

Ana Maria Gruia

THE HOLY HEAT
KNIGHTLY SAINTS ON TRANSYLVANIAN AND MOLDAVIAN
STOVE TILES

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

June 2004

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by

Ana Maria Gruia

(Romania)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies
Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Ana Maria Gruia**, candidate for the M.A. degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 1 June 2004

Signature

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After such a long list, I indulge you not to think that I did not have my fair share of hard work.

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Toponyms (RO,HU,GE)

Aiud– Nagyenyed
Bistrița – Beszterce, Bistriz
Brașov – Brassó, Kronstadt
Cechești – Csekefalva
Cristurul Secuiesc – Székelykeresztúr
Cluj-Napoca – Kolozsvár, Klausenburg
Câlnic – Kelnek, Kelling
Cetatea de Baltă – Küküllővár, Kokelburg
Dobârcă – Doborka, Dobring
Drăușeni – Homoróddaróc, Drass
Făgăraș – Fogaras, Fogarasch
Feldioara – Földvár, Marienburg
Lăzarea – Gyergyószárhegy
Lita – Léta
Oradea – Nagyvárad, Grosswardein
Proștea Mare – Nagyekemező, Grossprostdorf
Râșnov – Rozsnyó, Rosenau
Răcoșul de Jos – Alsórákos
Roșia – Veresmart, Rotberg
Sibiu – Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt
Sighișoara – Segesvár, Schässburg
Târgu Mureș - Marosvásárhely
Turea – Türe
Vințu de Jos – Alvinc, Unter-Winz/ Winzendorf
Zalău – Zilah, Waltenberg

Proper names

St. Demetrios – Demeter (HU), Dumitru (RO), Demetrius (LAT)

St. Emeric – Imre (HU), Emeric (RO), Emerich (GE), Emericus (LAT)

St. George – György (HU), Gheorghe (RO), Georg (GE), Georgius (LAT)

St. Ladislav – László (HU), Ladislau (RO), Ladislaus (LAT)

St. Michael – Mihály (HU), Mihail (RO), Michel (FR), Michael (LAT)

St. Stephen – István (HU), Ștefan (RO), Stephan (GE), Stephanus (LAT)

Wladislas II – Ulászló (HU)

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I. INTRODUCTION

This thesis will consider the representations of knightly saints on stove tiles discovered in Transylvania and Moldavia. The selected primary material will be regarded in the context of late medieval society, culture and religion, and will be analyzed through a comparative approach.

Stove tiles form a distinctive group of objects towards which scholars are dedicating more and more attention. By their very nature, as material objects with both functional and decorative roles, stove tiles can be studied from several perspectives. The emphasis can be put on their production and technological particularities, on their iconography, on their circulation, and on their use. Therefore, besides their functional characteristics, they give indications of economic, social, cultural and religious developments in particular areas.

A knightly saint is a dual and somewhat paradoxical concept. He embodies both the Christian saintly ideal and the violent, knightly ideal. Both Saint George and Saint Ladislav, the two knightly saints most often depicted on stove tiles in Transylvania and Moldavia, were regarded by the fourteenth century as ideal knights and protectors of armies. One has to notice the distinction of meaning between the Western concept of knightly saint and the Eastern one of military saint. Saint George for example is originally a military saint, but sometime in the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century the emphasis started to shift to those elements of his legend that reflected the values of the chivalric culture. The legend of Saint Ladislav, always regarded as a warrior king, went through the same shift in accent in the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. It is important to notice that both in Transylvania and Moldavia Saint George and Saint Ladislav were regarded as knightly saints.

In the fourteenth century, the cults of knightly saints and saintly kings in Central and Eastern Europe had already incorporated the ideals of the flourishing Western chivalric culture. The new accent in their legends, begun in the twelfth century and completed by the fourteenth, had several causes: the influence of the crusades, the popularity of the theory of just war, the entire courtly and knightly European fashion.¹ These elements spread slowly in Transylvania as part of the medieval kingdom of Hungary. Moldavia was more open to Polish, Russian, and Byzantine influences and it is debated to what degree it adopted the Western knightly culture. But in both present-day Romanian provinces, Transylvania included in the Catholic kingdom of Hungary and Moldavia Orthodox and fighting for its autonomy, the cults of George, Ladislav and the other military saints were held in high appreciation during the late Middle Ages. The cults of knightly saints are indicators of the degree and form in which a society incorporates the knightly culture. There is no study yet comparing the process in its details in the two connected and yet different areas. The concept of knightly culture in itself and its diffusion in Central and Eastern Europe is a debated issue.² I will use the term to denote the representation elements making reference to the knightly common places, ideals and way of life. Taking as primary source the depictions of knightly saints on stove tiles, I will attempt to clarify some of the aspects of such a culture in Transylvania and Moldavia. I will analyze if there are differences in the perception of these saints in the two provinces and how can they be explained.

¹ Gábor Klaniczay, "L'image chevaleresque du saint roi au XIIe siècle". In *La Royauté Sacrée dans le Monde Chrétien. Bilan et Perspectives* Colloque de Royaumont, mars 1989, ed. Alain Boureau and Claudio Sergio Ingerflom (Paris : Editions de l'Ecole Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1992), 53-62. (Henceforth, Klaniczay, 1992); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

² Ágnes Kurcz concludes that in Hungary there is a culture of knightly type, not so rich and delayed chronologically as the Western one. Ágnes Kurcz, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* (Knightly culture in Hungary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988). (Henceforth, Kurcz, 1988).

1.1 Literature review

The Moldavian and Transylvanian stove tiles have only recently been published in compact catalogues. The two most important books of this type were written by Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV-XVII* (Stove tiles from medieval Moldavia from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century) and Dana Marcu-Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700* (Stove tiles from Transylvania and Banat from the beginnings to 1700). They were published in 1999 and 2004, respectively.³ Concentrating on publishing the material, these works do not aim at detailed analyses. More analytic treatments can be found in several articles on the subject, but these concentrate on small groups of tiles. The main authors dealing with stove tiles found in Transylvania and Moldavia,⁴ besides Batariuc and Marcu-Istrate are Adrian Andrei Rusu, Elek Benkő, Radu Popa and Monica Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, Lia and Adrian Bătrâna. As specialists for tiles in the Carpathian basin, Imre Holl, Judit Tamási, and Edith Kocsis must be noted.⁵

1.2 Considerations on the primary sources

As primary sources I have considered all the medieval stove tiles with knightly saints (published or at least mentioned in the literature) discovered in Transylvania and Moldavia. The source material, organized into exhaustive catalogues (see Appendix II) indicates the existence of 82 such pieces at the present state of archaeological research and publication of archaeological materials. The catalogue

³ Daniela Marcu-Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700* (Stove tiles from Transylvania and Banat from the beginning to 1700) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2004). (Henceforth, Marcu, 2004); Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV-XVII* (Stove tiles from medieval Moldavia. From the fourteenth to seventeenth century) (Suceava: Editura Istros, 1999). (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1999).

⁴ Very few stove tiles have been excavated so far in Wallachia and there is no study dedicated to them as a group.

⁵ See bibliography.

numbers represent types and not tiles or fragments. Each entry in the catalogue consists of a type (an entire tile, a reconstructed tile or fragments, sometimes from more tiles) usually found on one archaeological site. In one case (M17) I have put under a single entry a type found in different sites from the same town because in the literature only one image is available with the mention that identical tiles or fragments were also found elsewhere. In another case (M16a, b, c, d) I have divided an entry to show that the same type was used to create different shaped tiles, all included in the same stove. After gathering the source material I had to make a selection, since many cases have raised discussions and different interpretations. In chapter one I explain the criteria and arguments for my selection. In the end, from 82 pieces 40 certainly depict knightly saints, 19 probably depict knightly saints, while 23 probably do not (see fig.10). In my analysis I have included the first two categories of pieces and further on I will work with 59 types. This represents a small percentage of all the medieval stove tiles discovered in Transylvania and Moldavia, but my intention is primarily a qualitative and not a quantitative analysis.⁶

1.3. Research questions

The main focus of my study is on the iconography, therefore I formulate my basic research question as “How are the knightly saints depicted on stove tiles in Transylvania and Moldavia? Are there any differences? If yes, how can these differences be interpreted?” Secondary questions help clarify the background of the issue: Is there a connection between the two areas (workshops, images, religion)? How can these connections be explained in the context of the iconographical patterns?

⁶ Over 2100 tiles have been published from Transylvania (Marcu, 2004), representing according to A. A. Rusu some 80% of the existing material. Over 540 decorated tiles were published from Moldavia (Batariuc, 1999).

1.4. Methodology

The methodology of studying stove tiles is already established. I use here a comparative approach, analyzing the iconography according to a series of distributions: geographical, chronological, social, ethnical/confessional. The appendices contain the catalogues of all the tiles discussed, the map and list of distributions, the photos or drawings of the tiles and of their analogies.

I use the modern Romanian toponyms and administrative units but the index provides the Hungarian and German place names as well. In the case of proper names, I have used the English forms and a similar index details all the other forms.

1.5. Terminology

A clear working terminology is essential because of the very limited amount of medieval written evidence on the production of stove tiles. More or less technical terms are used for different types of tiles according to their place in the stove, to their shape, and to their decoration. This terminology is most useful for the problems related to copying and diffusion of decorative motifs, more precisely for clarifying the media of such transmission. Although the archaeological and art historical research in different countries have developed a more or less strict terminology related to stove tiles, the English terms are still to be defined. I detail here only the essential terms, the ones I will use throughout this study. I list therefore a limited number of tile types, to the extent needed in answering some of my research questions related to grouping, copying and chronology. The selected taxonomy criteria include the position of the tiles in the stove, the tile shape, tile decoration and relation to other tiles.

1. Types of stove tiles according to their position

- a. normal tiles: included in the base, and the burning chamber or main body of the stove. Can be flat, semi-cylindrical or bowl-shaped.

- b. corner tiles: used for the different margins and bindings of the stove. They have a specific angular shape.
- c. crown tiles: included in the uppermost part of the stove. Can have different shapes, from triangular flat shape to small clay statuettes.

2. Types of tiles according to their shape

- a. flat tiles: a plaque with a raised frame on the back. The back frame, in fact a raised rim, has a role in construction, used for fixing the tile with clay and connecting it to the resistance structure of the stove, usually made of brick.
- b. semi-cylindrical tiles : the opening may or may not be closed by a decorated surface. If the opening was not closed, the interior of the semi-cylinder was sometimes decorated.
- c. bowl-shaped tiles: the opening may or may not be closed by a decorated surface. If the opening is not closed, the interior of the bowl may or may not be decorated. The opening can have different shapes: round, square, and lobed are the most frequent.
- d. Different shapes, very diverse in the case of crown tiles.

3. Types of stove tiles according to their decoration

- a. undecorated
- b. decorated with bas relief
- c. decorated with open-work or tracery. Open-work designates a non-linear decoration while tracery is geometrically constructed. The open-work partially encloses the opening of semi-cylindrical or bowl shaped tiles. The tracery can be used either in the same way or to decorate flat tiles.

- d. decorated with engobe (slip), paint or glaze (applied to the relief, open-work or tracery). Engobe is a mixture of fine clay and water applied over the surface of the tile. It is used either to give a smoother surface or to create a base for glaze (sometimes, if the clay of the tile was reddish, a fine layer of white engobe was used in order to obtain a neutral color as a base for colored glaze). Some tiles preserve traces of colored paint, but the exact composition of it has not yet been analyzed. The glaze is made of a mineral base (usually lead) and a pigment (usually green). Applied over the surface of a fired tile, during a second firing it adheres to the object and increases its thermal resistance.⁷

4. Types of tiles according to their connections to other tiles⁸

- a. original product. Stove-tiles created with the same mold, even if used in very distant places are all originals, directly connected to each other. Some can have less sharp relief and details due to the wearing out of the mold.
- b. copy. A tile can be used to create a mold and with this mold a series of copies may be created. The copy is smaller than the original (because clay shrinks during each drying and firing up to 15%)⁹ but bears the same decoration. A copy can be used to create another mold and thus other copies, so the process can be repeated several times. A category

⁷ Marcu, 2004, 29-31.

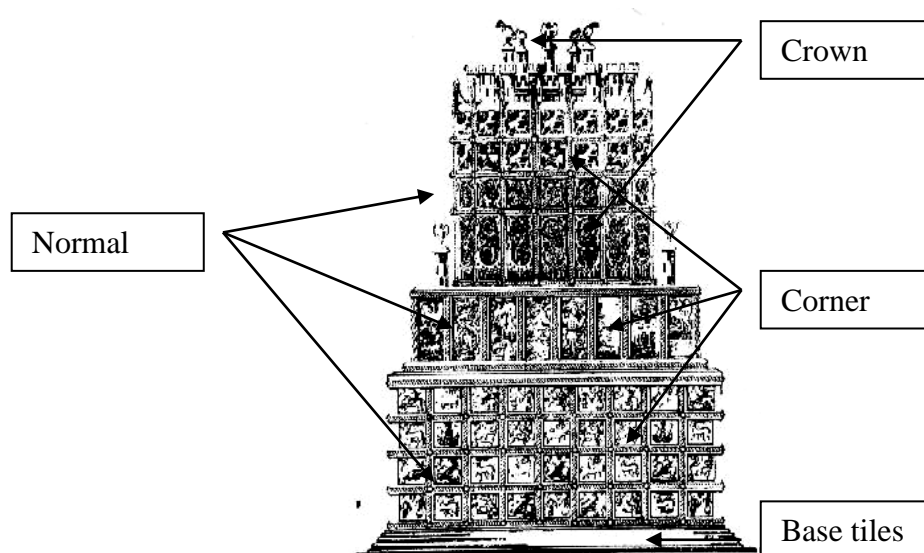
⁸ The terminology related to copying issues is a translation of the one proposed by Judit Tamási, *Verwandte Typen im schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Ungarisches Landesdenkmalamt, 1995), 15-16. (Henceforth, Tamási, 1995).

⁹ It depends on the quality and composition of the clay. The percentage of shrinking after drying and firing varies even among the opinions of the archaeologists, from 10-11% (according to Elek Benkő) to 18% (according to Marcu, 2004, 33).

in between a copy and an imitation is created when small corrections are made to the raw copy, by incision or modeling.

- c. imitation. The master creates an imitation of another tile. The two objects are never identical, but filtered by the master's memory, ability, and imagination.
- d. indirectly connected tiles. These are tiles inspired by a common image, usually an engraving,¹⁰ but not related to each other in any other way. Engravings, woodcuts, architectural shapes or other applied arts, sculpted reliefs and even paintings could have served as models. The spread of decorative elements can only be guessed. Probably model books existed for stove tiles but none have been preserved.

Tamási includes the originals, the copies, and the imitations in the category of direct connection. In the case of originals and copies the mould is the direct connection and in the case of imitations, the master is that connection.



¹⁰ Engravings were used as models for stove tile decoration from the middle of the fifteenth century and very frequently in the sixteenth century. Tamási, 1995, 16.

Fig.1. Reconstructed sixteenth-century stove in Suceava (in a princely assembly house): types of tiles according to their position (Popa, Cârstoiu, 1979).

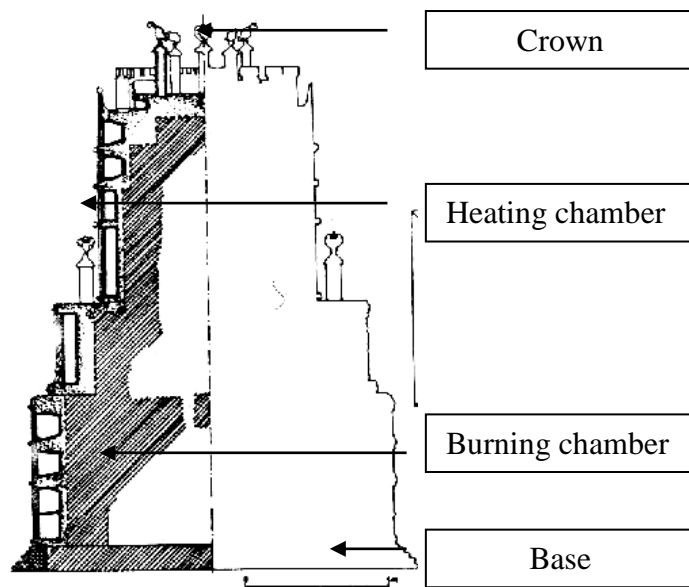


Fig.2. Reconstructed sixteenth-century stove in Suceava (in a princely assembly house): parts of the stove (Popa, Cârstoiu, 1979).

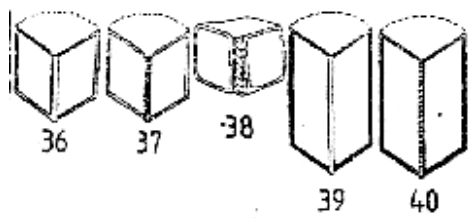


Fig.3. Corner tiles (Batariuc, 1999).

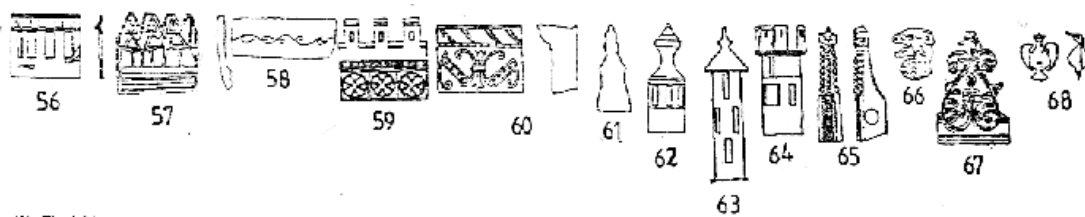


Fig. 4. Crown tiles (Batariuc, 1999).



Fig 5 Flat tile decorated in bas-relief, with a raised frame on the back
(Marcu, 2004).

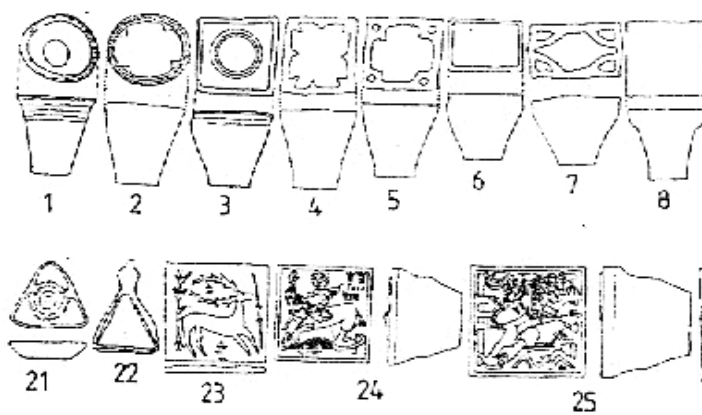


Fig.6 Bowl-shaped tiles with different shapes of the opening (Batariuc, 1999).

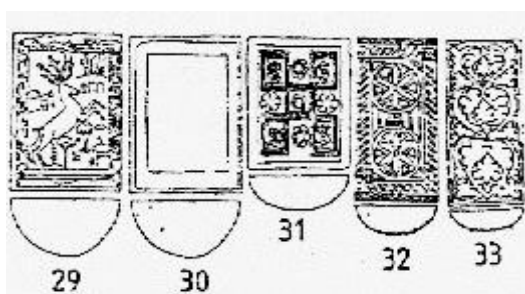


Fig.7 Semi-cylindrical tiles (Batariuc, 1999).

