

MARISIA

ARCHAEOLOGIA
HISTORIA
PATRIMONIUM

4

EDITURA MEGA
Cluj-Napoca
2022



EDITORIAL BOARD

Executive Editor:

Koppány Bulcsú ÖTVÖS

Editors:

Sándor BERECKI

Zalán GYÖRFI

János ORBÁN

Szilamér Péter PÁNCZÉL

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Tiberius BADER (Hemmingen, Germany)

Elek BENKŐ, Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities (Budapest, Hungary)

Marius-Mihai CIUTĂ, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu (Sibiu, Romania)

Zoltán CZAJLIK, Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Archaeological Sciences (Budapest, Hungary)

Ciprian FIREA, Romanian Academy, Institute of Archaeology and Art History (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

András KOVÁCS, Babeş-Bolyai University (Cluj-Napoca, Romania)

Zsolt VISY, University of Pécs (Pécs, Hungary)

CORRESPONDENCE

Muzeul Judeţean Mureş / Mureş County Museum

CP 85, str. Mărăşti nr. 8A, 540328 Târgu Mureş, România

e-mail: marisiaedit@gmail.com

Cover: István KARÁCSONY

The content of the papers totally involve the responsibility of the authors.

ISSN 2668-7232



EDITURA MEGA | www.edituramega.ro

e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

CONTENTS

Oliver DIETRICH

Überlegungen zur Datierung und Zusammensetzung des bronzezeitlichen
Handwerkerhorts von Timișoara-Fratelia, jud. Timiș, Rumänien

7

Aurora PEȚAN

Notes regarding the Roman presence in the area of the limestone quarries at
Măgura Călanului

19

Miklós TAKÁCS

Egy párhuzamos világ. A szerb őshonosság-elmélet

35

Adrian Andrei RUSU

Stove tiles from Transylvania (VIII). Medieval stove tiles from the town of Cluj

77

Ilka BOÉR

The Judith and Holofernes Theme on Stove Tiles from the 16th century discovered
in Cluj-Napoca

99

Levente Mátyás SÜKET

Additions to the history of the “Sándor-manor” of Văcărești (Vacsárcsi) – Based on
historical sources and the 2013 archaeological campaign

117

ABBREVIATIONS

139

STOVE TILES FROM TRANSYLVANIA (VIII). MEDIEVAL STOVE TILES FROM THE TOWN OF CLUJ

ADRIAN ANDREI RUSU*

The article analyses some of the stove tile lots discovered in excavations in Cluj. An unexpectedly rich range of representations can be reconstructed, with no analogues (yet?) in the province. At the moment, the collection of authentically medieval pieces (excluding pre-modern ones) found in Cluj-Napoca includes representations of the pelican, the lion, Samson and the lion, David and Goliath, the Annunciation, the Good Samaritan, St. Ladislaus battling the Cuman, St. Jerome, St. Michael the Archangel, a twin-tailed siren, a griffin, an unidentified beast, the illustration of a medieval epic poem (?), knights, dismounted knights, stove tiles with the coat of arms of King Matthias Corvinus. The conclusion is natural: in terms of stove tiles, Cluj-Napoca is, to date, the richest town in the whole of Transylvania.

The exceptional situation of the town in producing stove tiles seems to be linked the turn of the 15th–16th centuries. Besides the remains and individuality of the archaeologically discovered workshop, there are grounds for the identification of at least two other craftsmen. For the time being, the most fragments of glazed tiles in the entire provincial area are located in the same place, some of them polychrome, which is also a rarity. The artistic value of the mould makers is well worth emphasising.

INTRODUCTION

In 2004 I had the opportunity to read a staggering “story” of medieval archaeology of an alleged European scientific society from the 21st century. Almost a quarter of a century ago (!) in the town of Cluj-Napoca the Communist administration enacted the construction of a neighborhood of a block of flats in “Măraști.” The new habitat of the working class would be built over (and destroy) the site of a former medieval village, then later the suburbs called Sânpetru, covered by the gardens of those that supplied the town for the last five or six centuries. I already had an idea about how the rescue excavations had been conducted and especially how unprofessional the attitude of the administrators from the National History Museum of Transylvania had been towards everything that was dated to the post-Roman period, but the direct evidence of this failure could not

concretely be seen. Always and everywhere history retaliates.

In spite of legal restrictions in force, with a militia and the Securitate, when the words “patrimony/heritage” were pronounced a local resident, named László Balázs, gathered an impressive quantity of medieval material from the foundation pits, which he preserved in remarkable condition over the years. Not even after 1989, in possession of this material stored in boxes or on shelves, he did not dare or did not trust the people in the museum of his town enough to hand in the material. Thus, the material that contained a group of eighteen types of stove tiles was published in 2004 by Elek Benkő, originally from Cluj, but researcher at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hungarian Academy (Budapest).¹ It was published but the possession or localization of these stove tiles,

* aarusu@gmail.com

¹ BENKŐ 2004.

connected to the history of medieval Cluj, have remained still mysterious. Here, I wish to assert that the importance of these objects is outstanding, since they again prove how little we know about the medieval town itself and especially how scarce is our knowledge about both the stove tile production and the stoves themselves from that period.

With another occasion I had the chance to refer to two splendid stove tiles dated to the end of the reign of King Matthias I Corvinus.² At the same time, I published a map where I highlighted the places where the stove tiles came from that I was aware of. Now, I shall resume the problematic by referring to actual finds.

