

# HISTORY OF ART

# Slovak and Croatian Art in the Thirteenth Century. Some Striking Analogies and Their Background

Umenie v Slavónsku a na Spiši v 13. storočí – niekoľko pozoruhodných analógií a ich pozadie / Umjetnost u Slavoniji i na Spišu u 13. stoljeću – neke upečatljive analogije i njihove pozadine

*Following up on the latest Croatian research in art history (Goss, Jukić, Dujmović, Cepetić) and history (Budak, Basić), we shall single out some striking analogies in the art of Spiš and Continental Croatia in the thirteenth century. We envisage a double approach: in terms of theory of cultural exchange, and in terms of precise comparisons of significant monuments. The central role of Duke Coloman will be underlined for the developments of the first half of the century, but we shall also touch upon some less expected analogies from its second half, which might shed additional light on the mechanisms of cultural exchange within the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen.*

Keywords: thirteenth century, Spiš, Slavonia, History of Medieval Art, Duke Coloman

During a break in the wonderful conference „Borders of Art History in Central Europe“ organized by Ivan Gerát in Bratislava in 2007, a Slovak colleague, Dr. Bibiana Pomfyová, handed over a volume of the *Ars* to me.<sup>1</sup> I was truly struck. What I saw on the front cover was so much alike some things “back home.” Looking over my shoulder, Professor Milan Pelc, also from Zagreb, exclaimed when he saw the key stone from Hrabušice: “Lord, this is the Cathedral of Zagreb!” Indeed, the similarity with the key stones of the cathedral sacristy (ca. 1270) is striking! Here is the story of the research that followed (fig. 1, 2).

However, a brief theoretical introduction is needed. Visual art forms do not travel. The people who carry them do. So any transfer of forms must be linked to the human factor. The rounded tower of St. Bartol in Novi Mikanovci in Eastern Slavonia, unique within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen is due to the presence of a so-called “Saxon” or “Saxon-related” community, as such form, originating in the Lower German territory, spread throughout the Northern, Central and East Central Europe with the colonization of the “Saxons,”

a mixed group of Saxons, Lower Saxons, Frisians, Flemings, Thuringians, etc. They appeared in the Pannonian Basin as early as the end of the eleventh century and the heyday of the immigration was the beginning of the thirteenth century, the reign of Andrew II. The immigrants to what is today Mikanovci may have included a builder or a knowledgeable member of the community who asked a local builder to build him a rounded tower, or the form may be due to the collective memory of a group who wanted a church “like the one we had at home.”<sup>2</sup>

Memory could be a powerful factor. It could be successfully argued that the frequent appearance of polyconchal structures in the Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia is due to the immigrant Slavs’ memory of centralized polyconchal sanctuaries of the old country. If the new country already possessed similar structures, as in the case of the Roman Dalmatia, the better.<sup>3</sup>

The people who transfer forms need not be artists. They could be just about anyone: pilgrims, soldiers, merchants, monks, bums. A princess marrying a prince in a distant land may bring within her

\* Vladimir Peter Goss, University of Rijeka, School of Arts and Letters.

<sup>1</sup> *Ars*, nr. 3, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Goss, Vladimir Peter: Crkva Sv. Bartola u Novim Mikanovcima – romanika između Save i Drave i Europska Kultura. In: *Peristil*, a. 46, 2003, pp. 5–12; IDEM Renesansa 12. stoljeća i Hrvatska. In: *Renesansa i renesanse u umjetnosti Hrvatske*. Ed.: Predrag MARKOVIĆ – Jasenka GUDELJ. Zagreb: IPU, 2008, pp. 417–426.

<sup>3</sup> Goss, Vladimir Peter: Memories, Sources, Models. In: *Medioevo: Immagine e memoria*. Ed.: Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE. Parma: Electa, 2009, pp. 169–174; IDEM Landscape as History, Myth, and Art. An Art Historian’s View. In: *Studia Ethnologica Croatica*, a. 21, 2009, pp. 133–166.



Fig. 1. Zagreb, Cathedral, key stone from the sacristy, ca. 1270.



Fig. 2. Hrabušice, key stone, second half of the thirteenth century.

entourage artists, models, works of art. A new governor of the province may bring along his favorite workshop. Well-known artists may be engaged far from home, a ruler may send models and designs to a friendly ally, and so on. The point is that in order to understand analogies we should be able to understand the human factor that lies behind them.

Up until about a decade ago, analogies in the medieval art between Croatia and Slovakia went unnoticed. If by some strange circumstance some analogy had been noticed, it would have been

written off as, for example, a “general similarity in the lands of similar cultural level” or “occupying a similar place within the realm.” It was necessary to find the human link for the thread to start to unravel. Although one may still need to add a lot to what has been emerging it is quite clear that at least some of the similarities were due to the activity of one leader, who stood at the top of the pyramid of power in some parts of both Slovakia and Croatia, and his entourage. Only the realization of the key role of Duke Coloman, both in Spiš and in Slavonia, did provide a solid ground for a comparative study, going beyond the time of his rule.

The credit for defining the significance of Coloman (1208–1241, Duke of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (1226–1241) goes to Professor Budak and young scholar Ivan Basić.<sup>4</sup> The portrait that has emerged is one of an energetic leader, capable administrator and brave soldier. The research has also recognized the key role of the duke’s closest ally in political, religious, and cultural spheres, Stephen (Stjepan), Bishop of Zagreb (1225–1247), former chancellor to Coloman’s father, King Andrew II (1204–1235). Coloman was also nominal King of Galicia, crowned in 1217, but Hungarian control over the country was limited to the periods of 1215–1216 and 1219–1221. In his attempts to gain a foothold in Galicia, Coloman relied on Spiš as his base.

In Croatia, the policy of both the duke and the bishop was to create a powerful unit including Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, *regna* within the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, under the rule of a single monarch; in Church matters to transfer the archbishop’s seat from Split to Zagreb; in economy to rely on the king’s free boroughs against the arrogance of the nobility. In that effort, culture and the arts were not the least among the tools of Coloman’s policy. The invasion of the Tartars (in 1241–1242) and Coloman’s death put an end to the project which was at the brink of succeeding.<sup>5</sup>

Now let us return to our initial lines, the *Ars*, and the strange similarity between the keystone from Hrabušice and the sacristy of Zagreb Cathedral (fig. 1, 2).<sup>6</sup> One may freely ask: what does this late thirteenth-century example have to do with Duke Coloman, dead and buried for decades? But

<sup>4</sup> BUDAČ, Neven: Zagrebački biskup Stjepan II, savremenik Tome Arhiđakona. In: *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo doba*. Ed.: Mirjana MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL. Split: Splitski književni krug, 2004, pp. 153–158; Basić, Ivan: O pokušaju ujedinjenja zagrebačke i splitske crkve u XIII. st. In: *Pro tempore*, a. 3, 2006, pp. 25–44. This study’s worthy predecessors are: PROCHÁZKOVÁ, Nataša, Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241. In: *Terra Scepusiensis: Stav bádania o dejmách Spiša*. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Ryszard GŁADKIEWICZ. Levoča – Wrocław: Kláštorisko, 2003, pp. 243–279; later HOMZA, Martin, Polticke dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia. In: *Historia Scepusii: Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Stanisław A. SROKA, Bratislava – Kraków: Etc, 2009, pp. 126–327.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, passim.

<sup>6</sup> On Hrabušice cfr. POMFYOVÁ, Bibiana: *Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia*. PhD. Thesis. Bratislava: Katedra dejín výtvarného umenia, 2001, pp. 163–165.



Fig. 3. Topusko, Cistercian Abbey, capital, ca. 1220–1230.

to start serious research at all, it was necessary to identify a human link. Working backwards once the analogies were noticed, with the help from the historians, we became convinced that Coloman was that key and trend-setting link.

The period of late twelfth century and the first four decades of the thirteenth century in terms of art in the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen means a full, late flowering of the Romanesque and the introduction of the Gothic forms. Like in the Central Mediterranean, i.e. the Imperial Italy, and in Central Europe, i.e. the Imperial Germany, the Romanesque, the “third Romanesque art,” as it was recently called most appropriately by Xavier Barral i Altet, persisted along the French High Gothic imports, resulting in an extremely appealing and truly local art idiom, not any more Romanesque, never indeed Gothic, yet fully and truly linked with the physical and cultural landscape of the lands where it sprang forth. Of course, within this artistic language which was initially elaborated at the site of the new Esztergom Cathedral of King Bela III (1173–1196) and Archbishop Hiob, one can discern “words” from the French Gothic vocabulary, which are usually seen as the markers of the appearance of the Gothic forms within the local milieu. In that sense the appearance of the Gothic in Continental Croatia is rightly tied to the Cistercian monastery in Topusko (first quarter of the thirteenth century, fig. 3) and the *domus* of the Templars at Gora, where the order had its seat already by 1196 and where a new early Gothic building was constructed over an earlier Romanesque one in the first decades of the thirteenth century (fig. 4). In Topusko Gothic motifs in the nature of the Reims Cathedral arrive via the workshop of Pannonhalma; in Gora the beautiful capitals “à crochet” may be due directly to a traveling French workshop. One should add a capital from



Fig. 4. Gora, Templar Church, capital, early thirteenth century.



Fig. 5. Zagreb, Museum of Croatian History, capital from Zagreb Cathedral (?), ca. 1200.



Fig. 6. Esztergom, Royal Palace, capital, ca. 1200.



Fig. 7. Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, ca. 1230 and later.



Fig. 8. Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, rose, ca. 1242–1250.



Fig. 9. Čazma, St. Mary Magdalene, ca. 1230 and later, side view.

Zagreb (possibly from the cathedral), absolutely analogous to one in the royal palace at Esztergom (ca. 1200), proving that, indeed, the royal workshops were present in the *Pannonia Savia* around 1200 (fig. 5, 6). This important process occurred in Croatia between ca. 1195 and 1230, thus partly under Duke Coloman's watch. The results of my team's extensive research have been published elsewhere, and here we will very briefly review the key complexes: Čazma, a new town founded by Duke Coloman and Bishop Stephen, built around 1230, and the castle of Medvedgrad above Zagreb, the phase of 1230–1240.

From the earliest phase of Čazma we have the Church of St. Mary Magdalene albeit in a much rebuilt form (fig. 7–9). The same phase involved at least one more church, the Holy Spirit of the Canons, the palaces of the duke, the bishop and the canons, and the first phase of the fortifications. None of these buildings has been systematically explored, but the Museum in Čazma contains numerous early thirteenth-century fragments consistent with the production of the royal workshops of the time. St. Mary Magdalene itself looks very much like a reduced version of the Esztergom Cathedral.<sup>7</sup> At the sides of its protruding western annex there are two towers and two more were most likely planned for the areas between the nave and the sanctuary, forming a sort of transept today. The rather damaged capitals of those areas confirm the dating to ca. 1230–1240. The same is true of numerous decorative elements preserved in the Museum in Čazma and at the church

<sup>7</sup> Based on a profound research of the site, Magdaléna Janovská has offered a reconstruction of the Romanesque phases of the church of St. Martin at Spišská Kapitula having a two-tower façade, a short nave and a transept the vicissitudes of which strangely recall Čazma, a choir square and a rounded apse. In Čazma there is the added element of the western annex, and a straight chevet – a concession to “the Dominican taste” (?). The eastern end of the church at Čazma has not been thoroughly explored. I am greatly indebted to Ms. Janovská for sharing her fine research with me.



Fig. 10. Čazma, Museum, capital, ca. 1230–1240.

itself, including the single fragment, a small but fine head of a warrior, possibly a fragment from a tomb, having numerous analogies in the central part of the Pannonian Basin (fig. 10, 11).

Medvedgrad is a more tricky issue, as its research has been marred by a wrong interpretation of a document to the period after the Tartar invasion, and because it was explained as a bishop's castle (fig. 12, 13). To make things right we had to first correct the documentary evidence (1), then conduct a careful stylistic analysis (2), and finally apply the lessons of the historical vicissitudes of both Medvedgrad and the Spiš Castle (3). By a careful reading of the relevant document of Pope Innocent IV of 1252 with the help of the best Latinists in Croatia, we have (1) managed to show that Medvedgrad was documented as a royal castle existing before 1242, to which the bishops were allowed to add a fortified tower, a refuge, after the Tartar invasion. This cleared the field for (2) a thorough stylistic analysis. Following the lead of Ms. Pomfyová, we concentrated on the Premonstratensian abbey of Ócsa and established



Fig. 11. Čazma, Museum, head of a warrior, ca. 1230–1240.



Fig. 12. Medvedgrad, Castle, ca. 1230–1240 and later, view.



Fig. 13. Medvedgrad, Castle, Chapel, ca. 1230–1240.



Fig. 14. *Medvedgrad, Castle, Chapel, ca. 1230–1240, portal.*



Fig. 15. *Ócsa, Premonstratensian church, portal, ca. 1206–1234.*



Fig. 16. *Ócsa, Premonstratensian church, portal, ca. 1206–1234, detail.*

that the portal of the Medvedgrad chapel (fig. 14) is close to the monuments of the first quarter of the thirteenth century both in Central and Upper Hungary; at Ócsa (ca. 1206–1234, fig. 15, 16), Halič (ca. 1213–1221), Bény (ca. 1198–1217), Alba Iulia (ca. 1196–ca. 1238, southern portal), Karcsa (ca. 1196–ca. 1208), and the southern portal at Ják (ca. 1220–1256); Ócsa being the closest analogy. Bibiana Pomfyová has in several studies drawn attention to analogies between the capital zone of the southern portal at Ócsa and a similar architectural member from the Church of St. John the Baptist at Spišské Vlchy, today at the Archeological Institute at Spišská Nová Ves (fig. 17).

Next we examined the analogies between the capitals of the palace at Medvedgrad, explored, restored, but never published, and those of Spišská Kapitula, i.e. the Church of St. Martin (fig. 18), and Spiš castle, in particular its hall dated by Ms. Pomfyová to the period of Coloman's activity in Spiš, 1214–1241, with emphasis on the years 1221–1234. The fragments of the original capitals of the Medvedgrad palace are being kept at the



Fig. 17. *Spišská Nová Ves, the Archeological Institute, fragment from St. John the Baptist at Spišské Vlchy.*



Fig. 18. *Spišská Kapitula, St. Martin, capitals, possibly ca. 1221–1234.*



Fig. 19. Zagreb, Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia, fragment of a capital from the Medvedgrad palace, ca. 1230–1240.



Fig. 20. Zagreb, Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia, fragment of a capital from the Medvedgrad palace, ca. 1230–1240.

Monuments Restoration Office of Croatia in Zagreb and were for the first time brought to public attention in an exhibition which we organized in 2007 (fig. 19–20). The analogies between these fragments and those of Spiš area, Spiš castle in particular, are quite obvious, as we have amply demonstrated elsewhere (fig. 21).

Medvedgrad and, of course, Zagreb and Čazma, clearly confirm the presence of royal workshops in *Pannonia Savia*. As well as to Spiš, they were brought in by Duke Coloman and his court. They need not have been the same group of people, but they were all linked to the core of the Esztergom workshop.

The story of the Spiš castle (3) after the Tartar invasion closely recalls the Medvedgrad experience. Bela IV in 1249 allowed the *praepositus* of Spišská Kapitula to attach his own rectangular tower west of the original walls and somewhat to the north of the original entrance. The choice of the site was exclusively determined by the space available, and had no strategic importance. The script is strikingly similar to what happened in Zagreb, where the bishop was allowed to build a powerful keep at the southern tip of the Medvedgrad ridge, at the point where there is no need for such fortification as the castle is totally



Fig. 21. Spišský Hrad, capital, possibly ca. 1221–1234.

unreachable from that direction (fig. 24). Another, real keep had already been built at the northern side, overlooking a moat which separates the castle from the bulk of the mountain. The new keep was to serve as the bishop's refuge should the Tartars ever return.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Goss, Vladimir Peter – Jukić, Vjekoslav: *Medvedgrad – Ócsa–Spiš*, p. 303.



Fig. 22. Vinica. St. Mark, capital, early thirteenth century.



Fig. 23. Brodski Drenovac, St. Dimitri, capital, late thirteenth century.



Fig. 24. Medvedgrad, southern keep, after 1242.

Thus, we have three specific links: the patronage of Duke Coloman, stylistic evidence, and the historical vicissitudes of Medvedgrad and Spiš castles following the Tartar invasion. It is a good example of the “principle of quantity,” which says that the more links one could establish between two phenomena, the more likelihood there is that they are related.<sup>9</sup>

The tradition of the presence of the high-class royal artists in Slavonia extended after 1242. St. Mary Magdalene in Čazma became Coloman’s burial church and contained a large red marble tomb plaque, which disappeared in the nineteenth century. The façade of the church was embellished by the large rose in the style of Bamberg Cathedral (fig. 8). It does not take too much imagination to ascribe those additions to the wish of Béla IV to enhance the burial place of his beloved brother. The dissemination of the “Colomanian Renaissance” in *Pannonia Savia* is also documented by fine carvings in such relatively small rural buildings as St. Marko in Vinica (fig. 22), St. Petar in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, and Sv. Ivan in Sv. Ivan Zelina, all datable to the first half of the thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The tradition seems to have continued throughout the second half of the century, which is demonstrated by such monuments as the fragments from St. Stephen Chapel at Zagreb Cathedral, St. Dimitri in Brodski Drenovac (fig. 23), or those from Ilok. This material still needs careful sifting out and precise dating, but analogies with Slovak examples are again visually striking. Thus, we come back to our first example, the sacristy of the Zagreb Cathedral of ca. 1270 and the related sections of the cathedral.<sup>11</sup>

We believe that there is an important lesson to learn here. As opposed to continental Croatia, Spiš was less devastated by the Tartars, and it was spared the Turks, and the building excesses of the Baroque and modern periods. Its medieval cultural landscape is very well preserved, whereas that of Slavonia must be reconstructed from the few and scattered *membra disiecta*. We believe that the few select cases presented in this paper amply testify that Spiš can play an important role in the process of reconstructing and better understanding of the Slavonian situation. Croatia, obviously, owes a lot to Duke Coloman. Finding the lost

<sup>9</sup> BELAJ, Vitomir: *Hod kroz godinu*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2007, p. 209.

<sup>10</sup> Goss, Vladimir Peter – JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Rural Romanesque*, pp. 137–140.

<sup>11</sup> HORVAT, Anđela: O domaćoj flori na ranogotičkoj arhitektonskoj plastici sjeverne Hrvatske. In: *Gunjačin Zbornik*. Ed.: Ivan HERCEG et al. Zagreb: Veselin Masleša, 1980, pp. 181–188.

tombstone of the duke, which was too big to draw far away or to cut to pieces overnight, should be one of the priorities of Croatian art research and

the proper repayment of the debt of gratitude to one of the best administrators the country has ever had.

# Building Activities in Spiš in the Thirteenth Century in the Context of the Hungarian Kingdom

Stavebné aktivity na Spiši v 13. storočí v kontexte Uhorska /  
aktivnost u Spišskej regiji u 13. stoljeću u kontekstu Ugarske

*Recent results of research into historical monuments carried out in Saint Martin's Cathedral at Spišská Kapitula, the Spiš Castle and Levoča (namely Saint James' Church, town fortification, burghers' houses) have contributed to the broadening of our knowledge regarding both the architectural and art-historical development. They have also recognised new historical connections, confirming the importance of Spiš and its position within the Kingdom of Hungary, the presence of the royal court, and the development of Spišská Kapitula provostry as a royal chapter. The results, based on placing the compared constructions into the broader context of the Kingdom of Hungary, will surely contribute to a re-evaluation of our understanding of the development of Spiš in the thirteenth century, even within the wider European context. All these circumstances have strikingly updated our knowledge regarding the construction of ecclesiastical buildings as well as fortifications which were built as a reaction to the Mongol invasion in the region of Spiš. They have also shown the need to perceive them within the context of the policy of both the Arpadians and the Angevins. The unique preservation of these structures in Spiš with regard to their authenticity and integrity can be helpful when researching similar constructions in other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary. The results of the abovementioned research point to the necessity of further systematic interdisciplinary exploration, which can bring different views on previous findings. The results are to be synthetically processed within the whole area of the former Kingdom of Hungary as well, so that the historical, social, political and military conditions in the period when these constructions were established can be better traced. Contacts between the various parts of the Kingdom of Hungary were very strong despite their distance (staff of the provostry, regional administrative, craftsmen mobility, etc.) and the conditions concerning construction there were often similar (Mongol invasion, German colonisation, etc.).*

Keywords: the thirteenth century, building activities, Spiš, Coloman

Several common features which connect Spiš – Slovakia and Slavonia – Croatia can be identified on the basis of the results of latest architectural-historical research of two significant monuments in Spiš: the Spiš Castle,<sup>1</sup> as the Hungarian royal castle dated to the twelfth century, and St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula<sup>2</sup>, a building commenced in connection with the origin of the provostry of Spiš at the end of the twelfth century and with the establishment of a royal chapter (*prepositura regalis*).

## Historical preconditions – common rulers

In the period at the turn of the thirteenth century Andrew II was the duke of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia (1196–1204). However, from 1188 (after his expulsion from Galicia) he was active in Spiš, where the construction of the provostry church in Spišská Kapitula, spectacular by the standards of Spiš, was continuing also after his marriage with Gertrude from Andechs-Meran family and after

\* Magdaléna Janovská, Authorized Architect of the Slovak Chamber of Architects.

<sup>1</sup> JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna: *Architektonicko-historický výskum Spišského hradu*, (deinde AHV). Levoča: Štúdio J+J, 2008. Manuscript in the Archive of the Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča, evidence nr. D 128; EADEM: Spišský hrad. In: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária NOVOTNÁ. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, pp. 55–81.

<sup>2</sup> JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna — NOVOTNÁ, Mária: Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule. Co-authors: Adriana KLINGOVÁ, Peter GLOS, Ľubor SUCHÝ. Cooperation: Ivan CHALUPECKÝ, František ŽIFČÁK, Vladimír OLEJNÍK, Tomáš KYNCL. Levoča, 2007. Manuscript in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, sign. T 6163; JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna – NOVOTNÁ Mária: Najnovšie výskumy v Spišskej Kapitule. In: *Pamiatky a múzeá*, a. 3, 2008, pp. 21–27; JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna: Katedrálny kostol sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule vo svetle nových výskumov. In: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária NOVOTNÁ. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, pp. 37–70; EADEM: Výsledky architektonicko-historického výskumu Katedrály sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule. In: *Monumentorum Tutela*, a. 22, 2010, pp. 199–211.



Fig. 25. View of the panorama of Spišská Kapitula with St. Martin's Cathedral and Spiš Castle in the background.

his ascension to the Hungarian throne (1205–1235). Already in 1219 Andrew II endowed St. Martin's Church with royal relics, like he did in case of the bishopric of Zagreb.<sup>3</sup> We assume that the church was already operational at that time. The same destiny waited for their offspring, Galician king Coloman, and his wife Salomea, when they returned from Galicia to Hungary after 1221.<sup>4</sup> Besides the completion of the provostry church of St. Martin with a royal chapel upstairs in the western part of the double nave, in Spiš he is connected also with the construction of the Romanesque palace at Spiš Castle in the first third of the thirteenth century. Coloman also became the duke of Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia (1226–1241).

### Impact on the building activities in the first half of the thirteenth century

The comparison between Medvedgrad and Spiš has already been subject to attention several times in the past.<sup>5</sup> We will also attempt to supplement analogies of other sacral buildings, which are closer connected in terms of time period and form.

The building of the old church of St. Mark in Vinica-Marčan at Croatian-Slovenian border is dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>



Fig. 26. St. Mark's Church in Vinica (old), a capital.



Fig. 27. St. Mark's Church in Vinica (old church), a base.

<sup>3</sup> HOMZA, Martin: Spišský hrad a Spišské prepoštvstvo. Dve centrá včasnostredovekého Spiša. In: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária NOVOTNÁ. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2009, pp. 9–27.

<sup>4</sup> IDEM: Politické dejiny Spiša do začiatku 14. storočia. In: *Historia Scepusii: Dejiny Spiša*, vol. 1, Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Stanislav A. SROKA. Bratislava – Kraków: Katedra slovenských dejín UK – Instytut Historii UJ, 2009, p. 148.

<sup>5</sup> Especially the research by Prof. Vladimír Peter Goss, to whom I am grateful also for providing me with the literature. Goss, Vladimír Peter – JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav: Medvedgrad – Ócsa – Spiš. Some stylistic considerations. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 34, 2007, pp. 295–326.

<sup>6</sup> For the comparative analysis, I used the study: Goss, Vladimír Peter – JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav: Rural Romanesque and a Europe without Borders. The Case of St. Mark's Church in Vinica. In: *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, a. 14, 2008, pp. 133–140.



Fig. 28. a) The capital of a pier with a floral motif, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula, b) the capital of a pier, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula.



Fig. 29. Profiling of the base of a pier and a pillar, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula.

Besides the time of its origin it is necessary to focus on other common features with St. Martin's Church: Saxon colonization in both areas which were cultural landscapes already in the twelfth century, border regions within the Hungarian Kingdom (north-western and north-eastern frontiers), castles in their immediate vicinity. Both sacral buildings represented top royal works of the period. Although St. Mark's Church is rebuilt nowadays, some stone elements of its original construction have been preserved and could be used for comparison. The artistic detail of a capital with a floral motif,<sup>7</sup> and identical profiling of the base are significant on both buildings.

In the case of the stonework in the first half of the thirteenth century (St. Martin's Cathedral, the Romanesque palace at Spiš Castle, and the parish church in Spišské Vlachy) we encounter the same stonemasonry workshop, the Italian masters,<sup>8</sup> who settled around Spišské Vlachy, the municipality with a royal privilege in the immediate vicinity of the castle and the chapter. Their arrival can probably be connected also with the wife of Andrew II – Gertrude<sup>9</sup> from the lineage of Andechs-Meran, with whom also the name of the



Fig. 30. Bamberg, St. James' Church.



Fig. 31. Capital from the church of St. John the Baptist, Spišské Vlachy, presently in Archeologický ústav Nitra (Archeological Institute, Nitra).

<sup>7</sup> *A Hundred Stones from a lost Paradise, Romanesque Sculpture in Museum and Collections between the Sava and the Drava Rivers.* Ed.: Vladimír Peter Goss. Zagreb: Arheološki muzej, 2007, p. 91, cat. nr. 74.

<sup>8</sup> FIALA, Anton.: Taliani medzi hosťami pri Kráľovskom potoku na Spiši. In: *Monumentorum Tutela*, a. 16, 2005, p. 151–160.

<sup>9</sup> For the genealogy of Gertrude, see: SCHÜTZ, Alois: Das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier im europäischen Hochmittelalter. In: *Herzöge und Heilige*. Ed.: Josef KIRMEIER. Regensburg: Pustet, 1993.



Spiš provost Adolf, a member of her entourage. According to the written record of 1209,<sup>10</sup> the donations of property probably related to the construction of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula were realized precisely during the period of their activity. Simultaneously, the construction of other episcopal cathedrals were going on in Kalocsa (Hungary) and Bamberg (Germany), the places of the scope of the activity of the brothers of Hungarian queen Gertrude – Berthold, Archbishop of Kalocsa (1207–1219), later also the ban of Dalmatia and Croatia and the duke of Transylvania, (Sibiň/Sibiu/Hermannstadt), and Eckbert, Bishop of Bamberg (1203–1237)<sup>11</sup>, after whom Bamberg Cathedral held also the name Eckbertdom.