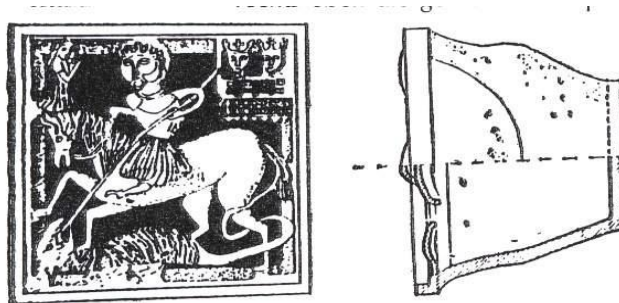


Fig.8 Bowl-type tile decorated with open-work. (Popa, Cârstoiu, 1979).



Fig.9 Semi-cylindrical tile decorated with tracery and an open-work medallion
(Holl, 1990).

II. THE STOVE TILES

2.1. Reasons for accepting and rejecting types

I have gathered and included in the catalogues all the tiles published or at least mentioned in the existing literature as depicting knightly saints (82 pieces). However, not all of the tiles can be identified with certainty as representing a knightly saint. The uncertainty of the identification is due either to the sizes of the fragments or to the improper publication (as illustration or as information about the physical characteristics of the tile and the context of the find). Another difficulty is caused by the image itself, because different attributes or symbols are mixed together. I will discuss here only the pieces which can be probably identified as representing knightly saints (marked with a question mark in the catalogues) or the ones which probably do not depict these saints (marked with two question marks). The decision about the degree of probability is essential because it determines whether a tile is included in the analysis or not. Some pieces are unpublished (M5, M30, M31, M36) so all the working data refers only to their existence. I include them as probable and consider them only for considerations of proportions and numbers.

The reason for describing the process of selection and also for discussing some tiles which will not be included in my work, is to show how difficult such a process is. Such decisions have to be well argued because in the existing literature the opinions are divided. I want to demonstrate that the existing material is extremely diverse and deciding exactly which tiles represent knightly saints stands at the base of my analysis.

The order of the descriptions and the order of the catalogues follow the iconographic criteria and also that of the importance of the piece.

Transylvania

T6, T10, T11, T19 and T20 were excavated in Vințu de Jos, together with other re-utilized materials in the cellars of the so-called Martinuzzi castle. The building was a medieval Dominican friary transformed by the middle of the sixteenth century into a noble residence. Its most famous owner was George Martinuzzi, counselor to Queen Isabel and King John Sigismund (1541-1572). A great quantity of stove tiles was found at this site, over 150 types and variants, one of the largest groups discovered in Transylvania.¹¹ The five tile fragments discussed here were identified as representing the triad of Hungarian holy rulers, King Ladislas, King Stephen, and Prince Emeric. T6 is certainly Saint Ladislas standing under a Gothic baldachin because he has all the attributes: crown, halo and battle axe. T10, 11, 19 and 20 have similar physical characteristics (dimensions, medium quality clay, green glaze) and all depict standing figures. T10 depicts a holy king with a scepter under a similar baldachin. The fragment continues on its upper left side, suggesting that a larger tile represented all three Hungarian royal saints standing with their attributes under Gothic baldachins separated by columns. In my analysis I include T6 as certainly representing Saint Ladislas and T10 and T11 as probably representing the other Hungarian dynastic saints. Although showing some similarities with the previous pieces, the iconography of the other two fragments (T19 and T20) is unusual and unidentifiable. The male standing figures are clothed in fashionable short clothes, one wears a hat and probably also has a halo (T19). They stand on peculiar wavy bases, one ending in a flower vase (T20). I excluded these fragments from my analysis considering that their attributes are not clear enough to include them.

¹¹ Adrian Andrei Rusu, *Gotic și Renaștere la Vințu de Jos* (Gothic and Renaissance in Vințu de Jos) (Cluj-Napoca-Satu-Mare: 1998), 9-10. (Henceforth, Rusu, 1998). As Dana Marcu notes, by a typographic mistake the number in the book was 1500.

T12 and T13 were recovered at Lita, a medieval fortification near Cluj. These two fragments depict two crowned heads with halos, which is the reason for including them as depictions of holy kings.

T14 and T15 were found at Turea (Cluj County) by the local parish priest while plowing his garden near the church. Dana Marcu-Istrate included them in her book as some of the earliest tiles representing the holy kings of Hungary.¹² T19 depicts a standing male with bent knees, crowned with a crown with three crosses and holding in his right hand an orb surmounted by a cross and in the left a vase with three flowers. Although the iconographic attributes are mixed (Stephen usually has the orb and the crown and Emeric the lily), I think these pieces can be accepted as rendering one of the dynastic saints of Hungary. T20, very similar and accepted for the same reasons, is a small fragment on which a crowned head can be seen.

T16 comes from the collection of the museum in Făgăraș. The upper left corner of a tile depicts a character up to his waist, his hat with feathers (?) and his right hand holding a handle. An axe (?) seems to be pointed at the character. Although Dana Marcu¹³ presumes that the fragment depicts the fight between Ladislav and the Cuman, I consider that it probably does not. The character is not wearing a Cuman-like hat, it is impossible to tell if he is holding a bow, Ladislav is completely missing and the representation of his weapon is unclear.

T17 was excavated in the medieval center of Bistrița (Bistrița-Năsăud County). It depicts a mounted crowned man holding in his right hand what appears to be a ciborium. In the upper right corner an extremely detailed architectural background is depicted. At first the tile was interpreted as depicting a scene from the legend of Saint Ladislav, the departure for battle, which according to some variants of

¹² Marcu, 2004, 83.

the legend included his participation in the holy mass.¹⁴ Victoria Batariuc reinterpreted the image as representing in fact Balthasar, one of the three magi, bringing his offering of myrrh to the newborn Jesus.¹⁵ Daniela Marcu-Istrate also accepted this latter identification.¹⁶ Considering that the character has neither a halo nor a double axe and that it seems improbable for the king himself to carry the ciborium around the military camp, I agree that the tile more likely represents Balthasar than Ladislav.

T18 is a small tile fragment excavated at Dobârca (Sibiu County) depicting some vegetal elements and the blades of a double pierced battle-axe. It was described as being decorated with “a knight armed with a double axe, under a gothic portal decorated with rich vegetation, representing either a scene from the legend of Saint Ladislav or a variant of the knight in tournament.”¹⁷ I believe that the small size of the fragment makes any attempts at identifying the iconography futile. The fact that the double axe is one of the attributes of Saint Ladislav and that a knight armed with this kind of weapon and wearing a crown and/or a halo can be identified as the saint does not make the weapon alone stand for the king.

T32 is a piece from the Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu. The tile, dated to the end of the fifteenth century, depicts a mounted knight holding a spear under a portal with vegetal decoration. Under the feet of the horse an unclear shape can be interpreted as a dragon. In her Ph.D. dissertation, Dana Marcu-Istrate included the tile in the

¹³ Marcu, 2004, 84.

¹⁴ Adrian Bătrâna, Lia Bătrâna, ““Legenda “eroului de frontieră” în ceramica monumentală din Transilvania și Moldova”” (The legend of the “border hero” on stove tiles from Transylvania and Moldavia), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 2/41 (1990): 168-170. (Henceforth, A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990).

¹⁵ Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, “Cahle decorate cu subiecte religioase descoperite în Moldova” (Stove tiles with religious depictions discovered in Moldavia), *Ars Transilvaniae* 4 (1994): 121-122. (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1994a).

¹⁶ Marcu, 2004, 82.

category of those decorated with Saint George, saying that the iconography is Renaissance, influenced by the tile type of the knight in tournament. Later, in her book, she reconsidered the interpretation, analyzing the tile as depicting the knight in tournament.¹⁸ Considering the diagonal position of the spear (which is usually held horizontally by the knight in tournament images) and the excellent details of the piece (except for the dragon) I include it in the analysis here. I think that it can be considered with a certain degree of probability among the tiles depicting the most popular knightly saint, Saint George.

T33 is a fragment of a tile on which the head of a dragon pierced by a spear can be seen¹⁹. Another shape can be interpreted as a horse's hoof. Although I am not certain that it is a Saint George on horseback killing the dragon, I include the piece in the analysis as depicting one of the military saints, probably George.

T34 is a fragment from the fortification of Călnic. Published for the first time in 1968²⁰ (accompanied only by a black and white illustration and a date, the fourteenth century), the tile was mentioned again by Dana Marcu-Istrate,²¹ who identified it as representing a standing Saint George and who corrected the dating to the next century. Since this is all the available information (no mentions of dimensions, glaze or archaeological context), I will work only with the image as it is. The fragment depicts parts of a standing armored figure, a sheep or a lamb and an architectural background, a gate or an entrance. Considering that the key elements of a Saint George depiction are missing (the dragon, a weapon – spear or sword) and

¹⁷ Daniela Marcu, "Căle medievale din Transilvania XIV-XVII" (Medieval stove tiles from Transylvania from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century) (Cluj-Napoca: Babeș Bolyai University, PhD dissertation, 2002), 87. (Henceforth, Marcu, 2002).

¹⁸ Marcu, 2002a, 91, Marcu, 2004, 123.

¹⁹ Marcu, 2004, 89.

²⁰ Radu Heitel, *Cetatea din Călnic* (The Fortification of Călnic) (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1968), fig.39.

²¹ Marcu, 2004, 89.

despite the fact that the existing elements are sometimes included in such iconographies (the lamb, the architectural background), I also exclude this tile fragment as inconclusive.

T35 is one of the few well-published²² tiles but its iconography raises serious questions. It does depict a standing figure slaying a dragon with a spear but the other elements (a bird and a vase or a pot) are extremely unusual and completely foreign to the iconography of any military saint, be it George or Michael. These elements are also disproportionately large compared to the human figure. Their presence, the fact that the man is not a knight, he wears a peculiar hat and he seems to have claws (?) make me include the tile in the improbable category. As Benkő suggests, the image might render a folk tale rather than a knightly saint, although the idea of the fight with the dragon is taken from Saint George's legend.

T36²³ and T39²⁴ are somewhat similar fragments, in that they each depict a fragment of a halo and an architectural background. I consider these elements as insufficient for a positive identification of any iconographic type.

T37 is another fragment on which one can see the knees of a standing figure and parts of a vegetal decoration. Dana Marcu-Istrate, curiously, describes the piece as depicting "Saint George on foot, in complete armor (!?), stepping on the dragon whose tail is wrapped around the left leg of the saint."²⁵ I think the image too small to speak for itself and therefore it is excluded.

²² Elek Benkő and István Ughy, *Székykeresztúri kályhacsempék 15-17. század* (Medieval stove tiles from Cristuru Secuiesc from the fifteenth to seventeenth century) (Bucharest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1984), 53-54.

²³ Marcu, 2004, 89.

²⁴ Voica Maria Pușcașu, "Plăci ceramice decorative descoperite la Cetatea Făgărașului în anii 1966-1973" (Decorative ceramic tiles discovered at the fortification of Făgăraș), *Acta Musei Meridionalis* 2 (1980): 223-269.

²⁵ Daniela Marcu-Istrate, "Cahle medievale din colecția muzeului din Sebeș (sec. XV-XVI) " (Medieval stove tiles from the collection of the Museum in Sebeș), in *Sub zodia Virgil Vătășianu* (Under the mark of Virgil Vătășianu) (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Nereamia Napocae, 2002), 89.

T38 has been published either as a possible Saint George²⁶ or as a knight in a tournament²⁷. The very poor illustrations available for the tile, the extremely small space at the feet of the horse where a dragon could be represented, and the absence of a weapon, make me exclude the piece from my analysis.

T40 will be discussed in detail in the analysis. The question mark in this case stands for the fact that the tile represents either Saint George or Saint Michael standing and slaying the dragon. The confusion is raised by the background dotted decoration which may suggest the existence of a wing behind the character.²⁸

Moldavia

M6 is a tile repeatedly discussed in the historiography. It was first published in 1983 with the archaeological context (a ceramic workshop complex) but the iconography was not commented upon in any way at that time.²⁹ In 1990 the tile was included in a series interpreted as scenes from the legend of Saint Ladislav.³⁰ The authors of the article decided that the mounted crowned figure holding a liturgical plate (paten) was Saint Ladislav leaving for battle (taking part in the mass). Viorica Batariuc reinterpreted the piece and argued that it represents in fact one of the three magi (Balthasar) bringing myrrh gifts to the infant Jesus³¹. The representation is very close to that on tile T13, therefore I exclude both for the reasons stated there.

²⁶ Thomas Năgler, “Un depozit de plăci ornamentale descoperit la Roșia (raionul Sibiu)” (A deposit of ornamental tiles discovered at Roșia (Sibiu District)), *Culegere de Studii și Cercetări, Muzeul Regional Brașov* 1 (1967): 145-158.

²⁷ Daniela Marcu-Istrate, “Cahle transilvănene decorate cu cavaleri II. Cavalerul în turnir (sec. XV-XVI)” (Transylvanian stove tiles decorated with knights II. The knight in tournament), in *Artă, Istorie, Cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb* (Art, history, culture. Studies in the honor of Marius Porumb): 111-121, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Nereamia Napocae, 2003); Marcu, 2004, 128.

²⁸ Adrian Andrei Rusu, “Cahle din Transilvania II” (Stove tiles from Transylvania II), *Arheologia Medievală* 1 (1996): 125-153.

²⁹ Voica Maria Pușcașu, Nicolae Pușcașu, “Mărturii de civilizație și urbanizare medievală descoperite în vatra istorică a Iașilor” (Testimonies of medieval civilization and urbanization in the historical center of Iași), *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor - Monumente Istoric și de Artă* 2 (1983), 34. (Henceforth, V. M. Pușcașu, N. Pușcașu, 1983).

³⁰ A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990, 170-172.

³¹ Batariuc, 1994a, 120-122; Batariuc, 1999, 127.

M7 through M12 constitute an interesting group of tiles. Excavated together from a city house at Baia, these six unglazed stove tiles are decorated in a uniform style, both in the images and technique. Each of them depicts a king and a female character, always standing but with different objects: a sword (M7), a small chair (? M8), bags (? M9), and a club (? M10). What is interesting from a technical point of view is that the figures were modeled by hand and attached to the clay plaque while it was still wet. The images were interpreted as a series illustrating a scene from the legend of Saint Ladislav, his rest with the bishop's daughter after killing the Cuman, in a unique and somewhat courtly style.³² Viorica Batariuc concluded that at least three of these tiles (M7, M11, and M12) in fact represent dancing scenes.³³ Taking into consideration that all six pieces illustrate the same story, whatever that is, and that the crown and the sword alone are not enough to identify the male character with Ladislav, I reject both of these interpretations. At the same time I must admit that without the help of analogies or a written text, the story illustrated on these tiles remains unknown.

M29³⁴ was unpublished without an image but it is reportedly very similar to M16b. I accept it as probable.

M32 is a tile fragment depicting a dragon.³⁵ I consider that it allows a probable identification as part of a Saint George or a Saint Michael tile because the mouth of the dragon is clearly pierced by a spear. Even if it cannot be said which iconography of the scene is depicted (the saints on foot or on horseback), nor that the identification

³² A. Bătrâna, L. Bătrâna, 1990, 174-179.

³³ Batariuc, 1999, 124; Imre Holl, "Review of: Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc. *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV-XVII* (Stove tiles from medieval Moldavia. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century), Suceava: Editura Istros, 1999." *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 54 (2003), 434, agrees that they depict a worldly subject.

³⁴ Mugur Andronic, "Repertoriul arheologic al comunei Grămești (jud. Suceava)" (The archaeological repertoire of the Grămești village (Suceava County). *Suceava* 13-14 (1986-7): 75-83.

³⁵ Pușcașu x2, 1983, 48.

is certain, I accept it as probable and include it in my study. I apply a similar argument to fragment M33.³⁶ In the case of the latter I consider the representation as being either Saint Michael or Saint George on foot because an armored leg can be seen by the side of the dragon's mouth.

M34 is a tile fragment decorated with what appears to be the upper part of the body of a saint holding a spear in his raised left hand.³⁷ The halo, the weapon and its position suggest a Saint George on horseback slaying the dragon, therefore it is accepted here as such.

M35 is also a fragment, depicting the body of a horse, a leg of the rider and a spear oriented diagonally across the tile.³⁸ The fragmentary state allows only a probable identification as Saint George on horse, but it appears acceptable for this study.

M 36 would have been interesting in my analysis because it was excavated in a princely residence included in a monastic complex³⁹. Nevertheless, fragments identified as belonging to a tile depicting Saint George killing the dragon were only mentioned but no image or further information is available. I will consider the tile probable, as are the other unpublished pieces, and count it for the distributions.

M37 was discovered in Iași in a city house which burned down before 1408.⁴⁰ The upper right corner of this fragmentary tile depicts two crowned heads in an architectural frame. The fragment also preserves two letters of a Cyrillic inscription. I agree with the authors that the partial image is very similar to the usual iconographic

³⁶ Batariuc, 1999, 130; Batariuc, "Cahle cu Sfântul Gheorghe descoperite la Suceava" (Stove tiles with Saint George discovered at Suceava), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei, Seria Artă Plastică* 39 (1992), 36. (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1992b).

³⁷ Batariuc, 1992b, 39; Batariuc, 1999, 130.

³⁸ Batariuc, 1992, 39.

³⁹ Adrian Bătrâna, Lia Bătrâna, "O locuință domnească din vremea lui Alexandru cel Bun" (A princely residence from the times of Alexander the Good), *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Monumente Istorice și de Artă* 2 (1975), 76. (Henceforth, Bătrâna x2, 1975).

⁴⁰ Pușcașu x2, 1983, 42.

rendering of the king and the queen of Beirut, depicted in the background corners of tiles with Saint George slaying the dragon and saving the princess. The Cyrillic inscription is valuable as an indication of the confessional (Orthodox) connection of the tile. Nevertheless, the same background can be present on tiles depicting knights in tournament⁴¹, therefore the fragmentary state of the tile force me to exclude it from the analysis. Even if it depicts a knightly saint or a knight in tournament, the presence of Cyrillic letters is interesting for the issue of knightly culture in Orthodox Moldavia.

M38, found in Suceava, is decorated with a relief of a mounted figure with a pointed hat or helmet and a floating mantle under a semi-circular arch. It was identified with Saint George⁴² wearing Roman-type armor. The author interpreted some small lines at the feet of the horse as being the open mouth and part of the wing of a dragon. I think that the small space available on the lower part of the tile does not permit the representation of a dragon. Considering the dimensions of these details and the absence of a weapon I do not take this tile into account as representing Saint George.

From tile M39 two small fragments were published accompanied by an illegible illustration⁴³ and identified as belonging to a tile decorated with the motif of Saint George killing the dragon. The published fragments are not described and no argument is given to support the identification. Taking into account the fragmentary state of the tiles (although no dimensions are given) and the poor quality illustration, I disregard these from my analysis.

⁴¹ A tile from Bistrița depicts the knight in tournament and two spectators in the background. Marcu, 2004, 349, plate 11, fig A1.

⁴² Batariuc, 1992b, 36; Batariuc, 1999, 129-130.

⁴³ Eugenia Neamțu, "Date istorice și arheologice cu privire la Curtea Domnească din Piatra Neamț" (Historical and archaeological data regarding the princely court in Piatra Neamț), *Memoria Antiquitatis* 1 (1969), 234-235.

M40 is so badly published and with such poor quality drawing, that I have to exclude it.⁴⁴ It is a small, unglazed fragment with no description and an unclear drawing, identified as part of the Saint George on foot type.

M41 is another fragment described as bearing a zoomorphic motif, probably part of the neck and a foot of the dragon killed by Saint George.⁴⁵ Although the fragment seems to be part of the lower right corner of a tile and it would match the iconography of Saint George, the preserved fragment does not allow a positive identification. Even if it were a dragon in this position, not all dragons on tiles indicate an attached Saint George. For example, good quality tiles found in Târgu Mureș (unpublished until now) representing a pair of interlaced dragons were identified as being the coat of arms of the Drágffy noble family.⁴⁶ I therefore exclude this tile from the analysis.

