

THE STATUES OF THE GILDED CHAPEL OF  
OUR LADY IN PÉCS – THE FRENCH  
CONNECTION IN THE SCULPTURE OF  
HUNGARY AND CENTRAL EUROPE

**Veronika Csikós**

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***MA Thesis in Medieval Studies***

Central European University

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May 2008

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by

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(Hungary)

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

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Veronika Csikós**, candidate for the MA 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, 26 May 2008

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SIGNATURE

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Hereby I would like to express my gratitude to all of those who helped me in the laborious task and process of forming the ideas into thoughts and these into sentences, which labor was in many respects similar to what a medieval stone-carver could have burdened when transforming a stone into a figure.

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# TABLE OF CONTENT

Table of content.....	8
List of Abbreviations .....	10
List of Illustrations .....	11
Introduction .....	14
1. The Building of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in the mirror of the written evidence and the archaeological excavations.....	16
1.1. Sources about the Chapel .....	16
1.2. The History of Building Activity.....	18
1.3. The Architectural Structure of the Chapel .....	23
1.4. Function.....	25
2. The fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs.....	28
2.1. Excavation and description of the fragments .....	28
2.2. Function.....	30
2.3. Stylistic analysis and dating .....	32
2.3.1. The first group: Fragments of South German stylistic origin.....	32
2.3.2. Second group: Fragments of French stylistic origin .....	35
3. Courtly style: reception of the French style in the Viennese sculpture .....	40
3.1. The Franciscan Church, the Western facade .....	40
3.1.1. The Western façade reflected in the Secondary Literature.....	40
3.1.2. State of Preservation.....	42
3.1.3. Description of the Sculptural Decoration .....	43
3.1.4. Stylistic Analysis (French influence and the inner stylistic relations of the portal decoration).....	46
3.1.5. Historical Interpretation.....	55
3.1.6. Dating .....	57
3.2. Stephansdom, the statues of the southern aisle of the choir .....	59
3.2.1. The French connection in the Stephansdom.....	59
3.2.2. Stylistic analysis.....	60
3.3. Maria am Gestade, statues of the Annunciation .....	65
3.4. Interpretation: Reception of the French style in Vienna .....	67
4. Courtly style (?): Reception of the French style in the Hungarian sculpture.....	71
4. 1. Dating the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, Pécs.....	71
4. 2. A commissioner from the Court: Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs.....	72



4.3. Outlook.....	73
Conclusion .....	75
Bibliography.....	77

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ICOMOS Heft	Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung, ICOMOS Hefte XXII. ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő, München and Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999.
Habsburger	Die Zeit der frühen Habsburger, Döme und Kloster 1279-1379. ed. Floridus Röhrig and Eric Zöllner, Vienna: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung,
PR	Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541, ed. Árpád Mikó and Imre Takács, Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 1994.

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Gilded Chapel of Our Lady chapel, ground plan (Cultural Heritage Office, Plan Archive, no. 38025)
2. Pécs, group one, relief depicting Saint George fighting a dragon
3. Pécs, group one, relief depicting standing figures in niches
4. Pécs, group one, fragment of a bishop's head
5. Pécs, group one, key stone of the former vaulting of the sanctuary
6. Pécs, group one, torso of a figure of a bishop
7. Pécs, group two, relief with a torso of a female figure
8. Pécs, group two, broken relief depicting two standing figures
9. Pécs, group two, relief depicting busts of a prophet and an apostle
10. Pécs, group one, bust of a female saint
11. Pécs group one, bust of a female saint, detail
12. Madonna from the Munich Convent of Poor Clares (Munich, German National Museum)
13. Pécs, group one, fragment of a second bishop's head
14. Pécs, group one, torso of a bishop's figure, detail
15. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
16. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
17. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
18. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
19. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
20. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
21. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
22. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
23. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
24. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
25. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
26. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
27. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure

28. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
29. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
30. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, corbel-figure
31. Pécs, group two, relief depicting busts of a prophet and an apostle (detail)
32. Pécs, group two, figure of an angel swinging a censor (whole figure)
33. Pécs, group two, figure of an angel swinging a censor (detail1)
34. Pécs, group two, figure of an angel swinging a censor (detail2)
35. Pécs, group two, relief with the torso of a female figure, detail
36. Vienna, Franciscan Church, northwestern portal
37. Vienna, Franciscan Church, northwestern portal, corbel figure 1.
38. Vienna, Franciscan Church, northwestern portal, corbel figure 2.
39. Vienna, Franciscan Church, northwestern portal, corbel figure 2b.
40. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal
41. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, tympanum
42. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, tympanum, John the Evangelist,  
Longinus, a flag holder and another male figure
43. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, tympanum, Maria Magdalene,  
Maria Cleophas, and the Holy Virgin
44. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, trumeau, Madonna
45. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, left jamb, apostle
46. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, left jamb, Saint John the Baptist
47. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, left jamb, Saint Catherine
48. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, right jamb, figure of an angel
49. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, right jamb, Saint Margaret
50. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, right jamb, Saint Helena
51. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal
52. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, tympanum
53. Vienna, Franciscan Church, southwestern portal, tympanum, right field
54. Mantes-le-Jolie, Chapelle de Navarre, figure of a female saint
55. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, right jamb, Saint Helena, right hand
56. Vienna, Franciscan Church, middle portal, tympanum, John the Evangelist
57. Vienna, Franciscan Church, south portal, tympanum, right field, head types

58. Vienna, Franciscan Church, south portal, tympanum, right field, head types
59. Jumièges, abbey, fragment of an apostle's head
60. Maubuisson, fragment of a retable (Paris, Louvre)
61. Sens, cathedral, west façade, middle portal
62. Restoration map of the Stephansdom (Rudolf Koch, 1986/87)
63. Jumièges, abbey, figure of an apostle
64. Vienna, Figure of Saint Dorothy (Historical Museum of Vienna)
65. Vienna, Figure of Saint Dorothy (Historical Museum of Vienna), detail 1.
66. Vienna, Figure of Saint Dorothy (Historical Museum of Vienna), detail 2.
67. Vienna, Stephansdom, choir, outer wall, corbel figure 1.
68. Vienna, Stephansdom, choir, outer wall, corbel figure 2.
69. Vienna, Stephansdom, choir, outer wall, corbel figure 3.
70. Vienna, Maria am Gestade, Angel of the Annunciation
71. Vienna, Maria am Gestade, Angel of the Annunciation, detail
72. Vienna, Maria am Gestade, Maria of the Annunciation
73. Vienna, Maria am Gestade, Holy King 1.
74. Vienna, Maria am Gestade, Holy King 2.
75. Székesfehérvár, so-called "Fragment of Princess Catherine"
76. Pannonhalma, tomb slab of abbot Szigfrid

## INTRODUCTION

In the centre of the present thesis stand two groups of the fourteenth century statuary fragments: fragments from the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs, excavated in 1982, on the one hand, and a group of sculptures in Vienna from the middle of the fourteenth century on the other. These two groups seem to be closely related. The connection between them lies in that they follow the same artistic pattern, namely, the one developed in monumental sculpture production in France at the beginning of the fourteenth century, called simply the “French style” in art historical discussion. The aim in this study is to determine the most important features of how this style was adopted in Central Europe through these two examples of Hungarian and Austrian medieval sculpture.

This monumental sculptural style was developed in the territory of Île-de-France around 1300-1330, probably in close connection with the unfolding of the saint cult of Louis IX. From these roots, this “French style” was quickly and successfully associated with the idea of ideal kingship, and therefore probably became a fashionable style among the significant courts of Central Europe in Prague, Vienna, and some Hungarian centres.<sup>1</sup>

In the fourteenth-century sculptural material in Hungary the largest known association of sculpture showing this French style is a group of fragments from the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs. The research of Ernő Marosi and Imre Takács threw light upon the stylistic origin of this group in the direction of not-far-away Vienna, where the sculptural decoration of the Franciscan Church shows remarkable

similarities to the Pécs fragments. Among them, especially the relief depicting prophets raises the possibility of a direct connection to the Viennese workshop. Concerning the latter, Gerhard Schmidt has convincingly pointed out its north French origin.

This thesis will continue the research from this point and it aims to answer the following questions: (1) What is the precise relation between the Pécs and Viennese fragments? (2) What kind of connections link these French works to their Central European artistic context? Who can be assumed as their commissioners? What kind of artistic context are they incorporated in? My main intention is, by placing these in a larger context, to draw some conclusions about the kind of features that characterized the “French connection” in fourteenth-century monumental sculpture in Central-Europe.

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<sup>1</sup> For the historical and art historical background, see: Michael Viktor Schwarz, “Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert”, (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), 46-70. (hereafter: M. V. Schwarz, “Höfische Skulptur“)

# 1. THE BUILDING OF THE GILDED CHAPEL OF OUR LADY IN THE MIRROR OF THE WRITTEN EVIDENCE AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

## 1.1. Sources about the Chapel

The medieval written sources related to the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, as is usual in Hungary, are small in number and most of them refers to it only marginally. The Pécs archive preserves only a small number of medieval charters due to numerous battles that heavily damaged the Bishopric Castle when the town surrendered to Ottoman rule (1543) and was later liberated (1686-87). As a result, neither of the larger deposits of medieval written sources – from the place of authentication in Pécs and the private medieval archive of the bishopric – survived.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, written evidence related to the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady mainly dates back only to the eighteenth century. A significant amount of medieval material is now to be found in the Vatican Archive, since, based on the medieval tradition, duplicates of the charters given out by the pope were made for this institution and were fortunately preserved there.<sup>3</sup> The most important written sources were collected as early as in the second half of the eighteenth century by Josephus Koller, canon of Pécs, and more recently, Ede Petrovich, a local archivist and historian. In 1968, Petrovich gathered and interpreted many sorts of written evidence that he found relevant to the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.

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<sup>2</sup> Mária Patkóné Kéringer, *Pécsi Egyházmegye* [The diocese of Pécs], *Egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvek katalógusa*, 7, ed. Klára Dóka (Budapest: Magyarországi Egyháztörténet Enciklopédia Alapítvány, 1999), 11-23.



The visual sources, including architectural drawings, maps, sketches, etchings, and other sorts of visual genres, likewise date well after the Middle Ages. The first depiction of the town which has been acknowledged as authentic, an etching discovered in the Viennese Hofkammer, originates from the seventeenth century and was probably made for military purposes when recapturing Pécs from the Ottomans during the winter of 1686-1687.<sup>4</sup> The depictions, a large number of which followed this etching, can only be of limited use for this research because none of them depicts the chapel building itself.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, their only use is to trace when the chapel was totally demolished, the fame of which was very much alive even in the eighteenth century. Therefore, it may not have been, as was supposed earlier, demolished immediately after the Ottomans occupied the town. Thus, I will not introduce the sources one by one, since their individual information values are quite low. Instead, the most relevant ones for the topic will be selected and arranged thematically to provide an interpretation.

Altogether, sixteen source items can be brought into relationship with the chapel; all of them are published and most have already been noted in the secondary literature, although they are brought together in this thesis for the first time. With the exception of only a single source attesting the foundation of the chapel, none of these sources report the construction of the chapel or how long it took to build. Nevertheless, they indicate something about the building itself, the foundation of which can be seen as a symbol of the Pécs bishopric's power becoming more and

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<sup>3</sup> See László Pataki, "Pécs felszabadítása a török alól" [The exemption of Pécs from Ottoman rule], *Pécsi Szemle* 1 (1998): 16-24.

<sup>4</sup> Vidor Pataki, "Pécs legrégebbi hiteles ábrázolása," [The earliest depiction of Pécs], *Sorsunk* 1 (1941): 415.

more influential in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. These primary pieces of evidence, therefore, allow space for speculation, the borders of which are strictly determined, providing reasonable opportunities for suggestions about the chapel. In the following pages the chapel as a building and as a place for its community will be considered along four major historical lines, namely, the motives behind the erection of the building, the circumstances of the foundation, the course of the building activity, and the time and circumstances of the destruction of the chapel. This set of data will be completed with additional information gathered from the results of the archaeological excavations, described in detail below, as well as by introducing comparative material on the similar functions of chapels built at approximately the same time.

## 1.2. The History of Building Activity

What kind of – beyond doubt forceful – motives and desires called this chapel into being? To see this clearly is crucial for a better contextualization and interpretation of a building that had – among other features – such a spectacular set of interior decorations.

