

TILES DECORATED WITH THE KNIGHT IN TOURNAMENT IN THE KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

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Abstract. *Among the ranking first in the top of preferences when it comes to medieval stove tiles decorations was certainly the so-called „knight in tournament”. The representation on tiles of a mounted knight with a tournament lance can be found on medieval tiles from the Swiss areas, Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, and even Moldavia. The present paper is concerned with the Hungarian representations.*

Some of the images that once decorated medieval stove tiles were much more popular than others. Among those ranking first in the top of preferences was certainly the so-called „knight in tournament.”¹ The representation on tiles of a mounted knight riding towards an imaginary opponent with a tournament lance ready to strike can be found on medieval tiles from the Swiss areas.² In Bohemia, the knights hold the lances upwards and they are sometimes accompanied by servants and fools.³ Some tiles present the two opponents on one single tile;⁴ the same scene was discovered on tiles from the Benedictine cloister in Altenburg, Austria.⁵

The motif was most popular in Hungary, however, where high-quality tiles depicting the knight in tournament were used in the royal palace of Buda and then spread through the entire kingdom and even into the neighboring areas such as in Moldavia. On these high-quality tiles, decorated with glazing, open-work, and tracery, a knight in full armor holding a small shield decorated with a rampant lion and a lance is riding his horse under an elaborate Gothic arch. The tiles were produced for the palace sometime in the mid-second half of the fifteenth century, presumably by royal workshops active in the capital. According to Imre Holl, the knight-in-tournament tiles were produced by the so-called “workshop of knightly stoves.” The existence of such workshops in Buda is attested by the impressive quantity of tiles discovered in the royal palace and the city, but they

have not been identified archaeologically and there is no written mention of them. The coat of arms depicted on the knight’s shield (otherwise anonymous) and the analysis of glazing led Holl to date the items and the workshop to the reign of Ladislas V (the Posthumous, 1454-1457).⁶ Judit Tamási, mainly quoting the archaeological dating of tiles and stoves produced with the same molds in Visegrád, has suggested that the workshop was active until later, into the second half of the fifteenth century.⁷ Admitting the entire second half of the fifteenth century as time of production, the dating of several tiles that has been established based on Imre Holl’s strict identification of the production interval between 1454 and 1457 must be re-considered in order to establish a strict chronology of the series. Some authors tend to compromise and date the original items to around 1475.⁸ In the table below (Fig. 3) I present each author’s dating, but the reader must keep in mind that they are relative, being the subject of on-going debate. What is certain is that the products of this workshop made their way throughout the Hungarian Kingdom and even beyond its borders into neighboring Poland, Bohemia, Carinthia, and Moldavia, being the first example of such a large-scale transmission of motifs on stove tiles.

The knight-in-tournament tiles have enjoyed special favor in the studies of medievalists. The workshop of the knightly tiles, the knightly stoves in Buda and their copies and imitations have been thoroughly analyzed and reconstructed by Imre Holl in several of his studies.⁹ His research, complemented by a few

¹ In Hungarian: *lovagalakos*.

² Tamási 1995, 57-59, fig. 143-161;

³ Brych 2004, 118-122, fig. 258-269. Identical scenes can be found in illuminations: Holl 1998, 167.

⁴ Richterová 1982, 55, table 6.

⁵ Krenn 2000, 217, cat. 19.37.

⁶ See the full discussion in Holl 1998; Rusu 2008.

⁷ Tamási 2004.

⁸ Rusu 2008.

⁹ Holl 1958; Holl, Voit 1963; Holl 1998.

focused articles¹⁰ and several other finds published in dispersed articles and exhibition catalogues, allow me to present a synthetic view of the matter. Despite the lengthy discussion of their production, dating, copying, and imitation, I will consider the tiles with knights in tournament as a homogenous group dated to the second half of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century and I will use them here as a control sample for the group of tiles with religious motifs, paying special attention to their iconography and distribution. If the geographical, social, and chronological distributions of the two groups reveal diverging patterns, then one can conclude that the transmission of motifs on stove tiles followed other reasons besides sheer availability. If there are differences, one can take the interpretation further, trying to find arguments for the importance of fashion, religious beliefs, and other meanings attached to images on such objects.

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

also been dated around 1450¹¹ but are probably a few decades later. Imre Holl published a graphic reconstruction of the “knightly stoves:”¹² (fig. 1)

Products of the same workshop or other types of directly related tiles (copies and imitations) have showed up in large numbers in several locations in Hungary and the neighboring regions. Precisely because of the motif’s great popularity, which triggered numerous copies, re-copies, and imitations, one faces a problem in delimitating the group under discussion. During its transmission, the image lost or gained elements, to the point where it changed beyond immediate recognition. In order to show where I have set the limit, I will also discuss the late and indirectly related tiles originally inspired by the most famous product of the workshops in Buda. (fig. 2 – no.1.)