Despite the fact that the authors<sup>12</sup> date the sculptures of four lions, presently inbuilt in the façade at the entrance of St. Mark's Church in Vinica, provisionally to the second building phase (the fourteenth century), here it is also possible to observe a parallel with the extant travertine sculpture of a lion from Spiš. *Leo albus*<sup>13</sup> is the single preserved element of the sculpture decoration of the original Romanesque building of St. Martin's Cathedral (nowadays it is located in the church interior), coming most probably from the decoration of the representative western façade.<sup>14</sup>

The construction of St. Martin's Church was probably already completed at the time of Coloman's departure for Croatia in 1226 (according to the dendrochronological analysis of the wood from the church,<sup>15</sup> only the construction of the northern tower was going on). Therefore, we can assume that it exerted some influence on

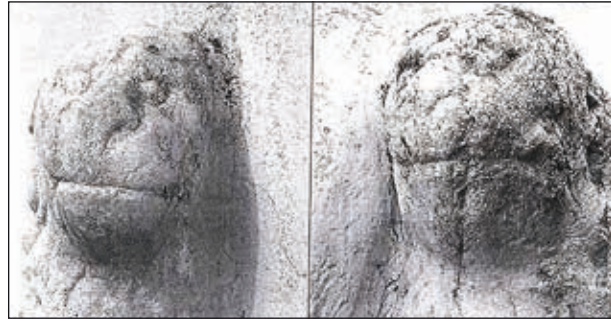


Fig. 32. St. Mark's Church, Vinica, built-in statues of lions.



Fig. 33. *Leo Albus*, St. Martin's Cathedral, Spišská Kapitula, full view and detail.



Fig. 34. Bamberg Dom, sculpture of lion at the entrance, full view.

<sup>10</sup> Magyar Országos Levéltár (deinde MOL), Archive of Berzeviczy Family, DL 68752; LABANC, Peter: *Spišskí prepošti do roku 1405*. PhD thesis. Trnava: Katedra histórie FF UCM, 2011, pp. 66–70.

<sup>11</sup> SCHÜTZ, Alois: *Das Geschlecht der Andechs-Meranier*.

<sup>12</sup> Goss, Vladimír Peter – JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav: *Rural Romanesque and a Europe without Borders*, pp. 133–140.

<sup>13</sup> Lion statute – *Leo albus* (1220–1240). In: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária NOVOTNÁ. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna – NOVOTNÁ, Mária: *Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule*.

<sup>15</sup> KYNCL, Tomáš: *Dendrochronologický výskum dreva Katedrálneho kostola sv. Martina v Spišskej Kapitule*. Research Report nr. 070–06, Brno : Dendrolab, 2006.

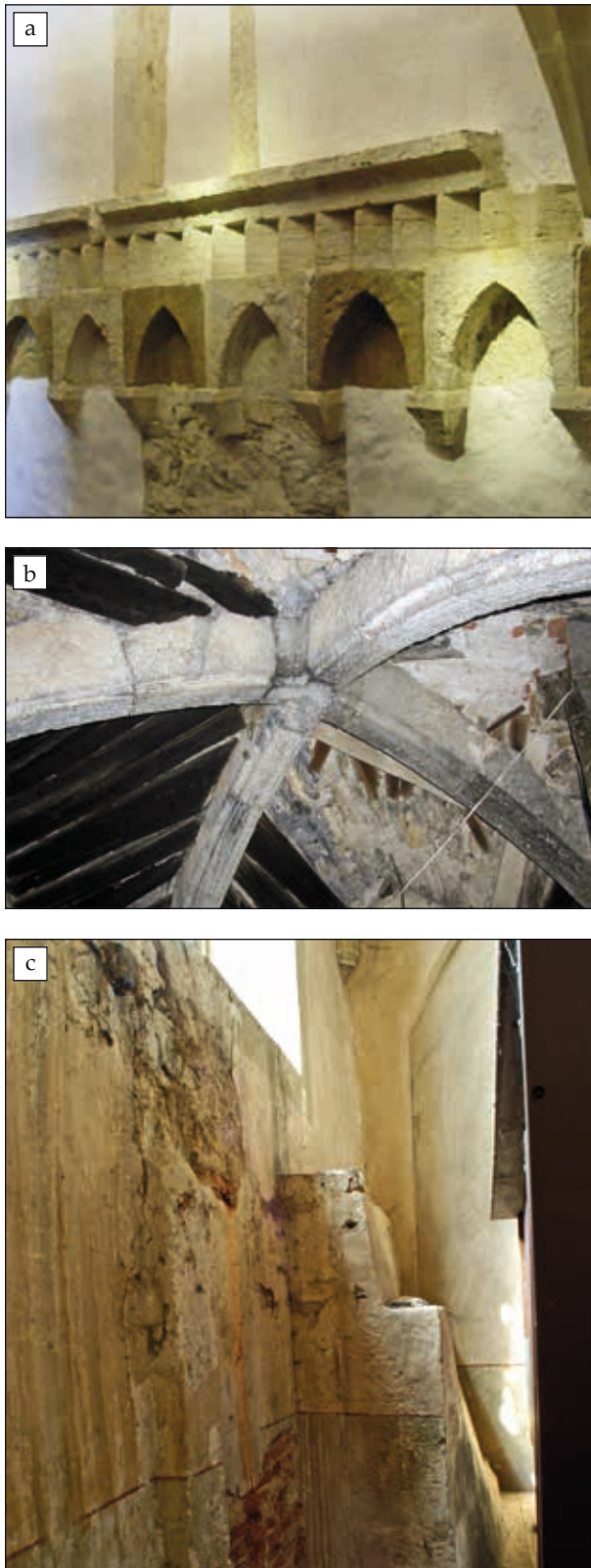
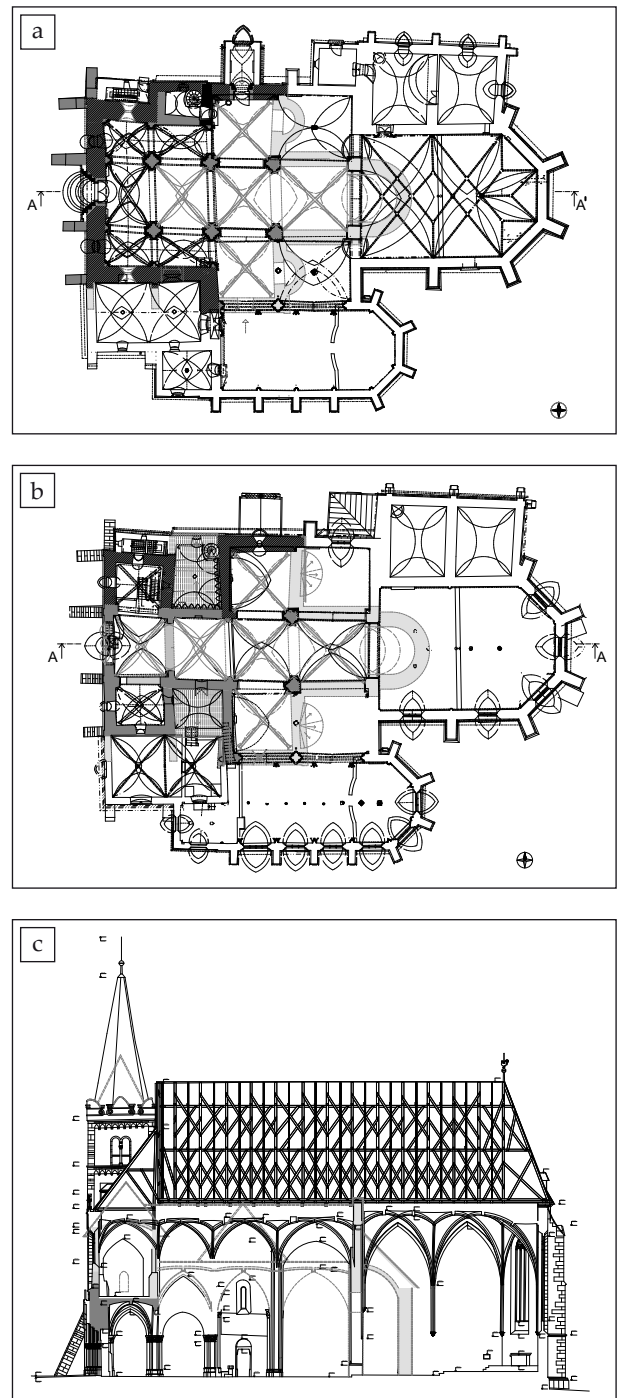


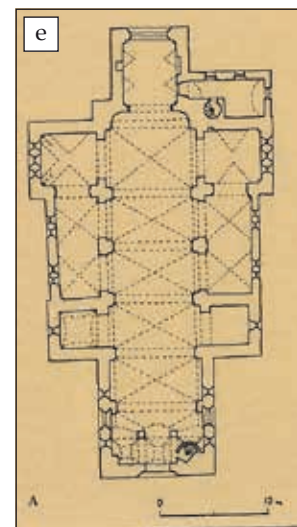
Fig. 35. Architectural details of the "westwerk" in Spišská Kapitula: a) roman facade – southern wall of the tower, second floor above the ground ("westwerk" after restoration, today built in the library extension, b) original Roman vault in the "westwerk" area with wooden timbering, under the northern tower, c) the oufall of a Roman between-wall staircase into "westwerk" on the second floor above the ground of the west frontage.



### Legend:

- Romanesque phase I (before thirteenth century)
- Romanesque phase II (1./3 of the thirteenth century)
- Romanesque phase III (end of the thirteenth century)
- Hypothetical reconstruction (wall)
- Hypothetical reconstruction (roof)

Fig. 36. Plane of the Saint Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula: a) analysis – building development (ground floor), b) analysis – building development (the second floor), c) building development until the end of the thirteenth century.



the construction of Mary Magdalen's Church in Čazma (Croatia, after 1232, before 1242), which is related to the privilege and donation of Bishop Stephen and Duke Coloman.<sup>16</sup> It can be observed mainly with respect to the layout which stands out from the usual scheme. This fact was noted already by Tibor Rostás,<sup>17</sup> who compared the ground plan of the three-nave structure with a transept to the Franciscan church in Jihlava. The identical layout and a much larger form can be observed in comparison with the original St. Martin's Church in Spišská Kapitula though (the thirteenth century).

The common features are: the two-tower structure, which at the ground floor formed a part of the inner space of the interior (as wide as the side naves), three naves with the main nave in the middle, wider than the side naves, the presence of a cross nave (transept), slit windows letting the light in the interior, the roof ridge above the main nave and above the transept are equally high. In both cases we can assume German influence of the Bamberg Cathedral<sup>18</sup> regarding the layout with a cross nave, but also related morphology and construction system.

Fig. 37. View of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen in Čazma: a) view from southeast, b) northern façade with the original transept, c) western façade, d) model – reproduced from the exposition, e) the ground plan.

<sup>16</sup> Goss, Peter Vladimír: *Four Centuries of European Art 800–1200. A View from Southeast*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnicka knjiga, 2010, pp. 210–216.

<sup>17</sup> Rostás, Tibor: Három drávántúli emlék a 13. századból. In: *Építészlet a középkori Dél – Magyarországon*. Ed.: Tibor KOLLÁR. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2010, pp. 213–293.

<sup>18</sup> Goss, Peter Vladimír: *Four Centuries of European Art 800–1200. A View from Southeast*, passim; JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna – NOVOTNÁ, Mária: *Architektonicko-historický a umelecko-historický výskum Katedrály sv. Martina na Spišskej Kapitule*.

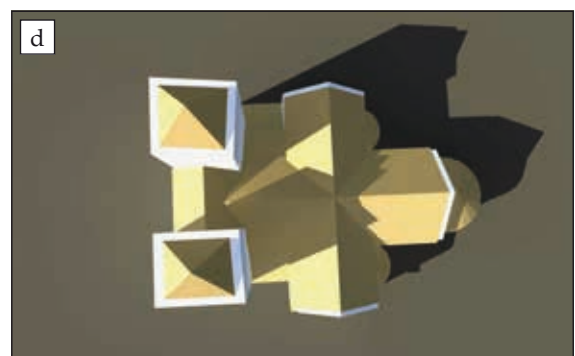
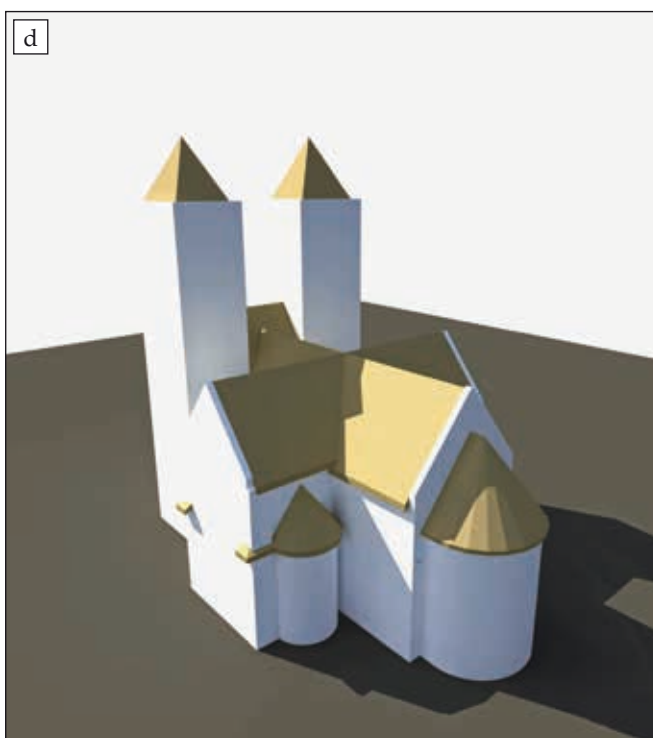


Fig. 38. Probable structure of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula in the thirteenth century: a) view of St. Martin's Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula from the west, b) view from the east with the Gothic annex of the choir, c) view of the interior – current state after the removal of transept and later rebuildings, d) probable structure of St. Martin's Cathedral in the thirteenth century.

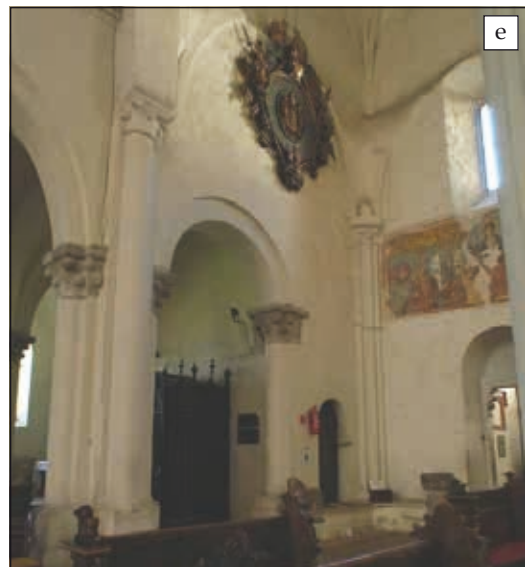


Fig. 39. a) Čazma – interior, present state, b) Kapitula View of the original transept with capitals after the removal of the Romanesque vaulting, with a slit window on the northern wall, interior – current state after the removal of the eastern wall of the transept and general increase of the height of the naves, c) Čazma – Remains of the vaulting row in the walled-up under-tower space, originally probably an open under-tower space as a part of the church interior, d) Čazma, view of the original transept with uncovered Romanesque piers in the corners, with the onset of the vault rib and a pair of slit windows, e) Spišská Kapitula – View of the north-eastern corner of the transept with a corner pier and an imprint of the Romanesque vaulting, f) Čazma – Detail of the capital of a pier, g) Spišská Kapitula – Capital of a pier – a detail.



Fig. 40. a) Čazma – Southern façade with a pair of slit windows in a side nave and transept, b) Spišská Kapitula – slit window in the northern wall of the older, currently not extant transept above a later entrance hall, c) and e) Čazma – uncovered walled-in pair of slit windows of the transept, replaced by a later opening, d) Spišská Kapitula – Slit window in the northern wall of the transept – a detail, f) walled-in slit window in the southern nave under the top of the vaulting (under towers) at the time of the later annex of sacristy in the first half of the fourteenth century.

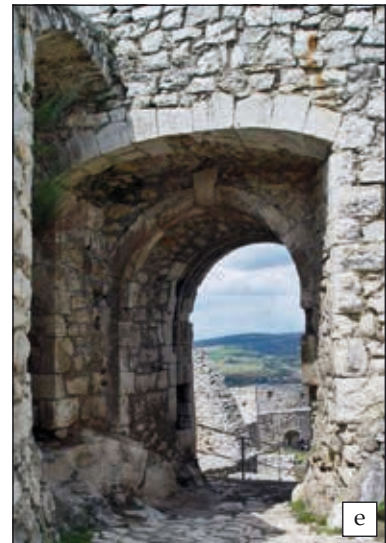


Fig. 41. a) Knin Castle – full view of the upper castle, b) Spiš Castle – Romanesque palace. Full view, c) Knin Castle – detail of the gate and its vaulting. Upper castle, d) Knin Castle – detail of the entrance gate vaulting, e) Spiš Castle – upper castle entrance gate, f) Spiš Castle – Detail of the entrance to the Coloman's palace and its vaulting, g) Spiš Castle – romaneseque window of the Coloman's palace.



As for the castle architecture, there is also an analogy between Slovakia and Croatia: in the case of the building of the Romanesque palace and the gate to the core of Spiš Castle (the first third of the thirteenth century) as compared to the entrance openings and gates at Knin Castle in Croatia,

which also served as a royal castle. The analogy can be observed in the construction system of the segmental discharging arches of the openings with wedges in the place of their onset at the opening's vertical lateral reinforcement with a stone (see the arrow).

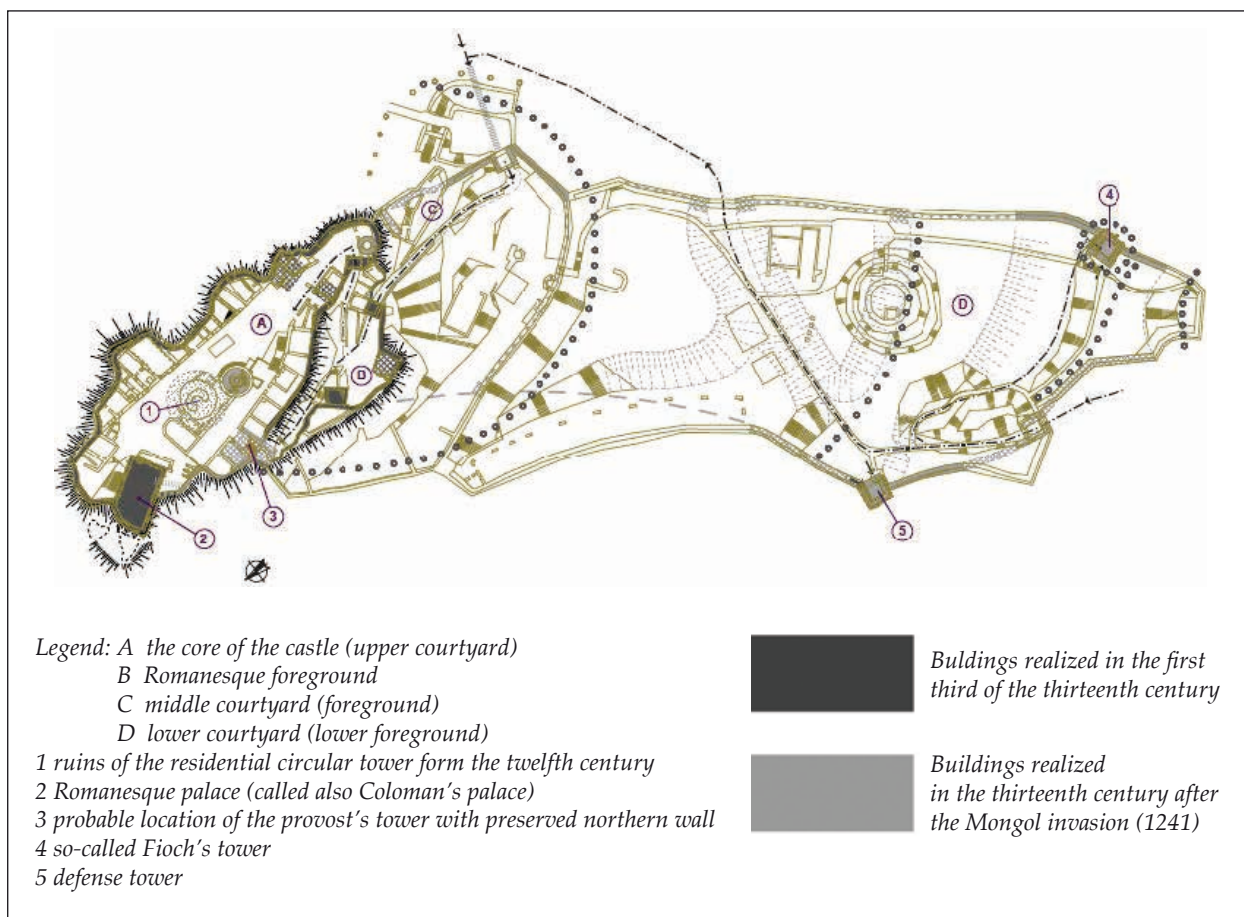


Fig. 42. Spiš Castle in the thirteenth century.

## Building activities after the Mongol invasion (1241–1242)

The latest research of Spiš Castle has altered the view of the origin and the function of the towers in the lower forecourt of Spiš Castle, which were originally built as individually standing towers already in the mid-thirteenth century and later became parts of the fortified courtyard (perhaps a refuge). First of all, we have managed to demonstrate accurately that the two towers (marked as fig. 42, nr. 4–5), originally dated to the period before the mid-fifteenth century, were built already after the Mongol invasion in 1241.<sup>19</sup>

The comparative analysis with the help of archival sources has helped to identify the southeastern tower (nr. 4) as the tower built by a certain

Fioch of Poľanovce.<sup>20</sup> The chapter of Spiš gives a transumpt of the charter issued by Stephen V in 1270 to Peter of Poľanovce. Stephen confirmed the charter of his father, Bela IV, by which he had taken over from Fioch, son of Ura from Spiš, a certain tower, which he had built at his own expense at Spiš Castle for 50 marks, in return for the villages of Ordzoviany.

We have described Fioch's tower as still residential-defensive, which was incorporated into the fortification only after the exchange of owners in order to strengthen the defense of the royal Spiš castle against the Mongol threat. The function of the other tower (nr. 5) was already exclusively defensive, since it has arrow loops in strategically important points. The tower was built with a sophisticated defense system.

<sup>19</sup> Dendrochronological Dating of the Wood from the Prevet of the Tower – marked as nr. 4, from years 1245–1250). KYNCL, Tomáš: Research Report nr. 043–09, DendroLAB Brno, 2009. The panel from the tower prevet (nr. 5) was produced from a fir tree which was cut down after 1245. KYNCL, Tomáš: Research Report nr. 113a–08, DendroLAB Brno, 2009.

<sup>20</sup> 1270, 1 October (transcription 1529, 25 May, Spišská Kapitula), Štátny archív v Levoči – State Archive in Levoča (deinde SA LE), Súkromný archív Spišskej Kapituly (deinde SASK), Scr. V, f. 1, nr. 1: "... cum olim domin(us) Rex, carissimus pater n(oste)r Bela, illustris Rex hungar(ie) felicissime recordationis, quanda(m) turrim Phijoch filij Ura de Scepes, per eunde(m) in Castro de Scepes, cum sum(m)a Quinq(ua)ginta Marcar(um) (con)structa(m) ab ipso pro vtilit(a)te castri eiusd(em) abstulisset et in ip(s)ius Turris concambiu(m), quasdam terras Rogolch et Polank, vo(ca)tas, existen(tes) in Scepes, predicto Phijoch, contulisset suo priuilegio roborando ..."



Fig. 43. Aerial view of the fortified area of the St. Martin's Cathedral, the Spiš Chapter, with marked results of georadar measurements of terrestrial objects, marked shape of the church fortification, built after Mongolian invasion.



Fig. 44. Spiš castle: a) overall view of the Spiš Castle from Spišské Podhradie with two towers in the fortification of the lower courtyard on the right side, built after Mongolian invasion, b) overall eastern view of the lower castle with the Romanesque Coloman's palace on the north rock.



Fig. 45. Spiš Castle – a) situation of the lower courtyard, b) tower (nr. 4) prevailing residential function, so-called Fioch's tower, c) Western tower (nr. 5) defensive function.



Another charter of Bela IV from 1249 documented the building activity at Spiš Castle in the mid– thirteenth century:

*“Further to the same provost Matthew, we leave a place suitable for building a tower and a palace at the castle of Spiš; which he himself undertook to construct, fortify, and sustain for the defense of the castle and for the benefit of the aforementioned church. We institute that both the place and the buildings which he builds therein belong by perpetual right to him and his successors in the provostship.”*<sup>21</sup>

Exactly on the basis of this document, we assume that Matthew, the provost of Spiš, built a tower at the castle (fig. 42, nr. 3) in the place of the projecting western rock in the core of the castle; only its northern wall has been preserved until today. It is the evidence of the originally rectangular tower, connected to the section of the adjacent battlemented walls. The tower was related to the discovered foundations of a building, which were identified as a chapel and a chaplain’s house until now.<sup>22</sup> The building realized by the provost of Spiš (a tower, the parish priest’s house and adjacent fortification; the presence of a chapel is problematic though) can be localized right here. The tower was to serve for protection of the documents and seals pertaining to the place of authentication, and of the parts of valuables – the mobiliary of the chapter church of St. Martin in Spišská Kapitula.<sup>23</sup> The character of the extant northern wall of the tower at the tip of the rock (nr. 3) is similar to the two towers in the castle’s lower foreground (nr. 4–5). Its later form of a circular tower, rebuilt during the reign of King Sigismund, is also called as the provost’s tower.<sup>24</sup> Bela IV issued similar charters for Bishop Philip in Zagreb.<sup>25</sup> In 1247 Bela IV

gives to the chapter of Zagreb a place at the periphery of the royal town of Gradec for the building of a tower, where the chapter and the bishop could take shelter in times of unrest. The tower, known under the name *Popov toranj* is clearly identifiable in the historical part of Zagreb to date.<sup>26</sup>

We have dealt with the research of tower constructions built after the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century in a broader context in the framework of the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>27</sup> The study has outlined the reasons, the significance, and the frequency of tower constructions in the course of the thirteenth century. The results document the necessity to modify the research methods and examine the objects – their origin (original materials) and building modifications per partes, in comparison with other towers, irrespective of their current ties, in an interdisciplinary way within the disciplines of historical science, using the exact research of other disciplines. This method will allow us to elaborate not only on the problems of the dating of individual towers and related objects, on the function they could fulfill, but also on the problems of possible common commissioners and builders in broad historical, political, social, and cultural contexts.

We have managed to gather varied evidence in favour of the justified classification of the tower constructions at Spiš Castle (nr. 4–5) as defensive and residential structures built after the Mongol invasion in 1241, in the period of the middle and the second half of the thirteenth century. They were gradually supplemented with fortification into the form of a certain refuge, through which also the access road passed towards the castle from the direction of Spišské Podhradie. We have searched for their parallels in the Hungarian Kingdom.

<sup>21</sup> 1249, 19 September, ŠA LE, Spišské prepoštstvo (deinde SpP), I., man. I., nr.1, č. 2: *“Insuper concedim(us) eidem Mathie p(re) p(osi)to in castro n(ost)ro Scyp(us) locum p(ro) t(ur)ri edificanda et palatio competente(m) quem et ip(s)e assumpsit edificand(um) muniendu(m) et cons(er)uandum ad tutelam castr(i) et utilitate(m) eccl(esi)e memorate. adicie(n)tes q(uod) et loc(us) et edificia que ibi extruxerit s(ibi), et in ip(s)a p(re)posi(tu)ra succedentib(us) iure p(er)petuo debeat remanere.”*

<sup>22</sup> FIALA, Anton – VALLAŠEK, Adrian: *Nálezová správa terénnych výskumov západnej časti horného hradu*. Located in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, 1972, sign. T 867.