Among the written sources, the earliest known is fortunately the only one that reports on the foundation of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady. This is the 1355 charter of Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362), in which he affirms the foundation of the chapel by Bishop Nicholas Poroszlói-Neszmélyi (1346-1360) and gives an indulgence for its

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<sup>5</sup>For the known depictions, see: János Hábel, “Két német röplap az 1686-os baranyai hadi eseményekről” [Two German leaflets about the events of the battle at Baranya in 1686], *Pécsi Szemle* 10 (2007): 22-34.

altars.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have tended to see this source as evidence for dating the foundation of the chapel precisely to 1355; this, however, cannot be derived directly from the text of this single source. The text of the bull attests that through this Innocent VI affirmed the foundation of the chapel; thus, the year 1355 can only be understood as a date *ante quem*.<sup>7</sup> The editor of the source, Josephus Koller himself, attests that the chapel was founded before 1355.<sup>8</sup> A few decades later, Michael Haas, of the parish of Pécs, assumed that the chapel was built around 1348.<sup>9</sup>

Further evidence for dating the foundation earlier than 1355 can be found in the same bull of Pope Innocent VI. At the end of the text, eight altars of the chapel are enumerated, which have already been consecrated.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, by 1355 the chapel was not only founded, but the altars were in use. This means only that the *mensae* of the altars were consecrated, however, one cannot be sure that the retables were already in place. Nevertheless, indulgences referring to altars and chapels were frequently issued years after the work was already finished.<sup>11</sup> Regrettably, nothing more can be learnt from the written sources about these altars; at most a picture of their placement in the space of the chapel might be concluded based on the number and the fact that

<sup>6</sup> Josephus Koller, *Historia episcopatum Quinqueecclesiarum*. Vol. 3 (Posonii[Pozsony, Bratislava]: Landerer, 1784) 63-64. (hereafter: Koller, *Historia*)

<sup>7</sup> *Capella, quam ... fundasse et construxisse dicitur*, ibid. 63. Cf. György Tímár, “Szentisztelet Pécsen” [A saint cult in Pécs], *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 9, ed. Márta Font (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2001), 96-101. She explicitly attests here that the foundation of the chapel happened before 1355.

<sup>8</sup> Koller, *Historia*, 18.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Haas, *Gedenkbuch der k. Freien Stadt Fünfkirchen. Zur Erinnerung an die feierliche Einführung der Kanonissinen von U. L. Frau in das zu Fünfkirchen erreichte Kloster* (Pécs: Lyzeums-Buchdruckerei, 1852), 24 (hereafter: Haas, *Gedenkbuch*). Haas does not quote the sources for his dating. See also: János Hábel, “Pécs középkori templomai és kolostorai Michael Haas Gedenkbuchjában” [The medieval churches and abbeys of Pécs in the so-called “Gedenkbuch” of Michael Haas], *Pécsi Szemle* 8 (2005): 7-15. Here Hábel attests that the book was published in 1845, see p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> *octo altaria ... dedicata et consecrata existat* [corrected by Koller: *existent*] Koller, *Historia*, 64.

<sup>11</sup> Gábor Endrődi, “Két táblakép a 18. századi Újbányán. Csekélység MS mesterhez” [Two panel paintings in eighteenth-century Újbánya. A bagatelle to Master MS], *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 55 (2006): 121.

the building had an approximately corresponding number of additional rooms. Therefore, they may have stood in the niches along the southern and northern sides of the chapel, which might have served as side chapels for personal devotion.<sup>12</sup> Concerning the look of these altars, it is probable that some of the fragments found in the 1982 excavations came from them.

Hardly anything is known about the chapel for the next half century. The next report after the papal bull is from 1389. In this charter the chapel is defined as the Holy Virgin Chapel standing in the Castle of Pécs.<sup>13</sup> The importance of the text cannot be underestimated despite its brevity because this is the first written evidence for localizing where the chapel might have stood. This was one of the pieces of evidence that helped to identify the wall remnants found during the excavations in 1982 as belonging to the walls of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.

Incomparably richer source about the chapel is available from the fifteenth century, even though it is of secondary importance for my present purpose, since it is mainly informative about the ecclesiastical corporation of the chapel. Among those files, which refer precisely to the building of the chapel, I would first note a charter of Pope Boniface IX, which mentions the chapel under the name “Deaurata” (gilded) in 1401.<sup>14</sup> The appearance of the name as early as the first years of the fifteenth century

<sup>12</sup>Here I would like to say thank to Imre Takács, who called my attention to this fact.

<sup>13</sup>...*ad altare sine cura sancte Dorothee situm in Capella beate Marie Virginis Castri Quinqueecclesiensis*, Monumenta Vaticana, vol. 1, no. 3 (Budapest., 1888) 18. Cf. Ede Petrovich, “Az egyetemalapító Vilmos pécsi püspök és Janus Pannonius sírhelye” [The burial place of Janus Pannonius and Bishop William, founder of the university of Pécs], *Baranyai Helytörténetírás* 1 (1968): 162.

<sup>14</sup> *Non obstantibus ... quod ut, asseris, altare sancti Stephani regis, situm in capella deaurata beate Marie Virginis castri Quinqueecclesiensis, quod sine cura est, cuiusque fructus ... quinque marcharum argenti ... valorem annuum non excedunt, nosceris obtinere*, Monumenta Vaticana, vol. 1, no. 4, (Budapest, 1889), 307. Cf. Ede Petrovich, “A pécsi Levéltár épülete” [The building of the Pécs Archive], *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 8 (1963): 161-171; Ede Petrovich, “Az egyetemalapító Vilmos pécsi püspök és Janus Pannonius sírhelye” [The burial place of Janus Pannonius and Bishop William, founder of the university of Pécs], *Baranyai Helytörténetírás* 1 (1968): 162. (hereafter: Petrovich, *Egyetemalapító*)

makes it believable that the name refers to the inner decoration of the building, precisely the gilding of the sculptures, remnants of which is still visible on many of the sculptural fragments found in 1982.

Henceforward, the chapel played an important role in the life of the lively townscape. A particularly significant number of the charters remaining from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries give information about the active sale of goods in the vicinity of Pécs. The participants in these businesses were the members of the ecclesiastical community of the chapel: priests of the altars, certain canons or bishops, who stayed in an active and fruitful relation with the other citizens of the town, and who apparently found this contact important. In 1473 an altar is mentioned to which a whole vineyard belonged.<sup>15</sup> Some decades later, in 1503, Bishop Zsigmond Ernuszt, János Gyulai, and the community of the chapel bought a vineyard that may have yielded a significant income to the chapel.<sup>16</sup> The importance of this sale, that the buyers paid the sum of 1500 gold forints in cash for this piece of ground, can be seen in that this amount of money corresponded approximately to the yearly income of the archbishop of Esztergom in the fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

The last record on the chapel comes from Miklós Oláh, secretary of the Widow Queen Mary of Habsburg (1526-42), and later archbishop of Esztergom (1553-1568), who described the Hungarian Kingdom in 1536. In the eighth chapter he depicted the town of Pécs with special emphasis on the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, mentioning its location on the northern side of the cathedral and the tomb of the

<sup>15</sup>Quoted by: Béla Iványi, "Egy 1526 előtti ismeretlen kéziratos formulás könyv" [An unknown book of samples before 1526], *Történelmi Tár* 4 (1904): 527.

<sup>16</sup>Josephus Koller, *Historia episcopatum Quinqueecclesiarum*. Vol. 7 (Pest: Trattner, 1812), 328.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.; for this comparison see: András Kubinyi, "'Pécs gazdasági jelentősége és városiassága a késő-középkorban" [The significance of Pécs as an economic center and as a town in the late Middle Ages], *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből*, 9, ed. Márta Font (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2001), 43-51.

founder Bishop Nicholas.<sup>18</sup> The further destiny of the chapel is obscure, including the important fact of when and under what circumstances it was demolished. Regarding this, scholars have emphasized the destructive effects of the Ottoman occupation of the town in 1543. This, as in many other cases in Hungary, may well have been responsible for the disappearance of medieval churches and the written sources; in this special case, however, some sources call for being more careful. Several pieces of written evidence from the first half of the eighteenth century mention the chapel as a building which had not been gone long from the city.<sup>19</sup> These, on the one hand, are all based on oral tradition, and thus are not necessarily trustworthy from a historical point of view. Probably the formation of these rather imaginative ideas can be traced back to a specific result of the building activities carried out in the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1757 a grave was found just north of the cathedral, which was identified as the grave of Bishop William of Bergzabern-Koppenbach (1360-1374) based on a ring with an inscription with his name that was also discovered there.<sup>20</sup> It does not seem to be an unfounded idea that some remnants of the chapel were visible even in the seventeenth century, since in 1687 some remnants of a wall were documented just at the site where the chapel once stood. Joseph de Haüy, the French military engineer in Habsburg service, made a drawing of a wall at the site of the chapel in Pécs. Because of his technical background this indication of the presence of a wall at the site of the chapel in Pécs should be acceptable.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria-Athila*, ed. Colomannus Eperjessy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 15. (hereafter Olahus, *Hungaria*)

<sup>19</sup> Koller, *Historia*, 18.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 84; Petrovich, *Egyetemalapító*, 161.

<sup>21</sup> Karlsruhe, Generallandesarchiv/21. See Mária G. Sándor, "Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs – Siedlungs- und Baugeschichte im Überblick" *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung, ICOMOS Hefte XXII*. ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő (München-Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal: 1999), (hereafter: ICOMOS), 15-20., figure 3.

### 1.3. The Architectural Structure of the Chapel

Neither written nor pictorial evidence gives a hint about how the building of the chapel might have looked, therefore, an analysis of the contemporary appearance of the chapel must rely on archaeological excavations. The excavation on the site north of the cathedral began in 1978 under the leadership of Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő.<sup>22</sup> Of course, their original intention was not to find the building of the chapel mentioned in the written sources; they only aimed to gain a clearer picture of the northern area of the Bishopric Castle. Accordingly, the walls of the chapel appeared quite unexpectedly (excavated between 1981-1987) and so did the sculptural fragments (1982), which were soon identified as having belonged to the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.<sup>23</sup>

The whole ground plan of the chapel can be reconstructed. Some problems related to the details of the building remain unsolved, especially where the foundations of the walls were either not entirely excavated (e.g., on the southwest corner of the chapel) or where they have such an irregular shape that their relation to each other remains obscure (e.g., in the case of the spaces which are located on two sides of the chapel). Also the placement of the main entrance – whether it was on the western or southern side of the building – is unclear since no vertical walls were found; the foundations of the walls do not give a hint as to where openings could have been.

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<sup>22</sup>For the archaeological documentation see: Archeological documentation Nos. 25423, 25424, 25635, 28155, 28156, 37448, 38025, 38709 in the Cultural Heritage Office, Budapest.

<sup>23</sup>For the first archaeological documentation available that identifies the wall remnants as belonging to the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, see: No. 25635 (Cultural Heritage Office).

The chapel, as was already mentioned, stood north of the cathedral, close to its northwestern corner. It was twenty meters long and fourteen meters wide building (Figure 1). It had a single nave, flanked by two rows of side chapels. The building terminated on the east in a polygonal choir, which was supported by buttresses. To the northern side of the choir a larger rectangular room was added, the biggest of the additional spaces. These additional rooms are the biggest problem in interpreting the ground plan of the chapel. Their precise number within the building is unknown; due to the extent to which the chapel has been excavated – all of the chapel with the important exception of the southwestern corner – there were seven or eight of them standing along the two sides of the building. This placement allows them to be identified as smaller side-chapels, although some details need to be clarified. First, their connection to each other and to the main space of the chapel is problematic. According to the excavations, the foundation separates them from each other, while allowing the assumption of direct entrances from the nave. However, they might have been separated from the nave in some way, e.g. there is a thin foundation on the southern side of the second chapel from the east. Furthermore, tombs are located at the entrance of some of them. Finally, the annex in the northeastern corner of the chapel mentioned above needs further explanation. It is apparently larger than the other spaces, thus it could have served for a different function, presumable a sacristy.

Further architectural details of the former building can only be guessed, because the foundations of the excavated walls cannot really give information about them. According to its size, the assumption of a twenty-meter-tall building seems acceptable; the keystone of the sanctuary, found elsewhere but assumed to be have belonged to the building, would fit such large a building well.



## 1.4. Function

Based on the description above, the chapel appears as to have been quite a large and significant building, both in terms of architecture (a free-standing building, large size) and in the size of its ecclesiastical community. In order to identify the function of the building – since a chapel standing by itself could have had various tasks – the enumeration of its architectural features is only partially sufficient. For this, the probable reconstruction of its architectural surroundings is necessary as well. In the particular case of the chapel, more of the context is known: above all, the cathedral (an imposing structure), a newly built bishopric palace, a building of the minor chapter and, last but not least, numerous chapels, four of which are known from written source material.<sup>24</sup> Regarding these circumstances it is logical to assume that the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was closely related to them functionally. This complex situation raises the question: What sort of function did the building fulfill? The idea that the chapel was functionally subordinated to Pécs University and therefore a “university chapel” has been one of the suggestions of the scholarly world.<sup>25</sup> The other suggestion for the function of the chapel can be concluded from the three most important factors related to it: it was a free-standing building, located very close to the cathedral, and, it had an ecclesiastical community that served in it. Free-standing chapels in the neighbourhood of important churches may have had different functions in the Middle Ages. Three possible functions were: burials, the cult of special saints, and a collegiate function.

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<sup>24</sup>András Kikindai and Tamás Fedeles, “Római sírkamra vagy gótikus kápolna? Építmény a pécsi székesegyház délnyugati homlokzata előtt” [Roman burial chamber or Gothic chapel? The edifice in front of the southwestern facade of the Pécs cathedral], *Pécsi Szemle* 9 (2006): 31-37.