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

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

The motif is one of the popular ones, but not the most popular. The two-tailed siren, for

¹⁰ Tiles with the knight in tournament have raised the focused interest of two Romanian researchers in particular: Daniela Marcu Istrate has published a series of articles on the topic (2003b, 2004 Chapter VII, and other repeated or translated versions. For the full bibliography see Rusu 2008) trying to create and then correct a lengthy and impractically complicated typology of the series of tiles, strongly criticized by Adrian Andrei Rusu (2008). Maria-Venera Rădulescu also attempted (but failed) to throw light on the matter (2000), while Vasile Mizgan has tried to complete the classification and add more tiles to the group (2001).

¹¹ Gerevich 1971, fig. 207.

¹² Holl 1998, 203, fig. 58.

example, features on 80 tiles (at least 100 individual items).¹³ The knight is, nevertheless, one of the images that generated the most variants, copies, and imitations. At least fourteen different variants can be identified among the tiles from the Kingdom of Hungary, not counting the differences in glazing. There were also numerous late copies or representations inspired by the image of the knight in tournament. Such are the tiles decorated with hussars, mounted knights under vegetal portals that included Turk's heads in the foliage,¹⁴ and images of St. George that sometimes borrowed the "looks" of the knight in tournament.

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

Groups of directly-related tiles

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

The original products of the Buda workshop, that were also found in places such as Ozora, Bratislava, Ružica, Čakovec, and others listed by Imre Holl.¹⁵ They are all semi-circular tiles decorated in openwork and tracery, nicely cut and glazed. The sites indicate that the most high-quality pieces of the series were used in the residences of the king or his high dignitaries. Such tiles could have been the object of royal gifts. Their original prestige contributed undoubtedly to a high degree to their fashionable and popular character (fig. 4).

Green-glazed panel tiles copied after the model in Buda have been found in the castles of

Susedgrad (Slavonia) and Hunedoara (Transylvania). (fig. 5)

The imitations (copies with small additions), can be grouped further down the line of filiation. The tiles in Pécs and Făgăraș, both panel tiles, present one or two rosettes added in the background. It may well be the case that the tile in Făgăraș, having less clear details and being slightly cut in the upper part, was copied from the tile in Pécs. (fig. 6) A fragment from Alba Iulia (fig. 8) might also be related, but only the front part of the horse and lance are visible on the preserved item.

Two other tiles have a border of dots added, this being a typical means of correcting the dimensions of copies made smaller than their models due to the natural shrinkage of clay during drying and firing. The tiles from the fortifications in Mălăiești and probably the fragment from Orăștie also include supplementary details such as a coat of arms depicting a unicorn and a Turk's head. The unicorn has been interpreted as probably deriving from the composition of the owner's coat of arms (the Sărăcin family's blazon being otherwise unknown from other sources) and the Turk as being a frequent heraldic device in the anti-Ottoman context of the fifteenth century. A. A. Rusu has also advanced the hypothesis that both elements could have been dress accessories included in the composition just because they were considered interesting (as in the case of bronze bells that were cast in molds that included pilgrim badges, belt buckles, and various metal accessories) (fig. 7)

Tile number 34, with unknown place of discovery but kept in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, is another imitation of the Buda original, changing the depiction from the knight's shield and its shape. What was originally an asymmetrical shield with a rampant lion became a round shield decorated with a star with eight (?) rays (fig. 8).

A distant copy of the original is another unglazed tile from the Saxon settlement of Cristian in Transylvania, which has an added a double border and displays fade-out details. The representation is schematic and it was probably created in a local workshop: (fig. 9)

The tiles in Nova Ves, decorated either in open-work or flat relief, could be distant "relatives" of the model in Buda or very bad imitations created from it. All the items are drowned in a very thick green to brown glaze. They are the products of a provincial, local workshop, the archaeological traces of which have been excavated in this town belonging to the bishop of Zagreb (fig. 10).

¹³ Gruia 2007. Three more tiles have been discovered or published since, one in Cluj (A. A. Rusu, personal communication, 6.19.2007) and two types in Diósgyőr (Boldizsár, Kocsis, Sabján 2007, 12, fig. 6, 50, fig. 49, 70-71, plates VI, VII, 74, plate X).

¹⁴ Marcu Istrate 2006. More variants in the bibliography are indicated in note 10.

¹⁵ Holl 1998, 178.