<sup>23</sup> OLEJNÍK, Vladimír: *Výskum archívnych prameňov k stavebnému vývoju Spišského hradu, so špeciálnym zreteľom na rané obdobie výstavby a románsky palác*. In: *Architektonicko-historický výskum Spišského hradu*, chapter 11. and 2.

<sup>24</sup> ŠA LE, Archív Biskupského úradu v Spišskej Kapitule (deinde ABU SK), Spišské biskupstvo (deinde SpB), Department of Canonical Visitations, nr. 1 and others; *The Canonical Visitation of Peter Pázmány from 1629*. JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna: *Dve stredoveké podoby Spišského hradu*. In: *Acta Musei Scepusiensis*. Ed.: Mária NOVOTNÁ. Levoča: Spišské múzeum, 2008, pp. 201–212.

<sup>25</sup> Sigismund of Luxemburg confirmed the ownership of the tower to the chapter of Zagreb in 1426. *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vols. 1–11. Ed.: György FEJÉR. Budae, Typis Typographiae Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1829–1844, vol. 10/6., p. 818, (deinde CDH).

<sup>26</sup> I thank for calling my attention to Pop’s Tower and for its inspection to Prof. Neven Budak.

<sup>27</sup> JANOVSKÁ, Magdaléna – HOMZA, Martin – NOVOTNÁ, Mária – OLEJNÍK, Vladimír – STEJSKAL, Martin: *Obytno-obranné veže a opevnenie spodného nádvorja Spišského hradu ako súčasť budovania fortifikácií po mongolskom vpáde v 2. polovici 13. a začiatkom 14. storočia v kontexte pôvodných území Uhorska (Slovensko, Slavónsko/Chorvátsko, Sedmohradsko/Rumunsko, Maďarsko)*. Levoča: Štúdio J+J, 2010. Manuscript in the Archive of the Monument Institute of the Slovak Republic, Collection of Research Reports, sign. T 6293, Archive of the Slovak National Museum – Spiš Museum in Levoča, evidence nr. D 130.

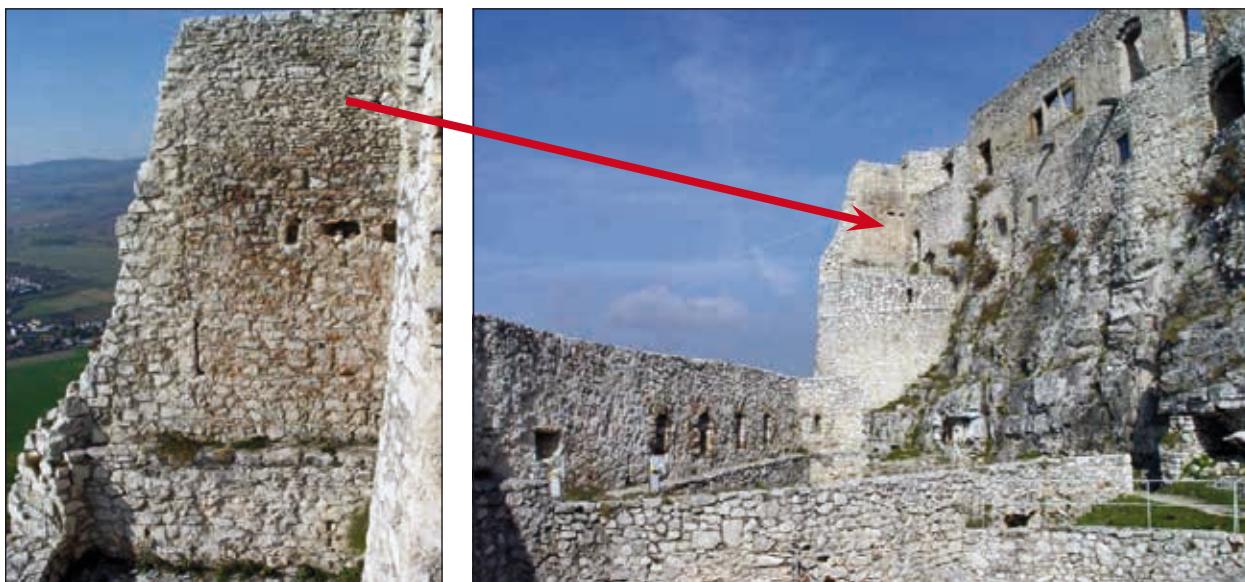


Fig. 46. Spiš Castle – provost's tower, western rock, later rebuilt as circular and the detail of the northern wall from the earlier stage of the rectangular tower.



Fig. 47. Zagreb, Croatia – Pop's (Priest's) Tower (current state). View from the museum courtyard and from exterior, the tower has undergone extensions and modifications of window openings.

The comparison of the construction of towers and fortification of county (*comitatus*) castles (Spiš Castle, Tisovec, Pustý hrad) is based on their common administration in the relevant period by the same count (*comes*). All these facts have considerably advanced our knowledge of fortification constructions provoked by the Mongol invasion (1241) in Spiš territory. They are to be perceived as universal Hungarian policy of the Arpadians as response to the unexpected ravage which the Mongols left behind throughout the country on the ill-prepared population.

The exceptional preservation of these structures at Spiš Castle, in terms of both their

authenticity and integrity, can be helpful when examining analogical buildings not only in Spiš, but also in its broader surroundings and in entire territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. Furthermore, the situation of Spiš Castle is unique: while other refuges in the surroundings ceased to exist (Pustý hrad/Deserted Castle – Zvolen, Kláštorisko), or were not completed (Marcel's Castle – Hrabušice) because their meaning soon vanished (the danger of the Mongols was averted), or their function was substituted by town fortifications, newly-built castles as aristocratic residences, fortified churches – the refuge at Spiš Castle, which we have researched, merged with the castle in form

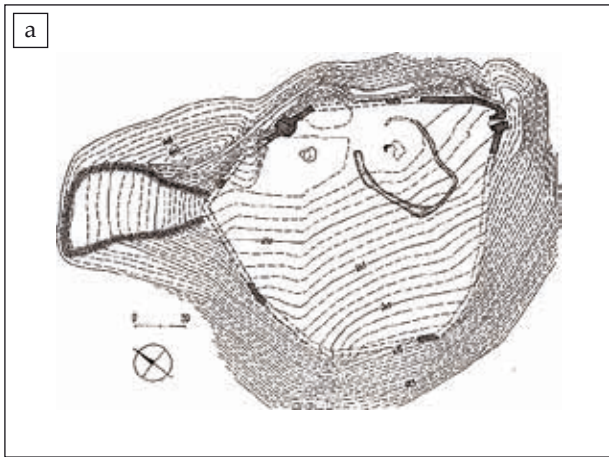


Fig. 48. Marcel's Castle – Hrabušice (Slovakia). The building from the first and second half of the thirteenth century (unfinished) with an open entrance gate in the fortification – a) ground plane, b) circular tower.

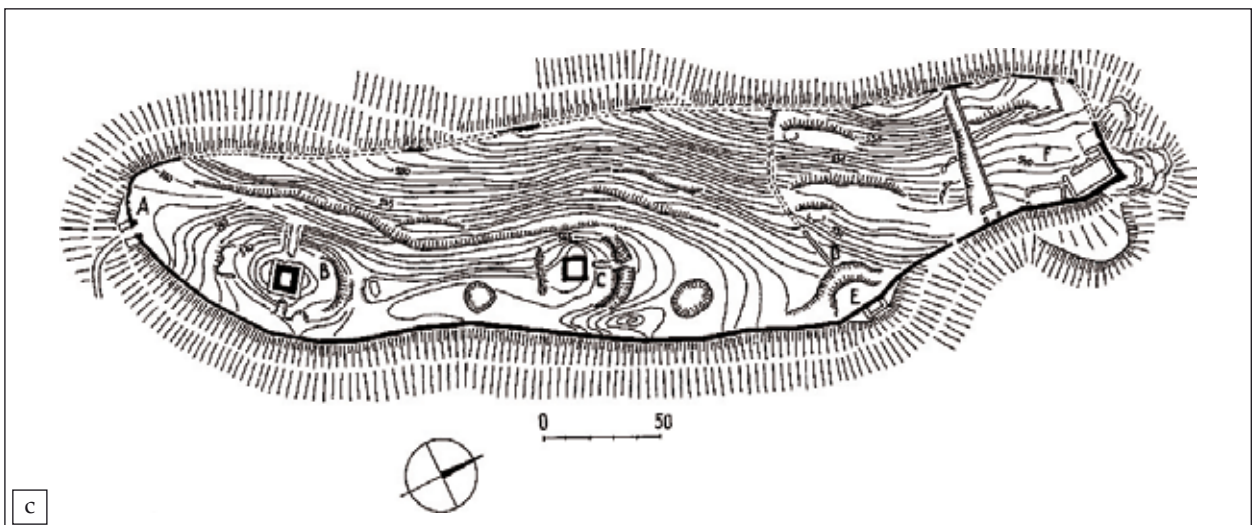
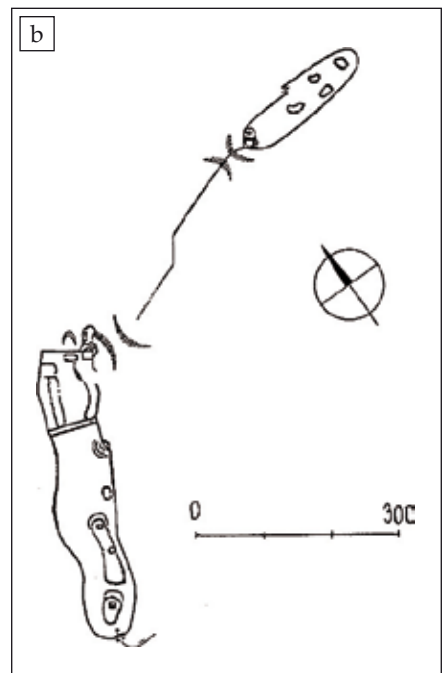


Fig. 49. Pustý hrad ("Deserted Castle"), Zvolen (Slovakia) – a) tower with a walled revetment (Upper castle), b) situation of the upper and lower castles, c) ground plane (situation of the upper castle with a pair of towers).

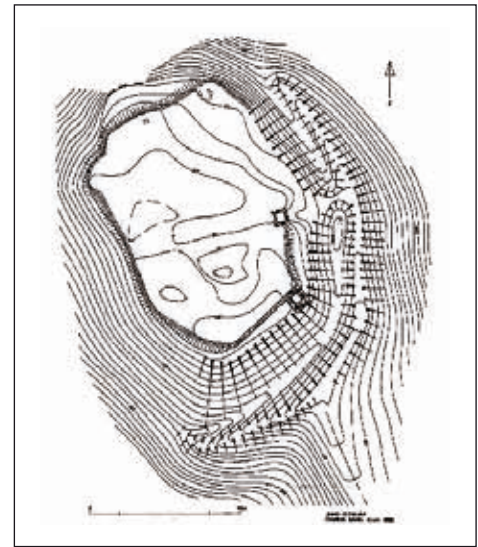


Fig. 50. Bánd – Essegvár (Hungary), ca. 12 km from Veszprém – seat of bishopric. Originally also with two towers.

of its lower foreground. For the same reason, the evidence of the structures of this type is weakly preserved in the case of the southern areas of the Hungarian Kingdom (Slavonia/Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Transylvania). In addition, their destruction was accomplished by the Turkish campaign, and by subsequent rebuilding and urbanization of the area (Hungary, Bratislava Castle).

The complex treatment of the topic was not our aim here; therefore, the examples chosen for comparison are to be understood as a selection, not as the enumeration of all cases. We have managed to demonstrate that the contacts between particular areas of the Hungarian Kingdom were vivid despite their distance. The conditions of the origin of the buildings were often identical. In that manner we can explain, for example, the influence of the invited “guests” – Italian and Istrian stonemasons – on the technology of stone constructions realized in Spiš in the thirteenth century, or rather the use of the same technologies in considerably distanced areas, with the help of the following factors:

- the settlement of the Italians in Spiš – Spišské Vlchy
- the influence of Getrude of Andechs-Merania, the wife of Andrew II, and her relatives on the buildings realized at the beginning of the thirteenth century – Spiš Castle and St. Martin’s Cathedral in Spišská Kapitula
- crusades with the participation of Andrew II
- Coloman’s simultaneous activity in Slavonia/Croatia/Dalmatia and in Spiš

- the origin of the provosts, who came from “foreign areas” (e.g. Spiš provost Mutimir<sup>28</sup>)
- the escape of Bela IV from the Mongols (his possible stay in Hainburg, in Dalmatia – Trogir in Croatia)
- The charters of the sovereign (Bela IV) encouraging the construction of the towers and defense fortifications (after the Mongol plundering 1241–1242) are addressed to the executors of the buildings, among whom are the following:
  - a) provosts/bishops in the areas where a provostry/bishopric was located (the case of the charters from 1247–1249 cited above for the buildings at Spiš Castle and Marcel’s Castle in Hrabušice,<sup>29</sup> Gradec in Zagreb)
  - b) the members of the royal retinue, the sons of iobagiones, from whom nobility starts to form thanks to the reward from the ruler in form of properties (Fioch’s tower at Spiš Castle, Berthold’s tower at Pustý hrad<sup>30</sup>). In 1245 Bela IV confirms (to Lek and his brothers, sons of Moch, and Peter and his brothers, sons of Chuegh, iobagiones of Bratislava Castle), the donation of the land of Nyék in return for a tower, which they had built and sustained at their own expense at the castle “for the strengthening of the kingdom at that time.” They, and then equally their descendants, the owners of the donated land, have perpetual duty to guard the tower and take care of it at their

<sup>28</sup> HOMZA, Martin: Počiatky kresťanstva na Spiši. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, pp. 244, 323.

<sup>29</sup> RÁBIK, Vladimír: Marcelov hrad na Spiši a okolnosti jeho držby v stredoveku. In: *Terra Scepusiensis : Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša*. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Ryszard GŁADKIEWICZ. Levoča: Kláštorisko – Wrocław: Centrum Badań Śląskoznawczych i Bohemistycznych UW, 2003, pp. 307–324.

<sup>30</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, vol. 2. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Bratislava: Obzor, 1987, p. 333, nr. 480.



Fig. 51. Other examples of towers built after the Mongol campaign in the thirteenth century in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom – a) Medvedgrad, near Zagreb (Croatia), b) polygonal tower in Cheresig (Romania), c) Korogvar, near Osijek (Croatia), d) Bánd – Essegvár (Hungary).



Fig. 52. The character of the tower walling – a) Blagoj (Croatia), b) Bánd-Esseg (Hungary), c) Korogvar (Croatia), Spiš Castle – Fioch's Tower (Slovakia), d) Spiš Castle – tower (nr. 5), e) Spiš Castle – northern wall of Provost's Tower.



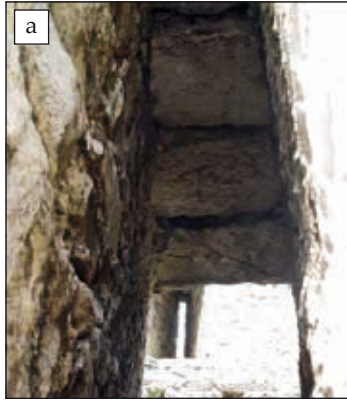


Fig. 53. a) Spiš Castle (Slovakia), tower (nr. 5), arrow loops with a shift for the defense of the fortification, lower gate and the access road to the castle, built simultaneously with the tower, covered with stone plates; b) Zadar (Croatia), Babja kula, a fragment of slit opening in the later modification of the interior; c) Hainburg (Austria), castle, entrance gate and Hainburg, town fortification.

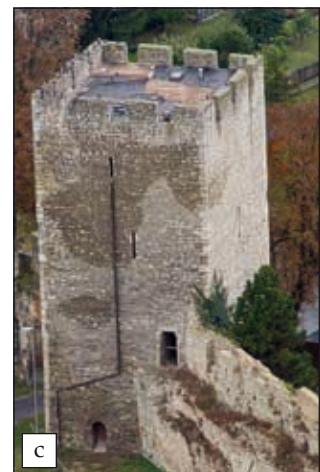
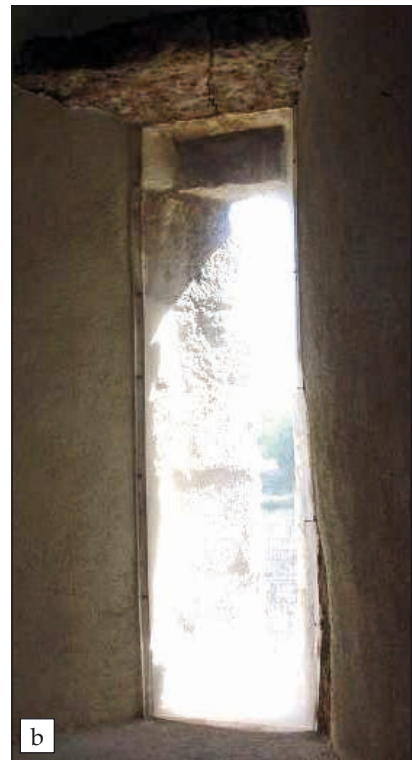




Fig. 54. The character of tower entrances – a) Eastern tower (nr. 4), entrance to the second floor, Spiš castle (Slovakia); b) western tower (nr. 5), entrance to the first floor, Spiš castle (Slovakia); c) Pop's Tower, view from exterior and interior, Zagreb (Croatia).

own expense, whenever its reconstruction is necessary.<sup>31</sup>

In 1263 Belo IV gives to counts Mauritius and John and their brother Deta, brothers of Omodej, the bishop of Győr (Ráb), entire castle of Kőszég into administration and further two pieces of land, bought from Iron Castle, which they were to divide among themselves. The brothers had already earlier “built a tower and other buildings suitable for defense against the attack of Germans or other enemies at their own

expense at that castle.”<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, the charter directly expresses the intention of Bela IV “to organize the defense of castles and borderland *confinia* and to occupy them with loyal men”. The shape of the castle of Kőszég, which is divided into an upper and a lower castle already in this charter, is equally interesting. However, the two parts were two forts situated next to each other, divided only by a ditch, which is nowadays bridged over by an elevated corridor. The advanced fortress of the castle could,

<sup>31</sup> CDH 4/1., p. 380: “... fideles nostri Leko, filius Moch, cum fratribus suis, et Petrus, filius Chuegh, cum suis fratribus Iobbagiones Castri Pozonien. nobis semper fideliter seruiissent et deuote, maxime quia hoc tempore ad tuitionem regni nostri in castro Pozonien. propriis sumptibus turrin aedificauerunt, promittentes eam per se et per suos cognatos tam in tranquillitate, quam in aduersitatibus propriis sumptibus perpetuo custodire ... possessores terrae praenominatae gradatim turrin illam in perpetuum debeant propriis sumptibus custodire et reparare eam, quandocunque fuerit in ea aliquid reparandum.”

<sup>32</sup> CDH 4/3., p. 114: “... placuit nobis ipsum Mauritium et Ioanem Comitem populorum Belae, Ducis totius Sclauoniae, charissimi filii nostri, ac Detam, fratres venerabilis patris Omodei Iauriensis Episcopi, in Castro eodem collocare; in quo iidem consuetae, et adprobatae fidelitatis feruore rutilantes, turrin in castro superiori et alia aedificia ibidem suis expensis et sumptibus propriis construxerunt, vt in illis opportuno tempore residentes in conseruatione dictae turris, contra insultus Theutonicorum, vel aliorum uenientium contra regnum, seruitium valeant exhibere.”

in its original design, also fulfill the function of a refuge for the surrounding population.

- c) the representatives of orders (supported monasteries)

In 1250 Belo IV confirms the donation of a tower at Sopron Castle by the inhabitants of the castle to the Johannites through Chak, the count of Sopron. There is an interesting detail that the castle inhabitants, on the basis of common agreement, handed over a tower with a curia and appertaining houses to the

hospital, on condition that other towers would belong to the inhabitants of the castle.<sup>33</sup> Belo IV approved the contract, having acknowledged the *“multiple utility which could result from the guarding of the tower [by the military order – translator’s comment] for him, the kingdom, and the castle.”*

- d) The contribution of the German colonists, who settled in Spiš (Spišské Podhradie, Levoča) and similarly in German areas in Transylvania (the region of Sibiu) and Croatia, is also significant.

---

<sup>33</sup> CDH 4/2, p. 62: *“Nos Chak magister Tauarnicorum, et Comes Supruniensis, significamus vniuersis, praesentes litteras inspecturis, quemadmodum, cum Dominus noster Bela, Rex Hungariae, nobis praecepisset, vt super curia et domibus, quas fratres Hospitales in Castro Supruniensi dicebant se habere, iustitiam eisdem faceremus. Tandem inter ipsos fratres et Burgenses dicti loci de voluntate vtriusque partis, nobis mediantibus, talis compositio est facta, quod in castro praememorato Burgenses praedicti Turrim quamdam cum curia et domibus attinentibus, domui Hospitalis ex communi consensu et consilio concesserunt sub eadem conditione, et cum tot redditibus, quibus aliae turres ciuibus in saepedicto castro commorantibus, sunt collatae.”*

# Medieval Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Croatia and in Spiš Region in Slovakia

Stredoveké kostoly s pravouhlým sanktuáriom v Chorvátsku a spišskom regióne na Slovensku / Srednjovjekovne crkve s pravokutnim svetištem u Hrvatskoj i slovačkoj Spiškoj regiji

*The author explores possible similarities of the architecture of medieval churches with a rectangular sanctuary in Croatia and the region of Spiš (Scepus/Szepes/Zips) in Slovakia. While this architectural type appears in the Spiš region almost as a rule, in Croatia there are examples of both types – with a rectangular sanctuary and with a semicircular apse. Since the Spiš region was situated beyond the Roman limes, the influence on the form of the sanctuary might be connected with pagan wooden architecture. That theory opens up new possibilities for the interpretation of medieval architecture.*

Keywords: Church architecture, Middle Ages, continental Croatia, Spiš region, similarities

In 1920s Josef Strzygowski proposed a theory which claimed that the early medieval Croatian architecture could provide evidence of derivation of architecture in permanent materials from architecture in wood.<sup>1</sup> He found the forms of the Pre-Romanesque churches in Croatian Dalmatia a direct offshoot of the building tradition transferred by Croats from their old homeland in Northern Europe. His thesis was disproved and rejected due to the lack of any trace or source of original Pre-Romanesque wooden architecture, thus relating the early Croatian masonry forms to the Mediterranean culture and the Antiquity.

Many words have been written on Croatian Pre-Romanesque art and Strzygowski was almost forgotten. However, a question of possible influences and tradition of wooden architecture in the building in stone or brick has remained. The great explorer of the wooden architecture of Central and Eastern Europe, David Buxton, has credited Strzygowski with providing initiative for most of the good research in the field.<sup>2</sup> Vladimir Goss has recently shown in two articles how some of the forms of Pre-Romanesque architecture in Croatia

have been inspired by the forms typical of architecture in wood.<sup>3</sup> This trend is in general reflected by Charles B. McClendon and his book *The Origins of Medieval Architecture* published in 2005, where he discusses (among others) the forms and influences in Anglo-Saxon architecture of the British Isles. McClendon singles out a group of three churches built by the Northumbrian nobleman and abbot Benedict Biscop in Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Escomb in the seventh century.<sup>4</sup> The churches are modest in scale, rectilinear in plan, and built of stone. According to McClendon, the form comes directly from the wood-building tradition as a direct translation of an indigenous building type into stone. He finds the confirmation in the excavated wood-framed church in Yeavinger (45 miles north of Jarrow) which is identical in size and plan with the other three.

In northern Croatia, in Lobar, the archeologist Krešimir Filipec recently discovered the foundations of a single-aisle wooden church with rectangular sanctuary dated to the early ninth century.<sup>5</sup> It is the only trace of the early medieval religious architecture made in wood in Croatia, but we can

\* Danko Dujmović, University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Art History Department.

<sup>1</sup> STRZYGOWSKI, Josef: *Starohrvatska umjetnost*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> BUXTON, David: *The Wooden Churches of Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> GOSS, Vladimir P. – ŠEPIĆ, Nina: A Note on Some Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Medieval Slavonia. In: *Peristil*, a. 50, 2007, pp. 21–40; GOSS, Vladimir P.: A Reemerging World. Prolegomena to an Introduction to Earlier Medieval Art Between the Sava and the Drava Rivers. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 3, 2005, nr. 32, pp. 91–112.

<sup>4</sup> MCCLENDON, Charles B.: *The Origins of Medieval Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> FILIPEC, Krešimir: *Arheološko-povijesni vodič po svetištu Majke Božje Gorske u Loboru*. Zagreb: Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta, 2008.

certainly presume that it was not unique at the time. In fact, there is a record that a church with a rectangular apse at Mali Raven near Križevci replaced an old wooden structure in the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, there is a number of wooden chapels in the rural areas of continental Croatia dated to the periods from the seventeenth to early twentieth century. All of them witness traditional techniques of construction (so-called German binding, Croatian binding, Swallow's tale etc.). Most of them have polygonal apses, but some also rectangular sanctuaries (chapels at Dvoranci and Lijevo Štefanki).

These forms could be linked with the construction in wood simply because it is quite impossible to construct a semicircular apse in wood. However, while the polygonal apse could be related to the Gothic (when we talk about Central Europe; although it may also be an attempt to copy in wood the omnipresent rounded apse) and later periods, the rectangular sanctuary is not a matter of style – it is not a stylistic characteristic, but rather a matter of either master mason's or patron's preference or of some tradition.

In her dissertation in 2001 Bibiana Pomfyová presented a catalogue of the thirteenth-century church architecture in Slovakia's Spiš region where the majority of examples have the rectangular sanctuary.<sup>7</sup> Hence we can talk about the regional type. Vladimir P. Goss has suggested that the explanation for the type might lie in the fact that the region of Spiš was outside the historical Roman *limes*, which resulted in the absence of models for semicircular apse which Strzygowski rightly considered a hallmark of the Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> So, the religious architecture of the baptized Slavs in the area would have been influenced by the local tradition of wooden architecture, securing a dominant role for a model with rectangular sanctuary.

In continental Croatia, there are also churches with rectangular sanctuaries, but these are not concentrated in one particular region, nor are all of them come from the same period. However, one wonders if the "Spiš model" would not also apply, i.e., whether the use of a building type with rectangular sanctuary was influenced by the architecture in wood. In Croatia, which had been part of the Roman Pannonia, this tendency would have been, of course, less prominent. The form was otherwise also linked to Templar and Cistercian models, but these sources of the form could not explain all the examples. Or, briefly, the Lobar case indicates that the form had existed centuries before the foundation of both the Templars and the Cistercians. Still, the churches at Koška and Novo Mesto Zelinsko from the thirteenth century belonged to the military orders; and the latter one is also associated with the patronage of Duke Coloman and Zagreb's bishop Stephen/Stjepan II in one of the phases of its rather complex construction history.<sup>9</sup>

There are other examples mostly dating from between the end of the thirteenth and the fifteenth century – Dišnik, Veliki Grđevac, Glogovica, Brodski Zdenci, Martinščina, Gotalovec, Beletinec, Miholec, Bartolovec, Sv. Helena – reinforcing the suggestion that the rectangular sanctuary is not strictly linked with any period or style.

To conclude, we cannot claim that all the rectangular sanctuaries were influenced by the wood-building tradition, but rather we might consider that option as a source of that particular form. With respect to that Spiš examples have provided an important incentive to research, another example showing how the knowledge of Slovak materials may help Croatian scholarship. The analogies and similarities between various regions and cultures are a useful instrument to make further steps in research and bring about new conclusions.

