribute of messenger, the scepter with scroll (cat. 377). The tile with Gabriel alone is dated to the fifteenth century, and the latter tile towards the end of the same century or the beginning of the next.



Fig. 7.12. Reconstruction drawing of a stove tile from Ružica depicting the Annunciation.

A rare stone mold used for making tiles has been discovered somewhere in Northern Hungary (cat. 353). It is known that this item had such a use because a tile imprinted with it was found in

neighboring Bohemia, in the castle on Vsetinský Peak.<sup>334</sup> The image belongs stylistically to the sixteenth century, showing Gabriel and Mary under a semicircular arch. An interior space is suggested by the flanking columns, the window in the background and the lectern in front of which Mary is kneeling in prayer. This rendering of the Annunciation scene is unusual for the medium of tiles because it shows rays descending over the kneeling Virgin. It is also interesting due to its decorative characteristics. Several sections are decorated with larger or smaller dots: the columns, their capitels, elements of clothing and Gabriel's scroll wrapped around the scepter. Decoration used instead of the inscription of the Marian salutation testifies both to the inter-changing values of writing and decoration and to the self-understood knowledge of the appropriate words pertaining to such a scene.



Fig. 7.13. Stone mold from an unknown location in Northern Hungary and tile created with it, discovered at Vsetinský Peak (Bohemia).

Two more tiles with inscriptions depicting the Annunciation come from Transylvania. A fragment from the Hungarian suburb of Cluj (the St. Peter suburb) depicts a kneeling angel(?) lifting up his left hand and holding an inscribed scroll in his right hand, on which only the letters “a?e” are visible (cat. 141). The fragmentary inscription is probably part of the Marian salutation. This fragment, dated to the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries, was made from a mold discovered in a pottery workshop in the same city, but the fragmentary mold is only published in a poor drawing on which the inscription is not visible (also discussed in Chapter 4):

<sup>334</sup> Kahoutek, 1991, 245, fig. 6.



Fig. 7.14. Tile fragment from Cluj-St. Peter suburb.

A final example of a tile depicting the Annunciation was once part of the stove heating the interior of an urban house in Bistrița (cat. 116). This corner tile is decorated on one side with the scene of the Annunciation, with Mary and Gabriel separated by the scepter that also functions as a column and the visual median line of the image. It has an empty scroll rolled around it, placed in the center of the composition and mediating the encounter between the two holy figures. The tile is dated to the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth:



Fig. 7.15. Tile from Bistrița depicting the Annunciation.

The previous examples show that the largest group of religious tiles with inscriptions or empty text bands can be related to the cult of the Virgin: 17 out of 72. The scroll held by the Archangel

Gabriel on a scepter, his attribute as a messenger of God, is more often than not blank or with geometric decorations, indicating that the words of the Marian salutation were indeed very popular at all levels of society. These tiles depicting Gabriel alone or the Annunciation in general have been discovered in various social contexts, from royal palaces to manor houses, urban houses, and in suburbs. The words of the Marian salutation were part of the basic catechism. The minimum requirements for the laity were the knowledge of the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, the Creed, and how to make the sign of the cross. The two prayers were repeated over and over again as the basic requirements of religious knowledge throughout the medieval period.<sup>335</sup> Viewers seeing the scene were supposedly able to “fill in the blanks” and supply for themselves the words spoken on that occasion according to the Bible.

### **Sixteenth-century inscriptions on tiles**

These items will only be mentioned here briefly because they are the focus of Chapter 8, which analyzes the impact of the Reformation on tile iconography. The increased use of inscriptions, in classical capitals, added to various representations in the sixteenth century, is one of the elements reflecting a new attitude toward religious images.

The group under discussion includes 25 tiles containing inscriptions that are dated to the sixteenth century: one tile decorated with Christ’s monogram (“IHS”) discovered in a manor house in Sâncrăieni (cat. 189); ten tiles depicting the heroes of Israel (Jephthah, Jonathan, David, Solomon, Nebuchadnezzar) inspired by Reformation prints, with the names of these figures, sometimes the date, and very rarely other emblematic words as well; the sacrifice of Abraham inscribed “abraham isak” (cat. 52); one tile with the Crucifixion bearing the “inri” inscription (cat. 244); three tiles decorated with the scene of Moses standing in front of the brazen serpent, inscribed with barely readable indications of Bible passages (cat. 135, 135, and 161); two tiles with the Pelican in her Piety surrounded by inscriptions containing the year and potters’ names (cat. 192 and 193); one tile depicting Jesus preaching and a longer inscription in German (cat. 267); two tiles with the image of St. George accompanied by inscriptions with his name (cat. 21 and 352); one tile with St. Ladislav on horseback, with an inscription and letters (cat. 75); and two tiles containing the fragmentary inscription *domin* (cat. 343 and 344). One can note that in the sixteenth century only one tile and a mold include empty scrolls in their decoration, indicating an increased preference for including writing in the image, for spelling out the words. The inscriptions also accompany different scenes than in the previous century; they are

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<sup>335</sup> Arnold, 2005, 38-39.

most often encountered beside Old Testament representations (the heroes of Israel, Moses, Abraham) and on tiles depicting Christ (preaching, the Crucifixion) or referring to him (his monogram, the Pelican in her Piety). The only saints accompanied by inscriptions are George and Ladislav, who maintained their popularity in the sixteenth century. There was also a change of script, with the Gothic minuscule replaced by classical capitals, reflecting the influence of the humanistic interest in antique lettering. In the sixteenth century one finds the first potters' initials on tiles with religious representations (on two tiles from Sibiu that will be presented in more detail below, and probably on the tile with St. Ladislav from Oradea as well), a trend referring to an increased importance of the artist/producer of tiles. The practice of inscribing one's creations with initials flourished on tiles in the subsequent centuries. Another fashion starting in the sixteenth century on tiles is the inclusion of years dating the production, sometimes accompanying the potters' initials.

Two tiles belonging to this group contain vernacular inscriptions, in German and Romanian. The first tile was found in the castle in Červený Kameň, in Northern Hungary (cat. 267). On it, the Parable of the Sower is illustrated visually by the depiction of a peasant working in a field and textually made explicit by a long inscription in German. This example is relevant for the reformed attitude towards religious images, with the entire setting striving for precision. The viewers can see Jesus preaching to his apostles in the foreground, and his words are materialized both through image (the sower in the background) and text (the introduction of the corresponding Biblical passage). The inscription, included in a cartouche placed in the foreground, reads: "... [M]ATH IN DREICZE(n)T. ER LEGET (ihnen)/ ..EIN ANDER GLEICHNVSFVR" (Matthew 13). The disposition of the three elements of the composition can also be interpreted as indicating their importance: the text is the foundation of the representation; next in importance comes the depiction of the historical context in which the words were spoken, and third comes the didactic image of the parable itself. The Renaissance elements, the good quality of execution, the long inscription, and the uniqueness of the tile indicate that it is probably an item imported from the German areas.



Fig. 7.16. Tile from Cerveny Kameň, decorated with Jesus preaching the Parable of the Sower.

A tile from Sibiu depicts the Pelican in her Piety surrounded by letters and numbers (cat. 193). The Cyrillic inscription reads: “Oprea 1581.” It is the earliest Cyrillic inscription on a Transylvanian tile, indicating the existence of Romanian pottery masters, the name Oprea showing the potter’s ethnicity.<sup>336</sup> A directly related tile from the same city contains a different inscription, in the Latin alphabet: “A. G.,” probably the initials of another master (cat. 192). This case is interesting because it leads to a series of important observations. First, it indicates the local production of tiles and the separate creation of figural representations and inscriptions. Unfortunately, the second tile is only known through a schematic drawing, so one cannot make further observations on the technological aspects. On the other hand, it shows that different masters used the same or very similar molds, “signing” their products with their own name/initials. The discovery site of the first tile is not known precisely (somewhere in the territory of the city of Sibiu), but the second tile was discovered in the area of the Catholic church. The fact that the latter tile contains inscriptions in the Latin alphabet and the first in Cyrillic might indicate that the representatives of the Catholic church chose not to employ Romanian tile masters or that the masters used both alphabets to appeal to different clients. The guild

<sup>336</sup> Slătineanu, Stahl, Petrescu, 1958, 20, 22, fig. 18.

of the potters from Sibiu is mentioned for the first time in 1376. The documents refer to this guild and to individual potters in the town more frequent in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.<sup>337</sup> The members of this guild were exclusively Germans, so Oprea must have been active outside the organization, just as other Romanian potters are nominated in the seventeenth century (in the context of guild measures taken against them).

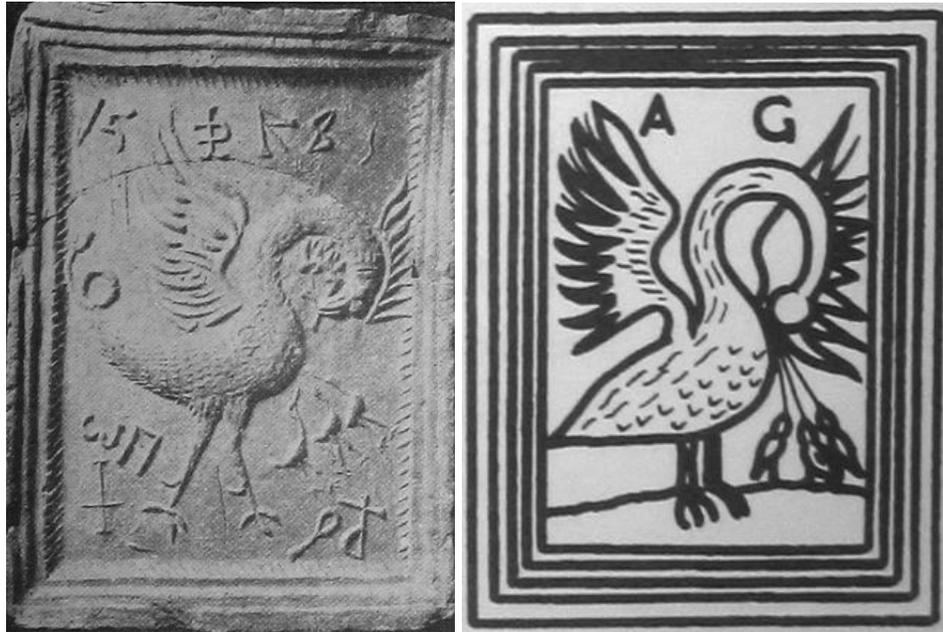


Fig. 7.17. Panel tiles from Sibiu depicting the Pelican in her Piety with inscriptions.

### Conclusions

Out of the 68 religious tiles with inscriptions from the relevant period, 23 came from the sixteenth century, while 12 more are either dated to the end of the fifteenth-beginning of the sixteenth century or simply across the entire two hundred year span. It seems, therefore, that more inscriptions on religious tiles are dated before 1500 than after. This is true despite the fact that inscriptions became more popular on such items after this date as the proportion of religious imagery declined after the Reformation. One can note with certainty, however, that the first inscriptions in vernacular languages on religious tiles in Hungary appeared in the sixteenth century, although they still remained rare.

I have also noted a strong relation between religious tiles with inscriptions and the cult of the Virgin. Several types of images make reference to Her: the Annunciation, “marya” inscriptions, the Adoration of the Magi, and Old Testament prophecies. It seems that the Marian cult was the one closest to and most promoting literacy on tiles in the late Middle Ages.

<sup>337</sup> Marcu Istrate, 2004, 34-35.

I have made several observations on the function of inscriptions, empty scrolls or open books. Inscriptions were mainly used on tiles to facilitate the recognition of the characters depicted (serving as name tags) and scenes, to point to famous biblical words or passages, performing therefore a certain instruction of the viewers. One can even imagine that in domestic contexts such elements could have been used in teaching children how to read. Other texts included in the images decorating tiles indicate acts of orality, the letters making speech visible. Especially in the case of the Annunciation, the words by which Gabriel announces the Lord's incarnation are at the same time an invocation of the Virgin, a prayer, and a protective device. Marian inscriptions are known to have been used as apotropaions in the Middle Ages, and they might have functioned as such on tiles as well. Inscriptions also fulfill a basic decorative function, most obvious in case when the letters are replaced by decoration imitating script. Inscriptions might also have functioned as elements of prestige, buyers preferring tiles with texts in order to point to their own literacy.

The empty scrolls or open books probably appeared on tiles for quite different purposes. They can be interpreted as simple attributes of Biblical authors or clerics, or as pointing to the piety of the saints who carry them. Just as the inscriptions themselves, the empty scrolls are visual indicators of acts of speech. They show not what was said, but just that something was said, something that viewers might have been supposed to know already. In these cases, scrolls were intended to trigger an active implication in the image by "filling in the blanks" and imitating the saintly figures who are accompanied by open books. Sometimes it can be noted that the inscriptions are less important elements of the picture. During copying they could be modified, omitted altogether, the writing supports (scrolls or open books) could be left blank, or simple decoration could replace inscriptions.

A change in the management of text and its presentation on religious tiles can be observed in the sixteenth century. The script changed from minuscule to capital, inscribed years became more frequent, inscriptions appeared in vernaculars (German in Latin letters and Romanian in Cyrillic), and the first initials of potters were added to tiles. In Chapter 8 I analyze in more details all the sixteenth-century tiles with religious representations according to their primary contexts of use, revisiting the general trends of the period in the management of both religious images and the inscriptions that accompanied them.

<i>Province</i>	<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Scene</i>	<i>Place of Discovery</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Type of Tile, State of Preservation of the Inscription</i>
Hungary	1	1.Jephthah	Boldogkő	fortification	second half of 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	fragmentary
	3	2.Pair of saints -Prophet David	Buda	royal palace	mid-second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	david; in sole posuit tabnacu	readable
	7	3.Pair of saints -Prophet Isaias	Buda	royal palace	mid-second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	isaias; ecce virgo concipiet	partially readable
	20	4.Annunciation -Archangel Gabriel	Buda	royal palace	1458-1490	ave ma[ria] gratia plena	readable
	19	5.Annunciation -the Virgin Mary	Buda	royal palace	1458-1490	none	open book without text
	12	6.Holy Bishop	Buda	royal palace	mid-second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	open book without text
	2	7.St. Catherine	Buda	royal palace	mid-second half of the 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	open book without text
	26	8.Jacob	Buda	royal palace	1485-1490	Jacob pro p	readable
	29	9.Eagle –symbol of John the Evangelist	Buda	royal palace	15 <sup>th</sup> c.?	?	unreadable
	21	10.St. George	Buda	royal palace	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	georgius	readable
	37	11.Eagle –symbol of John the Evangelist	Diósgyőr	royal castle?	14 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	decorated text band
	44	12.Prophet Zachariah	Eger	castle and bishop's seat	15 <sup>th</sup> c.?	..e	fragmentary
	45	13.Jephthah	Eger	unknown	second half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	fragmentary
	53	14.Jephthah	Füzér	castle	second half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	..e?? ..553	fragmentary
	52	15.Abraham and Isaac	Füzér	castle	1562	abrahamisak	readable
	59	16.Jonathan	Hegyhátszent-márton	castle	second half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	..natan i r	fragmentary

	<b>60</b>	17.Lion – symbol of Mark the Evangelist	Kőszeg	castle	beg. 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	marcus	readable
	<b>69</b>	18.Pelican in her Piety	Nagyvázsony	Pauline monastery	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	maria	readable
	<b>75</b>	19.St. Ladislav	Oradea	?	1540?	ad 1540	readable
	<b>76</b>	20.Prophet	Oradea	castle and bishop's seat	15?78	78	fragmentary
	<b>82</b>	21.Annunciation?	Pomáz	manor house - Cyko fam	end 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	avd gr[atia] pndn ad	fragmentary
	<b>89</b>	22.Prophet Daniel	Szécsény	market town	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	sanctus daniel	readable
	<b>91</b>	23.Mary inscription and grapes	Szécsény	market town	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	maria panno	readable
	<b>93</b>	24.Prophet	Székesfehérvár	urban house?	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	empty inscription band
	<b>94</b>	25.Jephthah	Szerencs	fortification	1553?	..epte ..553	fragmentary
	<b>98</b>	26.Angel with coat of arms - prophet	Visegrád	royal palace	1458-1490	?	fragmentary
	<b>99</b>	27.Angel with coat of arms - Archangel Gabriel	Visegrád	royal palace	1458-1490	none	empty inscription band
Slavonia	<b>362</b>	28.? Archangel Gabriel	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	empty inscription band
	<b>369</b>	29.? Prophet David	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	david in sole po...	fragmentary
	<b>371</b>	30.St. John the Evangelist?	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	open book without text
	<b>377</b>	31.Annunciation	Ružica	castle	end 15 <sup>th</sup> -beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	empty text band
	<b>378</b>	32.Pair of saints? - St. Bartholomew?	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	open book without text
	<b>380</b>	33.Pair of Saints? - St. Peter	Ružica	castle	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	open book
	<b>223</b>	34.St. Peter	Banská Bystrica	tile workshop	ca. 1450	sa petro	readable
	<b>224</b>	35.Prophet Isaiah	Banská Bystrica	tile workshop	ca. 1450	none	empty text band
	<b>225</b>	36.Prophet Elijah	Banská Bystrica	tile workshop	ca. 1450	elias	readable
	<b>227</b>	37.Mary inscription	Banská Bystrica	tile workshop	ca. 1450	marya	readable
	<b>244</b>	38.Crucifixion	Banská Bystrica	barbican of the urban castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	inri	readable

250	39.Mary Magdalene	Banská Stiavnica	Kammerhof	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	ma?	unreadable
251	40.Prophet Elijah	Banská Stiavnica	Kammerhof	end 15 <sup>th</sup> – beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	...s	fragmentary
254	41.Prophet David	Banská Stiavnica	city house	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	..dawid	fragmentary
260	42.?	Bratislava	city	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	m? kathes..	fragmentary
263	43.?	Bratislava	city	?	katarina	unpublished
264	44.Prophet Zachariah	Bratislava	royal castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	zachare	readable
267	45.Jesus preaching	Cervený Kameň	fortification	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	„...[m]ath in dreicze(n)t er leget (ihnen) ein ander	fragmentary
274	46.Marya inscription	Kežmarok	castle?	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	marya	readable
275	47.Angel- symbol of John the Evangelist	Klaštorsko	Carthusian monastery	1487-1543	iohannes	readable
276	48.Calf- symbol of Luke the Evangelist	Klaštorsko	Carthusian monastery	1487-1543	lucas	readable
277	49.Lion- symbol of Mark the Evangelist	Klaštorsko	Carthusian monastery	1487-1543	marcus	readable
285	50.St. Barbara	Klaštorsko	Carthusian monastery	1487-1543	none	open book without text
290	51.Jephthah	Košice	urban house	second half 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	ivdicivm/ ..iepd/ 155(?)1	readable
296	52.Prophet Elijah?	Kremnica	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	..a?ʹs	fragmentary
318	53.Marya inscription	Rimavské Janovce	Benedictine monastery	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	marya	readable
319	54.Marya inscription and grapes	Rimavská Sobota	Johanite monastery (?)	end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	marya	readable
323	55.Jephthah	Sariš	castle	1553?	iudicium iepte 1553	readable
324	56.Solomon	Sariš	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	salamon	readable
325	57.David	Sariš	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	david	unpublished
326	58.Nebuchadnezzar	Sariš	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	nabuchodnozor	unpublished
343	59.?	Strečno	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	domin...	fragmentary
344	60.?	Strečno	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	domin...	fragmentary
353	61.Annunciation (stone mold)	?	?	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	inscription band with dots, open book
352	62.St. George	Zvolen?	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> c.?	s georgius	readable

Transylvania	<b>116</b>	63. Annunciation	Bistrița	urban house	end 15 <sup>th</sup> – beg. 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	empty text band, open book
	<b>135</b>	64. Moses	Cluj- Mănăștur	Benedictine/ Jesuit monastery	16 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	do erso verb	fragmentary
	<b>136</b>	65. Moses	Cluj- Mănăștur	Benedictine /Jesuit monastery	16 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	..nesen	fragmentary
	<b>141</b>	66. Annunciation - angel	Cluj-St. Peter	suburb	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	..ve?..	fragmentary
	<b>156</b>	67. Adoration of the Magi	Făgăraș	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> - 16 <sup>th</sup> c.	none	empty text band
	<b>161</b>	68. Moses	Făgăraș	castle	16 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	moses:e?r.0?3 h?g:nv: 5/21	readable
	<b>167</b>	69. Prophet? (Evangelist?)	Hunedoara	castle	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	?	fragmentary text band
	<b>189</b>	70. IHS	Sâncrăieni	manor house	16 <sup>th</sup> c.	ihs	monogram
	<b>193</b>	71. Pelican in her Piety	Sibiu	?	1581	Oprea 1581	(in Cyrillic)
	<b>192</b>	72. Pelican in her Piety	Sibiu	Catholic church	end 16 <sup>th</sup> – beg. of 17 <sup>th</sup> c.	ag	readable

Fig. 7.18. Inscriptions and text bands on religious stove tiles from the Kingdom of Hungary (based on 389 tiles).

## CHAPTER 8. The Impact of the Reformation on Religious Stove Tiles from Hungary

This analysis of sixteen-century religious tiles from Hungary focuses on the identification of elements testifying to the impact of the Reformation on such items and to the general changes in preference and taste. Several “Reformation tiles” have been identified in Western Europe, being produced after the 1530s and especially by the middle of the sixteenth century. They depict the portraits of the main reformers (especially Luther), of evangelical princes, and scenes from the Old and the New Testaments. Most of them were inspired by prints, and their great popularity, from Germany to Scandinavia and Hungary, can also be accounted for by the wide and increased circulation of the new printed materials. The sixteenth century also marks the new taste for Renaissance decorations on stove tiles. Certain iconographic types were popular in this period, such as portraits set in architectural frames, various allegories and personifications. An illustrative example of Protestant iconography on tiles is a depiction of the crucified Christ against an urban background, flanked by two male characters, the one on the right clearly identifiable as Luther. This green-glazed tile fragment is dated to the middle of the sixteenth century and is preserved in Stockholm.<sup>338</sup>



Fig. 8.1. Tile fragment depicting the Crucifixion, discovered in Stockholm.

<sup>338</sup> *Pots and Princes*, 2007, 214, cat.179.

In the Hungarian stove tile material there are few such cases of clear Protestant iconography. The interpretation of such images as reflecting a certain religious orientation needs to be based on contextual information. In some cases the religious adherence of the tile owners at the time of the purchase is known; sometimes the origin of the images themselves can be traced back to Protestant prints or the characters depicted on tiles can be identified as Catholic or Protestant rulers. But there are also numerous tiles that could have enjoyed wide acceptance; Old Testament and Christological representations on tiles could have been considered “proper” by both Catholics and Protestants. It would have been more problematic to find representations of saints in the homes of Protestant owners. The issue is complex and increased methodological precautions are required. The impact of the Reformation on tiles from Hungary is approached here cautiously and further studies are needed to deepen the analysis of the particular contexts of discovery by gathering further data from history, genealogy, and unpublished surviving inventories. I will attempt here to trace the main lines of research on the topic and to identify the general trends in sixteen-century religious tile iconography, the spread of motifs, and in some cases, their religious significance.

### **The Reformation in Hungary in the sixteenth century**

The Reformation in Hungary was marked by the drastic changes of the sixteenth century in the area, triggered by Ottoman attacks. The Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526 against the army of Suleiman the Magnificent was followed by the double election in the same year of Ferdinand of Habsburg and John Zápolya as kings of the conflict-torn territory. Their struggle for control lasted until 1538 when the Peace of Oradea settled the issue for a while by delegating John control over Transylvania. In 1541, after the fall of Buda to the Turks, Hungary was finally divided into three parts: the western and northern areas became Royal Hungary, under the rule of Ferdinand, the central part fell under Ottoman control, and the eastern parts including Transylvania and the Partium were ruled by John’s son, Sigismund, and by his regent mother, Isabella. In 1570 these eastern parts were recognized by Emperor Maximilian II as constituting the Principality of Transylvania; this political unit maintained a semi-autonomous character through the sixteenth century.<sup>339</sup>

The central power’s initial lack of control and the preeminent role of local nobles greatly contributed to the spread of the Reformation in Hungary and gave it distinctive features. The new ideas spread after the 1520s in the German-speaking areas of the kingdom, mostly in the cities, towns, and

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<sup>339</sup> Daniel, 1992.

mining centers of present-day Slovakia and Transylvania, but also at the royal court in Buda. The strong initial impact of the Reformation in the cities of Spiš, Sáriš, and Zemplin counties is noteworthy, and is also apparent in the towns of Sibiu, Braşov, Cluj, and Sighişoara. The dissemination of evangelical teachings began outside the Church, through merchants and lay preachers.<sup>340</sup> Until the 1530s there was no open break with official doctrine and after that decade it was still lay patrons who supported the Reformation, bringing lay preachers and schoolmasters onto their estates and sending students to Wittenberg. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the Reformation in Hungary was theologically eclectic, although Lutheranism prevailed. Calvinism appeared in the 1540s and spread and developed in institutionalized churches parallel to Lutheranism in all three regions of medieval Hungary, including the areas under Turkish control. Calvinist beliefs were mostly successful among the Hungarian nobles and in the market towns and were supported by international Calvinism led by the Calvinist powers (the Netherlands and the Palatinate, mediated through Silesia).<sup>341</sup> More extreme wings of the Reformation flourished in Transylvania, such as Anti-Trinitarianism in the 1560s. The Transylvanian city of Cluj is still the international center of Unitarianism and John Sigismund was the first (and last) Unitarian ruler in history. The edict of Turda, issued in 1568, granted recognition in the Principality to four “received religions”: Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism.<sup>342</sup> For its time the edict was an exceptional act of tolerance and religious freedom that made Transylvania a place of refuge for many a persecuted religious dissident.

Ethnic identity and religious adherence seem to have co-varied during the Reformation in Hungary, in the sense that the German population mostly adopted Lutheran Protestantism while the non-German populations tended to become Reformed. The Slavs remained mostly Lutheran, the Hungarians adopted mostly Calvinist views, and some were also won over by the more radical wings of the Reformation like Unitarianism, especially popular in Transylvania. The Romanians were less affected by the new ideas and mostly preserved the Orthodox religion. There might have been several causes for this differentiation, such as regional late medieval traditions and patterns of devotion,<sup>343</sup> each group’s native language, which led to a faster or slower reception of the new ideas, a dislike of German influence, and so on. Roman Catholicism lost ground rapidly; by the end of the century some 80% of Hungary’s population had embraced some form of Protestantism. Despite this, the entire church hierarchy was preserved.<sup>344</sup> In the 1620s the Counter-Reformation started to have an impact in East

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<sup>340</sup> Péter, 1994, 160.

<sup>341</sup> Bahlcke, 1997.

<sup>342</sup> Murdock, 2002, 198.

<sup>343</sup> Peters, 1997.

<sup>344</sup> Péter, 1994, 162.

Central Europe, but it without great success in Hungary. The re-Catholicization promoted by the Habsburgs, mainly with the help of the Jesuits, had a more muted impact in Hungary. After the defeat of 1608 by the army led by the Transylvanian Prince Stephen Bocskai, the Habsburgs were forced to legalize Protestantism in Royal Hungary.<sup>345</sup>

Despite the fact three partial translations of the Bible into Hungarian were made in the first half of the sixteenth century and a full one finally in 1590 and seven Protestant presses and numerous itinerant printers were active by the 1570s, the low development of literacy in the area suggests that at first Reformed ideas spread orally. The period between 1570 and 1600 is considered the golden age of vernacular culture in Hungary, with numerous pamphlets, religious materials, grammars, dictionaries, historical texts, herbals, and secular literature published in all vernaculars. Popular literature was especially successful and growing until 1600; the subject matter included stories from the Bible, travelogues, and novels, most of which entered folklore.<sup>346</sup> This spread of literary products might also be connected to the first vernacular inscriptions on religious tiles in Hungary.

### **The Reformation and the Arts**

The impact of the Reformation on the visual arts is still a hot spot in historiography.<sup>347</sup> The attitude of the reformers to church art has been analyzed and as were iconoclast acts and the effects of popular movements. Although various supporters of the Reformation expressed different attitudes at different times on the issue of using images and some researchers have concluded that the issue raised constant contradictions,<sup>348</sup> a series of general points can serve as guidelines. The new beliefs displaced the accent from the holy image to the holy word. The Reformation promoted the concepts of *sola fides* and *sola scriptura*, seeing faith and holy texts as ways to salvation. Images were delegated a secondary role. They were not meant to be revered, but to provide instruction to believers, to be signs and aids to memory. The cult of the saints was strongly criticized, but some of the holy characters still remained popular, such as local or old saints such as St. Christopher and St. George. The Reformation dealt a strong blow to the Marian cult, especially when it seemed to undermine the primacy of Christ. Biblical scenes remained popular, especially when the Old and the New Testaments were paralleled in typological compositions, and so did the evangelists, apostles, and prophets.<sup>349</sup> The iconic, “magical” image was replaced with the narrative image, often accompanied by explanatory inscriptions. Scenes

<sup>345</sup> Pettegree, Maag, 1997, 16-17.

<sup>346</sup> Péter, 1994, 165-167.

<sup>347</sup> Duffy, 1992; Michalski, 1993; Scribner, 2001; *Iconoclasm*, 2001.

<sup>348</sup> Scribner, 2001, 97.

<sup>349</sup> Pettegree, 2002.

from the life of Christ, especially the Crucifixion, retained their appeal, but they were accompanied by text meant to enhance their pedagogical impact. Painted verses were added under the images or included as inscriptions in the composition. The words of the Bible came to replace images in the decoration of churches and religious objects, especially in the Calvinist parts of Europe. The bulk of the existing literature on the topic refers to the treatment and effect of the Reformation on religious art and on the use of images as propaganda. Several areas can be distinguished, among them the Lutheran one, where some of the art was preserved and so-called “Lutheran altars” even appeared, mainly featuring the Crucifixion and inscriptions. In Transylvania, for example, the Saxons from the villages kept ordering altars to be painted for their churches in the first half of the sixteenth century while the old ones were preserved. Their attitude towards art was ambiguous: they removed the sculptures from the niche of the polyptic altars, but maintained the paintings, especially the narrative ones, and had inscriptions added.<sup>350</sup> In Calvinist and other areas that passed on to more radical wings of the Reformation, even less of religious art was preserved or it was eliminated all together. To offer again the example of Transylvania, altars were burnt in Cluj and destroyed with axes in Alba Iulia in the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>351</sup>

The impact of the new ideas on the smaller, decorative or minor arts is less known. In Western Europe there was a collapse in artistic patronage, which led to a decline in the production of large and expensive religious art pieces. The phenomenon applied less to artistically decorated objects such as stained glass and goldsmiths’ works.<sup>352</sup> One might infer that the same was true for stove tiles. They did have a primary functional role - they composed closed heating systems. Stoves were therefore probably not the target of iconoclastic acts, but one knows that they reflected the new religious ideas. In Bohemia, for example, one can find stove tiles decorated with Hussite scenes.<sup>353</sup> New images were being produced and favored, such as those depicting biblical scenes, especially from the Old Testament, and portraits framed by Renaissance arches, windows, or medallions. Tiles decorated with the portraits of reformers, especially Luther, spread in Europe along with the Reformation. There was also a significant increase in the production and spread of new types of images, especially those benefiting from the technological developments of the printing press.

An interesting development in sixteen- and seventeenth-century stove tiles in Hungary was the spread of stoves made of undecorated pot-tiles. Such stoves, resembling the primitive oven stoves of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Western Europe, are common finds from sites of the Ottoman

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<sup>350</sup> Crăciun, 2002.

<sup>351</sup> Crăciun, 2002.

<sup>352</sup> Jezler, 2001.

<sup>353</sup> Brych, 2004, 123-125; Hazlbauer, 1998, 200-212.

period in Hungary. Such sites are mainly forts and towns, rarely villages, and can be linked to the appearance of Balkan populations in the country. The remains of two such stoves composed of green and yellow glazed pot-tiles were discovered in Víziváros in Buda and dated to the seventeenth century. Ethnographic evidence indicates that such types of tiles spread in the Balkans through the mediation of the Turks, becoming wide-spread in Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria in the nineteenth century.<sup>354</sup> Nevertheless, relief-decorated tiles also made their way to these regions during the fifteenth century, as the case of Belgrade indicates, where tiles in the city were probably imported from the workshop in Nyek.<sup>355</sup>

### **Sixteen-century religious stove tiles in Hungary**

A general problem in working with stove tiles is their often imprecise dating. When the archaeological context of the find is irrelevant or simply not known, the dating covers wide time spans according to the style of the items or their general technical characteristics. The numerous cases of approximate dating make the following percentages suitable only for detecting general trends and characteristics. 97 out of all 389 medieval and early modern religious tiles from Hungary have been dated to the sixteenth (or sixteenth-seventeenth century). I do not include here tiles clearly dated to the first two decades of the sixteenth century, before the beginning of the Reformation, nor those tiles dated to both the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. About 24% of the religious tiles are therefore probably dated during and after the Reformation. Most of them have been discovered in Transylvania (45).

39 of these tiles depict characters and scenes from the Old Testament, 11 are Christological scenes, and 27 depict saints. Others are decorated with crosses, Christ's monogram, religious allegories, and so on. Two more tiles dated to this period are published as being decorated with "biblical motifs" (without further information – cat. 257 and 341) and two as bearing the inscription "DOMIN," which could be part of the Marian Annunciation or of other religious text (cat. 343 and 344).

Some of these tiles, such as those bearing Old Testament scenes and characters, Christological scenes, and representations of simple crosses, might be generally interpreted as having been produced under the impact of the Reformation. Iconography alone is not a straight-forward indication of religious orientation, however, since several groups of images were common to both Catholic and Protestant believers (the Old Testament ones, the Christological, the symbolic). Even more, examples from other

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<sup>354</sup> Sabján, Végh 2003.

<sup>355</sup> Bikić, 1994-1995, 99.

arts indicate that the Protestants adopted and re-used pre-Reformation images.<sup>356</sup> A more precise identification of the religious identity of the producers or users of sixteen-century religious tiles in Hungary will be discussed on a case-to-case basis where contextual information is available.

Some tiles, though, are more clearly related to the new religious ideas, such as the items inspired by Reformation prints. One such print was created in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, depicting the Twelve Heroes of the Old Testament. The tile workshops in Nürnberg first made the transfer of images from prints to tiles, creating stove tiles after this particular print derived from the Book of Judges between 1531 and 1540. The popular print showed the characters as busts, identified by inscriptions and accompanied by verses composed by Hans Sachs. The print was created in 1531 by a master, possibly also from Nürnberg. Tiles decorated with these images were soon copied in the entire German-speaking area.<sup>357</sup> Starting with Joshua and ending with Antiochus, the tiles depicted the busts of these characters framed by architectural frames and accompanied by inscriptions with names and bible passages.<sup>358</sup> Similar tiles inspired by the print have been found in Bohemia (Ezekiel, Judas Maccabeus, Joshua, Aza, David, Samson, Jephthah)<sup>359</sup> and the Austrian space (one tile dated 1540 by an inscription)<sup>360</sup> while others have been produced and used as far afield as the Scandinavian Peninsula (Saul, Ezekiel, David).<sup>361</sup>

In Hungary, such inscriptions accompany the portraits of Jephthah, Solomon, David, Nebuchadnezzar, and Jonathan. Tiles featuring Jephthah were the most popular; they have been found on six sites: fortifications or castles in Szerencs (dated 1553 by the inscription – cat. 94), Sariš (dated 1553 – cat. 323), Füzér (1553 – cat. 53), Eger (fragment – cat. 45), and Boldogkő, (cat. 1) and in an urban house in Košice (dated 1551 or 1571 – cat. 290). The motif was fairly popular in Hungary and repeatedly copied around the middle of the sixteenth century. On tiles it was used mostly in castles and fortifications, but also in a town house owned by burger Tivadat Pausz, a glass-maker.<sup>362</sup> The maximum distance between these sites is 248 kilometers, indicating that the motif was popular enough to be transmitted over long distances. According to the preserved inscriptions, the first translation of the image on tiles in Hungary was made 20 or 22 years after the creation of the print that inspired it.

<sup>356</sup> Such as the woodcuts depicting the Martyrdom of the Twelve Apostles, for example, created by Lucas Cranach around 1506 and re-printed in 1548; Merback, 1998.

<sup>357</sup> Franz, 1969, 79-80, fig. 29; Holl, 1993, 267.

<sup>358</sup> Holl, 1993, 274, fig. 36; Franz, 1969, fig. 191-193.

<sup>359</sup> Brych, 2004, 149-154.

<sup>360</sup> Holl, 1993, 274, fig. 37.

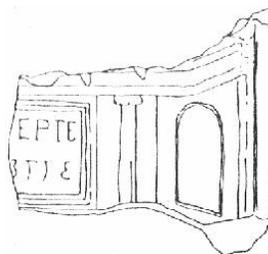
<sup>361</sup> *Pots and Princes*, 2007, 213, cat. 169-171.

<sup>362</sup> Other tiles with figures have been found on the site, but they were unfortunately lost during the world wars. Holl, 1993, 267, note 55.

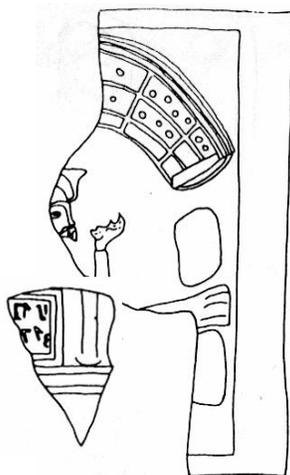
Besides Jephthah, Jonathan and David are among the twelve heroes of Israel depicted on tiles in Hungary. A tile decorated with the portrait of Jonathan was discovered in the castle of Hegyhátszentmárton (cat. 59). The existing scholarly literature mentions in Sariš tiles with the inscriptions “DAVID” and “NABUCHODNOZOR,” which were probably created according to the same pattern (cat. 325 and 326). Unlike David, Nebuchadnezzar was not among the twelve Old Testament characters depicted in the print. Neither was Solomon, but a tile showing him was created in the same fashion, with the inscription “SALAMON” (Sariš – cat. 324).



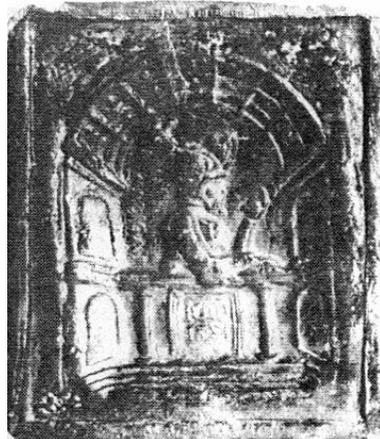
Jephthah (Sariš)



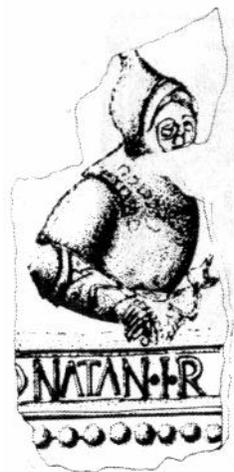
Jephthah (Szerencs)



Jephthah (Füzér)



Jephthah (Košice)



Jonathan (Hegyhátszentmárton)



Jephthah and Jonathan (1531 print)



Solomon (Sariš)

Fig. 8.2. Tiles and prints depicting the Twelve Heroes of Israel.