Bishop Nicholas founded the chapel as his own burial place, which was followed by his successor, Bishop William, and several others.<sup>26</sup> Miklós Oláh, in his description of 1536, vividly depicts the founder's tomb, indicating that even the penitential belt of the bishop was hanging there. This description suggests that a kind of saintly cult was in formation around Bishop Nicholas, whose humility and generosity towards the poor is also emphasized.<sup>27</sup>

Regarding saintly cult, the eight altars known were dedicated to saints related to Hungary (King Stephen, Ladislas, Emericus, Martin), women saints (Dorothy, Mary Magdalene, Elisabeth), and the rarely venerated Livinus, the saintly bishop of Ghent.<sup>28</sup> The relics of this latter were acquired in 1351 by Bishop Nicholas himself, as the printed Missal of Pécs (1499) explicitly states.<sup>29</sup> The side-chapels attached to the building attest the intention to accommodate as many altars as possible from the beginning of the construction. In fact, this kind of arrangement is unique in chapels, but known from churches serving monastic communities.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, the collegiate character of the chapel is evident simply by looking at the ground plan.

Oláh, in his description, called the chapel *collegiatum sacellum divae virginis auratae sacrum*.<sup>31</sup> The priests serving in the chapel had a certain income, which is

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<sup>25</sup> Mária G. Sándor, "A pécsi Püspökvár feltárt középkori egyházi és világi épületei" [translation] *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 37 (1992), 105-107.

<sup>26</sup> Even Haas mentioned in 1845 that this chapel served as burial place for bishops and nuns, *Baranya. Emlékirat* [Baranya. Memorial Book], ed. Mihály Haas (Pécs: Lyceum Könyvnyomó-intézete, 1845), 308.

<sup>27</sup> Olahus, *Hungaria*, 15.

<sup>28</sup> See the charter of 1355, quoted in note 5.

<sup>29</sup> *Missale secundum chorum alme Ecclesiae Quinque Ecclesiensae* (Venice, 1499) fol. CCXX, quoted in Koller, *Historia*, 15.

<sup>30</sup> Compare, e.g., the Pauline churches of Tüskevár and Csátka, see Géza Entz, "Főúri építkezések," [Building activity of the aristocracy] *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470* ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 406., figs. 1-2.

<sup>31</sup> Olahus, *Hungaria*, 15.

attested by papal donations in 1389 and 1401.<sup>32</sup> Haas, in his *Gedenkbuch* of 1852, called the chapel *Kollegiatkirche*, comparing it to another one dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>33</sup> Although officially the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was never turned into a collegiate church, it cannot be excluded that such an idea was not alien to the founder. Besides the Minor Chapter of Pécs, connected to the St. John Chapel, several comparable collegiate churches existed in other Hungarian bishopric centers.<sup>34</sup> To name only a few of them, the St. Stephen Chapel, situated north of the cathedral in Esztergom, was mentioned in 1249 as *capella archiepiscopalis* and in 1272 as *ecclesia processionalis*. The intention to form it into a chapter emerged at that time, however, it happened as late as in 1391.<sup>35</sup> The best parallel to the building in Pécs was excavated in Eger in 1927. Their locations close to the northwest corner of the cathedrals is identical, as well as the lengths of the chapels (ca. 20 m). The first period of this chapel is dated to the thirteenth century. In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century it was enlarged and modernised. Taking into account its location, it was identified with the chapel of the Minor Chapter dedicated to St. Stephen of Hungary.<sup>36</sup>

On the basis of these considerations, the main function of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was certainly the burial of the founding bishop in a chapel which housed several valuable relics and was served by a priestly community, thus guaranteeing the salvation of the soul of the founder, who himself became an object of veneration in the

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<sup>32</sup> See notes 12 and 14.

<sup>33</sup> Haas, *Gedenkbuch*, 24.

<sup>34</sup> A list of them can be found in Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Ecclesiastical society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1971), 115-118.

<sup>35</sup> Antal Pór, *Az Esztergom-várbeli Szent István első vértanúról nevezett prépostság története* [The history of the provostry named after St. Stephen protomartyr in the Castle of Esztergom] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1909); Ernő Marosi, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn* (Budapest, Akadémiai, 1984), 51-52.

<sup>36</sup> Károly Kozák, "Pécs" *Heves megye műemlékei* [The historic monuments of Heves county], ed. Dezső Dercsényi and Pál Voigt (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1972) vol. 2, 146-148.

next centuries. For the noble ambition of the donor, the splendid sculptural decoration was a considerable addition.

## 2. THE FRAGMENTS OF THE GILDED CHAPEL OF OUR LADY IN PÉCS

The architectural and sculptural fragments found in Pécs are entitled to quite a significant place in the sculptural material from fourteenth-century Hungary. It is not really their large number that makes these remnants so important in the history of Hungarian art, which otherwise has an infinitesimal part of the original sculptural material from this period. It is their stylistic orientation, and – not independently – the spectacular quality they represent which makes these fragments incredibly important to analyze and fit into the context of fourteenth-century sculpture in Hungary.

### 2.1. Excavation and description of the fragments

In 1982 a large number of fragments of Gothic sculpture were excavated from the site where the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady stood in the Bishopric Castle in Pécs.<sup>37</sup> Among the remnants, which were found broken and collected in a grave, there are both architectural and sculptural fragments.

Most of them are carved from limestone. Because this is a porous material, these fragments are in relatively poor condition; their surface is so strongly damaged that fine details are only occasionally discernible. Tracks of former painting and the priming for the gilding, however, are still visible on quite large areas. A smaller

number of the remnants were carved from a denser type of stone, marl. These pieces are all finely carved, small works of art. A large number of them depict figures, among which are important pieces for the topic of this thesis, since they relate to the possibility of direct French stylistic influence<sup>38</sup>

This set of fragments was secondarily completed by some fourteenth century carvings found in different areas of the Bishopric Castle in the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> These seem to be connected to the fragments excavated in 1982 in many ways: in terms of size, shape, and, above all, the way of formulating a figure. Based on these correspondences, they were also considered to be the parts of the decoration of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, an idea first raised by Ernő Marosi in 1987.<sup>40</sup> Among these pieces four are made of limestone – the same material as most of the fragments found in 1982. They are a relief depicting Saint George on a horse fighting with a dragon (Figure 2), another relief depicting standing figures in niches (Figure 3), a head of a bishop in high relief (Figure 4), and the most significant piece, the keystone of the vaulting of the sanctuary (Figure 5). A torso of a figure (probably an angel) also belongs here (Figure 6). Some of these carvings found earlier are made of marl, among them two reliefs that will be analyzed later: a relief with a torso of a female figure that calls attention to itself by the outstanding fineness of its carving

<sup>37</sup> The number of the archaeological documentation is unknown: Mária, G. Sándor, “A Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai,” [The stone carvings of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], *ICOMOS*, 61-98. (hereafter: Sándor, *Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai*, 1999)

<sup>38</sup> Imre Takács, “A gótika műhelyei a Dunántúlon a 13-14. században,” [The ateliers of Gothic art in Transdanubia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries], *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* [Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia 1000-1541], ed. Imre Takács and Árpád Mikó (Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Kiadványai, 1994), (hereafter: PR) 32. (hereafter: Takács, *A gótika műhelyei*)

<sup>39</sup> These carvings were found during the last phase of the restoration process around the cathedral in the 1910s. For their first publication, see: Ottó Szőnyi, *A pécsi püspöki muzeum kőtára* [The stone deposit of the Bishopric Museum of Pécs] (Pécs, Religio, 1906).

technique (Figure 7), and a fragment with a damaged surface that depicts the upper body part of two standing figures. This latter is linked in a direct way to the marl fragments excavated in 1982, since it fits together with one of them perfectly (see the two pieces in Figure 8).

## 2.2. Function

The identification of the fragments as parts of the decoration of the former Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was established by comparing the location of the excavated walls with written sources about the chapel.<sup>41</sup> This opinion, since no recently known information puts it in doubt, has been accepted by Hungarian scholarship for use in later investigations concerning the art historical relations of the fragments.

Concerning the question of the original function of the fragments, authors in the secondary literature expressed two fundamentally different opinions. Among one circle of the art historians the idea was suggested that the fragments, different in size and material, could have belonged to any of a number of different types of furniture inside the chapel. The function of several fragments, however, can be more closely circumscribed. For instance, the fragments of figures made of limestone probably stood in front of the pillars of the chapel, which can be concluded from their larger-than-life sizes and from the fact that they are flatly carved on the back. The baldachins, the fragments of which were found in 1982, can easily be imagined as

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<sup>40</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Figurális szobrászat” [Sculpture], *Magyarországi Művészet 1300-1470*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 457-458. (hereafter: Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat*)

<sup>41</sup> The interpretation of the fragments as parts of the decoration of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was first suggested in 1983, see: Doc. Nr. 25424, Hungarian Ministry for Cultural Heritage.

being put above them.<sup>42</sup> Another fragment, for which the function can also be guessed, is an L-shaped piece of marl (Figure 9). This fragment, which shows the places of the (probably) original scarf-joints, could have been part of a retable, together with other fragments depicting standing figures (mentioned above), which fit it in shape and stylistic considerations (Figure 7 and Figure 8).<sup>43</sup>

The other idea developed about the probable function of these fragments thinks that they – together with some of the pieces found at the end of the nineteenth century – belonged to a tomb of the particular grave where they were found during the excavations.<sup>44</sup> This hypothetical tomb was reconstructed based on fourteenth-century parallels, the tombs of the popes of Avignon.<sup>45</sup> The core of this idea, namely, that some pieces may have been parts of one (or more) tomb(s), is acceptable especially considering the fact that many burial places were excavated in the area of the chapel (see Figure 1). The idea, however, that all the marl carvings together with the others made of a different material were parts of one and the same tomb, is unlikely. Besides the fact that by using all these carvings for one tomb it would have been proportionally too large for the inner space of the chapel, the other weak point of this reconstruction is the fact that the fragments made of marl and those made of

<sup>42</sup> Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat* 458.

<sup>43</sup> Imre Takács, “Királyi udvar és művészet Magyarországon a késő Anjou-korban” [The royal court and art in Hungary in the late-Anjou period], Sigismundus. *Rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387-1437*. [Sigismundus. Rex et imperator. Art and culture in the age of Sigismundus of Luxemburg 1387-1437], ed. Imre Takács (Budapest-Luxemburg: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 76. (hereafter: Takács, *Királyi udvar*)

<sup>44</sup> G. Sándor, *Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai*, 1999, 67.

<sup>45</sup> For the theoretical restoration of the tomb with a baldachin see Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremlékének rekonstrukciója az Aranyos Mária-kápolnából” [A Reconstruction of the Tomb of Bishop William of Bergzabern in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], *ICOMOS* 92-99. (hereafter: Buzás, *Síremlék*). For a mock-up and a detailed explanation, see: Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremléke,” [The Tomb of William of Bergzabern] *Magyar főrendi síremlékek*, ed. Deák Zoltán (Budapest: Urbis, 2004), (hereafter: *Magyar főrendi síremlékek*) 109-118.

limestone are dated differently. (I will return to the separation of the fragments into two groups later).<sup>46</sup>

Because neither written nor archaeological evidence known hitherto gives a hint about the original function of the fragments, all the interpretations suggested should remain only hypotheses. A detailed examination of the measure and state of the fragments can yet bring new results concerning this problem; such an investigation, however, is beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 2.3. Stylistic analysis and dating

The architectural and sculptural fragments can be separated into two groups. This separation is based on what kind of stone they were made of, and, especially, on what stylistic divergences they show.<sup>47</sup>

#### 2.3.1. The first group: Fragments of South German stylistic origin

The so-called “first group” was regarded as comprising the fragments made of limestone, the stylistic origin of which should be sought in South German sculpture of the fourteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Among them, four – the busts of a female saint and a male

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<sup>46</sup>For the dating of the fragments, see: Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat*, 458; and the catalogue entries about each of the remnants: Mária G. Sándor, “Női szent szobrának töredéke” [Fragment of a female saint], “Püspökszent szobrának torzója” [Torso of a bishop saint], “Térdelő női szent vagy angyal töredéke” [Fragment of a kneeling saint or an angel], “A pécsi középkori egyetem címerköve” [The stone of the coat of arms of the Pécs University] “Kezében füstölőt tartó angyal szobortöredéke” [Sculptural fragment of an angel holding a censor] “Domborműves párkánytag két próféta alakjával” [Relief with the figures of two apostles], “Relieftöredék két női alakkal (Angyali üdvözlés részlete)” [Relief fragment with two female figures (Part of the scene of the Annunciation)] and Imre Takács, “Pálcakeretes kőlap töredéke két álló figura részletével” [Stone slab fragment with parts of two standing figures], “Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával” [Relief fragment with the torso of a female figure] in *PR*, 270-273.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.



figure, a life-size figure of a bishop, and a kneeling figure – are preserved in a condition that allows a detailed stylistic examination (Figures 2-6, 10-11, 13-14).