<sup>6</sup> Goss, Vladimir P.: *A Reemerging World*, p. 99.

<sup>7</sup> POMFYOVÁ, Bibiana: *Spišská sakrálna architektúra 13. storočia. K problémom počiatkov gotiky na Slovensku*. PhD thesis. Bratislava: Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences, 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Goss, Vladimir P. – ŠEPIĆ, Nina: A Note on Some Churches with Rectangular Sanctuary in Medieval Slavonia. In: *Peristil*, a. 50, 2007, pp. 34–35.

<sup>9</sup> Goss, Vladimir P.: *Četiri stoljeća europske umjetnosti: 800.–1200.; Pogled s jugoistoka*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2010, p. 195; DUJMOVIĆ, Danko – JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav: The "Koloman Renaissance" in North Western Croatia – an Unfinished Project. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, a. 3, 2010, nr. 37, pp. 178–179.

## Pictorial Cycles of St. Ladislav – Some Problems of Interpretation

Obrazové cykly so sv. Ladislavom – niekoľko problémov interpretácie /  
Slikovni ciklusi sv. Ladislava – neki interpretativni problemi

*Pictorial cycles with Saint Ladislav belong to the most important themes of visual arts in the mediaeval Hungarian kingdom. Many of them were preserved on the territory of contemporary Slovakia, some fragments were recently found in Croatia, too. As the interpretation of this precious visual material in the twentieth century was closely linked with ideological problems, caused by emerging nationalism, the unifying message of this part of our cultural heritage has not always been seen clearly. The main problem of my paper will be provoked by the challenge of finding a way out of the ideologically based interpretations but at the same time preserving a close relation with historical reality of the images and their social functions. Two main areas of research with this motivation will be briefly presented: 1) the relationship of the images to their contemporary audience, including the nobility and simple peasants; 2) the problems of visual prototypes of the pictorial cycles in the broader European context.*

Keywords: art history, saintly warrior-king, Veľká Lomnica, Červenica

An extensive literature is devoted to the pictorial cycles on the life of St. Ladislav.<sup>1</sup> What do we know about the contexts that influenced the meanings and emotional effect of the pictures?

The Ladislav cycle at Veľká Lomnica and the political situation in early fourteenth century Kingdom of Hungary

The wall paintings in the sacristy of the church at Veľká Lomnica are a good starting point for

considering this problem. They are narrative pictures from the life of St. Ladislav dated to the second decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> All the attempts to reconstruct the older iconographic tradition of this theme remain purely hypothetical because of the inadequacy of the surviving evidence.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, there is nothing to stop us supposing that the Lomnica paintings are one of the oldest surviving cycles depicting the life of St. Ladislav, if not actually the oldest.<sup>4</sup> Apart from this, it seems that the Ladislav theme appeared at the beginning of the fourteenth century because

\* Ivan Gerát, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art History.

\*\* Editorial remark: The work on this study has been supported by the VEGA agency grant N. 2/0007/11, implemented at the Institute of Art History SAS in Bratislava (2011–2014). The paper, read at the conference, has been rewritten and published in Slovak as a chapter VII in my book (Gerát 2011).

<sup>1</sup> STEJSKAL, Karel: K obsahovej a formovej interpretácii stredovekých nástenných malieb na Slovensku. In: *Zo starších výtvarných dejín Slovenska*. Ed.: Marian VÁROSS. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1965, pp. 175–223.; DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislav découverte dans l'église de Veľká Lomnica. In: *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, a. 41, 1972, nr. 4, pp. 25–42.; LUKÁCS, Zsuzsa: A szent L legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben. In: *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez*. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980, pp. 163–204.; VON BOGYAY, Thomas: Der gesellschaftliche Hintergrund der Ladislavlegende von Turnišče. In: *Louis the Great – King of Hungary and Poland*. Ed.: Steven Bela VARDY – Geza GROSSCHMID – Leslie S. DOMONKOS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986, pp. 237–260.; MAROSI, Ernő: Der heilige Ladislav als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14–15. Jh. In: *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae*, a. 33, 1987, pp. 211–255.; LÁSZLÓ, Gyula: A szent László-legenda középkori falképei. Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Egyesület, 1993.; KERNY, Terézia: Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési csata ütközet ábrázolásairól. In: *Történelem – kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon. Kiállítási katalógus*. Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Kiadványai, 2000, pp. 188–196.

<sup>2</sup> Vlasta Dvořáková dated the paintings to about 1317. DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná malba na Slovensku*. Praha: Odeon – Bratislava: Tatran, 1978, pp. 160–167 and similarly also TOGNER, Milan: Monumentálna nástenná malba na Spiši 1300–1350. In: *ARS*, 1992, pp. 100–149. HOWEVER, Togner slightly adjusts the dating to 1310–1320. IDEM: Cyklus ladislavskej legendy. In: *Gotika. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia*. Ed.: Dušan BÚRAN. Bratislava: Slovart, 2003, pp. 673–674.

<sup>3</sup> Following in the footsteps of Römer, numerous researchers, e.g. Divald and Karácsonyi supposed the existence of older prototypes, probably in the centre of the cult of St. Ladislav at Oradea Cathedral. LUKÁCS, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 172. MAROSI, Ernő: Der heilige Ladislav als ungarischer Nationalheiliger, 1987, p. 212 pointed to the lack of evidence for their views from the surviving monuments.

<sup>4</sup> TOGNER, Milan: Monumentálna nástenná malba na Spiši 1300–1350, p. 114 already expressed a similar view.



Fig. 55. *Ladislav cycle. Church of St. Catharine at Veľká Lomnica, 1310–1320.*

the historical circumstances of the time demanded the production of such images. The oldest Ladislav cycles in Transylvania also date from the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

The high quality of the Lomnica paintings, shown by a large number of stylistic parallels, points to the fact that the patron must have been of very high social status.<sup>6</sup> Not only the style, but also the theme of the painting, reflected the interests of the patron, who was one of the lords of Lomnica, probably Magister Kokoš.<sup>7</sup> The lords of Lomnica were already close to the royal court long before. Rudiger, founder of the family, probably participated in Andrew II's crusade, and this could have motivated the choice of St. Catharine as patron of the church in Lomnica.<sup>8</sup> In the course of the thirteenth century, the lords of Lomnica gained a place among the socially and economically strongest families in Spiš.<sup>9</sup> The family kept this position until the reign of Andrew III, although its position weakened to some extent at this time,

so that the change on the Hungarian throne was a welcome opportunity to renew their leading position in the region. The victory of Charles Robert over Venceslas (Václav) III and over the influential domestic opponents of the new dynasty, was also a triumph for the family of the lords of Lomnica. It was precisely at this time that Kokoš became the head of the family.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that paintings, which originated in such an environment expressed in various ways the closeness to the new dynasty. This connection has various dimensions. One of them is the historical tradition of a similar theme in the House of Anjou.

The French and Neapolitan Anjous/Angevins cultivated the cult of saintly kings. Charlemagne was also seen as a warrior saint. The Anjous sometimes tried to identify with him, as their names show.<sup>11</sup> Artistic expressions with a similar orientation also include large wall paintings celebrating the military achievements of the dynasty. The paintings in the Tour Ferrande at Pernes les Fontaines near

<sup>5</sup> In the villages of Mugi (Hun.: *Bögöz*, Ger.: *Begesen*) and Ghelinta (Hun.: *Gelence*, Ger.: *Gälänz*) in Lukács, Zsuzsa: *A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben*, p. 174; László, Gyula: *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*, pp. 57–68.; DRĂGUȚ, Vasile: *La légende du «héros de frontière» dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie*. In: *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art*, a. 12, 1975, pp. 11–40.

<sup>6</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> PROKOP, Mária: *Falképfestészet*. In: *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*. Ed.: Ernő MAROSI. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987, pp. 346–354.

<sup>8</sup> HOMZA, Martin: *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*. In: *Historia Scepusii: Dejiny Spiša do roku 1526*, vol. 1. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Stanislav SROKA. Kraków – Bratislava: Etc, 2009, p. 276.

<sup>9</sup> LABANC, Peter: *Páni z Veľkej Lomnice – počiatky rodu*. In: *Studia Historica Tyrnaviensia*, vol. 8, 2009, pp.14–30.

<sup>10</sup> HOMZA, Martin: *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*, p. 203. On the development of his position under Charles Robert also RUCIŇSKI, Henryk: *Neskorostredoveké dejiny Spiša*. In: *Historia Scepusii* 1, especially p. 340 and 366.

<sup>11</sup> FOLZ, Robert: *Le souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951, especially p. 445 and 449.

Avignon, depicting the victory (1266) of Charles I has already been mentioned in connection with the Lomnica cycle.<sup>12</sup> The Angevins also supported the chivalrous culture of French origin in their Neapolitan dominion.<sup>13</sup> Charles Robert himself, but also the noblemen and churchmen, who came to the Kingdom of Hungary with him, undoubtedly recognized the possibilities provided by the iconographic promotion of the saintliness of a warrior king. The Veľká Lomnica paintings can also be understood as an attempt to use these possibilities in new conditions. At the same time, the Angevin traditions had to adapt to the actual cultural political situation in the Kingdom of Hungary. The tradition of venerating Charlemagne associated with the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, could hardly be applied here because it would encounter opposition from the Hungarian nobility. Therefore, it was necessary to find a personality with whom Hungarian aristocrats could also identify. The native nobility had long accepted Ladislav I as a King of Hungary and saint.<sup>14</sup> The King of Hungary from the Arpad dynasty was also acceptable for the Anjou, because they were related to the old dynasty. Charles Robert's grand mother was a daughter of King Stephen V from the Arpad dynasty.<sup>15</sup> The origin of Charles Robert from the dynasty of native saintly kings was understood as an argument in favour of his right to the throne of Hungary.<sup>16</sup> The Anjous and the people close to them had really serious reasons to promote St. Ladislav, but how is this connected with the Lomnica pictures?

In contrast to some other saints venerated in the Middle Ages, the historical existence of King Ladislav can scarcely be doubted, but the actual theme of the Lomnica paintings – the king's struggle with the Cumans, who had kidnapped a Hungarian girl – raises some questions. These events are mainly mentioned in medieval chronicles of much later date.<sup>17</sup> Recent historians think that in 1068 on Kerleš (Hun. *Cserhalom*) hill, Ladislav fought against the Pechenegs, who had invaded Hungary together with the Uz. The Cumans came to Hungary only in the next decade.<sup>18</sup> It was only later that chroniclers sometimes failed to distinguish or confused these pagan tribes. It is certainly questionable whether Ladislav really liberated a kidnapped girl during the battle. Gábor Klaniczay thinks that this event found its way into the chronicles only by interpolation in the thirtieth century.<sup>19</sup>

The inadequacy of the original sources about the battle connects with consideration of the later appearance of the iconographic theme. Medieval patrons and viewers naturally could not deal with doubts, which have arisen only thanks to the work of modern historians and philologists. However, when looking at the Lomnica paintings, it is interesting to consider why their theme is an event which is not described in any of the known legends about Ladislav? Although many authors describe the Lomnica paintings with the term *Ladislav legend*, can the pictures of an armed man on a horse, mercilessly thrusting his lance into the chest of an enemy cantering before him, fighting him after

<sup>12</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislav découverte dans l'église de Veľká Lomnica, pp. 25–42; comp. also TOGNER, Milan: Cyklus ladislavskej legendy, pp. 252–255 and CURZI, Gaetano: Le pitture della Tour Ferrande a Pernes-les-Fontaines: la legittimazione del potere. In: *Medioevo: la chiesa e il palazzo*. Ed.: Arturo Carlo QUINTAVALLE. Milano: Electa – Mondadori, 2007, pp. 432–447.

<sup>13</sup> DE CASTRIS, Pierluigi Leone: *Arte di corte nella Napoli Angioina, da Carlo I a Roberto il Saggio (1266–1343)*. Firenze: Cantini, 1986, pp. 86–88.

<sup>14</sup> The *Legenda sancti Ladislai regis* in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, vol. 2. Ed.: Emericus SZENTPÉTERY. Budapest: Akadémiai K., 1938, pp. 507–527 offers a hagiographic interpretation of his life. More accessible: *Život uhorského kráľa svätého Ladislava*. In: *Legendy stredovekého Slovenska*. Ed.: Richard MARSINA. Budmerice: Rak, 1997, pp. 125–135, with introduction and commentary pp. 373–377. See also HOMZA, Martin – RÁCOVÁ, Naďa: *K vývoju slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia. Kapitoly k základom slovenskej historiografie*. Bratislava: Stimul, 2010, pp. 85–91.

<sup>15</sup> *Dejiny Slovenska (do roku 1526)*, vol. 1. Ed.: Richard MARSINA et al. Bratislava: Veda, 1986, p. 309.

<sup>16</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*. Budapest: Balassi, 2000, p. 261.

<sup>17</sup> It is possible that the so-called *Gesta Ladislai regis* already mentioned these events in the second half of the twelfth century, but this oldest biography of Ladislav does not survive and must be worked out from later chronicles – GERICS, József: *Krónikáink és a Szent László-legenda szövegkapcsolatai*. In: *Középkori kútfőink kritikus kérdései*. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1977, pp. 113–126. On the actual questionable event and its depiction see also KERNY, Terézia: *Historia Sancti Ladislai. A kerlési csata ütközet ábrázolásairól*. In: *Történelem-kép. Szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon*. Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000, pp. 188–196.

<sup>18</sup> MAREK, Miloš: *Neugerica na Spiši. Vyplienenie Spišskej Kapituly Kumánmi kráľa Ladislava IV.* In: *Studia Archaeologica Slovaca Mediaevalia*, a. 5, 2006, pp. 49–74; MAREK, Miloš: *Cudzie etniká na stredovekom Slovensku*. Martin: Matica slovenská, 2006, pp. 329–343. On this theme see also: LUKÁCS, Zsuzsa: *A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben*, p. 176.

<sup>19</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 166. Cfr. also SZOVÁK, Kornél: *Szent László alakja a korai elbeszélő forrásokban*. In: *Századok*, a. 134, 2000, pp. 117–145.



Fig. 56. *Struggle between Ladislav and the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Velká Lomnica, 1310-1320.*



dismounting and finally assisting with the brutal execution of a defeated opponent with the help of a determined girl, really be regarded as a legend? Legends celebrated the holiness of their heroes and their similarity to Christ! Did Christ wage war on horseback? Did he assist with the execution of a helpless enemy? If the patron or patrons of this pictorial cycle were only concerned with Ladislav's holiness, they could have chosen a miracle from his legend! They could have avoided unpleasant questions about the moral justification or theological appropriateness of the depicted actions. The choice of a theme with no support in the texts of the then existing legends, and its moral ambiguity, were obviously motivated by considerations other than an innocent interest in celebrating the universal Christian ideal of holiness.<sup>20</sup> This process was certainly influenced by ideal of the warrior saint, the origin and development of which I presented elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> We know that in European culture and art, this ideal developed long before the pictures at Velká Lomnica were painted. Why was its influence expressed only with such substantial

historical delay? Were there specific historical reasons for the emergence of a variant of this type in the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the fourteenth century?

Like later court manuscripts, the paintings at Velká Lomnica were probably the result of a new culture forming group connected with the environment of Hungary's new dynasty, the Anjous from Western and Southern Europe.<sup>22</sup> Apart from their artistic qualities and religious meanings, our paintings are clearly also examples of political propaganda. The new dynasty needed to put down roots in its new and hard-won kingdom. It needed to find a symbol with which both the dynasty and its supporters from the ranks of the Hungarian nobility could identify. The support of the Hungarian nobility could not be taken for granted. The Ladislav cycle offered the desired synthesis. It offered the image of a warrior king, which connected with the older tradition of the Anjou court. At the same time, he was also a King of Hungary from the Arpad dynasty, already venerated for a long time by the native aristocracy and army.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For a brief introduction to the problem: VAUCHEZ, André: Světec. In: *Středověký člověk a jeho svět*. Ed.: Jacques Le Goff. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1999, pp. 263–290. On the situation in the Kingdom of Hungary cfr. *A szentisztelet történeti rétegei és formái Magyarországon és Közép-Európában. A magyar szentek tisztelete*. Ed.: Gábor BARNÁ. Szeged: Néprajzi Tanács, 2001.

<sup>21</sup> GERÁT, Ivan: *Svätí bojovníci v stredoveku. Úvahy o obrazových legendách sv. Juraja a sv. Ladislava na Slovensku*. Bratislava: VEDA, 2011, pp. 15–34.

<sup>22</sup> Vlasta Dvořáková (DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Středověká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, p. 166) already pointed to Philip Drugeth in this context. Prokopp supposed the influence of the lord of Lomnica Magister Kokoš in PROKOPP, Mária: *Falfestészet*, p. 349.

<sup>23</sup> Ladislav already became the patron of expansion into Galicia in the time of Bela IV. See also HOMZA, Martin – RÁCZOVÁ, Naďa: *K vývinu slovenskej myšlienky do polovice 18. storočia*, pp. 85–91.

## Painting, space and ritual

The function of the Lomnica frescoes must also be understood with regard to their position in the relatively small building of the present sacristy on the north wall. The original function of this confined space, which could contain only a limited number of visitors, is still not sufficiently explained. According to one of the discussed hypotheses, this space did not have a sacred character and the paintings were models produced by a foreign artist for the needs of local artists.<sup>24</sup> However, is it possible to regard preservation of an artistic model as the primary function of a medieval stone building? Such a function for a building would probably be unique. Moreover, it is improbable that the Church would allow the image of a saint without sufficient respect, and that it would not attempt to use the liturgical texts in honour of St. Ladislav. The intimate space of the present sacristy was too small for a large assembly, but it could have been used for meetings of a small group of noblemen.<sup>25</sup> The new paintings probably served as a background for rituals by which the new elite confirmed their group identity and faith in communally revered values. Apart from the lords of Lomnica, this group apparently included other important noblemen of the time. One of them could have been Philip Drugeth, a member of a French noble family settled at Salerno in Italy. He came from Italy with Charles Robert, and gained property in Spiš confiscated from local noblemen. He held the office of count (*comes*) of Spiš from 1317 to 1327.<sup>26</sup> Although this influential aristocrat apparently was not the direct patron of the painting, he would have been able to appreciate its ideological intention and probably also its artistic quality.

Since we lack direct evidence of the existence of such meetings at Veľká Lomnica, we must be satisfied with indirect indications, for example,

a report on a conspiracy by Hungarian noblemen against the Emperor Sigismund over the relics of St. Ladislav at Oradea.<sup>27</sup> The clique of aristocratic conspirators symbolically confirmed their faith, self-understanding and political plans, with their joint veneration of St. Ladislav. The meetings of pro-Angevin noblemen in front of the pictures of St. Ladislav's struggle at Lomnica lacked the aspect of opposition to the king, so they were not of interest to chroniclers. At a time of sharp military conflicts accompanying the accession of Charles Robert to the throne, they certainly could not complain of a lack of more interesting materials. Therefore, it is understandable that the surviving sources do that mention the supposed meetings of aristocrats at Veľká Lomnica.

The aristocrats of Spiš had known and venerated Ladislav for a long time. He was the patron saint of the lancers, who had received important privileges from the king for their military service.<sup>28</sup> Some noble families in Spiš including the lords of Veľká Lomnica, were close to the king and traditionally identified with St. Ladislav.<sup>29</sup> At Spišský Štvrtok, a place called *Villa Sancti Ladislai* in Latin, the nobles met in a church dedicated to him. Earlier evidence includes efforts to obtain an alternative place for assemblies. Already in 1280, the lancers from Levkovce turned to the Archbishop of Esztergom with a request for their own church.<sup>30</sup>

What values did the pro-Angevin nobility celebrate in front of the Lomnica pictures? The Papal legate Gentile (Gentilis) da Montefiore, who urged the Hungarian Estates to elect Charles Robert as King of Hungary in 1309, projected into the time of King Ladislav his wish for the *sweetness of peace* (*pacis dulcitusudo*) and *unity of souls* (*unitas animarum*).<sup>31</sup> Precisely such factors supported the cult of the saint at the royal court still during the reign of Louis the Great. We saw that the *Legend of Ladislav* in the so-called *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* represents Ladislav as a peace maker.<sup>32</sup> There was a clear

<sup>24</sup> TOGNER, Milan: Recepcia a transformácia. Slovensko a Taliansko v stredoveku. K percepcii trecentných italizmov v stredovekej nástennej maľbe na Slovensku. In: *Problémy dejín výtvarného umenia Slovenska*. Ed.: Ján BAKOŠ et al. Bratislava: VEDA, 2002, pp. 62–63.

<sup>25</sup> In this sense, it is really possible to state that the nobility of the Hungarian Kingdom had already adopted the late medieval practice of private piety at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cfr. KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 300.

<sup>26</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Stredoveká nástenná maľba na Slovensku*, p. 166.

<sup>27</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 302.

<sup>28</sup> HOMZA, Martin: *Včasnostredoveké dejiny Spiša*, pp. 139, 187.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 188.

<sup>30</sup> LABANC, Peter: *Páni z Veľkej Lomnice – počiatky rodu*, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> An extensive extract from his text is given in KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, p. 11. On the activity of Gentilis in the territory of present day Slovakia see also *Dejiny Slovenska 1*, pp. 310–311.

<sup>32</sup> Codex vat. lat. 8541 fol. 83v; cfr. *Magyar Anjou Legendárium*. Ed.: Ferenc LEVÁRDY. Budapest: Helikon, 1973, pp. 11–53 and SZAKÁCS, Béla Zsolt: *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei*. Budapest: Balassi, 2006.

contradiction between the ideal of peace and the image of merciless struggle. Cardinal Gentilis obviously valued peace more. Several years after his return to Italy in the second decade of the fourteenth century, and so practically at the time of the origin of the Lomnica paintings, Gentilis had pictures of the life of St. Martin painted in the Lower Church of St. Francis at Assisi.<sup>33</sup> The famous frescoes by Simon Martini were ordered personally by the ideologue, who defended the cult of St. Ladislav at the court of King Charles Robert of Hungary. In connection with our theme, the substantially different content of the two sets of paintings is surprising. In Assisi, St. Martin rejects armed confrontation and proceeds against the enemy helped only by the cross.<sup>34</sup> At Lomnica, Ladislav fights and even co-operates in killing the already defeated enemy. Such a cruel thematic accent may connect with the stronger presence of a pagan tradition in the territory of Hungary. Indeed, in 1285, only a few decades before the origin of the Lomnica paintings, King Ladislav IV the Cuman invited Tartars to come to Hungary to support him in his struggle with the native nobility. In 1287, the Tartars invited by the king plundered eastern Slovakia, including Spiš. The people of Spiš defended themselves against the king and his representatives.<sup>35</sup> Ladislav IV himself lived almost like a pagan among the Cumans, his close relations, until they finally killed him. His life provoked indignation in Church circles. Pope Honorius IV wanted to organize a crusade against the "pagan king".<sup>36</sup> The picture of the struggle of St. Ladislav against the Cumans reacted to the external threat to Hungary from the pagan peoples to the east, and to the pagan reminiscences in the highest circles of the Hungarian nobility. These connections also conditioned the political significance of the demonization of the Cuman in the Lomnica painting. Vlasta Dvořáková already correctly noticed that the coarse face of the Cuman with smoke coming out of his mouth, is the direct opposite of the aristocratic face of Ladislav. The

Cuman looks like a caricature, but inspiration by Byzantine art conditioned the Christ-like face of the saint.<sup>37</sup> Such a sharpened contrast may give a rather schematic impression, but achievement of the propagandist aim required a simple statement. Understanding of this problem also presupposed knowledge of the basic co-ordinates of political theory, which influenced the significance of the image of King Ladislav as a warrior.

## The image and theology of power

Comparison of the content of the Veľká Lomnica painting with another work that is close in style, date and location may be a good starting point. There is a painting of the coronation of Charles Robert at Spišská Kapitula.<sup>38</sup> The Anjou regime in the Kingdom of Hungary did rely only on force, but also on the idea of the divine origin of its royal power. The Spišská Kapitula fresco expressed this idea in an explicit way: The crown as the symbol of government in the country is placed on the head of the kneeling Charles Robert by the Madonna, with a serious Baby Jesus blessing the whole act of heavenly coronation. As Mária Prokopp already noticed, it is the same crown decorated with lilies and precious stones, as we find on the head of St. Ladislav at Veľká Lomnica.<sup>39</sup> Apart from creative presentation of the invisible Divine intervention, the Spišská Kapitula painting also contains a realistic equivalent of a theocratic act. The same crown is placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Esztergom, who really had the right to crown the King of Hungary.

Apart from the political-theological and legal aspects of coronation, the picture also recalls the real military and symbolic means of building power. The Divine Child also blesses the large sword in the hands of the Sheriff of Spiš Philip Drugeth, who is kneeling behind the king. According to the picture, the Divine blessing also applies to the instrument of the bloody battles

<sup>33</sup> CONTINI, Gianfranco – GOZZOLI, Maria Cristina: *L'opera completa di Simone Martini. Presentazione di Gianfranco Contini. Apparati critici e filologici maria Christina Gozzoli*. Milano: Rizzoli, 1970, p. 90.

<sup>34</sup> CONTINI, Gianfranco – GOZZOLI, Maria Cristina: *L'opera completa di Simone Martini*, p. 93; cfr. Sulpicius, Severus: *Život svätého Martina*. Trans. ed. et. Pavel RYNEŠ, Praha: Herrmann a synové, 2003, p. 121; DE VORAGINE, Jakub: *Legenda aurea*. Trans.: Václav BAHNÍK – Anežka VIDMANOVÁ – Irena ZACHOVÁ. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1998, p. 320.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. the entries in the Spišská Sobota Chronicle – SOPKO, Július (ed. et trans): *Kroniky stredovekého Slovenska*. Budmerice: RAK, 1995, pp. 104–111, 107.

<sup>36</sup> LUKÁCS, Zsuzsa: A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben, p. 176.

<sup>37</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislav decouverte dans l'église de Veľká Lomnica, p. 36.

<sup>38</sup> Cfr. TOGNER, Milan: Receptia a transformácia. Slovensko a Taliansko v stredoveku, pp. 56–57.

<sup>39</sup> PROKOPP, Mária: Falfestészet, p. 348. Cfr. also *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*. Ed.: János M. BAK. Berkley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California press, 1990. Description in FODOR, Pavol – DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: K novým objavom nástenných malieb na Slovensku. In: *Výtvarný život*, a. 3, 1958, nr. 7, p. 258: "low three-leaved crown with two rows of pearls on the edge, as is typical of diadems of Byzantine type."



Fig. 57. *The dead Cuman. Vitkovce, c. 1320–1350.*



Fig. 58. *Angels carry the crown to the resting Ladislav. Vitkovce, c. 1320–1350.*

accompanying the power vacuum after the Arpad dynasty died out. The painting only shows members of the higher nobility, who especially honoured the story of the chivalrous King Ladislav. In medieval culture, the sword also symbolized the social position of an individual or family. Not everybody could own this symbol of knightly rank. It was passed down from generation to generation in noble families. The clergy of Spišská Kapitula had enough motivation to support anti-Cuman artistic propaganda. Apart from the general doctrinal reasons, they undoubtedly remembered that in 1289 the Cumans had devastated the Church of St. Martin.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the struggle against the Cuman non-believers was one of the arguments presented to the Holy See by the supporters of Charles Robert.<sup>41</sup> The Spišská Kapitula fresco is an important support for the interpretation of the Lomnica cycle. In immediate temporal and geographical proximity, we find Anjou influence on the iconography of wall paintings, which gives us a more specific idea of their theological and political background. Contemporary liturgical texts also shed light on this background. The spiritual elite adapted the cult of St. Ladislav into a form that reacted to the needs of the aristocratic warriors, while also suppressing expressions of the primitive military mentality. The surviving liturgical texts offer a well-thought out summary of the conceptual motives in good-quality Latin verses.<sup>42</sup> The face of Ladislav in the Lomnica pictures shows similar cultivation. He resembles the Norman King of Sicily Roger II, known from a mosaic in one of the Palermo churches, namely the Martorana, Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio from the twelfth century.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the painters could have learnt from this or a similar southern Italian cycle inspired by the Byzantine tradition. Apart from style, the appearance of Ladislav's face also has theological significance. The facial expression of the holy warrior does not express anything of the effort and tension of earthly conflict. The saint looks as if he does not notice the world, in which he is engaged in a life and death struggle. His face gives the impression of a solemnly rigid ceremonial mask.<sup>44</sup> Such a face could undoubtedly fulfill

<sup>40</sup> MAREK, Miloš: Neugeri na Spiši, pp. 49–74.