From a chronological point of view, the latest products of the group are the tiles from the Szekler region in Transylvania. They are provincial imitations of the higher class products, used in the first half of the sixteenth century in the interiors of the manor houses in the Szekler region, from Lăzarea, Șiclod, and Sâncrăieni. The tiles have similar dimensions and they were probably produced with the same molds, with slight alterations. The tiles in Lăzarea are of the better quality among the group, with clearer details and green glaze. On the tiles from this series, a bird is depicted on the knight's shield, unlike on the tiles from Buda that have a rampant lion in the same place. The bird could have been taken from the Corvin coat of arms. Tiles from this series bear the date 1515. Copies made from the first series have preserved the inscription with the date, so the year is only a *post quem* dating element. Three sub-groups can be distinguished, consisting of directly related tiles from Lăzarea, and Sâncrăieni (having the arch decorated with spirals), a tile from Șiclod that does not have the two semicircular arches above the arcade, and the tiles from Sâncrăieni and Sânsimion (adding a series of dots around the knight and his horse and instead of the two arches): (fig. 11; fig. 12; fig. 13)

Tiles depicting the knight turned to the right are much rarer finds, but their transmission can also be traced and the existence of missing links can be argued for. The original of this variant was also produced in Buda, having the same high-quality details and careful open-work decoration and green glaze as the variant with the knight turned to the left. A tile fragment discovered as stray find in Transylvania, at Cristian, seems to be from a copy replicating the motif on an unglazed panel tile. Later imitations have been found in Sâncrăieni and an unknown location in Transylvania (the tile being preserved in the collection of the Museum in Sfântu Gheorghe). On these tiles the Gothic arch is strongly modified and simplified, and an inscription is added under the horse, probably indicating the year 1511. Other two directly related fragments, kept in the museums in Sighișoara and Cluj-Napoca, are also later imitations since they adapt the arch, adding vegetal elements, and place the motif under a semicircular line, with decorative elements in the upper corners. The composition is typical of the Renaissance representations on tiles, and thus the unglazed fragments can be dated to the sixteenth century. (fig. 14)

Contexts of discovery and distribution patterns

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

In summary in 24 cases out of 38 the tiles can be related to royal or noble residences (palaces, castles, manor houses) and fortifications, in 4 cases to urban contexts (including inside an urban fortification), and in 1 case to a Pauline monastery. In 9 cases the exact context of discovery remains unknown. It is noteworthy that none of the tiles have been discovered in market towns or villages, just as none have been unearthed in a tile workshop. On the contrary, most of the distant imitations of the knight-in-tournament tiles,

especially flourishing in Transylvania,¹⁶ have been used precisely in middle and lower status social contexts, in cities, towns, market towns, and then villages (fig. 15).

Geographically, most tiles are from Transylvania (17) and almost as many are from Central Hungary (12). Others are from Slavonia (8) and just one comes from Northern Hungary. It seems that in present-day Slovakia, the knight in tournament tiles did not enjoy favor, the only known context of use being in the royal castle in Bratislava, which is in fact part of northwestern Hungary close to Vienna. In Slavonia and Transylvania copies were certainly made in local workshops, such as the one in Nova Ves or others in the Szekler region. None of the pottery workshops identified so far from the latter region, from Cristuru Secuiesc, for example, have turned out to contain such pieces. If the first directly related tiles, original products or first-hand copies of the tiles in Buda were donated by the king to his magnates, the later and less luxurious examples were certainly produced locally. In the absence of written records, one does not know the exact mechanisms of transmission in the case of the first tiles. Did the royal workshops produce more originals with the same mold? Did masters move and receive permission to work for other projects? Were tiles and molds transported or just drawings? The issue remains unsettled, since the mere archaeological evidence of directly related tiles in different locations cannot clarify that. Chronologically, a pattern of vertical social transmission seems to be supported by dating. The first copies have all been dated close to the time when the originals were produced (ca. 1475). Considering the fact that the dating of the originals and of the entire group is still under debate, one can only note that some Transylvanian variants are later in the series. Only in this province does one find tiles decorated with the knight in tournament created in the first half of the sixteenth century. They usually have added dates (1511 and 1515), although they could have been re-copied, thus the years inscribed on them can only be taken as being *post quem* dating indicators. It also shows a pattern that tiles probably no longer visible in Buda, since they must have been replaced with more fashionable tiles, were still imitated in the eastern end of the province from other distant copies of the originals.

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

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

Another group of tiles that depicted the knight in tournament, facing either left or right but inscribed in a medallion and lacking the upper architectural tracery, was popular in the Swiss area.¹⁷ An indirectly related tile was found in the Pauline monastery of Nagyvázsony.¹⁸ The unglazed piece is dated to the end of the fifteenth century and it was paired with another round flat tile decorated with the Pelican in her Piety (cat. 69). (fig. 16)

The Swiss and the Hungarian tiles depicting the knight in a medallion, due to their differences in size and decoration (the tile in

¹⁶ Or just better researched. Some examples will be discussed later in this article, and more can be found in the bibliographic references indicated in note 10.

¹⁷ Tamási 1995, 57-59, 132-134, figs. 143-157.

¹⁸ Tamási 1995, 59, 137, fig.158; Holl 1983, 215, 216, fig. 29, 217.