From them, I would first highlight the figure of a female saint (Figures 10-11), since it has been the most frequently mentioned in the secondary literature. The figure's popularity is due to the unusually good state of preservation. This is the only fragment of which the head remains, and in addition, preserves one or more layers of paint and also remnants of former gilding. Because the gilding on the hair was linked with the name of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, this fragment has often been held to be the part of a statue of the Virgin Mary.<sup>49</sup> The chain of flowers in its hair is, however, a motif that allows interpreting the fragment rather as Saint Dorothy.<sup>50</sup>

The hair is arranged in thick, regularly curved locks which frame a more or less oval face. It has a low forehead and a temple widened by a well-defined eyebrow, and is narrowed down on the lower face defining a somewhat irregular oval shape. The almond-shaped eyes are relatively large and carved sharply. These characteristics bring the fragment spectacularly close to a Madonna from the Convent of Poor Clares in Munich (Figure 12).<sup>51</sup>

The investigation of these similarities is even more fruitful in the case of a fragment in high relief portraying a bishop's head (Figure 4) because the surface is much better preserved. The characteristics which prompt identifying the sculptor as coming from Southern Germany are apparent in the sculptural details: the temple is wider and the face is given clear-cut and strong features, which can be very well

<sup>49</sup> For the identification of the bust with that of the Virgin Mary see Mária G. Sándor, "A Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai" [The stone carvings of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], *ICOMOS*, 67.

<sup>50</sup> Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat*, 458.

<sup>51</sup> Achim Hubel, "Die Zeit der Frühen Herzöge," *Wittelsbach und Bayern*, vol. 1, No. 2, (Munich: Hirmer and Piper), 369-371. Imre Takács first mentioned this statue in connection with fourteenth-

paralleled to the details of the Munich Madonna mentioned above. Furthermore, because this bishop's head was found at the end of the nineteenth century, these features may also strengthen the connection between the remnants found much earlier and far from the chapel area and those found in 1982. The differences between them are ascribed to the workshop's sculptural solution for distinguishing between the male and female figures. This link is actually established best by a fragment of another bishop's head from the 1982 group, where the corresponding formulation of the bishop's mitre does not leave any doubt about that both groups were made for the chapel (Figure 13.).

Concerning the mode of execution, the fragments of this first group show a more modest quality compared to South German analogues (at least, based on their present condition). This is implied by the less detail-oriented formation of the female saint's hair, which is probably the most intact surface in the whole group. The characteristic locks of hair are ordered into wide, wavy locks, which form quite a monotonous surface. This less innovative approach can similarly be seen in the composition of the figure; at least the torso of the bishop figure supports this very well (Figure 14). Despite the fragmentary appearance, the coordination and harmony of the details and the suggestion of movement can be grasped very well; all the fragments suggest a sculptor who was willing to master a large piece of stone, but was faced with difficulties when carrying out this task. He knew how to dissolve the closeness of a large stone block (and transform it into the figure), because he used numerous sculptural tricks: the deliberate cuts and the plastic folds show this clearly. He could not achieve the effect expected, however. These attributes all point to the

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century Hungary stone sculpture as parallel to the pieces of a choir screen (dated around 1355) from the

workmanship of well, but not outstandingly, skilled masters who used excellent quality models from South Germany, but without having the skill of their sculptors.

Based on this influence of South German sculpture around the middle of the fourteenth century – an outstanding piece of which is the Munich Madonna – the fragments of the first group can be dated to around 1350-1360. This is further strengthened by the fact that stylistically they are close to the Pilisszentkereszt remnants, dated somewhat earlier than 1355. This dating, established on stylistic observations, also harmonizes with the historical dates noted above. Accordingly, the date for the beginning of the work is implied by the foundation of the chapel around 1350, while the end may be dated in relation to the death of Bishop Nicholas, the founder of the chapel, in 1360.

### **2.3.2. Second group: Fragments of French stylistic origin**

In the second group are works made of marl, the style of which can be traced directly back to French models; they comprise the actual topic of this thesis. By pointing out the similarity of the so-called “relief with prophets” (Figure 9) from this group with the corbel figures made by French sculptors on the southwestern portal of the Franciscan Church in Vienna, Ernő Marosi and Imre Takács determined the precise area of the origin of the style in the sculpture of Île-de-France.<sup>52</sup> The similarities between the carvings of Vienna and Pécs are convincing, so it is possible that they were carved by one and the same workshop. A detailed stylistic analysis, presented below, will examine this idea, and thereby open the discussion towards

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former Cistercian abbey at Pilisszentkereszt, see: Takács, *A gótika műhelyei*, 30-32.

<sup>52</sup> Takács, *Királyi udvar*, 76-78.

probable international connections of the sculpture in the mid-fourteenth century in Hungary.

The cornerstone of this direct connection to – or, rather, from – Vienna is the stone fragment depicting two figures as busts on the front (Figure 9). The figures, carved in relief, have traditionally been identified as prophets based on the fact they hold a scroll in their hands. The figure on the right may also be an apostle, as his uncovered head allows such an iconographical categorization as well. The use of another type of beard may be understood as a conscious sculptural solution for distinguishing the figures from each other.

The relief is undoubtedly of outstanding quality; the fine formulation of both the architectural and figural details shows this. Highlighting only several characteristic details, for example, the edge of the niches around the figures is framed by a finely carved profile. The same precision can be discovered in the shape of the folds of the figures' mantles. Similarly, the artistic preparedness of the masters can be seen in the masterly compositional arrangement. The figures are neither too small nor too big for the niche they are in, which they therefore take entirely but gently in their possession. They are depicted as busts; the composition arranges their arms, hands, heads, and even the hair – the curls of which seem as if they were trying to echo the movement of the figures themselves – gives the impression that these busts are entire figures. Besides this, the most characteristic feature of the style represented here is the spectacular way the stone material is handled. This can probably best be seen on the mantles of the figures. These are dominated by carefully polished surfaces left without folds, the sharp lines of which rarely break the surface, but then the more in a determined way. This manner of carving results in the sensation of a vivid surface

forcing the limestone to give up being simply inert and calling it into the process of formulating the image. Only in this way do the surfaces of the mantle that are left without articulation as “empty” take on a powerful role in holding the composition together. On the Viennese carvings compared to the Pécs fragments, this sculptural solution is the most important in strengthening the between the two groups of carvings.

The four figures of prophets in Vienna that hide and stretch fit themselves nobly into the curve of the arches of the corbel they are carved on provide the firmest point of the idea that the two workshops are related to each other in the most direct way (Figure 15-Figure 30). Besides, the Pécs and the Viennese prophets follow identical iconography; the way they are sculpturally formulated, moreover and their compositional arrangement are worth a closer comparison. Let me begin with the first one. The method of using both richly carved and “empty” polished surfaces to work with the same power on the formulation of this figure is by far the most important correspondence between the two groups of works. In this regard, the most telling areas of the composition are the lower parts of the bodies of the Viennese prophets. The plain surfaces that slip into each other along the line of the folds (Figure 17, 22 and especially 29) are mirrored exactly in the mantle of the Pécs prophet (Figure 31). This raises the strongest argument for searching the masters working in Hungary among the members of the Viennese workshop. Besides these significant correspondences, several others also support the idea of the same workshop. Concerning the way how the figures use the space that is available to them, the carvings at the two places again show similarities. Apparently it does not really matter what kind of space it is – flat or curved – their flexibility strengthens its borders. Consequently, the figures on the Pécs

relief do not seem flat, while the other pair in Vienna is not closely bound to the corbels they are carved on. The curve of the scrolls is also comparable, accommodated to the movements of the figures in the same way. The facial types used for the Pécs prophets seem to be from the same set as the Viennese workshop, this is also the case with the similar – actually quite clumsy, but still charming – manner in which the hands are carved.

A small figure from Pécs is to be noted (Figure 32-34) concerning the correspondence in the formulation of the composition and in the details between the Pécs and Viennese carvings. This statue is a fragment; the head is lost and it is damaged at the back. From what remains, the figure, in a kneeling posture and holding a box on a chain, can be identified as an angel swinging a censor. The building of the composition has the same creativity as in the case of the prophets. Each element of the motion of swinging is genuinely involved in the composition. It seems that the chain plays the same role that the scroll does in the case of the prophets: it accommodates itself to the motion of the figure, thus, it carries the quintessence of the whole movement. Reading the composition in this way, the left hand of the angel may hold one end of the chain which crosses the body in a horizontal line – a mannered, but rather effective solution – which is continued in the line of the right arm (Figure 34). From here, the chain runs down with an immediate turn vertically towards the ground, and arrives at the carved box of the censor. Relating to how the stone is handled, the use of the sharp carving method for the formulation of the folds has to be emphasized as being identical with that of the prophets. Some details are also comparable to the prophets and to the figures on the tympanum of the southwestern portal of the Viennese church as well. The cloth of the figure creases at the waist similarly to what

can be seen on the figure of the female saint at the edge of the tympanum of the southern portal (Figure 52.). The slightly more linear framing of the cloth under the waist – the folds formed as thin verticals – is another similarity between the two figures. In this group of fragments also contains a finely-carved pair of wings. On this piece – which perhaps originally belonged to this angel – the feathers are carved separately, evincing again a skilled and ambitious sculptor.

Among the pieces found earlier in the area of the Bishopric Castle there is one which shows similarities to the Viennese carvings and therefore can be ranked with the second group of the fragments found in 1982. This is the relief with a torso of a female figure, identified as the Virgin of either the Annunciation or the Visitation (Figure 35).<sup>53</sup> Its close connection to the decoration of the Franciscan church is justified through, first, the similar separate formulation of the mantle (compare it along the lower parts of the figure with that of the figure of Saint John the Evangelist of the middle tympanum of the Viennese church). The appearance of similar motifs also support the connection of the Pécs carving with those from Vienna, e.g., the deep fold of the cloth that runs from the right shoulder to the hip and the fine and careful work on the surface.

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<sup>53</sup> Imre Takács, "Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával," in *PR*, 273.

### 3. COURTLY STYLE: RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH STYLE IN THE VIENNESE SCULPTURE

The close connection of the Pécs and the Viennese material to each other, however, is not purely a matter of stylistic relation and artistic exchange. The Viennese parallels widen the horizon of this investigation because there are more of them and a significantly larger quantity of historical evidence is known about them. These circumstances open new ways in my investigation in two major respects. First, the opportunity is open to observe in what sort of artistic context statues showing the French style appeared in Vienna in the fourteenth century. Second, one can circumscribe the claims of use more closely because more is known about the commissions and the donors of these Viennese works. This will make it possible to discover the significance of the French style in the artistic profile of the Viennese courtly center. Thereafter, the relation of the Pécs figures to those of the southern portal of the Viennese Franciscan Church will make it possible to address the question of how and under what conditions the French style was received in Hungary, seen in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs.

#### **3.1. The Franciscan Church, the Western facade**

##### **3.1.1. The Western façade reflected in the Secondary Literature**

Austrian secondary literature connects the appearance of the French style in Vienna in the middle of the fourteenth century with the products of a workshop named after its most large-scale and therefore best known set of work “the workshop of the



Franciscan Church” (*Minoritenwerkstatt*).<sup>54</sup> The idea of a direct French influence (craftsmen coming from France), however, has not always been present in this form in the art historical scholarship. Instead, for a long time ideas appeared about a certain “French connection” at this church, either generally in the architectural arrangement of its western façade (Rupert Feuchtmüller) or on its “tympana” (Josef Zykan), not offering a detailed explanation.<sup>55</sup> Thus, scholars pointed out rightly that the west façade of the friary church is significant in the Viennese sculpture of the period because the French influence appears there; they, however remained more or less unconcerned with clarifying how this could be grasped – whether in the quality of the sculptural setting, in its style, or in the architectural arrangement. Was it a phenomenon that appeared only once or a result of heterogeneous influences from France? Was it foreign body, a work imported to Vienna (Josef Zykan) or was it more closely connected with local tradition (for example, with the Altar of Verdun – suggested by many scholars, e.g., Peter von Baldass, Karl Ginhardt, Robert Wlattnig)?<sup>56</sup> Regarding this, Gerhard Schmidt’s article in 1977-1978 was a partial turning point in the research. First, he declared that this “French connection” refers

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<sup>54</sup>Gerhard Schmidt, “Die Wiener ‘Herzogenwerkstatt’ und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 33-31 (1977-78): 181. (hereafter: Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*). He refers here to the doctoral dissertation of Antje Kosegarten, *Plastik am Wiener Stephansdom unter Rudolf dem Stifter*, (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1960); Rupert Feuchtmüller, “Das Westportal der Wiener Minoritenkirche,” (hereafter: Feuchtmüller, *Westportal*), in *Kunst in Österreich* (Vienna: Forum Verlag, 1972), (hereafter: *Kunst in Österreich*), 97.

<sup>55</sup>Josef Zykan, “Die Plastik” (hereafter: Zykan, *Plastik*), *Gotik in Niederösterreich*, ed. Fritz Dworschak and Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1963), 127 (hereafter: *GN*).