<sup>41</sup> DRĂGUȚ, Vasile: La légende du «héros de frontière» dans la peinture médiévale de la Transylvanie, p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> Cfr. Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez. Ed.: László MEZEY. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980.; Török, József: Szent László liturgikus tisztelete. In: *Ibidem*, pp. 137–159 published the Latin sources in a supplement (pp. 148–159): *Historio rithmica de sancto Ladislao, Sequentia de Sancto Ladislao rege* and prayers from the Pray Codex. Some liturgical texts, especially from the fifteenth century, preserved in Slovak collections are mentioned by MOKRÝ, Ladislav: Kult kráľa Ladislava. In: *Historická revue*, a. 7, nr. 2, 1996, pp. 3–4.

<sup>43</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: La légende de saint Ladislav découverte dans l'église de Velká Lomnica, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> FODOR, Pavol – DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta: K novým objavom nástenných malieb na Slovensku, p. 258.



Fig. 59. *Struggle between Ladislav and the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Velká Lomnica, 1310-1320.*

a similar function to a liturgical text: to elevate the thoughts of the viewer.<sup>45</sup> A skilled and well trained painter had to create an image, if it was going to serve this aim. The simplified oval face of the saint at Vítkovce could not achieve the same degree of visual ritualization of the saint's body, because it is stylistically closer to folk mentality. Other means were used to emphasize the contrast between the two warriors. In the scene of the beheading, they depicted a devil representing the Cuman's soul leaving his body. The scene of resting after the battle, not found at Velká Lomnica, is represented at Vítkovce by two original pictures, directed towards creating a stronger contrast between Ladislav and the Cuman. Their bodies are depicted in similar positions. The saint rests with his head on the lap of the rescued girl, and angels bring him a crown. The beheaded body of the pagan has become food for a wild beast.

We already mentioned above, the convincing finding of Vlasta Dvořáková that the artistic form of the saint's figure is a parallel to the form of Christ.<sup>46</sup> Such an artistic solution expresses the basis of sanctity – effort to come closer to Christ. At the same time, sacralisation of the monarch was also motivated by effort to strengthen the worldly authority of his position: “*The sacral elevates the monarch to such a height that only absolute respect and obedience remain to the subjects*”.<sup>47</sup>

Ladislav's appearance at Velká Lomnica testifies to the aesthetic motivations or taste of the patron to see in his intimate sacred space something similar



Fig. 60. *Struggle between Ladislav and the Cuman. Church of All Saints, Bijačovce, c. 1380-1400.*

to that found in the more culturally developed Anjou dominions. Above all, however, it documents the theological sensitivity of the cultural environment in which the pictures originated. Considerations of the late medieval theologians about how pictures may help believers to overcome inertia of feelings (*tarditas affectus*) can be found more easily in texts, than assessments of artistic style.<sup>48</sup> We do not know, who was responsible for the final form of the image. Certainly also the painter, who learnt (or perhaps recorded in a later lost sketchbook) an artistic form filled with more or less conscious theological content, in one of the Anjou dominions, penetrated with an age-old tradition could then apply it in Spiš. It is also possible that already far

<sup>45</sup> For the theoretical starting points of such an interpretation comp. SOKOL, Jan: *Filosofická antropologie. Člověk jako osoba*. Praha: Portál, 2002, pp. 172–176; BELTING, Hans: *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2001, especially pp. 34–38.

<sup>46</sup> DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Středověká nástěnná malba na Slovensku*, p. 165.

<sup>47</sup> IWAŃCZAK, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*. Praha: Argo, 2001, p. 70.

<sup>48</sup> Cfr. KRAUSE, Katharina: *Sehet, welch ein Mensch! Geschichte oder geistliche Auslegung des Lebens Jesu in der deutschen Malerei und Graphik um 1500*. In: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, a. 64, 2001, p. 62. EBERLEIN, Konrad Johann – JAKOBI-MIRWALD, Christine: *Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Eine Quellenkunde*. Berlin: Reimer, 1996, pp. 104–112.

beyond the frontiers of the Kingdom of Hungary, a scholar with a clear understanding of the spiritual potential of images, decided on their application in the Central European cultural mission.

## Ways of struggling against demons

The Christ-like saint does not appear alone in the Lomnica frescoes. The argumentation of the picture story probably also used the contrast of his physiognomy with the demonized Cuman to throw unfavourable light on the above mentioned Ladislav IV the Cuman. Demonization of the opponent was not simply a result of artistic imagination. It was a theological argument justifying the violent actions of the saint. It also served a specific political aim as military propaganda.<sup>49</sup> From the psychological point of view, it may also recall an important aspect of medieval warfare, namely frightening the opponent with cries, gestures or threatening appearance.<sup>50</sup> Worsening the appearance of the enemy enhanced the courage and heroism of the saint.

Precisely these politically and militarily realistic features distinguish the Lomnica paintings from the more traditional pictures of the struggles of holy men against demons, for example, from the St. Anthony cycle on the north wall of the presbytery of the church at nearby Dravce. The spiritual struggle of the saintly hermit with demons did not lack direct physical confrontation, for example, with zoomorphic monsters, personifying destructive forces in the human psyche. However, hermits did not kill anybody, their struggle maintained a spiritual character. None of these holy men undertook the struggle with demons as military actions combined with the exercise of secular power. A similar layer of meaning is not lacking even from St. Ladislav iconography of the fourteenth century. In the *Anjou Legendary*, the picture of physical struggle comes only after a solitary spiritual struggle with a demon, in which Ladislav, like the already mentioned St. Martin, used only the cross. However, at Velká Lomnica, such a motif does not receive attention. They needed

a concise and meaningful pictorial formulation with the problem of demonicness represented in the form of physiognomic indications.

The surviving liturgical texts provide more than one supporting point for understanding the complexly structured message of the Ladislav cycles. One of the antiphons describes Ladislav as a “pillar of the Christian army” (*columna militiae Christianae*), but also emphasizes his mercy (*O misericors misericordiam consecutus*). It also raises the hope that Ladislav will reply to the hopes of pious people, who flee to him for protection (*O firmissima spes tuae gentis / Intuere devotionem populi te querentis / et sub tuum praesidium (con)fugientis*).<sup>51</sup> This hope had many forms. It appears probable that noble landlords and simple members of peasant communities connected different hopes with the saint. The fighting nobleman could understand Ladislav's earthly struggle both as a prefiguration of the legendary ability of the saint to help achieve a good fate for the soul after death, and to secure victory in earthly struggles. *The Chronicle of the Anonymous Franciscan* from the second half of the fourteenth century tells of Ladislav's help in the anti-Tartar struggle of 1345. During these battles, they allegedly could not find St. Ladislav's head at Oradea, but later they found it again, covered in sweat, exhausted, as if after hard work. One of the captured Tartars allegedly spoke of a huge warrior on an enormous horse, with an axe in his hand and a crown on his head, obviously meaning Ladislav. The Tartar witness attributed the defeat of his own army to this mysterious horseman.<sup>52</sup> Such stories could arouse in the warrior aristocrats a wish to see and venerate pictures of the saint and king.

An alternative reading of the spiritual meaning of the image as a statement on the liberation of the soul could also have existed among the more educated clergy. Karel Stejskal already compared the image of the liberation of the girl with an example depicted in the contemporary Prague manuscript, the *Passionale Cunegundis*.<sup>53</sup> In a Neo-Platonic spirit, the ability to liberate the human soul, imprisoned in the material world is attributed to the heroic knight, who resembles Christ.

<sup>49</sup> OHLER, Norbert: *Válka a mír ve středověku*. Jinočany: H&H, 2004, pp. 262–272.

<sup>50</sup> IWAŃCZAK, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*, p. 111.

<sup>51</sup> *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok szent László történetéhez*, p. 43.

<sup>52</sup> *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*. Ed.: Mathias FLORIANUS. Quinqueecclesiis-Lipsiae-Budapestini, Tipis Michaelis Theisz, 1881, p. 152; KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Az uralkodók szentsége a középkorban. Magyar dinasztikus szentkultuszok és európai modellek*, pp. 165–166.

<sup>53</sup> URBÁNKOVÁ, Ema – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Pasionál Přemyslovny Kunhuty. Passionale abbatissae Cunegundis*. Praha: Odeon, 1975, pp. 29–36. A detailed study in: TOUSSAINT, Gia: *Das Passional der Kunigunde von Böhmen: Bildrhetorik und Spiritualität*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2003., pp. 71–104.

## Execution of the defeated enemy

The scene of beheading, especially its content, namely the execution of a defeated opponent, raises other problems. The legal rules of medieval battle gave the winner the possibility to decide on the life or death of the defeated opponent. The



Fig. 61. *Beheading of the Cuman. Church of St. Catharine at Velká Lomnica, 1310–1320.*

victor could behead the defeated with his own hand, or he could show mercy and grant him his life.<sup>54</sup> According to the principles of chivalry, a knight had to fight an enemy only as long as he resisted. If he stopped defending himself, he had to be shown mercy and lovingly forgiven.<sup>55</sup>

How can we explain that the saint did not choose one of these possibilities and assisted with the execution?

The answer to this question requires study of the differences between the male and female roles in connection with the problem of sanctity and its media presentation. In the paintings, the Cuman is beheaded by the girl, who is named Ladiva by an inscription on the Lomnica painting and only there. In contrast, the majority of written texts say that Ladislav beheaded the Cuman. The only exception is the *Chronicle of Henrich of Mügeln*, which is later than most of the pictures, so it could have drawn on the visual materials. It includes the sentence: “*St. Ladislav held him by the hair, while the girl severed his neck.*”<sup>56</sup> This looks like a natural result of the conflict. If the saint killed the defeated and

defenceless opponent, it would be a theological problem. However, the anger and revenge of the kidnapped girl cast no shadow on the image of the saint and king. On the contrary, a similar heroine, although the texts mostly present her in a negative light, can be compared with the noble heroines from the *Old Testament*, such as Judith, who beheaded



Fig. 62. *Beheading of the Cuman. Vitkovce, c. 1320–1350.*

<sup>54</sup> IWAŃCZAK, Wojciech: *Po stopách rytířských příběhů. Rytířský ideál v českém písemnictví 14. století*, p. 122.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116.

<sup>56</sup> “*Da hielt sant Lasla yn pey dem hore; do slug im die mayt den hals ab.*” According to the Russian chronicles, Ladislav inflicted the death penalty not only on the kidnapper, but also on his kidnapped sister, who helped him. On both sources see LUKÁCS, Zsuzsa: *A szent László legenda a középkori magyar falképfestészetben*, pp. 165–167.

Holofernes.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, I think that the exchange of roles between the sexes in this scene occurred precisely at the time that the story of Ladislav began to be painted on the walls of churches. Visual media could contribute to the transformation of historical and legendary material at least as much as the stories and songs of wandering histrions.

horses and shoot arrows from their bows in a backward direction. The function of the unusual motif of dialogue between the first of the Cumans and a girl is questionable. The next scene, depicting fighting on foot, shows a similar contrast of physiognomy between Ladislav and the Cuman to that found in the cycle at Veľká Lomnica. The



Fig. 63. *Ladislav cycle. Church of st. Philip, Vitkovce, c. 1320–1350.*



Fig. 64. *Ladislav cycle. Church of of All Saints, Bijacovce, c. 1380–1400.*

### Other paintings and their aristocratic patrons

The oldest fragments include the almost unknown paintings in the roof space of the parish church of St. Nicholas at Červenica.<sup>58</sup> Only outlines of figures and objects are available for their interpretation. They are indicated by brisk brownish lines, because the top layer of the painting, containing the details, which required more time, has not survived. Therefore, we know only the general design, rough outline or basic concept of the paintings, sketched with quick brush strokes on the still wet plaster. Such a state of preservation brings problems with classifying the style of the master and evaluating the details of the iconography of the work.

The cycle begins with the scene of parting from departing soldiers, continues with the scene of battle with the usual confrontation of two groups of horsemen. As usual, the Cumans turn on their

outline of the physiognomy of the Cuman shows a clear effort to visually demonize the kidnapper, by caricaturing the appearance of his face. At the end, a small fragment survives from the scene of the beheading of the defeated opponent. As well as stylistic and iconographic parallels pointing to a close connection between the paintings at Červenica and their models at Veľká Lomnica, there are also historical facts, which support a possible connection between the two groups of paintings. In 1296, the village already partly belonged to the sons of Rikolf, an important descendant of the Kokoš family of Lomnica, which also included the patron of the paintings at Lomnica. Rikolf junior, last of the sons, owned the village from 1306.<sup>59</sup> He could have ordered the paintings at Červenica.

Aristocratic patrons were undoubtedly also responsible for the Ladislav cycles at Kraskovo and Rimavská Baňa. The origin of these cycles could have been influenced by the family of the lords

<sup>57</sup> STEJSKAL, Karel: K obsahovej a formovej interpretácii stredovekých nástenných malieb na Slovensku, pp. 198–199 mentions Judith as the opposite of Ladvia, together with the goddesses of ancient mythology and the Slavonic Zora.

<sup>58</sup> I thank Michal Slivka for the first observation of this work.

<sup>59</sup> In 1296, Kokoš and John sons of Rikolf acquired it from the sons of Detrik in exchange for the property Gibart in the County of Abov. At the end of winter in 1306, the sons of the already deceased Rikolf of Spiš divided the properties. Rikolf, the youngest son received the village of Červenica among other properties as his share of the inherited properties in Šariš. Data from [http://www.saris.eu.sk/cervenica\\_pri\\_sabinove/sk/historia.html](http://www.saris.eu.sk/cervenica_pri_sabinove/sk/historia.html)



Fig. 65. *Ladislav cycle. Church of of All Saints, Kraskovo, c. 1380–1400.*

of Sečany (Szécsényi), which acquired both villages in 1334 in an exchange with the Archbishop of Kalocsa. The Duke of Transylvania and state judge Frank of Sečany, one of the magnates close to Sigismund of Luxembourg, had the church at Kraskovo painted. Mária Prokopp, who pointed to this connection, thinks that the picture of Ladislav may be a portrait of this aristocratic donor.<sup>60</sup> If we can accept this idea, it would mean not only a shift of form but also of meaning compared to the Christ-like face of the saintly king, known from the Lomnica cycle. The social-psychological function would shift from sacralization of the dynasty towards aristocratic self-presentation. This function of the paintings must be considered in connection with the Kraskovo paintings, even if the speculation about the portrait features of Ladislav appear to us to be unfounded. The picture immediately provides two reasons for such consideration. The first is that apart from the familiar bearded physiognomy of the saint, the introductory synthetic scene of the cycles includes another entirely different physiognomic type: the figure of a young aristocrat cantering on a horse and carrying a mace on

his shoulders. His playful hair and smooth beardless face do not allow an identification with the saintly king. The second reason lies in the actual battle scene, where an armoured knight carrying a flag with a double armed cross canters in close proximity to the saintly king. This man gives no attention to the fighting, but looks admiringly at Ladislav. These two figures could be appropriate objects of aristocratic self-identification, and in the second case actually a pictorial model of veneration of the saint, integrated into the narrative scene.

The lord of Spiš Castle is thought to have been the patron of the Ladislav cycle from which fragments have survived in the roof space of the Church of All Saints at Bijacovce. This interpretation is historically based on the fact that from 1258 the village belonged directly to Spiš Castle. The style of these paintings testifies to a date around 1400, and they were probably provided by one of the younger members of this family.<sup>61</sup>

The sequence begins here with a group of noble horsemen without a clear narrative context, but with enough free space, where further parts of the painting could have been located.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>60</sup> PROKOPP, Mária: *Középkori freskók Gömörben*. Šamorín: Méry Ratio, 2002, p. 55.

<sup>61</sup> The connections with the Czech painters of the circle of Master Theodore see in PROKOPP, Mária: *Falfestészet*, p. 599 and decorativism in combination with naturalism, close to some works of International Gothic (*Bible of Konrad of Vechta*, frescoes in Runkelstein Castle in DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Vlasta – KRÁSA, Josef – STEJSKAL, Karel: *Středověká nástenná malba na Slovensku*, p. 75) indicate that the Bijacovce cycle has a date no earlier than the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>62</sup> The surviving fragments are too small to enable us to unambiguously work out their meaning. The scene could be related to the beginning of the pictorial narrative at Ghelinta in Transylvania, but comparison clearly shows the higher quality of the Bijacovce painter – an anonymous, but artistically cultivated representative of the International Gothic style.



Fig. 66. *Beheading of the Cuman and St. Ladislav resting*. Kraskovo, last third of the fourteenth century.

The following scene of fighting horsemen is dominated by the cruelty of military action, with a Cuman's body pierced by a long lance and a bleeding wound. The contrast between the figure of the kidnapped girl and her kidnapper also attracted the painter's imagination. Her hands, joined in prayer express a spiritual orientation, which contrasts with the kidnapper firing arrows from his bow. Although both sit on one horse, each inclines in a different direction. The simple dress of the girl also contrasts with the kidnapper's impressive costume with weapons.

The painter also used a deliberate strategy of contrasting pictures in the following scene of the struggle between the two heroes on the ground after dismounting from their horses.<sup>63</sup> The change of appearance of the two warriors compared to older cycles is interesting. Careful observation of the knightly fashion of the time enabled the painter to create an elegant image of the knightly saint, corresponding to the refined aesthetic ideal of the International Gothic style. Ladislav's Western oriented appearance sharply contrasts with that of the Cuman in his heavy, orientalising costume.

The pagan's face is deformed not by the usual reference to his demonic nature, but by the natural results of suffocation, because the saint is squeezing his throat. The metaphysical contrast, known from *Veľká Lomnica*, is replaced by an artistic vision closer to the physical reality of the earthly world.

The brutal expressions of physical reality culminate in the final scene with the familiar motif of the Cuman's head impaled on a stake. The elements of naturalism are strengthened so much in this motif that we can already speak of expressionism. Curls of untidy hair are blown about by the wind. The physiognomy is deformed by the expressively depicted expression of suffering into a form that is distant from reality. The head was put on the stake after the beheading depicted in the previous scene. The figure of the girl in this scene forms a further contrast to the appearance of the two men. Her slim body in a simple white dress and light hair give a fragile impression. She has to hold in both hands the heavy curved sword, with which she is going to take final revenge on the kidnapper.

<sup>63</sup> The surviving fragment does not include the girl, who should help the saint, as in the usual iconographic scheme, but an analogy from *Dirjin* in Transylvania shows that this figure could have been painted in the destroyed lower right part of the fresco.

The fashionable features of the work may be explained by the fact that the patron came from the higher ranks of society, or at least tried to imitate them.

### The question of the function of the paintings in relation to the general public

During the fourteenth century, wall paintings of Ladislav's struggle could be found in places frequented not only by nobles and clergy, but also by the wider community of the simple faithful. Monumental cycles sometimes dominated a space on the optically dominant north wall of a church. This context opens the question of the meaning of the pictorial cycle for simple village people. Answering this question is hindered by a shortage of direct written sources.<sup>64</sup> Therefore, the creation of interpretative hypotheses requires a greater degree of application of creative fantasy.

The pictures certainly had to show the leading groups in society in a favourable light. The simple visitor to the church could also spontaneously feel close to the defenceless kidnapped girl. Like the liturgical text, the pictorial cycle showed the knight in armour as the defender of the defenceless and of the Christian community against any violent attack.<sup>65</sup> The hopes formulated in liturgical texts could find their way to the simpler public through preaching in the language of the people. The attention of the community was inconspicuously diverted from the internal conflicts of the country and concentrated on the geographically and socially external enemy. In the struggle with this enemy, the people could expect help not only from miracle working saints, but also from armoured knights, who resembled them.

Maintenance of the socio-economic order sometimes required the use of force against rebellious or lazy peasants. In such a situation, it was especially important that the armed horseman did not mean only the threat of the violent defence of particular economic interests. The simple faithful looking at these pictures might forget the ever-present threat of social discipline and think

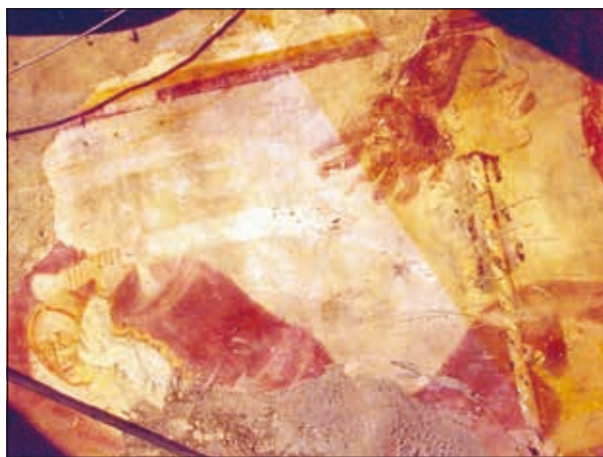


Fig. 67. *Beheading of the Cuman and his head impaled on a stake. Church of All Saints, Bijacovce, c. 1380–1400.*

more of military protection against the external enemy, which the nobility provided or, at least, were supposed to provide, while also hoping for the supernatural assistance of the depicted saint.

And so we come to the complicated question of perception of knightly self-presentation. At the beginning of the cycle, we usually find a group of several armed knights leaving a castle or fortified town with the saint. How did the people of the time perceive these knights? In Spiš, we do not find any evidence of unambiguous church approval of the knights, such as the bishop blessing them at the beginning of the narrative cycle at Ghelinta in Transylvania.<sup>66</sup>

The scene of the saint's rest after the battle offered the faithful the possibility to directly see human acceptance and human closeness. The peaceful scene was extraordinarily appropriate for evoking an atmosphere of closeness, which also corresponds to the much freer treatment of such symbols as the crown and armour of the saint. In the *Anjou Legendary*, the saint did not lose his usual appearance even when resting, but the creators of pictures on the walls of country churches often allowed him more comfort. In this way, they also removed some of the psychological barrier, which could be caused by more strait-laced behaviour. In spite of the tenderness of the girl towards Ladislav, I see no reason to see this scene as a picture of searching in his hair as some Hungarian researchers do.<sup>67</sup> In my view, this

<sup>64</sup> This methodological problem is also known from other research on the popular culture of the Middle Ages. Cfr. GUREVIČ, Aron: *Nebe, peklo, svět: cesty k lidové kultuře středověku*. Ed. et trans.: Jaroslav KOLÁR. Jinočany: H&H, 1996.

<sup>65</sup> GERÁT, Ivan: Naratívny cyklus zo života sv. Ladislava v ikonografickom programe gemerských kostolov. In: *ARS*, 1996, nr. 1–3, pp. 11–56.

<sup>66</sup> LÁSZLÓ, Gyula: *A Szent László-legenda középkori falképei*, p. 65.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 189–191, cfr. also the chapter on the meaning of the pagan tradition.

theme may be depicted only in the well-known scene at Turnišče in Slovenia, where the girl searches the hair of the Cuman before the battle.<sup>68</sup> I think that only this case may show some connection to the Hungarian ballad *Molnár Anna*. In the other scenes, it may be simple caressing, which does not look like blasphemy even to present-day people and our hygienic habits are distant from those of the Middle Ages.

The Cuman's head impaled on a stake in the Bijacovce fragments is the sort of detail that could enhance the emotional impact of a picture that also contains less significant signs of naturalism in other places. Enrichment of the basic narrative scheme with emotionally charged details corresponded to the ideas of medieval theologians, who expected the pictures in churches to influence the feelings of the faithful.<sup>69</sup> It appears that

painters made an effort to find appropriate ways of achieving this aim.

We can only understand the functions of Ladislav cycles in the fourteenth century, if we examine the complexities of the historical contexts. Apart from old conceptual, narrative and pictorial traditions, they also included the current problems of politics in the Kingdom of Hungary after the accession of the Anjou dynasty. The form and function of the cycles also depended on the media used. The wall paintings depicted a simpler story than the top-quality illuminated manuscripts, but also in this case, it is necessary, at least, to consider their effect on the religious-educational, social-psychological and political levels. Various groups of viewers gave various meanings to pictures in accordance with their own experience of life.\*

---

<sup>68</sup> VON BOGYAY, Thomas: Der gesellschaftliche Hintergrund der Ladislauslegende von Turnišče, p. 250; BALAŽIC, Janez: Stenske slikarije v stari turniški cerkvi. In: ZADNIKAR, Marijan – BALAŽIC, Janez: *Turnišče. Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve*. Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994, p. 86.

<sup>69</sup> KRAUSE, Katharina: Sehnet, welch ein Mensch! Geschichte oder geistliche Auslegung des Lebens Jesu in der deutschen Malerei und Graphik um 1500, p. 475. BAXANDALL, Michael: *Die Kunst der Bildschnitzer. Tilman Riemenschneider, Veit Stofß und ihre Zeitgenossen*. München: Beck Verlag, 1984, p. 62. EBERLEIN, Konrad Johann – JAKOBI-MIRWALD, Christine: *Grundlagen der mittelalterlichen Kunst. Eine Quellenkunde*, pp. 104–112.

\* The text was slightly changed and translated into English by Martin STYAN.

# The Cult of St. Ladislav in Continental Croatia – Its Political and Cultural Context

Kult sv. Ladislava v pevninskem Chorvátstvu – politický a kulturný rámec /  
Kult sv. Ladislava u kontinentalnoj hrvatskoj – politički i kulturni kontekst

*The author analyzes the cult of St. Ladislav that started to flourish in the late thirteenth century under the last Arpadian rulers. It was especially intense at the time of the new Angevin kings in the fourteenth century. The new dynasty adopted it and expanded this tradition in order to emphasize its legitimacy. The figure of Ladislav successfully represented the ideal knight and it was also an important propaganda tool for the legitimacy of the Angevin dynasty. The topic is presented through the cycle of wall-paintings of the legend of St. Ladislav in the church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko. The legend can be found across all the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. In this context the presence of churches dedicated to St. Ladislav in Croatia (also of St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric) as well as an interesting late medieval appearance of St. Ladislav on the Dalmatian coast are also explored.*

Keywords: the Legend of St. Ladislav, Middle Ages, Novo Mesto Zelinsko, Continental Croatia<sup>1</sup>, Slavonia, Trogir Cathedral.

## Introduction – Politics, Culture and Propaganda

"To understand the real message of the St. Ladislav fresco cycle", and I would also add the cult, "we need to understand the age".<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth century brought some significant changes into the Realm of St. Stephen. In 1301 the Arpadian dynasty was superseded by the House of Anjou. After the last Arpadian king, Andrew III, died there appeared several candidates for St. Stephen's crown, which caused a lack of the strong centralised political power of the king and consequently enabled strengthening of the nobility across the realm – this led to civil war and anarchy lasting for more than a decade.<sup>3</sup> That was also the time when the first Angevin king on the Hungarian throne, Charles Robert, needed to seize the rule and to subdue the rebellious feudal nobility.