These biblical heroes, rendered in profile, are surrounded by elaborate architectural settings consisting of a semi-circular coffer vault rendered in perspective and a type of balcony with balusters flanking a plaque with text. The tiles from Sariš and Košice depicting Jephthah also contain a vertical inscription in the background, *iudicium* and on the plaque *iepte 1553* and “*iepd 1571[?]*” respectively. The year is a *post quem* element of dating, so the tiles date to the second half – end of the sixteenth century. The existence of two different dates clearly indicates that in some cases the inscriptions were modified during the copying of images and tiles. Jephthah (warrior and judge over Israel, who sacrificed his own virgin daughter to God: Judges 11) and Jonathan (friend of King David and his second in command: Samuel 14, 18, 20, 23, 31) are depicted in full armor, while King Solomon wears a crown and holds a cross-surmounted orb as symbols of his royal dignity. One should note that in one

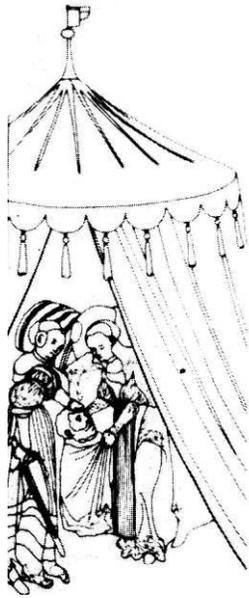
place, the castle of Sariš, these tiles formed a series, since four different depictions (of Jephthah, Solomon, David, and Nebuchadnezzar) were found together. The owners of the castle changed often during the sixteenth century and these tiles have not yet been attributed to any specific reconstruction project.

In the typical medieval representations, saints are identified according to their attributes and occasional name tags came to confirm the viewer's previous knowledge of their stories and appearance. The Reformation images on tiles reflect a new interest in Old Testament characters less familiar to the viewers. The addition of inscriptions might therefore have been intended to instruct the followers of the new faith and to help them identify the new characters and scenes.

An unglazed stove tile (cat. 188) from the castle of the Bánffys in Sîncrai (Transylvania) was probably inspired by a woodcut signed by Lucas Cranach the Elder, dated 1531.<sup>363</sup> The scene depicted is Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes in a tent. On tiles, unlike on the print, the scene is framed by a semicircular arch. The tile has close analogies in the same province, in Cluj (cat. 133) and Vințu de Jos (cat. 203). The first fragment was discovered in an urban tile workshop beside tiles with various other representations, such as St. Ladislav and a mold depicting the Annunciation, while the latter fragments, coming from at least three identical tiles, were discovered among the ruins of the castle of George Martinuzzi in Vințu de Jos. One does not know the religion of the pottery master from Cluj and in any case the production would have fitted the demands of the market. George Martinuzzi (1482-1515) was a Pauline monk who became bishop of Oradea, a cardinal, and governor of Transylvania. He certainly maintained his Catholic faith, so the Old Testament scene inspired by the Renaissance print was used in Vințu de Jos in a Catholic context. Another reportedly similar tile was found somewhere in Transylvania and is preserved in the photo collection of the Applied Arts Museum in Budapest (cat. 215).

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<sup>363</sup> Holl, 1993, 291-292.



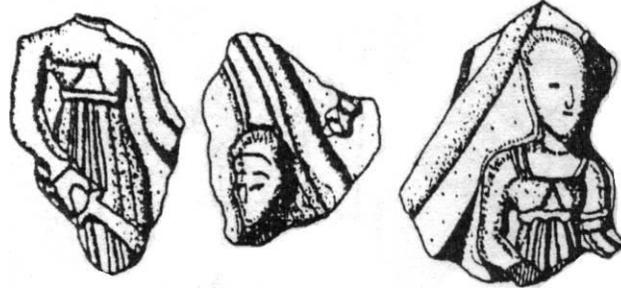
Woodcut, Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1531



Sîncrai



Cluj



Vințu de Jos

Fig. 8.3. Tiles and print depicting Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes.

A tile decorated with the sacrifice of Abraham, dated 1562, was found in the castle of Füzér (cat. 52). The scene is again placed between columns and under a semicircular arch, and bears underneath the inscription “ABRAHAMISAK.” Two fragments of tiles decorated with a portrait of Jephthah, dated 1553, have also been found on the site. The discovery of fragments from several tiles decorated with these Old Testament scenes indicates that the owners of the castle were probably interested in compiling stoves with Old-Testament representations reflecting the new Renaissance taste and probably also the new religious ideas. In 1389 the castle was in the possession of the palatine line of the Perényis, who owned it in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the first half of the sixteenth century it was owned by Péter Perényi, a known Protestant, while the Renaissance reconstructions were made by his son Gábor, a devoted Lutheran, in 1560. In the case of Füzér, therefore, it can be almost

certainly affirmed that stove tiles reflecting the growing popularity of Renaissance images and of Old Testament scenes and characters were used in a Protestant context.



Fig. 8.4. Drawing of tile depicting the Sacrifice of Abraham, discovered in Füzér.

The Crucifixion is one of the religious scenes most favored by the Reformation. A sixteenth-century tile depicting Jesus on a cross bearing the inscription “INRI” was found in the barbican of the urban castle in Banská Bystrica (cat. 244). Unlike the depictions of the Crucifixion on Lutheran altars, where the scene was accompanied by rather long inscriptions and given ample development,<sup>364</sup> this tile only features the short inscription placed above the Savior’s head on the cross. It is true that lengthy inscriptions were rendered with difficulty on stove tiles, but in this particular case there is not sufficient proof (especially since it was published without a reproduction) that the tile can be delegated with certainty to the influence of the Reformation.

Moses features on several fragments from the sixteenth and early seventeenth century from Cluj-Mănăştur (cat. 135 and 136) and on a tile from Făgăraş (cat. 161). The first find context, now part of the city of Cluj-Napoca in Transylvania, was a Benedictine monastery used by the Jesuits between 1579 and 1773. The representation can be linked with enough certainty to Catholic use. The second is a castle where rich tile material has been recovered. The tile under discussion probably comes from the reconstructions of Stephen Mailat, prince of Transylvania. He was a Romanian who adopted Catholicism and became a noble, owning, among other properties, the castle of Făgăraş between 1538 and 1551. The find sites, both in Transylvania, are located 186 kilometers apart. The two tiles show Moses and have similar characteristics, depicting the Old Testament character standing in front of the bronze snake on a pole and pointing to it with his right hand (Numbers 21). The details and especially the inscriptions, though, are different:

<sup>364</sup> Pettegree, 2002, 463.

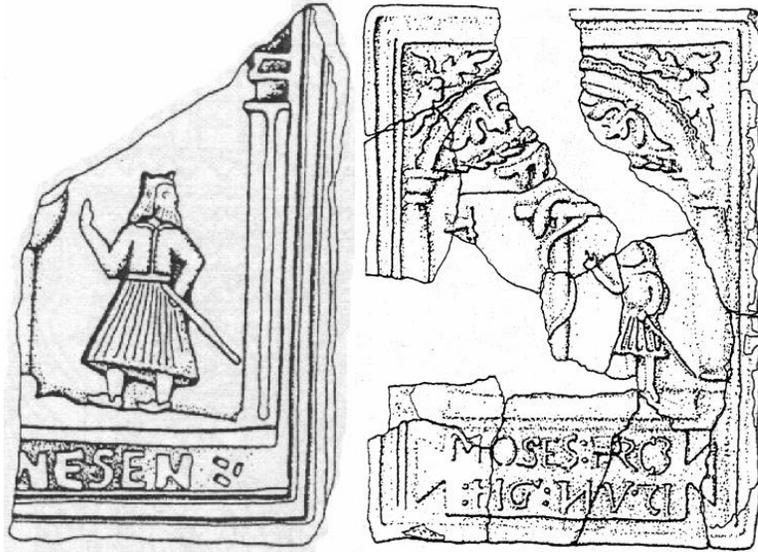


Fig. 8.5. Tiles depicting Moses and the Brazen Serpent, from Cluj-Mănăştur and Făgăraş.

On the tile from Cluj-Mănăştur Moses is depicted with horns, according to the usual iconographical “convention”. Usually explained as the result of an error in Jerome’s Vulgate, the representation of Moses with horns that started in the eleventh century is in fact ambivalent, since horns were signs of honor and power in Antiquity but in the late medieval period also acquired negative connotations.<sup>365</sup> Several parts of words can be seen on the fragments: *nessen* and *do erso verb*. They have not yet received a satisfactory explanation, but the small dimensions of the fragments prevent better reconstructions. The tile from Făgăraş can be completed due to the large number of fragments recovered from the site, coming from 7 or 8 individual tiles. On both sides of a Tau cross with a serpent coiled on it, rising from the groin of a fallen character, one can see Moses with a sword by his belt pointing towards the cross and a war tent. The biblical episode narrates how God sent numerous poisonous snakes to earth and they bit the Israelites, so Moses, following divine instructions, raised one such snake on a pole and if people would look at it and they would live. The inscription, placed in a Roman *tabula ansata* underneath the representation, probably reads: MOSES:ERC3:HG:NV:21.<sup>366</sup> The passages talking about Moses’ staff turned into a snake and the raising of the bronze snake on the pole are to be found in several places in the Bible: Exodus 4:3, II Kings 18:4 and Numbers 21. The strange initials probably stand for these verses, but on the inscription only the final letters, “NV”, can be relatively certainly ascribed to the Book of Numbers (*Numeri*). Considering the relatively large number of panel and corner tiles decorated with this representation, one may presume that they once formed an important part of a Renaissance stove. Both contexts of use

<sup>365</sup> Mellinkoff, 1970.

<sup>366</sup> H. Klusch offers a different and rather strange reading: MOSE SERP(ens) RIG(idus) L(iber) IV, 21; Klusch, 1999, 44.

(Cluj-Mănăştur and Făgăraş) point to Catholic milieus, despite the fact that the brazen serpent was certainly a Reformation motive promoted by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop.<sup>367</sup> In any case, the depiction of the scene was very new in the sixteenth century, and the inscription referring to the Biblical passages that explained it might have been intended to ease its correct identification.

The longest German inscription can be found on a tile from the castle in Červený Kameň (cat. 267). It is dated to the sixteenth century and several green glazed fragments from at least 2 identical large tiles have been discovered at the site. The image depicts Jesus preaching in the foreground; a peasant in a ploughed field in front of a tower on a mountain peak can be seen in the background. The representation is enclosed under a slightly pointed arch and two columns. Under the image a cartouche with text refers to the parable of the sower (Matthew 13) that talks about the predisposition of souls to receive Christian teachings. I have discussed the inscription and its function in Chapter 7.



Fig. 8.6. Tiles from Červený Kameň illustrating the Parable of the Sower.

The Renaissance elements (the semicircular arch, the free movement of figures, their draping, and the realistic trees), the good quality of execution, the long inscription, and the uniqueness of the tile indicate that it is probably an item imported from a German area. After 1535 the castle of Červený Kameň was rebuilt in Renaissance style by the Fugger family (who were convinced Catholics and had strong economic connections across Europe and especially in their German homeland) and it passed to

<sup>367</sup> Ehresmann, 1966-1967.

the Pálffys in 1570. Another sixteenth-century tile was discovered in Červený Kameň, decorated with the representation of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel (cat. 268). The two brothers are depicted beside an altar with grain burning on it and sheep waiting to be sacrificed (Genesis 4: 4-5). The scene is also framed by a Renaissance architectural frame consisting of a semicircular arch supported by columns:



Fig. 8.7. Tile from Červený Kameň depicting Cain and Abel.

It seems therefore that these two tiles heated and decorated the interiors of a Catholic household, that of the rich Fuggers, who, despite being German, preserved their religious beliefs.

Other Old Testament tiles dated to the sixteenth century include 10 items decorated with Samson fighting the lion (from Transylvania); 2 tiles with Moses; 6 tiles with Judith and Holofernes; 4 tiles with Adam and Eve; another tile with the sacrifice of Cain and Abel; one with the sacrifice of Abraham; one with David and Goliath; one tile with Joab and Amasa; and one tile with Jacob's ladder. Most were created in Renaissance style, with characters and scenes surrounded by architectural frames or vegetal medallions.

Samson fighting the lion seems to have been the most popular in Transylvania and two related groups of tiles decorated with the scene come from this province. They were all created in a simplified and not very talented manner. The first group, of six directly related tiles, was discovered in Bodogaia (a stray find – cat. 125), a village house from Cechești (cat. 127), Rugănești (a stray find – cat. 187), the cellar of a late medieval market town house (cat. 145), and a manor house in Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 151). One more tile is preserved in the Museum in Odorheiu Secuiesc (cat. 213). All these items are probably unglazed and were used in lower social contexts in the Szekler region of Transylvania. Potters

and workshops are attested in Cristuru Secuiesc<sup>368</sup> during this period, and the production center of this group of stove tiles seems to have been located there. The iconography is fully Renaissance, with the main scene under a semicircular arch decorated with human masks in the corners. Samson, an older vigorous man with a beard and moustache, wears a small cap and a costume with short sleeves, collar, and buttons. Bodogaia, Cechești, and Rugănești are all villages around Cristuru Secuiesc, while Odorheiu Secuiesc is 25 kilometers away. The transmission of this motif is therefore restricted to a small geographic area in the Szekler region of south-eastern Transylvania where the Lutheran Reformation did not have a great impact but Calvinism was successful after the 1540s. The tiles might therefore have been created in the second half of the sixteenth century and used by Calvinists.

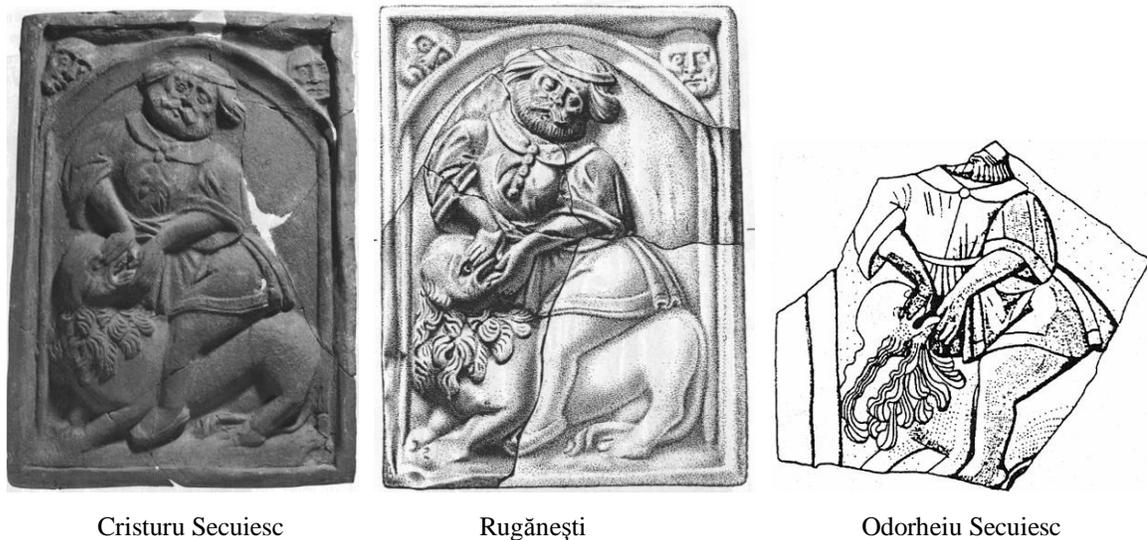


Fig. 8.8. Group of directly related tiles depicting Samson fighting the lion.

The second group from Transylvania is composed of indirectly related tiles. The original seems to be an item discovered at Roșia (cat. 183). Samson is depicted in full armor, opening the mouth of the lion and leaning his left bent leg on the animal's back. The upper part of the tile shows an arch and two heraldic shields in the corners, one inscribed with a star. A ribbon attached to the knight's hair seems to blow in the wind. The excavators considered the find context to have been the house of a Saxon leader,<sup>369</sup> but it might have been a workshop as well (considering the discovery of a tile mold). Similar variants have been found in the castle in Vințu de Jos (cat. 199) and in a manor house in Cristuru Secuiesc (cat. 150). There are significant differences among these tiles: the image is flipped horizontally, the arch and the shields have disappeared, and the background is decorated with lines that

<sup>368</sup> Benkő, Ughy, 1984.

<sup>369</sup> Năgler, 1967.

suggest wings (inconsistent with the scene), or a mantle. In Vințu de Jos, the fragments, both unglazed and with green glaze, suggest the existence of a minimum of 10 and maximum of 12 tiles, some with slight differences indicating the use of different molds. In the manor house in Cristuru Secuiesc the fragments belonged to at least 5 identical unglazed tiles. Another variant, unglazed, reversed, and with the background more suggestive of vegetal decoration, is preserved in the collection of the History Museum in Sighișoara (cat. 209). An even smaller fragment was discovered in the ruins of the manor house from Racoșul de Jos (cat. 181), strongly resembling the tile from Sighișoara because of Samson's curly haircut and the vegetal decoration in the background. Despite the fact that the dimensions of all these tiles are known, one cannot decide which inspired the other because they are not copies but imitations; the main motif was changed (the arch and coats of arms were removed, the lion is taller) and borders have been added.

As for the religious contexts in which this group of tiles was used, the house in Roșia might have functioned as a manor house owned by a Saxon leader (so probably Lutheran) or as a workshop because several types of tiles were found there and also a mold (in which case the religion of the owner is not very relevant); if the tile from the Museum in Sighișoara was found in the same German city then it might have been used in a Lutheran household; in Vințu de Jos it is known that the owner was George Martinuzzi, a Catholic prelate, while the manor house in Racoș was owned in the fifteenth and sixteenth century by the Sükösd family until it was destroyed by a fire in 1624. In the sixteenth century the Sükösds were probably Protestant. This case is particularly relevant for showing that stove tile motifs were primarily a matter of fashion and availability, circulating freely across ethnic and confessional borders.



Roșia



Vințu de Jos



Cristuru Secuiesc



Sighișoara



Racoșul de Jos

Fig. 8.9. Group of directly related tiles depicting Samson fighting the lion.

A previously unidentified scene was found on a stove tile discovered among the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Kľaštorisko (cat. 288). The site has revealed one of the richest and most valuable collections of medieval stove tiles in Hungary. The tile depicting Joab and Amasa is one of the few polychrome glazed tiles on the site and also one of the few containing Renaissance architectural elements and costumes. It can probably be dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Joab, King David's nephew and commander of the army, was replaced by Amasa as captain, and killed him by

pretending to grab him by the beard to kiss him (2 Samuel 20:9).<sup>370</sup> Despite fitting the aesthetic taste of the time and the subject matter promoted by the Reformation, the discovery context of this particular tile indicates that it was used in a non-Protestant context:



Fig. 8.10. Tile from Kľaštorisko depicting Joab and Amasa.

Some find sites revealed several sixteenth-century tiles together: a series of four tiles decorated with scenes from the life of Christ from Esztergom, dated 1595-1605; two crosses and vegetal decoration in Sárospatak from around 1530; Jesus preaching accompanied by a German inscription and Cain and Abel from the fortification of Červený Kámeň; four tiles with Old Testament heroes with inscriptions in the castle of Sariš; Judith and Holofernes, Cain and Abel, and Moses in the fortification of Sintava; and Jephthah and Abraham and Isaak in the castle of Füzér. In these cases, it is likely that the intention of the owner was to have “up-to-date” stoves reflecting the new religious ideas and/or the Renaissance fashion. Three of the sites are castles and fortifications, indicating thus that the rich owners, those who most promoted the Reformation in Hungary, also surrounded themselves with the newly popular religious images. This is certainly the case of Füzér, owned by the Lutheran Perényis, but in the case of the tiles from Esztergom, despite being decorated with subjects familiar to Protestant iconography and adopting the Renaissance style, the tiles are probably Catholic. A group of tile fragments decorated with New Testament scenes (Jesus judged by Pilate, Pilate washing his hands,

<sup>370</sup> 8-10: “While they were at the great rock in Gibeon, Amasa came to meet them. Joab was wearing his military tunic, and strapped over it at his waist was a belt with a dagger in its sheath. As he stepped forward, it dropped out of its sheath. Joab said to Amasa, ‘How are you, my brother?’ Then Joab took Amasa by the beard with his right hand to kiss him. Amasa was not on his guard against the dagger in Joab’s hand, and Joab plunged it into his belly, and his intestines spilled out on the ground.” ([http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?book\\_id=10&chapter=20](http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?book_id=10&chapter=20)).

Jesus and Thomas, Jesus and the Samaritan woman) have been discovered in the area of the cardinal's palace (cat. 48-51). The stove they once belonged to has been dated between 1595 and 1605, during a short period when the Christians recaptured the city from the Turks.<sup>371</sup> The castle was repaired in 1599 at the orders of Nicholas Pálffy, the military leader of the Habsburg army in control of the city. The context, therefore, can hardly be considered religious; the palace served as a residence for a noble military leader. It can also be assigned to a Catholic and not a Protestant user.

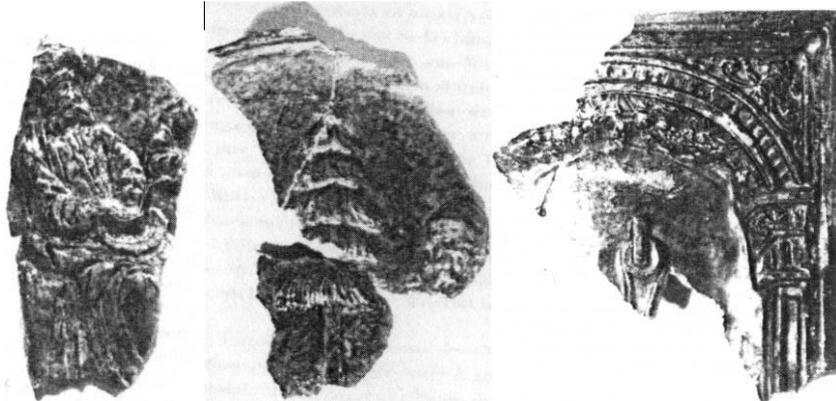


Fig. 8.11. Tile fragments from Esztergom decorated with scenes from Christ's life.

Two directly related tiles depicting Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well, different from the one in Esztergom, were found in an urban house in Bistrița (cat. 121) and in the castle of Făgăraș (cat. 160), both in Transylvania. In the first case, the house was built around 1500 by Andreas Beuchel, a former mayor and member of an important patrician family. In 1532 it was sold to a certain Christian Pomarius, notary, and in 1538 sold again to John the Mason. Most of the tiles, except the one under discussion, have been dated to around 1500, so this stove or stoves, certainly belonging to the Renaissance style, was/were presumably assembled at the orders of the house's first owner, Andreas Beuchel. It is not clear how long they were in use, and whether the later owners also used them, but the complex seems to suggest the existence of stoves commissioned by a Catholic believer showing representations of saints (Christopher, Sebastian, Catherine of Alexandria) and New Testament scenes. The tile from Făgăraș probably dates from the time when the castle was owned by the Catholic prince of Transylvania, Stephen Mailat. Considering these contexts, one can note that the scene of Jesus and the Samaritan woman was used consistently in the sixteenth-century in interiors owned by Catholics.

Another Catholic representation can be seen on a tile from the manor house of the Andrásy family from Sâncrăieni (cat. 189). This sixteen-century tile depicts the monogram of Jesus, "IHS" (the first letters of Christ's name, spelled IHESUS, sometimes interpreted as standing for *Jesus hominum*

<sup>371</sup> Holl, 1993, 287-289, fig. 62-64.

*Salvator*), written backwards and having the central “h” turned into a cross in a central medallion surrounded with vegetal elements and a geometric frame. Remains from at least three unglazed tiles decorated with this motif have been discovered on the site and dated to the sixteenth century. The monogram was promoted by the Franciscans and then became the emblem of the Jesuits. Crown tiles inscribed with the same monogram have been discovered in Poland<sup>372</sup> and in Bohemia.<sup>373</sup>

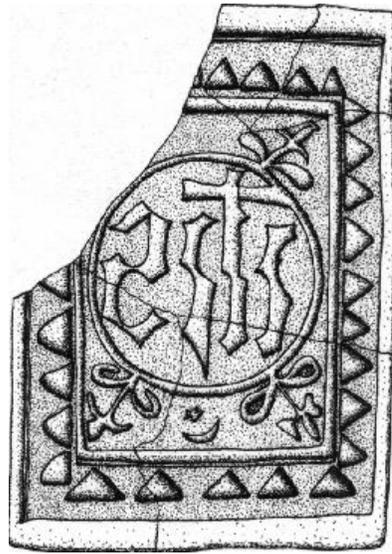


Fig. 8.12. Tile from Sâncrăieni, containing a central medallion with Christ’s monogram IHS.

Other representations were not included among the religious images, but they are worth discussing in this context. Under the impact of the Reformation in Europe, a new genre of tile imagery was created, namely, portraits of princes and emperors that favored the spread of the new ideas. Besides Luther, European tiles in this period depicted other reformers, evangelical princes, humanists, and emperors. A sixteen-century tile from the city castle in Kežmarok has been published as representing Luther, or maybe a donor.<sup>374</sup> It shows the bust of a bearded man in profile, holding a chalice, framed by an architectural setting that also contains a coat of arms on the lower part. According to the Renaissance look of the tile, and more specifically to the semi-circular arch framing the male character, one might indeed link the item to the portrait tiles influenced by the Reformation. Luther is usually shown beardless and holding a book, thus another character better fits the description, having a long pointed beard, a flat cap, and holding a chalice: Emperor Charles V (1500-1558). A good

<sup>372</sup> Będziemyśl: Gruszczyńska, Targorńska, 1994, 119, fig. 29; Czopek, 2005, 70, fig. 7.6.1.1. Rzeszów and Będziemyśl: Lubelczyk, 2005, 201, plate 11, fig. 1, fig. 5.

<sup>373</sup> Brych, 2004, 164, cat. 390.

<sup>374</sup> Polla, 1970, 128, 133, fig. 4.1; Polla, 1971, 61, 113, fig. 98.2, plate LVII; Gyuricza, 1992, 20, fig. V; Holl, 1993, 277, fig. 44.

analogy can be seen on a tile found in the Church of St. Nicholas in Anklam, in Scandinavia.<sup>375</sup> Three portrait tiles with similar frames, depicting the emperor, Mary of Saxony - duchess of Pomerania, and the Madonna, have been discovered together. Considering the image of the Virgin and that of Charles V, who condemned Luther and was actively involved in the support of the Inquisition, one can interpret the finds as reflecting the Catholic taste of the late sixteenth century. The use of the same iconographic types (portraits of rulers under Renaissance arches) on both Catholic and Protestant stoves indicates that such images were widely popular and fashionable and they served to convey different religious beliefs.



Kežmarok

Anklam

Fig. 8.13. Tiles with the portrait of Emperor Charles V.

If the tiles discussed previously could fit the taste of both Catholics and Protestants, other items decorated with images of saints are more problematic. Among the saints that maintained their popularity in this period one can count St. George (15 tiles out of which 2 with the inscription “S GEORGIUS”), the Holy Kings of Hungary (at least 7 tiles with Ladislav on horseback, three with Ladislav and the Cuman, two with Ladislav and Emeric together, one with Emeric alone), the Pelican in her Piety (on 5 tiles; the motif could have maintained its popularity due to its allegorical character), the Archangel Michael slaying the dragon, St. Martin, and St. Christopher, each appearing once on tiles from this period in Hungary. There are also other representations, such as the Annunciation or an unidentified “woman and evangelists.” Some cults are known to have retained their popular appeal

<sup>375</sup> Hoffmann, 2007, 152, fig. 7.

even after the spread of the Reformation, such as that of St. George and that of the Holy Kings of Hungary. The first can be explained through its great popularity and knightly appeal, and the latter due to its national character. Both cults might have been maintained in order to grant protection for the country and its people against the Turkish menace or simply as national and knightly symbols.

Even the most popular medieval saints, when represented in the sixteenth century, acquired new features. The style is that of the Renaissance (the late Renaissance that persisted in Central and Eastern Europe in the decorative arts until the seventeenth century), sometimes there are inscriptions, and other additions to the images. The intention of the artists also changed during the Renaissance; the new aim was to depict events as if seen by a witness. Imaginative identification, as promoted by the popular preachers since the thirteenth century in Western Europe, was aided by the inclusion of familiar elements such as Renaissance architectural borders, items of interior design, and fashionable costumes.<sup>376</sup> The new knowledge of rendering the perspective had the same role. In wall painting, the Renaissance brought a continuity of the image that ceased to be divided and confined in frames surrounding each scene. A tile from the castle of Strečno for example is decorated with a representation of St. Christopher, but instead of the usual medieval details (such as the monk with the lamp and the buildings), one finds the accent placed on creatures of the waters, depicted by the saint's feet (cat. 340). Not only are there fish but also a couple of half-human creatures, probably a siren and a merman. The new elements indicate a raised interest in the natural sciences and a simplification of the image that no longer renders various episodes but one single moment of the saint's vita.

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<sup>376</sup> Gombrich, 2000, 35-40.



Fig. 8.14. Tile from Strečno decorated with the image of St. Christopher.

### Conclusions

The sixteenth century marks a change in the iconography of tiles in general. The frequency of religious representations decreased, while other motifs become more popular, such as vegetal and geometric decorations (“diamond patterns” for example), allegories, lay scenes, and portraits in architectural frames.<sup>377</sup> Among the religious tiles still produced, the number of Old Testament scenes was much greater than in the previous centuries. There are also numerous other representations that can be linked either to Protestant contexts or to the new accent and fashion triggered by the Reformation, such as those inspired from the life of Christ. Inscriptions were added more frequently on religious tiles than earlier. Another change was the increased use of prints as models for stove tiles. Popular prints circulated much more in the sixteenth century, mostly due to the increased use of the medium in Protestant propaganda. A significant number of tiles (10) were copied or inspired by a 1531 print depicting the 12 Heroes of the Old Testament. Another tile, depicting Judith cutting the head of Holofernes, was inspired by another 1531 print signed by Cranach. The dates inscribed on these tiles (1553, 1551 or 1571) indicate the receptivity of tile iconography to the new religious ideas and fashion.

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<sup>377</sup> Gyuricza, 1992; Holl, 1993.

These examples stand as clear evidence for the fact that some 30 years after the start of the Reformation it already influenced stove tiles in Hungary.

Considering the social and religious contexts where these sixteenth-century religious tiles were used in Hungary one can note several paradoxical cases. Some of the Old Testament scenes created in a Renaissance style that one would expect to be more fashionable among Protestants were in fact used by Catholics in their interiors (such as Judith and Holofernes after Cranach's print of 1531 in Vințu de Jos, Moses and the brazen serpent in the Jesuit monastery of Cluj-Mănăștur and the castle in Făgăraș, Cain and Abel in the Fuggers' castle in Červený Kameň, Joab and Amasa in the Carthusian monastery in Klaštorskó). In other cases the iconography of the tiles and the contexts of their use is consistent with the general trends, such as the tiles with the portrait of Jephthah from the print of 1531 and the tiles with Abraham and Isaac in Fúzer. Sometimes similar tiles were used in both Catholic and Protestant contexts, such as Samson killing the lion. One also notes the continuous, but somehow diminished and stylistically upgraded use of Catholic representations, such as the saints and Christ's monogram. Among the saintly representations on tiles in the sixteenth century, although an in-depth analysis of all contexts is needed, it is known for example that the motif of St. Ladislav on horseback, fashionable at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century was still being produced in 1540. A tile from Oradea (with an unknown place of discovery and now lost) depicts the same motif with an added border that contains an inscription with the date. Among the tiles found in workshops, those in Cluj and maybe Roșia were decorated with mixed images (saints and possibly Protestant representations). This can be explained by the fact that potters, indifferent to religion, might have produced according to the demand and did not select their buyers according to religion.

These conclusions seem to suggest that even if tile iconography changed in the sixteenth century in Hungary, there was no sudden and, more importantly, no clear-cut reception and use of certain images by adherents with certain religious orientations. The general changes, such as the increased proportion of Old Testament representations, might have been due to the impact of the Reformation, but tiles also obeyed the laws of fashion so Catholics adopted the new products. An interesting case that testifies to the adaptation of Protestant iconography to Catholic needs is the tile from Kežmarok that depicts Emperor Charles V in the fashion of the Reformed leaders and princes (in bust under a Renaissance arch).

The sixteenth century is an essential period in the study of the development of stove tile iconography. Changes in this field are more difficult to research in Hungary since there the situation is further complicated by the division of the kingdom under the Turkish and Habsburg rule and by the coexistence of numerous ethnic groups (Hungarians, Germans, Romanians, Szeklers, Slavs, not to

mention Jews and Gypsies) and numerous religious orientations (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Orthodox, and others) Further studies must analyze in depth, on a case-to-case basis, the discovery contexts of all sixteen-century stove tiles and correlate the conclusions with the general evolution of the minor arts in the region.

## CHAPTER 9. Possible Functions of Images on Stove Tiles

Decorated medieval stove tiles are the most important source in research on images that medieval people saw every day in their homes or in public interiors they visited. Before the introduction of prints, tiles, produced and reproduced mechanically, were carriers of the only images available on a wide social scale in Central and Eastern Europe. In the absence of other, more expensive, artistic representations such as wall paintings or tapestries, especially in lower social-status homes, decorated stoves must have been the most important collections of images available in domestic and public interiors. The representations on tiles were focal points of interest; both inhabitants and visitors saw them, probably admiring and commenting upon them. When used in public spaces, such as town halls, they could have been expressions of the values and identity of the community, their iconography decided upon by town officials. In private interiors, they were indicative of the prestige and identity of their owners. In reconstructing the possible functions of such images, in their context of use, one needs to start from the case-to-case examples studied here and refer to general information on the history of the sites where the respective tiles were once used and on medieval mentality in general. Despite the fact that these items are almost always discovered in secondary archaeological positions, not as standing or collapsed stoves but as fill material or debris, one can still partially reconstruct their context of use according to the type of building they were used in. The information on the geographical position, the social, ethnic, private/semi-private or public status of such buildings is crucial. Nevertheless, such information is sometimes missing, either because it was simply not published, as in older archaeological publications, or because it is not known, as in the case of stray finds or museum items with no data on their provenience. Starting from whatever data is available, I will also refer to several theories of response and reception of images in the late Middle Ages, in order to identify the possible functions of religious representations on stove tiles.

The topic of image function has a solid bibliography,<sup>378</sup> but it has never been applied thoroughly to stove tiles. These studies mostly analyze responses to devotional images, a topic benefiting from more abundant medieval sources. Tiles were not devotional objects and there are no written sources on how their medieval beholders reacted to them. Studies of stove tiles usually take a technical approach, either archaeological (concentrating on the dimensions and technique of the

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<sup>378</sup> Freedberg, 1989; Burke, 2001; Zika, 2003, chapter 14, "Writing the Visual into History: Changing Cultural Perceptions of Late Medieval and Reformation Germany;" Scribner, 2001, chapter 2, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late Medieval and Reformation Germany;" Baxandall, 1988, chapter 2, "The Period Eye;" Maguire, 1996.

material culture object) or art historical (identifying and grouping subjects, describing the images and searching for analogies). A large part of the tile material from Central and Eastern Europe has been published, so one needs to take the discussion further, starting with the theoretical questions related to the function of images.

There is certainly a need for a theoretical approach in discussing images as visual sources. Images are placed at the meeting point between the intention of the creator, the reception of the beholder, and the use given to them on the basis of this reception. As David Freedberg<sup>379</sup> defines it, response to an image incorporates the symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder. He differentiates between recurrent, irrational, and culturally contextualized responses to images. The first type, including psychological, behavioral, and critical responses encountered cross-culturally as non-intellectual reactions towards images, are usually not written about. The second type, including responses subject to repression, and those strongly embedded in certain cultural contexts, is better documented, more spectacular and easier to analyze. I will also refer here to the second type of response, since it will probably never be known which medieval viewers found images on tiles to be “pleasing”, “beautiful”, “ugly”, “arousing”, and so on.<sup>380</sup>

One needs to make one’s way through all the ambiguities and complexities in the meaning of images. First, there are always two levels of meaning in one and the same image: the meaning given to it by the artist (the intention) and that given by the viewer (the reception). Then, at the same time, there can be distinct receptions on the part of different beholders. The most intricate and detailed analysis is needed when the image itself is ambiguous and when no written evidence of the intention and the responses has been preserved (as is the case with religious images on stove tiles).

In the case of saintly depictions on tiles, one more issue needs to be considered, that of control over images. In theory, the Church should control and rectify the production of religious imagery according to its conformity to official dogma. In practice, stove tiles, like other minor arts and crafts objects, evaded such control precisely due to their decorative, technical, and popular character. One also needs to think of the degree of effective control and power of the Church in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. As elsewhere in Central and Eastern Europe, the control of the Church (indicated, among other things, by the density of parishes) was weaker than in Western Europe over the religious life and behavior of its believers.<sup>381</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Freedberg, 1989, iv.

<sup>380</sup> See, for example, my analysis on the possible interpretations of a sexual encounter depicted on a fifteenth-century stove tile from the town hall and mayor’s house in Banská Bystrica: Gruia, 2007a.

<sup>381</sup> Cevins, 2003, 23.

Peter Burke, talking about images as sources, considers that sacred images “express, form, and document views of the supernatural.”<sup>382</sup> This statement can also be applied to religious images devoid of sacred power, used outside the devotional sphere. Images of the saints, even in their lay, domestic, and decorative use, still reflect everyday attitudes towards the supernatural. The chronological changes in the iconography of such images reflect the evolution of mentalities and attitudes in certain contexts (see Chapter 8 on the impact of the Reformation on tile iconography).

Religious imagery on stove tiles, due to the peculiarities of the media, falls in the category of popular image tradition and popular religious behavior. Without entering the debate over the definition of popular culture,<sup>383</sup> I will adopt Burke’s paradigm which holds that popular culture is “a system of shared meanings, attitudes, and values and the symbolic forms (performances, artifacts) in which they are expressed and embodied.”<sup>384</sup> Stove tiles are material culture objects, artifacts which express, through the images they carry, “shared meanings, attitudes and values.” But as Scribner points out, culture is not uniform, static, nor homogenous; therefore particular interpretations must always be based on particular conditions and stratifications of culture.<sup>385</sup> Elements such as local conditions, social stratification, ethnicity, power, gender, official, and unofficial religion, all contribute to the shaping of different symbolic values appreciated in different images. Yet another difficulty in grasping the perception and response to images in a certain period of the past has been identified by Michael Baxandall.<sup>386</sup> He has used the term “the period eye” to refer to culturally relative pressures on perception typical of every culture that we today may have lost or altered. The interpretation of images must take into consideration education- and experience-related cultural codes of the period and not the contemporary “common sense” of the historian.

The last introductory remarks refer to the particularities of stove tiles as artistic products. First, there is the issue, already mentioned above, of the combination of the functional and the decorative which they embody. One has to think whether certain tiles were used for the images they carried or just because they fitted the required dimensions. Can one imply a conscious choice on the part of the buyer in the absence of textual evidence? An intentional iconographic program was not obvious in the few cases of reconstructable stoves. Most stoves combined tiles with different and often unconnected images. The original context is complicated even more by the practice of re-using or replacing tiles. Then there is the issue of the mass production of tiles. They were produced by impressing the same

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<sup>382</sup> Burke, 2001, chapter 3, “The Sacred and the Supernatural.”

<sup>383</sup> Scribner, 2001, chapter 1, “Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?”

<sup>384</sup> Scribner, 2001, 34.

<sup>385</sup> Scribner, 2001, 42.

<sup>386</sup> Baxandall, 1988.

motif from a mold several times, thus creating series. Stove tiles were then copied mechanically, re-using molds or creating them from existing tiles (see Chapter 1). The image was therefore spread in a great number of copies and sometimes over considerable distances. Such a large scale re/production of stove tiles, based on the same principles as early prints, made saintly images more easily available and reflected the success of and the fashion for certain depictions. Another issue raised by the use of stove tiles is their restriction to interior spaces. The degree of visibility of certain images depended on the position of tiles in the composition of the stove and also on the private, semi-private, or public character of the interior. Such stoves are attested in reception halls of palaces (the most exquisite and expensive), in private rooms of town houses, in the rooms of town halls and headquarters of mining enterprises, in cells and common rooms of monasteries, and in village houses. In each case, according to the available data, the analysis needs to take into consideration the intended audience. By whom were the tile and its decoration meant to be seen and whose identity was it meant to represent? A final iconographic remark refers to the limited surface of a tile, at most 50 x 60 cm, but usually less. Such a confined space for decoration favors iconic types of representations. Narrative images can either be squeezed onto one tile or, rarely, divided onto neighboring tiles (such as the Annunciation, possibly St. Ladislav chasing the Cuman, and the Adoration of the Magi). Iconic representations also created ensembles, such as tiles with Ladislav, Stephen, and Emeric or with each of the four evangelists' symbols.