M42 also has a Cyrillic inscription, which was read as the name Demetrios (in Romanian but with Slavonic letters). This seventeenth-century tile, excavated at Suceava, preserved only in its upper half, depicts a mounted saint holding a spear in his raised left hand. Two other faces can be seen in the background, one in front of the horse and the other in the sky, crowning the saint.⁴⁷ I include the tile in the analysis as certainly depicting a knightly saint, probably Saint Demetrios. The details and significance will be discussed below.

⁴⁴ Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc, "Ceramică monumentală descoperită la curți boierești din județul Suceava" (Stove tiles discovered in boyar residences in Suceava County), *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 45 (1994), 76. (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1994b).

⁴⁵ Petre Oprea, "Urme ceramice de la casele hatmanului Luca Arbore" (Ceramic remains from the houses of the hatman Luca Arbore), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei* 2 (1965), 329-330.

⁴⁶ Excavation conducted by Zoltán Soós, Târgu Mureș Museum, 2003, identification Pál Lővei, 2004. Analogy at Imre Holl, and Pál Voit, *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln* (Budapest : Corvina Verlag, 1963).

⁴⁷ P.V. Batariuc, "O cahlă cu inscripție din colecțiile muzeului județean Suceava" (A stove tile with inscription from the collections of the county museum in Suceava), *Anuarul Muzeului Județean Suceava* 6-7 (1979-1980): 663-665. (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1979/80).

2.2. Main characteristics of the stove tiles

Dating

So far I have shown why my selected primary source consists of 59 types of medieval stove tiles with knightly saints discovered in Transylvania and Moldavia. The pieces were produced between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century, but the great majority were made in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. This period coincides with the European “Golden Age” of stove tile production and use.

Types and decoration

With the exception of five, the tiles belong to the flat tile-type, rectangular in shape and decorated with figurative representations in relief. Their shapes and flat surfaces provided the most adequate support for elaborate decoration. The exceptions are: a triangular crown tile (T40), a bowl-shaped tile with openwork decoration (M16a), a bowl-shaped tile decorated with relief (M16b) and two corner tiles (M16c and some fragments of M27).

The great majority of the tiles are unglazed (23 in Transylvania and 21 in Moldavia), but some are decorated with green glaze (6 in T and 6 in Moldavia), yellow glaze (M20, M22), polychrome glaze (T5), brown (M32) or transparent glaze with green lines (M17). For nine pieces there is no information on glazing, therefore I considered them here as unglazed. Glazing was slightly more frequent in Moldavia and more types of glaze were used there. According to the iconography, there is not a big difference between the percentage of glazed depictions of St. George and glazed depictions of St. Ladislav in both provinces (32% compared to 25%).

Iconography

In Transylvania and Moldavia the knightly saints are represented mainly by Saint George and Saint Ladislav. The first appears more frequently (on 37 types of

tiles), being very popular in all Christian areas, while the latter is depicted on fewer tiles (14), being a regional saint. One piece presumably depicts Archangel Michael (T40) another Saint Demetrios (M42) and six others Holy Kings (T10, T11, T12, T13, T14, T15).

Saint George was the most popular knightly saint, both in Catholic and Orthodox areas. He can be depicted in the early context of his martyrdom, but is most frequently shown as a mounted knight slaying the dragon.⁴⁸ On stove tiles he appears either on horseback or on foot, but always killing the dragon. This is the most popular iconography of the saint in any visual context and the only one used in depictions on stove tiles.⁴⁹ In medieval Transylvania and Moldavia, out of 37 tiles that depict the saint, 26 represent him on horse. In 20 he is slaying the dragon with a spear. Saint George fighting the dragon with a sword is less frequent and is found only on two Transylvanian tiles. George is depicted either alone with the dragon, or in some cases (14) the other characters of the legend are also depicted, smaller than the saint, in the corners of the composition: the rescued princess, the king, and the queen.

Saint Ladislav has as attribute the double axe, the crown, and sometimes an orb.⁵⁰ On stove tiles, he is represented in two distinct ways. First, in iconic images, he is depicted standing, crowned and with a halo, holding his attribute, the double axe (T1, T6). Ladislav appears alone or in the company of other Hungarian dynastic saints (T10, T11). Another iconic image depicts the saint on horseback, crowned, raising or carrying the double axe on his shoulder (T3, T7, T8, T9, M1, M2, M3). This iconographic type can be interpreted as narrative on tiles if it is paired with tiles such as T5, depicting the Cuman and the maiden. On the other hand, Ladislav is also

⁴⁸ LCI, vol.6, 365-390.

⁴⁹ Konrad Strauss, *Die Kachelkunst des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts in europäischen Ländern* (Munich: 1983); Julie Richterová, *Středověké Kachle* (Medieval stove tiles) (Prague: Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, 1982); Tamási, 1995.

depicted in the narrative context of his legend: fighting the Cuman (T2, T5, M4) or in the company of the bishop's daughter (T4?⁵¹). The characters of the legend can be depicted alone or in pairs on one tile: Ladislás alone, Ladislás and the Cuman, the Cuman and the maiden, Ladislás and the maiden(?).

Saint Stephen has as attributes the orb, the crown, and the scepter. He is depicted either alone or together with his son Saint Emeric and/or saint Ladislás.⁵² Emeric is represented as a young prince holding a lily.⁵³ The details on the tiles are not clear enough to differentiate these dynastic saints. Stephen might be the one depicted on T10 and T11 if the character holds a scepter and wears a crown. Emeric might be represented on these two tiles if the character holds a lily and a does not wear a royal crown but a hat. Prince Emeric could also be the one standing besides Ladislás on T4. Either Stephen or Ladislás could be depicted on T12 and T13.

Archangel Michael is a standing figure with wings slaying a dragon (T40). Saint Demetrios is a mounted knight with a halo, identified by an inscription which can be interpreted as his name (M42).

Iconographic characteristics and weaponry details on the tiles with knightly saints will be detailed in the analytic chapter.

A short look at the iconography of the pieces is enough to realize that they present provincial, even popular characteristics. The characters are disproportionate; the details are deformed, sometimes unrecognizable, making the identification uncertain. These traits can be the effect of copying or of the artisan's lack of artistic skill. It can be said that the workshops were indeed provincial and the products of inferior quality compared to other Central European stove tiles.

⁵⁰ LCI, vol.7, 361-363.

⁵¹ T4 can depict Ladislás and the maiden or Ladislás and Emeric.

⁵² LCI, vol.8, 407-409.

⁵³ LCI, vol.6, 144-145.

Spatial distribution

The stove tiles with knightly saints were found in 28 locations (more than 35 archaeological sites) from Transylvania and Moldavia. As the map in Appendix 1 shows, the tiles are concentrated in southern Transylvania and central Moldavia. These areas were economically active, crossed by the main commercial routes.⁵⁴ Southern Transylvania comprised the areas most densely inhabited by German colonists and Szeklers, known as *Fundus Regius* and the southern part of *Terra Siculorum*. It is surprising to find an unequal distribution of the tiles with Saint George in the two provinces, only 13 in Transylvania compared to 24 in Moldavia. Considering the general European popularity of the knightly saint, one would have expected a closer number of tiles in both cases. Ladislav on the other hand, as a saint whose cult emerged from the Hungarian Kingdom, was indeed more popular in Transylvania (9 compared to 5).⁵⁵ Still, these figures indicate that Ladislav representations were not confined to the area of the Hungarian Kingdom but spread beyond it. It cannot be determined with certainty in any of the cases if tiles with different knightly saints belonged to the same stove.

The distribution of the tiles can be superimposed on that of the ethnic or religious structure of the area in order to identify some connection between the two. It is known, for example, that the Moldavian towns of Baia, Siret and Bacău hosted significant Catholic communities and Catholic bishoprics.⁵⁶ At Baia (M4, M28) the tiles were found in urban houses near the Catholic church, so we can presume with a certain degree of certainty that the stoves were used by Catholic townsmen. The tile from Siret (M31) is unpublished, so its exact archaeological context is unknown.

⁵⁴ Mihai Bărbulescu, Denis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, and Șerban Papacostea, *Istoria României* (The history of Romania) (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1999). (Henceforth, Bărbulescu, 1999).

⁵⁵ These proportions might be modified by further excavations and publication of excavated material.

Good Transylvanian examples are the sites in Cechești (T2), and Cristurul Secuiesc (T3, T4, T26). The village and the small market town were clearly inhabited by Szeklers, so by Catholic population. At Moldovița, the tile with Saint George (M26) was discovered in one of the secondary buildings of an Orthodox monastic complex. Similarly, at Bistrița, the tile with Saint George (M36) is mentioned as having been discovered in a princely residence included in the precincts of an Orthodox monastery. The Cyrillic letters on the tile from Suceava depicting Saint Demetrios (M42) indicate a similar Orthodox production and use. Nevertheless, in many other cases the religion and the ethnicity of the owner are difficult to determine. I can only conclude that the stove tiles with knightly saint were present in both religious contexts, Orthodox and Catholic, and among all important ethnic groups (Saxons, Szeklers, Hungarians, Romanians).

The strict archaeological context of the tiles from Transylvania is unclear in many cases. Many tiles are random finds, discovered in secondary positions or in unknown contexts or the information about the pieces from museum collections has been lost. For the tiles with knightly saints, a general context is usually known. In Transylvania, they are equally distributed among fortifications, town houses, and noble residences. Two tiles were found in different contexts, one in a village (Cechești, T2) and another in a ceramic workshop (Feldioara, T31). In Moldavia the context of the finds shows that most of the tiles were excavated in princely or noble residences. The second most frequent context was in town houses. A few of the tiles were also found in fortifications. None of the tiles with knightly saints were found in villages or workshops, but two of them were used in Orthodox monastic complexes (in adjacent buildings). The context of the tiles from Suceava is well known due to the

⁵⁶ Bărbulescu, 1999, 200.

research of Victoria Batariuc. She has identified tiles and workshops in different sites in and around the city (the princely fortification, the princely court, urban houses, and workshops), which will be discussed below.

III. ANALYSIS

3.1. Dating

As shown, the chronological pattern of the tiles with knightly saints shows their concentration in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. In Transylvania the largest group has been dated to the second half of the fifteenth and the whole sixteenth century, while in Moldavia there are two groups, one in the fifteenth and one in the seventeenth century.⁵⁷ Still, this chronological distribution is not very strict and could be detailed further by a more thorough archaeological research. It might be a general trend among Transylvanian archaeologists to be more circumspect and date artifact slightly later than their Moldavian colleagues. It cannot be concluded on the base of these distributions that the tiles with knightly saints appeared earlier in Moldavia. A few considerations can be made thought on the two end of the chronological span of these tiles. In present-day Romanian territory, stove tiles appeared in the thirteenth century, in the early bowl-shaped undecorated form. In Transylvania the first stove tiles can be connected to the Saxon colonists who brought along this European heating system. From the middle of the sixteenth century, during the Reformation, there was a strong decrease in tiles decorated with religious figurative representations, including the knightly saints. Due to the general one-century-long range dating of the tiles with knightly saints in Transylvania, it is difficult to decide when they ceased to be produced. Nevertheless, some tiles might have been still in use at the end of the sixteenth century and one (T26) is dated to the seventeenth century. This can be interpreted in two ways. First, if altars and frescoes were destroyed, it is less probable that stoves were demolished also, because of their functional role. Second, the iconoclast Reformation was not generally widespread in Transylvania and it is less

probable that it affected the minor arts completely, so the knightly saints did not disappear suddenly and completely from the decorative repertoire. In Moldavia, more tiles (7) are dated to the seventeenth century, confirming the continuity of religious representations into pre-modern age in an Orthodox territory.

3.2. Social distribution

The analysis of social distribution shows confusing results. One would expect that the tiles with knightly saints spread from the upper social strata (princely court and noble residences) to fortifications, town residences and villages as for other comfort and luxury items. Decorated stove tiles, even more if they are glazed, imply issues connected to their representation value. It is confusing to find in Transylvania the oldest tiles with knightly saints in a village and a town (Turea T14, T15 and Zalău, T21), even more because these tiles are glazed. In both provinces, the tiles found in towns or cities are not chronologically later than the ones from upper strata context.⁵⁸

The glazed tiles with knightly saints do not show a more consequent distribution either. Although glazed tiles were more expensive (due to the double firing, glaze composition and better master skills required), they are not connected to any particular social context or chronological range.

3.3. Iconography

a) the textual sources of the two knightly episodes

As I have shown, the two most appreciated episodes from the legends of the knightly saints on stove tiles are Saint George's killing of the dragon and Saint Ladislav's killing of the Cuman. Although these episodes are known in different

⁵⁷ See the tables of chronological distribution, Transylvania (fig.11) and Moldavia (fig.12).

⁵⁸ See fig.11 and fig.12 for social distributions and distribution of glazed stove tiles with knightly saints.

variants, I quote here the basic texts, the Golden Legend (compiled around 1260) and the Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle (written around 1358).⁵⁹

Saint George was a knight and born in Cappadocia. On a time he came in to the province of Libya, to a city which is said Silene. And by this city was a stagne or a pond like a sea, wherein was a dragon which envenomed all the country. And on a time the people were assembled for to slay him, and when they saw him they fled. And when he came nigh the city he venomed the people with his breath, and therefore the people of the city gave to him every day two sheep for to feed him, because he could do no harm to the people, and when the sheep failed there was taken a man and a sheep. Then was an ordinance made in the town that there should be taken the children and young people of them of the town by lot, and every each one as it fell, were he gentle or poor, should be delivered when the lot fell on him or her. So it happened that many of them of the town were then delivered, insomuch that the lot fell upon the king's daughter, whereof the king was sorry, and said unto the people: For the love of the gods, take gold and silver and all that I have, and let me have my daughter. They said: How sir! ye have made and ordained the law, and our children be now dead, and ye would do the contrary. Your daughter shall be given, or else we shall burn you and your house. When the king saw he might do no more, he began to weep, and said to his daughter: Now shall I never see thine espousals. Then returned he to the people and demanded eight days' respite, and they granted it to him. And when the eight days were passed they came to him and said: Thou seest that the city perisheth. Then did the king do array his daughter like as she should be wedded, and embraced her, kissed her and gave her his benediction, and after, led her to the place where the dragon was. When she was there Saint George passed by, and when he saw the lady he demanded the lady what she made there and she said: Go ye your way fair young man, that ye perish not also. Then said he: Tell to me what have ye and why weep ye, and doubt ye of nothing. When she saw that he would know, she said to him how she was delivered to the dragon. Then said saint George: Fair daughter, doubt ye no thing hereof for I shall help thee in the name of Jesu Christ. She said: For God's sake, good night, go your way, and abide not with me, for ye may not deliver me. Thus as they spoke together the dragon appeared and came running to them, and Saint George was upon his horse, and drew out his sword and garnished him with the sign of the cross, and rode hardly against the dragon which came towards him, and smote him with his spear and hurt him sore and threw him to the ground. And after said to the maid:

⁵⁹Saint George: Jacobus de Voragine, *The golden legend: readings on the saints. I-II*, ed. Ryan William Granger (Princeton, New York: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Saint Ladislás: summary of the textual references for the saint and further bibliography in Klaniczay 2002; Gábor Klaniczai and Edit Madas, "La Hongrie", in *Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies*, vol. II, (Brepols-Turnhout: 1996): 103-160; Annamária Kovács, "Costumes as Symbols of Warrior Sainthood: The Pictorial Representations of the Legend of King Ladislás in Hungary", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000), 145. (Henceforth, Kovács, 2000).

Deliver me your girdle, and bind it about the neck of the dragon and be not afeared. When she had done so the dragon followed her as it had been a meek beast and debonair. Then she led him into the city, and the people fled by mountains and valleys and said: Alas! Alas! We shall be all dead. Then Saint George said to them: Ne doubt ye no thing, without more, believe ye in God, Jesu Christ, and do ye to be baptized and I shall slay the dragon. Then the king was baptized and all his people, and Saint George slew the dragon and smote off his head, and commanded that he should be thrown in the fields...⁶⁰

The saintly prince, Ladislás, then, espied a Pagan carrying on the back of his horse a beautiful Hungarian maiden. The prince thought that this maiden had been the daughter of the bishop of Váradi, and, although being in severe wound, he started to pursue him, riding his horse whose name was Szög. But, then, when he reached by a lance's point, he could do nothing, for his horse was unable to run faster, while the other's did not fall back in speed, and thus, something like an arm's length had remained between the tip of the lance and the Cuman's back. Then St. Ladislás cried to the maiden, saying: "Fair sister! Take the Cuman by his belt and jump off from the horse to the ground!" And she did as she was asked. But then, when the Cuman lay on the ground and prince Ladislás wanted to kill him with his lance, the maiden strongly asked him not to do so, but let him [the Cuman] go free. So it is clear from this as well, that there is no faith in women, for surely she wanted to spare the Cuman out of lusty love. The saintly prince, then, after a long battle, cut his [the Cuman's] sinew, and killed him. But the maiden was not the bishop's daughter.⁶¹

Both of these episodes reflect the chivalric values: the heroes fight evil (dragon/ pagan) to rescue maidens in distress (princess/ bishop's daughter), showing bravery in battle and abnegation. They are also fighting for the Christian values, Saint George christianizing the entire rescued city and Ladislás defending a Christian girl from the hands of a pagan enemy⁶². The pure intentions of the heroes towards the rescued maidens are denoted by the way they address them: *fair daughter* and *fair sister*.

⁶⁰Jacobus de Voragine, *The golden legend: readings on the saints. I-II*, ed. Ryan William Granger (Princeton, New York: Princeton University Press, 1993). Translation from: Internet Medieval Source Book, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.html>. Accessed January, 2004.

⁶¹ Emericus Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum ducum regumque Stirpis Arpadiane gestarum 1-2*. (Budapestini, 1937-38), 368-369. Translation: Kovács, 2000, 145.

⁶² Although the narrative tradition calls the enemy Cumans, they were in fact Pechenegs.

These texts offer the exact reading of the stove tiles, to the detail. George is fighting the dragon on horseback, both his sword and his spear are mentioned, the princess is accompanied by a lamb. On tiles, due to the limited space available, the scene is compressed to its essential aspects. The usual composition shows on the foreground the saint on horseback fighting the dragon and in the background the princess with the lamb, and the city with the heads of the king and of the queen. On some tiles, both Saint George's sword and spear are depicted (T29, T30), as if rendering simultaneously a chronological sequence of events. In the chronicle, Ladislav is fighting the Cuman both on horseback and on foot, as he appears on tiles (M4 and T2 respectively). The difference between the text and the images is that the lance was replaced in all of the cases by the Saint's attribute, the battle-axe.

One other reason for the popularity of the stove tiles with knightly saints is that they had in the background successful stories. In an essential way, these objects provided all the elements of a complex reading of knightly legends.

b) arms and armor

Comparing the iconography of the tiles with knightly saints in the two provinces, one can notice that the quality of the details is different. In Transylvania, most of the tiles depict recognizable elements of arms and armors while in Moldavia the images are schematic and more decorative.