<sup>56</sup>Peter von Baldass, “Die Plastik der Österreichischen Früh-und Hochgotik,” *Gotik in Österreich*, ed. Rupert Feuchtmüller, Wilhelm Mrazek, Walther Buchowiecki, and Peter von Baldass (Vienna: Forum Verlag, 1961), (hereafter: *GÖ*), 91 (hereafter: Baldass, *Plastik*, 1961); Zykan, *Plastik*, 127; Karl Ginhardt, “Die Bildnerei in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” (hereafter: Ginhardt, *Bildnerei*) *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Vienna, Bd VIII*, ed. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna: Selbstverlag für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1970), (hereafter: *GBÖ*), 1-2; Robert Wlattnig, “Die Skulpturen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Wien,” Ph.D. dissertation (Vienna, 1988), 6-7 (hereafter: Wlattnig, “Skulpturen”).

to the stylistic origin of the (jamb) figures; second, he convincingly determined the workshop behind it as coming directly to Vienna from France, from the surroundings of the Île-de-France.<sup>57</sup>

Based on this result, my aim is to make clear whether this French workshop is to taken as responsible for making all the decoration on the western façade of the friary church. The use of the French style was not extended to the rest of the decoration in the secondary literature, but a different stylistic origin was indicated, for example, in the case of the tympanum reliefs (see below). By examining whether these parts of the decoration belonged to the oeuvre of the same workshop that made the jamb figures, this is one step closer to answering the question of how the French style was adopted in mid-fourteenth century Vienna – through the workmanship of a single workshop or as a result of more influences from France which were independent from each other.

### 3.1.2. State of Preservation

Heavy restoration lies in the background of the inconclusive determination of the stylistic origin of the portal decoration of the western façade of the church. Of the three portals, the two on the sides were walled up; the time this was done is unknown; it is believed to have been the same time the huge windows with tracery were added on the western façade.<sup>58</sup> The main portal was renovated in 1886-1887.<sup>59</sup> In the course

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<sup>57</sup> Gerhard Schmidt, "Zu einigen Stifterdarstellungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich," In *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 128-129. (hereafter: Schmidt, "Stifterdarstellungen").

<sup>58</sup> Heinz Stafski, "Eine österreichische Hl. Anna Selbdritt und ihre nächsten Verwandten," *Festschrift Karl Oettinger zum 60. Geburtstag am 4. März 1966 gewidmet*, ed. Hans Sedlmayr and Wilhelm Messerer (Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg e. V., 1967), 136 (hereafter: Stafski, "Hl. Anna Selbdritt").

of this work, besides the architectural parts, the sculptural setting was also strongly re-carved; Alois Kurzfeld, in his booklet on the history and tourist attractions of the church, alludes briefly to how greatly the appearance of the statues was changed due to this restoration.<sup>60</sup>

It is unsure whether the south portal underwent this restoration work. The surface of the figures on the tympanum, as compared to those of the middle portal, seems to have a less polished surface, suggesting that they have not suffered from restorations (or, at least so many times), as their counterparts did. The most telling detail is the status of the faces: while those of the figures in the middle are plain and ostentatiously sharp in their contours, the faces on the south tympanum seem to preserve a surface that is closer to the original. A note of Heinz Stafski might be helpful in this respect.<sup>61</sup> He attests that the southern portal was walled up *until* 1903, by which he could have meant only the opening of the tympana, since the entries of the portal are walled up even today. If Stafski was not mistaken, the walling up of the tympana can sufficiently explain how its reliefs could escape being restored in the same way as the middle portal was in 1886-1887.

### 3.1.3. Description of the Sculptural Decoration

The iconography of the depictions is all known to scholarship; nevertheless, I think it important to enumerate them, because certain parts of the decoration – e.g., the two corbel figures – have not featured in the art historical discourse at all.

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<sup>59</sup> Alois Hauser, “Die Restaurierung [sic] des Portals der Minoritenkirche in Wien,” *Wiener Abendpost* 7, No. 12 (1886): 51-57.

<sup>60</sup> Alois Kurzfeld, (Vienna-Lepizig: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, n.d.) 8. Refers to the difficulty of the situation that the leader of the works died just after the beginning and it is unknown who was selected as his successor, see *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>61</sup> Stafski, *Hl. Anna Selbdritt*, 136.

All three portals have some sort of sculptural decoration, each of a different character. Advancing from north to the south, the only decoration left on the north portal (Figure 36) consists of two small figures on corbels and slender pinnacles placed on each of side of the portal. (Figure 37-39) Due to exposure to weather conditions, both are in poor condition, but their courtly dress can still be identified, therefore, they are secular figures. They seem to have avoided the assiduous re-carving endeavor of restorers in the nineteenth century.

The middle portal is the most lavishly decorated (Figure 40). In its tympanum, the scene of the Crucifixion is depicted, since the church was originally dedicated to the Holy Cross (Figure 41).<sup>62</sup> It is divided into three fields forming a triangle; in the field at the top, Christ is visible on the Cross, while in the two lower fields mourning figures are depicted: John the Evangelist, Longinus, a flag holder, and another male figure (on the right, [Figure 42]) and Mary Magdalene, Maria Cleophas, and the Holy Virgin as well as two other female figures (on the left, [Figure 43]). The identification of the figures without halos is quite insecure. The man on the right edge with a cap of princes is traditionally held to be Albert II, which is an acceptable interpretation, since the duke was a supporter of the Franciscan Order in Vienna and may have actively contributed to the enlargement of this building.<sup>63</sup> Based on this interpretation, the female figure without a halo has been identified as Johanna von Pfirt (Jeanne de Ferette), wife of Albert II. From the tympanum, the visitor's glance is led down to the trumeau, where, proper to the traditional iconographical arrangement, the figure of the Madonna was put (Figure 44).

<sup>62</sup> Horst Schweigert, "Kreuzigung Christi," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher (New York: Prestel, 2000), 343 (hereafter: Schweigert, *Kreuzigung*).

<sup>63</sup> For this explanation see the rest of the secondary literature: Feuchtmüller, *Westportal*, 102.

On her left and right, jamb figures are standing, three on each side: (from left to the right) an apostle (Figure 45), the figure of Saint John the Baptist (Figure 46) and that of Saint Catherine (Figure 47). Opposite her are an angel (Figure 48), the figures of Saint Margaret (Figure 49) and Saint Helena (Figure 50). The original order of these figures might have changed; the fact that the wall of the jamb is carved out behind the figure of Saint Helena suggests this possibility. Regarding the high quality of the carvings, it is hardly thinkable that this was a result of an unexpected change in the planning of the sculptural program. Whether this secondary re-placement aimed simply to change the order of the statues or whether it was made due to a statue being missing can only be decided through a detailed analysis of the statues (measurements, an evaluation of state of preservation). The decoration of the middle portal is supplemented by further figures on the pinnacles on the two sides of the portal, which frame the main entrance of the church with the scene of the Annunciation.

On the south portal, the iconographical program of the tympanum is built around the life of Saint Francis, the patron of the order (Figure 51). Here, though the surface of the tympanum is separated in the same way as in the main portal, described above, the mental arrangement of the scenes – the relation of the imagery – is different (Figure 52). In the triangle field at the top and the one on the left the scene of the stigmatization of the saint is depicted. The right field, however, does not create part of the same scene depicting Saint Francis in the company of two Franciscan saints, Claire and Elisabeth (Figure 53). Four figures of prophets are carved on the corbels of the portal (Figure 13-30).

### 3.1.4. Stylistic Analysis (French influence and the inner stylistic relations of the portal decoration)

To strengthen his thesis about the direct French influence of the workshop working on the western façade of the Franciscan Church, Schmidt paralleled the statue of a female saint from the so-called Chapelle de Navarre in Mantes-le-Jolie, Île-de-France (Figure 54) to one of the Viennese carvings, namely, to the figure of Saint Helena (Figure 50).<sup>64</sup> Because similarities between the two statues occur in more layers of the sculptural formulation, it is probable – as was also indicated by Schmidt – that the workshop working in Vienna came directly from northern France.<sup>65</sup>

My intention is to pick up the line of the research at this point and continue with a detailed analysis of these two statues. First of all, a discussion of the state of the Viennese figure is necessary, since the re-carving of its surface during the restoration of the portals in 1886-1887 spectacularly narrows down the possibilities of a detailed stylistic analysis. The heavy re-carving changed the original forms of some details, e.g., in the case of the hands (Figure 55), where the sharp manner in which the joints are distinguished from each other clearly contradicts medieval stone-carving practices. These parts, consequently, cannot be analyzed in either the handling of the material or in the formulation of the details. Other parts of the figure, however, suffered changes only on the surface; fortunately, the face is one of these; a comparison with the other, more harshly re-carved, faces is convincing (e. g., compare the face of the Madonna on the trumeau with that of Helena, [Figure 44 and Figure 50]). At this part of the figure the undesirable effects of the re-burnishing have to be coped with: the surface is

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<sup>64</sup>Schmidt, *Stifterdarstellungen*, 1992, 127-128, figs. 126-128.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

apparently unified, avoiding the originally amused formulation of cheeks, the skin under the eyes and the chin.

The Viennese figure of Saint Helena, well-balanced in posture and perhaps therefore so noble in appearance, betrays really convincing similarities to its French counterpart. The finely arched oval of their faces is quite comparable, though perhaps even more convincing is the formulation of the eyebrows, the characteristic deepening of which towards the nose corresponds and lends a similar countenance to the faces of both figures. Further correspondences refer not to the shape of single details, but primarily to the mode of handling the material. Among these, I would emphasize how the relation between cloth and body is sculpturally apprehended, because this is a very abstract part of the process of making a figure in stone and therefore very important to analyze. On the Viennese Helena it seems as if the two had equal roles in composing the figure. The movement or calm drape of the mantle has the same power in creating diagonals and verticals and bringing them into the composition as the body – the legs and arms – of the figure. For example, the vertical fold of the lower part of the mantle remains unaffected by the motion of the body (Figure 55b) due to its determinedly three-dimensional formulation. The same separate handling of cloth and body can partly be traced at the waist and in the height of the knees: in the latter case, it spreads stretched over the knees. This characteristic sculptural attitude finds is echoed on the figure in Mantes. Regarding the entire figure, further similarities can be seen between the Viennese and the French statues in both the posture and the pattern in which the folds are arranged. Just this latter feature shows the close relation of the French statue to the other Viennese jamb figures besides Saint Helena. Among them, the figure of Saint Catherine is built up based on a type which can be derived from the Mantes

female saint. (Figure 47). The sculptor of the Viennese statue seemingly remained with the original type, because it is used without introducing any new motifs or stylistic changes. The male figures on the jamb undoubtedly belong to the typological and stylistic circle which is represented by the French figure of a female saint. The differences between this figure and the Viennese ones – mainly the statues of Saint Peter and Saint John the Baptist – lie in the fact that they are male figures to which the type represented by the female saint of Mantes could not have been applied. Some details, though, seem to show that they were carved using the same set of forms and motifs as the female saints.

All these types of similarities evidently underline that the origin of the workshop of the Viennese jamb figures should be sought close to Mantes – in the immediate surroundings of Île-de-France – as this was also suggested by Gerhard Schmidt.<sup>66</sup> It is, however, not possible to identify (or separate) this company of stone carvers with (at least some of) the members of the Mantes workshop, because the relations of quality cannot be examined due to the poor condition of the Viennese statues.

It is worth, however, looking towards France and Paris until the relation between the jamb figures and the rest of the decoration is clarified in Vienna. This is the key issue of any further investigation – drawing conclusions and giving an interpretation – by deciding whether the whole decoration can be acknowledged as the work of the same French workshop, or whether parts, with the exception of the jamb figures, were made by local stone-carvers.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid.



The secondary literature has not taken a position on this question yet, because it has tended to focus on finding the stylistic roots of the single parts of the decoration. The reliefs on the tympana, traced back to Austrian and Italian stylistic antecedents, lie at the centre of these investigations.<sup>67</sup> This situation turned out to be especially problematic, when, parallel to this, the idea of a single workshop working on the whole façade of the Franciscan Church (the so-called “Minoritenwerkstatt”) was developed. The term was first used, according to my knowledge, by Gerhard Schmidt in his article of 1977-1978, who felt that the “Minoritenwerkstatt” was identical with the French workshop. He counted the following figures in its oeuvre (based on the opinion of Antje Kosegarten):<sup>68</sup> (1) the jamb figures of the Franciscan Church, and (2) the four medieval figures on the crossing pillars of the church called “Maria am Gestade.”<sup>69</sup> Besides these, Schmidt also raised the opportunity of completing this circle by identifying similar stylistic features in two other groups of sculpture, namely, (3) some statues in the southern choir of the Stephansdom, and some (4) carvings on the two side portals of the Stephansdom.<sup>70</sup> Because the decoration of the tympana and the corbel was not included in the oeuvre of the “Minoritenwerkstatt” by Schmidt, and moreover, because Austrian and Italian parallels have frequently been referred to as their stylistic roots in the secondary literature, it is necessary to examine the relation of all the units of the western façade decoration to each other.

Although the relief decoration of the middle tympanum figures (Figure 43) has been the most frequently brought into relationship with local influences

<sup>67</sup> Sonja Leiss, “Geistliche Siegel der Gotik in Österreich,” Ph.D. dissertation (Vienna, 1971), 184-186.

<sup>68</sup> Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 181. Schmidt agrees here with many of the conclusions of Antje Kosegarten in her doctoral dissertation: *Plastik am Wiener Stephansdom unter Rudolf dem Stifter*, PhD dissertation (Freiburg, 1960). Regrettably, this work was not available to me.

<sup>69</sup> Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 179-180.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181.