In the end, stove tiles were artifacts produced for the market, regulated therefore by the laws of supply and demand. In order to sell they had to reflect the taste of the time, so they had to take into account the specific reception and use of the image and the artifact in that period. The offer (and the intention) therefore depended on the demand (and the reception). At the same time, the reverse is true. A buyer's freedom of choice was limited by the availability of motifs on tiles existing in a certain place at a certain time (in the potter's workshop or in the collection of molds of a traveling master). There must also have been special orders for tiles, where the buyer's options dictated (probably) the selection of motifs. In the case of tiles with St. George discovered in Nitra, the coat of arms of the city was included in the representation, beside the initial of its name, an "n" (cat. 306). This indicates that at least this type of tile, if not the entire lot, were the object of a specific order.

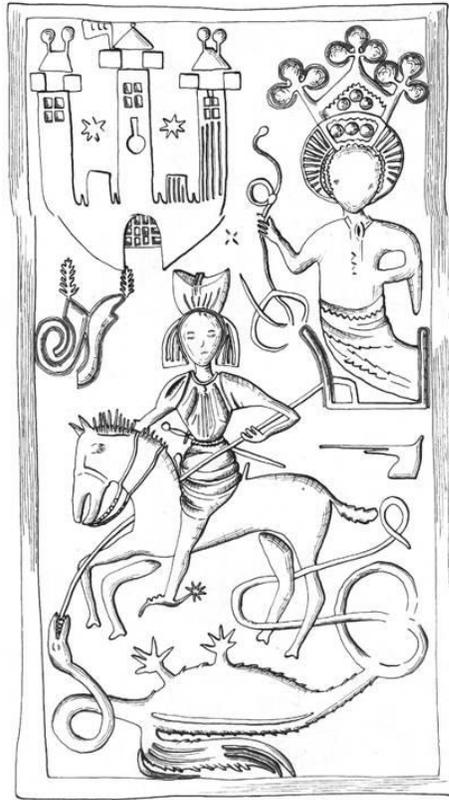


Fig. 9.1. Stove tile depicting St. George, with the coat of arms of the city of Nitra.

Based on the existing literature and applying general theories of image function and response, I have identified eight possible functions of religious images on stove tiles. Some have been discussed previously in studies dedicated to the subject, but others are newly applied here to the milieu. Still, such a classification is artificial in the sense that several functions and interpretations can apply simultaneously and each tile might have been “read” differently according to the familiarity of the beholder with the subject, his/her social status, religion, and ethnic identity. Just as Christian art in general always contained symbolic, narrative, and decorative functions at the same time,<sup>387</sup> reflecting the “period’s eye” and specific fashions and tastes, stove tiles would have fulfilled several functions simultaneously. I refer here to several aspects sometimes mentioned in the existing stove tile literature: the embedded decorative function of such items, their capacity to render symbolic information on the identity, status, or loyalties of the owner, the role of domestic images in visual literacy, their use as visual aids and as a means of edification, and last but not least, indications they reveal that religious images on stove tiles of the existence of certain cults or devotions in certain geographic areas.<sup>388</sup> The cases analyzed here sometimes evade these

<sup>387</sup> Gombrich, 2000, 24.

<sup>388</sup> Gruia, 2005b.

interpretations, however, and that is why I suggest that they might have fulfilled other functions as well.

### Decorative Function

Saints on stove tiles might have been regarded as purely decorative motifs. Transported as they were to different cultural and religious contexts, certain saints might no longer have been recognized. Such an interpretation might be applied to a group of tiles with St. Ladislav, excavated in Moldavia. A group of related tiles from Borniș and Bacău depict the holy king in a strange manner, holding a battle axe over his shoulder and wearing a large crown with pompons.

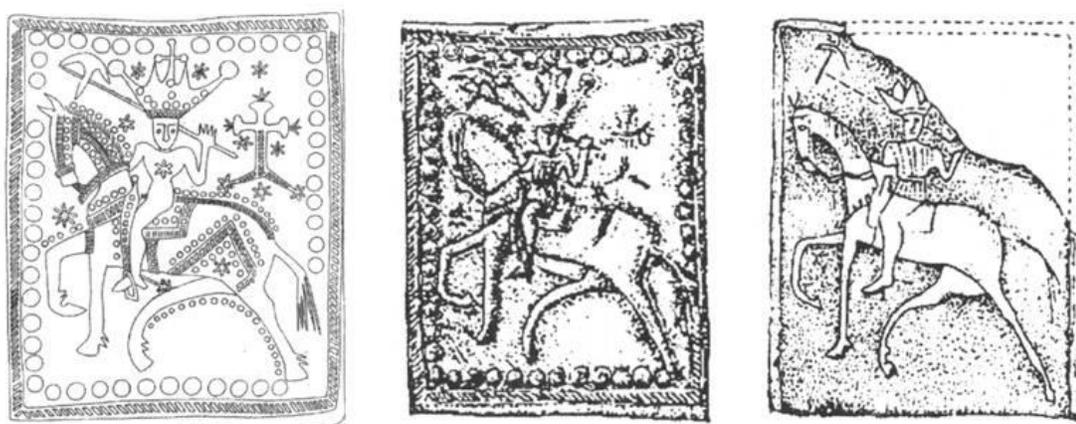


Fig. 9.2. Tiles with St. Ladislav on horseback (Borniș, Bacău, Bacău -Moldavia).

It is possible that, imported from Transylvania, this motif lost its original significance for the Moldavians, who regarded it simply as a decorative knight or even as an entertainer. The tiles from Borniș were part of a stove decorated with bagpipe players and this mounted character that stood in the interior of a boyar's rural residence.<sup>389</sup> Such an iconographic combination and the clumsy, decorative character of the image, which has added dots and crosses, indicate that the tiles depicted Ladislav as the original intention but they may have been viewed as representing entertainers. The other two similar tiles come from the princely court of Bacău, but no further details on their context have been published.

Because images on stove tiles always preserve their decorative function (although sometimes they embody other functions as well), they were subject to and reflected changes in fashion and taste. During the Middle Ages certain types of representations were fashionable, such as knightly images, heraldic devices, and also courtly images of dancing couples and musicians. The tiles with St. Ladislav discussed here might reflect such a chivalric and courtly decorative taste, devoid of deeper meaning.

<sup>389</sup> Popovici, 1998.

The close resemblance of the three tiles indicates that they are directly related. The motif was transmitted through copying and certain elements were added (or eliminated), such as the pompons on the crown, the border of decorative dots and the decoration of the horse's saddle. The fact that the Moldavians took the trouble to copy such a model indicates that it corresponded to local taste, even if the motif had lost the meaning it had in neighboring Transylvania.

Examples of tiles with an accented decorative character can also be found among tiles from Hungary. In Chapter 7 I discussed cases of decorations replacing inscriptions, imitating writing, indicating therefore that texts had an embedded decorative function as well. Other elements were certainly included solely for enhancing the visual effect of tiles and stoves: decorative borders consisting of torsades – a motif imitating a twisted rope (cat. 19, 63, 116, and 120); vegetal elements (cat. 121, 133, 153, 160, 210, and especially 338, on which the tulips and other plants are so elaborate that they might suggest a later dating of the tile to the seventeenth century); and geometric frames and decoration (cat. 6, 76, 170, 175, 179, 189, 274, or 301). Sometimes the same tiles combine geometric and vegetal decorations (cat. 84, 85, 280). Another item contains birds as decorative elements (cat. 300). Two more tiles have backgrounds imitating brocade (cat. 32 and 33). Numerous architectural elements were included in iconic representations where their only function is decorative, filling empty space, embellishing the image, and making it more fashionable through the depiction of up-to-date Gothic and Renaissance built elements. Various decorative effects could be obtained through the repetition of figures on the same tile (cat. 63) and through geometric motifs continuing on neighboring tiles (the same tile, cat. 63.)

### **Loyalty and Allegiance**

Saintly images on stove tiles could have been a symbolic way of honoring a superior. Maybe the owner of a certain interior and a certain stove chose to display images of a particular saint in his house as a means of showing allegiance to a senior with a known devotion for that saint. In the case of St. Ladislav, a holy king whose cult was started and promoted by the ruling dynasties,<sup>390</sup> the use of his image may have shown loyalty to the royal house, even more so in the case of tiles which probably depicted all three holy royal characters of the Hungarians: St. Stephen, St. Ladislav, and St. Emeric. The preference for these saints as standing kings in castles and fortifications and the popularity of their images as knights in lower social contexts is a paradox that might be explained chronologically by the transfer of the knightly ideal from the upper social contexts that created and nurtured it, down to lower

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<sup>390</sup> Klaniczay, 2002.

urban and even rural levels. Another explanation might lie in the function of such images, in the upper social contexts denoting more the loyalty of the respective nobles and urban magistrates to the royal power and in the lower ones making reference to a visual fashion of images reflecting knightly culture. In the case of lower-quality tiles decorated with these motifs used in urban and rural contexts, especially in Transylvania, one even wonders if the identity of the figures was recognized by their medieval beholders or they ended up as being perceived as symbols of royalty or knighthood in general. Despite the fact that Stephen, Emeric, and Ladislav were emblems and protectors of the nation, their popularity reached beyond the confines of the kingdom. Tiles with Ladislav have also been discovered in neighboring Moldavia and in Poland, either because of popular devotions and the preferences of their buyers and users or as indications of dynastic ties (see Chapter 6).

### **Status Symbol and Prestige**

Saintly images on stove tiles could also have had the function of status display. It would have been a statement to display a fashionable image, one that other people have just ordered or bought. A good quality, expensive tile, displayed in a semi-private or public interior would have been a good indication of the wealth and means of the owner. This could have been the case with tiles copied from originals used in the Buda palace or high-quality polychrome tiles, which were more expensive. The original production for and use in the royal palace of religious tiles included in the knightly stoves certainly lent those motifs a plus of desirability. One can even wonder whether the mere possession of the image of a king, the ultimate symbol of power and prestige, was not believed to transfer some of the prestige onto the possessor. Having images present of knightly saints such as George and Ladislav could also be interpreted as an intention to reflect the real or desired self-representation of the owner. The analysis of motif transmission on tiles (Chapter 4) indicates that it was the high-quality representations that were moved the furthest, an effort justified by their symbolic and/or economic value.

### **Identity**

Tiles decorated with heraldic representations are more clearly intended to identify and promote their owners. A coat of arms of the town was included in a depiction of St. George on the tile from Nitra discussed above. Tiles of this type have been discovered in a high-social status building in the center of the town that has been interpreted as being a rich burgher's house or perhaps the town hall.

One of the few tile owners who can be identified is George Martinuzzi, owner of the castle in Vințu de Jos (see the end of Chapter 2). Among the numerous tiles discovered on this site, one notices

two elaborate variants of St. George slaying the dragon (cat. 201 and 202), decorating a minimum of 16 individual tiles. The preference for the name-sake of the owner might indicate Martinuzzi's personal devotion to the saint whose name he bore and at the same time an expression of identity.

The Holy Kings of Hungary are mainly national Hungarian, royal, and Catholic saints. Anyone displaying their representation might have wanted to indicate thus his or her identity under any of these points. The fact that tiles decorated with their likenesses were scarcely used outside Hungary points to their national character. In Chapter 8 I analyze the impact of the Reformation on tile iconography. Motifs such as those copied from Reformation prints in the sixteenth century showing the Twelve Heroes of Israel were used by Protestants to display their new religious orientation (at least when contextual information is available, such as in Füzér, for example). It may equally be the case that Catholics continued to display, for the same reasons, images of the Virgin Mary and the saints.

### **Visual Literacy, Memory, and Edification**

The presence of an image in an interior would have attracted attention and raised discussion. Iconic images, and especially narrative ones, told a story that needed an explanation. In the case of neighboring tiles visually recounting how St. Ladislav rescued a Christian maiden and killed her Cuman abductor (see Chapter 6), several points could be made and examples of behavior given: how a knight should be brave and help women in distress, how pagans should be punished for attacking Christians, or spicy details could be added, such as those sometimes found in the textual and/or the visual tradition recounting the fact that the maiden was not the bishop's daughter that Ladislav thought her to be, that she begged him to spare the Cuman for whom she felt lusty love or that, on the contrary, it was she who delivered the final blow, cutting the pagan's sinew. In a family context, the legends of the saints would have been explained to the children, tiles depicting them being used as support for a type of domestic instruction in things religious. The images would have been "read" to them and deciphered as visual *exempla*.

As a means of communication, following different rules than the written word, "reading" images would have needed a certain level of instruction. Just as prints did later, the images on tiles would have been a source of knowledge.<sup>391</sup> As suggested in the analysis of blank scrolls and open books depicted on tiles (see Chapter 7), such elements might have been intended to trigger a response in the viewers, who had to "fill in the blanks." The fact that the Archangel Gabriel's scroll is often un-inscribed indicates that viewers were supposed to know and remember the words of the Marian

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<sup>391</sup> Gombrich, 2000, 126.

salutation. Through active participation in the completion of the image and through repetition, the medieval beholders of such stove tiles might have used them as tools for instruction. One can also imagine that actual inscriptions on tiles were read out to the illiterate who probably had the curiosity to find out the meaning of those letters and their connection to the image depicted. Texts were probably intended to identify and explain the accompanying representation, but the receptors might have reversed the relation, using the image to guess the meaning of the inscriptions.<sup>392</sup>

### **Protection and Magic**

My assumption is that the “marginal” images on stove tiles, or at least some of them, as well as the religious subjects, (also) had a protective function. They might have been perceived through the paradigms of popular religion (labeled as superstition by the Church, but shared by both elite and lower social groups) and household magic as one of the efficient ways to protect the home and the people inside it.

From a methodological point of view, I have gathered the most “extravagant” examples of stove tile imagery. The present selection of examples, the most striking and easiest to link to the common tradition of magic, is a methodological short-cut, in the sense that larger samples might nuance the interpretation and might lead to the inclusion of other images under the general label of folk apotropaions. One might take into consideration the possible apotropaic function of religious images on stove tiles, but in the absence of strong data supporting such a use it seems safer to start with the uses easier to grasp. Although “easier” does not mean “easy”, since several precautions must be taken in such an enterprise. First, the absence of written sources precisely on the beliefs and uses associated with stove tiles in the Late Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe must be acknowledged. Then, the fact that most of the indirect data come from analogies distant in either time (Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages or Early Modern Times) or space (Western Europe or the Byzantine Empire) requires the addition of methodological attention. Other supporting evidence comes from learned magic, which could have nevertheless shared or lent certain symbols to the common tradition of magic. Studies on the universal character of the belief in apotropaic powers<sup>393</sup> and the slow change of popular culture might, at least tentatively, justify the present attempt to articulate a theory not discussed so far in the scholarly literature.

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<sup>392</sup> For a general discussion of the level of literacy in Hungary in the late Middle Ages, when most nobles could not read and write because such knowledge was considered incompatible with their status and literacy was limited to clergy, notaries, and other state clerks, see Engel, 2006, 339-340.

<sup>393</sup> Suttlerin, 1989.

A brief terminological discussion is needed on the definition of the key concepts: popular culture, popular religion, and especially, folk magic. Such terms have long been debated in the scholarship, and my general impression is that they are best suited for negative definitions, by encompassing everything that is *not* official culture, official religion or learned magic.

Aron Gurevich<sup>394</sup> speaks of *medieval popular culture* as a world view which emerged from the complex and contradictory interaction between the reservoir of traditional folklore and Christianity. Although he deals with an earlier period, namely that of the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, one may take into consideration his observations on the term of *popular Christianity* or parish Christianity, related to magic, not so much pagan but typical for any agrarian society. Another related term is that of *popular magic*, basically different from the first in that magic “naturalizes” man, embedding him in the cosmos, while religion “humanizes” the world. But the two notions overlap in practice, since many Christian rituals can be interpreted as having a magical character, while magic includes reference to and belief in the saints and religious objects, but uses them as “shortcuts to God’s favors.”<sup>395</sup> Popular magic, labeled by the official church as superstition, i.e., false belief, is defined by Scribner<sup>396</sup> as being a form of cultural practice concerned with mastering the exigencies of material and daily life, crossing social boundaries but being based on popular, traditional and oral knowledge. The most thorough discussion of the different meanings and uses of the word “magic” itself and on the way to approach its multiple layers is to be found in Richard Kieckhefer’s seminal writings.<sup>397</sup> Instead of the “popular”-“elite” distinction he introduces the more nuanced and fluid distinction between the “common tradition” and various specialized traditions. The *common tradition of magic* is, in his definition, “not universal, not uniform, but sufficiently diffused that it cannot be assigned to any specific subgroup and expressive more of solidarity than of either hegemony or dissent.”<sup>398</sup> He gives the use of image magic as an example of such broad shared beliefs and practices. Transferred to the specific topic of stove tile imagery, the common tradition shared by various social groups (as indicated by the various social contexts of discovery and use) might have included the belief in apotropaic images meant to protect the stove, the house, and its inhabitants.

#### *Apotropaic principles*

The protection offered by images works in several ways. The process implies something (or someone) who needs protection, a harm-causing agent, and an image mediating or ensuring protection. The inhabitants of the interior space in which the stove was located were in need of protection. The evil

<sup>394</sup> Gurevich, 1992, xv.

<sup>395</sup> Gurevich, 1992, 80, 95-96.

<sup>396</sup> Scribner, 2001.

<sup>397</sup> Kieckhefer, 1989; Kieckhefer, 1994.

<sup>398</sup> Kieckhefer, 1994, 22.

agent was Satan or demons and they could harm people in ways related to the stove or not. One needs to see here the importance and the powerful symbolism of the hearth and fire, paralleled by its potentially destructive power. Harm could be done to the inhabitants through malfunctions of the stove, which might suffocate them with its smoke or set the entire house on fire.

There is (mostly ethnographic) literature discussing the symbolic charge of certain places in interior spaces that often bring about protective rituals. An essential element in the geography of the house, with its vital role but also with potential dangers, could the stove have been perceived as such an item that needed “insurance” against harm?

In order to answer such questions I suggest a threefold approach. Iconographical comparisons with depictions in other artistic milieu (on other functional/domestic material culture objects but also badges, jewels, charms and amulets, bells, etc.) might indicate which images or visual elements were or still are thought to have protective powers. Contextual data on daily life, popular religious beliefs, and domestic magic will help clarify the ways in which such protection functioned and the reasons why it was needed. Then the comparison of motifs from different geographical and religious contexts could indicate cultural and religious differences or similarities in image reception and use.

What are the basic principles of apotropaic magic? First of all, they are based on a belief in the omnipresence of demons, malefic spirits, the evil eye, or witchcraft that threaten people’s wellbeing. In the case of domestic magic, the inhabitants seek to protect mostly the liminal spaces, openings such as the threshold, windows, the door, or the chimney flue. Discussing the symbolic charge of certain places and the boundaries of interior spaces such as the threshold, the door, the window, and “God’s corner” (the place with the crucifix and devotional pictures were kept) Robert Scribner<sup>399</sup> makes reference to their liminal and ambiguous characteristics, which bring about protective rituals. He does not mention such rituals related to images, maybe due to his specific interest in the period of the Reformation, which, despite preserving some of the protective rituals, marked the shift of power from sacred images to sacred words and inscriptions.<sup>400</sup> Several medieval church benedictions related to houses and to new foundations have been preserved.<sup>401</sup> Other rituals for the protection of the house in general are attested in the pre-modern period in Europe.<sup>402</sup> A series of magic rituals are associated with another “sensitive” place of the semantically charged interior space, the hearth or the stove. In early modern Russia, as a measure against witchcraft, certain herbs were burnt in the stove or spells were cast over the chimney

<sup>399</sup> Scribner, 2001, “Symbolizing Boundaries: Defining Social Space in the Daily Life of Early Modern Germany:” 302-322.

<sup>400</sup> Scribner, 2001, “Magic and the Reformed Protestant Popular Culture in Germany:” 321-345.

<sup>401</sup> Franz, 1909, vol. 1, 604-610.

<sup>402</sup> Wilson, 2000.

and hearth by spreading ash from seven other stoves.<sup>403</sup> In eastern England, the hearth is among the places traditionally protected by charms.<sup>404</sup> On several Western European sites, ritual deposits have been discovered around fireplaces and chimneys consisting of old shoes, small dried animals and different household implements invested with apotropaic powers.<sup>405</sup> In traditional Romanian popular culture, too, (although such practices and beliefs are attested much later, in the modern period), the hearth and the chimney were among the key places attracting protective rituals and fire, ashes, and coal are basic elements for traditional domestic magic.<sup>406</sup> Another clue to the traditional need to protect the fireplace is to be found in the use of hearth icons in the Orthodox milieu.

One can presume that the tile stove also featured among the areas of the interior space needing protection due to the dangers it represented. Stoves were dangerous objects that could set the entire house on fire (especially in the case of medieval buildings made of wood) or it could suffocate the inhabitants with smoke or fumes. Malfunctioning of the stove should therefore have been prevented by all means, the apotropaic form fitting the medieval mentality well. Representations of saints such as Florian, invoked for protection against fire disasters, would constitute good arguments, but he is never depicted on tiles. Despite being a saint venerated especially in the German-speaking areas of Central Europe, there is only one chapel dedicated to him in Hungary, mentioned in 1412.<sup>407</sup>

The act of seeing is essential in the protective function, the gaze activating the power of the image. The representations on tiles were meant either to be seen by the inhabitants or perhaps by demons. According to the general beliefs of popular religion, religious images sometimes work simply by being looked at (such as images of St. Christopher depicted on exterior wall paintings of churches, discussed below). Another theory holds that some images are meant to protect by distracting the demons, confusing them, fooling or frightening them. In her analysis of marginal images with a presumed apotropaic function, Ruth Mellinkoff mentions several means of making such protection effective. She suggests that these images were not to be seen by people but by demons, who were presumably repelled by representations of themselves, distracted by ambiguous, strange, or curious representations, or scared by religious, violent, ugly, sexual, or scatological displays.<sup>408</sup> At the sight of the cross for example, the demons would know that the object, person or space marked by it stands under divine protection and they would flee in terror. Another principle mentioned by Mellinkoff is the accumulation of symbols from different systems of belief, meant to grant more efficient protection.

<sup>403</sup> Ryan, 1999, 43.

<sup>404</sup> Merrieffied, 1987, 167.

<sup>405</sup> Merrieffied, 1987, 128.

<sup>406</sup> Eseev, 1998, “cărbune” (coal), “cenușă” (ash), “foc” (fire), “horn”(chimney), “vatră” (hearth).

<sup>407</sup> Mező, 1996, 86.

<sup>408</sup> Mellinkoff, 2004, 45-51.

Such a principle certainly fits the case of stove tiles, where saints and crosses feature besides geometrical magical symbols, monsters and hybrids, masks and amuletic hands on the same tile or on tiles once part of the same stove.

Although Henry Maguire<sup>409</sup> analyses the use of images in the context of household magic in a different context, that of early Byzantium, one can try to use some of his conclusions. The main characteristics of the images used for apotropaic ends are, according to his study, their obscurity and their repetition. Drawing a parallel to stove tiles, one will easily notice that these characteristics are preserved: in the great majority of cases of reconstructed stoves decorative motifs are repeated several times; through repeated copying (and maybe lack of talent) the accuracy of details was lost to such a degree that some motifs may have lost all recognizable elements.<sup>410</sup>

I will present here two examples that combine religious and magical devices.<sup>411</sup> A tile from Klaštorisko depicts several symbols under a Gothic arch with architectural tracery.<sup>412</sup> A large cross surmounts a pentagram, a three-lobed interlace, and a four-lobed one inscribed in a circle, sometimes called Solomon's Knot.<sup>413</sup> It is interesting to note that the cross dominates the other signs through its superposed position. Bearing in mind that such tiles were used in the compositions of stoves from the *cellas* of the Carthusian monastery, it seems only natural that the cross should dominate all the other representations. This interpretation is also supported by other representations on the tiles discovered in Klaštorisko that can be seen as allusions to the alchemical endeavors attested on the site.<sup>414</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Maguire, 1996, "The Saints and Household Magic:" 118-132.

<sup>410</sup> The same traits could also have been the result of more "pragmatic" causes, such as the availability of a series of the same motif rather than different motifs and the fading of details for purely technological reasons (the wearing of the mold, too much glaze filling up the relief, etc.).

<sup>411</sup> For more examples see Gruia, 2007c (pentagrams, orant figures, hands and masks, riders, the manticore, etc.) and Gruia 2007d (the two-tailed siren).

<sup>412</sup> Gruia, 2007c, fig. 5.

<sup>413</sup> Maguire, 1998, "Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles," 265-268. The medieval name of the pattern was also the Emblem of the Divine Inscrutability, presumably all the wisdom of Solomon, was hidden in this knot. Due to the design, it is associated with the passage from One to Two. At the same time it unites the knot, the cross, and the swastika. It appears in several media, on mosaics, church tympanums, reliquaries, jewels, etc.; see Sansoni, 1998; Mellinkoff, 2004, 85, 161-163.

<sup>414</sup> Gruia, 2008b.



Fig. 9.3. Stove tile from Klaštorsko.

The pentagram, or the *pentalpha* (called by the ancient Greeks the “five times A”), the five-pointed star drawn continuously through one movement of the hand, resembles an interlace or a knot. The motif has a long tradition in learned magic and was transmitted down to the common tradition. The pentagram was used in ancient Greek and Hellenistic times, having an apotropaic function in the cabbalistic tradition. It was used by Byzantine armies as a sign of salvation on their flags.<sup>415</sup> In lay iconography it could also be a symbol of medicine (identified as *hygiēna*), but this does not exclude a magical function, that of conferring the doctor’s medical power over death, because it appears on Late Antique doctors’ stamps.<sup>416</sup> Its main magical power, however, comes from the fact that it was the device of the legendary Solomon’s seal, engraved on the signet ring given by God to King Solomon in order that he might seal and thereby control the power of demons. It was one of the most powerful amuletic signs in the Late Antique and Byzantine lexicon of magic, employed in the decoration of rings, armbands,<sup>417</sup> pendants and used generally on all types of amulets.<sup>418</sup> During the Middle Ages, the pentagram was used frequently in learned magic, in the composition of magic circles inscribed with the names of the conjured spirits drawn in necromancer’s books or on seals for planets and days of the week.<sup>419</sup> It also figures in ritual diagrams for protection.<sup>420</sup> Other fifteenth-century examples of

<sup>415</sup> *LCI*, vol. 3, 1994, “Pentagramm”.

<sup>416</sup> Vikan, 2003, “Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium:” 65-86, 69, 70, fig. 4, fig. 9.

<sup>417</sup> Vikan, 2003, “Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to which They Belong,” fig. 9, fig. 10a, 10d, 10h.

<sup>418</sup> Spier, 1993, cat. 33, 34, 49.

<sup>419</sup> Kieckhefer, 1997: circles: 353, fol. 15v, no. 6, 357, fol. 26r, no. 10, 364, fol. 42r, no. 22, 365, fol. 42v, no. 23; seals: 370, fol. 73v, no. 37c, 371, fol. 74r, no. 37c, 372, fol. 74v, no. 37c.

<sup>420</sup> Page, 2004, fig. 34.

pentagrams come from pentacles (amulets used in magical evocations on which the symbols of the invoked spirit or energy are drawn) illustrated in other magic manuscripts, like the one known as *The Magic Treatise of Solomon*.<sup>421</sup> Some pentagrams were used in more popular contexts. A sixteenth-century amuletic ring is decorated with the serpent biting its tail (the *ouroboros*) and a pentagram with the letters for SALUS.<sup>422</sup> Other fifteenth-century finger rings display the pentagram as a protective device.<sup>423</sup> As symbol of Christ's Five Wounds it appeared rather late, in the interpretation of Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637),<sup>424</sup> and was for centuries a lesser Christian symbol.

A tile from Pomáz is included in the present catalogue as probably depicting the scene of the Annunciation (cat. 82). It shows an orant angel surrounded by an inscription that has been read as representing the Marian salutation, but that poses several paleographic difficulties (also discussed in Chapter 7). The representation can also be interpreted as having a protective function. Eight green glazed fragments from at least six different individual stove tiles decorated with the same motif were found in Pomáz, in the manor house of the Cyko family. The original location of the stove(s) is unknown, since these tiles come from a secondary deposit, a refuse pit. But they are certainly dated to the end of the fourteenth century, and different molds were probably used since the images vary slightly from fragment to fragment.<sup>425</sup>

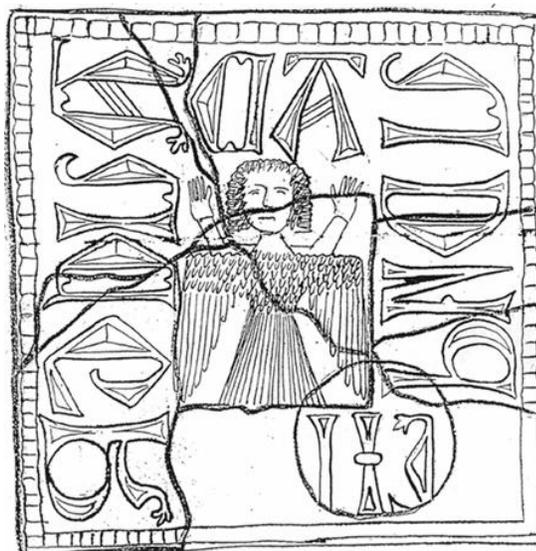


Fig. 9.4. Graphic reconstruction of a stove tile from Pomáz.

<sup>421</sup> British Library, Harleian MS. 5596., fifteenth century. At: <http://www.esotericarchives.com/esoteric.htm> (last accessed 06.04.2009).

<sup>422</sup> Dalton, 1912, cat. 891.

<sup>423</sup> Gouilhau, 1937, cat. 632, 636, 637.

<sup>424</sup> *LCI*, vol. 3, 1994, "Pentagramm."

<sup>425</sup> Virágos, 1997, 38, fig. 118.

The gesture of two raised arms has been associated with divine power and protection almost universally, in ancient Egypt, the Minoan civilization, and ancient Greece. It was then taken over by Christian iconography, where figures in front view with their arms raised at the height of the shoulders were called orants (*orans*). They became personifications of piety and pious supplication. For the early Christians, the appeal of the gesture depended perhaps on its analogy to the figure of the crucified Christ.<sup>426</sup> During the rest of the Middle Ages, the most popular orant, especially in the Byzantine sphere and the areas it influenced, such as Italy, was the Virgin, depicted with raised arms (the iconographical type called *Deomene*).<sup>427</sup>

Unlike the stove tiles depicting the Annunciation, the tile from Pomáz is unique through its inscription and the orant position of the angel. Also, no paired tile representing the Virgin receiving the news has been uncovered from the site. This indicates that the image might have been used in order to protect and repel evil by invoking the Virgin. Prayers written down and used to this end are frequent on medieval amulets.<sup>428</sup> The Ave Maria, one of the basic medieval prayers, has long been endowed with apotropaic associations.<sup>429</sup> The Golden Legend recorded (and made popular) a series of tales of protection and cure granted by the recitation of the Marian salutation.<sup>430</sup> A fourteenth-century amulet ring from England bears the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PLE, besides the often-used magic word AGLA (Holy).<sup>431</sup> Other finger rings bearing some variant of the salutation also display quatrefoils, lion's mouths, and monster's heads.<sup>432</sup> The angelic salutation has been found on medieval purse mounts, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions meant to bring prosperity and money to the owner.<sup>433</sup> It also features on medieval bells, was frequently used to repel storms and the evil spirits of the air. This was the case, for example, of a series of bells produced by a certain Master Tilman from Hachenburg in the fifteenth century.<sup>434</sup> Numerous cases of the amuletic use of prayers, texts from the lives of the saints or the holy book, written down on strips of parchment or paper, so-called phylacteries, indicate that there was indeed a widespread belief in the protective power of religious texts.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> Hazzikostas, 1998.

<sup>427</sup> Donati, Gentili, 2001.

<sup>428</sup> Skemer, 2006.

<sup>429</sup> Scribner, 2001, 359.

<sup>430</sup> Skemer, 2006, 275, footnote 83.

<sup>431</sup> Dalton, 1912, cat. 869. For a good article on the relation between devotion and text amulets see Bozóky, 1994.

<sup>432</sup> Gouilhou, 1937, cat. 640-643.

<sup>433</sup> Evans, 1922, 129-130.

<sup>434</sup> Köster, 1957, 124, 134, 143, 144, 151, 158, 167.

<sup>435</sup> Poulin, 1979.

All religious representations have a basic protective function. Images of Christ, Mary, the saints, and Christian signs and symbols, especially the cross, could ensure the protection of the home and its inhabitants. According to general beliefs of popular religion, religious images sometimes work simply by being looked at. The classical example is that of St. Christopher, who protects the viewer from sudden death during that day.<sup>436</sup> St. Barbara accompanied by the chalice and the host was also an image used against the *mala mors*, sudden death without the sacrament.<sup>437</sup>

Stove tiles first appeared in present-day southern Germany and northern Switzerland and then spread to Central Europe, mainly due to waves of German colonization; therefore these artifacts originally reflected Catholic culture. Was then their reception different in an Eastern, Orthodox area, such as Moldavia? My previous research suggests that, indeed, stove tiles may reflect cultural and religious differences, manifested through iconography. St. George, for example, is depicted in a slightly different manner on stove tiles from Transylvania (belonging to a Catholic cultural area) and Orthodox Moldavia. In Transylvania the saint is most often depicted as a knight, with clear details of arms and armor, while in Moldavia he is depicted more like a saint, according to the Byzantine tradition, with halo, mantle, cross-ended spears, blessed by the *dextra Domini*.<sup>438</sup> If indeed Moldavia seems permeated by Byzantine culture even in the case of “foreign” artifacts such as stove tiles, then maybe the principles of Byzantine household magic also applied in their case.

Although not confirmed by the sources, the protective power of saintly images on stove tiles is a possibility never discussed so far in the scholarly literature. Certain iconographic elements point in this direction and such reception would fit the already known elements of popular religious practice and beliefs. To put it briefly, it would fit “the period eye.”

### **Devotional Function**

Private devotion in the later Middle Ages used domestic images as prayer aids. The function of such images was to generate and sustain meditation and prayer; they were placed in a separate part of the house (niche, corner, or table) with a portable altar, later on printed sheets, icons in Orthodox contexts, or they were woodcuts in prayer books. The uses of the devotional image was essential and so were the ritual gestures attached to it (making the sign of the cross, kneeling or prostrating oneself, praying, kissing the image).<sup>439</sup>

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<sup>436</sup> Rigaux, 1987; Rigaux, 1996.

<sup>437</sup> van Os, 1994, 28-40.

<sup>438</sup> Gruia, 2007b.

<sup>439</sup> van Os, 1994, 52-86.

Although there have been suggestions that the stove with religious depictions was also a sort of “family altar,”<sup>440</sup> one can hardly presume that this was the case. As mentioned above, the main role of tiles was functional and this automatically implies a “lower rank” for the image and its support, making it unfit for devotion. Who would give trivial, practical uses to an icon revered for its power and inspiring some of the reverence owed to the saint itself? The existence of clay icons in medieval Bulgaria and Macedonia and the close resemblance of such items to stove tiles has been another argument for a shared devotional function.<sup>441</sup> Still, the difference lay in the use. Clay icons, produced in the same way as the tiles, were not utilitarian objects and they were given the same use as other types of icons, hung on the walls or placed in the house altar corner. It is difficult to imagine the owner kneeling down and praying in front of the stove.

Religious representations on tiles, even if not devotional, can still indicate certain religious preferences and a familiarity with holy figures. Even if the owners of decorated stoves and their visitors did not pray when seeing the depictions of saints on tiles, the selection of motifs can suggest who their patron saints were, the protectors of their homes or community.

### **Cult of the Saints**

Images are important elements in the cult of saints (besides church dedications, the presence of relics, hagiographies and canonizations, specific prayers and liturgical mentions, etc).<sup>442</sup> The role of saintly images as focal points of the cult is clearer in the case of images with a devotional function or those displayed in a clearly religious context. In the case of images with a religious subject on functional objects (stove tiles, coins, metalwork, etc.) one needs to be more cautious. The image may be considered as a source for the cult of a saint only if the visual reception was accurate and the use different than purely decorative or fashionable. A slight problem of dating raises here, because functional items might still have been used for practical reasons after the saint depicted no longer attracted personal (or even collective) fervor.

The question is if images of the saints on functional or para-liturgical objects indicate the existence of cults. The distribution of tiles with religious representations indicates that only 12% of them were used in religious contexts (monasteries, churches, or chapels). Due to their wide social use, tiles could hypothetically be considered as indicators of popular cults -- of those that permeated all

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<sup>440</sup> A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1993.

<sup>441</sup> Totev, 1999.

<sup>47</sup> See a summarized discussion in Crăciun, Florea, 2003.

social levels. When compared to the top ten church patrocinia in medieval Hungary, the frequency of saints on stove tiles proves slightly different:

<i>Saint</i>	<i>Patrocinia</i>
1. Mary	11.97%
2. St. Martin	7.95%
3. St. Nicholas	7.23%
4. St. George	6.83%
5. St. Michael	6.63%
6. Holy Cross	6.06%
7. St. Peter	5.86%
8. All saints	5.26%
9. St. John	4.06%
10. St. Stephen	3.49%
<i>Saint</i>	<i>Representations on stove tiles</i>
1. Jesus	20.38%
2. St. George	18.73%
3. Mary	12.94%
4. St. Ladislav	5.50%
5. St. John	4.40%
6. Archangel Gabriel/ St. Catherine	3.58%
7. St. Peter	3.30%
8. St. Barbara	2.75%
9. St. Christopher	2.47%
10. St. Emeric/ St. Margaret/ Stephen/ Michael	2.20%

Fig. 9.5. The popularity of saints as church patrocinia and as stove tile decorative motifs.

Comparing the patron saints of the few counties where such data is available (Pest, Tolna, and Veszprém)<sup>443</sup> the similar feature is the constant popularity of the Virgin Mary, while the same saints change in the first 10 places: Martin, George, Nicholas, Michael, Peter, Stephen, Jacob, Andrew, Emeric, Ladislav, and Lawrence, besides the *tituli* of the Holy Cross and All Saints. The country-wide frequency of saints as church patrons presented above can therefore only be tentative.

After Christ, St. George is the most popular saint on stove tiles, even more popular than the Virgin, who ranks second. In the case of church dedications, St. George is only the fourth in the order of preference, while Mary is a significant distance ahead. St. Martin and St. Nicholas are second and third among the most popular patrons of churches, but on stove tiles St. Martin is only depicted twice (in the 13<sup>th</sup> position, with 0.5%), while St. Nicholas never appears. St. Michael ranks fifth as patron of

<sup>443</sup> See comparison and further bibliography in Tari, 2000, 243.

churches, while on stove tiles he can be found in tenth position, on a par with St. Stephen of Hungary, St. Emeric, and St. Margaret. St. Catherine, the sixth most popular saint on stove tiles, ranks 18<sup>th</sup> as patron saint of churches and St. Margaret, the 9<sup>th</sup> most popular on tiles, is the 14<sup>th</sup> most popular among patrons.

Thus, one can count as similarities the presence in the top ten of the Virgin (ranking 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, respectively), St. George (4<sup>th</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>), St. Peter (7<sup>th</sup> in both), St. Michael (5<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>), St. Stephen (10<sup>th</sup>), and St. John (9<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>). There are differences as well, however: Christ is the most often depicted holy character on tiles while he does not appear among the top patron saints; St. George is clearly more popular than the Virgin on stove tiles, while other saints frequently appearing on these items were not among the first 10 preferred patron saints of churches (such as Sts. Ladislav, Catherine, Gabriel, Barbara, Christopher, Margaret, and Emeric). The frequency with which the Archangel Gabriel appears on tiles might in fact be largely transferred to the Virgin, since in most cases he is part of the Annunciation scene. St. Ladislav and Emeric were also among the frequently chosen patron saints, but apparently not as frequent as on stove tiles. Considering the female saints, more of them were favored on stove tiles (Mary, Catherine, Barbara, and Margaret) than as church patrons (where only the Virgin enters the top ten preferences but, significantly, she is first). Except for St. Martin and St. Nicholas, all the other saints popular as church patrons also appear on stove tiles.