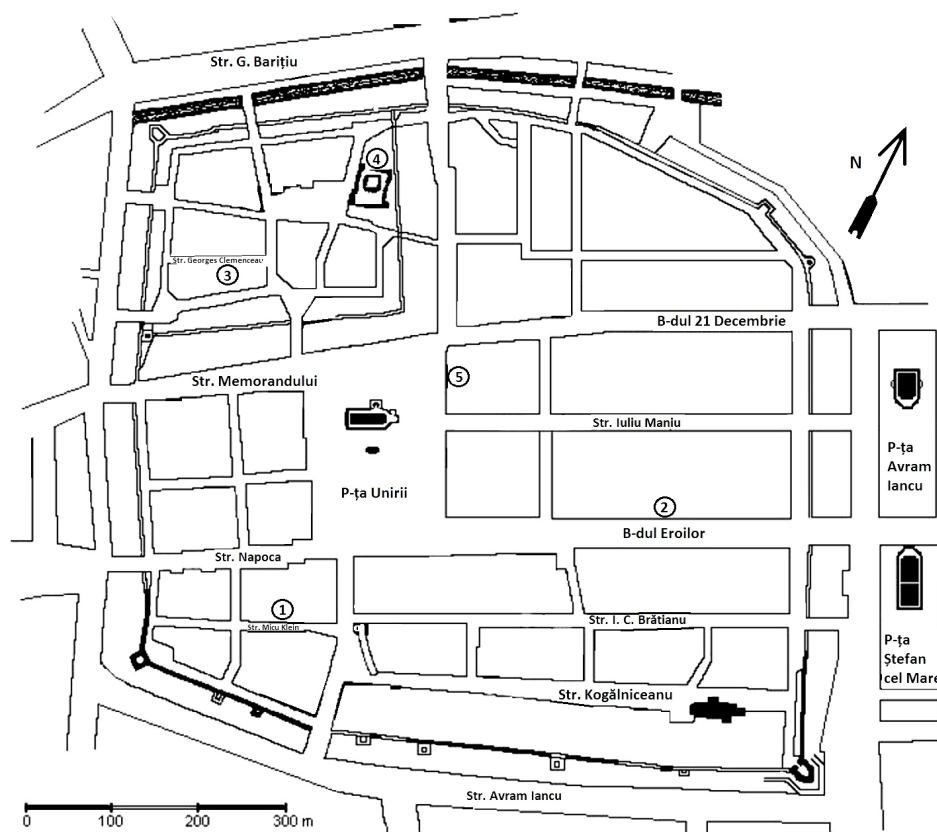


Fig. 1. The map of the medieval town of Cluj with the location of the discussed finds: 1. Micu Klein Street; 2. Eroilor Boulevard; 3. Georges Clemenceau Street; 4. Dominican friary (Victor Deleu Street); 5. Museum of Art (Unirii square).

THE GROUP FROM MICU KLEIN STREET, NR. 6. (FIG. 1/1)

These come from an area where a group of houses are situated on a street close to the southern enclosure of the medieval town, where an expansion of construction offered me the chance to lead a direct archaeological excavation in 2004. From the ungenerous surface exceptional material came to light. I shall

discuss only a part of this material, the ones that represent fragments of stove tiles. These were found in closely situated contexts, they might have even been parts of a single stove that belonged to a neighboring house.

The Lion. The fragment is small (measuring not more than 5 × 5 cm) (Pl. I/1). It broke in

² Rusu 2012, p. 313–326.

an irregular contour but the details of a relief are well preserved. Through the manner of its treatment only one part of the chest, mane, and the beginning of a lion paw can be identified. The modeling is well made with signs that it was pressed into the mold on the back with a board. Also, the quality of the materials should be mentioned: the clay paste is uniform, well mixed, and fired to red. Over the surface a green glaze was applied with yellowish shining nuances.

Finds of stove tiles with the representation of lions are known from the whole of Europe.³ Stove tile finds from Diósgyőr (Hungary) show the lion appearing independently without any decorations already in the 14th century.⁴ The ones from Transylvania were identified in a number of finds.⁵ The lion is mentioned also in the discoveries from Moldova, at Suceava and Vaslui.⁶ Their classification according to their content is still incomplete. Other finds from Cluj are connected to a relatively intact tile depicting a rump, which could belong to another animal as well.⁷

The pelican. The tile fragment has the dimensions 8 × 7 cm (Pl. I/2). A clamping frame is also visible, not higher than 3 cm, clamped at a right angle. The decoration is a simple frame with a circle inside (of a diameter of 9.4 cm). The existence of a marginal rift allowed the discovery of a second circle in its lower part. Based on these one can presume the original dimensions of the tile (approximately 19 × 19 cm), in which four such geometric forms could have been placed.

At least the circle has kept its interior decorative elements in its lower part, which was enough to unveil that one-third of its surface was delineated in a straight line and filled with small triangles. Above it, to the left, a group of three long, irregular figures is followed by endings in a wedge. More clearly seen are the feet of a bird and what is likely the end of a tail. The whole image can be interpreted as a nest in which there are three baby birds with open beaks, and a bird standing next to the nestlings. It cannot be anything else but a pelican feeding its offspring. Unfortunately, interpretation of the content within the other missing circles from the tile can only be speculation. One would expect that the pelican motif would not repeat in the other circles.

The oldest example of a stove tile decorated with a pelican, from medieval Hungary, was dated to the time of Louis I of Anjou, installed in the royal palace in Visegrád. It is a square piece, with dimensions quite close to the stove tile from Cluj, with polychrome glaze (the yellowish-brown glaze prevailing). The comparisons end here since the rest of the decoration is radically different.⁸ In the material from Buda, stove tiles partitioned into four diagonal circles exist with a similar decoration.⁹ The medallion with the pelican is present also in the Czech Republic.¹⁰ Variations of the original motif with the representation of the pelican feeding its offspring, much more frequent and surely dating to the 15th century (for example at Buda¹¹ and Nagyvázsonyi¹² in Hungary and Banská Bystrica in Slovakia¹³), could perhaps

³ VOIT-HOLL 1963, annexed map II; TAMÁSI 1995, 50–69.