The most powerful noble families situated in Slavonia, the Babonić and Kisecki (Kőszegi) families, at the very end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century gave their support to the representative of the Angevin dynasty.<sup>4</sup> The Croatian aristocracy led by Pavao Šubić also invited Prince Charles Robert of Anjou from Naples, whose grandmother was from the Arpadian dynasty, to ascend the Hungarian throne.<sup>5</sup> Of course, in the end, the noble families in Slavonia and in Croatia made decisions in accordance with their desire for prosperity and power under the new ruler.

Prince Charles was also supported by Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), who believed that this was the right way of spreading the papal influence, and he also relied on the Church prelates and powerful military orders in the land.<sup>6</sup> From the beginning the Angevin dynasty emphasized the legality of succession and affirmed their legitimacy by using the Arpadian symbols in the coat

\* Maja Cepetić, University of Rijeka, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Art History Department.

<sup>1</sup> It is the area of today Continental Croatia i.e. Slavonia observed through the time of the Middle Ages.

<sup>2</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, Trans.: Tamás PALOSFALVI. London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001, pp. 128–132.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 107–111; KLAJČ, Nada: *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1976, pp. 340–342.

<sup>5</sup> KONTLER, László: *Povijest Mađarske: Tisuću godina u srednjoj Europi*. Zagreb: Srednja europa, 2007, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 95; LUTRELL, Anthony: *The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources*. In: *Crusades and Military Orders: Expanding the frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Ed.: Zsolt HUNYADI – József LASZLOVSKY. Budapest: CEV Press, 2001, p. 271.

of arms, and relying on the legend of St. Ladislav claiming him as the protector of the new dynasty.<sup>7</sup>

The cult of King Ladislav, who was canonized as St. Ladislav in 1192 during the reign of Bela III, started to flourish in the realm in the late thirteenth century under the last Arpadian rulers. It was especially intense at the time of the new Angevin kings in the fourteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The new dynasty adopted and expanded this tradition in order to emphasize their legitimacy as descendants of the Arpadians in the female line. Because of that they frequently referred to their saintly ancestors, first of all, St. Stephen and St. Ladislav. The figure of Ladislav successfully represented the ideal knight, which was so important in the courtly culture of the Hungarian Angevins. It was also an important propaganda tool and perfect ideological framework for the legitimacy of the Hungarian Angevin dynasty.<sup>9</sup>

*The life of St. Ladislav* was described in two basic sources. The legend, known from two versions – *Legenda Aurea* and local legends – was created during the rule of Bela III. The other source is the *Hungarian Chronicle*, a text written and re-written from the eleventh century onwards, which survives in versions compiled in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>10</sup> As a tool of Angevin promotion of the saintly ancestors and their rights to the throne we can find the cycle representing the life and miracles of St. Ladislav in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (ca. 1330), showing the core of the Legend, the fight with the Cumans, representing Ladislav as a victorious military leader and a knight; and in the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, ca. 1360), containing seventeen interrelated images of the story of Ladislav and his fight against the Cuman, and the invitation to lead the First Crusade.<sup>11</sup>

It is possible to interpret the fight between Ladislav and the Cuman leader as the fight between Christians and pagans, with the victory of Christianity. Also, it can be seen as the last fight

against the eastern pagan roots of the Hungarians, relevant to the time of King Ladislav IV “the Cuman”.<sup>12</sup> In any case, this legend fits really so much with the context itself. It was easy to use it for the purposes of legitimacy and propaganda of the new Angevin dynasty and the promotion of the victorious story of Christianity.

The cult of St. Ladislav created an extremely powerful ideal which was important to the Hungarian Angevin dynasty and their courtly culture because of their intention to show and promote their legitimate rights to the Hungarian throne. That is the reason why we can find the legend of St. Ladislav presented as a narrative cycle of wall paintings in the medieval cultural space across the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen (e.g. in Transylvania: Mugeni (Bögöz) – from the fourteenth century, Ghelinta (Gelence) – 1300–1330, Remetea (Magyarremete) – fourteenth century, Biborteni (Bibarcfalva) – fifteenth century; in East Slovakia, i.e. Upper Hungary: Žehra – 1380, Veľká Lomnica – 1317, Rimavská Baňa, Kraskovo and Vítkovce – all from the fourteenth century; in Hungary: Ócsa, Túrje – both from the fourteenth century, and Tereske – ca. 1400. The wall paintings depicting the legend date mostly from the early fourteenth through the fifteenth century,<sup>13</sup> which corresponds, at the beginning, to the time of the new dynasty on the Hungarian throne.

## Novo Mesto Zelinsko

A Croatian example of the legend of St. Ladislav can be found in the small church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, an aisleless building with a rectangular sanctuary. The church was built in two phases – the first one in the early thirteenth century and the second one after the Mongol invasion (1241/1242), when it might have been repaired and refurbished with the new rib-vault in the sanctuary and the sculpted consoles and capitals made in the workshop of Bishop Stjepan II.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> KONTLER, László: *Povijest Mađarske*, p. 96.

<sup>8</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 322–326, pp. 356–366.

<sup>9</sup> SZAKÁCS, Bela Zsolt: Between Chronicle and Legend: Image Cycles of St. Ladislav in Fourteenth-Century Hungarian Manuscripts. In: *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 4. Ed.: Erik KOOPER. Amsterdam, Rodopi, 2006, p. 153.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 148.

<sup>11</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 191, 356–366; SZAKÁCS, Bela Zsolt: Between Chronicle and Legend, pp. 148–152.

<sup>12</sup> KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 389–390.

<sup>13</sup> MADAS, Edit; HORVÁTH, György Zoltán: *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról/San Ladislao d'Ungheria nella predicazione e nei dipinti murali*. Budapest: Romanika Kiadó, 2008, pp. 81, 90, 91, 122, 124, 136, 142–143, 154, 188–189, 238–241, 308–309.

<sup>14</sup> Goss, Vladimir P.: *Templari i kulturni pejzaž zelinskog Prigorja*. In: *Templari i njihovo nasljeđe; 800 godina od dolaska templara na Zemlju sv. Martina*. Ed.: Mladen Houška. Sv. Ivan Zelina: Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina, 2009, p. 35; JUKIĆ, Vjekoslav – DUJMOVIĆ, Danko: The “Koloman Renaissance” in North Western Croatia – an Unfinished Project. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 2010, pp. 178–179.

We proposed that the church had belonged to the great Templar estate of St. Martin at the east rim of the Medvednica mountain, which Templars got from King Andrew II in 1209. After the abolition of the Templar order by Pope Clement V in 1312, the Hospitallers took over most of Templar properties, including St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko.<sup>15</sup> The church of St. Peter was first mentioned in 1409 as a parish church.<sup>16</sup>

In the fourteenth century, under the new beneficiaries of the church, most of the scenes in the nave came into being, including the legend of St. Ladislav on the north nave wall (fig. 68). The Hospitallers were on the Anjou side, as in 1303 Pope Boniface VIII invited all military orders in Croatia and Hungary to support Charles Robert as the new king.<sup>17</sup> If we take St. Ladislav as a victorious military leader and a knight, we can understand the second reason to put the legend of St. Ladislav on the wall of the church in Novo Mesto Zelinsko. The wall paintings in the nave are dated to the second quarter of the fourteenth century,<sup>18</sup> which corresponds to the time of the Hospitallers' takeover of Templar property. It is also the time of the new dynasty on the Hungarian throne, the Angevins, who obviously used the legend as their political propaganda, especially through the Church. The Church, on the other hand, supported the programme because St. Ladislav, along with St. Stephen, was generally regarded as one of the two great rulers who consolidated the institution of Christian kingship in medieval the Kingdom of Hungary. The ideologies of the Church, the Hospitallers, and the Angevin kings have thus found a nice common medium.

The scenes of the legend in St. Peter's church are linked together. They start at the empora railing, wherefrom they proceed toward the triumphal arch. In the preserved fragments of the fresco cycle we can see the scene of St. Ladislav pursuing the Cuman leader who carried the abducted



Fig. 68. Interior of St. Peter, Novo Mesto Zelinsko.



Fig. 69. The abducted Hungarian girl on the back of a horse, north nave wall.



Fig. 70. Fragments of the scene of fight of the two armies, north nave wall.

<sup>15</sup> A paper on that theme was presented by me and my colleague D. Dujmović at the international conference „Spolia in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Ideology, Aesthetics and Artistic Practice“ at Motovun International Research Center for Late Antiquity and Middle Ages in June 2010.

<sup>16</sup> DORBONIĆ, Lelja: *Po starom Moravču*. Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1979, p. 59–60; AZINović, Ana: Novo Mjesto – kapela Sv. Petra. In: *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, a. 34, 2002, p. 130.

<sup>17</sup> DOBRONIĆ, Lelja: *Posjedi i sjedišta templara, ivanovaca i sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1984, p. 141.

<sup>18</sup> SRŠA, Ivan: *Zidni oslici u lađi crkve Sv. Petra u Novom Mjestu*. In: *Templari i njihovo nasljeđe; 800 godina od dolaska templara na Zemlju sv. Martina*. Ed.: Malden Houška. Sv. Ivan Zelina: Muzej Sv. Ivan Zelina, 2009, p. 43.



Fig. 71. *St. Ladislav represented as a beardless young saint, north side of the triumphal arch.*



Fig. 72. *The Virgin Protectress with three crowned figures, who stand out from the others under her mantle – possibly St. Stephen, St. Emerik, and St. Ladislav, south side of the triumphal arch.*

Hungarian girl on the back of his horse (the third register of the north wall, fig. 69), which is followed by the scene in which only severed Cuman heads are visible (the fourth register) – probably the scene of fight of the two armies (fig. 70). It must be noted that these fragments emphasize St. Ladislav's chivalrous manners. This thrust in the legend was possibly influenced by the Crusades, as the holders of this church were military orders.

In a comparative analysis with other fresco cycles depicting the legend of St. Ladislav, it must be noted that in register one there should be an introduction scene presenting St. Ladislav and his army setting out from the city. The scene with St. Ladislav resting in a girl's lap should be the closing image of the cycle. In some examples across the Realm of St. Stephen it is also possible to see the scene of the fight between St. Ladislav and the Cuman leader without weapons on the earth; which followed right after the pursuit of the Cuman leader.<sup>19</sup> Looking at the north wall in St. Peter's, which is a large surface without windows, there was enough space to put all those scenes, but because of the today fragmentary state of the cycle we cannot be sure to what extent the individual scenes of the whole cycle were realized.

On the north side of the triumphal arch in the middle register St. Ladislav is represented as a beardless young saint with the crown on his head, standing in the painted central niche under a trefoil arch (fig. 71).<sup>20</sup> Behind his head there is a green circle that represents the saint's halo. The scene is partially preserved, so it is not possible to see his main attribute – the battle-axe. On the south wall of the triumphal arch there is a representation of the Virgin Protectress with three crowned figures who stand out from the others under her mantle – possibly St. Stephen, St. Emerik, and St. Ladislav – three saintly kings of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary (fig. 72). It is important to be careful with this conclusion because only three crowned figures are visible in the scene, and the iconographical reading cannot be complete due to the lack of other attributes of the saints. St. Ladislav, who is the embodiment of the medieval ideals of chivalry, is usually represented as a knight dressed in armour and caped with a mantle, with a crown on his head. In his hand he usually holds a battle-axe, which can be replaced with a sword or a spear sometimes. St. Stephen the King is represented as an old knight

<sup>19</sup> For example, in the places mentioned above in the text: Velká Lomnica, Rimavská Baňa, Kraskovo, Vítkovce etc.

<sup>20</sup> SRŠA, Ivan: *Zidni oslici u lađi crkve Sv. Petra*, pp. 40, 42.

<sup>21</sup> *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*. Ed.: Anđelko BAĐURINA. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2000, pp. 247, 401, 578.

with a beard, caped with a mantle, with a crown on his head and a royal apple and a scepter in his hands. St. Emeric is represented as a young beardless knight, crowned with a royal or, more often, with an apple-shaped duke crown. In his hands he usually holds an apple and a scepter.<sup>21</sup> However, it is also known that the iconographic scheme representing three holy kings of medieval Hungary had been formed by the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>22</sup> It is also interesting that Cardinal Gentile di Particino da Montefiore, the legate of Pope Clement V in Hungary, determined the heritage rights of Charles Robert not just as a descendant of the Arpadians (in the female line) but also as the inheritor of the virtues of three holy kings of the Realm of St. Stephen.<sup>23</sup>

Another important finding in connection with St. Ladislav is the golden forint from the time of the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437), which was found during archeological excavations in the church of St. Peter in Novo Mesto Zelinsko (fig. 73). This is clearly showing that the popularity of St. Ladislav as a dynastic saint and a propaganda tool of the medieval Hungarian courtly culture did not end with the Angevin dynasty but it continued longer than that, under the new Luxemburg dynasty.

### Churches dedicated to St. Ladislav, St. Stephen the King, and St. Emeric

In this context one should explore the presence of the churches dedicated to St. Ladislav, and also to St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric, in today Croatia (map. 1). The fact that in the last years of his rule King Ladislav (1077–1095) founded the ninth Hungarian bishopric in Zagreb makes him one of the favourite saints within the Croatian borders and beyond, as it is shown below. The bishop of Zagreb in the times of the greatest struggles for the Hungarian throne was Augustin Kažotić (Gazottus) (1303–1322). He supported Charles Robert against the other candidates for the throne, Wenceslas of Bohemia and Otto of Bavaria, which is visible in his *Oratio*, the speech for the Hungarian nobility assembled on the Rákos Field in order to



Fig. 73. Ladislav on the golden forint from the time of the reign of the king Sigismund, found in Novo Mesto Zelinsko.

decide among rival pretenders in 1310. The text is preserved only in the seventeenth-century *Vita* of Gazottus written by Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (Joannes Tomcus Marnavitius), the bishop of Bosnia from 1635.<sup>24</sup>

If we take the support of Bishop Kažotić as the official support of the bishopric, and add the popularity of Ladislav as the founder of the bishopric, it should not be surprising that the largest number of churches with dedication to St. Ladislav, according to the known documents, is on the territory of the medieval bishopric of Zagreb. Out of the fourteen mentioned churches and chapels with dedication to St. Ladislav we can locate eight of them, albeit not with certainty:<sup>25</sup>

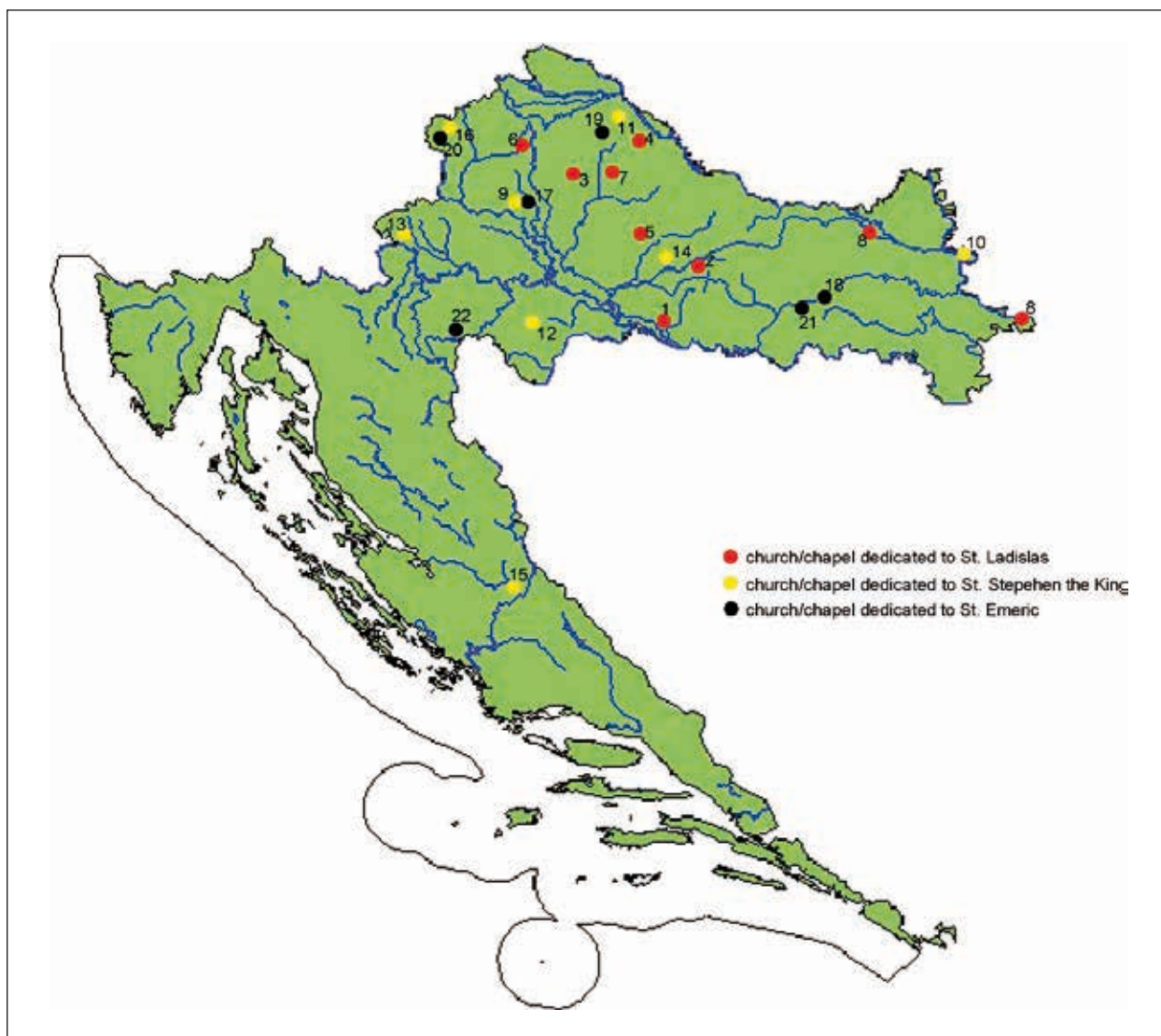
- The church of St. Ladislav in Gornji Rajić (?), near Novska, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia noua sancti Ladislai prope ibidem*; destroyed by the Turks in the sixteenth century (nr. 1),
- The church of St. Ladislav in Daruvar, archaeological site Gradina-Podborje (also the place of the medieval Benedictine monastery), first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti Ladislai de Podbor* (nr. 2),
- The church of St. Ladislav in Mali Raven, 1501: *Jacobus plebanus sancti Ladislai in Rauen*, a feudal estate first mentioned in 1238, the parish church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century (nr. 3),

<sup>22</sup> For more details and literature please see KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, p. 339, footnote 151.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 323–326.

<sup>24</sup> For the text please see *Oration S. Augustini Gazotti. Dicta in Campo Rakos pro Carolo*. In: KRČELIĆ, Baltazar Adam: *Historiarum cathedralis Ecclesiae Zagrabensis I*, pp. 111–14, especially p. 114 or KLANICZAY, Gábor: *Holy Rulers*, pp. 324–325, footnote 95. Some authors claim that Mrnavić's preserved text of *Oratio* is forgery. Please see *ibidem*, p. 325, footnote 96.

<sup>25</sup> The list is made according to: BUTURAC, Josip: *Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije 1334. i 1501*. In: *Starine*, a. 59, 1984, pp. 43–107; MEZÖ, András: *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest: METEM, 2003, pp. 211–221; BADURINA, Anđelko: *Hagiotopografija Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2006, published like database on CD.



Map 1. Presence of the churches dedicated to St. Ladislav, St. Stephen the King and St. Emeric in today's Croatia.

- The church of St. Ladislav in Vlaislav, near present-day Novigrad Podravski, first mentioned in 1334: *Primo ecclesia beatissimi regis Ladislai, predicta (i. e. de Kamarcha) que tamen est plebania, ruined (nr. 4),*
- The church of St. Ladislav in Ladislav, near Hercegovac, first mentioned in 1501: *ecclesia sancti Ladislai de Drauffeld, ruined (nr. 5),*
- The church of St. Ladislav in Ladislavec (?), near Zlatar, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia ... sancti Ladislai ... ibidem, no traces (nr. 6),*
- The church of St. Ladislav in Ladislav Sokolovački, near Sokolovac, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia beati Ladislai de eadem Bradna, ruined (nr. 7),*
- The chapel of St. Ladislav in Valpovo, first mentioned in 1479 (nr. 8).

The first king of medieval Hungary, Stephen I (1000–1038), was canonized as St. Stephen the King in 1083, during the reign of King Ladislav. He is generally considered to be the founder of the Kingdom of Hungary and the ruler who is most responsible for the consolidation of Christianity. He founded several dioceses and established the archdiocese of Esztergom. In that way he set up an ecclesiastical organization independent of the German archbishops.<sup>26</sup> While St. Ladislav lived in collective memory like a brave young knight, St. Stephen was remembered like a pious person who established law and order in the country. The largest number of churches with dedication to St. Stephen the King is on the territory of medieval bishopric of Zagreb. Out of ten mentioned churches and chapels dedicated

<sup>26</sup> ENGEL, Pál: *The Realm of St. Stephen*, pp. 27–29.

to St. Stephen the King we can locate eight, albeit not with certainty:<sup>27</sup>

- The church of St. Stephen the King, cathedral in Zagreb, first mentioned in 1254: *ecclesia zagrabienensis in honore beati Stephani regis Hungariae*; the monastery with dedication to St. Stephen the King was mentioned in 1217: *monasterium Zagrabienense ... in honorem S. Stephani regis constuxit*, today St. Stephen is co-patron and the cathedral is dedicated to the Assumption of Mary (nr. 9),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in Erdut (?), first mentioned in 1192: *sub ecclesia Sancti Regis de Herdeud ~ Erdeud* (nr. 10),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in Torčec (Drnje), 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti Stephani regis circa Drauam* (nr. 11),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in old Petrinja (Jabukovac) (?), first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti regis Stephani de Petrina* (nr. 12),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in Radina Vas (?), first mentioned in 1334: *sancti Stephani regis de Rodobna* (nr. 13),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in Hercegovac (?), the church was first mentioned in 1306 between Crna Rijeka and Zdenci, which corresponds to the area around Hercegovac, in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti regis Stephani in Cherna reka* (nr. 14),
- The church of St. Stephen the King in Knin, eleventh-twelfth century, *Templum perantiquum erat in suburbano, nomine s. Stephani regis extra muros...* (nr. 15),<sup>28</sup>
- The chapel of St. Stephen the King in Bregi Kostelski, from the fifteenth century (?); first mentioned in the seventeenth century as a chapel of the parish church of St. Emeric in Kostel; the chapel has a gothic portal which was used as a secondary building material during the construction in the eighteenth century (nr. 16).<sup>29</sup>

St. Emeric of medieval Hungarian kingdom (1007–1031), the third saintly king, who was the son of King Stephen I, was canonized in 1083 for his pious life and purity along with his father and Bishop

Gerhard. The churches with dedication to St. Emeric are all situated in the continental part of today Croatia, mostly on the territory of the medieval bishopric of Zagreb (three out of five). Out of eight mentioned churches and chapels dedicated to St. Emeric we can identify six, albeit not with certainty:<sup>30</sup>

- The church of St. Emeric in Zagreb, in front of the cathedral, ruined in 1510 because of the construction of the fortifications of the cathedral, first mentioned in 1328: *ecclesia beati Emerici de Zagabria*, 1334: *Primo videlicet ecclesia beati Emerici Zagrabie ante ecclesiam maiorem*. (nr. 17),
- The church of St. Emeric in Imbrijevci, first mentioned in 1333–5: *Georgius sacerdos de Sancto Hemrico, Georgius de Sancto Emerico* (nr. 18),
- The church of St. Emeric in Starigrad near Koprivnica, first mentioned in 1441: *Kuvar, ecclesia Sancti Emerici* (nr. 19),
- The chapel of St. Emeric in Kostel near Pregrada, beneath the ruins of an old fort, first mentioned in 1334: *Item ecclesia sancti Emerici de Kostel* (nr. 20),
- The church of St. Emeric in Ruševci (Imrevci) (?), first mentioned in 1332–1335: *Georgius sacerdos de Sancto Hemrico, Sancto Emerico* (nr. 21),
- The church of St. Emeric near old Cetinograd (site Crkvište?), 1334: *Item sancti Emerici de sub Cetin* (nr. 22).

The churches dedicated to St. Ladislav are much more numerous than those dedicated to St. Stephen the King or St. Emeric. It could be easily explained because King Ladislav founded the bishopric in Zagreb and he was a very popular saint in that part of Slavonia. Besides, he was also the apostle of Slavonia.<sup>31</sup> This is why the largest number of churches dedicated to St. Ladislav are in Slavonia (today continental Croatia), including the medieval territory of Zagreb bishopric. If we look closer at the map of the churches dedicated to St. Stephen the King we can see that those churches are strategically placed on the main medieval roads, which also gives another type of prominence to the cult of the first Hungarian

<sup>27</sup> The list is made according to BUTURAC, Josip: Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije, p. 43–107; MEZÖ, András: *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, pp. 189–200.

<sup>28</sup> GUNJAČA, Stjepan: Tiniensia Archaeologica – Historica – Topographica, vol. 2. In: *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, III/7, 2006, pp. 58–59; JAKŠIĆ, Nikola: Hrvatski srednjovjekovni krajobrazi. In: *Scintillae Stephano Gunjaca dicatae*, vol. 4. Split: Muzej Hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2000, p. 23. They take these data from Daniele Farlati.

<sup>29</sup> BOTICA, Dubravka: Izvori za povijest sakralne arhitekture na području Vrbovečkog arhidakonata (17.–19. st.). In: *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, a. 54, 2004, pp. 58–59. Botica argues that chapel was built before 1676 and rebuilt in eighteenth ct. when the gothic portal was installed while Badurina in his hagiotopeography states that the chapel is from fifteenth century and that it was rebuilt in baroque style.

<sup>30</sup> The list is made according to BUTURAC, Josip: Popis župa Zagrebačke biskupije, pp. 43–107; MEZÖ, András: *Patrociniumok a középkori Magyarországon*, pp. 119–123.

<sup>31</sup> *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*, p. 401.

Christian king.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, we can find two saintly kings of medieval Hungary in the center of Zagreb bishopric at the same place, St. Stephen the King as the co-patron of the cathedral and St. Emeric as the patron of the church which stood in front of the cathedral. Churches and chapels with dedication to three saintly kings were built mostly between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, when the impact of the Arpadian, and after that Angevin, dynasty and their propaganda through the cult of saints was really strong. This fact also clearly shows that the territory of the continental Croatia, i.e. Slavonia, was in the same cultural circle as the other lands in the Realm of St. Stephen in the Middle Ages.

### The appearance of St. Ladislav and the Hungarian propaganda in the late Middle Ages in Dalmatia

As was shown with the golden florin from the time of the reign of Sigismund, King of Hungary (and Croatia) from 1387 to 1437, found in Novo Mesto Zelinsko, the popularity of St. Ladislav as a dynastic saint and a propaganda tool of the Hungarian courtly culture did not come to an end with the Angevin dynasty. On the Dalmatian coast, more precisely in the cathedral of Trogir, we have an interesting late medieval representation of St. Ladislav on a stone triptych. Most likely it was a part of the altar of Our Lady situated underneath the pulpit, leaning on the altar fence and the choir stalls until 1731, when it was removed. After that the triptych was built into the wall of the cathedral, beneath the choir.<sup>33</sup> The composition of the triptych is simple: a figure of the Virgin with the Child is in the centre, while St. Jerome and St. Ladislav are on the sides. Figures of the saints are in shallow niches bounded with fluted pilasters.