(Klosterneuburg altar), it seemingly belongs to the oeuvre of the French workshop that made the jamb figures. The similarities between them show well beyond the effects of the restoration toward uniformity. For example, the figure traditionally identified as depicting Albert II is patterned on a jamb figure of an apostle holding a newly carved cross (Figure 45). According to this pattern, the mantle is shown crossed on the chests of both figures, while at the hips it is arranged into quite determined and large half-cylindrical folds in order to emphasize the movement of the figure. The shortness of the mantle and the cloth under it (in the case of the apostle it may be a *tunica*) correspond similarly. This short dress may be understood as a solution for distinguishing secular clothing from the sacral – compare the figures of Albert II and Saint John the Evangelist in the same field of the tympanum – and therefore its appearance in the case of the apostle on the jamb might be a fortunate solution. A convincing parallel between the jamb and tympanum figures is also the way parts of the mantles hang towards the ground. Based on their weight, they hang in independent folds, emphasized equally as the legs of the figures (compare the figure of Saint John the Evangelist to those of Saint John the Baptist, Helena, and partially also Margaret). Some solutions to the formulation of details may also strengthen the connection of the two units of decoration, though here one must be careful with the effects of the restoration. The first is the motif of holding a book in the hand covered by the mantle, which follows the same model in the cases of both Saint John the Evangelist (tympanum) (Figure 56) and Saint John the Baptist (jamb) (Figure 46). The only difference is created by a small elongation of the mantle in the case of the latter, which comes from accommodating the original model to the current figure composition. These similarities show clearly that the decoration of the middle portal

was carved by the same workshop. Based on the correspondences I have found in the close formulation of some details, I would also assume that some of those who carved the tympanum also worked on the jamb figures.

According to these observations, I would extend the direct influence of the north French sculpture on the jamb figures to the decoration of the tympana as well. The connection with the Verdun altar, suggested frequently in the secondary literature, however, should not be dropped entirely.<sup>71</sup> It demonstrates that a similar iconographical arrangement – a very usual one – of the Crucifixion with two groups of mourning people was known in the region of Austria as early as 1330; whether the two depictions of the Crucifixions were also stylistically related is problematic.

Compared to the case of the middle portal, these decorations are in a much better state than their counterparts. How they avoided the heavy restoration carried out on the other portal in 1886-1887 is not clear. The uncertain fact about the closing off of the south portal in 1903, mentioned above, might clarify this.<sup>72</sup>

Although the reliefs of the south portal (Figure 51) remained in an incomparably better state than the others analyzed above, it is not an easy task to establish their stylistic connection to the portal decoration which shows the French style. This should be assumed in the background of why the secondary literature has emphasized the influence of Italian models.<sup>73</sup> The composition which tied the five figures on the fields of the middle tympanum together is apparently absent from these reliefs (Figure 41 and Figure 52). Nevertheless, the types of faces, the whole figures,

<sup>71</sup> Peter von Baldass, "Die Plastik der Österreichischen Früh-und Hochgotik," *G Ö*, 91.; Wlattnig, "Skulptur," 131-147. The probable influence of Italian depictions has also been suggested, see: Rupert Feuchtmüller, "Die Bildsprache der Plastik und die Formprobleme des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts," *Kunst in Österreich*, 97.

<sup>72</sup> Stafski, "Hl. Anna Selbdritt," 1967, 136.

and the style in which they are presented are identical to those on the other tympanum. In the typological relations, the patterning of the face on the figure of Saint Margaret on the right edge (Figure 53) appears on many of the female figures throughout the decoration. The style of holding the folds of the bonnet in two tough and rather angular curls reflects a similar style of handling the detail (Figure 57). The formulation of the cloth, however, does not correspond so well. This seems to stand for a different sculptural view, a more graphic one, which presents the body and the cloth in a more unified, more summarizing manner in contrast to the passionate plasticity of the figures on the other tympanum. Although the restoration divergences may prevent drawing such a firm conclusion, I tend to see these carvings as works of the same workshop, representing a different style variant. These were made by carvers who were trained in a more linear framing of a figure, although they used the same type and set of stylistic features as the other carvers in the workshop did, making their works inseparable from the whole decoration of the western façade.

The figures of the prophets on the south portal corbels (Figures 15-30) are undoubtedly closely related to the jamb figures. These differences cannot be disregarded, because it would be irresponsible to impute them all to the damage caused by the restoration. When comparing the faces of the apostles on the right jamb with some of the prophets (I have chosen the two left of the trumeau), the latter show a more mature handling of the forms. The stone carvers who made them were apparently not afraid of leaving relatively large areas of the figures “empty,” parts they could well have carved richly. The best examples for this mode of formulating the stone to a figure can be seen on the lower parts of the body (Figures 16, 21, 29),

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<sup>73</sup> Feuchtmüller, Westportal, 97. He refers mainly to the iconographical connections, not really touching

but the faces also show the same clear formulation (Figure 14, 27, 28). This is nothing but (sculptural) virtuosity, which evidently stands for the outstanding skill of the masters who carved these pieces. The same can be concluded from the variety of the face-types used. Compared to what can be seen in the case of the apostles, here all the figures are patterned by following different models, which may refer to the creativity of their makers.

Hitherto I could not bring French parallels which show precisely this special clear handling of stone visible on the Viennese prophets. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to refer to the French fragments of heads which originate from the abbey church of Jumièges (Figure 59). Here, the stone-carvers achieved the same astonishing artistic effect by building the composition on the same contrast of empty and richly carved areas. Here the probable influence of Parisian minor art must be taken into account. From the known production of Paris and its surroundings between 1330 and 1350, I would primarily like to emphasize two pieces of white marble from the collection of the Louvre (Figure 60). These were parts of an altar from the church of the abbey in Maubisson, made of marble depicting twice three prophets as standing figures, with scrolls in their hands.<sup>74</sup> Although they naturally differ in their details, I think these show a sculptural mastery which is comparable to their Viennese monumental counterparts. This can be felt the most in the formulation of the cloth, where the flat and polished surfaces are similarly bordered by sharp-edged folds that determine the calm and majestic appearance of the figure in a similar way to the Viennese prophets. Naturally, these similarities cannot indicate any closer connection, but by using fine

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upon the problem of the origin of the style.

<sup>74</sup> Here I would like to thank my supervisor Imre Takács for calling my attention to this piece and putting its reproduction at my disposal.

and elaborate forms very well they connect firmly and inevitably to the tendency which characterized the Parisian handicraft production of the 1330s and 1350s. This also emphasizes the dating of the statues to this period.

The heterogeneity and diversity of a workshop style are far from being a negative factor for art historical research, just the opposite; the discipline has to cope with this variety in a highly sensitive and also subjective way, but also objectively, according to its positivistic roots. The example of the figures in the Navarre chapel in the cathedral of Mantes-le-Jolie shows that this is the mechanism by which art production worked at that time: here, besides the female figure analyzed above, there are three more statues which in terms of composition and motifs offer the same diversity that is similarly apparent in the Viennese workshop.

It is, however, not only the sculptural decoration of the portals which suggests that their stone-carvers came from France. The same can be concluded from their characteristic architectural feature, the separation of the figural depictions of the tympana into three triangular fields. This is actually a composition of two different architectural solutions: the separation of the tympanum field through blind tracery and the idea of separating the figural scene of the tympanum. The origins of both innovations should be sought in the twelfth-century cathedral architecture of Ile-de-France: on the western façade of the Reims cathedral the traditional solution of filling the tympanum with reliefs is replaced first, by the decorating the tympanum with tracery around 1250. Not much later, in 1268, this new idea – the blind tracery separation of the tympanum field – was combined with the use of figural relief on the southwestern portal of the cathedral of Sens (Figure 61). The expansion of this new solution is not discussed in the context of French fourteenth century architecture;

outside of France the only examples known to me are from Central Europe: the portals of the Viennese Franciscan Church (around 1340-50) and the western portal of the Chapel of Saint John the Evangelist in Bratislava (around 1370).<sup>75</sup>

### 3.1.5. Historical Interpretation

In the discussion above, it seems well-founded and acceptable that the appearance of the French style in Vienna is the result of a workshop coming from France that also worked on the decoration of the Franciscan Church. Whether this work was their first commission and the reason they were called from France is not clear; probable answers will be presented in the next subchapters. Before that it is necessary to review the incentives for commissioning this French workshop in the case of this particular church. Through this, a first step towards the determination of the reception of this style in Vienna can be made, which, parallel to the reasons for adapting the same style in Hungary, is the main question of this thesis.

Among the set of historical data remaining, that of about a certain Jacobus the Parigi (or: Jacobus Parisiensis) should be mentioned first. According to this source, which is well known in the secondary literature, this person built *nostram portam*, taking it word for word, was the “builder” of one of the portals. What should be understood in this short report, which remained in the necrology of the church, is debated.<sup>76</sup> Most frequently, Jacobus de Parigi is understood as having contributed to the building activity – and the creation of the sculptures – as a donor.<sup>77</sup> The reference in his name to a hypothetical French origin can be fitted to that of the workshop. This

<sup>75</sup> For the most recent literature on the Saint John Chapel of the friary church, see: Szilárd Papp, “Pozsony, ferences templom, Szent János-kápolna” [Bratislava, friary church, Saint John chapel], *Sigismundus*, 118-121.

<sup>76</sup> Horst Schweigert, *Kreuzigung*, 342; for the necrology: Feuchtmüller, *Westportal*, 102.

coincidence, however, is too shallow in itself to explain the invitation of a French workshop to Vienna; further evidence is necessary to establish and support the connection between Jacobus and the commission of the workshop. The fact that Jacobus was a monk in the abbey of Zwettl before becoming the confessor of Albert II – a rarely mentioned piece of data – warns one to be cautious in suggesting that Jacobus was not invited to court because of his supposed French connections.<sup>78</sup> His close connection to the duke, however, raises the question of whether Albert II himself could have stood behind the commission for the building activity of the western façade of the church and for the decoration analyzed here. The depiction of the ducal pair, Albert II and Johanna von Pfirt (Jeanne de Ferette) (1300-1351, married Albert II in 1324), may imply this, although the scholarly world has never identified them based on this depiction. The third person who may have given the commission is the duke's wife, Johanna von Pfirt. To see her as a key figure in establishing a direct connection to France is plausible for several reasons. First, she was a descendant of a French princely family and not from a great distance: her grandfather was a baron of Chalon-sur-Saône, the son of the prince of Burgundy. Naturally, here again the Burgundian origin in itself is not sufficient explanation, although here it is a better assumption than in the case of Jacobus that she was part of the system which bound the members in the royal court. Moreover, the idea, that a princess – as the wife of a Habsburg duke – may have brought the French connection to Vienna is not unknown in the fourteenth-century history of sculpture in Vienna. Since – and this is the second reason for which I suggest this idea worthy of further research – a similar example was Blanche de Navarre at the beginning of the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.



fourteenth century. In addition, the scene was also the same, the Franciscan Church, where, after her death, the princess was buried in a fine sarcophagus probably carved by French sculptors around 1304.<sup>79</sup>

These observations may suggest – even if only in the form of questions – some characteristics of the reception of the French style in Vienna. First, it was evidently within the sphere of the art of the (ducal) court, since the people connected to the commission of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* were all closely related to the ducal court. Second, how this occurred within the circle of the court is still a question. Was it a result of a personal link (Johanna of Pfirt, Jacobus the Parigi) and should it therefore be narrowed down to the initiative of a single person? Or was it part of courtly representation, and thus of a more general cultural-political nature? Before making an attempt to answer these questions by enumerating the other places where this workshop was commissioned to work, it is necessary to examine the dating of the decoration of the western façade.

### 3.1.6. Dating

The date of making the portals and their decoration is attested approximately homogeneously in the secondary literature by assuming it between 1340 and 1350.<sup>80</sup> In order to verify this, besides the stylistic considerations, the research could also rely upon the course of the building activity and the testimony of the written sources.

The western façade of the building was the last but one step of the building activity in the fourteenth century. For the beginning of the work the year 1326 is

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<sup>78</sup> Josef Zykan, “Die Plastik,” *GN*: 127.

<sup>79</sup> Ginhart, *Bildnerei*, 1970, 4-6; M. V. Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur*, 286-287.

regarded as a date *post quem*, but actually a very early one, because at that time the northeastern (Saint Louis) chapel was only just consecrated, which was re-built later as the north aisle of the whole church. This transformation is the major proof in the research to assume that the western façade was begun on northern side and continued to the south. The end of work on the longer façade was marked by the replacement of the earlier pillars in the nave after 1360.<sup>81</sup>

The written sources harmonize with what can be attested based on the building history of the church. Not many of them are preserved, which can be accounted for by the destructive effects of fires (1421, 1679), besides changes in the owners.<sup>82</sup> Among the extant documentary data, the donation of Ulrich Pentzo (the chamberlain of Albert II) after 1339 is the most frequently mentioned. According to how Franz Kieslinger interpreted this source, first mentioned by him, it can be regarded as marking the starting point of the construction of the middle portal.<sup>83</sup> Later, however, this date was better understood as a starting point for the building of the whole façade, which, although it seems to be supported by stylistic considerations as well, cannot be firmly attested since the precise sum of the donation is not known in the secondary literature. Which part of the façade – only the decorated portals or the whole façade – the donation may have this referred to is not clear. Based partially on this item of source evidence, Heinz Stafski, in an article about the sequence of the construction of the

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<sup>80</sup> The rest of the secondary literature puts it here. See Mario Schwarz, “Die Minoritenkirche, dritter Bauzustand, dreischiffige Erweiterung des Langhauses,” *GBÖ*: 216-217 (hereafter: Schwarz, “Minoritenkirche”); Schweigert, *Kreuzigung*, 342.