⁴ BOLDIZSÁR ET AL. 2007, 28, fig. 26; 72, pl. VIII/1. However, there the lion has a curly mane.

⁵ “The victorious lion receives food from the tree of life” and “The lion that guards the tree” (See: MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 96). It is clear that both types of representations are the same, and their meaning was misunderstood. The clearest examples were discovered in Făgăraș (Brașov County). At least the tile with Samson fighting the lion or some heraldic representations can contain details of the animal.

⁶ BATARIUC 2012, 429.

⁷ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 360, pl. 22/A/16. The plate in MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 362, pl. 24/3.

⁸ MAROSI ET AL. 1982, 59, nr. 88; HOLL 1990, 58; KOCSIS 1998, 8, 75/1.

⁹ FRANZ 1969, fig. 72.

¹⁰ BRYCH 2004, 77.

¹¹ HOLL 1971, 180.

¹² TAMÁSI 1989, 163.

¹³ MÁCELOVÁ 1997, 187, fig. 6/5.

explain a common origin, which would not be abnormal in the general thematic register. For the time being, at least, the stove tile from Cluj can be reckoned the oldest representation of the pelican in Transylvania. Towards the end of the 16th century the pelican had lost its medalion. A well-dated stove tile (1581) exists, which was made by a Romanian craftsman called Oprea.¹⁴ According to the initial information it was found in the surroundings of Sibiu.¹⁵ The

most numerous pelican representations can be connected to its adoption by the Calvinist Church as a symbol of the Church itself.

Both fragments stand out due to the exceptional quality of their decoration and glaze, previously unseen in Cluj. Neither can the quality of the used material be found in other stove tiles. The tiles belong, most certainly, to the 15th century, probably to the middle of the century.

THE GROUP FROM THE EROILOR AVENUE NR. 21. (FIG. 1/2)

The rescue excavation took place in 2007. Three fragments are of interest to this study, which were unearthed in the access way (Test pit 1) as well as another group found in the cellar, officially Fântâna 2/Fountain 2.

A small fragment contains the central part of a gothic arcade with a central fleuron up to a fragment of a frame, under which a crown on the helmet of the well-known “*knight in tournament*” can be distinguished. It was well fired to red and after a direct pressing with the fingers into the mold left unglazed. Previous references to this piece accompanied by drawings as well as the classification of the tile in its long series¹⁶ exempts me from making further descriptions.

Another fragment has also been discussed already. It concerns the right lower corner of a tile, which hosted a “*two-tailed mermaid*,” and not Melusine, as it was erroneously interpreted.¹⁷ Now, I can add a new, perfect glazed analogy from the royal palace of Diósgyőr (Hungary), dated to the middle of the 15th century.¹⁸

From the interior of the “Fântâna 2” comes an entire group of pot tiles (Fig. 2). I deal with them here, because they are extremely valuable due to their provenance from a single context and the variety of combined forms. At the well’s opening, above the discarded materials,

a corroded coin was found, which could be dated to around the year 1500. Alongside stove tiles, marvelous glassware fragments were also discovered that endorsed the same dating, the 15th century.

I could distinguish not less than seven different types:

1. Pot tile in the shape of a bulb (h. (height) 19.5 cm, maximum dia. (diameter) 16 cm, dia. at the bottom 9.5 cm). At its top/end is a small protrusion in the shape of a small tambour (dia. 3 cm, h. 2 cm) (Pl. I/3). Right under the cap a marking can be seen with a groove (the limit of its incorporation into the stove’s body or of the glaze?). Until about half of the cap it was covered with brown glaze. This was the only one that had this type of decoration. At its discovery it was accidentally cut with an oblique slit, which now makes it look like a piggy-bank.
2. Fragmentary pot tile in the shape of a bulb, with a simple sharp protrusion (max. dia. 17 cm) (Pl. I/4). Its spout was so deteriorated that its height cannot be determined (< 24 cm). A diagonal fissure crosses the fragment.
3. Pot tile with a square spout (14 × 14.5 cm), of low height (h. 5.3 cm), and a straight spout with damaged sides. Towards the body its

¹⁴ Colecția B. Slătineanu in SLĂTINEANU ET AL. 1958, 18. From here it was resumed by KLUSCH 1999, 30; MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 97–98.

¹⁵ SLĂTINEANU 1972, 24, fig. XIII/c.

¹⁶ RUSU 2008b, 193, 209, fig. 3/c, 210, fig. 4/f.

¹⁷ RUSU 2008a, 165, 177, fig. 5/b.

¹⁸ BOLDIZSÁR ET AL. 2007, 50, fig. 49.

- profile is similar to a common vessel, even forming a neck (**Pl. I/5**).
4. Pot tile with a square spout (16 × 16.5 cm, h. 11 cm) and circular bottom (dia. 10.2 cm) (**Pl. I/6**). Its form suggests that two clay parts were assembled after being modeled separately. On its side significant secondary burning marks can be seen.
 5. Pot tile with a square spout (19 × 17.5 cm, h. 20 cm) and circular bottom (dia. 11 cm) (**Pl. I/7**). Its profile resembles the body of a pyramid. Its spout was formed in a straight line, just as for gluing a tile. On its sides secondary burning marks are visible.
 6. Pot tile with a circular spout (h. 17 cm, dia. at the spout 16 cm, at the bottom 8.4 cm). It is slightly damaged at its spout (**Pl. I/8**). It consists of two joined bodies of cone, the one next to the bottom has a height of 11.5 cm. Its rim was formed just as in the above mentioned case. Secondary burning marks are present.
 7. Pot tile with a circular spout (14 × 1.5 cm, h. 20 cm) and an elongated tube (dia. 9.7 cm, h. 13 cm) in the shape of a cone trunk (**Fig. 2**). More than half of it is missing.