Neither the data on patrocinia nor representations on stove tiles are very accurate. Preferences depend on the degree of preservation of data and on the manner of recording and interpreting the data. Numbers also vary according to province or area, and to the various chronological periods. The data used here tentatively refer in both cases to the entire Hungarian kingdom but to different chronological intervals. The patrocinia are recorded from the Arpád age until the seventeenth century, while the stove tiles only appeared in the fourteenth century. The conclusion of the comparison between church dedications and images on stove tiles is that the available general data is inconclusive in determining whether the presence of certain saints on stove tiles testifies to their cult. They certainly reflect some general trends in religiosity, pointing to the popularity of approximately the same saints, but they also depend on a series of other factors. In their interpretation one needs to take into consideration not only church dedications but also other pieces of information related to the cult of saints, such as liturgical texts, church and popular feasts, and other artistic representations. Considering the nature of stove tiles as functional and decorative objects, one especially needs to refer to the popular manifestations of such cults and their presence in various forms of popular culture and mentality. Future studies will have to address this task on a case-to-case basis.

## Conclusions

Images on stove tiles seem to have had several functions and have received diverging interpretations. Religious images in particular, besides being merely decorative, could have been used by their owners as symbols of status and prestige, as displays of identity and allegiance, and as means of visual edification in the diffusion of information on saintly stories. Religious stove tiles reflect changes in religiosity but with delay and not very accurately. They also offer information on the cult of saints, but only in corroboration with other types of sources. Despite the fact that tiles were not objects of devotion, the images on them were used to ensure protection. What is clear is that the imagery on stove tiles reflects a popular culture that mixed and combined official religion, elite culture, and its own fabulous creations, permeating all strata of society. In the composition of the few reconstructed stoves, tiles with varied images stand together. In Banská Bystrica, several stoves from the town hall and the house of the mayor were composed of the same series of tiles, decorated with images of saints, religious and geometric symbols, but also lay fables (the wolf preaching to the geese) and a unique representation of a copulating couple. There are also magical depictions such as the two-tailed siren. The composite iconography of these stoves contains protective images from different belief systems, including images of saints.<sup>444</sup> Other times, what today are labeled as magic symbols were used in religious contexts, such as the case of the magical symbols surmounted by the cross and Gothic tracery from the Carthusian monastery of Klaštorisko.<sup>445</sup> The mixture is not only found in lower social contexts, but also in manor houses. Representations that can be linked to both official religion and popular magic are found in upper social contexts; the orant angel with an invocation to the Virgin decorated the stoves from the noble residence of Pomáz, beside images of monsters such as the viper.<sup>446</sup>

I have set out to identify the possible functions of saintly images on stove tiles. Due to the strong functional role of the stove tiles I have ruled out the possibility that the images they carried retained any devotional role. The use of images on stove tiles would certainly have been very different from the use of the same images in a liturgical context. Nevertheless, such domestic images hold a rich symbolism. They could have been used as status symbols, as items of prestige display, as a means of communicating the ethnic, religious or social identity of the owner. Images of saints on tiles could have been, at the same time, aids for memory and edification, and a means of instruction in visual literacy, of developing one's specific ability to "read" images. One function has not been taken into consideration

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<sup>444</sup> Mácelová, 1999; Mácelová, 2005; Gruia, 2007a.

<sup>445</sup> Gruia, 2007c.

<sup>446</sup> Virágos, 1997; Gruia, 2007c.

by previous studies: the protective power of such items, valorized through domestic, popular magic. Also, to some extent, stove tiles decorated with images of the saints correspond to the general religious trends in Hungary. In the sixteenth century most saints lost favor, except St. George and St. Ladislav who maintained their roles as decorative tile motifs, and Old Testament figures and scenes became more popular.

One has to recognize that the quality of the sources makes it impossible even to speculate on the original intention behind the production of certain types of stove tiles. At this stage of research, one finds it also impossible to evaluate the degree to which market mechanisms limited the buyer's freedom of choice or not.

What becomes evident is that iconography and contextual data are the keys to the analysis of image function on stove tiles. A new approach to the topic should distance itself from pure archaeology and art history, turning to other fields of study as well, such as the social history of art and to cultural studies, which can offer useful suggestions.

## Conclusions

These are the conclusions of a work in progress. In-depth research on site monographs and individual motifs must be made before an exhaustive synthetic work can create a more accurate and detailed picture of the development of stove tiles and their iconography. General works can only be built on such case studies. In Hungary, as elsewhere in the area of stove use, tiles represent a rich source material but their value depends on the archaeological research, on the state of publication, and on the available contextual information. There is a great deal to be done on the technical aspect, inventorying and reconstructing tiles and entire stoves based on the ensembles recovered.

The material analyzed here reveals the great variety of religious representations on stove tiles in Hungary. There are over 100 different iconographic scenes depicted on these items, and even more numerous identifiable holy characters from the Old and the New Testament or taken from the legends of the saints, besides religious symbols (the Agnus Dei, the Pelican in her Piety) and signs (crosses). Some of the motifs were popular enough to be copied and re-copied. I have identified over 40 groups of directly related tiles from small areas or across provinces, sometimes having analogies outside the borders of the kingdom. As for the sites containing tiles with religious representations, almost 160 contexts of discovery are discussed, ranging from royal palaces, castles owned by magnates, fortifications, cities and towns, village houses, workshops, and religious contexts. The most numerous are castles, fortifications, and manor houses (representing 40%), then urban contexts (20%), and last villages (3%). 12% of the find sites are connected to religion, monasteries and churches, and they are analyzed separately because they are more valuable for the interpreting possible functions of images on tiles. Unfortunately, there is a significant proportion of unknown places of discovery, in the case of stray finds or tiles from museum collections which do not benefit from any data on their places of discovery (22%).

Very few tile-producing workshops have been excavated in Hungary, and in most cases their existence and location is indicated by the distribution of tiles with similar characteristics in certain areas, by the discovery of molds, and by large numbers of tiles discovered on single sites. Some of the religious tiles in this group were probably produced by royal workshops in Buda, unattested by documents or by archaeological research, but probably located somewhere in the capital of the kingdom and working mostly for the needs of the royal palace. The largest medieval tile-production center is located in Northern Hungary, in Banská Bystrica. Two workshops have been archaeologically

excavated in this prosperous mining town, and the existence of a third is suggested by other numerous tiles with similar technical and stylistic characteristics. One knows that even in this case some tiles are copied from originals in Buda, proof of connections between tile-producing loci in the kingdom. Another workshop benefiting from archaeological evidence and producing religious tiles besides tiles with other representations and pottery is located in Transylvania, in Feldioara. It seems that its products did not enjoy great popularity, since most of them are unique and were only discovered on this site. Other religious tiles discussed here were created by urban or popular workshops, like those probably located in Cristuru Secuiesc (in the Szekler region of Transylvania), those from Nova Ves (in Slavonia, excavated archaeologically), the workshop in Cluj (Transylvania, also excavated) or those active in Transdanubia (around Lake Balaton). The discovery of molds outside the context of workshops indicates that such items were transported and this was one of the means of transmission of motifs (such as the mold from Northern Hungary [cat. 353]). Sometimes the discovery of molds indicates the existence of workshops (see the molds in Varaždin [cat. 388]). Tiles imprinted with the latter mold have been discovered in near-by Ružica (cat. 376) and the distant capital, Buda (cat. 12), indicating that the motif circulated through the transmission of molds between workshops. Molds discovered in monasteries suggest that temporary workshops might have existed for the completion of certain commissions, such as the building of tile stoves in monastic complexes (see, for example, the mold found in the ruins of the Franciscan cloister in Slovenská Ľupča [cat. 336]).

It is certain that many more workshops functioned in Medieval Hungary considering the great number of tile discoveries. More than 30 sites with pottery workshops and kilns have been excavated,<sup>447</sup> but there is little information on how many of them also produced stove tiles.

One of the aims of this research was to identify the ways in which tile motifs were copied and transmitted. Analyzed here mostly from an iconographic perspective, the numerous cases when similar motifs have been found on tiles in different locations only indicate groups of directly related tiles and the distances between their places of discovery. When available, technical information on their dimensions, quality, and dating also indicated the directions of such transmissions. Only the close inspection of all the tiles and fragments involved can clarify the details, and such a task was too great in the framework of the present research.

There are 41 groups of directly related tiles among those included in the present analysis, each containing between two and six tiles with similar or even identical representations. The minimum distance that motifs traveled is a few kilometers, while the maximum distance was 650 km.

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<sup>447</sup> Vágner, 2002.

Considering the maximum distance in the case of directly related groups composed of more than two tiles, the motifs circulated on average 200 km. Most of the time, such groups (25) were located in the same province. Sometimes identical tiles, or molds and tiles created from them, were found in different locations inside the same settlements, such as in Cluj, Cristuru Secuiesc, Banská Bystrica, and Varaždin. Other times the same motifs were found in very restricted areas, such as St. George produced by Transdanubian workshops, found in locations around Lake Balaton no further than 35 or 50 km apart and villages in the Szekler area in southeastern Transylvania probably produced in the workshops in Cristuru Secuiesc. Most sites are found in the same area, at distances between 100 and 300 km. But there are also 16 cases when directly related tiles were found in different regions of medieval Hungary. Tiles from Buda were copied and used in Transylvania, Northern Hungary, and Slavonia. Other tiles were used in distant and very different contexts, such as a representation of St. George found both in Mihăileni (Transylvania) and Kľaštorskó (Northern Hungary), 640 km. away. The representation of Ladislav on horseback was found in Transylvania and Central Hungary on several sites, the maximum distance between them being of 300 km. Jephthah is also a popular motif, being found in Central and Northern Hungary, on sites at most 248 km away. Other tiles with religious representations from Hungary have analogies outside the borders of the kingdom, in the Swiss area, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Austria.

The richest site from the point of view of motif transmission is the castle of Ružica in Slavonia. Seven of the religious motifs decorated the interiors re-furnished with heating stoves in the second half of the fifteenth century by Nicholas of Ilok, one of the most important magnates of Hungary. Representations of the Pelican in her Piety, St. George, and an unidentified holy bishop have analogies in Buda, situated at a distance of ca. 650 km. A fragment decorated with the image of the Archangel Michael has an analogy in the royal castle of Viségrad (345 km away). Two other tiles found in the castle, depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and their Banishment from Eden, have good analogies among the tiles produced for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (ca. 450 km away). A crown tile decorated with the image of St. George on foot slaying the dragon has several analogies in Slavonia and in neighboring Carinthia, part of Austria at the time. The furthest site of discovery of such an analogy is in Celje, 650 km away. Considering the variety of motifs copied and the long distances from where they were brought, Nicholas of Ilok seems to have made the most effort to embellish his stove tiles. He could almost be considered a collector of tiles.

The exact means of transmission of motifs on tiles remains unknown. It might have been that tiles themselves were transported (despite the risk of being broken on the way), or molds traveled along with itinerant masters or merchants. Some specialists have suggested the existence of pattern books

used in the decoration of tiles, especially towards the end of the Middle Ages, but none have been discovered so far. The identification of indirectly-related tiles suggests that motifs or elements were copied from representations on other artistic items, such as reliefs, manuscript illumination, and especially prints. Tiles discovered in the workshop of Feldioara contain details clearly inspired by the reliefs and corbel of the local church. A tile from the St. Peter suburb of the city of Cluj, also in Transylvania, has analogies in manuscript illuminations and clay reliefs in Western Europe. Tiles dated to the time of the Reformation in particular were inspired by prints, such as those depicting the 12 heroes of the Old Testament (among which the image of Jephthah seems to have been the most popular on stove tiles in Hungary). Researchers have noted a migration of graphic imagery to physical media, such as small-scale sculpture, small plaques and medals, domestic furnishings and utensils, pots, and stove tiles during the fifteenth century. This phenomenon widened in the sixteenth century. The development of prints used as patterns on stoneware, individually or combined, and the use of mold books in the German areas indicate that a certain archaism and conservative character continued. Fifteenth-century ornaments continued to be used for the next hundred years, due to their inclusion in pattern books (*Moldebuch*).<sup>448</sup> The tiles analyzed here also indicate the use of different molds in the creation of the same tile, combining figures in various manners. Such is the case of saintly figures used in the decoration of niche tiles in Buda (afterwards copied elsewhere in the kingdom), tiles from the castle of Făgăraș where identical figures were used as supporters in the scene of Jesus and the Samaritan woman and in a heraldic composition. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of several tiles from the castle in Diósgőr, where individual molds representing human faces were used in different combinations on crown tiles, beside imprints from what might have been metal badges.<sup>449</sup>

In general, the transmission of these motifs took place among contexts of equal social rank (rural around Lake Balaton, castles and fortifications in general, and monasteries). The most peculiar stylistic transmission is that from the manor house of Racoș to the nearby castle in Făgăraș. The latter is the only case not matching the top-down or equal-level distribution of St. George motifs. When motifs circulated from upper social contexts to lower ones, from castles to cities, for example, their quality also decreased, details were lost, open-work elements were flattened on panel tiles, and glaze could be omitted. These changes are most visible in the case of tiles decorated with the knight in tournament, but can also be found on some of the religious representations, such as St. George. An open-work semi-cylindrical tile depicting the knightly saint was found in the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Kľaštorisko in Northern Hungary and a related panel tile in the village of Mihăileni, in

<sup>448</sup> Gaimster, 1997, 142-146.

<sup>449</sup> Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 12, fig. 6.

Transylvania, 640 kilometers away. I have also noted, as a general trend, that most of the related tiles are dated to the end of the fifteenth century and the first part of the sixteenth century, indicating an increased circulation of tiles, tile molds, drawings, or pottery masters at that time.

Stove tiles initially spread in Europe with waves of German colonization and on the commercial routes from German areas to Central and Eastern Europe. The influence continued in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Hungary; tiles from Regensburg, Nürnberg, and the Swiss area have good analogies in the Carpathian basin. The influence of German material culture, including stove tiles, in Northern Europe has been studied by David Gaimster. The Hansa League played an important role in introducing new technologies and new urban fashions in England and the Baltic.<sup>450</sup> In Hungary, besides royal and noble palaces and fortifications, the sites richest in stove tiles were the German settlements of Northern Hungary and Transylvania. The use and production of tile stoves, however, spread among all ethnic groups, just as it did, for example, in neighboring Moldavia (much less exposed to German colonization in the Middle Ages). Vernacular inscriptions on religious tiles, in Slovak, German, and Romanian, clearly indicate that tiles were produced/used in interiors frequented by all social and ethnic groups. One can therefore point to both an ethnic transmission of technology and motifs and a top-down social transmission, from royal centers to those owned by magnates, the higher and lesser nobles, to cities and towns, and also to rural areas.

It becomes apparent that the distribution of tiles depended on various factors, mostly regulated by the balance between supply and demand. Numerous tiles were used in the areas around the large production centers, their activity answering a need but also creating and supporting tile stove use. Restricted availability of such items determined the use of low-quality tiles even in castles in some cases. Popular variants of St. George slaying the dragon appeared on tiles used in the region of Lake Balaton in several village houses and also a fortification, a castle, and a Benedictine monastery. The nobles wanted the best, the most fashionable and most knightly depictions of in their interiors, but sometimes had to use what was available on the local market.

By comparing the distribution of knight-in-tournament tiles and religious tiles as a group, I have concluded that besides technical considerations, the images decorating tiles also contributed to their distribution. The fact that image mattered is confirmed by the changes in tile iconography triggered in the sixteenth century by the Reformation. In 1553 and 1551 (or 1571) tiles inspired by Reformation prints were already in use in the kingdom. Several characteristics of the tiles in this period indicate the receptivity of tile iconography to Protestant ideas and fashion: fewer religious representations in

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<sup>450</sup> Gaimster, 2005; Gaimster 2001.

general, an increased proportion of Old Testament scenes and scenes from the life of Christ, more numerous inscriptions added on tiles (including some in vernacular languages), and prints more often used as models. The only longer texts come from the end of the period analyzed, in the second half of the sixteenth century. The lettering changed from Gothic minuscule to classical, antique capitals. Inscribed years became more frequent, inscriptions appeared in vernaculars (German in Latin letters and Romanian in Cyrillic), and the initials of potters were added to tiles for the first time. The taste for Classical antiquity extended to the way writing was included in the image. In one case (cat. 161), the inscription appears in a Roman *tabula ansata*. These examples are good illustrations of the changes introduced by the Reformation in the field of decorative arts.

A more thorough analysis is needed to compare religious tiles with other representations on such items in the sixteenth century and to add more detailed contextual data on the sites and owners of interiors decorated with “Reformation tiles.” These trends in tile iconography, however, confirm that, at least to some degree, image did matter. Some motifs and holy characters were more popular than others on tiles, and this cannot be reduced to a matter of “fashion”. Images that were fashionable became so because they fulfilled certain functions. The possible reception and function of representations on stove tiles is an intricate topic because it does not benefit from direct, written sources, but has to be inferred from indirect information such as context, depiction on neighboring tiles in the composition of stoves, symbolism, trends in popular devotion, etc. What is certain is that such images were liable to various interpretations, depending on their viewers and their context of use. The tiles also fulfilled several functions at the same time, that of heating the interior spaces, decorating interiors, and transmitting certain information about the owners. Comparing the distribution of religious tiles with tiles with the knight in tournament, the most consistent group of tiles decorated with a non-religious motif, one concludes that the depictions on tiles did play a role in the preference for certain tiles (see Chapter 3). This comparison reveals that the two distributions are significantly different: tiles with knights were found more often in upper social contexts (including a greater proportion of elite ones, such as castles and palaces owned by the king or by his magnates – governors, palatines, bishops), less in cities and towns, and not at all in villages or workshops. The religious tiles come from more varied contexts, including lower social sites such as villages and workshops. As would be expected, they were also used in more numerous and more varied religious contexts.

Besides the embedded functional and decorative functions, representations on tiles could have indicated the personal or collective devotion of the owners; they could have indicated their loyalties, allegiance or identity (especially in the case of heraldic representations, but also through the choice of certain saints, certain inscriptions, or scenes reflecting certain beliefs). Tiles were also objects of

prestige, showing the social status of the owners. In the case of tiles copied from upper social contexts, or good-quality tiles with tracery and polychrome glazing or of new fashionable tiles, the stoves could have constituted items of prestige and display. These images, especially the narrative ones, were probably used as one means of visual literacy and as aids to memory. The Reformation tiles were probably also served as religious propaganda. A less discussed function of representations on stove tiles is that of offering supernatural protection. All religious images were believed to have an apotropaic function, and in some cases they were used together tiles bearing magical symbols and representations. The few reconstructed stove ensembles reveal the fact that religious representations were used beside lay, heraldic, and even magical symbols. Corner tiles also seem to have combined freely tiles with saints or prophets and profane themes (St. Catherine with the wolf preaching to the geese on a corner tile from Banská Bystrica and Jacob with a depiction of the wild man on a tile from Buda). In each case, however, contextual information must be employed carefully when trying to reconstruct the possible functions of images on tiles.

Comparing the occurrence of saints on tiles and their attested cults from other types of sources in Hungary, I have pointed to both similarities and differences. Some saints are almost equally popular on tiles and as church patronage, such as St. George, the Virgin, or St. Peter. But on the level of the whole medieval Hungary, some holy persons were much more popular on stove tiles, such as St. Ladislav, St. Catherine, and St. Barbara. Such a comparison must be detailed, taking into consideration both the nature of stove tiles as functional and decorative objects and the popular manifestations of such cults and their presence in various forms of popular culture and mentality. Future studies have to accomplish the task on a case-to-case basis, comparing the distribution of tiles with certain saints and the spread of their cults in smaller areas, such as medieval counties, in order to show to what degree religious tiles reflect popular cults. Representations on tiles should also be linked to similar ones preserved in manuscripts, reliefs, and wall paintings, but especially on pottery, bells, baptismal fonts, and other minor arts. The comparison might reveal other sources for motifs on tiles and the existence of a common set of representations used as decorations on functional objects.

Another future direction of study which will lead to the strongest results, is identifying the technical characteristics of tiles identified here as belonging to directly related groups. Only by knowing the direction of motif transmission, by identifying which are the originals, which the copies, and which the imitations will one be able to follow closely the production and spread of decorated stove tiles.

Future research will be made much easier by the creation of an online database of tiles in which all interested parties (archaeologists, art historians, historians, and others) will be able to find, add, and edit the entries and post links to their studies on the topic. This tool is essential since, as shown in this dissertation, tiles are published in numerous languages. Its role is even more important since tiles are attracting increasing attention and continue to be discovered during archaeological research; museologists would also be able to continue processing the items keep in museum collections across Central and Eastern Europe. A tile database is only the first step in the valorization of this exceptional source material for the European Late Middle Ages, which can be used to increase knowledge on various aspects of daily life and religiosity, as tentatively indicated here.

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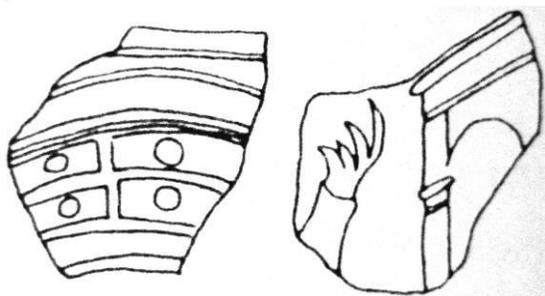
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## Appendix 1. Catalogue

### Central Hungary

#### **Boldogkő** castle

##### **1. Jephthah** 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragments with hand and architectural structure.

panel tile  
fragments

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 66.1.466, 66.1.479.

Dankó, 1996, 7.

Gyuricza, 1992, 18, 20, fig. VI, VII.

#### **Buda** royal palace

##### **2. St. Catherine of Alexandria** middle - second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing crowned female character, with sword, wheel, and open book. Standing on a corbel decorated with a coat of arms.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)  
fragments  
min. 3 tiles  
main motif: 2.5 cm. but one fragment larger: 2.9 cm.  
green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 189, 192, fig. 47.2-4.

royal palace

### 3. St. Adrian and prophet David

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Niche tile with two small figures standing on corbels decorated with coats of arms: bearded male holding an inscription band and standing knight with sword and anvil, stepping on a lion. Inscription: “david; i sole posuit tabnacu”.

semi-cylindrical tile  
27 x 21.5 cm.  
Adrian: 8.5 cm., David: 11.5 cm.  
min. 2 tiles with Adrian  
tracery and high relief  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2004, 334, fig. 1.

Holl, 1998a, 141, 144, fig. 5, 189, fig. 44.3, 190, 201, fig. 56.2-3.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 65, cat. 16, fig. 16.

Holl, 1958, 252, 255, fig. 76.

photo by the author with permission of the Budapesti Történeti Múzeum

royal palace

**4. St. George slaying the dragon**

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figure representing a fully armed knight on foot slaying a dragon with a spear.

fragment, part of a niche tile(?)

7.3 cm.

green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 190, 194, fig. 49.1.

Balogh, 1966, 462, fig. 653.

photo by the author with permission of the Budapesti Történeti Múzeum.

royal palace

**5. St. Anthony the Hermit and St. Peter**

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figures of saints standing on corbels attached to the columns of a Gothic niche.

semi-cylindrical tile

entire tile

38 x 21 cm.

Anthony: 8.5 cm., Peter: 9.2 cm.

tracery and high relief

green glaze

Holl, 1998a, 144, fig. 6, 146, 189, 190, fig. 45.2, 191, fig. 46.2.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 65, cat. 17, fig. 17.

Holl, 1958, 252, 257, fig. 79.

royal palace

## 6. St. Anthony the Hermit

end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figure standing on a corbel decorated with a coat of arms, under a Gothic arch and tracery. The man is holding a pilgrim staff, a book and has a pig by his feet.

corner tile combining half semi cylindrical tile and a panel tile

entire tile

22.5 cm.  
main motif: 8.5 cm.  
tracery and high relief  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 141, 144, fig. 7b, 189, 191, fig. 46.2.

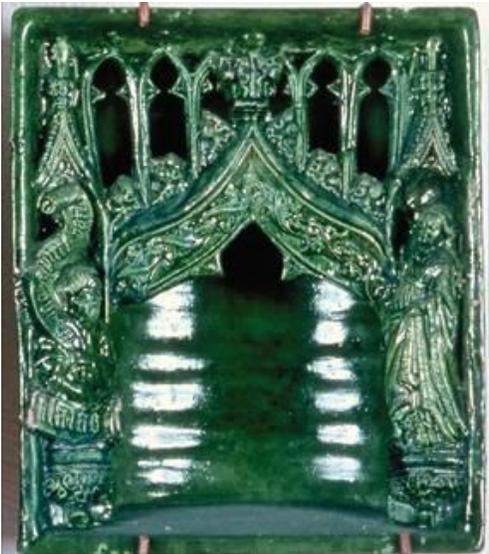
Holl, 1983, 211, fig. 26.

Holl, 1958, 252, 256, fig. 77.

royal palace

### 7. Prophet Isaiah and Judith

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figures standing on corbels, part of a Gothic arch with tracery. Isaiah as bust with inscription band, Judith as young woman stepping on a severed head. Inscription: "isaias; ecce virgo concipiet."

semi-cylindrical tile

entire tile

24.5 x 20.3 cm.

Isaiah: 11.4 cm; Judith: 10.8 cm.

tracery and high relief

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

<http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline> no. 008676.

Holl, 1998a, 141, 144, fig. 8, 189, fig. 44.1-2, 191, 197, fig. 52.3.

Holl, 1971, 190, fig. 171.

Holl, 1958, 252, 256.

royal palace

### 8. St. John the Baptist

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Bearded man standing on a corbel under a Gothic niche. He wears a simple dress tied around the waist with a rope, holds a lamb and has a pig's head at his feet.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

fragments

8.8 cm.

min. 2 tiles

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 190, 195, fig. 50.3-4.

royal palace

### 9. St. Jacob the Elder

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Bearded man standing on a corbel, wearing a pilgrim hat and holding a staff and a book.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

fragments

10 cm., with corbel: 12 cm.

min. 2 tiles

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no.?.

Holl, 1998a, 190, 195, fig. 50.1-2.

royal palace

### **10. St. Christopher**

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Bearded man carrying a child on his shoulder and leaning on a staff, under a Gothic niche.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

fragments

9.1 cm.

min. 3 tiles  
green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 189, 199, fig. 54.2-4.

royal palace

### 11. St. Agnes

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Female character standing on a corbel, under a Gothic niche. She wears a diadem on her head, holds her dress with her left hand and in the right hand has a book. A lamb rests at her feet.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

fragments

9.4 cm.

min. 3 tiles

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 189, 193, fig. 48.1-3.

royal palace

### 12. Holy bishop

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Character standing on a corbel, under a Gothic niche. He holds a bishop's staff and an open book, and wears miter and chasuble.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

fragments

9.5 cm., with corbel: 10.3 cm.

min. 2 tiles

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 191, 196, fig. 51.

royal palace

### **13. Archangel Michael slaying the dragon**

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figure representing a standing winged character slaying the dragon with a spear.

fragment, part of a niche tile(?)

9 cm.

high relief

green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 190, 194, fig. 49.2.

royal palace

#### 14. Samson fighting the lion

middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned character mounted on and opening the mouth of a crowned lion.

panel tile(?)

reconstructed tile

27.5 cm. / 25 x 22 cm.  
min. 3 tiles  
unglazed

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. 52.125.1-2.

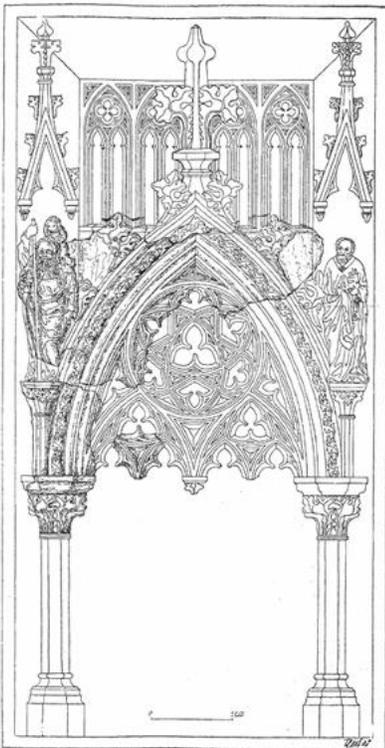
Havassy, 2002, 111, cat. 214, fig. 214.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 64, cat. 2, fig. 2.

Holl, 1958, 215, 216, fig. 6.

royal palace

**15. St. Christopher and St. Peter**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Saints standing on corbels flanking a niche tile depicting an arch with Gothic tracery. On the left, St. Christopher is holding the child Jesus on his shoulder and a staff.

semi-cylindrical tile  
reconstructed tile  
42 x 24 cm.

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1958, 263, 266, fig. 90, 267, fig. 91.

royal palace

**16. St. Ursula**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned female figure holding an arrowhead, sitting in a decorated Gothic niche.

crest tile  
reconstructed tile  
min. 1 tile  
polychrome glaze (green and white)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2001, 401, fig. 66, 402, fig. 67.

royal palace

**17. St. Agnes and St. Jacob the Elder**  
middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small figures standing on corbels, part of a Gothic arch with Gothic tracery.

semi-cylindrical tile  
entire tile  
24.5 x 20.3 cm.  
tracery and high relief

green glaze(?)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 141, 144, fig. 8, 204.

Holl, 1958, 252, 257, 260, fig. 82.

royal palace

### 18. Pelican in her Piety

middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Central medallion with pelican and chicks in a nest, surrounded by vegetal decoration.

panel tile

entire tile

25 x 25 cm. (main motif: 15.4 cm.)

min. 6 tiles

green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1998a, 153, 154, fig. 19.

Holl, 1995, 265, 266, 267, fig. 8.

Holl, 1971, 177, 180, fig. 155.

royal palace

### 19. Annunciation. Kneeling Mary

1458-1490



Central medallion with Mary kneeling besides a lily in a vase on a table and a lectern.

panel tile  
 fragments  
 yellowish-white engobe  
 yellow glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. 85.303.2/1-2

Tamási, 1995, 135, fig. 94.  
 Magyar, 1991, 283.  
 Holl, 1983, 204, fig. 6, 205.

royal palace

**20. Annunciation. Kneeling archangel Gabriel**  
 1458-1490



Central medallion with kneeling archangel, surrounded by the inscription: “ave ma[ria] gratia plena” in Gothic minuscule.

panel tile  
 fragments  
 22.4 x 22.4 cm.  
 yellowish-white engobe  
 yellow glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. 85.303.1.

Tamási, 1995, 135, fig. 104.

Magyar, 1991, 283.

Holl, 1983, 204, fig. 5, 205.

royal palace

### **21. St. George slaying the dragon**

end 15<sup>th</sup> c. (ca. 1480)



Mounted knight with spear. Below parts of a dragon. In the upper left corner, inscription: “[S]GEORGIUS” in capitals.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Melis, 1986, 266, 240, fig. 18.

Holl, 2001, 385, fig. 40.

royal palace

### **22. St. George slaying the dragon**

beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Fragments with bird under tree, shield with cross, horse, princess sitting under a tree.

panel tile

fragments

min. 3 tiles

green glaze(?)

Holl, 1990, 76, fig. 23, 77.

royal palace

**23. Angel with censer**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Angel bust holding a censer, in a Gothic niche ending with a fleche with fleurons.

crest tile  
reconstructed tile  
39.5 x 19-17.5 cm.  
3 fragments  
min. 3 – max. 4 tiles

Holl, 1980, 35, fig. 12.

palace area

**24. Samson and Delilah**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Man grasping towards his long hair cut by a woman.

panel tile(?)  
fragments  
16.5 cm.  
min. 2 tiles  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2001, 357, 361, fig. 11.  
Holl, 1983, 220, fig. 37, 221.

royal palace, courtyard near the chapel

### 25. St. George slaying the dragon

first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1440?)



St. George on horseback slaying the dragon with a spear. Princess, tree, and castle in the background.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
25.5 x 21.5 cm.

min. 3 tiles  
white engobe  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1990, 84, 85, fig. 35.

Melis, 1986, 257-259, fig. 15.

royal palace, near the chapel

## 26. Prophet Jacob

1485-1490



Male bust holding and pointing towards an inscription band. Twisted rope frame. Inscription:  
“Jacob/pro/p...”

corner tile  
entire tile  
28 x 27 cm. / 28 x 26.7 x 5 cm.  
min. 2 tiles  
polychrome glaze (brown -white and violet?-, yellow, green)

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Havassy, 2002, 117, cat. 244, fig. Kat. 244.

Holl, 2001, 376, fig. 36, 384.

Balogh, 1966, 135.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 65, cat. 19, fig. 19.

Holl, Voit, 1956, 111, fig. 31.

royal palace

## 27. Mary's portrait(?)

beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (ca. 1420-1430)



Mary/angel/saint head with rosette-like halo.

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1958, 236, 239, fig. 50.

royal palace

### **28. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**

Female head, a snake's head and a tree; naked body holding a leaf.

panel tile  
fragments  
min. 3 tiles

Holl, 1990, 84, 85, fig. 37.

royal palace

### **29. Evangelist John. Eagle with halo, symbol of John the evangelist**



Eagle with halo and inscription band. The text cannot be read from the available reproduction.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)  
fragments  
ca. 30 x 30 cm.(?)  
8 corresponding fragments

min. 1 tile  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2001, 366, fig. 21, 367.

royal palace

### 30. Mary adoring child Christ



Kneeling and praying Mary in front of the child Jesus surrounded by rays.

panel tile(?)  
4 corresponding fragments  
min. 1 tile  
green glaze

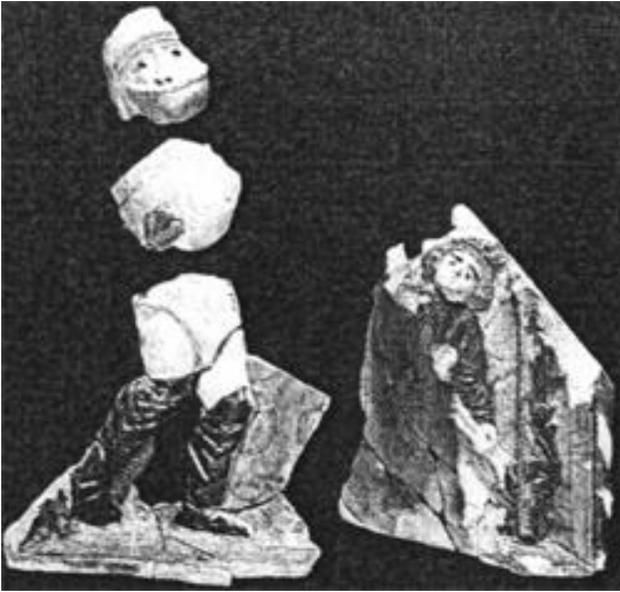
Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2001, 368, 372, fig. 28.

royal palace

### 31. David and Goliath

1485-1490



One large armed character besides a small one holding a slinger. Vegetal frame.

semi-cylindrical tile  
fragments  
ca. 30 x 30 cm.  
polychrome glaze (green, brown, white, blue)  
majolica

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Holl, 2001, 355, 356, fig. 1.  
Magyar, 1991, 285, 224, cat. 494.  
Holl, 1983, 217, fig.31, 219.  
Holl, Voit, 1956, 113, fig. 34.  
Kálmár, 1949, fig. XL.1.

royal palace

### **32. Magus Balthazar**

1469-1485



Standing male holding and pointing toward a monstrance. Brocade-like background.

semi-cylindrical tile

33.5 x 23.5 cm.

polychrome (white and blue) glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Magyar, 1991, 284, 221, catalogue 480.

Holl, 1983, 205, 207, fig.12.

royal palace

### **33. Evangelist Matthew**

1469-1485



Standing bearded man holding a lance and a book. Brocade-like decoration in the background.

semi-cylindrical tile  
reconstructed tile  
33.4 x 24 cm.  
white engobe (more fragments, with and without engobe)  
yellow glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum(?), inv. no. ?.

Magyar, 1991, 284, 221, cat. 479.

Holl, 1983, 205, 207, fig. 13.

suburb (Margit-körút no.53)

**34. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted character with mantle slaying a dragon with a spear.

panel tile(?)  
entire tile(?)  
22 x 21.05 cm.  
green glaze

Szendrei, 1904, 190.

suburb (Margit-körút no.53)

**35. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted character slaying a dragon with a spear.

panel tile(?)  
entire tile(?)  
24 x 16 cm.  
green glaze

Szendrei, 1904, 191.

### **Csabrendek** fortification

#### **36. St. George slaying the dragon**



Mounted character slaying a dragon with a spear.

fragmentary tile  
16.5 x 17.7 cm.  
green glaze

Balatoni Múzeum, Keszthelyi, inv. no. 13.484/6.

Méri, 1960, 344-5, 359-360, fig. CXI 3.

### **Diósgyőr** castle

**37. Evangelist John. Eagle with halo, symbol of John the evangelist**  
14<sup>th</sup> c.



Eagle with halo and inscription band in its beak. Decorated inscription band.

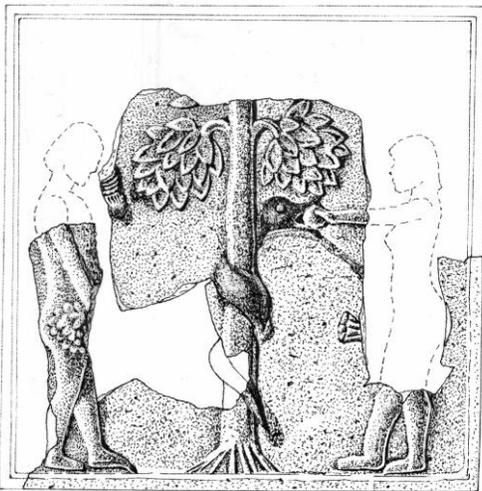
panel tile  
16 x 16 cm  
4 fragments  
min. 2 – max. 4 tiles

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 74.19.1-4, 75.23.1-2.

Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 39, 111, plate. XLVII.1.

castle

**38. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**  
middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Adam and Eve beside the Tree of Knowledge with snake coiled on it.

panel tile  
23 x 23 cm.  
green glaze (one fragment), green and dark brown glaze snake

min. 1 tile

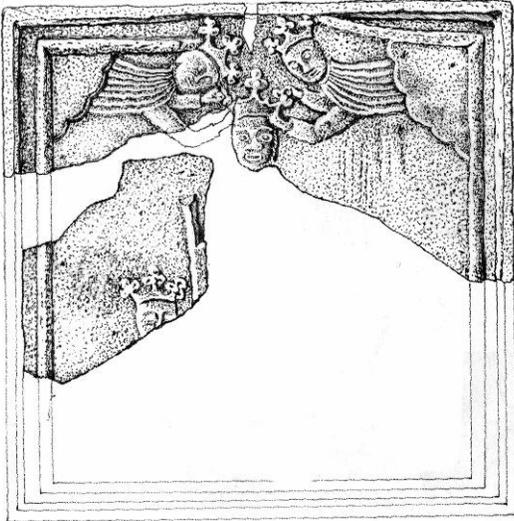
Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 75.9.1, 75.1.75, 75.10.2, 75.26.5 and polychrome fragments:  
66.1.6.2, 75.10.1, 75.2.6.8

Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 45, 50, fig. 48, 120, plate LVI.1.

castle

**39. Mary crowned by angels(?)**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Character crowned by flying angels, another smaller crowned character standing besides.

panel tile  
22 x 22 cm.  
2 fragments  
min. 1 tile  
green glaze

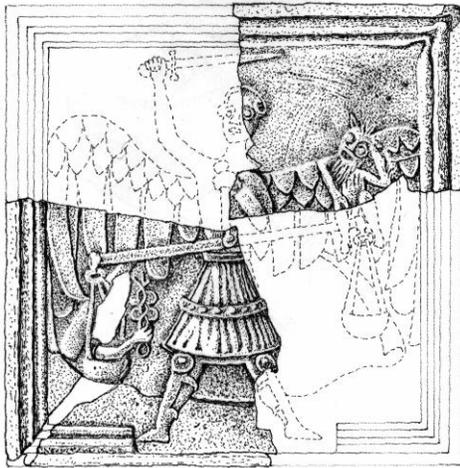
Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 75.13.1, 66.1.2-3

Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 45, 51, fig. 51, 121, plate LVII.1.

castle

**40. Archangel Michael weighing souls**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Archangel Michael lifts with his right hand a sword above his head, and with the left hand holds the scales, weighing souls. A devil sits on one arm of the scales, while a soul holding a caduceus sits in the opposite scale holder.

panel tile  
 22 x 22 cm.  
 6 fragments  
 min. 3 tile  
 green glaze

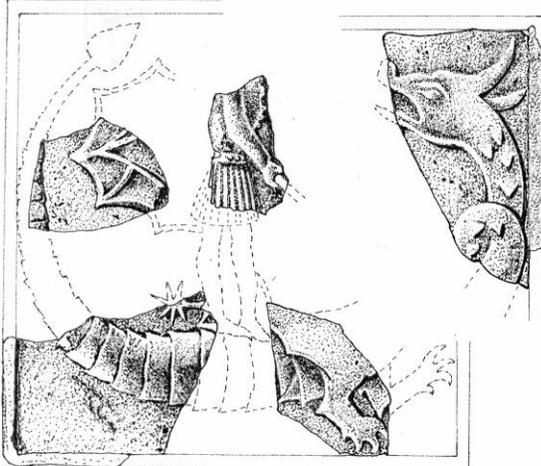
Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 75.10.3.

Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 45, 121, plate LVII.2.

castle

#### 41. St. George slaying the dragon

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Character standing on a dragon and holding a lance(?).

panel tile  
 3-5 fragments

min. 1 tile  
green glaze

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. 75.4.1, 75.4.2, 75.4.3.

Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján, 2007, 45, 122, plate LVIII.1-2.

## **Eger**

castle and seat of the bishop of Eger

### **42. St. Ladislav**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with male head with crown, halo and battle-axe.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

22 x 15.5 x 3.8 cm.

min. 2 tiles

polychrome glaze (green and yellow)

Kádar, 1952, 69, 70, fig. 1, table XX.1 and 2.

castle and seat of the bishop of Eger

### **43. St. Emeric**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with male head with halo. The reconstruction, based on analogies, shows a young man standing and holding his mantle with his right hand and some flowers with his left.

panel tile  
fragments

21 x 8.8 x 4.3 and 21.4 x 13.5 x 5 cm.  
polychrome glaze (green and yellow)

Kádar, 1952, 70, fig. 2, table XX.3.

castle and seat of the bishop of Eger

#### 44. Prophet Zachariah



Male upper body holding an inscription band. Inscription: "...E".

fragment  
green glaze

Holl, 2001, 395, fig. 63, 396.

Unknown location

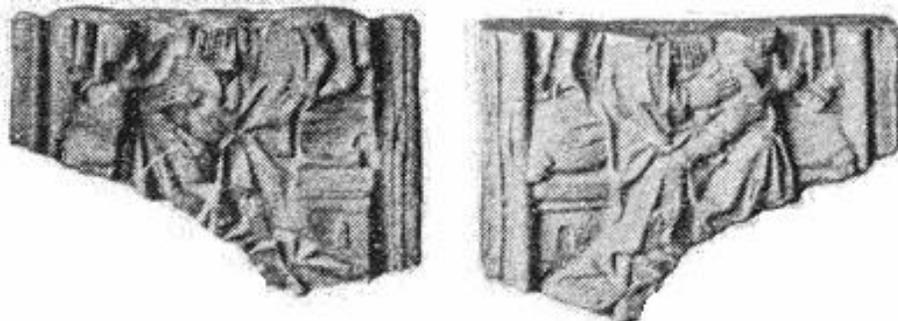
#### 45. Jephthah

fragment

Holl, 1993, 268, fig. 32.

**Esztergom**  
castle hill

#### 46. The Madonna with the child Jesus



Fragment with woman sitting on bench and pillow, holding a small child in her lap. Right: impression after the mold.

mold

fragment

10.5 x 15.5 x 2.9 cm.

Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

Parádi, 1957, 181, 182, fig. 5/5a.

archbishop's palace

#### 47. St. George slaying the dragon

second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.

Central medallion with St George on horseback slaying the dragon, open-work vegetal elements in the corners.

fragments

dark yellow glaze

Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

unpublished (Boldizsár Péter, "As esztergomi vár középkori kályhacsempéi" unpublished paper presented at the conference *Sisteme de încălzire medievală și auxiliarele lor*, Târgu Mureș, June 2008)

area of the archbishop's palace

#### 48. Jesus judged by Pilate

1595-1605

Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1993, 287-289.

area of the archbishop's palace

**49. Pilate washing his hands(?)**

1595-1605



Sitting male figure washing his hands in a bowl placed in his lap.

panel tile  
fragment

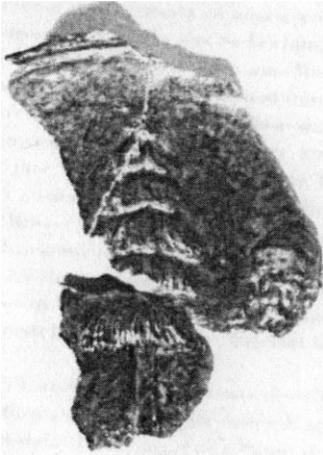
Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1993, 287-289, fig. 62.

area of the archbishop's palace

**50. Jesus and Thomas(?)**

1595-1605



Fragment from a central medallion(?), depicting a tree and a character's head.

panel tile  
fragment

Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1993, 287-289, fig. 63.

area of the archbishop's palace

### **51. Jesus and the Samaritan Woman at the well**

1595-1605



Top of a well under a semicircular arch with vegetal decoration.

panel tile  
fragment

Balassi Bálint Múzeum, Esztergom, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1993, 287-289, fig. 64.

**Füzér**  
castle

## 52. Abraham and Isaac

1562



Standing man ready to strike a kneeling child, under a semicircular arch. Inscription: "ABRAHAMISAK".

panel tile  
19.5 x 23.5 cm.  
unglazed

Herman Ottó Múzeum, Miskolc, inv. no. ?.

Havassy, 2002, 77, cat. 17, fig. Kat. 17.

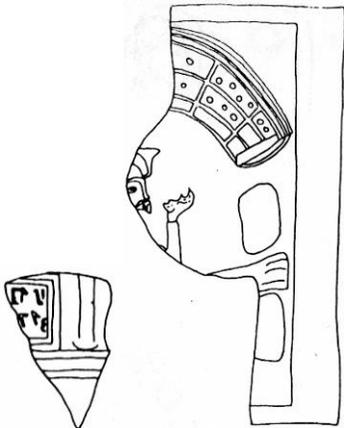
Simon, 2000, 183, fig. 39.2.

Dankó, 1996, cat. 51, fig. 7.

castle

## 53. Jephthah

middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Character with one raised hand, under a semicircular arch. Inscription fragment.

panel tile  
2 fragments

Gyuricza, 1992, 91, 18-19, fig. 33-34.

**Gerla**  
castle

**54. St. Peter and St. Paul**



Standing holy figures, one holding a book and a key, the other a sword(?).

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

reconstructed tile

fragment: 17.5 x 7.7 x 3.7 cm.

relief and open-work

unglazed

Munkácsy Mihály Múzeum Békéscsaba, inv. no. 52.1205.1.

Havassy, 2002, 104, cat. 173, fig. Kat. 173.

Méri, 1960, 358, fig. CX 7.

castle

**55. St. Catherine of Alexandria**



Kneeling crowned holy female holding a wheel and surrounded by wheels. Upper part of the tile ending in merlons.

crest tile  
27.5 x 17 cm.  
relief and open-work  
unglazed (red paint?)

Munkácsy Mihály Múzeum Békéscsaba, inv. no. 52.1213.1, 52.1216.1

Havassy, 2002, 104, 105, cat. 176, 177, fig. Kat. 177.  
Méri, 1960, 358, fig. CX 8.

## Győr

Káptalan-domb, Martinovics tér 1-2, rubbish pit near bishop's palace

**56. Archangel Michael slaying the dragon**  
middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Draped figure with wings slaying a dragon by his feet with a spear, standing on a corbel flanking the Gothic arch on a niche tile.

semi-cylindrical tile  
fragments  
main motif: 21 cm.  
green glaze

Holl, 1998a, 194, fig. 49.3.

Holl, 1984, 216, 217, fig. 14.

Szöke, Szőnyi, Tomka, 1980, 140-141, fig. 84.1 and 2.

**Gyula**  
castle

**57. Pelican in her Piety**



Pelican tearing its breast for the chicks in the nest.

unglazed

János Corvin Múzeum, Gyula, inv. no. ?.

photo by the author with permission of János Corvin Múzeum.

**Hahót**  
Franciscan friary

**58. Pelican in her Piety**

15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Pelican in a nest feeding her chicks. Central medallion, vegetal elements in the corners.

fragmentary panel tile  
reconstructed

Göcseji Múzeum Zalaegerszeg, inv. no. ?.

Bánffy, 1994, fig. 8.

**Hegyhátszentmárton**  
castle

**59. Jonathan**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Bust of a man in full armor. Inscription: “..NATAN I R”.

green glaze

Holl, 1993, 272, 273, fig. 38.

**Kőszeg**  
castle

**60. Evangelist Mark. Lion with halo, symbol of Mark the evangelist**  
beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Medallion with lion with wings, halo and inscription band. Inscription: "MARCUS"(?).

bowl-shaped tile with closed opening

23 x 22.5 x 13.6 cm.

min. 9 tiles (one tile: main motif 10% smaller and torsade added)

Holl, 1992, 38, 40, fig. 16.4, 176, fig. 142.1, fig. 143.1.

castle

**61. St. George slaying the dragon**

first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fully armed knight on foot, slaying a dragon with a spear under a Gothic arch.

panel tile

41.5 x 20.8 x 1 cm.

min. 11 tiles

Holl, 1992, 39, 41, 177, fig. 144.

castle

**62. St. Peter and St. Paul**  
beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



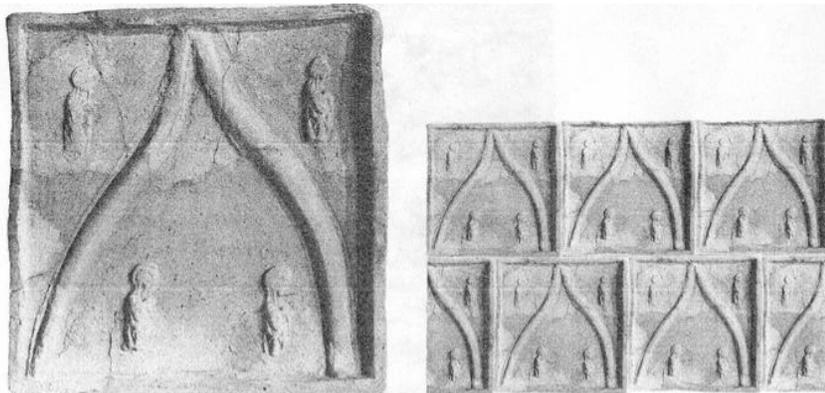
Two standing saintly figures separated by a tree. The one on the right is holding a sword.

panel tile  
23 x 20.5 cm.  
min. 3 tiles

Holl, 1992, 39, 40, fig. 16.1, 177, fig. 144.

castle

**63. Saints**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Field divided by a large pointed arch (motif continuing on neighboring tiles), decorated with four small standing saintly figures in profile.

panel tile  
21 x 21 cm.  
min. 3 tiles

Holl, 1992, 43, 181, fig. 148.4-5.

**Külsóvat**  
village house

**64. St. George slaying the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with the spear.

bowl-shaped tile  
reconstructed tile  
17.4 x 16.6 x 9.5-11.5 cm.  
min. 5 tiles  
unglazed

Gróf Esterházy Károly Kastély és Tájmúzeum(?), Pápa, inv. no. 88.4.17.

Sabján, 2004, 326, fig. 1.A/10, 340.  
Sabján, 1991, 24.  
Sabján, Ilon, 1989, 60, 68, fig.5.A.10

village house

**65. St. George slaying the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted figure slaying the dragon with the spear.

bowl-shaped tile

entire tile  
17.8 x 17-17.1 x 10.2-16 cm.  
min. 5 tiles  
unglazed

Gróf Esterházy Károly Kastély és Tájmuzeum(?), Pápa., inv. no. 88.4.16.

Sabján, 2004, 327, fig. 2.B/3, 340.  
Sabján, Ilon, 1989, 61, 71, fig.8.B.3, 82.

village house

**66. St. George slaying the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with the spear. Connected through a torsade with another tile decorated with vegetal motifs.

corner tile (combination of a bowl tile and a short panel tile)  
entire tile  
18 x 16.4 x 9.5 cm.  
min. 1 tile  
unglazed

Gróf Esterházy Károly Kastély és Tájmuzeum(?), Pápa, inv. no. 88.4.15.

Sabján, 2004, 327, fig. 2.B/4, 340.  
Sabján, Ilon, 1989, 61, 71, fig.8.B.40.

village house

**67. St. George slaying the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted figure slaying the dragon with the spear.

bowl-shaped tile

entire tile

17.5-17.7 x 16.7-17 x 9.,7-12 cm.

min. 7 tiles

unglazed

Gróf Esterházy Károly Kastély és Tájmuzeum(?), Pápa, inv. no. 88.4.18.

Sabján, 2004, 327, fig. 2.B/5, 341.

Sabján, 1991, 24.

Sabján, Ilon, 1989, 61, 72, fig.9.B.5, 82.

village house

### 68. St. George slaying the dragon

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted figure slaying the dragon with the spear; in the background princess and castle(?).

bowl-shaped tile

reconstructed tile

16.8 x 15.8 x 8.6 cm.

Gróf Esterházy Károly Kastély és Tájmuzeum(?), Pápa, inv. no. ?.

Sabján, 2004, 327, fig. 2.E/2, 341.

**Nagyvázsony**  
Pauline monastery, pit near kitchen

**69. Pelican in her Piety**

end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Central medallion with pelican tearing its breast. Small dragons and Maria inscription around: "maria" in Gothic minuscule.

circular tile/central medallion of a rectangular panel tile

diameter: 12 cm.

unglazed

Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, Veszprém, inv. no. N.59.26.1-2.

Tamási, 1995, 59, 135-136, fig. 123.

Holl, 1983, 215, 216, fig. 29, 217.

Kinizsi castle

**70. St. George slaying the dragon**



Mounted figure slaying the dragon with a spear. Castle and princess in the background. Denticulate upper and lower borders.

panel tile  
fragments

16 x 16 cm.  
min. 3 tiles  
unglazed(?)

Tamási, 1989, 154, 155, fig. 5.1.

Kinizsi castle

**71. St. George slaying the dragon**

Mounted figure slaying a dragon.

panel tile  
reconstructed  
17.8 x 16.8 cm.  
min. 2 tiles

Tamási, 1989, 154.

Kinizsi castle

**72. St. George slaying the dragon**

panel tile  
fragments  
17.8 x 17 cm.

Tamási, 1989, 154, 155, fig. 2.

**Nyék**  
royal hunting lodge

**73. Mary's portrait(?)**  
beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mary/angel/saint head with rosette-like halo.

Holl, 2002, 377, fig. 15.

**Nyírbátor**  
castle

**74. St. George and St. Peter**  
1488-1493



Standing characters in niches flanking a coat of arms. St. George as fully armed knight on foot slaying the dragon, Peter as standing old man holding the book and the key.

panel tile(?)  
reconstructed tile  
unglazed

Báthori István Múzeum, Nyírbátor, inv. no. 69.72.2.

Holl, 1998a, 202, fig. 1-2.

Holl, 1980, 41, fig. 21.

Magyar, 1971, 159, 155, fig. 2.

**Oradea**  
unknown

**75. St. Ladislav**  
16<sup>th</sup> c. (1540?)



Crowned knight on horseback, under a semicircular arch with masks, holding a shield and the battle axe. Frame depicting on the lower side a character, three leaves and an inscription with the date: “? AD 1540”.

panel entire tile  
unglazed

private collection in Bucharest. Lost(?)

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 245.  
Balogh, 1982, 106, fig. 98.

castle/ seat of the bishop of Oradea

**76. Prophet**  
15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.



Hand holding text band with inscription: “..78”(?). Frame with torsade.

panel tile  
fragment  
13 x 11 cm.  
green glaze

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 248, cat. 34, 441, plate 102.34.

**Ormož, Ptuj**  
dwelling(?)

**77. Eve**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Naked female character covering her genitalia with her crossed hands and a leaf. Part of a niche tile(?).

semi-cylindrical tile  
fragment  
11.8 x 6.4-4.85 x 2.3 cm.  
unglazed

?, inv. no. PMP AM 0.360.

Tomanič-Jeremov, 1997, 119, fig. 4.75, 121, 132, 139, fig. 11.75.

**Ötvöskónyi, Somogy**  
manor house of the Báthori family

**78. Pelican in her Piety**  
middle-second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Holl, 1995, 266.  
Magyar, 1974, 46-47, fig. 41.

**Ozora**  
castle

**79. Pelican in her Piety**  
end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with medallion representing a pelican feeding its chicks in the nest.

fragment

13 x 10 cm. / 9 x 7 cm.

min. 2 tiles

fragments with and without engobe

green glaze

Tamási, 2004, 523, 525, fig. 14.

Mikó, Takács, 1994, 315, cat. V-39, fig. V-39.

**Pilisszentkereszt**  
Cistercian monastery

**80. St. Anthony**

Holl, 1998a, 193.

Cistercian monastery

**81. St. Peter**



Standing figure under a gothic niche, marking the edge of a corner tile decorated with rosettes on the side(s?).

corner tile

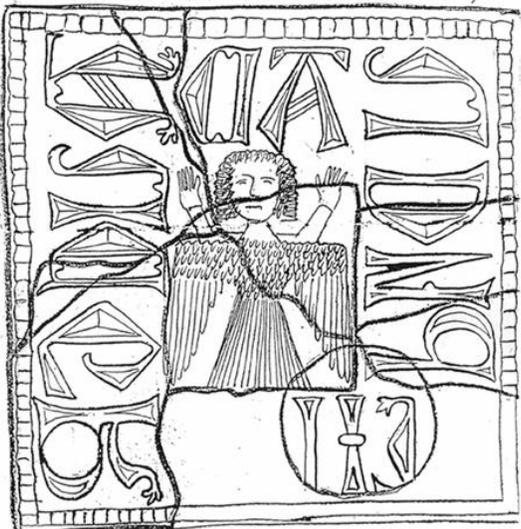
Holl, 1998a, 202, fig. 3.

### **Pomáz**

manor house owned by the Cyko family, refuse pit

#### **82. Annunciation(?). Angel and inscription**

end of the 14<sup>th</sup> c.



Orant angel surrounded by a Marian inscription: “AVE GRATIA PLENA D(OMINI)”, in fact readable “AVD GR [ATIA] PNDNAD”.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

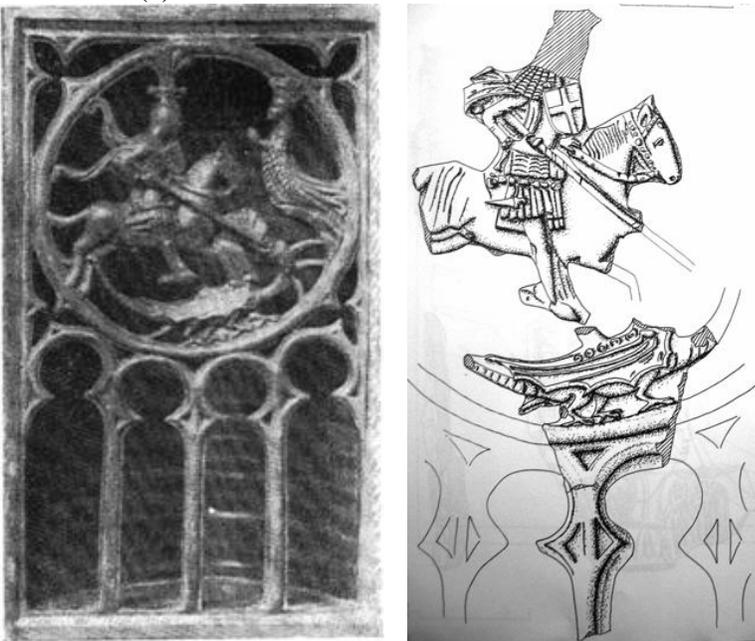
ca. 17 x 17 cm.  
min. 6 tiles (probably 2 different molds)  
green glaze

Gruia, 2008a, 39, fig. 8.  
Virágos, 1997, 38, fig. 118.  
Hajnal, II.

manor house owned by the Cyko family, refuse pit

### 83. St. George slaying the dragon

1423-1437(?)



Medallion with fully armed knight slaying the dragon with a spear in front of a kneeling princess.

semi-cylindrical tile  
reconstructed tile  
45.6 cm. (Hajnal: 13.8 x 11.1 and 13.5 x 11.7 cm.)  
open-work medallion and tracery  
green glaze

Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, inv. no. 60.17.879.C.

Virágos, 1997, 38, fig. 121.  
Holl, 1990, 80-82, fig. 28, 29.  
Hajnal, I, cat. 6, fig. 6.

**Sárospatak**  
unknown

**84. Rosette with cross**  
16<sup>th</sup> c. / 1530



Central rosette with cross among vegetal and geometric decoration.

panel tile

polychrome glaze (green, blue, pink, yellow, brown on white background)

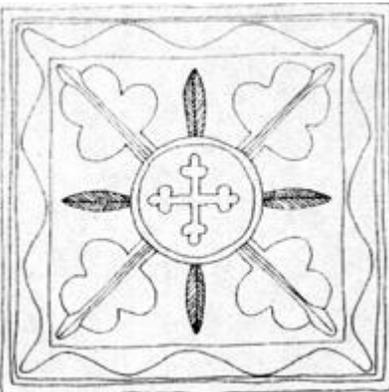
Holl, 2004, 353, 354, fig. 13.

Gyuricza, 1992, cat. 273, 142, fig. 273.

unknown

**85. Rosette with cross**

16<sup>th</sup> c. / 1530



Central rosette with cross among vegetal and geometric decoration.

panel tile

polychrome glaze (green, blue, pink, yellow, brown on white background)

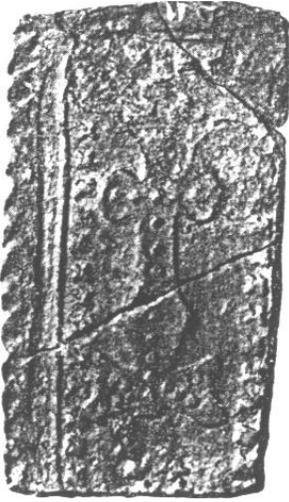
Holl, 2004, 353, 354, fig. 13.

Gyuricza, 1992, cat. 274, 142, fig. 274.

**Sarvaly**  
village house

**86. Cross**

first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Stylized double cross surmounted by a crown.

corner tile(?)

Holl, Parádi, 1982, 108, 109, fig. 167. 3.

village house

**87. St. George slaying the dragon**  
first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with rosette.

fragment  
16.2 cm.

Holl, Parádi, 1982, 107, fig. 167. 2.

**Seleuş, Arad**  
unknown

**88. Pelican in her Piety**  
15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with nest, chicks, and bird beak.

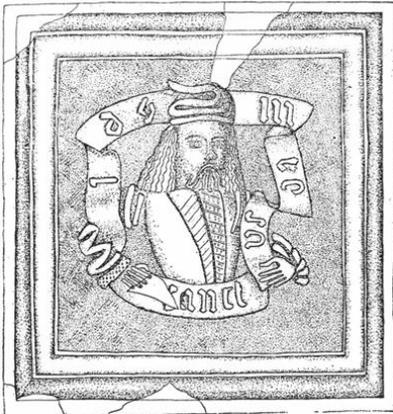
fragment  
13.2 x 10 cm.  
unglazed(?)

Complexul Muzeal Arad, inv. no. ?.

Hurezan, Szatmári, 2000, 434, 435, 458, fig. 1.3, 463, fig.6.3.

**Szécsény**  
market town

**89. Prophet Daniel**  
15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



Bust of man holding an inscription band: "SANCTUS DANIEL".

bowl-shaped tile  
reconstructed tile  
21.3 x 21.3 x 11 cm.  
green glaze

Kubinyi Ferenc Múzeum Szécsény(?), inv. no. 88.50.8.

Bodnár, 1988, 12, cat.10, fig.10.

market town

**90. St. Peter**

15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



Bust of older man with halo, holding a large key in his raised right hand.

panel tile/bowl-shaped(?)

reconstructed tile

21.5 x 21.5 cm.

green glaze

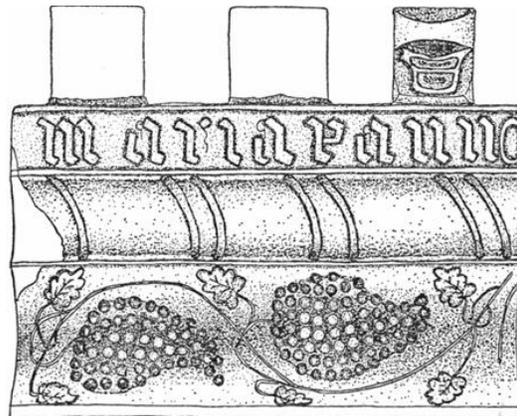
Kubinyi Ferenc Múzeum Szécsény(?), inv. no. 87.7.1.

Bodnár, 1988, 11, cat.9, fig.9.

market town

**91. Mary inscription and grapes**

15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crest tile with four registers: grapes, geometrical, inscription and three small merlons decorated with shields with stars(?). Inscription: "MARIA PANNO".

crest tile

21 x 16.5 cm.

min. 2 tiles

green glaze

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 3604/ Kubinyi Ferenc Múzeum Szécsény(?), inv. no. 87.7.8

<http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline> no. 013708.

Bodnár, 1988, 12, cat.11, fig.11.

Pulszky, 1883, 260, fig. 4.

### **Székesfehérvár**

urban house, Rózsa Ferenc St. 4

#### **92. Pelican in her Piety**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with pelican with spread wings.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

unglazed

István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, inv. no. ?.

Boldizsár, 1993, 89, fig. X. 99.

urban house(?), Simor St.

#### **93. Prophet**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with male bust holding an empty inscription band.

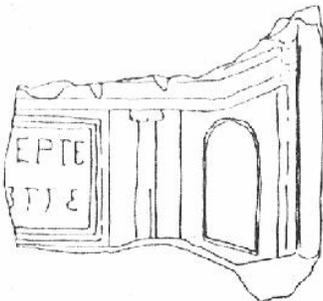
fragment  
green glaze

István Király Múzeum, Székesfehérvár, inv. no. ?.

Boldizsár, 1993, 89, fig. X. 104, XI. 105.

**Szerencs**  
castle

**94. Jephthah**  
middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (1553?)



Fragment with inscription plaque: “..EPTE 1553”

panel tile  
fragment  
green glaze

Gyuricza, 1992, 69, cat. 244, 135, fig. 244.

**Szombathely**  
castle

**95. St. George slaying the dragon**



Mounted character with halo slaying a dragon with a spear. Rosette from the back of the horse.

15.8-16.2 x 17.7 cm.  
min. 6 tiles  
green glaze

Méri, 1960, 348, 359, fig. CXI 4-7, 9, 10.

**Tata**  
castle

**96. St. Margaret of Antioch**  
15<sup>th</sup> c. (1480?)



Standing, crowned female figure, orant position and stepping on the head of a dragon.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)  
fragment  
12 cm. (main motif)

Holl, 1998a, 191, 198, fig. 53.  
Mikó, Takács, 1994, 312.

Szatmári, 1986, 79 and fig. 22.

**Vértesszentkereszt**  
Benedictine monastery

**97. St. George slaying the dragon**  
beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Holl, 2002, 367, fig. 1.19.

Holl, 1990, 77.

**Visegrád**  
royal palace, ceremonial hall

**98. Prophet**  
1458-1490



Bearded man holding up a written inscription band. Figure marking the edge of a corner tile with angels holding coats of arms.

corner tile

fragment

green glaze and red paint (the coat of arms fragment is unglazed, but red painted)

Mátyás Király Múzeum, Visegrád, inv. no. ?.

Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 35, 144, fig. LXX/144.

royal palace, ceremonial hall

**99. Archangel Gabriel**  
1458-1490



Standing character with mantle and wings wearing a mantle and holding a phylactery. Part of corner tile with angles holding coat of arms.

corner tile

fragment

31 x 28 cm.

relief wings on sides, sculpted statuette

green glazed tile, except for the coat of arms and the archangel which are unglazed

Mátyás Király Múzeum Visegrád, inv. no. ?.

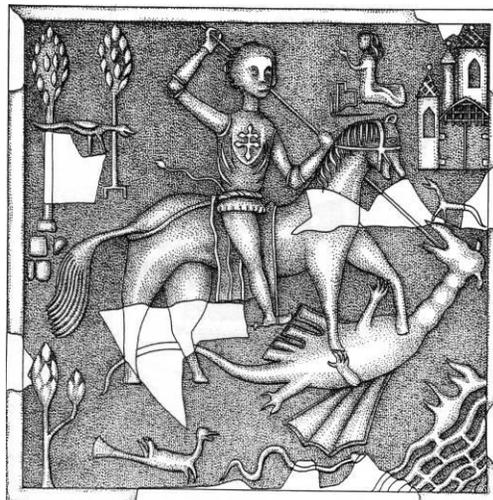
Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 35, 140, fig. LXVI-LXIX/140-143.

Laszlovszky, 1995, 40, 141, fig. 167.

royal palace and citadel

### 100. St. George slaying the dragon

first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (ca. 1410)



St. George on horseback slaying the dragon with a spear; river, fish and lizard in the foreground, trees, princess and fortification in the background.

panel tile  
ca. 33 x 33 cm.  
green glaze  
8-10 tiles

Kocsis, 2006, 127, fig. 6.

Kocsis Edit, "A visegrádi vár középkori kályhacsempéi", unpublished presentation during the Târgu Mureş Conference, June 2008.

two-storey house part of royal curia

**101. Pelican in her Piety**

14<sup>th</sup> c.



Pelican tearing its own chest to feed its chicks, acorns in the background.

panel tile  
relief and incisions (on acorns)  
ca. 20 x 20 cm.  
polychrome glaze (yellowish; pinkish-brown glaze for the eyes of the birds), yellow glaze

Kocsis, Sabján, 1998, 8, 75, fig. I/1.

Laszlovszky, 1995, 39, 122, fig. 144 a.

royal palace and citadel

**102. Mary's portrait(?)**

beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (ca. 1420-1430)



Mary/angel/saint head with rosette-like halo.

circular tile

13-14 cm.

unglazed/green glaze/yellow glaze

min. 21 tiles

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum(?), Budapest, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1958, 236, 239, fig. 51.

Kocsis, 2006, 136, fig. 48.

### **Zalavár**

Benedictine monastery

#### **103. Pelican in her Piety**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Medallion with pelican in the nest, feeding its chicks with its own flesh.

fragment

unglazed?

Parádi, 1990, 157, 160, fig.7.1.

Benedictine monastery

#### **104. St. George**



Fragments with horse, dragon head, and spear.

panel tile(?)  
min. 2 tiles

Parádi, 1990, 157, 159, fig.6. 4 and 6.

**unknown Gyula(?)**  
unknown

### 105. St. George slaying the dragon



Mounted character slaying a dragon with a lance. Four smaller characters (humans? dragons?) in the corners.

crest tile (two fragments cut in two, probably corner tiles)  
entire tile  
min. 3 tiles  
26 x 17 cm.

János Corvin Múzeum, inv. no. ?.

Kiss, Tóth, Zágórhidi, 1998, 206–207, fig. 157.  
Méri, 1960, 358-9, fig. CXII 1.

**unknown Répcevis(?)**  
unknown

**106. Judith and Holofernes**  
middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Female bust under Renaissance arch holding a man's severed head.

panel tile  
entire tile  
22 x 22 cm.  
unglazed

Balatoni Múzeum, Balaton, inv. no. 13.512.

Holl, 1993, 273-274, fig. 40.  
*Archaeologiai Értesítő* 24/1904, 178.

unknown

**107. Samson fighting the lion**



Hands opening the mouth of a lion.

fragment  
7 x 7 cm.

unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 15717.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013731.

**unknown**

**108. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Naked male and female beside a tree with a snake coiled on it.

panel tile

entire tile

unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 52. 3650.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline) no. 013777.

**unknown**

**109. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling princess, hand holding the handle of a spear(?).

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 69. 175.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013730.

**unknown**

**110. Creation of Eve**



Eve rising from the side of sleeping Adam at the call of God.

panel tile  
fragment  
11.5 x 13 cm.  
green glaze

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 15716.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013729.

**unknown**

**111. Samson fighting the lion**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing man opening the mouth of a lion besides an acorn tree. Rosettes in the upper corners.

panel tile  
entire tile  
unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 523651.1.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013723.

**unknown**

**112. St. George slaying the dragon**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with spear. Kneeling female figure in the background.

panel tile  
entire tile  
unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 78. 146. 1.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013715.

Strauss, 1983, 111, table 30, fig. 2.

**unknown**

**113. St. Ladislav**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with upper body of bearded man with crown, shoulder rosette and shield with cross.

fragment

19 cm.

unglazed

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 15718.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013732.

## Transylvania

### Bistrița

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

#### 114. Jesus judged by Pilate

around 1500



Character sitting on a throne. In front of him, Jesus standing with tied hands, surrounded by three armed soldiers. Lower part of the tile not preserved.

panel tile

one fragment 18 x 18 cm, another 9 x 18 cm.

min. 2 tiles

one polychrome glazed (green, yellow, brown), one unglazed

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180.

Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 47, fig. 5.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

#### 115. St. Christopher

around 1500



Christopher holding Jesus and leaning on a tree; buildings and monk in the background.

panel tile  
entire tile

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 181.

Sebestyen, 1985, 34, fig. 8.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

### 116. Annunciation

around 1500



Virgin kneeling in front of a lectern and Gabriel kneeling in front of her. Characters divided by a column with phylactery, under architectural elements.

panel, corner tile  
reconstructed tile  
33 x 24.5 cm.  
green glaze

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

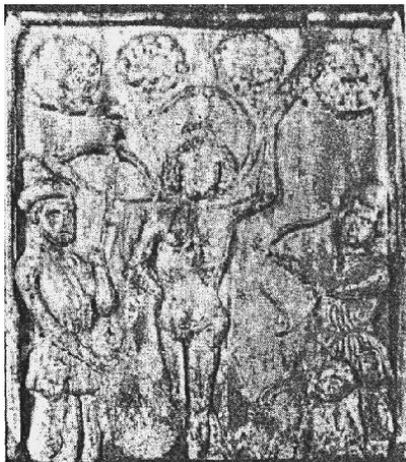
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 347.

Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 44-45, fig. 1.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

### **117. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian**

around 1500



Saint against a tree, with one arm raised, flanked by two archers holding bows and crossbows. Trees in the background.

panel tile

entire tile

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 181.

Sebestyen, 1985, 34, fig. 7.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

### **118. Mary crowned by the Holy Trinity**

around 1500



God the Father holds an orb and blesses the kneeling Virgin who is being crowned by Jesus. In the upper part angels with crosses on their heads.

panel tile  
24 x 16 cm.  
reconstructed tile  
unglazed

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 181.  
Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 50, fig. 8.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**119. Mary crowned by Jesus**  
around 1500



Jesus placing a crown on Mary's head. Both sitting on chairs on a small platform, under Gothic decoration. Two angels behind Jesus and Mary and two on the crowning of the motif.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
29 x 22.5 cm.  
green glaze

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 348.  
Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 49, fig. 7.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**120. St. Catherine of Alexandria - the mystical marriage**  
around 1500



St. Catherine kneeling before the Virgin and the child Christ. Torsade frame.

panel tile  
shield shape  
29 x 25 cm.

polychrome glaze (green, yellow, brown)

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 347.

Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 45-46, fig. 2.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**121. Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



A man and a woman at a well, frame with vegetal decoration.

panel tile

fragment

25 x 19 cm.

unglazed

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 348.

Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 47, fig. 4.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**122. Magus Melchior**

around 1500



Kneeling man and servant holding the reins of his horse.

panel tile  
32 x 21.5 cm.  
unglazed

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180.  
Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 46-47, fig. 3.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**123. Resurrection**  
around 1500



Jesus blessing, rising from the tomb, flanked by sleeping soldiers.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
29 x 23 cm.  
unglazed

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 348.

Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1993, 48-49, fig. 6.

urban house Șugălete St. no. 22, house of Andreas Beuchel

**124. Magus Balthazar**  
around 1500



Mounted king holding a ciborium. City in the background  
panel tile  
entire tile

Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud(?), inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 181.  
Sebestyen, 1985, 34, fig. 6.

**Bodogaia**  
stray find

**125. Samson fighting the lion**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.

panel tile  
entire tile  
24.8-25.3 x 18-18.2 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 181.  
Holl, 1993, 294, fig. 70.  
Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 47.

**Brâncovenеști**

castle

**126. St Catherine and St. Barbara**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



St. Barbara holding tower and lily and St. Catherine holding sword and wheel, standing under gothic arches, with corresponding symbols: deer and Agnus Dei. Vegetal motifs in the upper part.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
ca. 36 x 24 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie Târgu Mureș, inv. no. ?.

Benkő, 2004, 64, fig. 12.  
photo by Zoltán Soós

**Cechești**  
village house 1

**127. Samson fighting the lion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

panel tile  
fragments  
unglazed

Muzeul Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 185.  
Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 50-51.

village house 2

**128. St. Ladislav fighting the Cuman**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing king wearing a crown with three crosses raises the battle axe against a Cuman with pointed hat and bow.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
26 x 19.7 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2005, 102, fig. 3.6.  
Gruia, 2005b.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 186, 354.  
Klusch, 1999, 38, fig. 47.  
Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 53, plate 13.

village house 2

**129. St. George(?)**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



CEU eTD Collection

Man standing on a dragon and slaying it with a spear. Bird, jar, and acorn in the background.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
22.5 x 21.3 cm.  
min. 3 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T1.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004.  
Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 53-54, plate 12.

### **Cetatea de Baltă** castle

#### **130. Archangel Michael slaying the dragon** 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Winged character standing on a dragon and slaying it with a spear.

crest tile  
triangular upper ending  
reconstructed tile  
24 x 34 cm.  
5 fragments  
unglazed

Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 186, 355.  
Rusu, 1996a, 146-147, fig.11.

### **Cluj-Napoca**

Prahovei St. no. 12, wooden city house and pottery workshop

**131. St. Ladislav on horseback**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Knight with shield and shoulder rosette.

panel tile

fragment

white engobe

unglazed

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F26884.

Gruia, 2005a, 101, fig. 1.4.

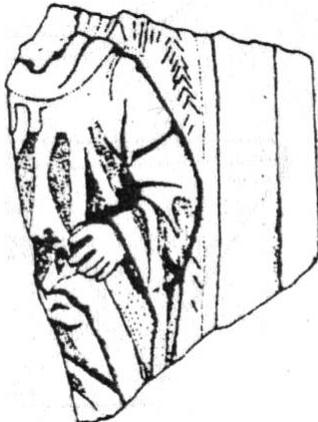
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 191, 360.

Crișan, 1996, plate 13.1.