Nagyvázsony has a dotted background added), are indirectly related, having a missing earlier model as connection.¹⁹

As for the later tiles related to the Buda type of knight in tournament, one can find, as previously mentioned, an endless line of distant and indirectly related tiles, adding and changing elements to the point where they lose all resemblance to the original. Such later imitations, which I did not include in the group analyzed, come from the fortification in Bajcsa-Vár²⁰ (dated 1558 by the inscription) or from the Carthusian monastery in Kľaštorisko²¹ (in Northern Hungary, dated before 1543) (fig. 17; fig. 18).

The latest in the long series of copies seem to be those produced in the Szekler region of Transylvania. In Cristuru Secuiesc,²² a medieval market-town two tiles of the type have been discovered, one bearing the date 1573 and the initials of the potter (LF), and another in Lázarea,²³ probably from the adjacent buildings of the manor house owned by the Lázár family (fig. 19; fig. 20).

More direct imitations of the Buda tiles have been discovered in Moldavia, at Suceava (in the princely fortification, the princely court, the princely inn, and the yard of St. Nicholas' Church), the fortification in Hotin, and the boyar residences in Spătărești,²⁴ Arbore, Bălinești, and Părhăuți.²⁵ This group of tiles depicts the rider either turned to the right or to the left, they maintain the Gothic tracery and the arch, but they add two characters in the lateral niches, elements probably inspired by the other productions of the knight in tournament tile workshop from Buda such as the pairs of saints on corbels (fig. 21).

It seems probable that the image reached Moldavia through Transylvania, but the tiles from the Szekler region showing the knight turned to the right are all later, dated to the first half of the sixteenth century. Some specialists believe that the tiles in both the Szekler region and Moldavia copy an intermediate model, maybe produced in Bistrița, an important commercial point between the two

areas. Bistrița is a likely guess for the location for the missing link since the Szekler tiles depict the Corvin coat of arms on the knight's shield and Bistrița was in the possession of John Hunyadi in the middle of the fifteenth century.²⁶ The governor of Hungary was granted the city and its estates in 1453 and it became one of his most important estates, since he held the title of count of Bistrița. The issue of motif transmission on tiles from Transylvania to Moldavia is debated, since most Moldavian archaeologists tend to date their finds earlier than those from Transylvania. In some cases the issue has been settled. Motifs such as the two-tailed siren²⁷ and the angel bearing coats of arms²⁸ probably could not have reached Moldavia through Poland because no such tiles have been discovered there. Transylvania therefore remains the most probable intermediary in the transmission of several motifs on tiles towards the state of Stephen the Great.

Two tiles depicting tournament scenes, very different from those belonging to the group here, have been discovered in Bistrița. One shows a knight turned to the right, in full armor and holding a lance, but there is no architectural element. Instead, the background decoration consists of lines that suggest wings or flames behind the knight and grass in the foreground. There are other significant differences as well; there is no shield, the horse is not galloping, etc²⁹ (fig. 22)

The other tile fragment from Bistrița is interesting because that it depicts a more detailed tournament scene, with the knight galloping toward the left observed by two figures depicted as busts at the windows of a rear building.³⁰ The reconstruction drawing is based on a directly related tile from Suceava, in Moldavia.³¹ The case is relevant for the transmission of motifs from Transylvania to the neighboring medieval state, but it is not helpful for the present discussion of the knight in tournament since the motif is iconographically very different; the Gothic arch is replaced by a two-window building and a circular tower(?), the knight wears a different type of helmet, and the horse's front feet are in a different position. The two tiles from Bistrița, despite depicting knights in tournament, are not related to those that spread from Buda. The only connection

¹⁹ Tamási 1995, 59.

²⁰ *Bajcsa-Vár* 2002, 123, cat. 46-47.

²¹ Egyház-Jurovská 1993, cat. 238, fig. 39.

²² First tile: Marcu Istrate 2004, 202, 377, fig. B1; Benkő, Ughy 1984, p. 59-60, plate 27. Second tile: Marcu Istrate 2004, 203, 377, fig. B3; Benkő, Ughy 1984, 61, fig. 29.

²³ Marcu Istrate 2004, 239; Marcu Istrate 2003, 120, fig. 7; Molnar 1978; Kémenes 2005, 147, cat. 65, plate 26, fig. 3.

²⁴ Rădulescu 2000, fig. 2.a.

²⁵ Batariuc 1999, 118-119, 246, fig. 49. 1-2, 247, fig. 50.5-6.

²⁶ Kémenes 2006.

²⁷ Gruia 2007.

²⁸ Rusu, C. 1995-6.

²⁹ Mizgan 2001, 136, fig. 5.

³⁰ Mizgan 2001, 135, fig. 4.

³¹ Mizgan 2001, 139, fig. 8b; Batariuc 1999, 250, fig. 53.4.

is thematic, all representations appealing to the same knightly culture and fashion (fig. 23).