Fig. 2. The group of the reunited pot tiles from fountain nr. 2 (Eroilor Boulevard)

The group is so varied that their incorporation into one single stove is almost impossible. Some of the fragments are of high quality and belong to a classic repertory. Others seem to be the end products of experiments, which started as common pots. These could form a “sample of models” if the artifacts were not damaged or if clear signs of soot did not exist. However, this does not exclude the above mentioned

hypothesis but by utilizing already used components and extracted from older stoves. In the main collection of the local museum different models of pot tiles exist.¹⁹ However, besides the fact that their place of origins are unknown none of these resemble the fragments found in the above discussed group.

In the most recent European specialized literature the first form (the bulb) was

¹⁹ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 369–370, pl. 31–32.

translated as “mushroom tile with a sharp end.”²⁰ In the western part of Romania these can be found in Oradea,²¹ Sălard,²² Voivozi (Bihor),²³ Șimand,²⁴ Pecica,²⁵ or originating from unknown locations from the same county Arad²⁶ and Frumușeni (Arad).²⁷ Recently, in Transylvania similar stove tiles were found also in Alba Iulia in a house, which probably belonged to an ecclesiastic figure, located in the area of the bishopric or the local chapter.²⁸ It can easily be concluded that their existence was not reported because the type was unknown and it was easily and frequently confused with kitchenware.

The simple bulb tile was in use between the end of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century.²⁹ They were used also in the first half of the 16th century. After the Turkish conquest particular forms appeared, which in

this context do not concern this study. These had an especially decorative role on the stove top. They could be found in the royal stoves from Buda³⁰ or Diósgyőr³¹ (Hungary) and continued to be used throughout the kingdom over an extended area, which started from Slovakia (e.g. Bratislava³²), through today's Hungary (e.g. Mezőberény,³³ Békéscsaba,³⁴ and Nagymágocs³⁵), extending east towards Moldova,³⁶ and south until today's Serbia (e.g. Slankamen³⁷). The Transylvanian typology put forward, in our opinion inappropriately, the term “convex tiles,” and doubted, inexcusably, an extension of their dating to the 16th century also.³⁸ Alone the series of discoveries from Moldova, which had produced another more notable typology, is quite consistent chronologically covering the whole of the 14th through 17th centuries.³⁹

THE GROUP FROM GEORGES CLEMENCEAU STREET, NR. 3. (FIG. 1/3)

An archaeological excavation took place in 2006, with the occasion of a renovation of a house with sure medieval remains at the level of its basement.

Among the stove tiles two types of medieval finds are noteworthy.

Tile with Jesus and the Good Samaritan. Two fragments were unearthed, in totally irrelevant contexts (mixed late depositions from the filling of the courtyard of the house). The largest fragment is 18 cm long on a vertical axis and has a maximum width of 12.7 cm (Pl. II/1). From the central field slightly more is preserved

²⁰ HEEGE 2012, 213.

²¹ EMŐDI 2007, tab. 1, 6, 11.

²² EMŐDI 2007, pl. 14.

²³ POPA ET AL. 1987, 93, fig. 14/b.

²⁴ HUREZAN-SZATMÁRI 1998, 88, 119, pl. XVII.

²⁵ MĂRGINEAN 2007, 145, 147, pl. I/1, 5.

²⁶ MĂRGINEAN 2007, 149, pl. III/1.

²⁷ The monastery of Bizere, where a stove existed in the abbot's palace (first half of the 16th century). Unpublished material.

²⁸ Unpublished archaeological research from the area of the princely palace, 2014–2015.

²⁹ HOLL 2002, 26.

³⁰ GEREVICH 1966, 55.

³¹ BOLDIZSÁR ET AL. 2007, 33, 36, fig. 40.

³² HOŠŠO 2005, 143, fig. 1/2, 145, fig. 2/6.

³³ MRT 10, tab. 158/1–4.

³⁴ SZATMÁRI 1994, 499.

³⁵ SZATMÁRI 1985, 58, tab. X/2.

³⁶ BATARIUC 1999.

³⁷ POPOVIĆ 1996, 163, fig. 5.

³⁸ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 65.

³⁹ BATARIUC 1999, 85.

than its left half, which contains the vessel of the Samaritan, next to the edge of the well, the well, the left hand of the woman with the bucket, and the complete figure of Jesus. Its upper part bears a rich plant decoration. The first, semicircular framing has a series of knobs at equal distance. This is followed by an intermediary register with leaves, and narrow and oblique banderoles. It is surrounded by a simpler and narrower framing possibly with remains of decoration. The last register of the framing has protuberant conical and jagged buttons. The tile is unglazed and has significant traces of a secondary whitewashing. On the back can be seen the traces of a canvas, a knife-type tool, and fingers, which glued the missing frame. Slight traces of soot are visible as well.

Another much smaller fragment (8 × 6.5 cm) of the same type depicts a vessel next to the edge of the well, a shoe, and the lap of the Samaritan's garment. At least the first framing is different and simple. From the next register a bunch of grapes. The fragment is glazed with different shades of dark green.

Although found in two types, the fragments are so closely related to similar finds from Bistrița⁴⁰ and Făgăraș castle⁴¹ that the common origin of the molds cannot be ignored. Its dispersion has already been presented in 2008 by the author,⁴² and now it is strengthened with new evidence.