Prahovei St. no. 12, wooden city house and pottery workshop

**132. Annunciation. Kneeling angel**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing/kneeling character with wings and halo holding a phylactery(?).

clay mold

fragment

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F. 26894.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 191, cat. 16, 360, plate. 22B, fig. 16.

Crișan, 1996, plate XIII.7.

Prahovei St. no. 12, wooden city house and pottery workshop

**133. Judith and Holofernes**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing female holding a sword.

panel tile  
fragment  
green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F. 26824.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 191, cat. 17, 361, plate. 23, fig. 17.

photo by author with permission of Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei.

Matei Corvin St. no. 4, cellar(?) of urban house

**134. Saint**

15<sup>th</sup>



Female head with halo.

panel tile  
fragment

green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 187, 357, fig. B10.

**Cluj-Mănăștur**  
Benedictine/Jesuit monastery

**135. Moses**

16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> c.

Inscription in lower border: "DO ERSO VERB".

panel tile

3 fragments

back rim 5.4 x 1cm.

green yellowish glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F23250, F23258, F25243.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 201.

Benedictine/Jesuit monastery

**136. Moses**

16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing character with sword/stick, beard and horns. Inscription in lower border: "NESEN".

panel tile

fragment

white-yellowish engobe

green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F.23247.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 201, 376, fig. 11.

### **Cluj-St.Peter**

Magyar Street no. 134, Hungarian suburb

#### **137. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Knightly saint on horseback, holding up a sabre. Princess in the background.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

23.6 x 17.4-17.7 cm.

min 2 tiles

relief, one fragment with sgraffiti

unglazed

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T2.

Benkő, 2004, 59, 100-101, fig. 10, 11.

Magyar Street no.134, Hungarian suburb

#### **138. St. Barbara and St. Catherine**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



St. Barbara with the tower and St. Catherine holding the sword, both crowned, standing under small domes.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
28.5 x 23.3 cm.  
red paint, engobe  
unglazed

Benkő, 2004, 58, 98, fig. 8.

Magyar Street no.134, Hungarian suburb

**139. St. Ladislav on horseback**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Shoulder rosette and asymmetrical shield with cross.

panel tile  
fragment  
12 x 12 cm.  
engobe

green glaze

Gruia, 2005a, 101, fig. 1.5.

Gruia, 2005b.

Benkő, 2004, 60, 107, fig. 17.

Magyar Street no.134, Hungarian suburb

**140. St. Michael**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Lower body armor and wing.

panel tile

unglazed

fragment

13 x 13.5 cm.

Benkő, 2004, 58, 97, fig. 7.

Magyar Street no.134, Hungarian suburb

**141. Annunciation. Kneeling angel with scroll**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling angel with inscription band with letters “..VE”. Left hand lifted.

panel tile  
fragment  
15 x 10.2 cm.  
unglazed

Benkő, 2004, 59, 102, fig. 12.

Magyar Street no.134, Hungarian suburb

**142. Samson fighting the lion(?)**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling character with mantle(?) and lion's mouth(?).

panel tile  
11.8 x 6.5 cm.  
unglazed

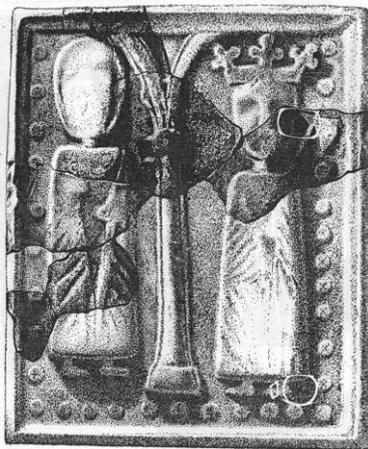
Benkő, 2004, 59, 103, fig. 13.

**Cristuru Secuiesc**

market town house, Piața Libertății no. 45

**143. St. Ladislav and St. Emeric(?)**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two standing figures separated by a column. One character wears a crown with crosses and holds a battle axe.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile

25.5 x 21 cm.  
min 3 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2005a, 102, fig. 3.10.

Gruia, 2005b.

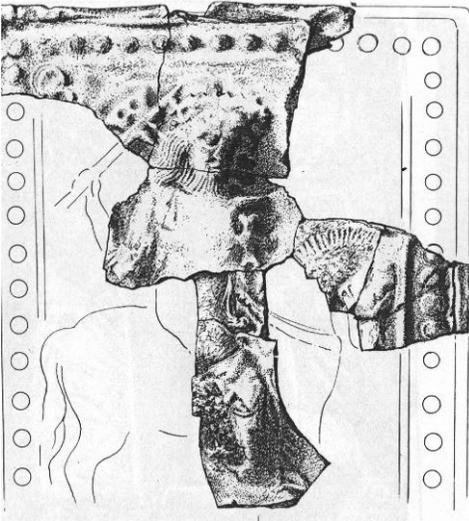
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 204, 379, fig.B4.

Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 70, plate 60.

market town house, Piața Libertății no. 45

**144. St. Ladislav on horseback**

beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight with crown, asymmetrical shield and battle axe. Dotted border.

panel tile  
fragment  
20.5 x 21.7(?) cm.  
min 2 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul din Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2005a, 101, fig. 1.2.

Gruia, 2005b.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 204.

Benkő, Ughy, 1984, p. 69, plate 57.

Piața Libertății, no. 47, late medieval cellar

**145. Samson fighting the lion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

panel tile  
fragments  
unglazed

Muzeul din Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 206.  
Benkő, Demeter, Székely, 1997, 93.

Piața Libertății, no. 47, late medieval cellar

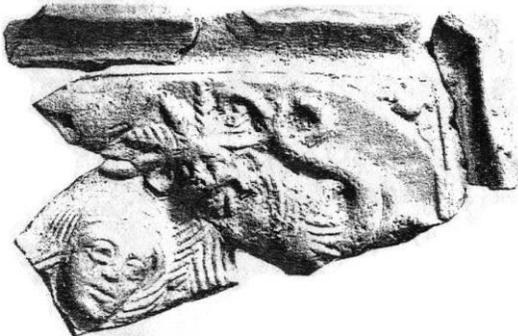
**146. St. Ladislav and St. Emeric(?)**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.

panel tile  
unglazed  
fragments

Benkő, Demeter, Székely, 1997, 93.

Piața Libertății, no. 47, late medieval cellar

**147. Archangel Michael weighing souls**  
15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Upper right corner of a panel tile depicting the head of a winged character and a devil.

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Benkő, Demeter, Székely, 1997, 88, fig. 14.2, 93, 199, fig. 40.3.

Kriza János St., no. 6, wooden town house

**148. St. George slaying the dragon**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Rider slaying a dragon with a spear under vegetal decoration.

fragmentary panel tile  
 fragments with and without engobe  
 unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T3.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 207.

Benkő, Demeter, Székely, 1997, 138, fig. 1, 139, plate 45.2.

manor house, Kriza János St., no. 23

**149. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Horse, dragon, spear, kneeling princess.

panel tile fragments

25 x 18 cm.

unglazed, traces of red paint

Benkő, Székely, 2008, 251, 253, fig. 118.

manor house, Kriza János St., no. 23

**150. Samson fighting the lion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling knight with mantle/wings(?), standing on and opening the mouth of a lion.

panel tile

27.3 x 21.2 cm.

unglazed

min. 5 tiles

Benkő, Székely, 2008, 251, 252, 254, fig. 119.

manor house, Kriza János St., no. 23

**151. Samson killing the lion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



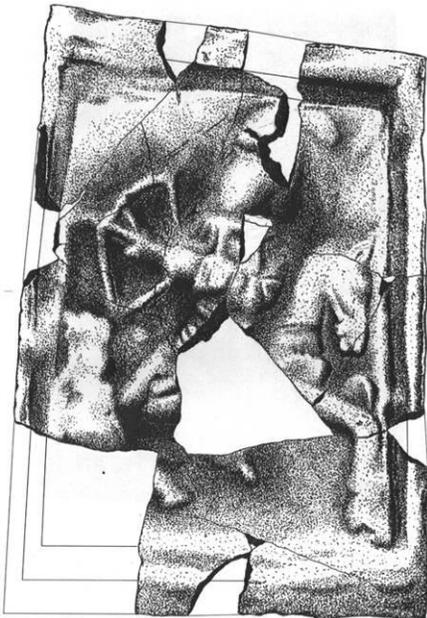
Man in Renaissance costume standing on and opening the mouth of a lion, under a semicircular arch decorated with human masks.

panel tile  
 26.1 x 18.4-19.1 cm, 26 x 19.3-19.9 cm.  
 unglazed  
 min. 2 tiles

Benkő, Székely, 2008, 253-255, fig. 120.

manor house, Kriza János St., no. 23

**152. St. Ladislav chasing the Cuman. The Cuman and the girl**  
 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted archer with pointed hat aiming backwards; crowned(?) girl in the foreground.

panel tile  
24.5-25 x 16.9-17.2 cm.  
unglazed  
1 tile

Benkő, Székely, 2008, 255-257, fig. 121.

**Deva**  
unknown

**153. Pelican in her Piety**  
end 16<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.



Pelican tearing its breast and feeding three chicks. Main motif in circular medallion, decorative strips on top and bottom; leaves in the corners.

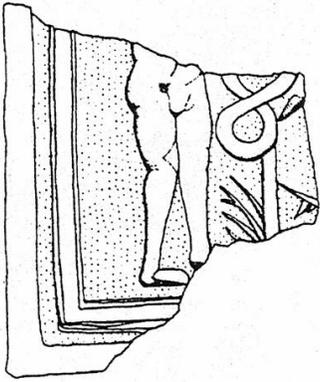
panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
25 x 22 x 0.7-1 cm.  
engobe, red paint

Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane Deva, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 213, 387, fig. 13.  
Marcu, Petrov, 1993.

**Dobârca**  
unknown

**154. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Lower body of naked male character standing in front of a tree, snake(?).

panel tile  
fragment  
15 x 12 x 1 cm.

Muzeul Orășenesc Sebeș, inv. no. A 6313/7.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 213, 388, fig.6.  
Marcu, 2002, 88-89, 93, plate II fig. 6.

### **Drăușeni** fortified church

**155. St. George slaying the dragon**  
first half 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight under decorative arch.

fragmentary panel tile  
min 4 tiles  
engobe  
unglazed

Muzeul Județean Brașov, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T4.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 214, 389, fig. B6.

**Făgăraș**  
castle

**156. Adoration of the Magi**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling figure, child and cradle, in the background a roof, a star and an angel holding an inscription band.

panel tile

fragment

27 x 10.5 x 0.7 cm.

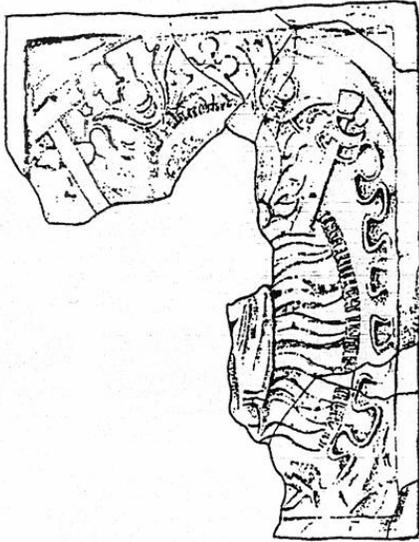
Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 217, 397, fig.30.

castle

**157. *Maria in sole***

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Holy crowned person in mandorla, surrounded by flames or rays.

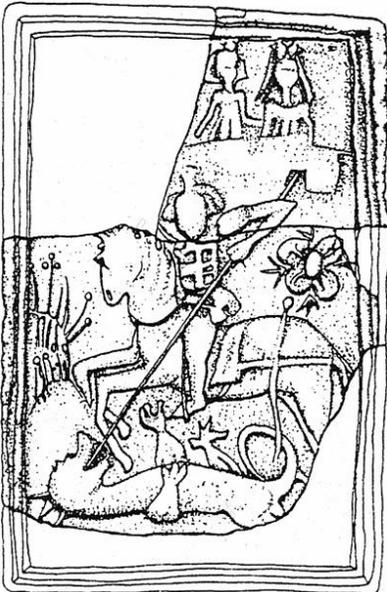
fragmentary panel tile  
28.6 x 22.9 cm.  
white engobe

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 217, 397, fig.31.  
Pușcașu, 1980, 238-239, fig. 14.

castle

**158. St. George slaying the dragon**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Knight on horseback slaying the dragon with a spear. King and queen in the background. Vegetal elements.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
26.7 x 17 x 0.8 cm.  
engobe

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T6.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 217, 397, fig.32.

castle

**159. St. Martin(?)**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with the bust of male saintly figure holding a mantle(?) with his left hand.

panel tile  
fragment  
9 x 10 x 1.2 cm.

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 218, 398, fig.37A.

castle

**160. Jesus and the Samaritan woman at the well**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



A woman offering water to a man at a well, under vegetal decoration. Water jug in front of the well.  
Vegetal border.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

26 x 20.3 x 1 cm.

min. 7 – max. 8 tiles (created with almost identical molds. Most figures are worn out.)

green glaze, engobe

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 218, 398, fig.42.

castle

**161. Moses**

16<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing figure with sword besides a T-shaped cross bearing a snake, under a Renaissance arch.  
Inscription: "MOSES:(E?)R(:?)C3:H/N?G:NV:21".

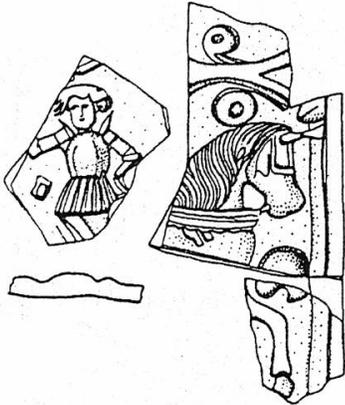
panel tile/one corner tile  
reconstructed tile  
21 x 27 cm.  
min. 7 – max. 8 tiles  
engobe  
green glaze

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. F 66-149.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 221,404, fig 85.  
Klusch, 1999, 45, fig. 62.  
Holl, 1993, 291.

castle

**162. St. George slaying the dragon**  
beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight under vegetal arch.

panel tile  
min. 3 tiles

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T7.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 218, 398, fig.35 a,b.

castle

**163. Crucifixion**  
15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Female saint at the feet of a crucified(?) body.

panel tile  
fragment  
17.5 x 10 x 1 cm.

Muzeul Țării Făgărașului, inv. no. 194K.

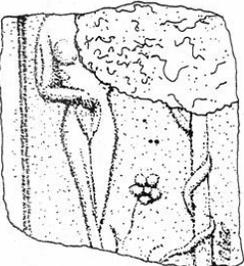
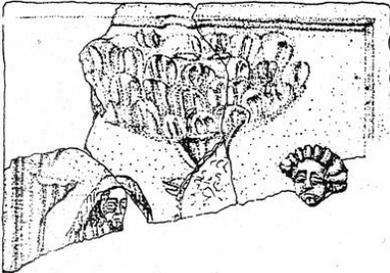
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 217, 397, fig. 29.

### Feldioara

tile workshop on the ruins of the medieval fortification

#### 164. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two standing naked figures besides a tree with a snake coiled on it.

panel tile

fragment  
15.5 cm.  
2 fragments  
min. 4 tiles

Institutul de Arheologie Vasile Pârvan, București, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 232, 421, fig. 15, 15a.

Marcu Istrate, 2003.

Marcu, 1992, 30, 32, fig. 12.

tile workshop on the ruins of the medieval fortification

**165. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing knight slaying a fallen dragon in a vegetal setting.

panel tile

15.5 x 21 x 0.3-1 cm.

min. 10 – max. 12 tiles

Institutul de Arheologie Vasile Pârvan, București, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T5.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 232, 420, fig. 6.

Marcu Istrate, 2003.

Marcu, 1992, 28, 29, fig. 6, 34, 35.

**Gușterița**

unknown

**166. The Madonna**

15<sup>th</sup>



Crowned Mary holding the crowned child Jesus and a fruit.

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. 2508.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 236, 428, fig B1.  
Pulszky, 1883, 259, fig. 3.

### **Hunedoara** Hunyadi castle

#### **167. Prophet or evangelist** 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Neck and chest of a male character.

polychrome fragment

lost

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 238.  
Rusu, 1996b, 125.

### **Lăzarea** manor house of the Lázár family

#### **168. St. George slaying the dragon** 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight spearing a dragon.

semi-cylindrical tile  
entire tile  
19.5 x 25.5 cm.  
relief and open-work  
unglazed

Muzeul Tarisznyás Márton, Gheorgheni, inv. no. S46.03.386a.

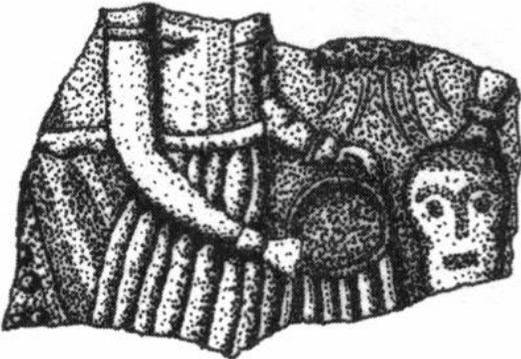
Gruia, 2007b, fig. T10.

Kémenes, 2005, 139, cat. 19, plate 8, fig. 4.

manor house of the Lázár family

### 169. Judith and Holofernes

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Female character holding a plate(?); severed(?) head held by another hand.

panel tile  
polychrome glaze(?)

Muzeul Tarisznyás Márton, Gheorgheni, inv. no. S.10.01.142; S.10.01.143.

Kémenes, 2005, 147, cat. 68, plate 30, fig. 3-4.

manor house of the Lázár family

**170. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing character with mantle, raising a knife in the right hand against a dragon(?) and holding a cross-ended spear in the left. Decorative border.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

21 x 27.5 cm.

3 fragments

unglazed

Muzeul Tarisznyás Márton, Gheorgheni, inv. no. S8.00.130; S33.02.222; S27.02.303.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T9.

Kémenes, 2005, 139, cat. 18, plate 8, fig. 1.

manor house of the Lázár family

**171. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight under stylized Gothic arch slaying the dragon with a spear.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
21.5-22.5 x 24-25.5 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Tarisznyás Márton, Gheorgheni, inv. no. 103; S27.02.289.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T8.  
Kémenes, 2005, 147, cat. 63, plate 26, fig. 1.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 239.  
Molnar, 1978, plate XIV.1.

manor house of the Lázár family

### 172. The Madonna

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Sitting(?) female character holding a child, flanked by two trees.

panel tile  
18 cm.  
green glaze

Muzeul Tarisznyás Márton, Gheorgheni, inv. no. S27.02.298.

Kémenes, 2005, 142, cat. 35, plate 14, fig. 2.

**Lita**  
fortification

**173. Holy Kings of Hungary. St. Ladislas**  
end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Head of a crowned(?) male saint with split beard.

panel tile  
unglazed

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F24688.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 240.

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 40, fig. 6.

photo by the author, with permission of Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei

fortification

**174. Holy Kings of Hungary. St. Stephen**  
end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Head of a crowned male saint.

panel tile  
unglazed

Muzeul Național de Istorie al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F24687.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 240.

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 40, fig. 6.

photo by the author, with permission of Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei

### **Mihăileni**

village (deserted in the 15<sup>th</sup> century)

#### **175. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted holy knight trampling a dragon. Decorative border semicircular in the upper part. In the upper right corner, in a small cartouche, a feminine silhouette (the rescued princess?).

panel tile

reconstructed tile

19 x 23 cm.

min. 7 tiles

unglazed

Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului, Miercurea Ciuc, inv. no. 4096.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T12.

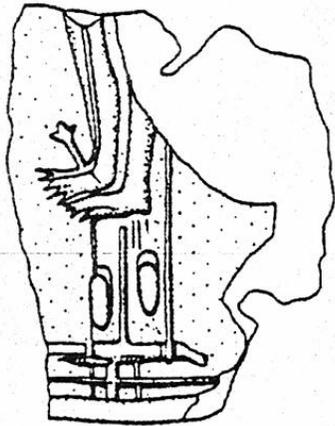
Kémenes, 2005, 114, cat. 1, plate 8, fig. 3.

### **Moșna**

fortified church

#### **176. Crucifixion**

15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Feet nailed to a cross(?).

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Muzeul Moşna, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 244, 437, fig D1.

**Proştea Mare/ Târnavă**  
stray find

**177. St. George slaying the dragon**  
15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



St. George on horseback fighting the dragon. In the background, the crowned kneeling princess, the lamb, and architectural elements. Two crowned heads appear under an arch.

panel tile  
entire tile

28.5 x 24.5 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Brukenthal Sibiu, inv. no. 1884- C.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T11.  
Roșca, 2006, 67, 211, 212, cat. 3.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 478, fig. B1.  
Klusch, 1999, 34, fig. 40, 85, fig. 23.  
Klusch, 1990, fig. 4.  
Fügedi, Köpeczi, 1986, fig. 17.  
Gollner, 1961, 85, fig.1.  
Pulszky, 1883, 257, fig. 1.

**Racoșul de Jos**  
manor house of the Sükösd family

**178. *Maria in sole***  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned Mary with the child Jesus against rays.

panel tile  
18.5 cm.  
unglazed  
traces of the wooden mold

Muzeul Județean Brașov, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 252, 448, fig 11.

manor house of the Sükösd family

**179. Crucifixion**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Jesus on the cross flanked by Mary and John. Frame with small dots, triangles on upper side.

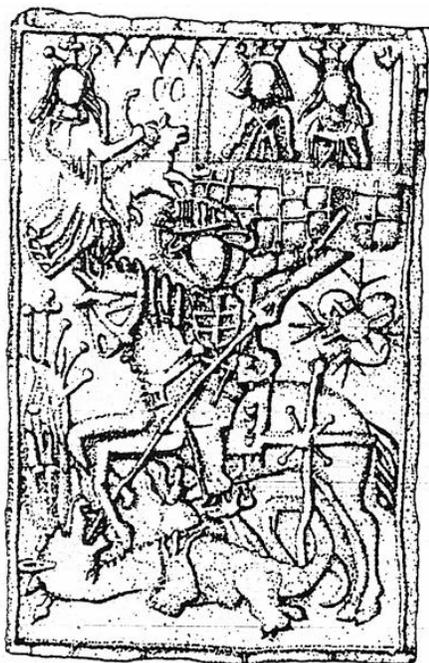
panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
24.5 x 15.5 x 0.4-1 cm.  
38 fragments  
10 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul Județean Brașov, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 252, 447, fig 4.

manor house of the Sükösd family

**180. St. George slaying the dragon**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with a spear; in the background the princes with the lamb and the king and the queen. Vegetal elements in the background.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
24.1 x 16 x 0.4-1 cm.  
71 fragments  
16 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul Județean Brașov, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T13.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 252, 447, fig 3.

manor house of the Sükösd family

### 181. Samson fighting the lion

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with male upper body and vegetal decoration.

panel tile  
fragment: 14.7 x 14.5 x 0.9 cm.  
2 tiles  
unglazed

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 449, fig. 110.20.

**Râșnov**  
fortification

**182. Holy Kings of Hungary. St. Ladislas**  
15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned saint holding a battle axe, under a Gothic arch.

panel tile  
fragment  
14.7 x 6.3 x 0.1 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Județean Brașov, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2005a, 102, fig. 3.8.

Gruia, 2005b.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 263, 467, fig 3.

**Roșia**  
manor house, probably owned by a Saxon graf

**183. Samson fighting the lion**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing knight fighting a lion and opening its mouth. Under arch with coats of arms.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
27.1 x 20 x 1.8 cm.  
engobe  
unglazed

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. 8355.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 264, 531.

Klusch, 1999, 87, fig. 26.

Nägler, 1967, 146, fig 6.

photo by the author with permission of the Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.

manor house

#### **184. Man of Sorrows**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ rising from the grave and supported by two angels is showing his wounds. Scene under semicircular arch decorated with rosettes in the upper corners.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
28.7 x 20.5 x 1.4 cm.  
engobe

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. 8353.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 264, 530.

Klusch, 1999, 92, fig. 34.

Nägler, 1967, 146, fig.7.

photo by the author with permission of the Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.

manor house

### **185. St. Christopher**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



St. Christopher is crossing the river carrying the child Jesus on his shoulder. A church, a tree and a monk in the background.

clay mold

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 264, 530.

Nägler, 1967, 146-147, fig 8.

manor house

**186. St. Christopher**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.(?)



The child Jesus carried on the shoulder by a bearded man.

panel tile

fragment: 14 x 15 x 1-1.5 cm.

unglazed

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. C.2451.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 270, 473, fig. D1.  
Nägler, 1967, 147, fig.14.

**Rugănești**  
stray find

**187. Samson fighting the lion**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Samson, holding the lion between his legs, opens its mouth. The scene takes place under a semi-circular arch decorated with two masks.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
24 x 19.7 cm.  
min. 2 tiles  
unglazed

Muzeul din Cristuru Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 265, 470, fig. A1.  
Klusch, 1999, 36, fig. 44.  
Benkő, Ughy, 1984, 58, plate 23.

**Sîncrai**  
castle owned by the Bánffy family

**188. Judith and Holofernes**  
first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Judith, servant and severed head of Holofernes, in front of a tent, under semicircular arch.

panel tile  
30 x 40 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Județean Aiud, inv. no. ?.

Holl, 1993, 291, 292, fig. 67.

### **Sâncrăieni**

manor house owned by the Andrassy family

**189. IHS**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ's monogram "IHS" in central medallion, written backwards and with cross on H. Vegetal elements and geometric frame.

panel tile  
17.5 x 23.5 cm.  
min. 3 tiles

unglazed

Muzeul Secuiesc al Ciucului, Miercurea Ciuc, inv. no. 2853, 2854.

Kémenes, 2005, 112, cat. 13, plate 28, fig. 4.

**Sebeș**  
Saxon town

**190. St. Barbara and St. Ursula**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two crowned female characters, one having a small tower besides her.

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Muzeul Orășenesc Sebeș, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 266, 471, fig. B6.

Marcu, 2002, 90, 94, plate IV fig. 1.

**Sibiu**  
Franciscan friary

**191. The Madonna**  
15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Child held on the arms.

panel tile

fragment  
13 cm.

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no.?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 269.  
Beșliu, 1991, 81, plate IX f.

Catholic church

**192. Pelican in her Piety**  
end 16<sup>th</sup> -beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.



Pelican tearing her breast in front of three chicks. Inscription: "A G"

panel tile  
24 x 11 cm.

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 269.  
Klusch, 1999, 29-30, fig. 34.

unknown location

**193. Pelican in her Piety**  
1581



Pelican tearing her breast in front of three chicks. Inscription: “OPREA 1581 PR” in Cyrillic and a cross.

panel tile  
entire tile  
23 x 17 cm.  
unglazed

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 271.  
Klusch, 1999, 30, fig. 35.  
Slătineanu, Stahl, Petrescu, 1958, 20, 22, fig. 18.

**Târgu Mureș**  
Franciscan friary; refuse pit

**194. Crucifixion**  
15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Left hand on the cross above standing male saint with book.

panel tile  
5 fragments  
24 x 8 cm.  
green glaze  
textile marks on the back

Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie Târgu Mureș, inv. no. ?.  
photo by the author with permission of the Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie, Târgu Mureș.

Franciscan friary; refuse pit

**195. Angel(?)**  
15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with Herculean angel with wings.

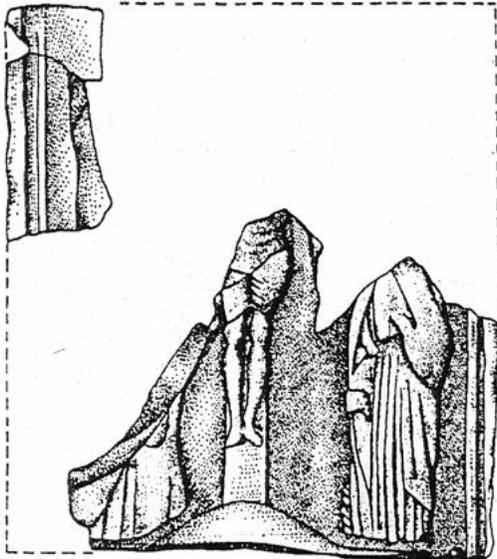
panel tile  
fragment  
green glaze

Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie Târgu Mureș, inv. no. ?.  
photo by the author with permission of the Muzeul de Arheologie-Istorie, Târgu Mureș

**Vințu de Jos**  
Dominican friary/castle of George Martinuzzi

**196. Crucifixion**

end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Jesus on the cross flanked by two characters.

panel tile  
fragment  
21.5(?) x 19(?) x 0.7 cm.  
2 fragments  
unglazed

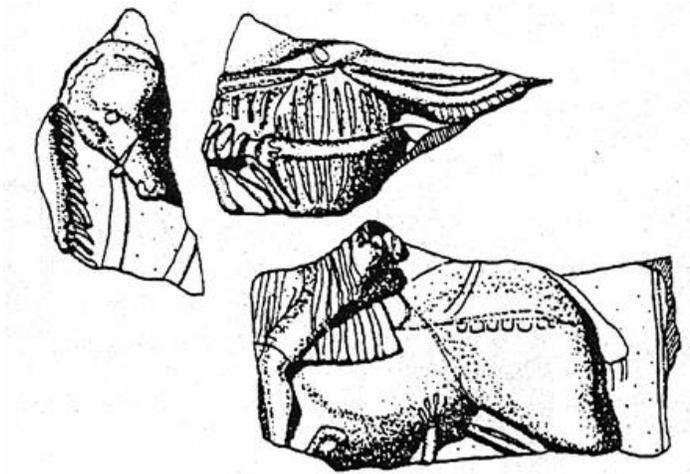
Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 281, 487, fig. 3.

castle of George Martinuzzi

**197. St. Martin(?)**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted figure with mantle, a hand from under the horse might indicate the beggar.

panel tile  
fragments  
green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 287, 498, fig. 88.

Dominican friary/castle of George Martinuzzi

**198. Holy Kings of Hungary**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Ladislás, Stephen, and Emeric standing with their attributes under Gothic structures.

panel tile  
reconstructed

min. 5 tiles  
green glaze, unglazed

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 40, fig. 5.

Gruia, 2005a, 102, fig. 3.9.

Gruia, 2005b.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 286, 495, fig. 59, fig. 61, 282, 488, fig. 6.

Rusu, 1998, 140, fig. 116.

reconstruction by A. A. Rusu, unpublished

castle of George Martinuzzi

**199. Samson fighting the lion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing knight opening the mouth of a lion.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

30.3 x 20.8 x 1.2 cm.

min. 10 – max. 12 tiles (some fragments done with different molds)

green glaze, unglazed

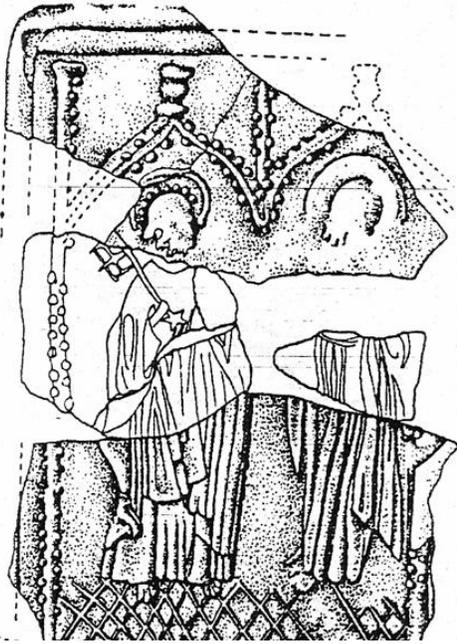
Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 286, 495, fig. 67, 67 a, b.

Dominican friary/castle of George Martinuzzi

**200. St. Peter and St. Paul(?)**

end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two bearded male saints standing under Gothic arches. The one on the left is holding a key.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
25 x 16.5 x 1 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F28925, F28859, F28859a.

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 38, fig. 1.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 281, 487, fig. 4.

castle of George Martinuzzi

**201. St. George slaying the dragon**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George killing the dragon with the sword. In the background, the princess, the lamb and the fortification.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
31 x 22.5 x 1 cm.  
min. 3 – max. 4 tiles  
green glaze, unglazed (with and without engobe)

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. F28913.

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 39, fig. 3.  
Gruia, 2007b, fig. T15.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 285, 494, fig. 58.

castle of George Martinuzzi

**202. St. George slaying the dragon**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George killing the dragon with a spear. Fortification in the background.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
31.6 x 22.4 x 1-1.2 cm.  
min. 13 – max. 15 tiles  
green glaze  
imprints from the wooden mold. Small technical differences among fragments

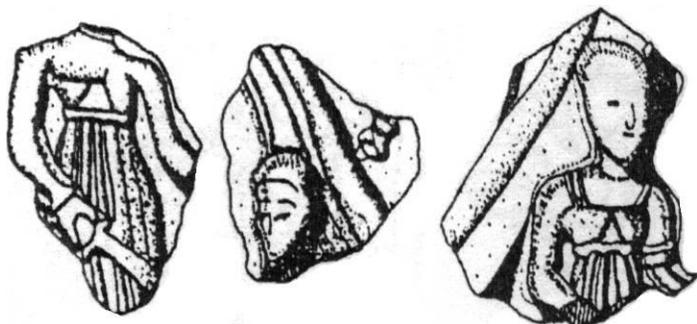
Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. ?

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T14.  
Marcu Istrate, 2004, 285, 494, fig. 57.

castle of George Martinuzzi

**203. Judith and Holofernes**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragments of standing female character holding a sword and a severed head.

panel tile  
min. 3 tiles  
green glaze

Marcu Istrate 2004, 286, 497, fig. 158.68a-c.

**Zalău(?)**  
town

**204. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with a spear. Three characters in the background.

panel tile  
27.3 x 1 cm.  
green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. IV2813.

*Matthias Corvinus*, 2008, 39, fig. 4.

Gruia, 2007b, fig. T16.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 294, 511, fig. B2.

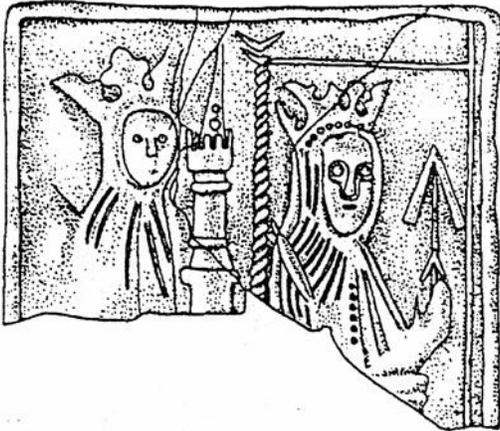
photo by the author with permission of Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei

**unknown Alba Iulia(?)**

unknown

**205. St. Barbara and St. Ursula**

15<sup>th</sup> –16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two crowned female figures, one holding a small tower and the other an arrow.

panel tile

fragment

16.5 cm.

Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia, inv. no.?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 178, 344.

Rusu, 1996b, 128-129, 140.

**Aiud(?)**

unknown

**206. St. Ladislav on horseback**

15<sup>th</sup> –16<sup>th</sup> c.



Upper body of a bearded character holding a shield and an axe and wearing armour and a crown.

panel tile  
fragment  
13.7 x 8.5 x 0.7 cm.  
unglazed  
finger marks on verso

Muzeul de Istorie Aiud, inv. no. I 4803.

Gruia, 2005a, 100, 101, fig. 1.1., 117.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 176, 340.

Benkő, 2004, 69.

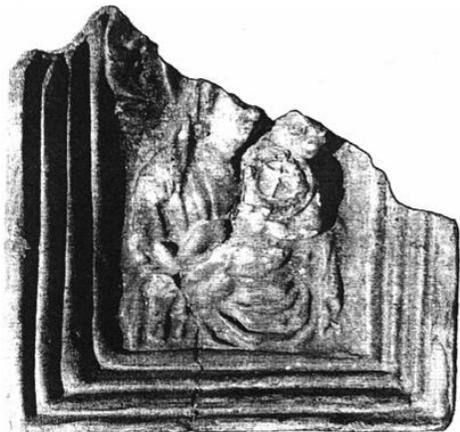
Marcu Istrate, Scrobotă, 2003, 143, 154, fig. 1.

photo by the author with permission of Muzeul de Istorie Aiud.

Sighisoara(?)  
unknown

## 207. The Madonna

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Lower part of the scene, female character holding a child on her left arm. Child holding an unidentified object.

panel tile  
fragment

Muzeul de Istorie Sighișoara, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 272, 539, fig. A9.

**Sighișoara(?)**  
unknown

**208. St. Ladislas chasing the Cuman. The Cuman and the girl**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted male character, in oriental costume, shooting backwards with the arrow over the head of a small female figure.

panel tile  
fragment  
26.3 x 20.5 cm.  
polychrome glaze (white, yellow, green, blue)

Muzeul de Istorie Sighișoara, inv. no. 1528.

Gruia, 2005a, 102, fig. 2.7.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 272, 538, plate 199.2.

**Sighișoara(?)**  
unknown

**209. Samson fighting the lion**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Character against decorative background, animal feet and paws.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
25.8 x 16.8(?) x 0.7 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul de Istorie Sighișoara, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 272, 476, fig. B3.

Cluj(?)  
unknown

**210. David and Goliath**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing armed knight facing a small boy with a slinger. Rich floral frame.

panel tile  
fragment  
23 x 20 x 0.5 cm.  
green glaze

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca, inv. no. 8027 a, b.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 197, 515, fig. 12.27.

Sibiu(?)  
unknown

### 211. Pelican in her Piety

end of the 16<sup>th</sup> -beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.

Pelican feeding her chicks, in a circular medallion.

panel tile  
fragment

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. 1373.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 271, cat. 28.

Sibiu(?)  
unknown

### 212. St. Margaret of Antioch fighting the dragon(?)

15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



Female character holding a cross/cross-ended staff. Parts of the dragon under the cross(?).

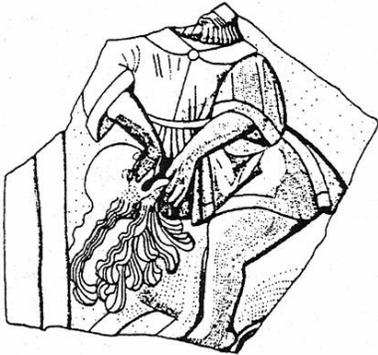
panel tile  
18 x 11 x 0.5 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu, inv. no. 2514.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 270, 473, fig D2.

**Odorheiu Secuiesc(?)**  
unknown

**213. Samson fighting the lion**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Male character opening the mouth of a lion.

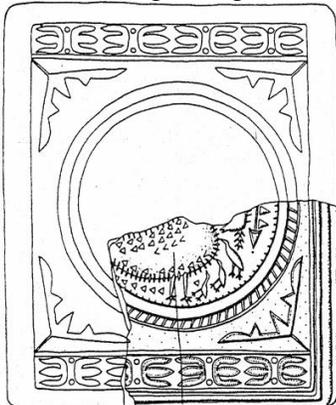
panel tile  
fragment  
15.5 x 16 x 1 cm.  
unglazed

Muzeul Odorheiul Secuiesc, inv. no. ?.

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 245, 437, fig C1.

**Hunedoara(?)**  
unknown

**214. Pelican in her Piety**  
end 16<sup>th</sup> -beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> c.



Tile fragment depicting chicks in a medallion.

panel tile

fragments  
25 x 22 x 0.7-1 cm.  
unglazed (mica)

Marcu Istrate, 2004, 237, 430, plate 92.A, fig. 8.

**unknown**

**215. Judith and Holofernes**

first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.

Judith, servant and severed head of Holofernes, in a tent.

Holl, 1993, note 192 (in the photo archive of the Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest).