Conclusions

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

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

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

<i>Province</i>	<i>Find Place</i>	<i>Status of the Site</i>	<i>Owner</i>	<i>Dating</i>	<i>Directly Related Tiles</i>	<i>Number of Tiles and Glazing</i>	<i>Observations</i>
Hungary	1. Buda ³²	royal palace		ca. 1475	2; 11, 13, 17, 20	green glaze/ green glaze + red paint/ unglazed	knight to the left; openwork, tracery; local workshop
	2. Buda ³³	royal palace		ca. 1475	1; 27	green glaze	knight to the right; openwork, tracery; local workshop
	3. Pécs ³⁴	bishop's palace	Sigismund Ernest Csáktornya	1473-1505	26, 38	2 tiles	panel tile, added rosette
	4. Tata ³⁵	castle	king				
	5. Esztergom ³⁶	town suburb					
	6. Csesznek ³⁷	castle	palatine László Garai				
	7. Vác ³⁸	town					
	8. Sopron ³⁹	town					
	9. Bátmonostor ⁴⁰	palace	László B. Töttös Obermundschnek				
	10. Eger ⁴¹	bishop's palace					knight to the right?
	11. Ozora ⁴²	castle	Hédervári family	end of the 15 th c.	1, 13, 17, 20	4 tiles	openwork, tracery
	12. Piliszentlélek ⁴³	Pauline monastery					knight to the right
Northern Hungary	13. Bratislava ⁴⁴	royal castle	king		1, 11, 17, 20		openwork

³² Holl 1958, 252, 258, fig. 80; Holl, Voit 1963, 21, 65, fig. 15; *A középkori Buda* 1984, 26-27.

³³ Holl 1958, 259, fig. 81.

³⁴ Holl 1958, 269, 270, fig. 96.1-2; Holl 1995, 271, fig. 12.3; Holl 1998, 178.

³⁵ Holl 1998, 178.

³⁶ Holl 1998, 178.

³⁷ Holl 1998, 178.

³⁸ Holl 1998, 178.

³⁹ Holl 1998, 178.

⁴⁰ Holl 1998, 178.

⁴¹ Holl 1998, 178.

⁴² Holl 1998, 178; Tamási 2004, 521, 522, fig. 8.

⁴³ Holl 1998, 178.

⁴⁴ Holl 1998, 178; Polla 1979, 149, fig. 80.5.

Slavonia	14. Nova Ves ⁴⁵	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466-1500	15	2 tiles, green glaze	panel tile; local workshop
	15. Nova Ves ⁴⁶	bishop's residence	Bishop of Zagreb	1466-1500	14	5 tiles; green glaze/ brown glaze	openwork; local workshop
	16. Susedgrad ⁴⁷	fortification		end of the 15 th c.	22	green glaze	panel tile
	17. Ružica ⁴⁸	castle	Nikola and Lovro of Ilok	second half of the 15 th c.	1, 11, 13, 20	green glaze	openwork, tracery
	18. Moslavina ⁴⁹	fortification	Čupor fam. until 1493			white paint	openwork?
	19. Svetina ⁵⁰	noble residence	Cilli family				
	20. Čakovec ⁵¹	castle	Cilli family		1, 11, 13, 17		openwork, tracery
	21.? (kept in Bjelovar) ⁵²	?					
Transylvania	22. Hunedoara ⁵³	castle	governor John Hunyadi	soon after 1475	16	green glaze	panel tile
	23. Șiclod ⁵⁴	?		1515	29, 30, 31, 33		panel tile, added date 1515
	24. Mălăiești ⁵⁵	fortification	Sărăcin family (Romanian cnez)	end of the 15 th c.	25	4-5 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, added button border, coat of arms with unicorn, Turk's head
	25. Orăștie ⁵⁶	urban fortification	Saxon community	end of the 15 th c.	24	unglazed	panel tile, added button border
	26. Făgăraș ⁵⁷	castle		end of the 15 th c.	3, 38		panel tile, added rosette
	27. Cristian ⁵⁸	?		end of the 15 th c.	2	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile

⁴⁵ Mašić 2002, cat. 21, 22.

⁴⁶ Mašić 2002, cat. 4, 29, 30, 31, 32.

⁴⁷ Stahuljak, Klobučar 1958, 209, 210, fig. 2.

⁴⁸ Radić, Bojčić 2004, 255, cat. 536.

⁴⁹ Bobovec 2003, 165, 173, fig. T.3.5

⁵⁰ Holl 1998, 178.

⁵¹ Holl 1998, 178, fig. 38.1; Vidović 1994.

⁵² Stahuljak, Klobučar 1958.

⁵³ Marcu Istrate 2004, 237; Balogh 1943, fig. 37; Möller 1913, 87, fig. 55; Balogh 1966, 203, fig. 652; Vătășianu 1959, 754-55, fig. 721; Rusu, Eskenasy, 1981, 114-115

⁵⁴ Holl 1958, 273, fig. 98; Marcu Istrate 2004, 273; Benkő, Ughy 1984, 59, plate 26.