Tile with David and Goliath (10 × 6.5 cm). It was also discovered in the superficial filling of the courtyard, without any dated context. On one of the fragments, the body of a knight (Goliath) is represented from the middle of his chest until just above his feet. His left arm is slightly bent and holds the grip of a long sword, whose

scabbard is secured with two bonds of belt. The plate of the pelvis armor covers a somewhat longer tunic. At his knees large kneepads can be seen with triangular endings. To the right, what is probably an image of the wooden part of a lance appears. The tile was covered with polychrome glaze, and blue armor, a white armrest, glove, ties of a sword, knee pads, and the wooden part of the lance can be seen against a brown background. On the back, traces of fingers exist from the pressing the tile into the mold. The collection of the Museum in Cluj hosts an almost complete fragment, covered with green monochrome glaze.⁴³ The tile was dated to the second half of the 16th century. However, it seems that the representation is still quite rare. I have identified another one in Prague (Czech Republic) dated to the first half of the 16th century.⁴⁴ Stylistically, this tile does not have any connections to the tile from Cluj. In turn, an image from a manuscript, kept in Martin (Slovakia),⁴⁵ testifies to the circulation as well as the identical arrangement of the Old Testament scene.

The image opens up a new discussion about the representation of pedestrian knights in clay.⁴⁶ When the tiles exist only fragmentarily the central figure can belong to a number of complex representations. It has to be mentioned that in the same street, Georges Clemenceau (pit K), another fragment (7 × 4 cm) figures an arm with a ring armor and an armrest (**Pl. II/2**). This could be a type of representation of St. George,⁴⁷ St. Michael,⁴⁸ or another with the scene of fighting the dragon helped by a lion⁴⁹ and others, or maybe only guards on consoles and under baldachins, which belong to the rich retinue of the tile with the knight in

⁴⁰ BĂTRÂNA-BĂTRÂNA 1993, 43; MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 80, 180, 348, pl. 10/4.

⁴¹ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 398, pl. 60/42.

⁴² RUSU 2008c, 236.

⁴³ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 197, nr. 27, photo on p. 515, plate 176.

⁴⁴ BRYCH ET AL. 1990, 53, nr. 115.

⁴⁵ Slovenská Národná Knižnica, Archív literatúry a umenia, J 324, fol. 11 v.

⁴⁶ A discussion already opened by Adrian Andrei would be fine. but se here? I think "of houses are situated on a street... tile from Micu Klein Street.which I had to print out Rusu (RUSU 2008b, 200, note 74).

⁴⁷ RUSU 2008c, 226.

⁴⁸ RUSU 2008c, 227. A new fragment in BENKŐ 2004, 97, Table 7.

⁴⁹ RUSU 2008a, 160.

tournament, or even another, yet unidentified type. The most personalized knight, from the point of view of the local repertoire from Cluj, is a representation of a knight on a console with a shield, resting the foot.⁵⁰ This can be reckoned as a development of the different components of the well-known stove with the knight in tournament from Buda.⁵¹ For its possible origins and reconstruction one could also look, for example, at a pedestrian knight without armor, carrying a halberd, discovered in Krakow (Poland).⁵² Also, a similar idea is reflected in earlier representations from Visegrád (Hungary).⁵³ Finally, we have to draw attention to a representation of two pedestrian knights, discovered in the “Mărăști” neighborhood in Cluj, which was identified as a scene that possibly depicts a gambling.⁵⁴ We would argue for another interpretation, which seems more plausible: the fight of St. Ladislaus with the Cuman, towards its end, right before the intervention of the female character, who was at the center of the fight and the purpose of the fight was her rescue.

In the following a decorative detail will be discussed connected to knights. As a starting point one can begin from a shabby fragment, recovered from an older rescue excavation from medieval Cluj. First, a photograph was published,⁵⁵ but its quality, or more accurately, the paper on which it was published left the reader wondering about the details of the tile. Later on, Daniela Marcu Istrate published the tile with its first description and drawing (Pl. II/3).⁵⁶ It was described as a “pedestrian knight dressed in armor,”⁵⁷ which only had most of its legs, without a head, and a very unclear left hand. From where was the conclusion drawn that the character was a knight only the author knows. The same goes for the armor, which in

our opinion does not exist. In the best case the suggestion and military character could have come from the wand on the left, looking at the front of the tile, which could represent a fragment of a handle of a weapon. The remaining part of the tile does not indicate any clear relationship with a human figure, which would suggest that the “weapon” may instead represent the pole or rod that holds a banner or the handle of a lance. In other words the knight character of the figure could be extracted only at most from the presumption that he wears a ceremonial civil outfit. However, such an interpretation would already be risky to presume.

It is clear that we have a male figure dressed in a short tunic with moderate pleats tied at the waist. If the pleats would have been situated crosswise, then the existence of a kilt made from plates could have been deduced, which belonged to a real knight dressed in armor of an already known type of tile from Cluj.⁵⁸ The knight wears leggings or more probably a hose. In the area between the legs generally the presence of a circular lump can be seen, which is not mentioned by texts but does appear on representations, probably because of an unjustifiable discomfort or awkwardness in the face of the material testimony. Only that this small, left out detail offers certain interesting messages.

The aforementioned “lump” is a detail of late medieval clothing appointed in German as a “capsule for genitals” or more elegantly put as “bashfulness capsule” (*Schamkapsel*); in English it is known as a codpiece. Specialized literature reckons that it was a highly contested fashion in the Middle Ages and its disappearance just before the end of the 16th century could have been caused by this fact. It belonged both to civil clothing and armor, in which case it gained

⁵⁰ BENKŐ 2004, 99, Fig. 9.

⁵¹ Generally, the best documented examples of this can be found in Suceava and Moldova, see: BATARIUC 1999, 119–124.

⁵² DĄBROWSKA 1987, Plate II.19/3.

⁵³ KOCSIS–SABJÁN 1998, 129, Fig. 129.

⁵⁴ BENKŐ 2004, 105, Fig. 15.

⁵⁵ CRIȘAN 1996, Plate 13/2.

⁵⁶ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 191/11, drawing on p. 360, Plate 22/11.

⁵⁷ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 191/11, drawing on p. 360, Plate 22/11.