<sup>81</sup> Schwarz, *Minoritenkirche*, 216-217.

<sup>82</sup> Between 1559 and 1620 the Protestants owned the church, in 1784 the Italian community of Vienna received it from Joseph II. Then, the members of the Franciscan Order were forced to move into the building of the church at the present-day Alser Strasse. see: Salvadori Giovanni, *Die Minoritenkirche und ihre älteste Umgebung*. (Vienna, 1895), 11.

<sup>83</sup> Kieslinger, “Der plastische Schmuck der Westportales bei den Minoriten in Wien,” *Belvedere* 11 (1927): 105 (hereafter: Kieslinger, *Plastische Schmuck*).

portals, suggested changing the probable direction of the building activity by assuming that it moved from south to the north, and not vice versa.<sup>84</sup> Present-day research regards it as evident that the façade was built in the opposite direction than Stafski assumed. He should be credited with calling attention to how unstable a conclusion can be if it is only drawn from the sum paid for architectural work.<sup>85</sup> Kieslinger mentions another source – though not really referred to in the later secondary literature – which dates back to the same period. In 1343 a certain Elisabeth Hailbecken, the wife of the court master, made a donation to the church.

### **3.2. Stephansdom, the statues of the southern aisle of the choir**

#### **3.2.1. The French connection in the Stephansdom**

The idea of a stylistic connection to France was not only raised by scholars concerning the decoration of the west façade of the Franciscan Church; the statues in the southern choir of the Stephansdom also need to be mentioned here. First, Karl Ginhart called attention to the probable French origin of the style of these carvings.<sup>86</sup> He, however, separated these statues from the oeuvre of the atelier working on the western façade of the Franciscan Church by assuming that they were based on different French models.<sup>87</sup> Opposed to this, Gerhard Schmidt would willingly see the masters of these figures – from the so-called the “Prince’s Second Workshop” –

<sup>84</sup> Heinz Stafski, “Hl. Anna Selbdritt,” 1967, 131-141.

<sup>85</sup> For the most up-to-date literature about the sequence of building activity see: Günther Brucher, “Architektur von 1300 bis 1430,” *GBÖ*:232-234.

<sup>86</sup> Ginhart, *Bildnerei*, 1970, 1-2.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

among the members of the “*Minoritenwerkstatt*.”<sup>88</sup> Although these two ideas are contradictory, the secondary literature has hitherto not discussed this problem. Whether the figures in the southern choir of the Stephansdom belong to the oeuvre of the same French workshop or represent a new impulse of French influence in Vienna will be discussed here.

### 3.2.2. Stylistic analysis

Among the present-day row of the inner decoration of the southern choir, six statues are considered to be (more or less) medieval, the others are carvings from the nineteenth century restorations (conducted around 1869-1873).<sup>89</sup> (For the process and date of the restoration: see Figure 62). From these, however, only the single figure of Saint Thomas is accepted as having fortunately been preserved in its original state, though also with some additions (e.g., the left hand) in the nineteenth century. The assumption that it may be connected with the oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* is fundamentally acceptable. Based on its style, the statue of Thomas may be closer to the parts of the decoration which represent a particularly linear presentation of the figure. The analogue from France suggested by Schmidt – the figure of an apostle originally from Jumièges abbey, preserved in Duclair (Figure 63) – makes a convincing counterpart to the Viennese figure, especially in this respect.<sup>90</sup> Both figures have a calm posture which is not really altered by any movements of their arms or legs. Accordingly, the folds of the mantle do not really have the role of

<sup>88</sup> Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 180. Here he attested, though, that this connection is merely hypothetical and ought to be supported or discarded by further research.

<sup>89</sup> About the state of each statue the secondary literature has not taken a unanimous stand, see: Hans Tietze, “Der Dom zu St. Stephan in Wien,” *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* 23 (1931): 235-240; for a hypothetical re-carving of the figures of Saint Paul and Saint Peter, see: Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 182.

helping to balance the composition of the figure; they are arranged in thinner lines which fit their bodies tightly, therefore lending the figure a particularly linear form. The same effect was used for the particularly rigid formulation of the folds hanging independently from the block of the figure. Perhaps the same presentation is also responsible for the peculiar formulation of the head; the determinedly shaped eyes, the sharp crinkles on the forehead and near the nose, and the regularly arranged curls of the hair, give a geometrical look to the head.

Concerning the connection of the sculpture of the Stephansdom to the Franciscan Church, another figure, that of Saint Dorothy, is also suggestive (Figure 64-66.). Up to very recent times this statue was only discussed marginally in the secondary literature. It was held to have been made for either the northern or the middle choir, then it was transferred to the southern tower, from where it was brought into the museum together with the figure called Salvator. In an entry written in the catalogue of the Historical Museum of Vienna in 1997, Arthur Saliger suggested that the statue belonged to the sculptural setting of northern, so-called “Chapel of Our Lady” (the northern choir), basing his opinion on stylistic rather than iconographical considerations.<sup>91</sup> Thus, he also implied shifting the dating of the statue significantly earlier, to around 1320-1330 instead of 1360, as suggested by the older secondary literature.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, the origin of the style of the figure should rather be sought among the oeuvre of the workshop of the Franciscan Church. As compared to, for example, the figure of Saint Margaret, the especially plastic carving of cloth folds

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<sup>90</sup> Schmidt, *Stifterdarstellungen*, 1992, 128.

<sup>91</sup> Arthur Saliger, “Heilige Dorothea,” in *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, Sonderausstellung Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 24. April bis 31. August 1997, ed. Renata Kassal-Mikula (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1997), (hereafter: *850 Jahre*) 82.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

analyzed above implies a close connection of the two statues. Even more convincing than this proves to be the appearance of the same motif on the figure of Dorothy as on an apostle on the jamb of the Franciscan Church (compare Figures 64, 66, and Figure 45). The flatly carved fold that, starting from the shoulder, crosses the chest is a motif unknown in the sculptural production of fourteenth-century Vienna with the exception of these two examples, which refer the most evidently to their origin in one and the same workshop. The question of where Dorothea might have originally been carved cannot be answered based on present knowledge and needs further research.

The fact, however, that these figures are to be counted in the oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* is as convincing as it is problematic because it reflects how unclear the relations between the “Second Prince’s Workshop” (the atelier working on the entire sculptural decoration of the southern choir) and the *Minoritenwerkstatt* are. Were they identical to one another? If not, how can the connection between them be imagined? This thesis cannot answer these questions, but I can reflect here on the elements of the problem. The basis of the difficulties is rooted primarily in the obscurities around the preservation of the statues. Thus, it is still not satisfactorily clarified (1) How many figures were finished in the fourteenth century from the program (and was there an idea to carve all twelve apostles)? (2) How many figures among the present-day statues are from the fourteenth century?<sup>93</sup> It is even more urgent to answer the questions which touch upon the chronological relations of the workshops. The consecration of the Albert choir in 1340 dates the figure of Saint Thomas earlier than this year. From this, it follows that the *Minoritenwerkstatt* was called to Vienna to work on the choir of the Stephansdom first, and not, as its name

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<sup>93</sup> See: Ginhart, *Bildneri*, 4-6; Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 143-145; Wlattnig, “Skulpturen,” 6-7.

suggests, on the western façade of the Franciscan Church. This, however, does not really harmonize with the fact that it made only one statue – the figure of Saint Thomas – for the parish church.

The link between the building activities at the church and at the Stephansdom really existed, though it must be looked for in another place than where the secondary literature has sought for it until now. The hitherto unmentioned and unanalyzed decoration of the northwestern portal of the Franciscan Church suggests that the workshop active at the Stephansdom was partially involved. On the corbels of the pinnacles, on each side of the portal, two figures are carved sitting, pulling their knees up (Figure 37-39) it is not only their posture, though, which links them directly to the figures with the same function looking down from the outer wall of the Albert choir of the Stephansdom (Figure 67-69). The facial type and the way cloth is patterned correspond convincingly. Concerning the style, Hans Schweigert has rightly pointed out that the group of corbel figures on the outer choir wall does not have a homogenous style.<sup>94</sup> What is more, in the cases of one or another figure the differences appear as if the style could be traced back to completely different roots. These stylistic discrepancies and the effects of the nineteenth century restorations (for their sequence, see Figure 62) might have led scholars to make a rough distinction between the figures on the wall of the northern and middle choirs, and those on the wall of the southern choir.<sup>95</sup> Although this separation may be harmonized by separating the style and workshop in the inner decoration of the choirs, I would rather

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<sup>94</sup> Hans Schweigert, "Figurale Konsole," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Gotik*, ed. Günther Brucher (Vienna: Prestel, 2000), 339-340 (hereafter: Schweigert, "Konsole") Arthur Saliger, when analyzing three figures, discusses iconographical features rather than their stylistic origin, see: Arthur Saliger, "Drei Konsolen für einen Wasserspieler, Flötenspieler, Trommler, Hornist," *850 Jahre*, 73-74.

explain the style distinctions among the corbel figures as the result of different (personal) manners of the stone-carvers in one and the same workshop. Thus, these figures represent variants of the same style, from which the one that seems to be closest to that of the corbels in the Franciscan Church occurs on two figures of the southern choir (Figure 68 and 69). These – a noble lady and the sign of Aquarius, according to how Hans Tietze identified them – are carved in a very similar manner to the two on the Franciscan church. All four figures possess a characteristic plasticity by having preserved the closeness to the stone block and by being accommodated to the form of the corbel they are carved on. The linear, though rhythmical, lines of the folds do not dissolve this block, closed in on itself, but just the opposite. With their orientation and curves they emphasize this shape, and shift it more in the direction of being geometrical (see the peaks of the knees). It is worth emphasizing again the correspondences in the use of facial types; the similarities between the figure of Aquarius and that of the left corbel on the portal of the Franciscan Church raise the possibility that the two were even carved by the same hand.

Apart from the fact that some masters seem to be identifiable, there are two more elements of stylistic correspondence. First, some conclusions may be made related to the chronology of the building process of the western façade of the Franciscan Church. Considering that the choir of the Stephansdom was consecrated in 1340 – which implies that its decoration was mostly ready at that time -- the dating of the southern portal of the friary church of the order must be established at around 1335-1340. The reason why the year 1340 must also indicate the end of the work in the Franciscan Church should be sought in the state of the decoration of this portal.

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<sup>95</sup> Schweigert, “Konsole,” 339.



Although nothing can be certain due to the lack of written sources, it is worth assuming that it was never planned to be empty, but was left as such as a consequence of an abrupt event. If one assumes that the stone-carvers of Stephansdom came after their workshop was dissolved – which would be a logical situation – why the work was stopped cannot be known. Financial problems could certainly not have led to this, since the decoration of the portals nearby was carried out in the same decade, which excludes such an explanation. Moreover, in this special case sources are available about how richly the building activity was promoted by people, many of whom were closely connected to the ducal court. Thus, the only thing one can suspect is that precisely the dissolution of the workshop at the Stephansdom was the reason for leaving the work here unfinished, which means that these corbels are to be dated (some years) before 1340. At this state of research this hypothesis seems plausible to me, even if it does not explain why the northern portal was not decorated afterwards when the masters of the choir of the Stephansdom left.

### **3.3. Maria am Gestade, statues of the Annunciation**

Through perceptible stylistic links four fourteenth-century figures in front of the crossing pillars of the Viennese Church of Our Lady (Maria am Gestade) are connected to the oeuvre of the Franciscan Church (Figures 70-74). Their dating has recently been established around the 1360s based on stylistic observations; to this dating, the consecration of the choir in 1369 corresponds well, while the end of the

building process on the choir in 1357 may shift it somewhat earlier, but not considerably.<sup>96</sup>

The inner links, by which the four statues – the two figures of the Annunciation and two of the Holy Kings – are related to each other are not drawn with the sufficient fineness in the secondary literature.<sup>97</sup> Accordingly, a description of their connection to the works of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* also has to cope with difficulties. On the level of corresponding details – stylistic as well as typological – a certain connection of the two workshops is undoubted. For example, the similar facial and hair types between the angel of the Annunciation in the Maria am Gestade and the figure of Saint John the Evangelist in the middle tympanum raise the possibility that some of the stone carvers here should be sought among the members of the friary church workshop. Other features, however, like the characteristic virtuosity of the formulation (primarily in the case of the Holy King figures), which the scholarship has rightly pointed out, bring the statues closer to the sculptural presentation of a later workshop, the so-called *Herzogenwerkstatt* (“Prince’s workshop”).<sup>98</sup> Horst Schweigert asserts that the profile of the workshop of these statues had a double character.<sup>99</sup> In his opinion, the masters of these statues made a bridge between the sculpture of the eras of Albert II and Rudolf IV by using features and techniques from both the set of forms of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* (mainly figural types) and from the

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<sup>96</sup> For further literature on the building of the choir, see: Günther Brucher, “Wien, Kirche Maria am Gestade Maria Stiegen-Kirche,” *GBÖ*, 285-288; for the most important literature about the statues, see: Antje Kosegarten, “Die Chorstatuen der Kirche Maria am Gestade in Wien,” *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 17 (1963): 1-12 (hereafter: Kosegarten, “Chorstatuen”); for the most recent literature, see: Horst Schweigert, “Verkündigungsgruppe Maria und Erzengel Gabriel,” *GBÖ*, 343 (hereafter: Schweigert, “Verkündigungsgruppe”).