It is necessary to take a closer look at the political situation in Trogir in the middle of the fifteenth century, i.e. the time when the triptych was probably made. It was the time when Venice was

consolidating its rule, which started in 1420. Until then, since the year 1107, Trogir had the autonomy guaranteed by the king of the Hungarian-Croatian state. In this case it should not be strange that the figure of St. Ladislav was again used as a Hungarian propaganda tool, this time against the rule of Venice. The joint appearance of St. Jerome, the patron of Dalmatia, and St. Ladislav, the patron of the Hungarian kingdom, on the triptych of the altar of Our Virgin in Trogir cathedral sends a clear message in accordance with the political situation at the time of its production.

In the Middle Ages the cult of royal and dynastic saints was a dominant way how to prove and promote legitimacy of dynasties across Europe. The Hungarian Angevin dynasty, as demonstrated above, was a fine example of this practice. The cult of dynastic saints was really popular in contemporary Europe. St. Ladislav as a dynastic saint was successfully used to support the Angevin candidate for the Hungarian crown, Charles Robert. The propaganda which was exercised through the fresco cycles of St. Ladislav in churches throughout the Realm of St. Stephen was a successful medium for the dynasty and for the Church. Also, it is worth noticing that most of the fresco cycles with the legend of St. Ladislav are situated in the places in the outskirts of the Realm of St. Stephen, where propaganda should probably be stronger because the places and people were far away from the Hungarian center of power around Buda.<sup>34</sup>

The popularity of the cult and the figure of St. Ladislav did not come to an end with the Arpadian dynasty, as shown by the presence of St. Ladislav on the golden florin from the time of King Sigismund of Luxemburg, and by the interesting late medieval appearance of the St. Ladislav in Dalmatia. Strong influence of dynastic saints, especially of St. Ladislav, is still visible in the names of the church patrons and in the name of today's villages (Vlaislav, Ladislavec, Ladislav, Imbrijevc, Imrevo, etc.). All of that clearly represents a rich tradition of popularity of three saintly kings of medieval Hungary in today's continental Croatia, i.e. Slavonia.\*

<sup>32</sup> SEKELJ IVANČAN, Tajana: Župna crkva ... *sancti Stephanis regis circa Drauam* – prilog tumačenju širenja ugarskoga političkog utjecaja južno od Drave. In: *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 25, 2008, p. 109.

<sup>33</sup> BUŽANČIĆ, Radoslav: Gospin oltar Nikole Firentinca u trogirskoj katedrali. In: *Klesarstvo i graditeljstvo*, a. 20, nr. 3–4, 2009, pp. 35–48.

<sup>34</sup> For the map please see the first page of the book: MADAS, Edit – GYÖRGY HORVÁTH, Zoltán: *Középkori prédikációk és falképek Szent László királyról*, passim.

\* Note of Thanks: The author thanks organizers of the conference „Slovakia and Croatia – Historical Parallels and Connections“ for invitation to submit this note, also to the eminent colleagues from the discussion who implicate on new ideas, especially to dr.sc. Anna Maria Gruia. Also special thank to Mladen Houška and Romana Mačković from the City Museum of Sv. Ivan Zelina and to dr.sc. Goran Jakovljević from the City Museum of Bjelovar for the relevant information about their current research.

## Fashionable Stove Tiles in Slovakia and Slavonia during the Fifteenth Century

Umelecké kachlice na Slovensku a v Slavónsku v 15. storočí /  
Umjetnički pečnjaci u Slovačkoj i Slavoniji u 15. stoljeću

*The paper discusses the most important stove tile workshops in the two regions and the most significant sites with tile discoveries dated to the fifteenth century, stressing the origin of fashionable motifs. In some cases, such motifs were copies or imitations of tiles from distant places, mostly associated with the royal palace of Buda, but also other parts of the Kingdom of Hungary and even beyond. Patterns in tile production and use are identified and compared, and issues such as workshop market areas and the reception and functions of tile iconography are taken into consideration.*

Keywords: iconography, fifteenth century, stove tiles, regions of present-day Croatia and Slovakia.

Decorated stove tiles were much in use in Central and Eastern Europe throughout the fifteenth century. Images decorating such mass-produced functional objects reveal a complex mechanism of production, copying, and imitation. In this article I will focus on the most popular religious representations on stove tiles used in Slovakia (Northern Hungary) and Slavonia, trying to identify their iconographical analogies, possible origin and clarify why some motifs were so appreciated.<sup>1</sup> I will thus discuss the most important tile workshops in the Kingdom of Hungary and the most significant sites with tile discoveries in the two areas of the kingdom dated to the fifteenth century, stressing the origin of fashionable motifs. In some cases, such motifs were copies or imitations of tiles in distant places, mostly the royal palace of Buda, but also others from Vienna, Styria and Transylvania. The comparison is meant to reveal why, in each province, certain motifs traveled longer or shorter distances, due to reasons such as product availability on the market, financial power of stove owners, and the items' added, symbolic value.

The royal palace in Buda is the site with the most numerous and varied stove tile discoveries in the Kingdom of Hungary. These items were studied over the years and a long series of articles, mainly by Imre Holl, are dedicated to them.<sup>2</sup> They were grouped according to types, analyzed and re-analyzed, sometimes with corrections and addition of new data. Still, a monograph on the topic would greatly clarify the matter and create a more encompassing and accurate picture. Based on the types and quantity of discovered tiles, Holl presumed the existence of tile workshops working for the royal palace, but there is no written evidence 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, an angel holding coats of arms, pairs of saints, the griffin, the lion guarding the tree of life, and a type of rosette. These tiles are of very high quality, with open-work and tracery elements, with perfect details and glazing, and were produced around 1475. Some entire stoves have been reconstructed inside the Budapest

\* Ana Maria Gruia, National History Museum of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca.

<sup>1</sup> The article is based on my doctoral dissertation entitled *Religious Representations on Medieval Stove Tiles in the Kingdom of Hungary*, defended in 2009 at the Central European University, Budapest (under print with the CEU Press).

<sup>2</sup> HOLL, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon, vol. 1. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 18, 1958, pp. 211–278; IDEM: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon II. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 22, 1971, pp. 161–192; IDEM: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon III. In: *Archeológiai Értesítő*, a. 110, 1983, nr. 1, pp. 201–228; IDEM: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV. In: *Archeológiai Értesítő*, a. 117, 1990, nr. 1, pp. 58–95; IDEM: Neutronenaktivierungsanalyse mittelalterlicher Ofenkacheln II. In: *Acta Archaeologia Hungarica*, 47, 1995, pp. 257–294; IDEM: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon VII. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 33, 1999, pp. 313–323; IDEM: Spätgotische Öfen aus Österreich. Mittelalterliche Ofenkacheln in Ungarn IX. In: *Acta Archaeologia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, a. 52, 2001, pp. 353–414; IDEM: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon VIII. A Zsigmond-kori I. csoport mintakincsének és kronológiájának kérdéséhez. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 35, 2002, pp. 357–380; HOLL, Imre – VÖRÖS, Pál: Hunyadi Mátyás budavári majolikagyártó műhelye. In: *Budapest Régiségei*, a. 17, 1956, pp. 73–150.



Fig. 74. Reconstruction of a "knightly stove" in the royal palace of Buda.

History Museum (Fig. 74). 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>3</sup>

What is clear is that the Buda stove tiles became very popular throughout the kingdom and even beyond its borders (in Poland, Bohemia, Styria, and Moldavia). 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 and the tiles were copied and imitated until the sixteenth century. The most popular were those decorated with knight in tournament that gave the name to the entire group.<sup>4</sup> In the Kingdom of Hungary there are, to the best of my knowledge, 38 tiles decorated with this motif (57 individual items),<sup>5</sup> making this one of the most popular motifs (only surpassed by others such as the two-tailed siren – on 80 tiles<sup>6</sup> and St. George slaying the dragon – on 68 tiles<sup>7</sup>). Tiles with the knight in tournament directly related to the originals in Buda (either produced in the same molds or copied after those tiles) were discovered in both today Slovakia and Slavonia. In the first province, only one such item was found so far, in the royal castle of Bratislava.<sup>8</sup> In Slavonia, such tiles were used in two castles – Ružica<sup>9</sup> and Čakovec<sup>10</sup> – two fortifications – Susedgrad<sup>11</sup> and Moslavina<sup>12</sup>

<sup>3</sup> TAMÁSI, Judit: Stücke des Ritterfigurenofens zu Ofen (Buda) aus dem Burgschloss von Ozora – im Kontext der Werkstattbeziehungen. In: *Quasi liber et pictura. Studies in the Honor of András Kubinyi on his Seventieth Birthday*. Ed.: Gyöngyi Kovács. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University and the Institute of Archaeological Sciences, 2004, pp. 519–532; IDEM: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1995.

<sup>4</sup> GRUIA, Ana-Maria: Tiles Decorated with the Knight in Tournament in the Kingdom of Hungary. In: *Acta Musei Brukenthal*, a. 4, 2009, pp. 203–221.

<sup>5</sup> The unit of my analysis consists of any number of identical individual tiles or fragments discovered on the same site. This reduction was necessary for comparison, since existing publications (excavation reports in particular) often do not mention the exact number of such items found on archaeological sites.

<sup>6</sup> GRUIA, Ana-Maria: Sirena bicaudată pe cahle medievale. Iconografie și posibile funcții. In: *Arheologia medievală*, a. 6, 2007, pp. 205–241.

<sup>7</sup> GRUIA, Ana-Maria: *Religious Representations*; EADEM: Saint George on Medieval Stove Tiles from Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. An Iconographical Approach. In: *Acta Musei Napocensis*, a. 41–44, 2004–2007, pp. 231–254.

<sup>8</sup> HOLL, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel. In: *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, a. 50, 1998, pp. 139–214, 178; POLLA, Belo: *Bratislava, západné suburbium*. Bratislava: Slovenské Národné múzeum, 1979, p. 149, fig. 80.5.

<sup>9</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*. Osijek: Muzej Slavonije, 2004, p. 255, cat. 536.

<sup>10</sup> HOLL, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 178, fig. 38.1; VIDOVIĆ, Josip: *Katalog: Stoleća utvrde rezultati zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja fortifikacije starog grada Čakovec*. Čakovec: Muzej Međimurja, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> STAHLJAK, Tihomil – KLOBUČAR, Olga: Pećnjaci starih gradova Samobora i Susedgrada. In: *Tkalčičev zbornik*, a. 2, 1958, pp. 205–242, 209, 210, fig. 2.

<sup>12</sup> BOBOVEC, Ana: Pećnjaci s prednjom dekorativnom pločom u Moslavačkim srednjovjekovnim gradovima. In: *Arheološka istraživanja u Bjelovarsko-Bilogorskoj županiji i pogrebni ritusi na teritoriju Hrvatske. Conference proceedings*. Zagreb: Hrvatsko Arheološko Društvo, 2003, pp. 163–176, 165, 173, fig. T.3.5.

– the noble residence in Svetina<sup>13</sup> and another item is presumably preserved in Bjelovar.<sup>14</sup> The original products, preserving the high-quality of the original molds, the openwork and tracery elements, were thus used in upper social contexts (castles in Bratislava, Ružica, and Čakovec). The items in Susedgrad are copies of the originals, transferring

the motif on flat, panel tiles, lacking the openwork. Another group of tiles with the knight in tournament, imitations of their Buda prototypes, with variants, modifications, and distortions, thus showing a decrease in quality, were produced in the workshops of Nova Ves and used in the residence of the bishop of Zagreb in the city<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 75).

<i>Find Place</i>	<i>Status of the Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Archaeological Dating</i>	<i>Number of Tiles and Glazing</i>	<i>Observations</i>
Bratislava	royal castle	King of Hungary			openwork
Nova Ves	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466–1500	2 tiles, green glaze	panel tile; local workshop
Nova Ves	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466–1500	5 tiles; green glaze/brown glaze	openwork; local workshop
Susedgrad	fortification		end 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	green glaze	panel tile
Ružica	castle	Nikola and Lovro of Ilok	second half 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	green glaze	openwork, tracery
Moslavina	fortification	Čupor fam. until 1493		white paint	openwork (?)
Svetina	noble residence	Cilli family			
Čakovec	castle	Cilli family			openwork, tracery
? (kept in Bjelovar)	?				

Table 1. Data available on tiles decorated with the knight in tournament discovered in Slovakia and Slavonia.

It seems that in present-day Slovakia, the knight in tournament tiles did not enjoy favor, the only known context of use being the royal castle in

Bratislava, which is in fact northwestern part of the Kingdom of Hungary close to Vienna. In Slavonia copies were certainly made in local workshops,

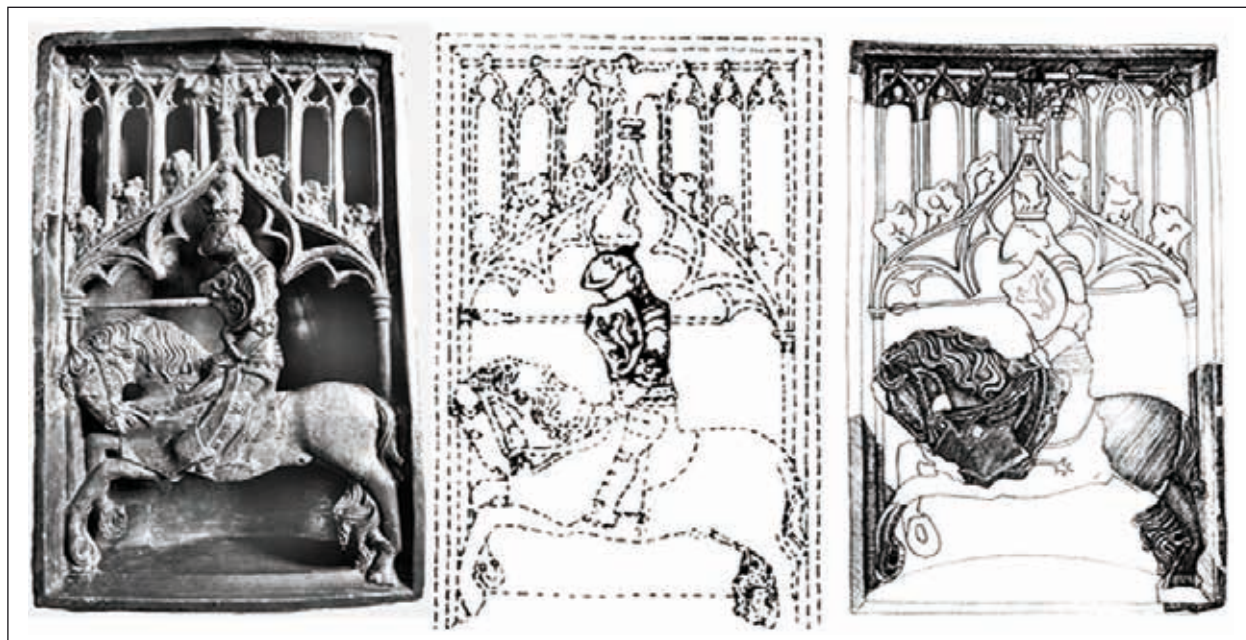


Fig. 75. Tiles with the knight in tournament from Buda, Bratislava, and Ružica.

<sup>13</sup> HOLL, Imre: Spätgotische Ofenkachel, p. 178.

<sup>14</sup> STAHLJAK, Tihomir – KLOBUČAR, Olga: Pečnjaci Samobora i Susedgrada.

<sup>15</sup> MAŠIĆ, Boris: *Kasnogotički pečnjaci s Nove Vesi*. Zagreb: Muzej Grada Zagreba, 2002, cat. 21, 22, cat. 4, 29, 30, 31, 32.

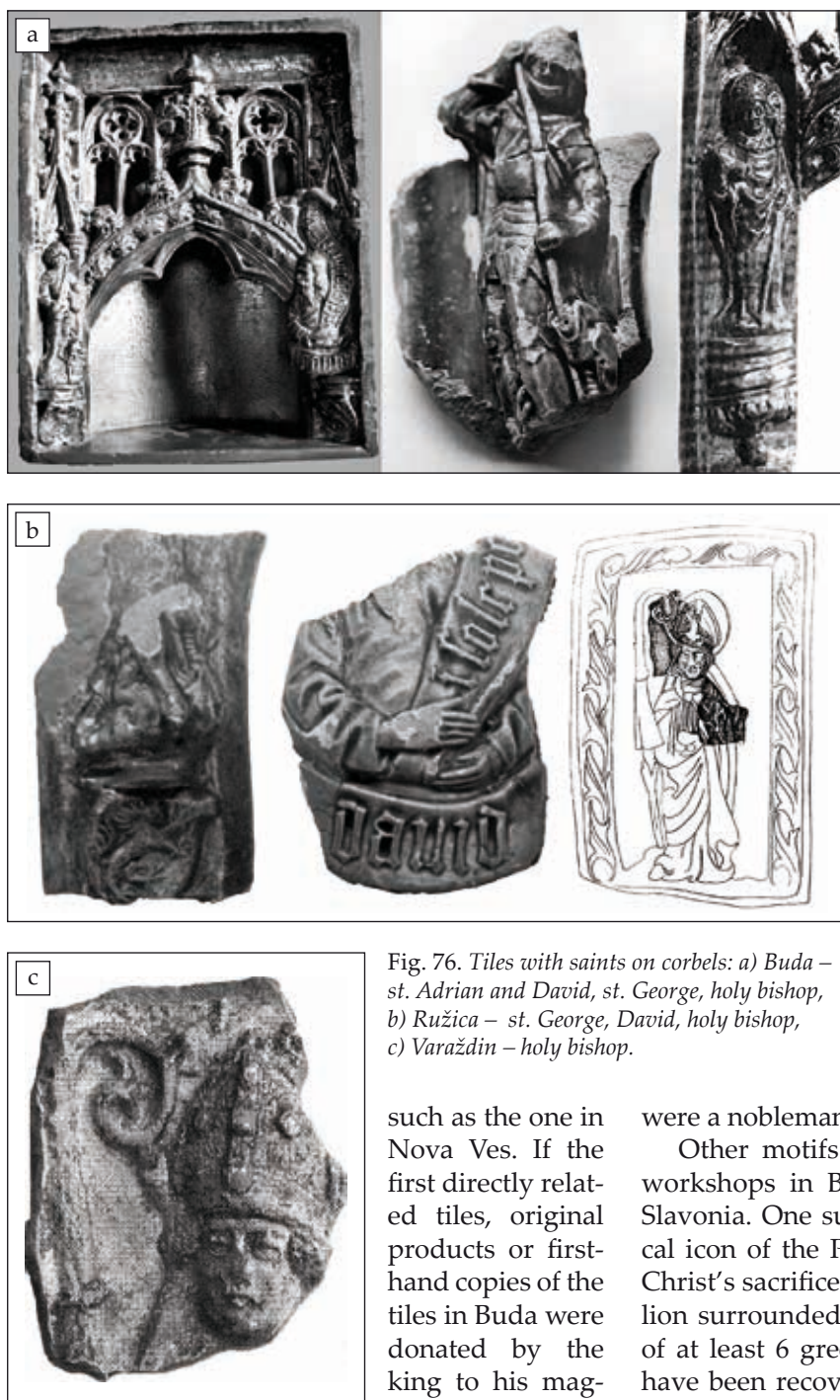


Fig. 76. Tiles with saints on corbels: a) Buda – st. Adrian and David, st. George, holy bishop, b) Ružica – st. George, David, holy bishop, c) Varaždin – holy bishop.

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). 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) and Nova Ves (where the knight turned to the left is done both in open-work and on relief panel tiles). There are also differences in glaze or paint color. The reasons why this motif enjoyed such popularity probably relate to their prestige value (produced for and used in the royal castle in Buda) and their illustration of the latest knightly culture. They might have been chosen also for self-representation, since war and tournament were a nobleman's calling.

Other motifs created by the knightly stoves workshops in Buda also found their way into Slavonia. One such motif illustrates the allegorical icon of the Pelican in Her Piety, referring to Christ's sacrifice on the cross, in a central medallion surrounded by vegetal decoration. Remains of at least 6 green glazed panel tiles of the sort have been recovered from the ruins of the royal palace in Buda.<sup>16</sup> Besides the directly-related tiles of this type found in nowadays Hungary, one was also discovered in the castle in Ružica.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> HOLL, Imre: *Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon II*, p. 177, 180, fig. 155; IDEM: *Neutronenaktivierungsanalyse*, p. 265, 266, 267, fig. 8; IDEM: *Spätgotische Ofenkachel*, p. 153, 154, fig. 19.

<sup>17</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 248, cat. 522.

in medieval Hungary. 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: Adrian and David, 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, most time niches tiles, but also on panels.

Fragments depicting St. George on foot slaying the dragon,<sup>18</sup> prophet David, shown in bust, holding a text band inscribed "*in sole po[suit]*" in Gothic minuscule,<sup>19</sup> a holy bishop, probably Stephen,<sup>20</sup> St. Agnes,<sup>21</sup> Archangel Michael slaying the dragon,<sup>22</sup> St. Peter,<sup>23</sup> and St. Christopher<sup>24</sup> were found in Ružica, following Buda prototypes.<sup>25</sup> Other small fragments in Ružica probably follow the same pattern: a wheel probably as attribute of St. Catherine of Alexandria<sup>26</sup> and another female saint, probably Catherine again.<sup>27</sup> Some of the characters in Ružica are not among those recorded so far in Buda, thus offering a good comparison for the reconstruction of the original group: a man holding a book and an axe (?), probably John the Evangelist,<sup>28</sup> a hand holding a small



Fig. 77. Archangel Gabriel on tiles from Ružica and Visegrád.

tower, most likely the attribute of St. Barbara,<sup>29</sup> a woman dressed in her own long hair – Mary Magdalene or Agnes,<sup>30</sup> and St. Bartholomew holding a knife.<sup>31</sup> One tile fragment decorated with the representation of the above mentioned bishop was also found in the castle in Varaždin<sup>32</sup> while a mold was reportedly found somewhere in the old town there,<sup>33</sup> indicating that copies were locally made.

The above mentioned enumeration shows that the niche tiles with saints on corbels created by the workshops in Buda were popular on two sites

<sup>18</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 258, cat. 540, p. 281, cat. 593, p. 290, cat. 611.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257, cat. 539.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269, cat. 561; the reconstruction shows the motif decorating a panel tile, but the small preserved fragments might have been part of a niche tile as well.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269, cat. 562.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269, cat. 560.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271, cat. 565.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 272, cat. 569.

<sup>25</sup> St. George: HOLL, Imre: *Spätgotische Ofenkachel*, p. 190, p. 194, fig. 49.1; BALOGH, Jolán: *Az Erdélyi renaissance*. Kolozsvár: Tudományos Intézet, 1943, p. 462, fig. 653; David: HOLL, Imre: *Ungarisch-Polnische beziehungen aufgrund der Ofenkacheln (zweite Hälfte 15.-erste Hälfte 16. Jahrhundert)*. In: *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, a. 55, 2004, pp. 333–375, p. 334, fig. 1; *Idem*: *Spätgotische Ofenkachel*, p. 141, p. 144, fig. 5, p. 189, fig. 44.3, p. 190, p. 201, fig. 56.2–3; HOLL, Imre – VOIT, Pál: *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln*. Budapest: Corvina Verlag, 1963, p. 65, cat. 16, fig. 16; HOLL, Imre: *Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon I*, p. 252, p. 255, fig. 76; holy bishop: *Idem*: *Spätgotische Ofenkachel*, p. 191, p. 196, fig. 51. Others mentioned in the existing literature, mostly HOLL, Imre: *Spätgotische Ofenkachel*.

<sup>26</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – Bojčić, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 271, cat. 567.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 272, cat. 568.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271, cat. 564.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 271, cat. 566.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 273, cat. 570.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 270, cat. 563.

<sup>32</sup> ILIJANIĆ, MIRA: *Urbanizam Graditeljstvo Kultura. Zbornik radeva*. Varaždin: Gradski Muzej Varaždin, 1999, p. 264, p. 263, fig. 3; *Eadem*: *Županija varaždinska u srednjem vijeku/Die Gespanschaft Varaždin im Mittelalter*. Varaždin: Tiva Tiskara, 1999, p. 54, cat. 110; *Eadem*: *Iz srednjega u novi vijek. Varaždinski stari grad i projekt bastion*. Zagreb: Gradski Muzej Varaždin, 2008, p. 49, fig. 116.

<sup>33</sup> *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49.



Fig. 78. Tiles with Samson discovered in Varaždin and Vienna.



Fig. 79. Tiles with Samson and Christopher discovered in Vienna and Ružica.

in Slavonia, mainly in the castle of Ružica that, as will be shown later, includes an impressive collection of tiles with prototypes elsewhere, and also in Varaždin where such copies were made locally, as a discovered mold testifies. One might also hypothesize that the tiles in Ružica were also produced in the second location. A good argument, at least for the production in Varaždin of the tile in Ružica depicting a holy bishop is the

fact that unlike the original in Buda, where the bishop holds his staff in his left hand, both tiles in Slavonia show him holding the staff in his right (Fig. 76c). Unfortunately, the mold in Varaždin has not been published in order to confirm the hypothesis, but it seems probable that in this case models from Buda were being reproduced by an urban workshop for the well-to-do of Slavonia.

Three tile fragments from Ružica, showing Archangel Gabriel,<sup>34</sup> are related to others once used in the composition of stoves in the ceremonial hall of the royal castle in Visegrád<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 82). Again, the archangel was impressed in an independent mold, since in Ružica his representation decorates the frame of a niche tile, while in Visegrád he appears as central element on corner tiles with angels holding coats of arms. The items are dated to the end of the fifteenth century, in Visegrád confined more precisely to the interval between 1458 and 1490. Due to the fragmentary state of the fragments in Ružica and the small pointed arch with fleurons above the archangel's head, I believe that they are also part of the above discussed series of saints on corbels and in this case the tile in Visegrád, also created by royal workshops, were used in another type of composition. The case also illustrates the connections between workshops creating tiles for sites of equal status, i.e. the royal castles in Buda and Visegrád.

Other late fifteenth-century tiles in Slavonia were influenced by prototypes in Vienna. Several fragments showing Samson with turban opening with both hands the mouth of a lion, surrounded by a decorated frame, have been discovered in Varaždin, both in the castle<sup>36</sup> and near the wall of the old town.<sup>37</sup> Samson, wearing a turban and with a moustache, is fighting a lion in an identical pose on a tile created for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 78). The same headdress, facial characteristics, and

Other late fifteenth-century tiles in Slavonia were influenced

by prototypes in Vienna. Several fragments showing Samson with turban opening with both hands the mouth of a lion, surrounded by a decorated frame, have been discovered in Varaždin, both in the castle<sup>36</sup> and near the wall of the old town.<sup>37</sup> Samson, wearing a turban and with a moustache, is fighting a lion in an identical pose on a tile created for St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna<sup>38</sup> (Fig. 78). The same headdress, facial characteristics, and

<sup>34</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 268, cat. 559.

<sup>35</sup> KOCŠIS, Edit – SABJÁN, Tibor: *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhai és kályhacsempe leletei*. Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeum, 1998, p. 35, p. 140, fig. LXVI–LXIX/140–143; *Medieval Visegrád. Royal Castle, Palace, Town and Franciscan Friary*. Ed.: József LASZLOVSZKY. *Dissertationes Pannonicae III. 4*. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1995, p. 40, p. 141, fig. 167.

<sup>36</sup> ILJANIĆ, Mira: *Urbanizam Graditeljstvo Kultura*. *Zbornik radova*, p. 263, fig. 1, p. 264; EADEM: *Županija varaždinska u srednjem vijeku*, p. 54, cat. 112; *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49, fig. 115.

<sup>37</sup> *Iz srednjega u novi vijek*, p. 49.