## Northern Hungary

### Banská Bystrica

tile workshop Dolná St. no. 35

#### 216. St. Peter

1480-1500



Male bust, with beard and halo, holding a large key and dressed in an expensive dress and mantle with fur and pompons.

panel tile

preserved entire tile

25 x 25 cm.

unglazed

7 tiles

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Budapest, inv. no. 58/1894.1 / Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. AH 70266, AH 70261 / Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici Banská Bystrica inv. no. 869, 2989/ Múzeum Červený Kameň inv. no. 3138/ Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3605.

<http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline>, no. 013752.

*Hungaria Regia*, 1999, 172, fig. 155.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 180, 184, 189.

Holčík, 1978, fig. III.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 66, cat. 29, fig. 29.

Holčík, 1974, 179, fig.3.

Cserey, 1974, 206, fig. 1, 209, 210, 213.

Parádi, 1957, 180.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici.

tile workshop Dolná St. no. 35

#### 217. St. Paul

1480-1500



Male with halo, beard and long hair holding a sword in his left hand and his mantle in the right.

panel tile

entire tile

25 x 25 cm.

5 tiles

unglazed/ one green glazed in Iparművészeti Múzeum Budapest, at imareal

Múzeum Červený Kameň inv. no. 3182/ Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici inv. no. 873, 2990/ Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3592, inv. no. 3591.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/013751.JPG](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/013751.JPG), no. 013751, no. 013750.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 183 and 188.

Holčík, 1978, fig. II.

Holčík, 1977, 137.

Holčík, 1974, 179, fig.4.

Cserey, 1974, 206, fig. 1, 209, 210, 213.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 66, cat. 28, fig. 28.

Parádi, 1957, 180.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici.

tile workshop Dolná St. no. 35

## 218. St. Barbara

1480-1500



3/4 standing female, with halo and long hair, holding a tower in her left hand.  
panel tile  
23 x 27 cm.  
unglazed  
1 tile / Cserey: 4 tiles

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 58/1894.3.

*Hungaria Regia*, 1999, 172, fig. 156.  
Holčík, 1977, 137.  
Cserey, 1974, 209, 213, fig. 8, 214  
Parádi, 1957, 180.

tile workshop Dolná St. no. 35

**219. Evangelist (and apostle) John**  
1480-1500



Male bust with halo, blessing with the right hand and holding a chalice with a snake in the left.

panel tile  
unglazed  
25 x 25 cm  
5 tiles

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 1894/58/2/ Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici,  
877 /874/Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. UH. 2331/  
Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3596/ Múzeum Červený Kameň inv. no. 6813.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/7014725.JPG](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/7014725.JPG), no. 013748, no. 011651.

*Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 18.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 187.

Holčík, 1978, fig. 75.

Holčík, 1977, 137.

Cserey, 1974, 206, fig. 1, 210, 213.

Parádi, 1957, 180, 188, fig. 2.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici.

**220. Evangelist (and apostle) John**

1480-1500



Male bust with halo, blessing with right hand and holding a chalice with a snake in the left, under Gothic niche.

semi-cylindrical tile

33.5 x 25 cm./ Jurovská: 22.5 x 25 cm.

unglazed

4 tiles

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 58/1894/5/ Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3593/ Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. 2987/ Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. UH. 2332/ AH 70 267.

<http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline> cat. 013747.

Holl, 2004, 370, fig. 24.1.

Hoššo, 1997, 97, fig. 1.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 185.

Cserey, 1974, 207, fig. 2, 210, 213.

Holčík, 1974, 178, fig.2.

Holl, Voit, 1963, 66, cat. 26, fig. 26.

Parádi, 1957, 180, 181, fig. 3.

**221. Evangelist (and apostle) John**

1480-1500



Male bust blessing with one hand and holding a chalice with a snake in the other.

mold  
entire  
26-26.3 x 23.2-23.5 cm.

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3597.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/7014726.JPG](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/server/images/7014726.JPG), cat. 013749.

Ušiak, 2004, 563, fig. 3.

Parádi, 1957, 180, 181, fig. 1/1a.

[tile workshop Dolná St. no. 35](#)

## 222. St. Catherine

1480-1500



Female bust with halo and long hair under a semicircular arch, with one hand holding her dress and with the other a wheel.

panel tile  
26 x 35 cm.  
unglazed  
4 tiles

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. nos. 870, 2985/ Múzeum Mincí a Medalí Kremnica, inv. no. ?. /Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 3595.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013746.

Hoško, 2003, fig. 8.3.6.  
Egyházi-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 190, fig. 29, cat. 190.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 63.  
Holčík, 1977, 137  
Cserey, 1974, 206, fig. 1, 209, 210, 213.  
Parádi, 1957, 180.

tile workshop Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22 (and Dolná 35?)

### 223. St. Peter

15<sup>th</sup> c. (ca. 1450?)



Standing holy figure holding a key in the right hand, with a text band behind his head in the background inscribed: "sa petro".

panel tile  
reconstructed  
green glaze/ Mácelová: unglazed  
23 x 26 cm.  
min. 4 tiles

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN A 16765/Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici,  
inv. no. ?.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013753, 013754, 013755, 013756.  
Mácelová, 1999, 413, fig. 5.3, 415, 420.

tile workshop Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22

### 224. Prophet Isaiah

end 15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Bust of bearded male with pointed hat holding a blank text band.

panel tile  
green glaze (different shades)  
min. 5 tiles

Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. IN 6549, IN 6550, IN 6551, IN 6552, IN 6553.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013757, 013758, 013759, 013760, 013761.  
Holl, Voit, 1963, 66, cat. 30, fig. 30.

tile workshop Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22

**225. Prophet Elijah**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Figure holding an inscription band reading “(ELI)AS(?)”. Leafs in the corners.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
23 x 26 cm.  
unglazed

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?

Mácelová, 1999, 413, fig. 5.4, 415, 420.

tile workshop Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22

**226. Adam and Eve besides the Tree of Knowledge**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Naked Adam and Eve, holding leafs in front of their genitalia, standing besides the Tree of Knowledge with snake coiled on it. Eve holds an apple and offers it to Adam.

panel tile

26 x 23 cm.

green glazed and unglazed

min. 3 tiles

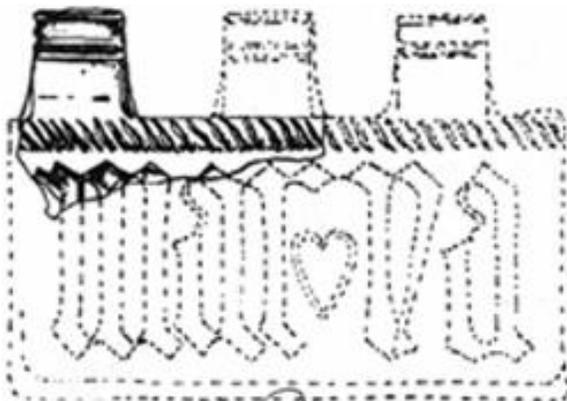
Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, inv. no. 6547(?), A 16. 764, 52. 3650.

[www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline](http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline), no. 013775, 013776, 013777.

tile workshop Slovenské Národné Povstanie, no. 22

**227. MARYA inscription**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Small fragment of crown tile with merlons and torsade, probably with inscription “mar♥ya”.

crest tile

fragment

unglazed(?)

Mácelová, 1999, 413, fig. 5.1, 415, 420.

tile workshop, Dolná St., no. 35

**228. St. Dorothy**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Female head and basket with a flower, under an arch.

fragmentary mold

Slovenský Ústav Pamiatkovej Starostlivosti Banská Bystrica, inv. no. ?.

Mácelová, 2006, 374.

Ušiak, 2004, 564, fig. 5, 565, 566, fig. 8.1.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 192.

town hall

**229. Pelican in her Piety**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Pelican bending its neck.

panel tile(?)

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

Mácelová, 1997, 187, fig.6.5.

town hall

### 230. Veronica's Veil

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Tile fragment with head.

crest tile(?)

triangular(?)

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

Mácelová, 1997, 188.

mayor's house

### 231. Veronica's Veil

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Tile fragment with head.

crest tile(?)

triangular(?)

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

Mácelová, 1997, 188, fig.7.3.

town hall

### 232. Agnus Dei

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Central medallion with lamb holding a cross. A star in the background.

panel tile

21 x 21 cm.

green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

Mácelová, 2005.

Mácelová, 1999, 417.

mayor's house

### 233. Agnus Dei

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Central medallion with lamb holding a cross. A star in the background.

panel tile  
21 x 21 cm.  
green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. 21471/SV; 21272(?).

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

Mácelová, 2005, fig. 4.4.

Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.7, 420.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici

town hall

**234. St. George slaying the dragon**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Fully armed knight slaying a dragon with a spear. Princess in the background.

green glaze  
25.5 x 23 cm.

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

*Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 15.

Mácelová, 2005.

Mácelová, 1999, 417.

mayor's house

**235. St. George slaying the dragon**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Fully armed knight slaying a dragon with a spear. Princess in the background.

corner tile (pare with St. Catherine)  
25.5 x 23 cm.  
green glaze  
16 tiles

Stredoslovenské múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. 21273; 21274.

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

*Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 15.

Mácelová, 2005, 205-216+264, fig. 2.2.

Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.5, 420.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské múzeum v Banskej Bystrici

town hall

### 236. The Madonna with the child Jesus

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Crowned and hallowed Virgin Mary holding on her left arm the hallowed child Christ.

panel tile(?)  
fragment  
green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no.?

Mácelová, 2005, 205-216+264, fig. 2.1.

Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.4, 420.

mayor's house

**237. The Madonna with the child Jesus**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Crowned and hallowed Virgin Mary holding on her left arm the hallowed child Christ.

panel tile(?)  
fragment  
green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no.?

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

Mácelová, 2005, 205-216+264, fig. 2.1.

Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.4, 420.

town hall

**238. St. Catherine**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Standing crowned holy female holding a sword and a wheel.

27.5 x 12 cm.

green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

*Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 15.

Mácelová, 2005.

Mácelová, 1999, 417.

mayor's house

**239. St. Catherine**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Standing crowned holy female holding a sword and a wheel.

corner tile (one pare with St. George and another with preaching wolf)

27.5 x 12 cm.

green glaze

min. 2 tiles

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. 21273; 21275 (with wolf)

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

*Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 15.

Mácelová, 2005, fig. 2.3.

Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.3, 420.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici

town hall

**240. St. Ladislav**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Fully armed standing knight holding a battle axe and a shield with a double cross.

panel tile

green glaze

38,5 x 21 cm.(?)

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. ?.

Mácelová, 2005.

Gruia, 2005a, 106.

Gruia, 2005b, 40, fig. 3.

Mácelová, 1999, 417.

mayor's house

**241. St. Ladislav**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1450-1454)



Fully armed standing knight holding a battle axe and a shield with a double cross.

panel tile (pare with heraldic lion?)  
38.5 x 21 cm.(?)  
green glaze

Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici, inv. no. 21278.

Gruia, 2007a, 91.

Mácelová, 2005, 205-216+264, fig. 3.4.

Gruia, 2005a, 106, fig. 6.20.

Gruia, 2005b, 40, fig. 3.

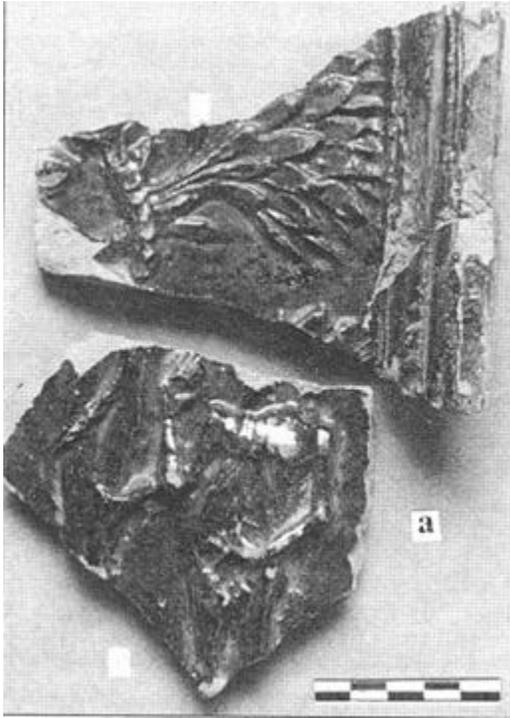
Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.2, 420.

photo by the author with permission of Stredoslovenské Múzeum v Banskej Bystrici.

barbican of urban castle

## **242. Adam and Eve besides the Tree of Knowledge**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Characters with raised right arm and holding a leaf over the groin with the left, standing near a tree.

fragments  
green glaze

Ušiak, 2002, 626, 627, 628, fig. 8.1.a, 632.

barbican of urban castle

**243. St. George slaying the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted St. George slaying the dragon with a lance.

panel tile

20.5 x 20.5 cm.

min. 2 tiles

green glaze; one polychrome fragment (green, white, yellow) dated to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.

Ušiak, 2002, 626, fig. 7.1, 630-2, 634-5.

barbican of urban castle

**244. Crucifixion**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

Crucified Christ, on Latin cross, "INRI" inscription in Gothic minuscule.

unglazed

Ušiak, 2002, 630, 634.

barbican of urban castle

**245. St. Michael**

unglazed

Mácelová, 2006, 373, note 37.

barbican of urban castle

**246. Veronica's veil**

Mácelová, 2006, 373, note 38.

urban castle

**247. St. George**

second half 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.

Ušiak, 2002, 626, 630-2, 634-5.

Slovenské Národné Povstanie no.3, gallant/courtly complex

**248. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**

Ušiak, 2002, 626, 627, 628, 632.

**Banská Stiavnica**

Kammerhof - mining headquarters, residence of kammergrafen

**249. Maria in sole**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned Mary standing on the crescent moon, holding the child Jesus and her garment, rays in the back.

panel tile  
green glaze

Slovenské Banské múzeum, Banská Stiavnica, inv. no. ?.

Labuda, 2005.

Holčík, 1974, 184, fig. 9.

photo by the author with permission of Slovenské Banské múzeum Banská Stiavnica

Kammerhof - mining headquarters, residence of kammergrafen

### 250. Mary Magdalene

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing female, with halo and crown, holding a jar, and inscription band behind her, reading "MA??".

panel tile(?)

green glaze(?)

Holčík, 1974, 183, fig.8.

Kammerhof - mining headquarters, residence of kammergrafen

**251. Prophet Elijah**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Prophet bust and text band. Inscription: “(ELIA?) S”.

panel tile

fragment

polychrome glaze (yellow, green, white)

Slovenské Banské Múzeum, Banská Stiavnica, inv. no. ?.

Labuda, 2005, 181, fig. 6.

photo by the author with permission of Slovenské Banské Múzeum Banská Stiavnica

Kammerhof - mining headquarters, residence of kammergrafen

**252. Veronica's veil(?)**

end 15<sup>th</sup> - beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ's face.

fragmentary panel tile(?)

unglazed

Slovenské Banské Múzeum, Banská Stiavnica, inv. no. ?

Labuda, 2005, 181, fig. 5.

photo by the author with permission of Slovenské Banské Múzeum Banská Stiavnica

Kammerhof - mining headquarters, residence of kammergrafen

**253. Samson fighting the lion(?)**

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragmentary tile depicting a male's upper body, with a ribbon floating from his hat and with his hands opening a (lion's?) mouth. Vegetal decoration in the corner.

panel tile

fragment

ca. 9 x 11 cm

Labuda, 1992, 154, plate VI.1.

Fritz House

**254. David**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing king holding text band with inscription “?? dawid”.

panel tile

fragment

polychrome glaze

Labuda, 2005, 181, fig. 12.

**Beckov**  
castle

**255. St. George slaying the dragon**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.

St. George, on horseback, leaning forward, princess.

Holčík, 1978, fig. 34.

castle

**256. Adam and Eve**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.

Holčík, 1978, fig. 87.

castle

**257. Biblical motif**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.

reconstructed tile  
21.5 x 33 cm.  
green glaze

Trenčianské Múzeum, Trenčín, inv. no. 711.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 73.

**Branč**  
castle

**258. St. Stephen**  
15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned standing holy character holding an orb.

panel tile  
24 x 36 cm.  
green glaze

Zemplínské múzeum, Skalica, inv. no. A 273.

Mácelová, 2006, 377, 378.

Gruia, 2005b, fig. 6.17.

Hoššo, 1997, 97, fig. 2.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 43.

Ríha, 1981, fig. 152.

castle

### **259. St. George slaying the dragon**

16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.

20.5 x 21.5 cm.

Unglazed(?)

Zemplínské múzeum, Skalica, inv. no. A 775.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 41.

**Bratislava**

town

### **260. "kathes" inscription**

15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.



Inscription “e?a? kathes” in Gothic minuscule on frame of a fragmentary panel tile.

panel tile(?)  
fragment

Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum(?), Bratislava, HF-19274.

Polla, 1979, 157, 286, cat. 33, plate XV.7.

town

**261. St. James(?)**  
15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.



Portrait of bearded man with hat and pilgrim badge.

fragment  
green glaze

Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum(?), Bratislava, HF-15816.

Polla, 1979, 285, cat. 21, plate XV.6.

town

**262. St. Peter(?)**  
XV-XVI



Portrait of bearded bold man with halo with rays.

fragment  
green glaze

Archeologické múzeum, Slovenské Národné múzeum(?), Bratislava, HF-15817.

Polla, 1979, 285, cat. 22, plate XV.9.

town, Rybnom St.

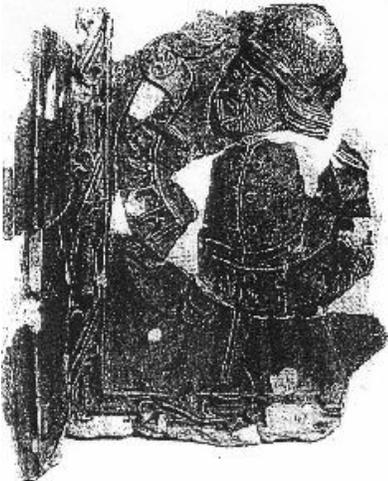
### 263. “Katarina” inscription

Polla, 1970, 128.

castle

### 264. Prophet Zachariah

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing man with hat, holding an inscription band with “ZACHARE”; vegetal frame.

niche tile(?)  
30 x 25 cm. (reconstructed probably 34 x 30 cm.)  
green glaze

Archeologické múzeum, Slovenské Národné múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no.?.

Holl, 2001, 395, fig. 62, 396.  
Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 10, fig. 1.  
Fiala, Semanko, 1992.  
Holčík, 1972.

castle

**265. St. Margaret of Antioch**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing female bust, with halo and long hair, under a semicircular arch.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)  
reconstructed tile  
26 x 36 cm.  
green glaze

Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. AH 39155.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 8.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 64.  
Holčík, 1974, 177, fig.1.

**Brekov**  
castle

**266. St. George slaying the dragon**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Knight on horseback slaying a dragon with a spear.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
20 x 20 x 5.5 cm.  
green glaze

Slivka, Vizdal, 1984, 174, fig. 3.2.

## Červený Kameň castle

### 267. Jesus preaching 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ and four apostles in a garden, under slightly pointed arch. Another smaller character (soldier?)  
Inscr: „...[M]ATH IN DREICZE(n)T. ER LEGET (ihnen)/ ..EIN ANDER GLEICHNVSFVR“.

panel tile(?)  
12.5 x 30/ 19 x 21.5 cm.

green glaze  
min. 2 tiles

Múzeum Červený Kameň, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 32/33, fig. 9.

castle

**268. The sacrifice of Cain and Abel**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Two characters besides an altar, offering grain, under a semicircular arch. Lambs and grain in the foreground.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
26 x 28 cm.  
green glaze

Múzeum Červený Kameň, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 34, fig. 10.

**Devín**  
castle

**269. St. Emeric**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing holy character with royal mantle and holding a lily.

panel tile

24.5 x 37.8/ Egyház-Jurovská: 24 x 37.5 cm.

polychrome glaze

Mestské múzeum Bratislava, inv. no. 34188 / Egyház-Jurovská: A 5636.

Hoššo, 2005, 131-148, 147, plate 5, fig. 3.

Hoššo, 2003, 550, fig. 504, 857.

Hoššo, 1997, 97, fig. 2.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 21, fig. 3.

## **Fil'akovo** castle

### **270. St. Ladislav**

beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing holy king, with orb and battle axe.

panel tile  
entire tile  
22.5 x 33 cm.  
green glaze

Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. HA 50937.

Holl, 1998a, 155, fig. 3.  
Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 135.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 65.  
Holčík, 1974, 181, fig.6.  
Holl, Voit, 1963, 55, 67, cat. 34, fig. 34.  
Kalmár, 1959, plate XLII.

castle

**271. St. Emeric**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing male with halo, holding his garment and a flower.

panel tile(?)  
22.5 x 34 cm.  
min. 2 tiles  
polychrome glaze and one green glaze

Archeologické Múzeum, Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. HA 50935 and HA 50936.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 136 and 137, fig. 22.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 67 and 66.  
Holčík, 1974, 178-9, 180, fig.5 and 6.

## Hlohovec

unknown

### 272. St. George slaying the dragon

end(?) of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.

St. George, on horseback, leaning forward, princess.

niche tile

23 cm.

Vlastivedné Múzeum, Hlohovec, inv. no. H 3471.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 61.

Holčík, 1978, fig. 35.

## Hronský Beňadik

Benedictine monastery

### 273. St. George slaying the dragon

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight slaying the dragon with a spear. In the background kneeling princess and fortification.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

21 x 34 cm.

green glaze

Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Archeologické Múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. ?.

Hulínek, 1999, 147, fig. 269.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 198.

Holčík, 1978, 21, fig. 14.

**Kežmarok**  
castle(?)

**274. Mary inscription**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Inscription in Gothic minuscule: “mar♥ya”.

crest tile(?)  
entire tile  
22 x 13 cm.

Slovenské Národné Múzeum, Archeologické Múzeum Bratislava, inv. no. HF 8906.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 249.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 56.  
Polla, 1971, fig. 57, plate XXXVII.2  
Polla, 1970, 128, 132, fig. 3.6.

**Klaštorsk**  
Carthusian monastery

**275. Evangelist - Angel as symbol of evangelist Matthew, but inscribed “Johannes”**  
middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Central medallion with angel holding a text band inscribed “IOHANNES”.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
green glaze

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka

Carthusian monastery

**276. Evangelist - Ox as symbol of evangelist Luke**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Calf with halo and wings, holding text band with the name of the evangelist: “LVCAS”.

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no.27/86.

panel tile

reconstructed tile

23 x 23 cm.

unglazed (the one in Nitra), green glazed (Klaštorskó)

min. 2 tiles

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 233, fig. 34.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**277. Evangelist - Lion as symbol of evangelist Mark**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Rampant lion with halo and wings, holding text band with the name of the evangelist: “MARCVS”.

panel tile  
22 x 23.5 cm.  
min. 2 tiles (inv. no. 48/88 is unglazed and a bit larger? 23.5 x 23.5)  
green glaze, unglazed

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 17/89, 48/88.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 226 and 229, fig. 33.

Carthusian monastery

**278. St. George slaying the dragon**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Fully armed knight, spearing and trampling on a dragon. Flower/tree in the background.

panel tile  
green glaze

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**279. St. George slaying the dragon**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Fully armed knight, mounted, raising a sword. At the feet of the horse a dragon and on the right a kneeling character. All under Gothic niche.

semi-cylindrical tile(?)

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

### 280. The Madonna with the child Jesus

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Crowned Mary with scepter holding the child Jesus, crowned, blessing and holding an orb. Frames of vegetal and geometric decorations.

semi-cylindrical tile

reconstructed tile  
24.5 x 35 cm.  
green glaze

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 48/89.

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 49, fig. 24.  
Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 225, fig. 44.  
photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**281. *Maria in sole* crowned by angels**  
middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Mary crowned by two flying angels under a Gothic arch. She is holding the child Jesus and has flames/rays in the background.

niche tile(?)

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**282. St. Anne, Mary, and the child Jesus**  
middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Sitting holy women holding on their knees and supporting the standing child Jesus, under Gothic niche. The women are holding flowers and all have halos.

semi-cylindrical tile

21 x 29 cm.

relief and tracery

green glaze

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 6/89.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 228, fig. 31.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**283. Veronica's veil and angel**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Angel bust holding a shield decorated with Christ's face.

panel tile  
17 x 24.5 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 24/86.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 227.  
Slivka, 1988, 434, fig. 6.5, 435.

Carthusian monastery

**284. Agnus Dei**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Lamb with halo and cross-ended flag.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
green glaze

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**285. St. Barbara**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Standing crowned female character besides a tower under a Gothic niche. She holds an open book and a feather for writing(?). The tower has an opening with a chalice and a host.

semi-cylindrical tile

22 x 34 cm.

fragmentary

green glaze

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 40/88.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 232.

Slivka, 1992, 114, 189, fig. 79.

Slivka, Vallašek, 1991, fig. 48.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**286. St. Ladislav**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Standing king, with mantle and battle axe.

panel tile(?)  
brown glaze

Gruia, 2005a, 106, fig. 6.21.

Gruia, 2005b, 40, fig. 3.

Slivka, 1991a.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**287. St. Elizabeth of Hungary(?)**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Standing crowned female character holding flowers.

semi-cylindrical tile

green glaze

Slivka, 1991b, 92, 142, fig. 48.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

Carthusian monastery

**288. Joab and Amasa**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



Standing male with knife, holding another figure by the beard, under a semicircular arch.

panel tile

19 x 22.5 cm.

polychrome (brown, yellow, ochre) and green glaze

min. 2 tiles

Archeologický Ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied Nitra, Nitra, inv. no. 30/87.

Egyházi-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 223, fig. 37.

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

#### Carthusian monastery

#### **289. Angel with coat of arms decorated with cross and dots**

middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> c., after 1487. Site destroyed in 1543



open-work elements

green glaze

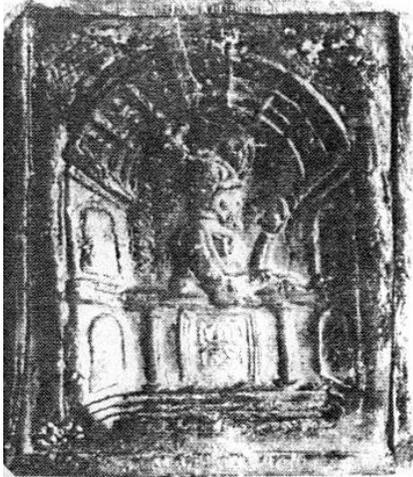
min. 2 tiles

photo by the author with permission of dr. Michal Slivka.

#### **Košice** urban house

**290. Jephthah**

second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Bust of a knight in profile under a semicircular vault. Inscriptions: “IEPD 1551? 1571?” in writing plaque under the figure and “IVDICIVM” in the background.

panel tile

Dankó, 1996 , 55, cat. 47.

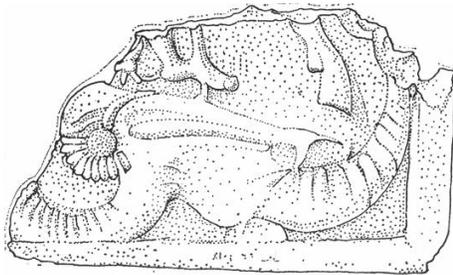
Holl, 1993, 267-268, fig. 31.

**Krásna nad Hornádom**

Benedictine monastery

**291. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Dragon, hoof and foot.

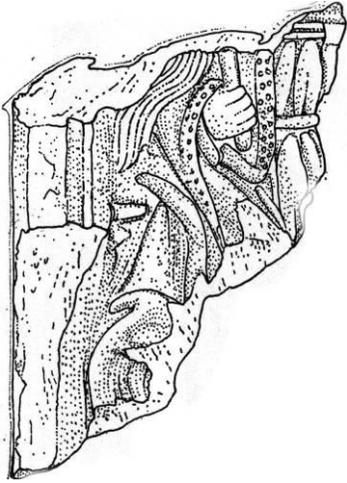
panel tile(?)

fragment

Polla, 1986, 244, fig. 120:4.

Benedictine monastery

**292. The Madonna(?)**



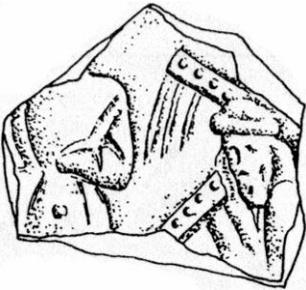
Fragmentary tile depicting elements of dress and a hand.

fragment  
ca. 10 x 10 cm.  
unglazed(?)

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 49, fig. 20.  
Polla, 1986, 244, fig. 120:6.

## **Kremnica** town gate

### **293. Fifth station of the cross** 16<sup>th</sup> c.



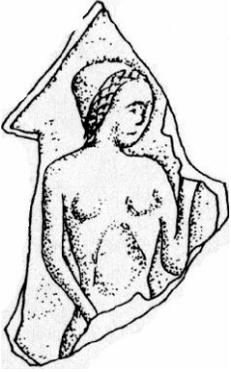
Christ carrying the cross; torso of another figure.

fragment  
ca. 6 x 5 cm.

Hoššo, 1991, 284, 286, fig. 25.4.

## urban house

### **294. Adam and Eve(?)** 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Naked woman lifting one arm and with the other covering her genitals(?).

fragment  
ca. 10 x 5 cm.

Hoššo, 1991, 284, 286, fig. 25.9.

urban house

**295. Christ blessing/preaching from a boat(?)**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragmentary tile depicting a man sitting in a boat, raising one arm.

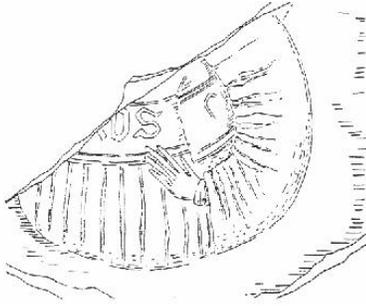
fragment  
ca. 7 x 15 cm.

Hoššo, 1991, 284, 286, fig. 25.7.

castle courtyard

**296. Prophet Elijah(?)**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



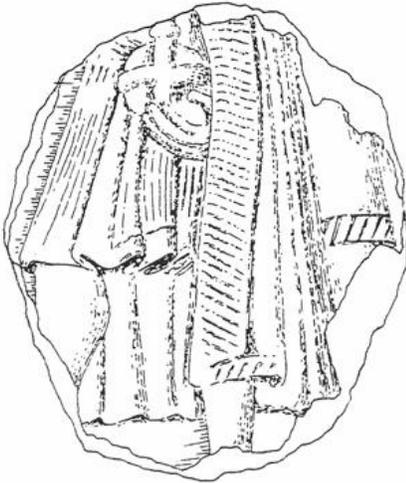
Partially preserved bust holding inscription band, visible letters “...a?s”.

fragment  
green glaze(?)

Hoššo, 1981, 462, fig. III.3.

chapel(?)

**297. St. Stephen(?)**  
15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing character with mantle and orb.

fragment  
green glaze(?)

Mácelová, 2006, 369-382, 377, 378.

Gruia, 2005b, 10.

Hoššo, 1991, 286, fig. 25.2.

Hoššo, 1981, 462, fig. III.6.

unknown

**298. St. George slaying the dragon**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.

Saint on horseback, leaning forward.

Seňová, 2000, 144-150, 148-149.

**Levice**  
castle

**299. Resurrection**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Naked standing character with mantle and loincloth, holding a flag with the left hand.

Slovenské Národné múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no. ?.

panel tile(?)  
green glaze

Drenko, 1976, 122, fig. 8.2, 126.

**Liptov Castle**  
fortification

**300. Veronica's veil**  
14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ's face between Gothic fleches, surmounted by two birds and flowers.

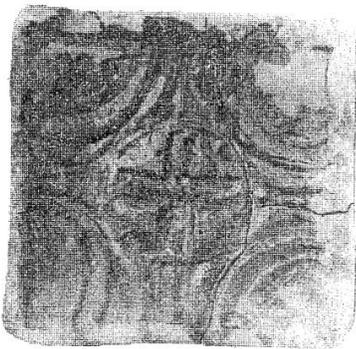
panel tile  
20.5 x 31.5 cm.  
unglazed

Liptovské múzeum Ružomberok, Ružomber, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 76, fig. 16.

**Liptovská Mara**  
fortification

**301. cross**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Central medallion with cross, concentric arches in the corners.

panel tile  
16.5 x 17.5 cm.  
brown glaze

Liptovské múzeum Ružomberok, Ružomber, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 80.

Hoško, 1982, fig. 2/3.

**Nitra**

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**302. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge with Pelican in Her Piety**  
end of the 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



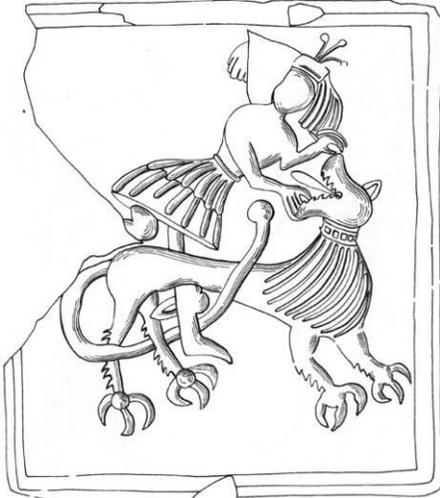
Adam and Eve standing by the Tree of Knowledge in which the Pelican in her Piety nests. Adam, standing on the left side, holds a leaf, Eve, on the right, holds a leaf and a fruit. The snake is coiled on the tree trunk, with its head emerging over Eve's. In the tree, in a nest, a pelican tears her breast. One chick is in the nest and the other in front of it, on a branch.

panel tile  
ca. 30 x 35 cm.  
brown glaze  
min. 3 tiles

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 85/a, 99/a.

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**303. Samson fighting the lion**  
end of the 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Male figure mounting on and opening the jaws of a lion.

panel tile  
ca. 27 x 32 cm.  
brown glaze

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 86/b, 99d.

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**304. David fighting the bear(?)**

end of the 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Male figure spearing a rampart lion. Dog/lamb behind the bear and tree with lily between the characters.

panel tile, corner tile

ca. 30 x 33 cm.

brown glaze

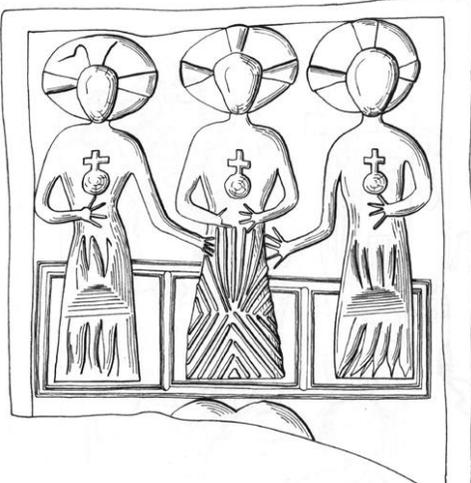
min. 2 tiles

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 86/a, 99c.

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**305. Three holy kings**

end of the 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragmetary tile, with the upper part depicting three standing saints holding orbs surmounted by crosses. The figures on the sides hold the one in the center.

panel tile(?)  
fragment  
20 cm.  
unglazed

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 88a, 100a.

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**306. St. George slaying the dragon and Nitra coat of arms**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



In the center and foreground, Saint George on horseback is slaying the dragon with his spear. In the upper right corner, the princess with an overproportionate crown is kneeling and holding a leash. In the upper left corner, one can see a schematic/ heraldic depiction of three towers surmounting a gate. Under it there is a stylized inscription, of letter “n”.

panel tile  
ca. 35 x 66 cm.  
brown glaze

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 87, 100c.

town hall or burgher house, Mostna St.

**307. St. George slaying the dragon**  
end 15<sup>th</sup> –beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



St George on horseback is slaying the dragon with his spear. The saint, in full armor, wears a crown surmounted by a cross. The princess is kneeling in prayer in the top right corner, while on the right there is a tree.

panel tile  
ca. 20 x 22 cm.  
brown glaze

Bielich, Samuel, 2007, fig. 88b.

## **Orava** castle

### **308. St. Stephen(?)**

Hoššo, 1997, 96.

## **Parič, Trebišov**

palace belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

### **309. The Madonna** around 1504



Child and parts of seated female body.

probably 4 tiles

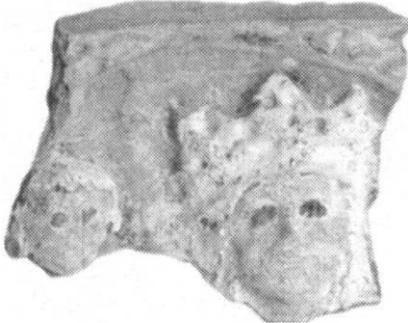
green glaze and fragment with polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 49, fig. 20.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

**310. St. Dorothy**

around 1504



Crowned female head and child's/Jesus' head(?) on her right.

fragment

polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 50, fig. 25.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

**311. St. Barbara**

around 1504



Crowned female character and tower with cross on top.

fragment

21 x 13 cm.

polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 50, fig. 26.

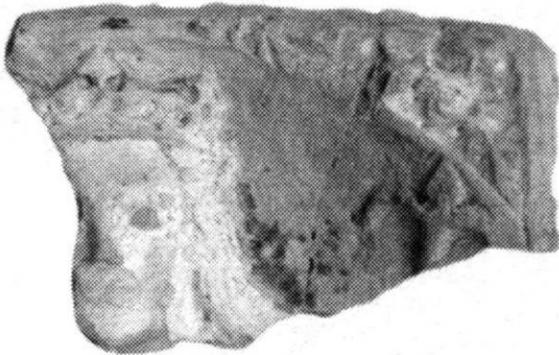
Dankó, 1996, cat. 28.

Chovanec, 1990, 392, fig. 11.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

### 312. St. Margaret of Antioch

around 1504



Female head and lily decoration(?) Identification rather on the base of tiles decorated with St. Barbara, Catherine, and Dorothy, so all four capital virgins together.

fragment

polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 50, fig. 27.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

### 313. St. Catherine of Alexandria

around 1504



Crowned female character with long hair holding a sabre and having a wheel (in flames?) at her feet. Under semicircular arch and against a vegetal decoration.

fragmentary tile  
19 cm.  
min. 2 tiles  
polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 50, fig. 26-28, 258, fig. F.10.  
Dankó, 1996, cat. 27.  
Chovanec, 1990, 391, fig. 10.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

**314. St. James**  
around 1504



Upper part of tile depicting a pilgrim under a semi cylindrical arch against a vegetal background. The bearded man wears a hat with a pilgrim badge (the shell?), a mantle and holds a staff.

24.5 cm.  
min. 2  
green glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 51, fig. 30-31.  
Dankó, 1996, cat. 11.  
Chovanec, 1990, 392, fig. 12.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

**315. St. John the Almsgiver**  
around 1504



Male character with beard, turban(?), necklace and staff, giving alms to a small character on his right, under a semi-cylindrical arch.

17 x 31 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 51, fig. 32.

Dankó, 1996, cat. 21, fig. 2

Chovanec, 1993, fig. 5.

Chovanec, 1990, 393, fig. 13.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

### **316. St. Christopher** around 1504



Bearded male character holding a child on his right shoulder and leaning on a tree branch. Monk with lamp on the lower right corner of the tile. Child Jesus is blessing with his right.

niche tile(?)  
22 x 33 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 52, fig. 33.  
Dankó, 1996, cat. 22.  
Chovanec, 1993, fig. 6.  
Chovanec, 1990, 393, fig. 14.

palace, belonging to Emeric Perényi, palatine

**317. St. George slaying the dragon**  
around 1504



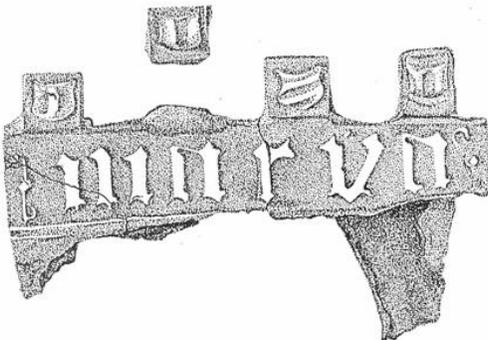
Fully equipped knight standing on and spearing a dragon with a lance.

two fragments  
green glaze, polychrome glaze  
min. 2 tiles

Chovanec, 2005, 23-54, 52, fig. 35-36.