<sup>97</sup> Where the statues were originally placed is uncertain; the single depiction known of the inside of the choir, an etching, is only from 1817, see: Kosegarten, “Chorstatuen,” 3.

<sup>98</sup> Schweigert, *Verkündigungsgruppe*, 343.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

*Herzogenwerkstatt*.<sup>100</sup> This idea parallels very well with the outstanding quality of all of the statues – because just such works may be able to link these periods together. According to these observations about the style presented by the figures, their connection to the *Minoritenwerkstatt* is well founded, though it needs more clarification.

### 3.4. Interpretation: Reception of the French style in Vienna

All these discussions allow for drawing two significant conclusions concerning the reception of the French style in Vienna in the middle of the fourteenth century. On the one hand, it seems to be acceptable that the appearance of the style can be connected to the workmanship of one French workshop from France. Their biggest commission was undoubtedly the decoration of western façade of the Franciscan Church, which is made quite evident by two facts. First, this is the largest group of their known works. Second, because creating all of the decoration – reliefs, perfect statues, not to speak about the different types of architectural framing such as the pinnacles and baldachins – surely required the presence of a whole workshop. For the question, however, whether this work was their first – or, assuming a more extreme view – their only – commission in Vienna, cannot be answered based upon our present knowledge. The biggest problem is the dubious contribution of the workshop to the making of the southern choir decoration in the Stephansdom. Here, the significance of the building as the parish church of Vienna (its later bishopric title was probably already foreseen) would support the assumption that the workshop was summoned from France to Vienna to work on the decoration there first. However, the

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

small number of linking statues (Saint Dorothy and Saint Thomas) weakens this assumption greatly, although the possibility cannot be excluded that significantly more figures were made by the workshop which were then lost.

The other observation concerning the reception of the French style can be concluded from the things discussed above. It is, properly speaking, nothing else but the projection of this “once phenomena” on the known material of Viennese sculpture around 1335-1350 and making an attempt to evaluate it. Because this period is more or less covered by the reign of Albert II, (from 1330, with his brother and alone from 1339 until 1358), it is tempting to see in the French style a characteristic feature of the art of the “Albert era.” This idea, however, can be attacked from many points of view. On the one hand, although the term “Albertian art” exists, what to understand by it is still unclear; naturally it cannot be equivalent with the entirety of all the works of art made in the Austrian Duchy. On the other hand, the works of monumental art which were discussed in this thesis – the Church of the Franciscan Order and the southern apse of the choir of the Stephansdom – definitely belonged to this circle.<sup>101</sup> Although this again puts the French style back in circle of the courtly representation, the artistic context of the statues requires a careful approach. The south aisle is the only part of the Stephansdom choir where this style occurred; in the other two aisles the statues are connected to a completely different style, the origins of which should be sought in South Germany; the decoration of the cathedrals of Regensburg and Freiburg have

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<sup>101</sup> The key to identifying these work as such, lies in the person of the commissioner. In the case of the friary church facade, no doubt can be raised against his contribution in the building process, not because it is attested due to the prince figure of the middle tympanum, but also by the fact that the church was always donated by the court. More difficult is to decide the role of the duke in the second case, in the case of the Stephansdom. Here, the Rudolf Bachleitner, *Das Statuenprogramm des Albertinischen Chores im Stephansdom zu Wien: Beitrag zu einer ikonographisch-ikonologischen Untersuchung*. (Wien: Phil.Diss, 1958), 14-17. (hereafter: Bachleitner, *Statuenprogramm*)

been mentioned in general as probable sculptural antecedents.<sup>102</sup> This situation shows that the French style was less significant in courtly artistic representation – the main place of which was undoubtedly the Stephansdom – than the German orientation.<sup>103</sup> The same conclusion is implied by the fact that the two Madonna statues believed to have been donated by the duke himself to the cathedral of Passau and to the Viennese friary church, again do not show the French style, but follow the German artistic orientation. The claim for using the French style in Vienna courtly art cannot be linked to Albert II as either a political figure or an individual (considering the two Madonnas as objects of his personal devotion), thus, it should be looked for elsewhere in the court.<sup>104</sup> The historical circumstances show that the French style came to Vienna via dynastic contacts, which can be equated with the person of Princess Johanna von Pfirt (Jeanne de Ferette) and her courtly circle. (Further investigations, however, are needed to clarify the role of the princess in the court). Another fact may also support this assumption: the earlier appearance of the French style in Vienna. One statue, the Madonna of the Klosterneuburg abbey, proves the presence of French style in Vienna around 1300 through its stylistic features. The former tomb of Blanche de Valois, wife of Duke Rudolf III, and her newborn infant in the Viennese friary church may have been the work of the same sculptors.<sup>105</sup> Because this latter work can be

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<sup>102</sup> For the first appearance of this kind of separation, see: Schmidt, *Herzogenwerkstatt*, 143-145. Before this, only Karl Ginhart suggested a separation of the statues into three major groups; this in general was identical with the later ideas, with the exception that he made a distinction between the figures seated on the throne and the rest, see: Ginhart, *Bildnerei*, 4-6. for the most recent dating of the choir see Günter, Brucher, “Wien, Pfarrkirche St. Stephan (seit 1469 Dom-und Metropolitankirche), Neubau des Chors (Albertinischer Chor),” *GBÖ*, 249-250.

<sup>103</sup> The scholarly tradition often ascribes the building process of the choir to the initiative of the Viennese bourgeoisie, this, however, does not reduce the role of Duke Albert II as a donor who contributed to the building activity by larger donations, see: Bachleitner, *Statuenprogramm*, 21-23.

<sup>104</sup> for the Madonna in the Franciscan Church, see: M.V. Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur*, 290.

<sup>105</sup> The tomb vanished from the church during the nineteenth century, see Ginhart, *Bildnerei*, 3., M. V. Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur*, 286.

directly linked to the person of the princess this gives a hint that the appearance of the French style in Vienna happened through dynastic contacts.

## 4. COURTLY STYLE (?): RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH STYLE IN THE HUNGARIAN SCULPTURE

### 4. 1. Dating the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady, Pécs

The discussion of the Viennese material illuminates the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs from several points of view in a different light. The first allows seeing the inner relation between the two groups of fragments better through chronological reconsiderations. Because the work of the French workshop in Vienna – to which the pieces of the second group in Pécs are to be acknowledged – were all made around 1335-1350, a similar dating is thinkable for the second group of the Pécs fragments. According to the circumstances of the building activity of the chapel as described above, this is likely to have been around 1350 to 1360, a decade earlier than has been suggested by the secondary literature.<sup>106</sup> This has an impact on the assumptions about the relation of the known material by presuming that the pieces of the second and first group were made at the same time and not after each other. Projecting this on the activity of the workshops, this means that the workshop of German origin (responsible for making the pieces of the first group) and the French masters were working at the same time on the decoration of the chapel, but separately from each other. This parallel working of French and German sculptors gains special meaning again when recalling the Viennese analogues, since the same situation applied to the inner decoration of the whole choir of the Stephansdom. How its – actually very clear and audible – echo in Pécs can be understood – whether it implies

some kind of closer connection, or only reflects the last words of what the antecedent said – is questionable and the Pécs material needs a more detailed investigation.

#### 4. 2. A commissioner from the Court: Nicholas, Bishop of Pécs

Presumably it was Bishop Nicholas of Poroszlói-Neszmélyi (1346-1360), who, as the founder of the chapel, held all the reins of the different commissions in his hands. According to what the remaining sources report about him, Nicholas came from Poland to Hungary at the invitation of Queen Elisabeth (1308-1342) around the year 1332.<sup>107</sup> Arriving there, he immediately found himself in the circle of the royal court, a relation system where he remained throughout his life. At the request of the queen, he filled the position of teacher for the child Louis I in the 1330s; later, the king acknowledged his work and loyalty by giving him the landed property of Neszmély and by appointing him to the most important roles in the royal court.<sup>108</sup> In this way, he was appointed to the position of chaplain of the royal chapel and that of secret chancellor (1345).<sup>109</sup> Parallel to this, he gained ecclesiastical rewards as well. He became the canon of Esztergom (1343), later the canon of Veszprém (1345), and then he was also elected to the archbishopric seat of Kalocsa. That was, however, given to the minion of the pope, and Nicholas had to be satisfied with the seat of the Pécs bishop, who died in 1346.<sup>110</sup> All these are important here for one reason: through him, the commission for the French sculptures is again related to the royal court. Thus, very similar to what has been noted in the case of Vienna, the claim for a

<sup>106</sup> Imre Takács, *Királyi udvar*, 76-77.

<sup>107</sup> Antal Pór, "Neszmélyi Miklós, Nagy Lajos király tanítója," [Nicholas of Poroszlói, the educator of Louis I]. *Katholikus Szemle* 21 (1907): 468.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.; Pál Engel, 1996, vol. 2, 175.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.



French connection came from the circle of the royal court, and, in this special case, took shape in a place which itself was not related to the court and the art of the court except through this personal contact.

### 4.3. Outlook

In the sculpture of fourteenth-century Hungary some pieces are known which show the same French orientation, and all of these can be seen to have been related to a courtly commissioner, implying that this style was also connected to the royal court in Hungary. The most spectacular of them is the fragment of a stone slab found during the excavations at the former cathedral of Székesfehérvár, coronation and burial place of the Hungarian kings.<sup>111</sup> In the Hungarian secondary literature this is called the “tomb fragment of Princess Catherine,” based on parts of the depiction implying female clothes and the fact that the piece belonged to a smaller tomb, which could have been that of a princess who died young (Figure 75). It has been suggested that another important monument connected to courtly circles can be, at least indirectly, linked to the Hungarian reception of the French style. The tomb slab of Sigfrid, Abbot of Pannonhalma (died in 1365), has been interpreted as a representative of this stylistic direction transmitted via Austria or Bohemia. (Figure 76).<sup>112</sup>

These observations lend support to the interpretation that the French style was introduced in Hungarian sculpture in the fourteenth century through the interest of

<sup>111</sup> Imre Takács, “Szarkofágfedlap töredéke” [Fragment of a tomb slab], *Sigismundus*, 110.

<sup>112</sup> Ernő Marosi, “Pentimenti. Korrekciók a 14-15. századi magyar művészet képén” [Pentimenti. Corrections to the image of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungarian art], *Tanulmányok Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies for the seventieth birthday of Tibor Koppány], ed. István Bardoly and László Csaba (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 100; Pál Lövei, “Szigfrid apát síremléke” [The tomb of Abbot Sigfrid], *Mons Sacer 996-1996. Pannonhalma ezer éve* [Mons Sacer 996-1996. Thousand years of Pannonhalma], ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi főapátság, 1996) vol. 1, 312.

people closely attached to the royal court. To answer the question, how did this happen precisely and what channels linked the artistic centers is a topic for further research.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis has been to shed light on the probable interest in the reception of the fashionable artistic style of the French royal court in Central Europe in the mid-fourteenth century. Because the birth of the style itself was closely bound to a certain political situation – the canonization of Louis IX of France – it was a good chance to investigate whether the reception of the style was linked to similar conditions in the Central European region.

This idea is partially supported by the import of Parisian goldsmith's works to this area. Here, first, it was always the court who promoted this activity. The aim the king had in promoting it lay in the fact that these luxurious works of art could give an effective representation of their commissioner's political power and, his blameless taste by following "Parisian fashion." In the case of monumental works of art, however, the claims and the initiatives are not so simple to describe; they were much more expensive and made for a wider public as decoration of (public) buildings. Therefore, I put the question whether the appearance of the French style in the monumental sculpture can be regarded as part of a certain artistic propaganda of the court and therefore characteristic of courtly art, or did it owe more to single personal initiatives?

The analysis of two deposits of statues in Pécs which show the French style of Vienna (only in a heavily fragmentary state) suggest that the commission was given by the members the circle of people at court, because either the places where the statues were made or the testimony of the written sources refer to this. For answering the question of whether the appearance of the style can be regarded as a part of

cultural propaganda, the analysis of the circumstances give a key. The analysis of the carvings in Vienna and their comparison to the Pécs fragments suggest that these carvings should be acknowledged as works of one and the same workshop that came from France, probably just from Île-de-France. Consequently, they cannot be regarded as the results of a general initiative for an orientation towards France, but should be linked to an invitation by individuals. In the case of Vienna, this may have been Princess Johanna, which lets one assume that the reception of the French courtly style came along dynastic connections. In Pécs, the person of the bishop shows another type of (courtly) personal contact for the reception French style in Hungarian sculpture.

All these observations let conclude that there was no political conception and propaganda behind the adaptation of the French style in Central European courts, as were present in its use in France. The constitution of the artistic representation of these centres is more heterogeneous than that in France; let us only think about the repeated pattern of the co-existence of a French orientation with South German influence. According to the results of this thesis, French style could get into this society only via people who acted as mediators.

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