⁵⁸ BENKŐ 2004, Fig. 9.

a different special name (*Latz*).⁵⁹ In recent years, such codpieces, made from leather, separately or attached to cloth pants were recovered in archaeological excavations as well. Based on these even a typology was developed containing four forms.⁶⁰

Let us mention first its association with other (non-ceramic) artistic representations, clearer due to the different nature of their material. The wooden pedestrian statue of St. Ladislaus made around the year 1500 for the altar in Mattejovce (Slovakia) contains the aforementioned detail.⁶¹ In the Museum of Salzburg (Austria) a well-conserved altar panel, tempera on wood, reflects a scene from the iconography of St. Nicholas (1520–1525). Three figures of the composition, in which a young innocent man's execution was about to take place, all wear an elegant codpiece matching the fabric of the short and bouffant trousers.⁶² Such representations are much more numerous compared to the rise of artistic evidence from the 16th century. One can also find them in the classical and extensively imitated drawings of Lucas Cranach or Albrecht Dürer. For the relict armor codpiece references can be made to the work of armorer Konrad Seusenfoher from Innsbruck, made for Giuliano de Medici in 1515, on the occasion of his wedding to a Habsburg princess and currently preserved in the Musée de l'Armée in Paris, or to the one designed for King Henry the VIII of England.⁶³ It is an important fact that from the beginning of its use it was a component of both pedestrian and equestrian armor. On the horse, the use of codpiece would have conflicted with certain components of the saddle. In the Kingdom of Hungary late medieval coins transmitted the image of St. Ladislaus wearing such an armor.

Similar representations are not missing from Transylvania either. The best example comes

from an altar painting from Roadeș (Brașov County) (1522). In the *Ecce homo* scene, a soldier is illustrated in profile, in a manner which eliminates all interpretative ambiguities. At Roadeș another codpiece can be seen in the scene of the *Flagellation of Christ*.⁶⁴ In an unexpected manner the development of this subject is much more generous than we could imagine at the beginning. The same clothing accessory has an even more complex history. On the altar from Dupuș (currently in the Lutheran church in Mediaș, County Sibiu) the knights of Transylvania appear with chain mail codpieces attached to their armor (1522). The Lázoi chapel has a representation of two pedestrian knights facing each other, at the exterior corners and towards the base of the frame of the edifice. Although deteriorated by weather the knight on the eastern side retains still the contours of the discussed clothing accessory. After these findings of the history of lay and military clothing, we can go back to the stove tile from Transylvania.

Another fragment discovered in Cluj (Phone Palace) has been described as depicting a "pedestrian knight in short armor with protruding kneepads."⁶⁵ In addition to the unusual term of "short armor," the tunic, and the way of representing the legs (the right stretched out, the left slightly flexed) very close to each other, it is possible that the thick glaze could have once covered a codpiece on this ceramic tile made with the same negative. Moreover, it seems that the fate of replicas following the one from Cluj made that small detail disappear, which was present only at the beginning, as prototypes. The comparison of related pieces is relevant, found in the stronghold from Racoș (Brașov County).⁶⁶ There, however, the codpiece disappeared completely.

A fragment of glazed tile was recovered by Daniela Marcu Istrate from Alba Iulia. She

⁵⁹ KÜHNEL 1992, 219.

⁶⁰ FINGERLING 2001, 740–745, 794, Abb. 813–814.

⁶¹ Today in Budapest (Hungary), see: TÖRÖK 2005, 31, Fig. 25.

⁶² ERKER 2010, 85, fig. 5.

⁶³ FOULKES 1988, Plate VIII.

⁶⁴ FIREA 2010, 273–274.

⁶⁵ From MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 189–190, drawing on p. 359, Plate 21/9.

⁶⁶ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 457, Plate 118/88, and only partially on p. 451, Plate 112/54.

published images as well as a drawing of the fragment.⁶⁷ As it is known the photos are more authentic than the drawing, which is more subjective. Thus, on two photos, a color and a black and white one, one can see a codpiece, while on the drawing it does not exist (PL. II/4). The selective perception divided between the author-discoverer and the illustrator is evident. We must admit that we also encountered similar traps, committing the error of believing in the precision of drawing without comparing it to the photograph or actual fragment.⁶⁸ This time, the mutilated bearer of the accessory shown on the tile is not a “civilian” anymore, but a pedestrian soldier wearing a “skirt of plates” (germ. *Tonnenrock*). In any case, now it is sure that at least one of the stoves of the Transylvanian bishops contained tiles with pedestrian knights, on which one could distinguish codpieces.

The comparison of the two examples from the tiles, the one from Cluj and the other from Alba Iulia, indicates additional information: we find ourselves facing *two* types of codpieces. The one from Cluj is circular, while the one from Alba Iulia is almond-shaped with a median line. The two match the examples recorded by archaeology and the iconography of certain materials, such as textiles and metal, used to produce codpieces.

It should be highlighted that the representations on tiles possibly appeared earlier than the dating of the tiles from Transylvania. There is, for instance, a tile with a pedestrian knight in armor, found at Banská Štiavnica (Slovakia). It was dated to the 15th century.⁶⁹ For armors, the example of the tiles from Prostějov (Czech Republic)⁷⁰ is very good. On lay clothing one can see codpieces on tiles from the strongholds of Uherský Brod,⁷¹ Ostrava, and Opava (Slovakia),⁷² all dating to the 16th century.

This small detail that I have dealt with here is more important than it seems, for beyond the tiles and iconographic representations we do not have other proof from Transylvania of the use of this male clothing accessory. Thus, it is once again revealed that in this province the reception of European material culture was made up to the smallest details. We can then reach a dating of the group of tiles to around the year 1500, maybe more precisely immediately after the threshold of the 16th century. Obviously, the established chronology can be borrowed from the other artifacts discovered around them.