In Transylvania, the Ladislav-on-horseback type depicts a fully armed knight⁶³ (T3, T7, T8, T9) with knee and elbow protection plates, cuirass with a rosette on the right shoulder, tassels for the lower half of the body, a halberd (pierced on T3) and a

⁶³R. Ewart Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Weapons* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963); R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964); R. Ewart Oakeshott, *A Knight and His Armor* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1964); Eduard Wagner, Zarošlaca Drobná and Jan Durdik, *Medieval Costume, Armour and Weapons (1350-1450)* (Mineola, N-Y: Dover Publications, 2000); Francois Wikinson, *Histoire illustrée des Armes et Armures* (Paris: Editions

shield decorated with a cross. George is also usually depicted as a fully armed knight. Several identifiable details convey the image of an invincible but also fashionable rider: cuirasses with coats of arms (T22, T23, T24, T27, T28, T31, T32), knee protection plates (T22, T27, T31, T32), *Sabbatons á la poulaine* (T23, T24, T29), coats of mail (T26, T27, T28), iron fists (T22, T23), iron hats (T22, T32), a sallet helmet with mobile visor (T29), a two-hand sword (T29), tassets (T31), an elbow plate (T27), and a shield (T29). A detailed piece from this point of view is T32 which clearly depicts a particular type of armor, Maximilian armor, frequent in the sixteenth century. Some of the tiles representing Saint George are influenced by the iconographic type of the knight in tournament, created at the royal court in Buda (T25, T26, T27, T28, T32).⁶⁴ This is a further indication of how closely a religious image could be connected to a chivalric one.

In Moldavia, significantly fewer details of arms and armor can be identified. In the case of Saint Ladislav, these elements are: halberds (M1, M2, M3, M4), spurs (M1), a coat of mail (M3), and tassets (M4). In the case of Saints George and Demetrius: coats of mail (M14, M16, M17, M18?, M23?, M24?), *sabbatons á la poulaine* (M13, M15, M26), neck protection plates (M16, M17), a helmet with lambrequin (M13), an iron hat (M14) and a cuirass (M17). The representation of these elements is schematic and decorative and they rarely appear together. None of the tiles depict fully equipped knights. Other elements are characteristic of the Moldavian tiles: haloes (M19, M21, M37, M42), *dextra Domini* (M19, M42), mantles (M19, M42), and a cross-ended spear (M19). They are attributes of holiness, more frequent

Princesse, 1978). I thank my colleague Anca Nițoi for her help in recognizing the specific weapons and armor elements and for the bibliographic indications.

⁶⁴ Imre Holl, "Spätgotische Ofenkacheln", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 50 (1998): 139-214.

in the Byzantine tradition, emphasizing that the character depicted is first of all a saint and only afterwards a soldier.

The different accent in the iconography of the knightly saints can be explained in several ways. One might think that the tiles produced in Moldavia were of lesser quality, and therefore the details of arms and armour are not visible due to technological and artistic difficulties or deficiencies. It was indeed argued that molds, masters or tiles themselves were imported or copied from the more developed Transylvania. Nevertheless, ceramic workshops producing stove tiles have been excavated in Moldavia and the principality's herald decorating some pieces clearly indicates that a local production existed. In the absence of further research, any general statements about the origin of potters and the creation place of molds are unfounded.

Another interpretation can take into account the stronger presence of weapons and armor in Transylvania. The weapon production and trade has been extensively documented for the province, Sibiu and Braşov being the big centers. Even more, city laws forced the citizens to possess at least the basic weapons for defensive reasons.⁶⁵ The presence of Western knights and even mercenaries should not be forgotten. Therefore, in Transylvania potters had more chances to depict objects familiar to them and to the public.

My interpretation is that in these two provinces the emphasis was put differently on knightly or saintly values. As discussed in the introduction, the knightly saints were dual concepts, created by the mentality of the twelfth century under the influence of the Crusades, of the idea of just war and the general development of

⁶⁵ Roland Rösler, *Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zunfthewesen. Alteres Zunfthewesen in Hermannstadt bis zum Jahre 1526* (Hermannstadt [Sibiu]: 1912), 54.

chivalric culture.⁶⁶ Transylvania valued the knightly side of the concept more and Moldavia was close to the saintly one. Although Ladislas was the embodiment of knightly royal saint and he is depicted on tiles through the most courtly and knightly episode of his legend, although George is in the same way always portrayed slaying the dragon, an episode which became popular in the thirteenth century and is the reflection of the same knightly ideals, still there is a difference in accent. Moldavia did not adopt all the essential attributes of chivalric culture, but it kept elements of its Byzantine-type Orthodoxy. For this reason the Transylvanian tiles depict the knightly saints with clear details of their knightly equipment while in the Moldavian ones the weapons are schematic and decorative but the holy attributes are present. The knightly saints were more knightly in Transylvania and more saintly in Moldavia.

c) geographic distribution of knightly saints representations

Saint George is a general Christian saint, equally popular in the Catholic and the Orthodox iconography. In both areas, in the late Middle Ages, he is always represented in his posture of dragon-slayer. It is therefore normal to find the tiles depicting him in both Transylvania and Moldavia. Saint George is a usual figure on stove tiles in Central and Eastern Europe, as he is in practically all artistic genres.

⁶⁶ Kurcz, 1988; Klaniczay, 1992.

Numerous stove tiles with Saint George have been published for the territory of the medieval kingdom of Hungary.⁶⁷

Saint Demetrios is an Orthodox saint, associated with the other Orthodox military saints: George, Nestor, Theodore Teron, Theodore Stratelates, Merkourios, Prokopios.⁶⁸ He is the patron saint of Thessalonica and his cult is spread also among the Slavs.⁶⁹ It is therefore again, not surprising to find a stove tile (M42) with the saint in Moldavia, an area open to the Byzantine and Russian influences. The Cyrillic inscription is normal in a country which used this Slavic alphabet for church and official purposes from the tenth to the seventeenth century.⁷⁰ The iconography of Demetrios on the tile shows his transformation from martyr to military saint, process that took place sometime in the tenth century. The story depicted is probably that of killing the Bulgarian Zaren Kolojan, as shown in Russian icons.⁷¹ Although this warrior attitude is in line with the stories of Saint George and Saint Ladislav, the accent is put on the religious values because Demetrios is crowned by an angel, blessed by God's hand and holds a cross-ended spear. Although Dermetrios is

⁶⁷ Imre Holl, "Spätgotische Ofenkacheln", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 50 (1998): 139-214; Imre Holl and Pál Voit, *Alte ungarische Ofenkacheln* (Budapest : Corvina Verlag, 1963); Katalin Melis Írásné, "Szent György-alakos budai kályhacsempék" (Stove tiles from Buda representing Saint George), in Erik Fügedi, ed., *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorból* (Studies of cultural history of the Hungarian Middle Ages) (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986): 254-268; Imre Holl, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban* (The castle of Kőszeg in the Middle Ages) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992); Nándor Parádi, "Mátyás címeres kályhacsempé lelet a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban" (Fragments of stove tiles from the Hungarian National Museum representing Matthias' coat of arms), *Folia Archaeologica* 40 (1990) publishing tiles with Saint George found in the Benedictine abbey of Zalavár; Judit Tamási, "Népies kályhacsempék a nagyvázsonyi Kinizsi-várból. Újabb adatok a Dunántúli népies kályhász műhelyek működéséhez" (Popular stove tiles from the Kinizsi castle at Nagyvázsony. New data on the activity of the Transdanubian popular stove tile workshops), *Acta Musei Papensis* 2 (1989); Gábor Ilon and Tibor Sabján, "15. századi cserépkályhák Külsővátrol" (Tile stoves from the fifteenth century Külsővat), *Ház és Ember* 5 (1989): 57-110. I thank Edit Kocsis for indicating these articles.

⁶⁸ ODB, vol.1, 1374.

⁶⁹ Paul Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétrations des slaves dans les Balkans* (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981); ODB, vol.1, 605-607; LCI, vol.6, 41-45.

⁷⁰ Bărbulescu, 1999, 195.

⁷¹ LCI, vol.6, 41-45, fig.4.

depicted in frescoes on the walls of Romanian Orthodox medieval churches in Transylvania,⁷² he does not appear on any Transylvanian stove tile found so far.

Archangel Michael appears only once, on a tile from Cetatea de Baltă, a fortification donated by king Matthias to the Moldavian prince Stephen the Great (1457-1504). The tile is dated exactly to this period, the beginning of the sixteenth century, so it is difficult to say whether it can be considered Catholic or Orthodox. The archangel and saint appears in both Christian context as dragon slayer.⁷³ Michael is not very popular on stove tiles and I am only aware of one analogy from Hungary. In the Buda castle Michael appears as a small standing figure slaying the dragon in the side niche of a corner tile, part of the stove with knightly figures in Buda.⁷⁴

The geographic distribution of the representations of the Hungarian dynastic saints leads to more accurate conclusions because they are a group of specifically Catholic and Hungarian saints. Stephen and Emeric are represented only on stove tiles from Transylvania⁷⁵ but Ladislav's depictions on tiles from both provinces is surprising. Transylvania was the center of saint Ladislav's cult. Most of his miracles were performed there, at his tomb, in the cathedral dedicated to him in Oradea. His image appears in church frescoes, coins, seals, manuscript miniatures, enamels and sculpture.⁷⁶ In Oradea there was a reliquary for the saints skull and an equestrian

⁷² Ecaterina Cincheza-Buculei, "Implicații sociale și politice în iconografia picturii medievale românești din Transilvania, secolele XIV-XV. Sfinții militari" (Social and political implications of the Romanian medieval iconography from Transylvania in the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries), *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei, Seria Artă Plastică* 28 (1981): 3-34.

⁷³ *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez, vol. 2, (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2000), 948.

⁷⁴ Imre Holl, "Spätgotische Ofenkacheln", *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 50 (1998), 194, fig.2.

⁷⁵ The iconography of the dynastic triad, standing, holding their attributes, is common to the medieval Hungarian area. Ladislav and Emeric, each on separate tiles were found in the castle of Fülek (Filakovo): János Kalmár, "A füleki (Filakovo) vár XV-XVII. századi emlékei" (Fifteenth to seventeenth century remains of the Fülek castle), *Régészeti füzetek* 4 (1959).

⁷⁶ Ernő Marosi, "Der Heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger. Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14-15. Jh.", *Acta Historiae Artium Hungariae* 33 (1987): 211-256. (Henceforth, Marosi, 1987); Jolán Balogh, *Varadinum. Várak vára. II* (Varadinum. The Castle of Vár) (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982). (Henceforth, Balogh, 1982).

bronze statue commissioned to the George and Martin brothers from Cluj.⁷⁷ The distribution of medieval frescoes depicting Saint Ladislav⁷⁸ show that these representations ordered by noble patrons were significantly more numerous in the border regions of the Hungarian Kingdom (Transylvania, present-day Slovakia, and Slovenia). The saint was therefore venerated as a border-defender hero and his protection was invoked in regions more vulnerable to enemy attacks.⁷⁹ How can the saint's depiction on Moldavian stove tiles be explained? There are no frescoes or other visual sources, except the stove tiles, illustrating his legend in Moldavia. Even if some variants of the saint's legend could have made their way to Moldavia (as Bulgarian and Russian texts were compiled by Dimitrie Cantemir in the end of the sixteenth century)⁸⁰, the transmission of text is different to the transmission of images. The Moldavian tiles depicting Ladislav on horseback could have been imitated from stove tiles in Transylvania or they could have been created by Transylvanian masters in Moldavia. As there is no evidence to support this, other channels for the transmission of the image should be investigated.

The five tiles depicting Ladislav (M1-5), dated between the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, were excavated in clear contexts. At Borniș the tile (M1) decorated the country residence of Toader Hurdiuș, boyar of

⁷⁷The gilt silver reliquary is kept today in Győr. The statue was made around 1390 and placed in front of the cathedral, but it was melted by the Turks in 1660. It represented Ladislav on horseback, crowned and holding the battle axe (Balogh, 1982; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în Țările Române* (The history of feudal art in the Romanian Countries) (Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 2001), 319; Klaniczay, 2002. The same artists created an equestrian bronze statue of Saint George for the castle in Prague. It is significant that the two large-scale medieval bronze sculptures known from Transylvania represented Ladislav and George.

⁷⁸The topic is popular among scholars. See Marosi, 1987, 222-230; Bătrâna x2, 1990; Vasile Drăguș, ““Legenda “eroului de frontieră” în pictura medievală din Transilvania”” (The legend of the “border hero” in the medieval painting from Transylvania), *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor - Monumente Istorie și de Artă* 2 (1974): 21-38.

⁷⁹It has to be considered though the strong destruction of medieval material culture in Central Hungary due to Turkish raids and occupation.

⁸⁰Rodica Popovici, “Despre motivele decorative de pe cahelele din secolul al XV-lea descoperite la Borniș, jud. Neamț” (About the decorative motifs on the fifteenth-century stove tiles discovered at Borniș, Neamț County), *Arheologia Moldovei* 21 (1998), 176. (Henceforth, Popovici, 1998).

Stephen the Great.⁸¹ At Bacău (M2, M3) and Suceava (M5), the tiles were found in the princely courts. At Baia, the tile (M4) belonged to a town house near the Catholic church. It is clear that the representations of Saint Ladislav in Moldavia are of Transylvanian origin. In Baia, the catholic owner of the house, familiar with the legend and its depictions, could have expressly ordered such an iconography for his tiles. This tile is the only one in Moldavia showing Ladislav in the narrative context of the Cuman episode. The other four, used in Romanian Orthodox contexts, depicted Ladislav in an iconic manner. It can be argued that these tiles were interpreted as showing the decorative image of a warrior, without connection to Ladislav.

I think that the image might have reached the Moldavian area through coins. In the Hungarian Kingdom, emissions of coins depicting King Ladislav standing, holding the orb and the battle axe, were issued from the middle of the fourteenth century.⁸² The image of the holy king appears for the first and only time as a mounted knight on coins during the reign of Ladislav II (1490-1516), on emissions from 1499, 1500, 1504 and 1506 (see Fig.37). All Ladislav depictions on coins are restricted to golden forints and ducats. The emissions of king Wladislav II with saint Ladislav on horseback are guldiners, so coins valued for their precious metal. These guldiners were also used in Moldavia, as the analysis of coin hoards indicates.⁸³ I think this is a possible way of transmission for the image of Ladislav as a mounted knight at the beginning of the sixteenth century from Transylvania to Moldavia.

Stove tiles with saint Ladislav are extremely rare in other areas. Only a few other examples are known outside Transylvania and Moldavia. Still, they seem to confirm the saint's popularity in the border regions of the medieval Kingdom of

⁸¹ Rodica Popovici argues for a possible Transylvanian origin of the family, due to the Hungarian sound of the name Hurdiugaş. Popovici, 1998.

⁸² Emil Unger, *Magyar Éremhatározó* (Hungarian coin register) (Budapest: Magyar Éremgyűjtők Egyesülete, 1980); Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn* (Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1979), 122-124.

Hungary. Standing Saint Ladislav is depicted on stove tiles from Fülek (Filakovo castle nowadays in Slovakia)⁸⁴, Banská Bystrica, Kremnica, Branč and Orava.⁸⁵ No analogies can be cited though for stove tiles depicting Ladislav on horseback. Under this respect, the Romanian material is unique.⁸⁶ Ladislav fighting the Cuman is only known from Cechești (T2) and Baia (M4).⁸⁷

3.4. Stoves

Few stoves have been graphically reconstructed based on the excavations in Transylvania and Moldavia. The only such stove containing representations of knightly saints is the one from Suceava.⁸⁸ It decorated a large house excavated outside the princely fortification, interpreted by the authors as a council hall used for receiving foreign dignitaries. The iconographic composition of the stove included representations of Saint George, a lion, the Moldavian coat of arms, exotic animals, and courtly scenes (dancing?). The tiles with saint George (M16a, b, c, d) were of different shapes: flat tiles, corner tiles, bowl-shaped tiles with open-work decoration. They were included both on the burning and the heating chamber, among the other tiles. There seems to be no precise order or grouping of the tiles in the stove.

⁸³ Information kindly provided by Márton Gyöngyössi-Kálnoky, ELTE, Department of Archaeology.

⁸⁴ Holl, Voit, 1963, fig.34

⁸⁵ Indicated by Rodica Popovici. See Popovici, 1998.

⁸⁶ A tile from the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest was published by Imre Holl as representing Saint Ladislav on horseback (Holl, Voit, 1963, 55, fig.35). At a close look, some parts of the tile depicting the character's weapon are broken but the image is visible on a twin tile. It is halberd not a battle-axe. Also the headress which could be mistaken for a crown in the published photo, proves to be a normal hat. The semi-cylindrical tiles (inventory numbers 3603 and 3602), decorated with open-work and polychrome glaze are of inferior quality and their finding context is unknown. I thank Katalin Szende and the museum curators for allowing me to see the pieces. Another stove tile, excavated at Szombathely, was published as depicting the mounted Ladislav. It is extremely schematic and the weapon of the rider is a simple spear. I think it can hardly be claimed it represents Ladislav (Kiss Gábor, Endre Tóth, and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány, *Savaria-Szombathely története. A város alapításától 1526-ig* (History of Szombathely/Savaria. From the foundation of the town until 1526), (Szombathely: Szombathely Megyei Jogú Város Önkormányzata, 1998), 206-207, fig.157) I thank my colleague Krisztina Orosz for indicating this tile to me.

⁸⁷ Holl, 2003, 434, considers them as rarities.

Viorica Batariuc consecrates a subchapter of her book to the problem of the Moldavian stoves. I will only detail those including tiles with knightly saints.⁸⁹

M1⁹⁰ was found together with several tiles representing a bagpipe player and it is presumed that they formed a stove with Ladislav, the player, and vegetal and geometric motifs.

M2, M3 and M25 were excavated in the princely court in Bacău, from the princely house and a residential tower. From the same excavation resulted tiles depicting the Moldavian coat of arms, a knight holding a flag and dancers with a bagpipe player. The exact archaeological context is not mentioned, so it can only be presumed that they belonged to the same stove(s).

The tiles from Baia (M4, M27) were excavated from a series of town houses near the Catholic church. In one house were found M4 with M7-12 (which I excluded from the analysis as depicting courtly scenes). M27 belonged to what the archeologists considered to be the remains of the stove of a rich burgher's house.⁹¹ Besides Saint George, depicted on flat tiles (some cut in two to create corner tiles), there were tiles with hunting scenes, the knight in tournament, a courtly couple and the coat of arms of the Hunyads.

M13 was excavated in the princely court in Vaslui, together with tiles depicting a fantastic animal. M20 and M27 were excavated later from the same site, but again it cannot be said whether tiles with Ladislav and George were included in one stove.

⁸⁸ Radu Popa and Monica Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, *Mărturii de civilizație medievală românească. O casă a domniei și o sobă monumentală de la Suceava din vremea lui Ștefan cel Mare* (Testimonies of romanian medieval civilisation. A princely house and a monumental stove at Suceava from the times of Stephen the Great) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei republicii Socialiste România, 1979. (Henceforth, Popa, Cârstoiu, 1979).

⁸⁹ Batariuc, 1999, 48-57.

⁹⁰ The bibliography is included in the catalogues for all of the tiles discussed here.

The numerous tiles from Suceava (M 14,15,17,18,19,21,22,23,33,34,35) were excavated in different sites: several urban houses, a princely house and a princely fortification. M17 was part of a stove in one of the city houses, along with tiles depicting the courtly couple, a lion, a deer or a crowned two-headed bird.⁹² The information about the other tiles from Suceava is confusing and I cannot reconstruct their finding context in respect to stove compositions.

M26 was excavated in a building from the monastic complex of Moldovița. Despite this context, the tile with saint George was found in the company of tiles depicting dancing scenes. Due to the unclear archaeological position, the inclusion of these tiles in a stove cannot be stated.

M28 comes from a boyar country residence and it was found together with tiles depicting knights in tournament and vegetal and geometric motifs. In this case one might suspect a stove with a knightly theme.