Fig. 80. Kneeling angel, tiles from Nova Ves, Varaždin, and Planina pri Sevnici.

costume are found on tiles decorated with the image of St. Christopher on tiles in Vienna and Ružica<sup>39</sup> – thus making them indirectly connected – and others were reportedly found in Buda (but not included here because no further data is available on them), showing the connections between the Kingdom of Hungary and Austrian lands by the time of King Matthias Corvinus' death<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 78). All these tiles share common stylistic and decorative features, constituting a group of related tiles from Vienna, Slavonia, and, reportedly Buda. We might add the fact that the same style and identical borders are used in the composition of other tiles from Ružica, decorated with scenes such as the Judgment of Solomon<sup>41</sup> and Adam and Eve banished from Eden.<sup>42</sup> This is another indication of the use of several molds in the creation of tiles, in this case the decorated border being impressed independently from the main motif.

Two related items are niche crown tiles ending in Gothic fleurons, having on the concavity the

representation of an angel holding a censer. They come from the castles of Buda<sup>43</sup> and Ilok<sup>44</sup> 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. The tiles also have analogies on similar objects from Regensburg that inspired the potter masters from Buda.<sup>45</sup>

Another group of related tiles are panel-type items decorated with the depiction of a kneeling angel that might have been part of Annunciation scenes, with Mary represented on a neighboring tile. Such paired tiles were discovered in Buda, with analogies in the Swiss area.<sup>46</sup> But the group under discussion 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 workshop there.<sup>47</sup> Green glazed and unglazed items with half-kneeling angels have been discovered in Čazma<sup>48</sup>

<sup>38</sup> FRANZ, Rosemarie: *Die Kachelofen – Entstehung und kunstgeschichtliche Entwicklung bis zum Ausgang des Klassizismus*.

Graz: Akademische Druck – u. Verlagsanstalt, 1969, fig. 108; HACKENBROCH, Yvonne: *Stove Tiles from Austria*. In: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, a. 9, 1964, pp. 309–316, pp. 310–312, fig. 4.

<sup>39</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 296, cat. 622.

<sup>40</sup> HOLL, Imre – VOIT, Pál: *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln*, 39.

<sup>41</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 299, cat. 625.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 298, cat. 624.

<sup>43</sup> HOLL, Imre: *Regensburgi későközépkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon*. In: *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, a. 107, 1980, pp. 30–43, p. 35, fig. 12.

<sup>44</sup> TOMIČIĆ, Željko: *Regensburg – Budim – Ilok. Kasnosrednjovjekovni pećnjaci iz dvora knezova Iločkih dokaz sveza Iloka i Europe*. In: *Prilozi*, a. 21, 2004, pp. 143–176, p. 156, cat. 2, p. 160, fig. 19, p. 161, fig. 20, p. 167.

<sup>45</sup> HOLL, Imre: *Regensburgi kályhacsempék*.

<sup>46</sup> TAMÁSI, Judit: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Budapest: Országos Múemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1995, p. 135, fig. 94, p. 104.

<sup>47</sup> MAŠIĆ, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pećnjaci s Nove Vesi*, p. 34, p. 35, fig. 22, cat. 12, p. 39, p. 40.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 32; PROSEN, Nevenka: *Arheološko iskapanje tvrđave u Čazmi*. In: *Ljetopis JAZU*, a. 64, 1960.

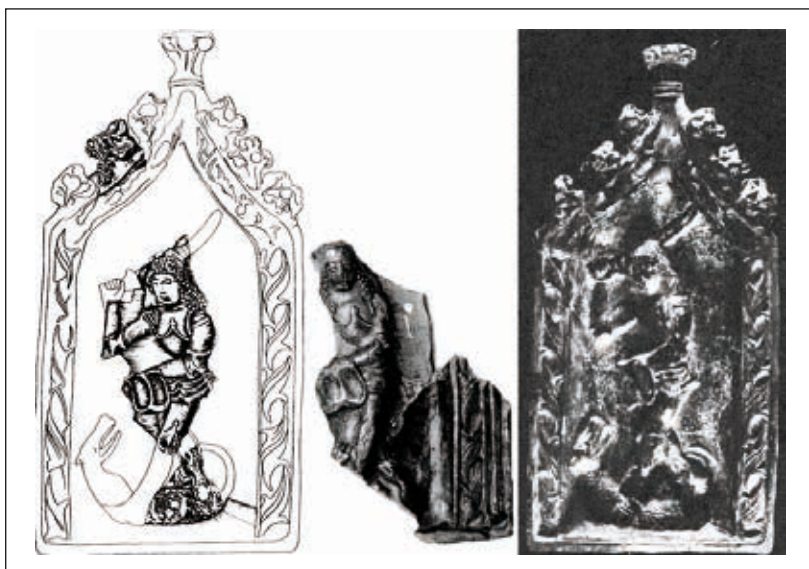


Fig. 81. Niche crown tiles decorated with the image of St. George slaying the dragon, discovered in Ružica, Susedgrad, and Celje.



Fig. 82. Panel tiles with St. George on horseback slaying the dragon found in Buda and Banská Bystrica.

and somewhere on the estate of the castle of Varaždin.<sup>49</sup> A fragment from 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>50</sup> (Fig. 80). The area over which motif traveled, though not very large, comprises sites in different provinces that were parts of different states, in this case Slavonia

(Hungary) and Lower Styria (Duchy of Austria, Holy Roman Empire).

A similar situation can be encountered in the case of a group of related niche crown tiles depicting Saint George fighting the dragon that have been discovered in castles in Slavonia, Carinthia, and Styria. These tiles, with vegetal borders ending in Gothic fleurons, show the fully armed saint in the center. The group is composed of five directly related tiles from castles in the area: Ružica<sup>51</sup> and Susedgrad,<sup>52</sup> both in Slavonia (the Kingdom of Hungary), Podstreda<sup>53</sup> in Carinthia, Celje<sup>54</sup> in Styria (the Holy Roman Empire), and another unknown location (Fig. 81). The latter is a tile once part of the Walcher Moltheim collection, now in the Art Institute of Chicago.<sup>55</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 fifteenth-century niche tiles decorated with the motif circulated in Central Europe, being used in a number of castles. Considering the fact that these sites are all castles and the fact that the knightly saint's arms and armor are depicted in detail, the transmission of this motif is probably explained by travels of the nobility who wanted to have in their interiors fashionable knightly, yet saintly images.

Stove tiles produced in Banská Bystrica spread throughout Slovakia.<sup>56</sup> Two workshops were archaeologically researched in the town, and the existence of a third is suggested by another large number of technically and stylistically related

<sup>49</sup> Županija varaždinska, p. 58, cat. 141.

<sup>50</sup> STOPAR, Ivan: Poznogotske pecnice s celjskega območja. In: *Varstvo spomenikov*, a. 20, 1976, pp. 275–292, p. 199, fig. 5.

<sup>51</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, p. 289, cat. 610.

<sup>52</sup> PRISTER, Lada: *Susedgrad ili nedovršena priča o jednom gradu. Katalog izložbe*. Zagreb: Hrvatski Povijesni Muzej, 1998, p. 39, fig. 20, p. 61, cat. 20–21; KLOBUČAR, Stahuljak: *Pečnjaci Samobora i Susedgrada*, p. 209, fig. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Exhibited in Podstreda Castle Museum.

<sup>54</sup> BREGANT, Tatjana: *Pecnice s Starega Gradu Celje*. Ljubljana – Celje: Filozofska Fakulteta v Ljubljani, 1984, cat. 17.

<sup>55</sup> STRAUSS, Konrad: *Die Kachelkunst des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in europäischen Ländern*, vol. 3. Munich: Mitterbadischer Zeitungsverlag, 1983, p. 20, p. 112, table 31, fig. 4.

<sup>56</sup> CSEREY, Éva: Adatok a besztercebányai (Banská Bystrica) kályhacsempékhez. In: *Folia archaeologica*, a. 25, 1974, pp. 205–217.

tiles. One panel tile from Buda<sup>57</sup> represents Saint George slaying the dragon, accompanied in the background by the princess kneeling under a tree and the depiction of the castle (Fig. 82). The representation is also very detailed in its depiction of armor, horse tack, the princess's costume, and architectural and natural elements. Similar tiles were found in Banská Bystrica, in the barbican<sup>58</sup> and other areas of the urban castle.<sup>59</sup> 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 the Realm of St. Stephen, 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, both green and polychrome glazed, 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. Though poorly preserved and published, other fragments from the barbican in Banská Bystrica, depicting Adam and Eve by the

Tree of Knowledge,<sup>60</sup> seem to have been related to Buda prototypes.<sup>61</sup>

A large group of glazed and unglazed tiles and molds were found during the excavations conducted in 1894 at Dolná Street nr. 35. 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>62</sup> Tiles created with identical molds have been excavated as far away as Bratislava castle (St. Margaret of Antioch)<sup>63</sup> and the fortification of Šintava in Slovakia (Margaret and Barbara).<sup>64</sup> One tile, showing St. Peter, was found in the market town of Szécsény,<sup>65</sup> today very close to the Hungarian-Slovak border. Products of this workshop are to be found in museum collections in Budapest, Bratislava, Červený Kameň, and Kremnica.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, to the present state of publication of this group, it seems that it was not distributed outside of present day Slovakia.

The second workshop was discovered in 1907 in the central square, now Slovenské Národné Povstanie, nr. 22. It was active around 1450 and produced religious tiles with inscriptions (Elijah, Isaiah, "marya", etc), but also lay scenes.<sup>67</sup> Some of these products were discovered in other locations of Slovakia, such as Banská Štiavnica<sup>68</sup> and Kremnica<sup>69</sup> but not in other areas.

The third workshop was not discovered archaeologically, but its existence is presumed according to a large group of tiles that share the

<sup>57</sup> HOLL, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 35; MELIS, Iránsné Katalin: Szent György alakos budai kályhacsempék. In *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*. Ed.: Béla KÖPECZI – Erik FÜGEDI. Budapest: Gondolat, 1986, pp. 254–358, pp. 257–259, fig. 15.

<sup>58</sup> UŠIAK, Peter: Formy na výrobu kachlíc z Banskej Bystrice a Slovenskej Lupče. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 29, 2004, pp. 561–568, p. 626, fig. 7.1, pp. 630–632, pp. 634–635.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, p. 626, pp. 630–632, pp. 634–635.

<sup>60</sup> Ibidem, p. 627, p. 628, fig. 8.1.a, p. 632.

<sup>61</sup> HOLL, Imre: Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV, p. 84, p. 85, fig. 37.

<sup>62</sup> HOLČÍK, Štefan P.: Stredoveká kachliarska dielňa v Banskej Bystrici. In: *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, História 14*, a. 68, 1974, pp. 175–193.

<sup>63</sup> EGYHÁZ-JUROVSKÁ, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice. Katalóg*. Bratislava: Slovenské Národné múzeum – Archeologické múzeum, 1993, cat. 8; HOLČÍK, Štefan P.: *Stredoveké kachliarstvo*. Bratislava: Pallas, 1978, fig. 64; HOLČÍK, Štefan P.: *Stredoveká kachliarska dielňa v Banskej Bystrici*, p. 177, fig. 1.

<sup>64</sup> EGYHÁZ-JUROVSKÁ, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 154, fig. 12 and cat. 155, fig. 11.

<sup>65</sup> BODNÁR, Katalin: Kályhacsempék Nógrád megyéből I. Szécsény mezőváros XV–XVI. századi kályhacsempéi. In: *Nógrád megyei Múzeumok Évkönyve*, a. 14, 1988, pp. 9–24, p. 11, cat. 9, fig. 9.

<sup>66</sup> HOLČÍK, Štefan P.: Ešte raz k nálezom gotických kachlíc v Banskej Bystrici. In: *Zborník Slovenského Národného Múzea, História 17*, a. 71, 1977, pp. 133–138. He debates the data published by Eva S. Cserey (Adatok a besztecebányai).

<sup>67</sup> MÁCELOVÁ, Marta: Gotické kachľové pece z banksobystrickej radnice. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 24, 1999, pp. 409–420.

<sup>68</sup> LABUDA, Jozef: Zaujímavé kachlice z Banskej Štiavnice a Sitna. In: *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch*. Ed.: Ján CHOVANEC. Trebišov: Arx Paris, 2005, pp. 175–182 + 261, p. 181, fig. 6.

<sup>69</sup> Hoššo, Jozef: Archeologický výskum hradu Šášov a zámku v Kremnici. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 6, 1981, pp. 457–465, p. 462, fig. III.3.

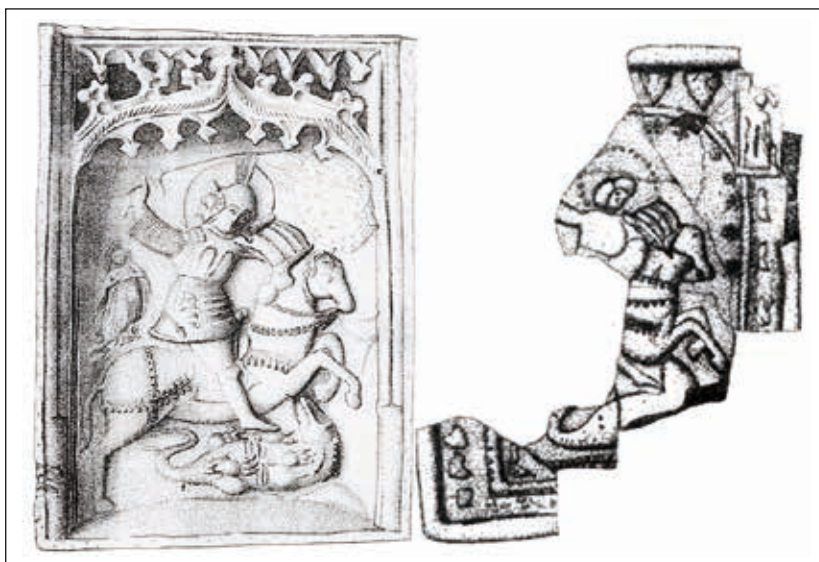


Fig. 83. *St. George on horseback slaying the dragon on tiles from Kláštorisko and Mihäileni.*

same technical and stylistical characteristics, that seem to have only been used locally, in the city hall and house of the mayor, thus indicating a local commission.<sup>70</sup>

Summarizing, the great tile production center of Banská Bystrica produced for nowadays Slovakia alone and it mostly used unique motifs, but also some influenced by the Buda workshops.

Three other related tiles from Slovakia depict the seated Madonna holding a scepter in her right hand and the baby Jesus in the left. The fragmentary or reconstructed state of the items discovered in the castle of Parič, in Trebišov,<sup>71</sup> the Benedictine monastery in Krásna nad Hornádom,<sup>72</sup> and the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko<sup>73</sup> 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 century. The latest seems to be the polychrome-glazed fragment from Parič, while another fragment from the same site and the tile from Kláštorisko are green-glazed.

No information is available for the glazing of the tile from the third location. 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>74</sup>

Another group includes two directly related tiles from Slovakia and Transylvania: one from the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko<sup>75</sup> and the other from the village of Mihäileni<sup>76</sup> (Fig. 83). The tiles, depicting St. George on horseback, are rich in details of arms and armor. The tile in Kláštorisko 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 Mihäileni and applied to a panel tile with an added decorative border and a semicircular arch. The princess, depicted behind St. George in Slovakia, probably became the standing figure on the border of the tile in Transylvania. The different status of the sites is 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.

A stone mold decorated with the scene of the Annunciation comes from an unknown location in Slovakia, now kept in the collections of the Hornonitrianske Múzeum in Prievidza.<sup>77</sup> A tile probably created with this mold was found in nearby Silesia (Bohemia), in the castle on Vsetínske vrchy (Vsetínke Hills).<sup>78</sup> The image belongs stylistically to the sixteenth century, showing Archangel Gabriel and Mary under a semicircular arch. An

<sup>70</sup> GRUIA, Ana-Maria: Sex on the Stove. A Fifteenth-Century Stove Tile from Banská Bystrica. In: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum*, a. 55, 2007, pp. 19–58.

<sup>71</sup> CHOVANEC, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho. In *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch*. Ed.: Ján CHOVANEC. Trebišov: ARX Paris, 2005, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 20.

<sup>72</sup> CHOVANEC, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 20; POLLA, Belo: *Košice-Krásna. K stredovekým dejinám Krásnej nad Hornádom*. Košice: Východoslovenské vydavateľstvo pre Slovenské Národné múzeum v Bratislave, 1986, p. 244, fig. 120:6.

<sup>73</sup> CHOVANEC, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 23–54, p. 49, fig. 24; EGYHÁZ-JUROVSKÁ, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 225, fig. 44.

<sup>74</sup> CHOVANEC, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho.

<sup>75</sup> Drawing from on-site presentation panels.

<sup>76</sup> KÉMENES, Mónika: *Kályhacsempék Csik-, Gyergyó – és Kászonszékből 14.–18. század*. Kolozsvár: Entz Géza Foundation for Cultural History, 2005, p. 114, cat. 1, plate 8, fig. 3.

<sup>77</sup> EGYHÁZ-JUROVSKÁ, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 121, fig. 21.

<sup>78</sup> KAHOUTEK, Jiří: Výzkum středověkých hradů v oblasti Vsetínských vrchů. In: *Archaeologia historica*, a. 16, 1991, pp. 241–254, p. 245, fig. 6.

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 (Fig. 84). One must also note that the mold and tile were discovered on sites belonging in the late Middle Ages to two different kingdoms, i.e. Hungary and Bohemia.

### Tile collections in Slovakia and Slavonia

As one could note from the above presentation of groups of related tiles in the two provinces, most are connected to several sites rich in tile discoveries. The most conspicuous is Ružica, the only castle in Slavonia with a thorough analysis of its tile material.<sup>79</sup> The rich stoves built by Nicholas of Ilok and after 1477 by his son, Lovro (Laurencius), were composed of tiles with a wide range of analogies to the Realm of St. Stephen and other regions. 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>80</sup> These, and his other positions, testify to his rank and importance in the Kingdom of Hungary. The site is relevant due to the varied iconography of the tiles, including the knight in tournament, numerous religious scenes, vegetal, geometric, heraldic, and lay scenes, but especially for the varied and distanced sources of their motifs. The main sources of these motifs were tiles in Buda castle. Tiles decorated with the knight in tournament, the Pelican in Her Piety, a holy bishop, and numerous saints had prototypes in Buda, thus the motifs traveled ca. 650 km.<sup>81</sup> Fragments depicting a holy bishop, part of this group, might indicate that tile motifs from Buda were copied in Varaždin and redistributed in Slavonia. The tile decorated with St. Christopher and the decorated frames of tiles found in the castle, depicting Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge and their Banishment from Eden are identical to some of the tiles produced for St. Stephen's cathedral



Fig. 84. Stone mold from an unknown location in Slovakia and tile created with it, discovered at Vsetínske hory (Bohemia).

in Vienna, 450 km away. The same frames were also found on tiles in Varaždin, suggesting that the Viennese influence on tiles from Ružica might have been as well mediated by a workshop in Varaždin. Directly-related tiles depicting Samson killing the lion were found in the castle and town of Varaždin and Vienna, supporting the above mentioned hypothesis. The motif of Archangel Gabriel might have been part of the repertoire of niche tiles with saints on corbels produced by the royal workshops in Buda, but its only preserved analogy comes from Visegrád, 630 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 Styria, part of Austria at the time. The furthest site of discovery of such an analogy is 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 stoves. He could almost be considered a collector of tiles. He emulated in this respect tiles from prestigious sites (royal castles such as Buda and Visegrád, St. Stephen's cathedral in Vienna) or equal-rank locations such as castles in Slavonia and Styria.<sup>82</sup> One should also mention the tile from his home castle of Ilok, depicting an angel holding a censer, which also has analogies in Buda, this time 254 km away.

Varaždin was a place of both tile use (in its castle, town, and bishop's residence) and production

<sup>79</sup> RADIĆ, Mladen – BOJČIĆ, Zvonko: *Srednjovjekovni Grad Ružica*, pp. 229–304.

<sup>80</sup> PÁLOS-FALVI, Tamás: Miklós Újlaki. In: *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Exhibition Catalogue*. Ed.: Péter Farbaky. Budapest: Budapest History Museum, 2008, pp. 267–268.

<sup>81</sup> All distances are calculated according to modern maps.

<sup>82</sup> The status of the Cillei (Celjski) 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, Robert: The Status of the Counts of Cilli as Princes of the Holy Roman Empire. In: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, a. 12, 2006, pp. 143–162.

(mold discovered). Tiles depicting a holy bishop were produced locally (indicated by the discovered mold) but influenced by tiles in Buda (247 km) and Ružica (146 km). The tile decorated with Samson fighting the lion has analogies in Vienna (300 km) and that with a kneeling angel in Nova Ves (100 km).

The settlement of Nova Ves 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 center of the town. These urban workshops were the most productive during the fifteenth century.<sup>83</sup> Several individual tiles of the knight in tournament have been found there, lower-quality interpretations of the models from Buda (250 km away). A tile with a kneeling angel, probably part of the Annunciation scene and therefore depicting Archangel Gabriel, is part of a group found in Varaždin (9 km), Čazma (70 km), and Planina pri Sevnici – Styria (68 km).

As for sites with large tile collections in Slovakia, the most preeminent is Banská Bystrica. Still, the only distant analogies are in Buda (at 170 km) – tiles with St. George and Adam and Eve by the Tree of Knowledge. The three urban workshops seem to have fulfilled the demand for tiles in Slovakia alone (each having different market areas).

A rich stove tile material has been discovered over the years in the ruins of the Carthusian monastery in Kláštorisko.<sup>84</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 (Slovenský raj) in the Spiš region. Kláštorisko 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>85</sup> The tile collection from Kláštorisko 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 14 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, 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>86</sup> Not many of these tiles have analogies elsewhere and they might have been created by a temporary workshop installed on site (considering the large number of tiles and the remote location of the monastery, thus making the transport of stove tiles problematic) or through special order placed at a workshop in the region. As previously indicated, tiles with *Maria in sole* have an analogy in Slovenská Ľupča, and that depicting the Madonna in Parič and Krásna nad Hornádom (all ca. 100 km away). The strange analogy is that found in the deserted medieval village of Miháileni, in Transylvania (640 km away). It seems probable that monasteries in a certain region (Kláštorisko – Carthusian, Slovenská Ľupča – Franciscan, Krásna nad Hornádom – Benedictine) would place orders at the same tile workshop or would choose the same motifs among those available, but the connection with a far-away village, located in another province, must still receive explanation (the transmission of the motif was probably intermediated by other, yet undiscovered or lost tiles).

The palace of the fortification in Parič (Trebíšov), nowadays Slovakia, is very rich in Renaissance stove tiles dated around 1504, when the owner, Imrich Perényi, became palatine of the Kingdom of Hungary. More than 30 motifs decorated these tiles, most of them polychrome glazed. Their similar characteristics and 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

<sup>83</sup> MAŠIČ, Boris: *Kasnogoticki pecnjaci s Nove Vesi*.

<sup>84</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>85</sup> SLIVKA, Michal: Doterajšie výsledky výskumu na Kláštorisku v Slovenskom raji. In: *Archeologia historica*, a. 31, 1988, pp. 423–439; IDEM: Vita contemplativa ako protiklad k vita activa (Kartuzia hornonemeckej proveniencie). In: *Archeologia historica*, a. 15, 1990, pp. 151–173; IDEM: Kláštorisko (kataster obce Letanovce). In: *Pamiatky a súčasnosť*, a. 1, 1991, pp. 23–24; EGYHÁZ-JUROVSKÁ, Beata: *Stredoveké kachlice*, cat. 207–248, fig. 31–40; www.klastorisko.sk (accessed 2009).

<sup>86</sup> GRUIA, Ana-Maria: Fools, Devils, and Alchemy. Secular Images in the Monastery. In: *Central European Charterhouses in the Family of the Carthusian Order*. Ed.: Martin HOMZA – Veronika KUCHARSKÁ – Stanislava KUZMOVÁ – Naďa RÁCOVÁ. Levoča-Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 2008, pp. 149–159, p. 179.

angel supporting a coat of arms with the three lilies of the city of Košice<sup>87</sup> offers further support for placing the workshop in that town (located just 36 km away). The religious motifs on these tiles include the Madonna, the four capital virgins, St. James, St. John the Almsgiver, St. Christopher, and St. George. There are also lay motifs, such as a couple of burghers playing cards, couples in love, dancers, vegetal and geometric motifs.<sup>88</sup> Some of the depictions were inspired by contemporary engravings. The only identified analogies are on tiles in Krásna nad Hornádom (40 km) and Kláštorisko (100 km); it is possible that the workshop in Košice supplied these other sites as well.

## Conclusions

The present study can only lead to tentative conclusions, due to the partial state of research and publication of tiles in the region, the need for exact measurements of related tiles in order to determine if they are original products, copies, imitations or only indirectly related, and for historical research that might offer more insight in the means of tile transmission (molds, tiles, traveling masters, drawings/engravings). Also, the distances are calculated according to modern roads and maps and the figures might be adjusted and better explained through research of medieval markets, roads, and transportation in the region in the late Middle Ages. Nevertheless, I believe the present analysis can be useful in noting general trends in tile motif transmission and distribution and in emitting initial hypotheses to be verified by further interdisciplinary research. The main advantage in identifying groups of iconographically related tiles is the direction given for more in-depth, technical analyses.<sup>89</sup>

As for the means of motif transmission on tiles, the analyzed cases indicate the possibility of tiles (molds or masters) granted by royal favor (tiles with the knight in tournament produced in Buda and used by magnates very soon afterwards), collected or commissioned through personal initiatives, maybe inspired by travels of the nobility (the case of special collections such as that in Ružica), and obtained through connections between workshops (Buda, Banská Bystrica, Nova Ves, possibly also Varaždin). Tile collections certainly depended on availability and the

market area of each workshop. One workshop in Banská Bystrica produced for the wide area of nowadays Slovakia (over an average distance of 117 km), the second for a more restricted area (on average 26 km), while the third only for local demands, though there are two cases of tiles in the city with analogies in distant Buda. The workshop in Nova Ves had a market area of ca. 87 km and produced, among others, imitations of prototypes from Buda. Another local workshop was probably active in Košice, supplying surrounding sites over average distances of 33 km.

The social transmission of motifs seems to have generally been among sites of equal status (castles – most obvious in the case of crown tiles showing St. George – monasteries, and workshops), but there are also exceptions. Tiles with the knight in tournament show a top-down social distribution, from royal castles, to those owned by magnates, then fortifications, noble residences, and bishop's residences. The latter type of contexts contained imitations of the original that reveal a decrease in quality (loss of tracery and open-work, distortions).

The same loss of details and technically challenging elements can be noted in the strange transmission of an image of St. George on horseback from Kláštorisko to Mihăileni. The tile from the latter site, a medieval village, can certainly be placed at the end of a copying series due to its low quality and added border (a frequent procedure in the case of tiles rendered too small by clay shrinking through repeated copying).

One can also note the fact that the most luxurious tiles and the most prestigious motifs traveled the longest distances and that there are more numerous such cases in Slavonia than in Slovakia. The best example is again Ružica, with tile motifs from Buda, Visegrád, Vienna, and Styria. Sites and workshops in both provinces felt the influence of Buda, but the impact of the center was, again, stronger in Slavonia. The latter area was also more open and capable to integrate outer influences, emulating tiles from the Holy Roman Empire (Vienna, Posreda, Celje), probably through the mediation of local workshops. In Slovakia there are less external connections and more local products – but one can still find analogies in Bohemia (Vsetínske hory) and Transylvania (Mihăileni).

<sup>87</sup> CHOVANEC, Ján: Palatínska kachľová pec Imricha Perényiho, pp. 47–48.

<sup>88</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>89</sup> See the exemplary work of TAMÁSI, Judit: *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial*. Budapest: Ungarisches Landesdenkmalamt, 1995.