The same figure on the tile from Cluj bears on his right thigh an agglomeration of lines, which alludes to another clothing element. It seems to be the right place for a pouch. If it would have been a simple version of a pouch (a piece of leather tied with a string) it might have not failed to be recognized by its first publisher. What one can see would have been too simple to hold a small monetary fortune, but according to all signs it could have allowed the wearing of fire striker. From other iconographic representations one can suspect that it was the place to hold a dagger or keys. Another example of the “set” worn on the belt comes from an altar from Armășeni (Harghita), which illustrates a scene of the *Visitation* (1523). On tiles, pouches appear earliest on the stoves from Visegrád (Hungary), dated to the 14th century.⁷³ Similar pouches had other details as well, which survived in archaeological records. A bronze frame of a pouch found in the stronghold of Oradea (Bihor) will be discussed on another occasion. Another, monumental one with architectural representations on its metal frame was dated to 1430 and is kept in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ MARCU ISTRATE 2008, pl. XXX/color photo 199; MARCU ISTRATE 2008, 622, Plate 114/3; 626/2, black and white photo. After arduous research, in the chaos of the presentation of the materials, we managed to find the only mention of this fragment, from which we only borrow the identity “knight in armor” (MARCUS ISTRATE 2008, 327, nr. 21).

⁶⁸ RUSU 2008a, 160, drawing on p. 173, Fig. 1/c.

⁶⁹ LABUDA 2005, p. 180/3, 263, F 26.

⁷⁰ MENOŠKOVÁ ET AL. 2008, 100/288.

⁷¹ MENOŠKOVÁ ET AL. 2008, 63/177; 64/178.

⁷² MENOŠKOVÁ ET AL. 2008, 64/179–180, 184.

⁷³ KOCŠIS–SABJÁN 1998, 97, Fig. 64.

⁷⁴ Hunting and weapons Collection, D. 7. See: FERDINANDEUM 2000, 179, nr, cat. 1–16–4.

A TILE FROM THE OLD DOMINICAN MONASTERY (VICTOR DELEU STREET) (FIG. 1/4)

In 2014 a few archaeological survey trenches were opened in the area where the former medieval monastery stood, now a Franciscan monastery. Here a broken plaque tile fragment was discovered with a width of 16.5×10 cm (**Pl. II/5**). In a simple frame a four-legged animal can be seen with its back feet ending in something like hooves, while its front feet are missing due to the break in the tile. Its body presents a gaunt belly and a chest with nodes, which could suggest ruffled fur. The description of the animal ends with a very slim neck (?) and an elegantly arched tail under its body ending in a number of “branches.” Under its legs, a

small embossed fragment appears, which could suggest a horizontally-depicted human leg. The tile remained unglazed.

Another fragment from the same series was found in Cluj in the surroundings of the only workshop specialized in stove tiles discovered archaeologically. It was described as featuring a lion passant.⁷⁵ Although slightly smaller than the above discussed fragment, the neck of the animal as well as the detail under the animal compels us to reopen the discussion concerning the decoration. For the same reason I omitted to discuss it now with the one found in the Micu Klein Street.

TILES FROM THE AREA OF THE BÁNFFY PALACE (MUSEUM OF ART, PIAȚA UNIRII) IN NEW READINGS (FIG. 1/5)

Museographer Luca-Paul Pupeză has published recently the archaeological material discovered in the courtyard of the National Museum of Art from Cluj-Napoca.⁷⁶ This precious archeological material has not been appropriately or fairly examined.⁷⁷

The place from where these were extracted is still and was one of great importance in the topography of the former royal medieval town. One can already claim that these were part of the interior decoration of a wealthy townsman. One cannot know if all the tiles or only chosen categories were published, cases where “something” was recognized on their surface that is the ones that were considered worthy to collect from the excavation pit and then put on the pages. The discovered tiles can be merged

through their fragmentary state and the lack of glaze. However, let us have a closer look on what was published.

Plaque tile decorated with rhomboids belongs to a larger series, which can already be found in earlier publications. Two types are known: with simple or double embossed lines. This type is common since it could be easily produced by any potter capable of using crossed lines. The variations resulted from the doubling of lines of rhomboids, the depth of the embossing or the combination with different shapes of frames. Even in Cluj this tile was detected earlier.⁷⁸ The list of similar finds is very long and covers the majority of the province (Alba Iulia,⁷⁹ Cristurul Secuiesc,⁸⁰ Făgăraș,⁸¹ Lăzarea,⁸² Vad – Hațeg,⁸³ Târgu Mureș,⁸⁴ Văleni de Mureș,⁸⁵ Vințu de

⁷⁵ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 191, illustration on p. 361, Plate 23/18.

⁷⁶ PUPEZĂ 2009.

⁷⁷ PUPEZĂ 2009, 226, 237–239, pl. XVII–XXII.

⁷⁸ CRIȘAN 1996, 385–401, resumed by MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 361, Plate 23/29; BENKŐ 2004, 108, Table 18/2.

⁷⁹ RUSU 1996, 146, Fig. 8; MARCU ISTRATE 2008, 597, Plate 89/5–6; 600, Plate 92/4–5.

⁸⁰ BENKŐ 1997, 84/1, 129/4, Table 48/8.

⁸¹ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 412, Plate 74/166–166a.

⁸² KÉMENES 2005, Table 9/1–3.

⁸³ MARCU 1994, 165, Fig. 6/f–g.

⁸⁴ ZRINYI 1975, 98 (where these are defined as “ornamented with mesh”), Plate LII.

⁸⁵ <http://www.medievistica.ro/catalogue/furnologie/element.php?idprod=84>.

Jos⁸⁶) and continuing until neighboring states (Poland⁸⁷). It was dated to the 16th century.