For Transylvania, Daniela Marcu details all the information available on stoves in a chapter.⁹³ Related to the tiles with knightly saint. Only in three cases hypothesis can be formulated about their inclusion in certain stoves. At Racoș, an aristocratic curia built at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the next, probably included a stove with Saint George (T22), the Crucifixion and a lion holding a coat of arms. Dana Marcu argues for this according to the great number of these tiles and their common characteristics. At Cristurul Secuiesc, the two tiles depicting saint Ladislav, related from a technical point of view, were excavated together but all in secondary positions. If they belonged to the same stove, it is interesting that two different iconographic types rendering Saint Ladislav were used together. At the castle

⁹¹ Lia Bătrâna and Adrian Bătrâna, "Elemente decorative în ceramica monumentală de la Baia (jud. Suceava)" (Decorative elements of the stove tiles from Baia, Suceava County), *Suceava* 11-12 (1984-1985): 147-172.

⁹² Batariuc, 1999, 53.

in Vințu de Jos, several stoves must have functioned during the different phases: a Dominican monastery was transformed by George Martinuzzi in a castle around 1545-1551. This castle functioned until the end of the sixteenth century and then it was severely transformed as residence of the Bethlen family. A technically uniform group belongs to the Martinuzzi castle and probably formed one single stove: more than 20 tiles with two different variants of Saint George (T24 and T30), Samson fighting the lion, allegories, hunting scenes, saints. The glazed and unglazed tiles depicting Saint George probably dominated this stove. It is not clear if the saints mentioned in the same context were the Hungarian dynastic saints (T6, T10, T11). It would be another possible case when different knightly saints were used together.

On the base of the available information, it can be said that no stove composed exclusively with knightly saints ever functioned in Medieval Transylvania or Moldavia. These saints are not usually used together but combined with different types of image. The knightly saints appear in the company of tiles with courtly, religious, heraldic or knightly scenes, besides animal, vegetal or geometric decorations.

3.5. Copying and workshops

Certain analogies can be identified for the tiles depicting knightly saints, or, in some cases, considerations on the workshops that produced them can be drawn. Concerning the workshops⁹⁴, more data are available for Moldavia. Paraschiva Victoria Batariuc⁹⁵ has established that four types of workshop producing decorated tiles were active simultaneously in the principality, producing for poor townsmen and villagers, for the urban population, for the court, and for the monasteries. The first

⁹³ Marcu, 2004, chapter 8, 141-169.

⁹⁴ The term has been used differently. Batariuc talks about workshops as ideal concepts, defined by the quality, style and iconography of their products. Marcu usually refers to archaeologically excavated ceramic workshops.

three types can be mentioned here. A tile with Saint George from Suceava (M18), discovered in two urban houses, is a simplified copy of a piece (M17) found in the princely court from the same city. This demonstrates that urban workshops producing for burghers used as models more elaborated tiles created by the princely workshop. This latter ceramic atelier in Suceava, was identified by its stylistic particularities. Saint George (M17) shares the same facial traits with a number of angels and feminine characters depicted on other tiles.⁹⁶ The products of this workshop, active from the end of the fifteenth century until the middle of the next one, were found in several princely courts and aristocratic residences. Copies of these models have been excavated in several urban centers in Moldavia, demonstrating their diffusion from the aristocratic to the urban milieu.⁹⁷

In Transylvania only three ceramic workshops producing stove tiles beside other ceramic products have been excavated, at Feldioara, Cluj-Napoca and Sighișoara.⁹⁸ The workshop in Feldioara was active in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and it was installed in the precinct of the fortification.⁹⁹ T31 was discovered on the perimeter of this workshop. The urban workshop at Cluj produced several types of tiles with knights, saints and geometric decoration. T8 was found here but the site was originally published as a medieval wooden house.¹⁰⁰ It seems that it was both a workshop and a residence. The workshop in Sighișoara was excavated in 1933, so very little is known about it. Other workshops must have been active in centers such

⁹⁵ Batariuc, 1999, 58-68.

⁹⁶ Batariuc, 1999; Paraschiva Victoria. Batariuc, "Ateliere pentru producerea cahlelor în Moldova medievală" (Workshops producing stove tiles in medieval Moldavia), *Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie* 2/43 (1992), 216, fig.6. (Henceforth, Batariuc, 1992a); Batariuc, 1999, 63.

⁹⁷ P.V. Batariuc, "Cahle descoperite în locuințe de orășeni la Suceava" (Stove tiles discovered in city houses at Suceava), *Arheologia Medievală* 1 (1996): 69-124.

⁹⁸ Marcu, 2004, chapter 3, 36-47 discusses all the excavated or deduced workshops, together with textual mentions of potters in Transylvania.

⁹⁹ Marcu, 1992; Marcu, 2004.

as Braşov, Sibiu, in the Haţeg area, not to mention the Anabaptist workshops documented in Vinţu de Jos in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

Taking into consideration the iconography and the technical details, several observations on copying can be made. I will deal first with the Moldavian material that allows more thorough hypothesis.¹⁰¹ M1, M2 and M3 can be included in the copy/imitation category (copies with the master's interventions on the raw clay). The iconography of the mounted Saint Ladislav is identical, only the number of decorative elements is different. M5 is reportedly similar. The button frame in M1 and M2 may indicate a need to compensate the shrinking of the clay due to drying and firing, but the most complex model that seems to have been copied is M1. In the absence of technical details for the tiles in Bacău (M2, M3), it cannot be determined which is the model and which the copy. M5, discovered in Suceava is an unpublished tile (only mentioned in footnotes)¹⁰² that is reportedly similar to M1-3. M16a, b, c, d and M17 are original products (created with the same mold), produced by a princely workshop recognizable by its characteristic facial traits. These tiles with Saint George were used at the reconstructed stove of the council house, but also in several urban houses. M18 is an imitation of M17, used in another city house and probably copied in a workshop producing for burghers. It is a clear example of a model taken from the princely milieu into an urban context. M15, M25, M26 and M27 seem to be original products because the iconography is identical. The tiles were used in different contexts: princely, urban and monastic. No dimensions are available for M25, M26 and M27, so it might be the case of a princely model copied extremely well by urban and/or

¹⁰⁰ Viorica Crişan, "Săpăturile arheologice de salvare din Cluj-Napoca, str. Prahovei nr.12" (Archaeological rescue excavations in Cluj-Napoca, Prahovei Street number 12), *Acta Musei Napocensis* 33 (1996): 385-401.

¹⁰¹ Only a close and direct analysis of all the tiles included in the catalogues could lead to clear statements.

¹⁰² Popovici, 1998, 171, footnote 35.

monastic workshops, or it can be the case of a princely donation (if we take into consideration that Moldovița is a princely foundation.¹⁰³ M28 is published without an image, but the author says it is very similar to M16b.¹⁰⁴

A series of iconographic resemblances among the tiles with knightly saints in Transylvania can open a discussion about copying issues. T1, T6, T10, T11 all depict knightly saints, standing under gothic baldachins. They are all fragmentary tiles, so one can only presume that they are imitations. T10 and T11 might also be related to T19 and T20. All four tiles were excavated in the same castle, they have compatible sizes and were probably used in the same stove. T3, T7, T8 and T9 all depict Saint Ladislav in the same iconographic pattern. The details of T7, T8 and T9 make me consider them copies, the model being probably the tile from Oradea (T9). T9 was probably created locally, considering that this was the center of the cult of Saint Ladislav. In this case, if T9 is the model (bearing the inscription of the date, 1540), then the dating of T7 and T8 must be modified to the second half of the sixteenth century. T3 and T4 share close technical and decorative traits, so they might be produced by the same workshop. T23 is a close imitation of T22, created with a different mold because it displays less decorative motifs, preserving the iconography almost unchanged. T26, T27, T28 are very similar, so they can be copies. Considering the dating, T26 was copied after T27 or T28, produced in one of the workshops from the Braşov area. The tile in Feldioara (T31) is interesting because some of its decoration is identical to details of sculpted objects. The church from the same village preserves medieval consoles and reliefs. On the southern exterior wall, a partially preserved relief depicting the prayer on the Mount of Olives represents the

¹⁰³ Founded in 1532 by prince Petru Rareş. Cristian Moiescu, *Arhitectura românească veche I* (Old Romanian architecture) (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 2001), 159.

¹⁰⁴ Mugur Andronic, "Repertoriul arheologic al comunei Grămeşti (jud. Suceava)" (The archaeological repertoire of the Grămeşti village (Suceava County), *Suceava* 13-14 (1986-7): 75-83.

trees in the background in a geometrical cone-shaped manner (fig. 38). The relief has been dated to the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁵ A console from the inside of the sanctuary depicts Saint George on horseback, fighting the dragon (fig. 38). This sculpture has been dated to the same century.¹⁰⁶ The similarities with the stove tile refer to the identical cone-shape of the trees.¹⁰⁷ This particular trait demonstrates that the potter was inspired by other arts and that he was present in Feldioara.

¹⁰⁵ Vătășianu, 2001, 732-733.

¹⁰⁶ Vătășianu, 2001, 327-329.

¹⁰⁷ Analogies noted by Daniela Marcu, "Cahle săsești din sec. XVI-XVII descoperite la Feldioara, jud. Brașov" (Saxon stove tiles from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries discovered at Feldioara, Brașov County), *Revista Monumentelor Istorice* 1 (1992): 27-39.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this thesis was to analyze the differences and the connections in the depictions of knightly saints on stove tiles in late medieval and early modern Transylvania and Moldavia. The conclusions showed that there are indeed both similar and distinct characteristics of this group in the two provinces.

In Transylvania and Moldavia the stove tiles with knightly saints were produced and used in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The slight difference in chronological distribution does not necessarily reflect the medieval case. The only certain conclusion is that in Moldavia there are more seventeenth century depictions of Saint George. This indicates the impact of the Reformation in Transylvania but also the fact that it did not end abruptly in the middle of the sixteenth century all religious representations.

The most popular knightly saint on stove tiles was Saint George always depicted as slaying the dragon. The royal Hungarian saints are restricted to Transylvania. These are not surprising conclusions. What I found intriguing was that Saint Ladislav appears in both provinces. His cult is not known in Moldavia and there are no medieval artistic representations of his legend over the Carpathians. I analyzed more into details the possible ways of diffusion of the iconographic type showing Ladislav on horseback. This type is unique to the tiles in Transylvania and Moldavia, but there is no evidence of its transmission from Transylvania to Moldavia via stove tiles. I suggest that it might have reached Moldavia on coins. The depictions of Saint Ladislav on horseback on guldeners emitted by king Wladislav the II of Hungary between 1499 and 1506 matches chronologically the Moldavian depictions on stove tiles at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The two most popular scenes depicted on stove tiles, Saint George slaying the dragon and Saint Ladislav fighting the Cuman are supported by the success of the stories. These legends and the fact that the two saints embody the values of knightly culture can be analyzed as indication of the degree in which this culture was spread in late medieval Moldavia and Transylvania. The iconographic details show that there was a difference in the perception of the knightly saints. On the Transylvanian stove tiles the knightly saints are depicted with clear details of their knightly equipment but on the Moldavian ones the weapons are schematic and decorative but the attributes of holiness are present. I concluded that in Transylvania they were regarded more as knights and in Moldavia more as saints. This points to the same sphere of the diffusion of knightly culture. More accurate conclusions can only be drawn by a more detailed analysis of late medieval culture and iconography in Transylvania and Moldavia. The first step would be the comparison between the depictions of knightly saints and the courtly and knightly scenes on stove tiles, such as the knight in tournament that was popular in both provinces.

I have also shown that the stove tiles with knightly saints were used in all social contexts, aristocratic, urban, monastic and rural but mostly in the first two. This type of tiles was used in Catholic and Orthodox contexts as well. The analysis of archaeological context and possible reconstructions of stoves indicates at this stage of research that there functioned no stoves with clear iconographic program. The tiles with knightly saints are not usually used together, but besides other tiles depicting courtly and religious scenes, as well as geometric and vegetal decoration.

The analysis of copying issues has lead to interesting result, although it was seriously obstructed by the limited direct access to the primary material. I have shown that there existed numerous direct connections between the stove tiles with knightly

saints in each province. It means that was an important circulation of images, of molds and/or tiles, of potters and an interaction between production centers. The case of Feldioara proves that the images on stove tiles were also inspired by other artistic representations, such as stone carved reliefs. It is an argument more that coins could have served as inspiration models for stove tiles. The connections between Transylvania and Moldavia, although they cannot be proven in the case of knightly saints, are indicated by other elements. The circulation of different types of masters from Transylvania to Moldavia has been demonstrated for other artistic genres and is also stated in documents. Stove tiles with typically Moldavian decoration have been excavated in Transylvania and vice versa.¹⁰⁸

I see the extension of this study in the direction of the larger central and eastern European area in which figurative stove tiles were produced and used. A further study should go in the details of iconography, circulation of images, molds, tiles and potters and the general issues of late medieval culture and religion.

¹⁰⁸ Stove tiles with the Moldavian coat of arms (unless they depict other unknown local emblems) were found in Cechești (Benkő, 1984, 52-53), Odorheiul Secuiesc (Marcu, 2004, 437, plate 98, fig. 3 and 3A) while stove tiles with the coat of arms of the Hunyadi family were found in Baia (Bătrâna, Bătrâna, 1984/5, 167-169). The knight in tournament iconography, as promoted by the royal court in Buda, spread through Transylvania (Marcu, 2004) to Moldavia (Batariuc, 1999).

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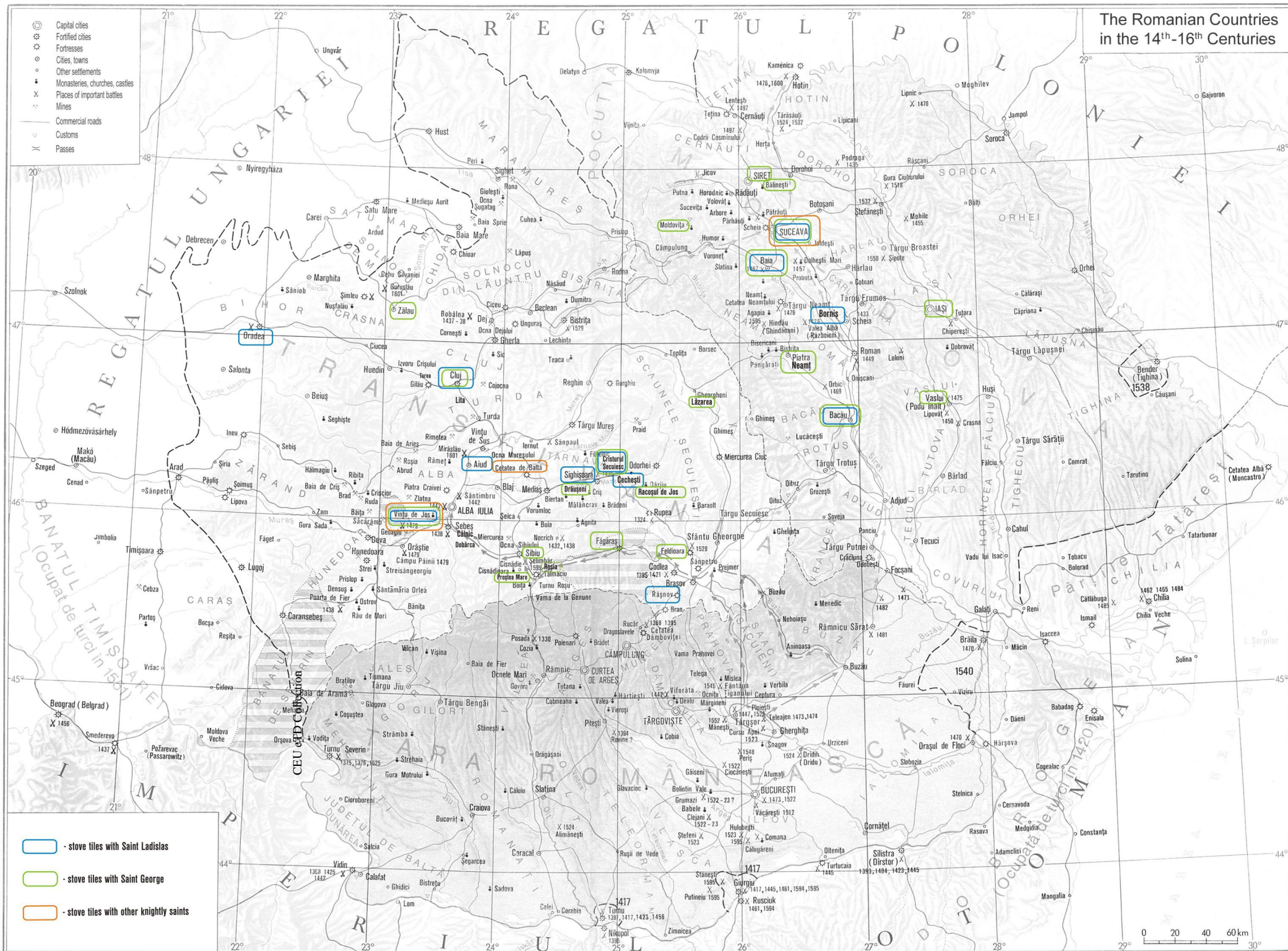
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APPENDIX I

The Romanian Countries in the 14th-16th Centuries



	Transylvania			Moldavia			Total number of tiles included in the analysis
Saint depicted	certain	probable	improbable	certain	probable	improbable	
George	11	2	6	16	8	5	37
Ladislás	9	-	3	4	1	7	14
Holy kings	-	6	2	-	-	-	6
Michael	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Demetrios	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total number of tiles included in the analysis	29			30			59

Fig.10 Table of tiles included and excluded from the analysis

Fig.11 Transylvania




Century	Tile	Glazing	Social context
XIV			
	T14 T15	green glaze green glaze	village village
XV	T21 T22 T23	green glaze unglazed unglazed	town curia fortification
	T1 T5 T12 T13 T29 T31	unglazed polychrome unglazed unglazed unglazed unglazed	fortification city fortification fortification ? workshop
XVI 1540	T2 T3 T40 T33 T7 T8 T27 T28 T30 T9 T10 T11 T4	unglazed unglazed unglazed unglazed unglazed ? unglazed unglazed unglazed glazed/unglazed unglazed green glaze green glaze unglazed	village market town fortification fortification city fortification fortification castle city? castle castle market town
	T6 T24 T25 T32	unglazed green /unglazed unglazed unglazed	castle castle castle city
	T26	unglazed	town






Fig.12 Moldova




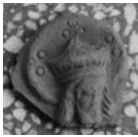
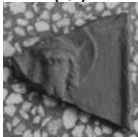
Century	tile	glaze	social context
XIV			
XV	M13	?	Princely court
1467-1476	M27	unglazed	Town
1477	M4	glazed	City
	M1	unglazed	Boyar residence
	M5	green glaze	Princely court
1480	M16	green glaze	Princely council house
	M14	unglazed	City
	M15	unglazed	City/princely house
	M17	unglazed/green glaze	City/ fortification
	M18	unglazed	City
	M20	yellow glaze	Princely court
	M26	glazed	Orthodox monastery
	M28	green glaze	Princely court
	M29	unglazed	Boyar residence
	M32	brown glaze	Town
	M33	?	Fortification
XVI	M2	?	Princely court
	M3	unglazed	Princely court
	M25	unglazed/glazed	Princely court
XVII	M19	unglazed/green glaze	Fortification
	M23	green glaze	City
	M24	unglazed	Princely court
	M31	?	Town
	M34	?	Fortification
	M35	?	Princely court
	M42	unglazed	Princely court



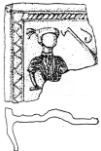


APPENDIX II






Fig.14 CATALOGUE TRANSYLVANIA



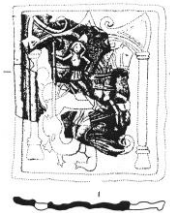


No	Scene	Finding place	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Publication	Analogy	Observations
1	St. Ladislav 	Râșnov (Brașov County)	2 ½ XV	-Ladislav standing under a Gothic baldachin	-fragment, no frame -low quality clay (+sand, pebble), pressed by wood -medium use -unglazed	-fortification	-Muzeul Județean Brașov -Marcu,2004		
2	St. Ladislav 	Cechești (Harghita County)	1 ½ XVI	-Ladislav fighting the Cuman	-fragmentary flat tile, 26x19,5cm. -medium clay -pressed by hand -unglazed	-Szekler village	-Muzeul de Istorie,Cristurul Secuiesc -Benkő,1984 -Benkő,1992 -Marcu,2002a -Marcu,2004		-typical iconography for the Szeckler region
3	St Ladislav 	Cristurul Secuiesc (Harghita County) <small>CEU eTD Collection</small>	1 ½ XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	-fragmentary flat tile, 21,7x20,5cm, no frame -fine clay (+fine sand), pressed with textile -unglazed	-small Szekler market town -rescue excavation	-Muzeul de Istorie,Cristurul Secuiesc -Benkő,1984 -Bătrâna,1990 -Marcu,2002a -Marcu,2004	T7 T8 T9	-3+4 related from tehcnical point of view but different dimensions -from the same (?) workshop.
4	St. Ladislav	Cristurul Secuiesc (Harghita County)	XVI	-Ladislav standing besides another character	-reconstructed flat tile, 25,5x21cm, short frame -pressed by hand -unglazed	-small Szekler market town -rescue excavation	-Muzeul de Istorie,Cristurul Secuiesc -Drăguț,1974 -Benko,1984 -Bătrâna,1990		-idem -evidences of local ovens and potters.