⁵⁵ Rusu, Eskenasy 1981; Marcu Istrate 2004, 242, 435, fig A1; Rusu 2008.

⁵⁶ Marcu Istrate 2004, 249, 444, fig 1.

⁵⁷ Marcu Istrate 2004, 219, 400, fig.50.

⁵⁸ Marcu Istrate 2004, 202, 377 fig. A1; Roșca 2006, 81, cat. 17, 216.

28.Cristian ⁵⁹	?		end of the 15 th c.		unglazed	panel tile, added border
29.Lăzarea ⁶⁰	castle	Lázár family	beg. of the 16 th c.	30; 23, 31, 33	min.2 tiles, unglazed/ green glaze	panel tile, added year 1515, decorative arch
30.Sâncrăieni ⁶¹	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 th c.	29; 23, 31, 33	min.3 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, decorative arch
31.Sâncrăieni ⁶²	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 th c.	33; 29, 30, 23	min.1 tile, unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, dots
32.Sâncrăieni ⁶³	manor house	Andrássy family	first half of the 16 th c.	35	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
33.Sânsimion ⁶⁴	?		first half of the 16 th c.	31; 29, 30, 23	unglazed	panel tile, added year 1515, dots
34.? ⁶⁵	?		end 15 th c. beg. of the 16 th c.	36, 37	min. 2 tiles, unglazed	panel tile, star on shield
35.?(Szekler region?) ⁶⁶	?		beg. of the 16 th c.	32	green glaze	knight to the right; panel tile, added year 1511?
36.?(Saxon region?) ⁶⁷			16 th c.	37; 34	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
37.? ⁶⁸				36; 34	unglazed	knight to the right; panel tile
38. Alba Iulia ⁶⁹	?		end of the 15 th c.	3, 26	unglazed	knight to the left; panel tile

Fig. 3: Stove tiles decorated with the knight in tournament from the Kingdom of Hungary

⁵⁹ Marcu Istrate 2004, 202, 356, fig. C2; Roșca 2006, 81, cat. 18, 216-217.

⁶⁰ Kémenes 2005, 146, cat. 60, plate 20, fig. 1-2.

⁶¹ Kémenes 2005, 111, cat. 8, plate 21-22.

⁶² Kémenes 2005, 111, cat. 9, plate 23.

⁶³ Kémenes 2005, 111, cat. 10, plate 25, fig. 1.

⁶⁴ Kémenes 2005, 119, cat. 4, plate 24.

⁶⁵ Marcu Istrate 2004, 197, 371, fig. 33.18; *Matthias Corvinus* 2008, 42, fig. 9.

⁶⁶ Marcu Istrate 2004, 267, 472, fig B4.

⁶⁷ Marcu Istrate 2004, 272, 476, fig. B4.

⁶⁸ Marcu Istrate 2004, 197, 371, fig. 19; Mizgan 2001, 138, fig. 7b.

⁶⁹ Rusu 2008, fig. 6b; Marcu Istrate 2004, 178, 344, fig. B1; A. A. Rusu 1996, 129.

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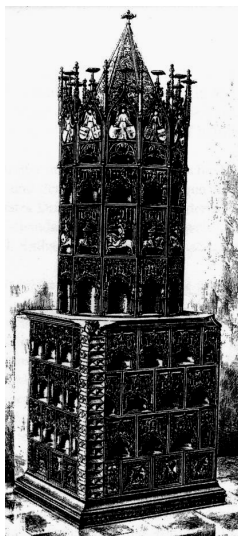


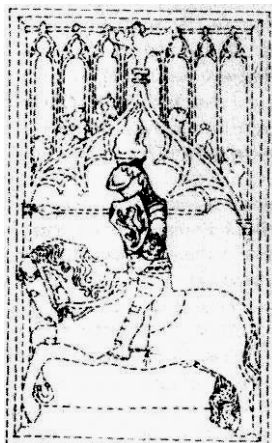
Fig. 1. Graphic reconstruction of the “knightly stove” from Buda palace (ca. 1475).



Fig. 2. Semi-cylindrical tiles decorated with the knight in tournament (Buda, ca. 1475) – no. 1.



Buda (no. 1)



Bratislava (no. 13)



Ozora (no. 11)



Ružica (no. 17)

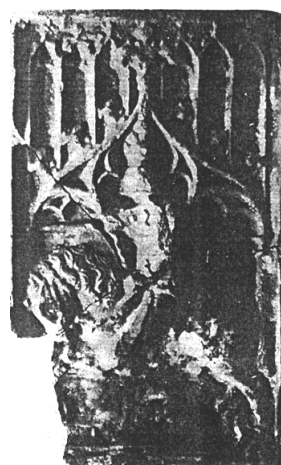


Čakovec (no. 20)

Fig. 4. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- original products.