**Rimavské Janovce**  
Benedictine monastery

**318. Mary inscription**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment of crest tile with “marya” inscription and shields decorating the small merlons.

crest tile

fragmentary  
green glaze

Hrašková, 2001, 282, fig. II/2, 292.

**Rimavská Sobota – Barátkút**  
Johanite monastery(?)

**319. Mary inscription**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Crest tile with merlons, decorated with grapes and the inscription “marya” in Gothic minuscule.

crest tile  
17 x 13 cm.  
unglazed

Gemerské Múzeum Rimavská Sobota, Rimavská Sobota, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 162, fig. 30.

**Sabinov**  
market town

**320. St. Ladislav**

Slivka, 1979, 16.  
Mácelová, 2005, 209.

market town

**321. St. Stephen**

Slivka, 1979, 16.

market town

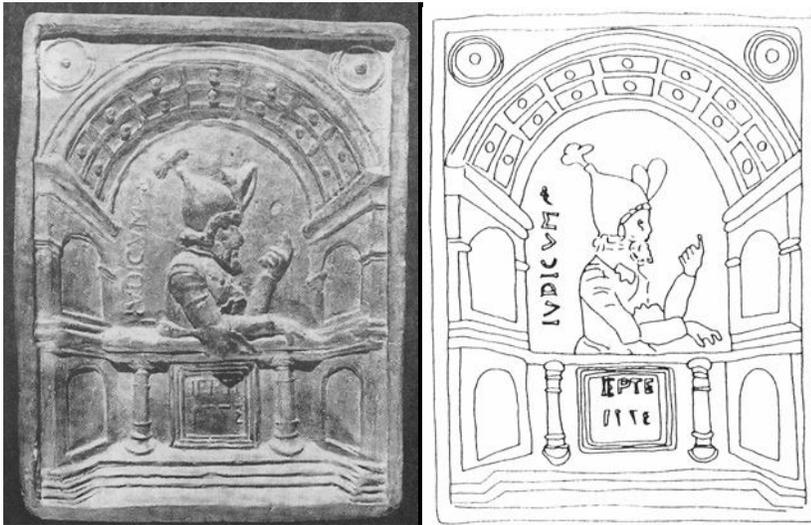
### 322. Adam and Eve

Slivka, 1979, 16.

**Sariš**  
castle

### 323. Jephthah

16<sup>th</sup> c., 1553



Male bust in armor, with cross-ended helmet, in architectural background rendered in perspective. Under the bust, between columns, plaque with inscription “IEPTE 1553”. In the background, on the left of the figure, inscription: “IVDICIVM”.

entire tile

19.5 x 18 cm/ Egyház-Jurovská: 19.5 x 25.5 cm.

unglazed

Dankó, 1996, cat. 46, fig. 6.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 293.

Slivka, Vallašek, 1991, fig. 164.

Polla, Slivka, Vallašek, 1981, 395, fig. 17/3.

castle

### 324. Solomon

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Male bust in profile, with crown and orb, in architectural background rendered in perspective. Under the bust, between columns, plaque with name inscription: "SALAMON".

entire tile

18 x 25.5 cm./ Egyház-Jurovská: 19.5 x 25.5 cm.

green glaze

Dankó, 1996, cat. 49.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 292.

Gyuricza, 1992, 21, fig. IX.

Slivka, Vallašek, 1991, fig. 164.

Polla, Slivka, Vallašek, 1981, 395, fig. 17/4.

castle

### 325. Inscription "DAVID"

Slivka, 1979, 16.

castle

### 326. Inscription "NABUCHODONAZOR"

Slivka, 1979, 16.

**Šintava**  
castle

### 327. St. Margaret of Antioch

15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



3/4 bust of female saint with halo, under Gothic niche.

panel tile  
25 x 36 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Vlastivedné Múzeum Galanta, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 154, fig. 12.

castle

**328. St. Barbara**

15<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> c.



3/4 bust of female saint with halo, holding her mantle and a tower under Gothic niche.

panel tile  
25 x 35 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Vlastivedné Múzeum Galanta, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 155, fig. 11.

castle

### 329. Judith and Holofernes

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Female bust in profile, holding a knife and a severed head, under a tent(?) and a semicircular arch.

panel tile  
17.5 x 23 cm.  
polychrome glaze

Vlastivedné Múzeum Galanta, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 156, fig. 13.

castle

### 330. Cain and Abel

16<sup>th</sup> c.

26 x 28 cm.  
green glaze

Vlastivedné Múzeum Galanta, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 158.

castle

**331. Moses**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

26 x 28 cm.  
green glaze

Vlastivedné Múzeum Galanta, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 159.

**Sitno**  
castle

**332. St. George slating the dragon(?)**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Male on horseback holding a spear vertically.

unglazed

Labuda, 2005, 182, fig. 15.

castle

**333. Crucifixion**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Crucified Christ flanked by Mary and John. Christ has a halo with rays and wears a loincloth. Mary, on his right side, lifting her hands and looking at her Son, wears a maphorion and a dress.

panel tile  
fragment  
unglazed

Labuda, 2005, 182, fig. 16.

castle

**334. St. Dorothy (Elisabeth?)**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Female bust with halo holding a basket(?).

fragment  
unglazed

Labuda, 2005, 182, fig. 14.

castle

**335. Jacob's ladder**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Figures climbing a ladder under a semicircular arch.

panel tile  
fragmentary

Labuda, 2005, 182, fig. 19.

**Slovenská Ľupča**  
Franciscan friary

**336. St. Barbara**

15<sup>th</sup> c. - first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned female bust, holding a small tower.

mold

ca. 15 x 9 cm.

Slovenský Ústav Pamiatkovej Starostlivosti Banská Bystrica, inv. no. ?.

Ušiak, 2004, 565, fig. 7, 566, fig. 8.2.

Hanuliak, 2001, 6.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 174.

Franciscan friary

**337. *Maria in sole* crowned by angels**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragmentary tile depicting a woman crowned by an angel; another angel on her left.

panel tile(?)  
fragment

Hanuliak, 2001, 6.

**Spišska Nová Ves**  
town. Sovietskej Armády St.

**338. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Wrath medallion with naked couple besides the tree on which a snake is coiled. Sitting stag in front of the tree. Tulips in the corners.

panel tile  
entire tile  
min. 2 tiles

Javorský, 1981, 376, fig. 55.7.

## Strečno

castle, room of irregular plan from the gate area

### 339. Fifth station of the cross

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Christ kneeling under the weight of a cross. Simon(?) helping him and another man watching.

panel tile(?)

fragments

green glaze

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. S 41.

Mrva, 1994, 25.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 105.

castle, room of irregular plan from the gate area

### 340. St. Christopher

16<sup>th</sup> c.



Man crossing a river carrying the child Jesus on his back. Water creatures in the river.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
18 x 28 cm.  
unglazed

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. A 7248

Mrva, 1994, 26.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 104, fig. 15.

castle

### **341. Biblical motif**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

fragment  
polychrome glaze

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. S 1.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 98.

castle

### **342. Woman and evangelists(?)**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

panel tile(?)  
17 x 26 cm.  
green glaze

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. S 33.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 100.

castle

**343. Unknown**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

Inscription: "DOMIN".

21 x 21 cm.

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. A 7290.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 99.

castle

**344. Unknown**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

Inscription: "DOMIN".

cornice tile

21.5 x 17 cm.

Považské múzeum, Žilina, inv. no. A 7288.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat.103.

**Topoľčianky**

castle

**345. St. Margaret of Antioch**

15<sup>th</sup> c.

22 x 30.5 cm.

green glaze

Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, Nitra, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 122.

Ruttkayová, Ruttkay, 1992, fig. 4.

castle

**346. Annunciation**

16<sup>th</sup> c.

21 x 23.5 cm  
polychrome glaze

Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, Nitra, inv. no.?

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 120.  
Ruttkayová, Ruttkay, 1992, fig. 11.

castle

**347. Crucifixion**

15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> c.

21.5 x 21.5 cm.  
unglazed

Archeologický ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied, Nitra

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 124.

**Trenčín**

castle

**348. Samson fighting the lion**

15<sup>th</sup> c.

19.3 x 22.3 cm.  
yellow glaze

Trenčianské Múzeum, Trenčín, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 69.

castle

**349. St. John**

15<sup>th</sup> c.

19.5 x 19.5 cm  
unglazed(?)

Trenčianské Múzeum, Trenčín, inv. no.?

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 66.

castle

**350. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight slaying the dragon with a spear in front of the princess. Dog's head in the foreground(?).

panel tile  
entire tile  
19.5 x 19.5 cm.  
unglazed(?)

Slovenské Národné múzeum, Archeologické múzeum, Bratislava, inv. no.?. / Trenčianské múzeum  
Trenčín, inv. no. ?.

Egyházy-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 65, fig. 14.  
Holčík, 1978, fig. 33.  
Holčík, 1976, 99, fig. 12.

castle

**351. St. George slaying the dragon**  
15<sup>th</sup> c.



Mounted knight and kneeling female character.

panel tile

green glaze

Nešporová, 1982, 199, 410, fig. 116.

**Zvolen(?)**  
castle

**352. St. George slaying the dragon**  
16h c.(?)



Fully armed knight slaying a dragon with the spear. Inscr: "SGEORGIUS".

panel tile (one cut variant as corner tile)  
reconstructed  
green glaze

photo by the author

**unknown**

**353. Annunciation**  
16<sup>th</sup> c.



Mary kneeling in front of the lectern, angel standing, holding scepter with scroll. In the background window and three rays descending on Mary's head. All under a semi- cylindrical arch.

stone mold  
22 x 24 cm.

Hornonitrianské Múzeum Prievidza, inv. no. ?.

Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 121, fig. 21.

## Slavonia

### Čazma ?

#### 354. Annunciation(?). Kneeling angel 1500-1510(?)

Mašic, 2002, 32.  
Prosen, 1958.

### Garić castle

#### 355. Pelican in her Piety 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Panel tile depicting a pelican and a nest with two chicks in front of it. Vegetal elements.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
ca. 20 cm.  
green glaze

Bobovec, 1992, 21, fig. T3.5, 22.  
Bobovec, 1968, 169, fig. T.3.

### Ilok castle

#### 356. Angel with censer 1487-1490



Angel bust with censer.

niche tile  
crest tile ending in Gothic fleurons  
polychrome glaze (yellow, green, white)

Tomičić, 2004, 156, cat. 2, 160, fig. 19, 161, fig. 20, 167.

**Nova Ves**  
tile workshop

**357. Annunciation(?). Kneeling angel**  
1500-1510



Angel kneeling on left knee.

panel tile

green glaze

23 x 20 x 2 cm/ 22 x 19.5 x 7 cm/ 23 x 20 x 1.5 cm.

3 tiles

Muzej Grada Zagreba, Zagreb, inv. no. 769A, 776A, 783A.

Mašić, 2002, 34, 35, fig. 22, cat. 12, 39, 40.

**Ružica**  
castle

**358. St. Catherine of Alexandria**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with wheel

niche tile(?)

fragment: 8 x 4 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 271, cat. 567.

castle

**359. St. Christopher**

around 1500



Male character standing in a watercourse, holding a staff and a child with mantle on his left shoulder.

niche tile

reconstructed tile  
37 x 27 cm.  
13 fragments  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 296, cat. 622.

castle

### **360. Judith and Holofernes**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.

Fragments with female body and male head. Judith and Holofernes under Gothic tracery(?).

niche tile(?)  
fragments  
engobe  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 256, cat. 538.

castle

### **361. Archangel Michael slaying the dragon**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with angel holding a spear diagonally.

niche tile(?)  
fragment: 3.5 x 4 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 269, cat. 560.

castle

### **362. Archangel Gabriel**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragments with standing archangel on corbel, holding a scepter with scroll.

niche tile(?)  
3 fragments  
green glaze  
min. 2 tiles

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 268, cat. 559.

castle

### 363. Judgment of Solomon

end 15<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Solomon, the two women and the child. Vegetal frame.

niche tile  
reconstructed tile  
37/38 x 27/28 cm.  
11 fragments

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 299, cat. 625.

castle

**364. St. Agnes**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with standing female holding a book(?).

niche tile(?)

fragment: 11 x 5 cm.

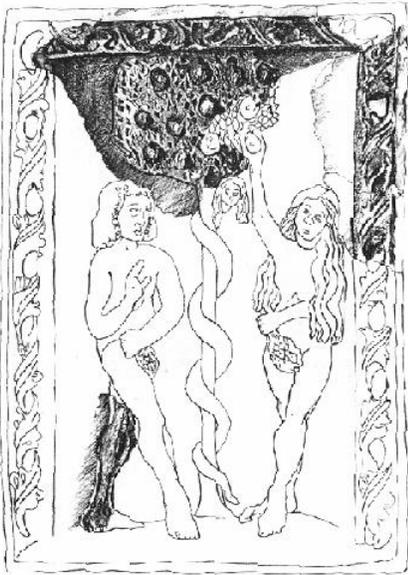
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 269, cat. 562.

castle

**365. Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge**

around 1500



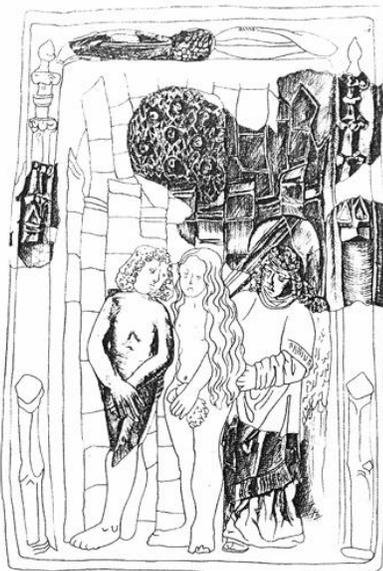
Adam and Eve eating from the Tree of Knowledge, serpent with female head coiled on the tree trunk.  
Vegetal frame

niche tile  
reconstructed tile  
37 x 27 cm.  
4 fragments  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 297, cat. 623.

castle

**366. Adam and Eve banished from Eden**  
around 1500



Naked Adam and Eve thrown out of Eden by angel with sword. Tree of Knowledge behind.  
Architectural frame.

niche tile  
reconstructed tile  
11 fragments  
green glaze(?)

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 298, cat. 624.

castle

**367. *Maria in sole***  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Crowned Virgin with halo, crown and scepter, holding the child Christ, with flames/rays from behind and stepping on the crescent moon.

semi-cylindrical tile  
reconstructed tile  
44.5 x 28.5 x 8 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 301, cat. 627.

castle

**368. *St. George slaying the dragon***  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with standing knight slaying the dragon with a spear, standing on a corbel with animal decoration.

niche tile(?)  
fragment: 8.5 x 5.5 cm.  
3 fragments  
min. 3 tiles  
engobe  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 258, cat. 540, 281, cat. 593, 290, cat. 611.

castle

### 369. David

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with male bust holding inscription band “in sole po..”, above corbel with name: “David”.

niche tile(?)  
fragment: 6.8 x 6 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 257, cat. 539.

castle

**370. St. George slaying the dragon**

15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing knight in full armor killing the dragon with a sabre. Vegetal frame.

crest tile ending in a Gothic fleuron

niche tile(?)

3 fragments

12 x 8.5 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 289, cat. 610.

castle

**371. Evangelist John**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with standing male character holding an axe and a book.

niche tile(?)

9 x 5.5 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 271, cat. 564.

castle

**372. St. Catherine of Alexandria**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. – 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with female figure standing on a corbel, having a wheel by her feet.

niche tile(?)

fragment: 13.5 x 3.8 x 5.8 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 272, cat. 568.

castle

**373. St. Barbara**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment depicting a hand holding a tower.

niche tile(?)

fragment: 8 x 4 cm.

green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 271, cat. 566.

castle

**374. Mary Magdalene (St. Agnes?)**

second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with female torso clothed in long hair, wearing a diadem.

small sculpture  
fragment  
15.5 x 6.4 x 4 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 273, cat. 570.

castle

**375. St. Christopher**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



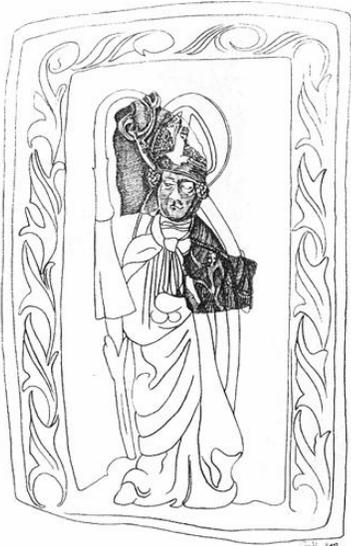
Fragment with male character with staff holding a child on his shoulders, standing on a corbel.

corniche tile(?)  
fragment  
22.3 x 4 x 7.5 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 272, cat. 569.

castle

**376. Holy bishop**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with bishop wearing mitre and staff.

niche tile(?)  
fragment: 14.5 x 5 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 269, cat. 561.

castle

### 377. Annunciation

end 15<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.



Kneeling Mary holding a book(?) and angel holding a scepter, under a hanging curtain. Vegetal frame.

niche tile  
reconstructed tile  
34 x 26/27 cm.

12 fragments  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 300, cat. 626.

castle

**378. St. Bartholomew**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with bearded man standing on a corbel with vegetal decoration, holding a knife and a book.

niche tile  
fragment  
18.5 x 13.5 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 270, cat. 563.

castle

**379. Pelican in her Piety**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Central medallion with pelican feeding its chicks in the nest. Surrounded by vegetal decoration.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
27 x 26 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 248, cat. 522.

castle

**380. St. Peter**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment with standing male holding an open book and having a key hanged by the belt. Inscription: "??".

niche tile(?)  
5.5 x 5.5 cm.  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 271, cat. 565.

castle

**381. St. Margaret of Antioch fighting the dragon**  
second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Standing female holding a cross in front of a dragon. Vegetal frame.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
14 x 13.5  
green glaze

Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 284, cat. 600.

**Samobor**  
castle

**382. Crucifixion**  
15<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup>



Fragment of tile depicting the crucified Christ.

fragment  
green glaze

Muzej za Umetnost i Obrt, Zagreb, inv. no. ?.

Stahuljak, Klobučar, 1958, 219, fig. 38.

### **Susedgrad** castle

#### **383. St. George slaying the dragon** end of the 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Fragment of tile depicting a standing knight with shield, with a dragon's feet and tail in the lower part.

niche tile  
crest tile  
ca. 44 x 26 cm.(?)  
green glaze

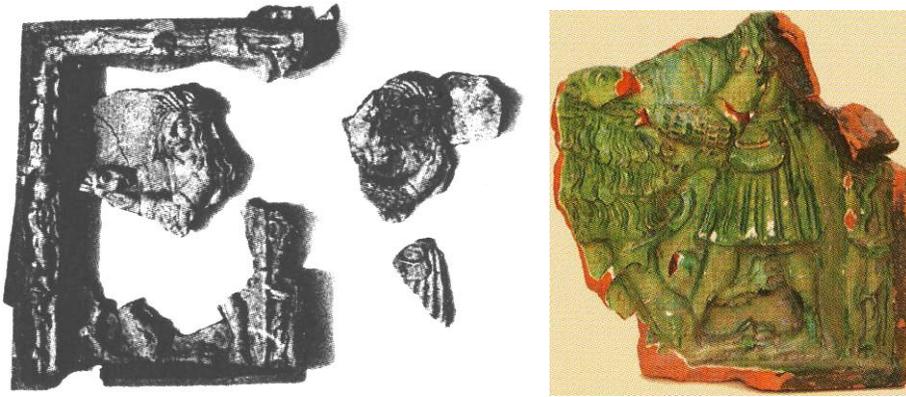
Muzej za Umetnost i Obrt, Zagreb, inv. no. 27696.

Prister, 1998, 39, fig. 20, 61, cat. 20-21.

Stahuljak, Klobučar, 1958, 209, fig. 1.

### **Varaždin** castle

#### **384. Samson fighting the lion** 1460-1500



Standing male character with turban opening with both hands the mouth of a lion. Decorated frame.

panel tile(?)  
 33 x 26 cm.  
 unglazed and green glaze

Gradski Muzej Varaždin, inv. no. 3152, 53120.

Ilijanić, 1999, 263, fig. 1, 264.  
*Županija varaždinska*, 1999, 54, cat. 112.  
*Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, 2008, 49, fig. 115

southern wall of the old town

**385. Samson fighting the lion**  
 around 1500

unglazed

*Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, 2008, 49.

castle

**386. St. Margaret of Antioch fighting the dragon**  
 1460(?)



Standing female holding a cross on a pedestal, and sampling on a dragon. Vegetal decoration in the background. Acanthus leaves on the frame.

panel tile  
reconstructed tile  
26.5 x 26.5 cm.  
unglazed

Gradski Muzej Varaždin, inv. no. 3151.

Ilijanić, 1999, 264, 265, fig. 2.  
*Županija varaždinska*, 1999, 54, cat. 111.

castle

**387. Holy bishop**  
around 1500



Fragment depicting the head of a bishop, wearing the mitre and a halo.

fragment  
panel tile  
11 x 9 x 3 cm.  
green glaze

Gradski Muzej Varaždin, inv. no. 10798.

Ilijanić, 1999, 264, 263, fig. 3.  
*Županija varaždinska*, 1999, 54, cat. 110.  
*Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, 2008, 49, fig. 116.

old town

**388. Holy bishop**

mold

*Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, 2008, 49.

unknown site on the estate of Varaždin(?)

**389. Annunciation(?). Kneeling angel**



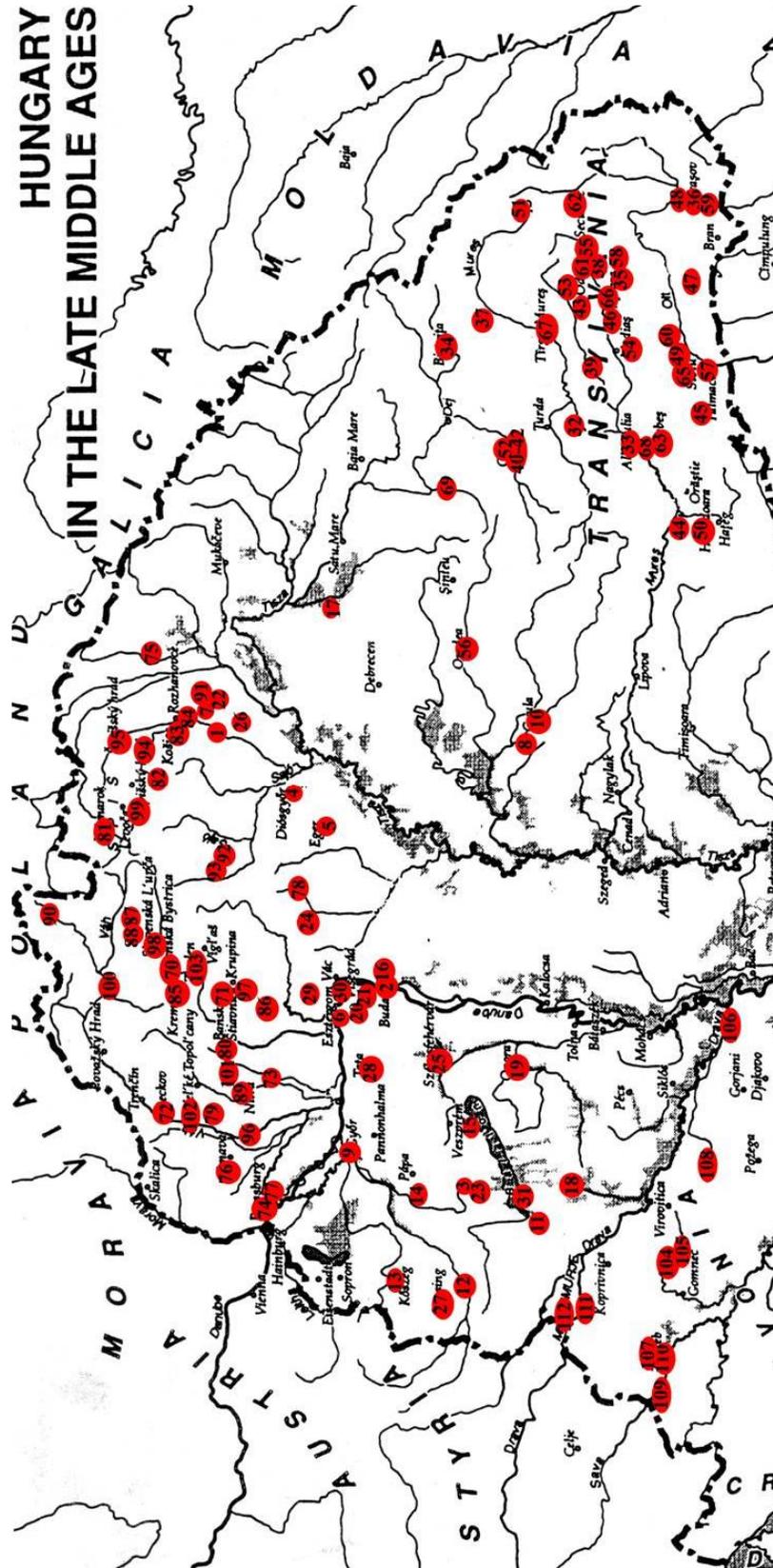
Kneeling angel.

panel tile  
2 fragments  
12.5 x 18.8 x 5.8 cm.  
unglazed

Gradski Muzej Varaždin, inv. no. A 6478.

*Županija varaždinska*, 1999, 58, cat. 141.

## Appendix 2. Places of discovery



Present-day Hungary: 1. Boldogkő, 2. Buda, 3. Csabrendek, 4. Diósgyőr, 5. Eger, 6. Esztergom, 7. Füzfű, 8. Gerle, 9. Győr, 10. Gyula, 11. Háhót, 12. Hegyhátszentmárton, 13. Kőszeg, 14. Kulsővát, 15. Nagyvácsány/ Nagyvácsány Kínizsi, 16. Nyék, 17. Nyirbátor, 18. Ötvöskőny, 19. Ózora, 20. Pilisszentkereszt, 21. Pomáz, 22. Sárospatak, 23. Sarvally, 24. Szécsény, 25. Székesfehérvár, 26. Szerencs, 27. Szombathely, 28. Tata, 29. Vértesszentkereszt, 30. Visegrád, 31. Zalavár, present-day Romania: 32. Anid, 33. Alba Iulia, 34. Bistritia, 35. Bodogaja, 36. Brașov, 37. Brâncovenesti, 38. Cechesti, 39. Cetatea de Baltă, 40. Cluj-Napoca, 41. Cluj-Mănăștur, 42. Cluj-Si. Peter, 43. Cristuru Secuiesc, 44. Deva, 45. Dobârca, 46. Drănseni, 47. Făgăraș, 48. Feldioara, 49. Gâsterjița, 50. Hunedoara, 51. Lăzarea, 52. Lita, 53. Mihalieni, 54. Moșna, 55. Odorheiu Secuiesc, 56. Oradea, 57. Proștea Mare-Târnava, 58. Racușul de Jos, 59. Râșnov, 60. Roșia, 61. Rușinești, 62. Săncrățeni, 63. Sebeș, 64. Seletu, 65. Sibiu, 66. Sighișoara, 67. Târgu Mureș, 68. Vinu de Jos, 69. Zalău, present-day Slovakia: 70. Banská Bystrica, 71. Banská Stavitnica, 72. Beckov, 73. Brečkov, 74. Bratislava, 75. Brekov, 76. Cerveny Kameň, 77. Devín, 78. Filákov, 79. Hlohovec, 80. Hronský Beňadik, 81. Kežmarok, 82. Kľačany, 83. Košice, 84. Kráľova Lehota, 85. Kremnica, 86. Levice, 87. Liptov Castle, 88. Liptovská Mara, 89. Nitra, 90. Orava Castle, 91. Paríč, 92. Rimavská Sobota Barátkút, 94. Sabinov, 95. Sáriš, 96. Sinaava, 97. Sino, 98. Slovenská Lupča, 99. Spišská Nová Ves, 100. Strečno, 101. Topoľčianky, 102. Trenčín, 103. Zvolen, present-day Croatia: 104. Cazma, 105. Garič, 106. Ilok, 107. Nova Ves, 108. Ružica, 109. Samobor, 110. Susjedgrad, 111. Varazdin, present-day Slovenia: 112. Ormož.

### Appendix 3. Places names and proper names

#### Place names

##### present-day Hungary:

Boldogkő (Boldogkőváralja)

Buda (Budapest)

Csabrendek (Veszprém County)

Diósgyőr (Miskolc County)

Eger (Heves County) – SK: Jáger – GE: Erlau

Esztergom (Kómarom-Esztergom County) – LAT: Strigonium – GE: Gran – SK: Ostrihom

Füzér (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County)

Gerla (Békés County)

Győr (Győr-Moson-Sopron County) – SK: Ráb – GE: Raab

Gyula (Békés County) – GE: Julau

Hahót (Zala County)

Hegyhátszentmárton (Vas County)

Kőszeg (Vas County) – GE: Güns

Külsővat (Veszprém County)

Nagyvászony/ Nagyvászony Kinizsi (Veszprém County)

Nyék (Budapest, 2<sup>nd</sup> district)

Nyirbátor (Szabolcs-Szatmár County)

Ötvöskőnyi (Somogy County)

Ozora (Tolna County)

Pilisszentkereszt (Pest County) – SK: Mlynky

Pomáz (Pest County)

Sárospatak (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County)– GE: Potok am Bodroch – SK: Potok

Sarvaly (Veszprém County)

Szécsény (Nógrád County) – SK: Sečany

Székesfehérvár (Fejér County)– GE: Stuhlweißenburg – LAT: Alba Regia – SK: Stoličný

Belehrad

Szerencs (Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County)

Szombathely (Vas County) – GE: Steinamanger – SK: Kamenec – LAT: Savaria

Tata (Komárom-Esztergom County) – LAT: Dotis

Vértesszentkereszt (Komárom-Esztergom County)

Visegrád (Pest County) – GE: Plintenburg - SK: Vyšehrad

Zalavár (Zala County) – GE: Moosburg – SK: Blatnohrad

**present-day Romania:**

Aiud (Alba County) – GE: Strassburg am Mieresch – HU: Nagyenyed

Alba Iulia (Alba County) – RO: Bălgrad –LAT: Apulum – HU: Gyulafehérvár – GE:  
Weißenburg/ Karlsburg

Bistrița (Bistrița Năsăud County) – HU: Beszterce – GE: Bistriz

Bodogaia (Harghita County) – HU: Alsóboldogfalva

Brașov (Brașov County) – GE: Kronstadt – HU: Brassó

Brâncovenești (Mureș County) – HU: Marosvécs – GE: Wetsch

Cechești (com. Avrămești, Harghita County) – HU: Csekefalva

Cetatea de Baltă (Alba County) – HU: Küküllővár – GE: Kokelburg

Cluj-Napoca (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County) – HU: Kolozsvár – GE: Klausenburg – LAT:  
Claudiopolis

Cluj-Mănăstur (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County) – HU: Kolozsmonostor - GE: Abtsdorf

Cluj-St.Peter (Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County) – HU: Kolozsvár-Szentpéter

Cristuru Secuiesc (Harghita County) – HU: Székelykeresztúr

Deva (Hunedoara County) – HU: Déva - GE: Diemrich

Dobârca (com. Miercurea Sibiului, Sibiu County) – HU: Doborka – GE: Dobring

Drăușeni (com. Cața, Brașov County) – HU: Homoróddaróc – GE: Drass

Făgăraș (Brașov County)– HU: Fogaras – GE: Fogarasch

Feldioara (Brașov County) – HU: Földvár – GE: Marienburg

Gușterița (Sibiu) – HU: Szászszenkereszt

Hunedoara (Hunedoara County) – HU: Vajdahunyad, GE: Eisenmarkt

Lăzarea (Harghita County) – HU: Gyergyószárhegy

Lita (com. Săvădisla, Cluj County) – HU: Léta

Mihăileni (Harghita County) – HU: Csíkszentmihály – GE: Cibrefalva

Moșna (Sibiu County) – HU: Muzsna, GE: Meschen

Odorheiul Secuiesc (Harghita County) – HU: Székelyudvarhely – GE: Oderhellen/Hofmarkt

Oradea (Bihar County) – HU: Nagyvárad – GE: Grosswardein

Proștea Mare (present day Târnava, Sibiu County) – HU: Nagyekemező – GE: Grossprobstdorf

Racoşul de Jos (Braşov County) – HU: Alsórákos – GE: Ratsch/ Unter-Krebsdorf  
 Râşnov (Braşov County) – HU: Rozsnyó – GE: Rosenau  
 Roşia (Sibiu County) – HU: Veresmart – GE: Rotberg  
 Rugăneşti (com. Şimioneşti, Harghita County) – HU: Rugonfalva – GE: Rugendorf  
 Sâncrăieni (Harghita County) – HU: Csíkszentkirály  
 Sebeş (Alba County) – HU: Szászsebes – GE: Mühlbach  
 Seleuş (Arad County) – HU: Keményagyszöllős, Szászöllős  
 Sibiu (Sibiu County) – HU: Nagyszeben – GE: Hermannstadt  
 Sighişoara (Mureş County) – HU: Segesvár – GE: Schässburg – LAT: Saxoburgum  
 Târgu Mureş (Mureş County) – HU: Marosvásárhely – GE: Neumarkt –Lat: Novum Forum  
 Siculorum  
 Vinţu de Jos– Alvinc, Unter-Winz/ Winzendorf  
 Zalău (Sălaj County) – HU: Zilah – GE: Waltenberg/ Zillenmarkt

**present-day Slovakia:**

Banská Bystrica (Banská Bystrica Region) – HU: Besztercebánya- GE: Neusohl  
 Banská Stiavnica (Banská Bystrica Region) – HU: Selmecebánya – GE: Schemnitz  
 Beckov (Trenčín Region) – HU: Beckó  
 Branč (Nitra Region) – HU: Berencs  
 Bratislava (Bratislava Region) – SK: Prešporok - GE: Pressburg – HU: Pozsony  
 Brekov (Prešov Region)  
 Červený Kameň (Bratislava Region) – GE: Bibersburg/Rotenstein - HU: Vöröskő  
 Devín (Bratislava) – GE: Theben – HU: Dévény  
 Fil'akovo (Banská Bystrica Region) – HU: Fülek, GE: Fülleck  
 Hlohovec (Trnava Region) – GE: Freistadt an der Waag – HU: Galgóc  
 Hronský Beňadik (Banská Bystrica Region) – SK: Svätý Beňadik - GE: Sankt Benedikt –  
 HU: Garamszentbenedek  
 Kežmarok (Prešov Region) – GE: Kesmark/Käsmark – HU: Késmárk - LAT: Kesmarkium  
 Klaštorisko (Slovak Paradise National Park) – LAT: Lapis Refugii  
 Košice (Košice Region) – GE: Kaschau – HU: Kassa – LAT: Cassovia/Caschovia  
 Krásna nad Hornádom (Košice Region) – HU: Széplak  
 Kremnica (Banská Bystrica Region) – GE: Chemnitz/Kremnitz – HU: Kőmőcbánya  
 Levice (Nitra Region) – HU: Léva –GE: Lewenz

Liptov Castle (Žilina Region, historical Liptov district, Kalameny village)  
 Liptovská Mara (Žilina Region) - dam named after one of the inundated villages.  
 Nitra (Nitra Region) – HU: Nyitra, GE: Neutra  
 Orava Castle (Žilina Region) - SK: Oravský hrad - GE: Arwaburg - HU: Árva vára  
 Parič (Třebišov Park, Košice Region) – HU: Párics  
 Rimavské Janovce (Banská Bystrica Region) – HU: Jánosi  
 Rimavská Sobota Barátkút (Banská Bystrica Region) HU: Rimaszombat - GE: Gross  
 Steffelsdorf  
 Sabinov (Prešov Region) – GE: Zeben – HU: Kisszeben  
 Sariš (Prešov Region) – SK: Šarišský hrad  
 Sintava (Trnava Region)  
 Sítno (Banská Bystrica Region)  
 Slovenská Lupča (Banská Bystrica Region) - HU: Zólyomlipcse  
 Spišska Nová Ves (Košice Region) – GE: Neu(en)dorf – HU: Igló  
 Strečno (Žilina Region)  
 Topoľčianky (Nitra Region)  
 Trenčín (Trenčín Region) – GE: Trentschin – HU: Trencsén  
 Zvolen (Banská Bystrica Region) - GE: Altsohl - HU: Zólyom

**present-day Croatia:**

Čazma (Bjelovarsko-Bilogorska County) - HU: Csázma  
 Garić (Bjelovarsko-Bilogorska County)  
 Ilok (Vukovar-Srijem County) - HU: Újlak – GE: Illok  
 Nova Ves (Zagreb)  
 Ružica (Virovitica-Podravina County)  
 Samobor (Zagreb County)  
 Susedgrad (Zagreb)  
 Varaždin (Varaždin County) – GE: Warasdin - HU: Varasd- LAT: Varasdinum

**present-day Slovenia:**

Ormož (Ptuj County) - HU: Ormoz

Bocskai, Stephen (1557 - 1606) - Bocskai István (HU), Štefan Bočkaj (SK), Ștefan Bocșa (RO)

Charles IV (1316 - 1378) - Karl IV (GE), Karel IV (CZ), Carolus IV (LAT)

Charles Robert of Anjou (1288 - 1342)- Károly Róbert (HU), Carol Robert (RO), Karlo Robert (HR),  
Karol Róbert (SK)

Csáktornya, Ernest - Csáktornyai Ernuszt Zsigmond (HU) - Ernst de Čakovec (HR)

St. Emeric – Imre (HU), Emeric (RO), Emerich (GE), Emericus (LAT)

Ferdinand of Habsburg (1503 - 1564) – Ferdinand I (GE, CZ, SK, HR)

St. George – György (HU), Gheorghe (RO), Georg (GE), Georgius (LAT)

Jagiello Zapolya, Isabella (1519 - 1559) - Isabella Jagiełło (PL), Izabella királyné (HU)

John the Mason (first half of the sixteenth century) – Ioan Zidarul (RO), Johannes Murator/Lapicida  
(LAT)

St. Ladislav – László (HU), Ladislau (RO), Ladislaus (LAT)

Mailat, Stephen (1502 - 1550) - Ștefan Mailat (RO), Majláth István (HU), Stephanus Maylad (LAT)

Martin and George of Cluj – Kolozsvári Marton és György (HU), Martin și Gheorghe din Cluj (RO)

Martinuzzi, George (1482 - 1551) - Georg Utjessenovicz-Martinuzzi (HR), Martinuzzi György (HU),  
Gheorghe Martinuzzi (RO)

Matthias Corvinus (1443 - 1490) – HU: Hunyadi Mátyás, RO: Matia Corvinul

St. Michael – Mihály (HU), Mihail (RO), Michel (FR), Michael (LAT)

Nicholas of Ilok (ca. 1410-1477) – Miklós Újlaki (HU), Nikola Ilocki (HR), Nicholas de Ujlák (LAT)

Paul of Kinizs (ca. 1430 - 1494) - HU: Kinizsi Pál, RO: Paul Chinezu

Pálffy, Nicholas (1552 - 1660) - Pálffy Miklós (HU)

Perényi, Emeric (d.1519)- Imre Perényi (HU), Imrich Perényi (SK)

St. Stephen – István (HU), Ștefan (RO), Stephan (GE), Stephanus (LAT)

Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437) - Sigismund von Luxemburg (GE), Luxemburgi Zsigmond  
(HU)

Zápolya, John (1487 - 1540) - János Szapolyai/János Zápolya (HU)

Zápolya, John II Sigismund (1540 - 1571) - Zápolya/Szapolyai János Zsigmond (HU), Ivan Žigmund  
Zapolja (HR)

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