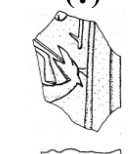
							-Marcu, 2004		
5	St.Ladislav 	Sighișoara (Mureș County)	2 ½ XV - XVI	-Cuman on horseback with bow, Ladiva	-fragment of flat tile 26,3x20,5 cm -polychrome glaze (white, yellow, green, blue)	-Saxon city	-Muzeul de Istorie (1528) Slătineanu,1937 Slătineanu,1938 -Marcu,2002a -Marcu,2004		-probably had a pare: Ladislav alone, on horseback, ready to strike
6	St. Ladislav 	Vințu de Jos (Alba County)	XVI	-Ladislav under a Gothic baldachin	-fragment, 13,3x12,4x1cm -low quality clay,presed by wood -unglazed (white engobe)	-Martinuzzi Castle	-MNIT,Cluj -Marcu,2004		
7	St. Ladislav 	Aiud (Alba County)	XV- XVI	-knight with axe and shield	-fragment 13,7x8,5x0,7cm -unglazed	?	-Muzeul de Istorie Aiud (I 4803) -Marcu, Scroboț, 2003 -Marcu,2004	T3 T8 T9	
8	St. Ladislav 	Cluj- Napoca (Cluj County)	XV- XVI	-knight with shield	-fragment 0,9x1,4cm thick -unglazed (white engobe)	-wooden medieval city house	-MNIT Cluj (F26884) -Crișan, 1996 -Marcu, 2004	T3 T7 T9	
9	St. Ladislav	Oradea (Bihor	1540	-Ladislav on horseback	-unglazed flat tile	?	-private collection,	T3 T7	




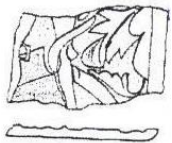

		County)		-with inscription of the year			Bucharest -Balogh, 1982 -Benkő, 1984	T8	
10	St. King (?) 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	XVI	-saint with scepter and pointy hat under a Gothic baldachin	-fragment of flat tile 22,2x8x1cm -medium quality clay, pressed by wood -medium use -green glaze (over engobe)	-Martinuzzi Castle	-MNIT Cluj -Marcu, 2004		-fragment of a larger tile, probably including Stephen and Emeric
11	St. King (Stephen) (?) 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	2 ½ XV- beginning of XVI	-standing saint with pointy hat and scepter	-flat tile 22,2x8x1 cm, no frame -medium clay (+sand), incomplete firing, pressed by wood -medium use -green glaze	- Martinuzzi Castle -more fragments glazed, unglazed, engobed	-MNIT, Cluj -Rusu, 1998 -Marcu, 2004		-intentionally cut at 8 cm, part of the triad Stephan, Ladislav, Emeric?
12	St. King (?) 	Lita (Cluj County)	2 ½ XV	-crowned head with halo	-fragment, 0,8cm thick -unglazed (slem)	-fortification	-MNIT Cluj (F 24688) -Marcu, 2004		
13	St. King (?) 	Lita (Cluj County)	2 ½ XV	-crowned head with halo	-fragment, 0,4-0,8 cm thick -unglazed (slem)	-fortification	-MNIT Cluj (F 24687) -Marcu, 2004		
14	St. King (?)	Turea (Cluj)	End of	-standing male, with	-flat tile 19,5x16x1,2 cm, with tronconic foot	-village -random find from	-private collection,		

		County)	XIV – beg XV	crown with crosses, holding a flower bouquet and an orb	6x1,5 cm. -normal clay (+sand) -intense use -green glaze over white engobe	near the church	Turea -Marcu,2004		
15	St. King (?) 	Turea (Cluj County)	End of XIV – beg XV	-crowned head, with crosses	-fragment 7x4,8x1,5, tronconic foot -normal clay (+sand), complete firing -dark green glaze over white engobe	-village -random find from near the church	-private collection, Tures -Marcu,2004		
16	St. Ladislav (??) 	Făgăraș (Brașov County)	XVI	-Cuman with elbow, L. on horse (?) striking with the axe	-fragment with broken frame -low quality clay (+sand and pebble), pressed by wood and hand -unglazed		-Muz. Făgăraș, (CH 193) -Marcu,2004		
17	St. Ladislav (??) 	Bistrița (Bistrița- Năsăud County)	2 ½ XV	-mounted king with a ciborium	-flat tile -?	-city house	-? -Sebestyén, 1985 -Bătrâna,1990 -Batariuc,1994 -Marcu,2004		
18	St. Ladislav (??) 	Dobârca (Sibiu County)	-end of XV	- a double axe	-fragment 8x6,5x1cm -fine clay (+sand and mica), incomplete firing, pressed by hand and wood -unglazed (reddish- yellow slem,)	-village -together with tiles decorated with knights, St. George, Adam and Eve, huszar, animal, coat of arms of Sibiu	-Muzeul Sebeș -Marcu,2002b -Marcu,2004		
19	St. King (??)	Vințul de Jos	2 ½ XV-	-standing saint	-fragment 21x8x1 cm, no frame	-Martinuzzi Castle -other tiles with	-MNIT,Cluj -Marcu,2004		

		(Alba County)	beginning of XVI		-normal clay (+sand and mica), pressed by wood and hand -green glaze over engobe	saint kings (9,11) (represented together or alone) -from cellar filling	-Rusu,1998		
20	St. King (??) 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	2 ½ XV-beginning of XVI	-a character's legs and a vase (?)	-fragment of corner tile 7,5x8,5x1 cm, with frame 6,3x0,9 -fine clay, pressed by wood and hand -dark green glaze over engobe	- Martinuzzi Castle -other tiles with saint kings (9,10) (represented together or alone) -from cellar filling	-MNIT,Cluj -Marcu,2004 -Rusu,1998		
21	St.George 	Zalău (Sălaj County)	1 ½ XV	-on horse, killing the dragon with the spear.	-fragment of flat tile 27,3x13x0,7cm, no frame -fine clay, pressed by wood and hand, final touch with textile cloth -green glaze	-town	-MNIT,Cluj (IV 2813) -Marcu,2004		
22	St.George 	Răcoșul de Jos (Brașov County)	1 ½ XV	-on horse, killing the dragon with the spear.	-reconstructed flat tile 24,6x16x0,7cm, -medium clay (+sand and pebble), pressed by hand -unglazed (thin layer of reddish-yellow slem)	-curia -with crucifixion -71 fragments from 16 tiles with small differences	-Muzeul Județean Brașov -Marcu,2004	T23	
23	St.George 	Făgăraș (Brașov County)	1 ½ XV	-on horse, killing the dragon with the spear.	-reconstructed tile 26,7x17x0,8), no frame -fine clay, pressed by wood and hand -unglazed (very thick layer of reddish-yellow slem)	-fortification	-Muzeul Țării Făgărașului -Marcu,2004	T22	

24	St. George 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	XVI	-on horse, killing the dragon with the spear.	-reconstructed flat tile with frame -22x30 without frame -normal clay(+sand and mica), pressed by wood and hand -wooden mould	-Martinuzzi Castle - more fragments, different in technical aspects (7-8 green glaze, 6-7 unglazed, some with white engobe)	-MNIT, Cluj -Rusu, 1998 -Marcu, 2004		
25	St. George 	Lăzarea (Harghita County)	XVI	-on horse killing the dragon with the spear	-unglazed flat tile	- Lazar Castle -found with similar depictions of knights	-Molnar, 1978 -Marcu, 2004		-local type, Szekler characteristics
26	St. George 	Cristurul Secuiesc (Harghita County)	XVII	-on horse killing the dragon with the spear	-fragment, of flat tile 23,2x20,3 cm, thick frame 2-2,5cm. -fine clay (+fine sand) -at least 4 tiles, one with engobe traces -pressed with textile -unglazed	-town house built of wood. More fragments of tiles (italian vase, knight in tournament, some signed by Fazekas Istvan	-Benkő, 1997 -Marcu, 2004	T27 T28	-local variant influenced by knight in tournament -one fragment scratched later (George's mouth)
27	St. George 	Drăușeni (Brașov County)	1 ½ XVI	-on horse killing the dragon with the spear	-fragment of flat tile 19x17,5x1cm, no frame -low quality clay (+sand and pebble), pressed by wood and hand	-peasant fortification	-Muzeul Județului Brașov -Marcu, 2004	T26 T28	
28	St. George 	Făgăraș (Brașov County)	1 ½ XVI	-on horse killing the dragon with the spear	-fragments -medium quality clay, pressed with textile -intense use -unglazed (mica)	-fortification	-Muzeul Țării Făgărașului -Marcu, 2004	T26 T27	
29	St. George	Proștea	XV-	-on horse,	-entire piece, flat tile	-town?	-Brukenthal		-variants of north

		Mare (Sibiu County)	XVI	killing the dragon with sword	(28,5x24,5cm) -unglazed		Museum, Sibiu -Göllner,1961 -Fügedi, Köpeczi, 1986 -Klusch,1990 -Klusch,1999 -Marcu,2004		German workshop
30	St.George 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	2 ½ XV- 1 ½ XVI	-killing the dragon with sword	-reconstructed flat tile 31x22,5x1cm (Rusu: 18x23cm), with frame -medium clay (+sand and pebble), pressed by wood and hand, no glaze -medium use	-Martinuzzi castle -more fragments from several tiles, glazed, unglazed, engobed	-MNIT,Cluj -Marcu,2004 -Rusu,1998		
31	St. George 	Feldioara (Brașov County)	End of XV- beginning of XVI	-standing character killing a dragon with a spear	-reconstructed flat tile 15,5x21x0,3-1cm -unglazed	-ceramic workshop -fragments from 10-12 tiles	-Marcu,1992/1 -Marcu,2004		-details copied from a relief outside the church and from a console inside it
32	St.George (?) 	Sibiu (Sibiu County)	End of XVI	-on horse killing the dragon(?) with the spear	-flat tile 23x17,5x0,t cm),short frame -medium clay -pressed by wood and hand -unglazed	-Saxon city	-Brukenthal Museum (4125) -Pascu, 1954 -Marcu, 2004		-late, local variant
33	St. George (?) 	Făgăraș (Brașov County)	XV- XVI	-dragon head pierced by spear and horse hoof	-fragment 11x8x0,8cm -medium quality clay, pressed by wood -unglazed	-fortification	-Muzeul Țării Făgărașului -Marcu,2004		

34	St. George (??) 	Câlnic (Caraș-Severin County)	XV	-a sheep, a standing knight and an architectural background	-fragment of tile	-fortification	-Heitel, 1968 -Rădulescu, 2000 -Marcu, 2004		
35	St. George (??) 	Cechești (Harghita County)	beg. XVI	-standing character killing a dragon with a spear, a bird and a vase (?)	-reconstructed flat tile, 22,5x21,3cm. -pressed by hand -unglazed	-garbage pit used in 2 ½ XVI near 5 demolished rural houses -fragments from at least 3 tiles	-Benkő, 1984 -Marcu, 2002a		provincial composition
36	St. George (??) 	Vințul de Jos (Alba County)	2 ½ XV – ½ XVI	-a halo and an architectural background	-fragment 13x12,5x0,9-1,2cm, once with frame -normal clay (+sand and mica), pressed with wood -medium use -light green glaze over engobe	-Martinuzzi Castle	-MNIT, Cluj -Marcu, 2002a -Marcu, 2004		
37	St. George (??) 	Dobârca (Sibiu County)	End of XV- beg. of XVI	-two knees	-fragment 6x10x1cm -good clay (+sand and mica), -pressed by hand and wood -unglazed (thin layer of reddish slem)	-village -together with tiles decorated with knights, St. George, Adam and Eve, huszar, animal, coat of arms of Sibiu	-Sebeș Museum (A 6313/9) -Marcu, 2002b -Marcu, 2004		
38	St. George ?? 	Roșia (Sibiu County)	2 ½ XVI	-rider under niche with flowers (?)	-fragmentary flat tile -no glaze (white engobe)	-Saxon house -with other tiles (fantastic animals, Samson, knights, St. Christophor)	-Brukenthal Muzeum, Sibiu -Nägler, 1967 -Marcu, 2003 -Marcu, 2004		


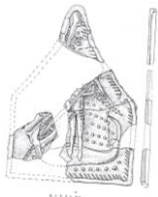






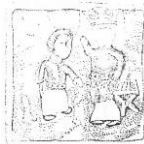













39	St.George (??) 	Făgăraș (Brașov County)	XV	-fragment with architectural background and aura	-upper left fragment of tile, 12x8cm -good quality clay -pressed by wood -unglazed	-random find	-Muzeul Țării Făgărașului (F 1350) -Pușcașu,1980 -Marcu,2004		
40	St.Michael (?) 	Cetatea de Baltă (Alba County)	Begi nnin g of XVI	-standing male with wing slaying the dragon	-fragments of a triangular crown tile 24xmax.34cm -low quality clay (+pebble), pressed with fingers -unglazed	-Anghel excavation 1969 -Moldavian fortification, donated by Matia Corvin to Stephen the Great	-Muzeul Național al Unirii, Alba Iulia -Rusu,1996/2 -Marcu,2004		











Fig.15 CATALOGUE MOLDAVIA







No	Scene	Finding place	Date	Description	Technical details	Archaeological context and social environment	Museum & Publication	Analogy	Observations
1	St.Ladislav 	Borniș (Neamț County)	End of XV	-Ladislav on horseback	-reconstructed flat tile, 19,4 cm wide -good quality clay (+sand and calcar) -pressed by hand in wooden mold -unglazed	-country house of boyar Toader Hurdiugaș -more fragments -from stove with Ladislav and bagpipe players	-Popovici, 1998 -Batariuc, 1999		
2	St. Ladislav 	Bacău (Bacău County)	End of XV – beginning of XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	?	-princely court -fragments from several tiles	-Artimon, 1986-7 -Artimon, Mitrea, 1996 -Batariuc, 1993 -Batariuc, 1999		
3	St. Ladislav 	Bacău (Bacău County)	End of XV – beginning of XVI	-Ladislav on horseback	-unglazed flat tile	-princely court	-Artimon, 1986-7 -Artimon, Mitrea, 1996 -Batariuc, 1993 -Batariuc, 1999		
4	St. Ladislav 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV around 1477	-Ladislav following the Cuman	-glazed flat tile	-city house, near the catholic church (with 7-12, all from the same building)	-Bătrâna, 1990 -Popovici, 1998 -Batariuc, 1999		







5	St. Ladislav (?)	Suceava (Suceava County)	End XV	-Ladislav on horseback	-green glaze	-princely court	-Muzeul Național al Bucovinei -Batariuc,1993 -Batariuc, 1994a -Popovici,1998		-unpublished
6	St. Ladislav (?) 	Iași (Iași County)	End of XV- beg. of XVI	-mounted male with crown and chalice	-reconstructed flat tile	-ceramic workshop	-Pușcașu,Pușcașu, 1983 -Bătrâna,1990 -Batariuc,1992a -Batariuc,1999		-workshop active between 1530-second half of the XVIth century
7	St. Ladislav (?) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (arou nd 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile -unglazed	-city house built in 1476/1477, near the catholic church (with 4 and 8-12)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		-7-12: created by an urban workshop
8	St. Ladislav (?) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (arou nd 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile - unglazed	-city house built in 1476/1477, near the catholic church (with 4,7 and 9-12)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		
9	St. Ladislav (?) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (arou nd 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile - unglazed	-city house, built in 1476/1477 near the catholic church (with 4,7,8 and 10-12)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		
10	St. Ladislav (?) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (arou nd 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile - unglazed	-city house built in 1476/1477, near the catholic church (with 4, 7-9 ,11,12)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		




11	St. Ladislav (??) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (around 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile -unglazed	-city house built in 1476/1477, near the catholic church (with 4,7-10 and 12)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		
12	St. Ladislav (??) 	Baia (Suceava County)	XV (around 1477)	-couple -the rest with the maiden?	-figures modeled by hand and pressed to the tile -unglazed	-city house built in 1476/1477, near the catholic church (with 4 and 7-11)	-Bătrâna,1990 -Popovici,1998 -Batariuc,1999		
13	St. George 	Vaslui (Vaslui County)	1 ½ XV	-George on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-reconstructed flat tile -?	-temporary (1435- 1442) princely court of voivod Stephen II (1433-1447) -with tiles with fantastic animal	-Andronic,1985 -Batariuc,1999		
14	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XV Collection of XV C	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-square flat tile (aprox. 23x24cm), tronconic foot -unglazed	-city house destroyed by fire in 1476	-Batariuc,1992 -Batariuc,1993 -Batariuc,1996 -Batariuc,1999		
15	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV C	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-square flat tile(aprox. 23x24cm), tronconic foot -unglazed	a)city house destroyed by fire in 1476 b)princely house	-Nestor,1959 -Batariuc,1992 -Batariuc,1999	M25 M26 M27	

16 a	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV around 1480	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-bowl-shaped tile 23,5x24cm with open work decoration -unglazed (green glaze on the inside of the bowl?)	-council house -fragments from at least 8 tiles	-Popa,Cârstoiu,1979 -Batariuc,1996 -Batariuc,1999 -Klusch,1999		-created in the workshop producing for the court
16 b	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV around 1480	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-bowl-type tile with relief decoration -green glaze	-council house -fragments from 20 tiles, 1 with engobe, 10 with green glaze	-Popa,Cârstoiu,1979		-all 16 part of one reconstructed stove
16 c	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV around 1480	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-corner tile, one side 26,5x30-32cm -green glaze	-council house -fragments from 2 tiles	-Popa,Cârstoiu,1979		
16 d	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV around 1480	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-flat tile -green glaze	-council house -fragments from 6 tiles	-Popa,Cârstoiu,1979		
17	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV CEU eTD Collection	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-square flat tile (aprox 23x24cm) -fragments: unglazed (white engobe)/green glaze/transparent glaze with green lines	a) princely fortification b) several city houses	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1996 -Batariuc,1999		
18	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	End of XV	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear	-square, tronconic foot (aprox.23x24cm) -unglazed	- two different urban houses	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1996 -Batariuc,1999		-simplified variant of 17 -product of urban workshop