Susedgrad (no. 16)

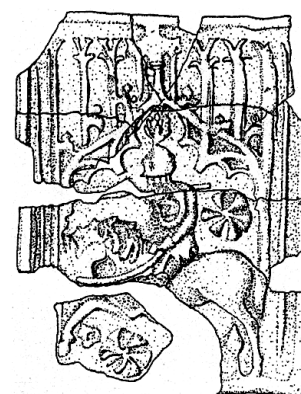


Hunedoara (no. 22)

Fig. 5. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- copies.



Pécs (no. 3)



Făgăraș (no. 26)

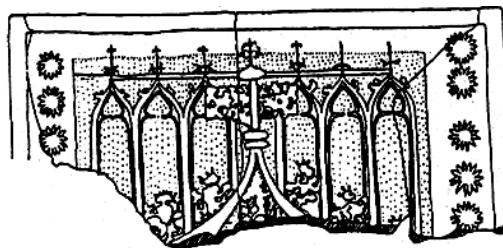
Fig. 6. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- imitations with an added rosette.



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



Mălăiești (no. 24)



Orăștie (no. 25)

Fig. 8. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament -- imitations with added borders.



Fig. 9. Tile fragment depicting the knight in tournament -- imitation with a changed shield from an unknown location in Transylvania – no. 34.



Fig. 10. Tile depicting the knight in tournament – imitation from Cristian – no. 28.



Fig. 11. Tiles depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Nova Ves – no. 14 and 15.



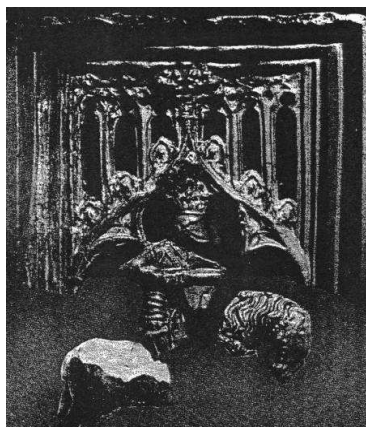
Fig. 12. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Lăzarea (no. 29) and Sâncrăieni (no. 30).



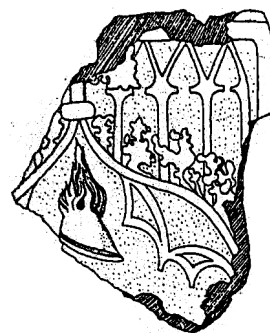
Fig. 13. Tile depicting the knight in tournament – imitation from Șiclod (cat. 23).



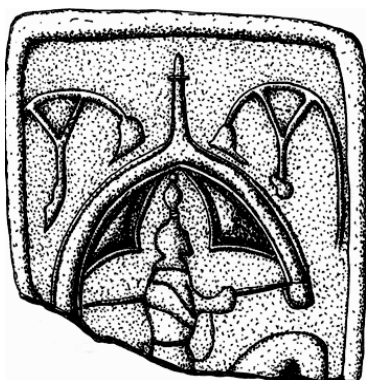
Fig. 14. Tiles depicting the knight in tournament – imitations from Sâncrăieni (no. 31) and Sânsimion (no. 33).



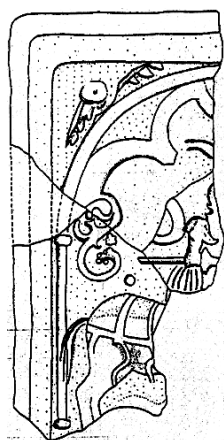
Buda (no. 2)



Cristian (no. 27)



Sâncrăieni (no. 32) Unknown location in Transylvania (no. 35)



Unknown locations in Transylvania (no. 36 and 37)

Fig. 15. Tiles and tile fragments depicting the knight in tournament turned to the right.

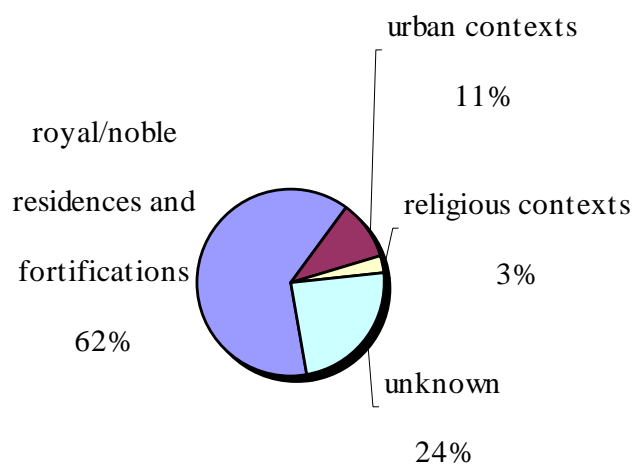


Fig. 16. Social distribution of tiles with the knight in tournament in the Kingdom of Hungary.