19	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XVII	-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear <i>-dextra Domini</i>	-reconstructed flat tile -unglazed and green glazed fragments	-princely fortification -great number of fragments	-Gassauer,1935 -Batariuc,1992 -Batariuc,1999		-orthodox iconography
20	St. George 	Vaslui (Vaslui County)	XV	-horse and dragon killed with a spear	-fragment -yellow glaze	-princely court	-Popescu, 1981		
21	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)		-on horseback killing the dragon with the spear			-Batariuc,1999		
22	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)		-horse, dragon	-fragment of square flat tile (aprox. 23x24cm), tronconic foot -yellow glaze	-princely fortification	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1999		
23	St. George 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XVII CEU eTD Collection	-mounted character, stepping on the dragon	-fragment of flat tile -green glaze	-city house	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1996 -Batariuc,1999		
24	St. George 	Piatra Neamț (Neamț County)	XVII	-mounted character, stepping on the dragon	-fragment of flat tile -unglazed	-princely court	-Matasă, 1955 -Batariuc,1999		

25	St. George 	Bacău (Bacău County)	End XV- beg. of XVI	-George on horseback killing the dragon with a spear, kneeling princess	-glazed and unglazed fragments from at least 5 tiles	-princely court	-Artimon,1987 -Batariuc,1993 -Batariuc,1994a -Batariuc,1999	M15 M26 M27	
26	St. George 	Moldo- vița (Suceava County)	2 ½ XV	-George on horseback killing the dragon with a spear, kneeling princess	-glazed flat tile	-orthodox monastic complex, adjacent southern buildings	-Cantacuzino,1971 -Batariuc,1994a -Batariuc,1999	M15 M25 M27	
27	St. George 	Baia (Suceava County)	1467-1476	-on horse	-flat tiles and corner tiles(flat cut in two) -unglazed	-city house (1467-1476) -fragments from 9 tiles and 5 halves	-Bătrâna, 1984-5 -Batariuc,1994a -Batariuc,1999	M15 M25 M26	
28	St. George 	Vaslui (Vaslui County)	XV CEU ETD Collection	-standing character killing the dragon with a spear	-green glaze -big flat tile (?),2,7 cm thick	-princely court	-Popescu,1979 -Popescu,1981 -Andronic,Popescu, 1983-4 -Batariuc,1999		
29	St. George 	Bălinești (Suceava County)	XV	-on horse	-unglazed	-country residence of boyar Ioan Tăutu	-Popa,Cârstoiu,1979 -M.Andronic,1987 -Batariuc,1994b -Batariuc,1999	16b	
30	St. George 	Bacău (Bacău County)		-on horse	-?	-?	-Batariuc,1999		-unpublished -naïve style

31	St. George 	Siret (Suceava County)	XVII	-?	-?	-town	-Batariuc,1999		-unpublished
32	St. George (?) 	Iași (Iași County)	2 ½ XV	-dragon head pierced by a spear -on foot?	-fragment, 25x10cm -brown glaze	-city house	-Pușcașu,Pușcașu, 1983 -Batariuc,1999		
33	St. George (?) 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XV	-dragon head pierced by a spear -on foot?	-fragment ?	-princely fortification	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1999		
34	St. George (?) 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XVII	-saint holding a spear	?	-princely fortification	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1999	M21	
35	St. George (?) 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XVII	-horse and spear	?	-princely court	-Batariuc,1992b		
36	St. George (?)	Bistrița (Neamț County)	-? CEU eTD Collection	-?	-?	-princely house in orthodox monastic complex	-Bătrânaș2, 1975		-unpublished
37	St. George (??) 	Iași (Iași County)	2 ½ XIV	-two crowned heads in an architectural frame +Cyrillic inscription	-fragment -unglazed	-city house built 2 ½ XIV, burnt before 1408	-Pușcașu2, 1983		-letters: III E

38	St. George (??) 	Suceava (Suceava County)	Second half of the XV	-mounted knight with pointy helmet, under semicircular niche	-fragments of rectangular flat tile, with semi-cylindrical foot (aprox. 32x24-27cm) -unglazed	-princely court -more fragments	-Batariuc,1992b -Batariuc,1999		
39	St. George (??) 	Piatra Neamț (Neamț County)	XV	-?	-fragments -unglazed	-princely court	-Neamțu,1969		
40	St. George (??) 	Părhăuți (Suceava County)	Beg. of XVI, around 1522	-?	-fragment -unglazed	-residence of boyar Gavril Troțușan	-Batariuc, 1994a -Batariuc, 1994b -Batariuc,1999		- military saint on the frescoes of the local church (1539- 1540) - city workshop
41	St. George (??) 	Arbore (Suceava County)	Beginning of XVI, after 1502	-dragon-like body (?)	?	-country residence of boyar Luca Arbure	-Oprea, 1965 -Batariuc,1994a -Batariuc,1999		
42	St. Demetrios (?) 	Suceava (Suceava County)	XVII	-mounted saint, faces, the blessing hand of God -Cyrillic inscription	-fragment of flat tile, 17cm, with foot -fine clay (+sand and calcar granules) -pressed by hand -unglazed	-princely court, in pillar filling	-Muzeul Județean Suceava -Batariuc,1979-80 -Batariuc,1999		-letters: M III P Ъ (duMiT R U) И H II A (?) H B

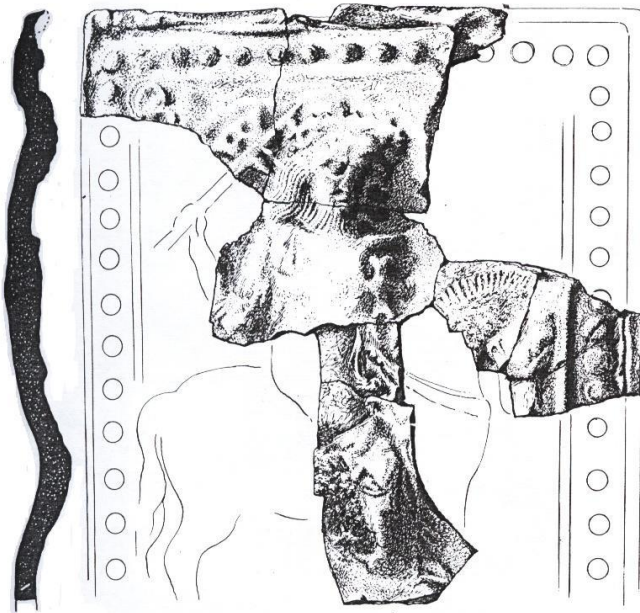
APPENDIX III



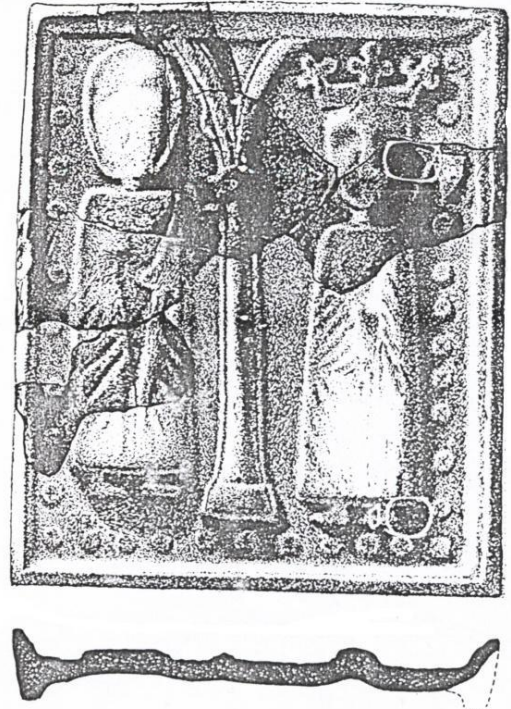
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T 2



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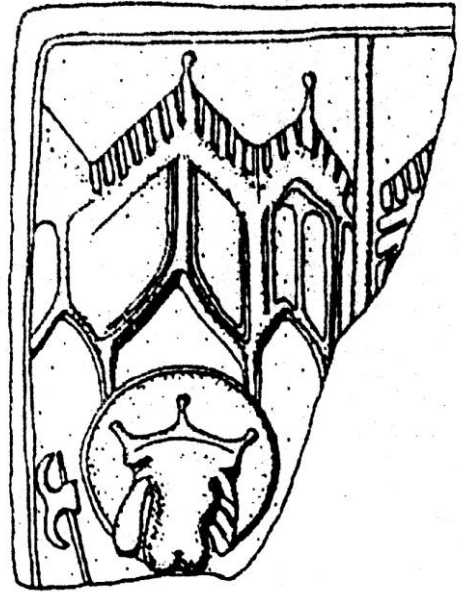


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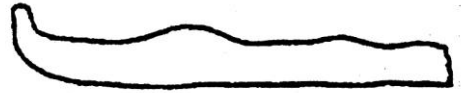
Fig.16



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T 6



T 7



T 8

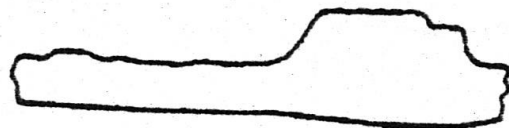


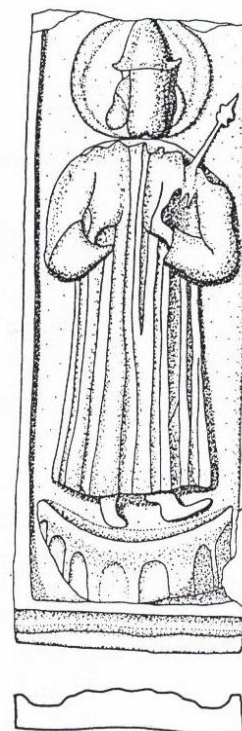
Fig.17



T 9



T 10



T 11

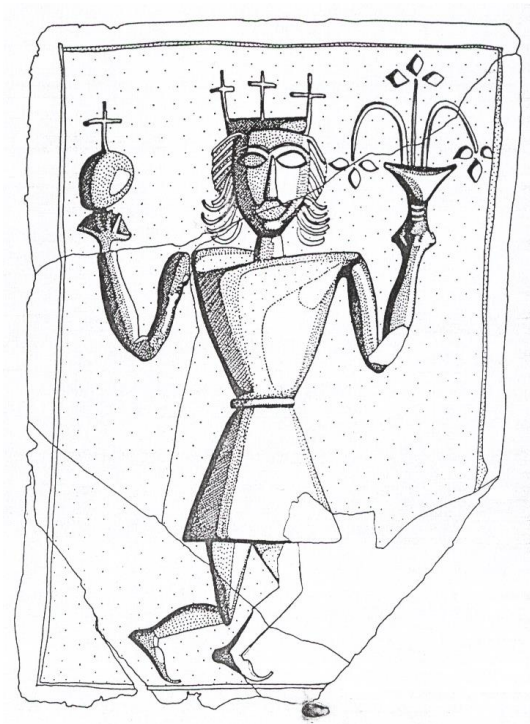


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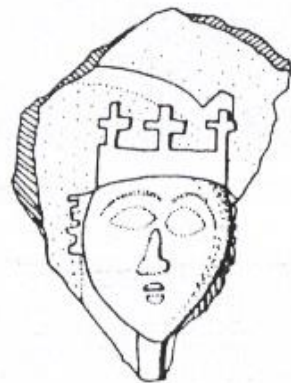


T 13

Fig.18



T14



T15



T16

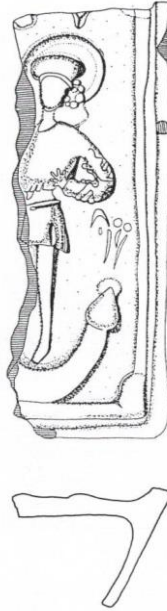


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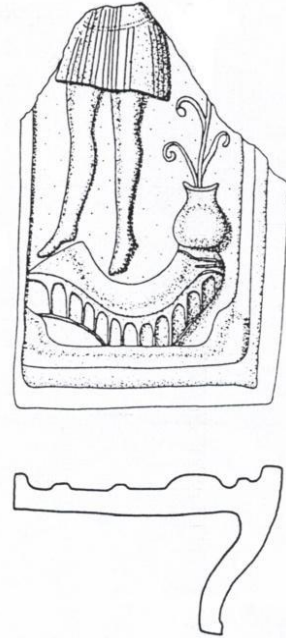
Fig.19



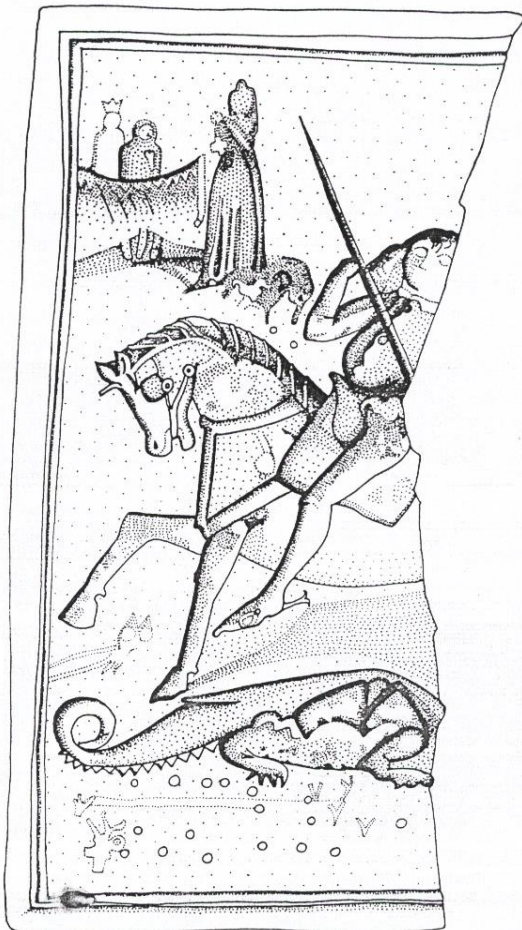
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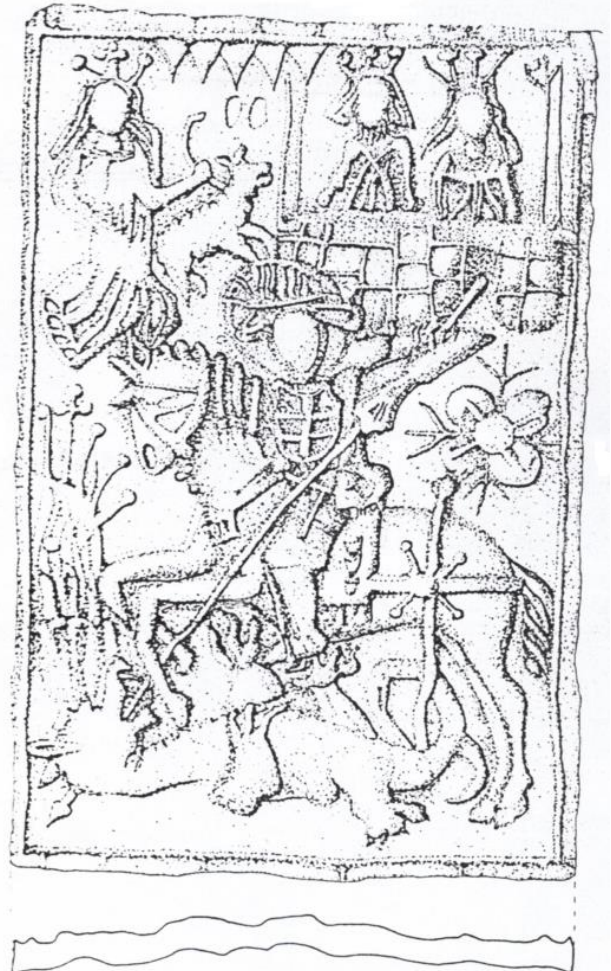
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T 21



T 22

Fig.20



T 23

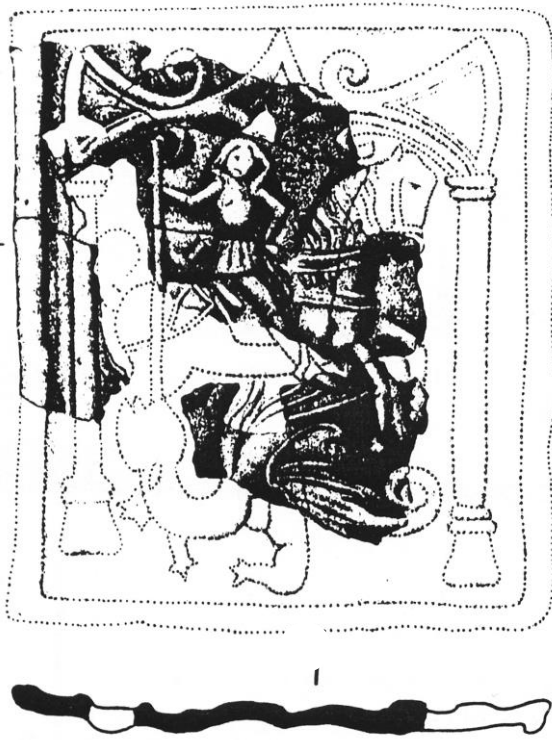


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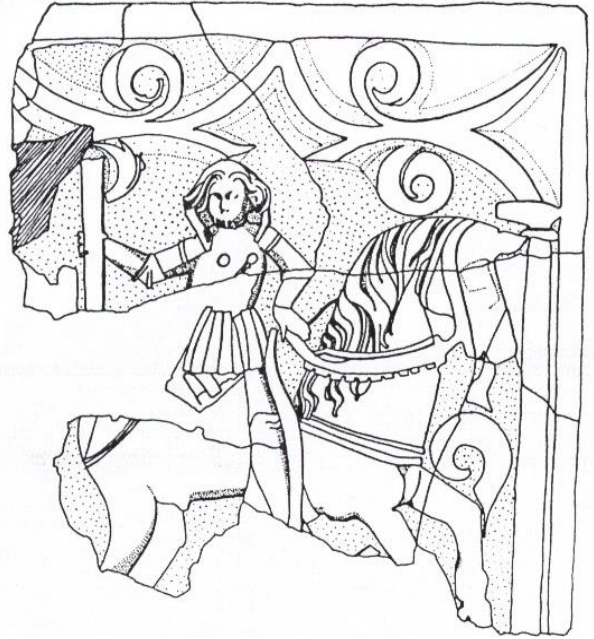


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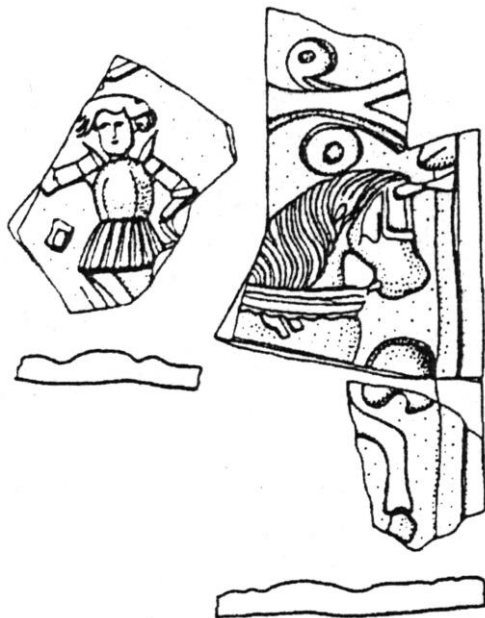
Fig.21