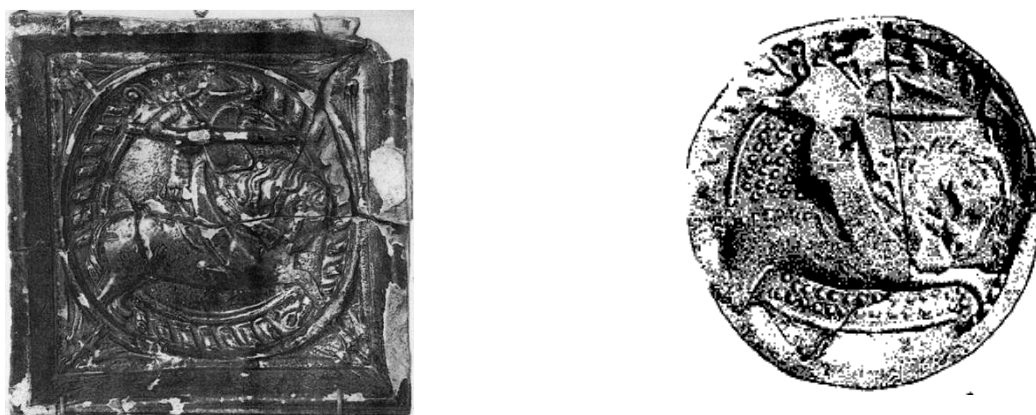


Fig. 17. Knight in tournament in medallions on tiles from Hallwil and Nagyvázsony.

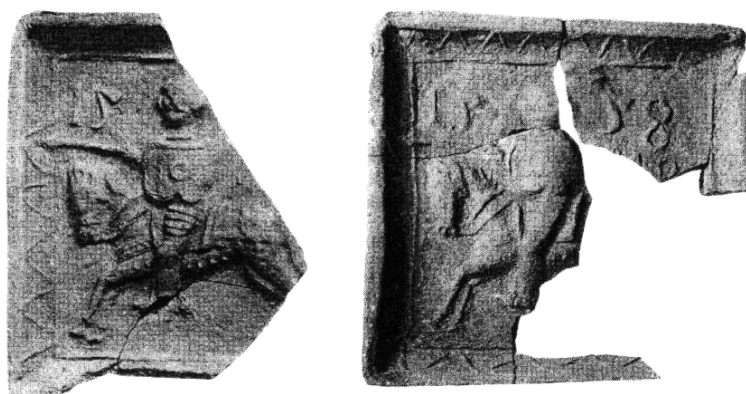


Fig. 18. Tiles with rider and added date (1558) from Bajcsa-Vár.



Fig. 19. Tile with a knight in tournament from Kľaštorisko.

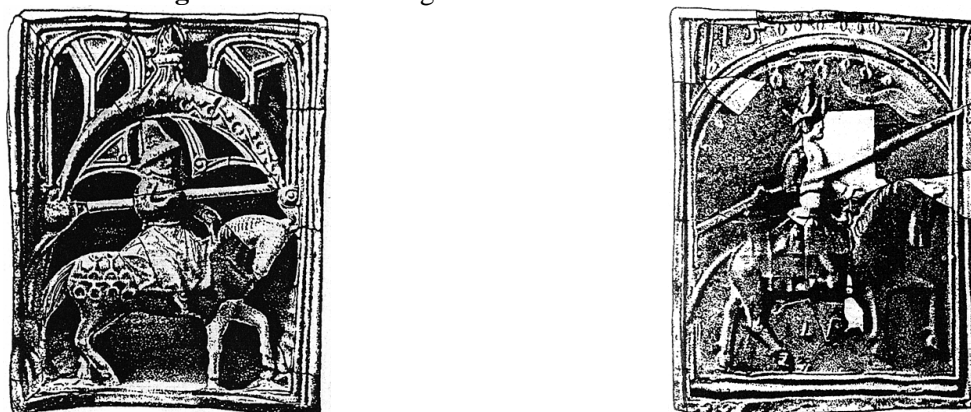


Fig. 20. Stove tiles from Cristuru Secuiesc depicting riders.



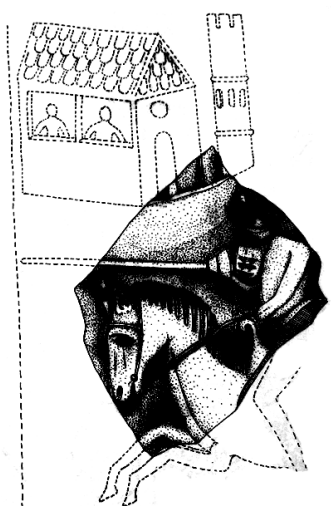
Fig. 21. Graphic reconstruction of a tile with rider from Lăzarea.



Fig. 22. Tile with the knight in tournament from Spătărești in Moldavia.



Fig. 23. Tile from Bistrița depicting a knight with wings (?)



Bistrița



Suceava

Fig. 24. Directly-related tiles depicting a tournament scene