T 26



T 27

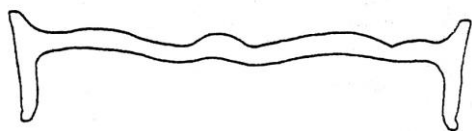


T 28



T 29

Fig.22



T 30

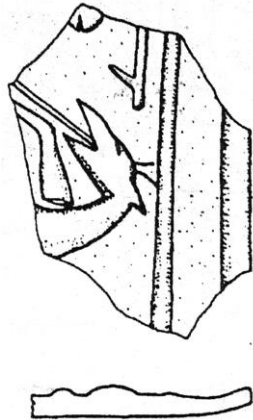


T 31



T 32

Fig.23



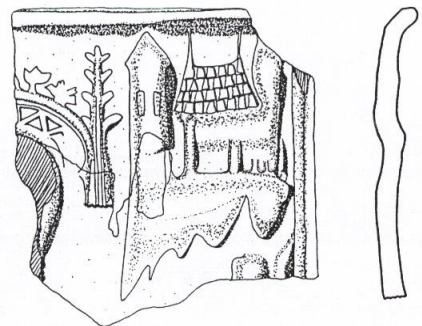
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T 34

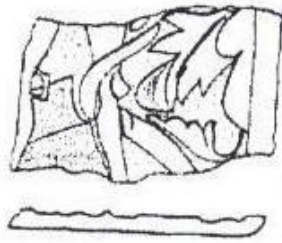


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T 36

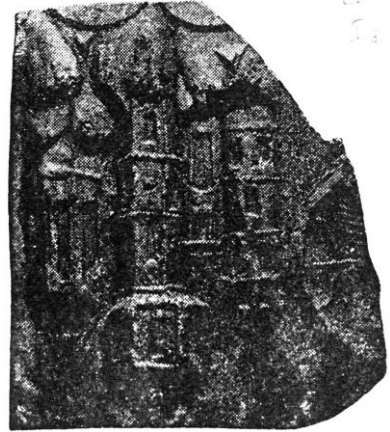
Fig.24



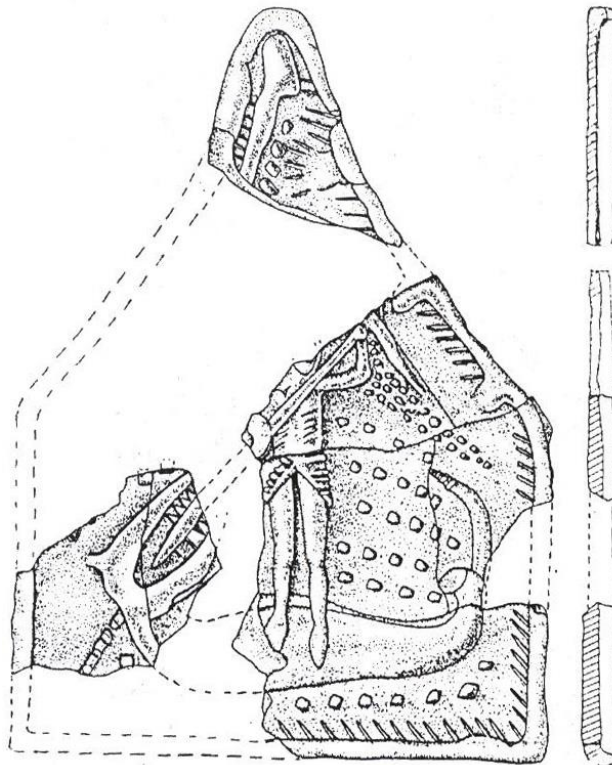
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T 38

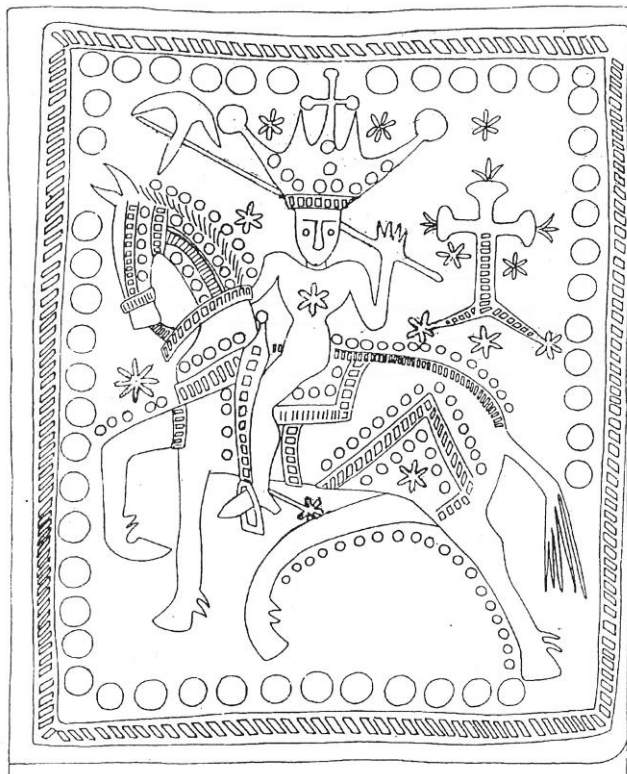


T 39



T 40

Fig.25



CEU eTD Collection

M 1



M 2



M 3

Fig.26



CEU eTD Collection

M 4



M 6

Fig.27



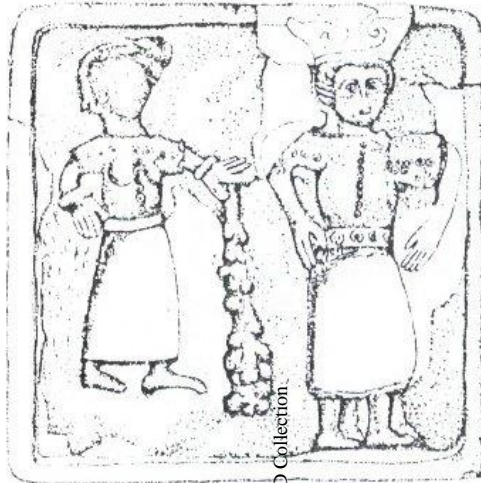
M 7



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M 9



M 10



M 11



M 12

Fig.28



M 13



M 14



M15

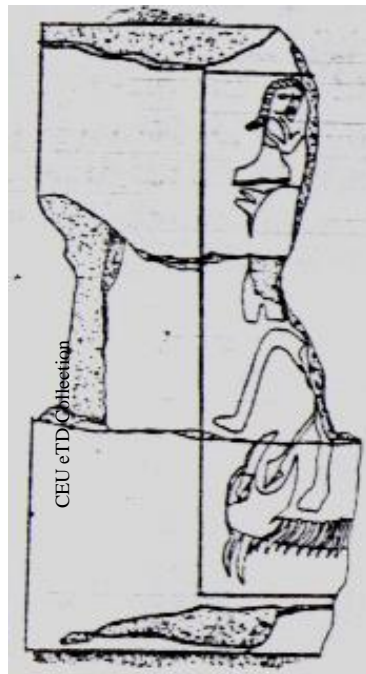
Fig.29



M 16a



M 16b



M 16 c



M 16d

Fig.30



M 17



M18



M19

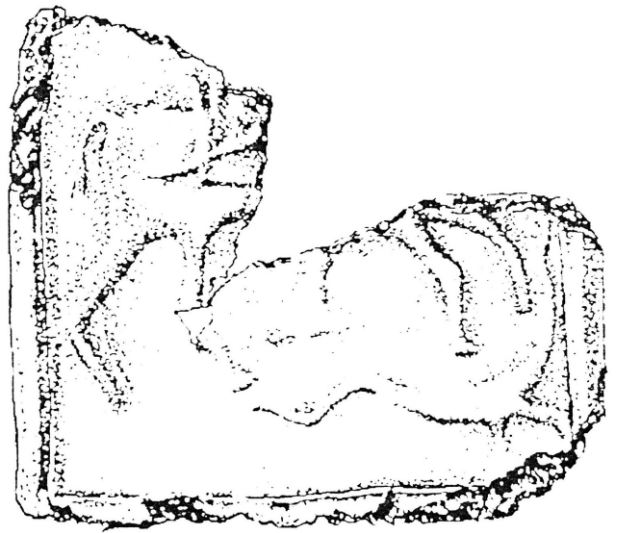


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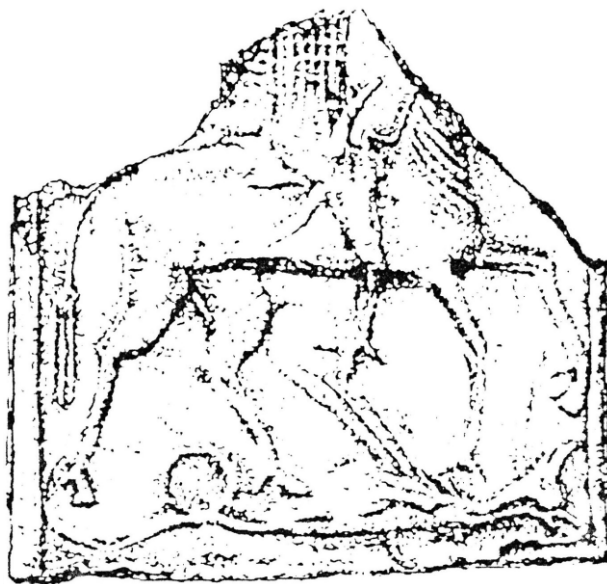
Fig.31



M 21



M 22

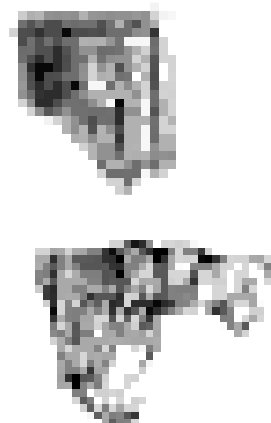


M 23

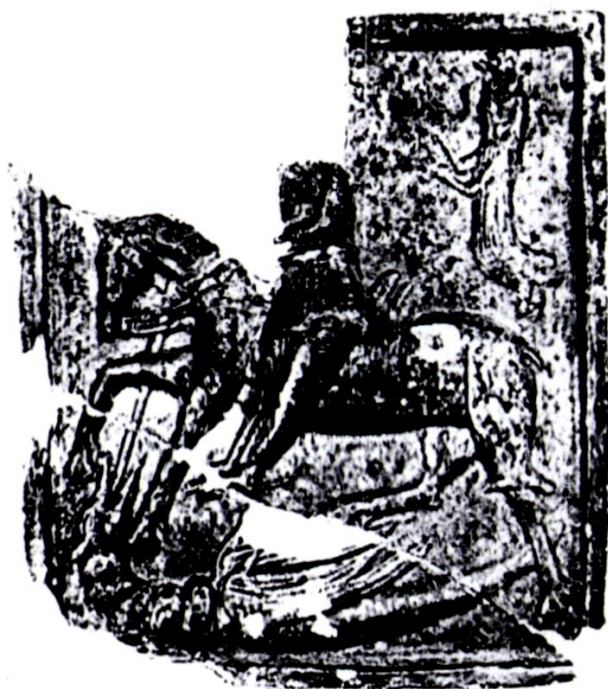
Fig.32



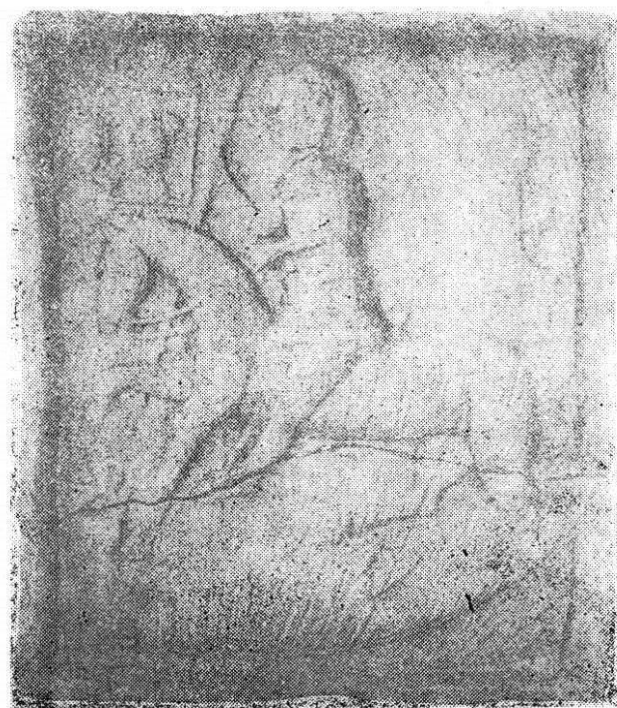
M24



M25



M26



M27

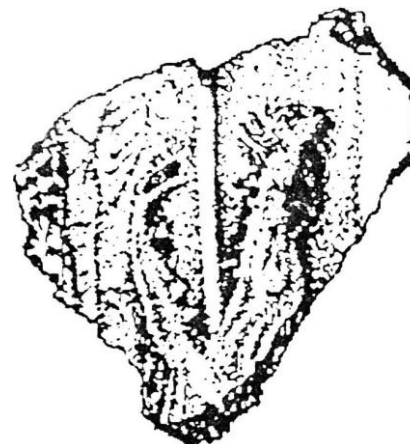
Fig. 33



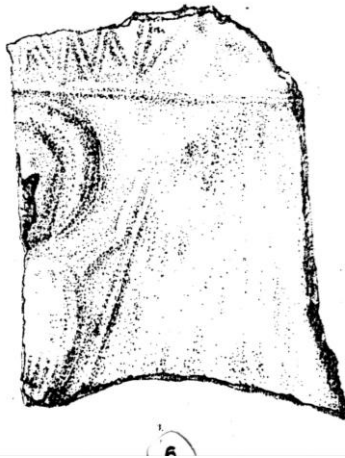
M28



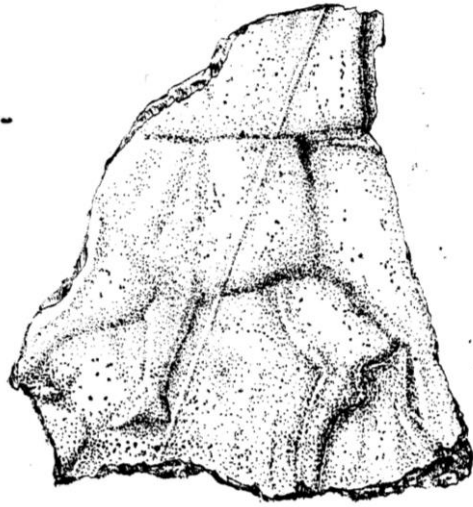
M32



M33



M34



M35



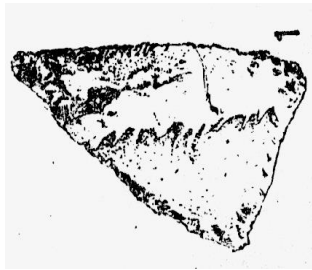
M37



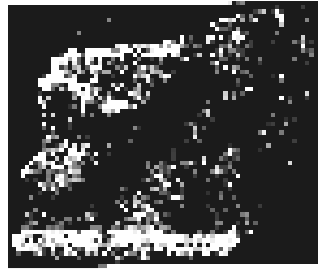
M38



M39



M40



M41



M42

Fig.36

APPENDIX IV

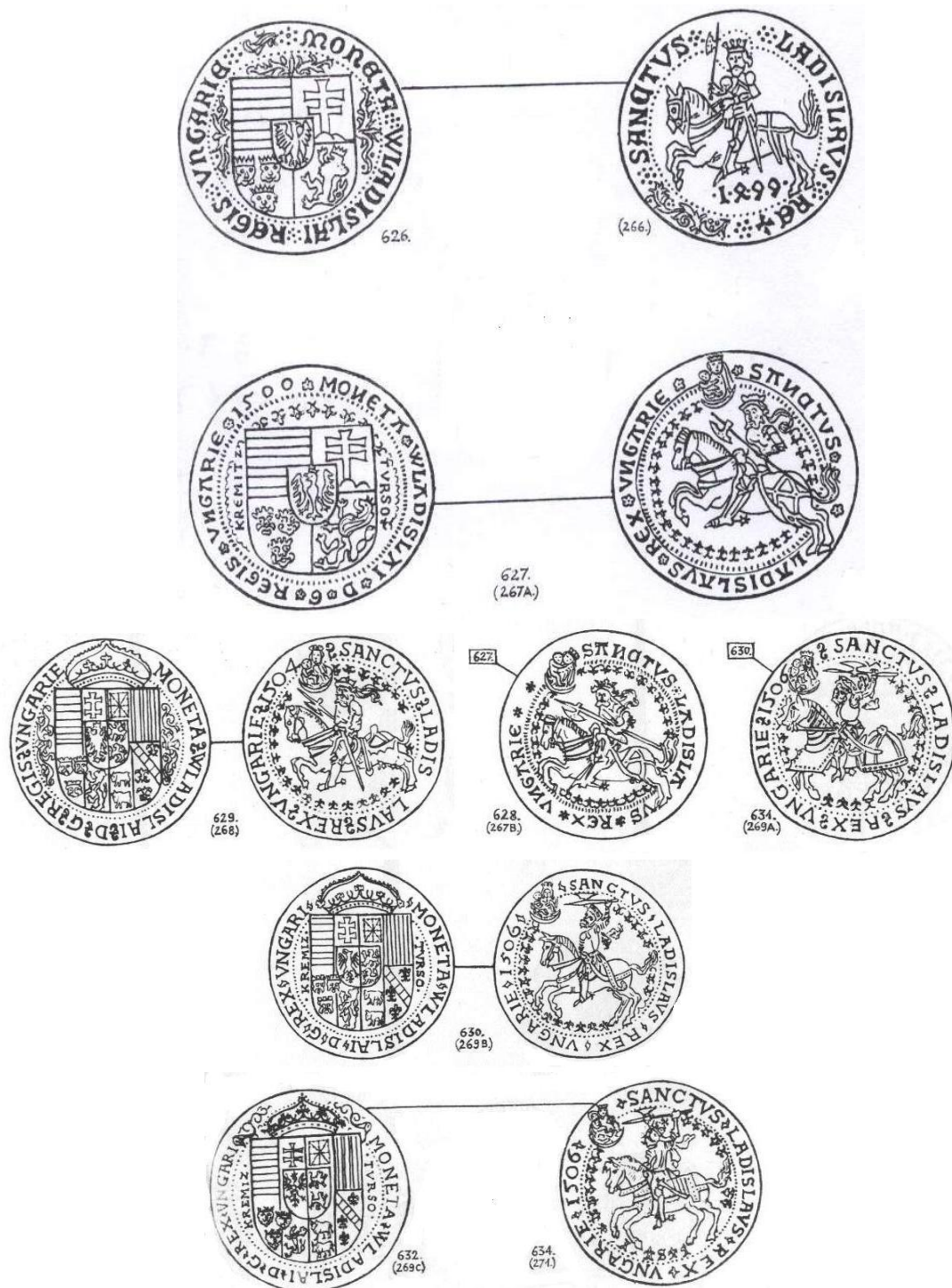


Fig.37. Guldiners depicting Saint Ladislaus on horseback, emitted between 1499-1506 by king Wladislas II (1490-1516). Unger,1980.



Fig.38 Relief with the prayer on the Mount Olive on the southern outside wall and console depicting Saint George fighting the dragon in the sanctuary of the church in Feldioara.
Photos taken by the author, 5.04.2004.