Plaque tile decorated with stylized rosette. This type is not a typological novelty in the repertoire of Transylvanian stove tiles. Using the middle of the flower that covers the surface as the axis for guidance one can reach the conclusion that the whole tile had a shape close to a square. The decorative element is an ingenious way of reproducing a stylized rose, frequently mentioned as the rose of the Virgin. The tile substitutes the depth of a pot tile with a square spout, which had decorative crested girdles in the part where the quadrilateral contour widens the cylinder. One can find similar pieces in Făgăraș,⁸⁸ Feldioara (Brașov),⁸⁹ Turea (Cluj),⁹⁰ Sibiu,⁹¹ and Moldova.⁹² Albeit less common than the previous tile, this one can also be included in a group of relatively modest tiles, which decorated more humble interiors.

Plaque tile decorated with vegetal motifs. The suggestion of the decoration seems to refer to a haulm of vine with bunches and stylized leafs. Normally it would have originated from a simple decorative field without further decoration. For this piece we limit ourselves only to a reference to an analogy from Turda (Cluj), which was less carefully produced or just clumsily drawn.⁹³

Plaque tile decorated with a figure (Pl. II/6). Albeit mutilated, the find offers very particular details. On the central field a mature figure with long hair and beard can be seen with covered head and a large and long garment with extensive folds with one part re-curved on the chest, towards his shoulders. Above, a small indent could suggest the tight collar of a tunic or a so-called *superhumeral*. The enhancement of the knees leads us to believe that the figure was imagined as sitting. What can be distinguished

from his right hand is that it is flexed at the elbow with partially bent fingers in the gesture of a blessing with two raised fingers. Until the margins of the tile a stylized tree can clearly be seen. In the left lower corner a cramped representation of a human face with a beard can be seen with vertically pricked-up animal ears. Between the elbow and the right knee of the figure the representation of a certain accessory seems to be highlighted with the help of an irregular shaded space. This could be reckoned as a part of a chair on which the figure was seated since the same hachures appear on the lower right margins of the broken tile.

If we go back to the head of the figure without seeing the original we could speculate that the semicircular break around the head is insignificant. However, the break happened along an imprinted contour suggesting that it had some kind of a halo. The covering of the head has well-defined delimitations, which are given by a circle at the base and a slight duplication in height followed by a continuation through a raising curve. Symmetrically reconstructing this particular object the shape of a mitre (*infula*) can be imagined, which was connected to bishop saints or other high ranking church officials (abbots, archbishops, etc.). The attitude of the figure seems to illustrate a religious person, who gives a blessing in a seated position. In turn the bearded head, in the left lower corner, could be identified as a humanized lion head or a symbolically negative creature, maybe a devil. As we have seen from the hachured detail, the figure seems to be more likely guarded by the presumed lion. These elements can already offer a possible iconographic identity. A possible association could be with St. Jerome, who is often represented accompanied by a lion. His image associated with a lion and St. Gregory

⁸⁶ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 503, Plate 164/135–135a; 505, Plate 166.

⁸⁷ DĄBROWSKA 1987, Plate II.23/3.

⁸⁸ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 406, 68/116.

⁸⁹ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 422, Plate 84/24.

⁹⁰ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 484, Plate 145/9.

⁹¹ MARCU ISTRATE 2007, 100–101, Fig. 133. The author claims that “it is not a novelty, similar finds are known even from Sibiu from the 15th and 16th centuries.” However, forgets to give a reference to them.

⁹² BATARIUC 1999, 210, Plate 13.

⁹³ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 482, Plate 143/8.

appear on an altar from Biertan (Sibiu) (1483). The range of comparisons does not have to be limited here, however, since it may as well represent another holy bishop. The absence of a nimbus or a halo does not determine its classification among religious representations.

Even if the presumed identity was not the intention of the engraver of the mold this stove tile directly passes in the repertoire of Transylvanian material culture as a unique piece. It also has to be mentioned that such a motif was not reported even in the neighboring geographic areas.

The above tile can be dated to the end of the 15th century. Stylistically it is related to the production of the tile workshop discovered in Memorandumului Street in Cluj. There, a tile that contained the image of an archangel (?) wore clothing developed in the same manner.⁹⁴ It would not be erroneous to imagine that the two tiles were the products of one and the same workshop. Their creator had a well-defined artistic personality, which was felt only in the territory of the town along the Someș. In addition, the ornamental motifs put then into practice did not have a continuity in the decorative repertoire of Transylvanian stove tiles.

Plaque tile decorated with a figure on horseback (Pl. II/7). This is the only tile on which the author identified the representation as "Saint George slaying the beast." The "beast" of St. George was typically depicted as a dragon, however on the tile under discussion one can find elements that are strikingly different for such an identification, thus one wonders whether the tile was actually seen. One can notice a horse oriented to the left, on the back of which a strange figure appears with a human body and a head that resembles the head of an animal with a long and open snout, pricked-up ears, and coarse hair like a brush. By no means does the creature wear a helmet with a mobile visor in the shape of a beak (always illustrated as closed or raised), since all the other clothing details do not indicate any kind of other components of an armor. Also, hilarious images

of "civil" clothing combined with an opened helmet are not known. The figure, indeed, holds a lance with its left hand, probably to leave it more visible. The lance is not held pointing down, not even straight, as one would hold it in a fight with a dragon or in a tournament, but diagonally upwards towards an aerial enemy or one already raised towards the sky. The right hand holds the reins of the horse. The clothing of the "knight" is noteworthy: a wrinkled tunic, which ends mid-thigh and is tied at the waist. Since the tile is broken the footwear is not visible, but as a compensation one can see a spur with a long shank and a five-pointed star. The horse is anatomically well-proportioned with a slightly open mouth biting the double reins. The saddle has a curved grip in the front and a wide strap, in which lines indicate the intention to reproduce decoration.

The figure above the lance does not seem to be pierced, but more likely rides or superposes the staff. What is discernible is a two-legged nude only with its feet visible and a somewhat rounded belly. Beside the fracture to the right and slightly upwards, a few lines could suggest the tip of a wing, with three feathers and a plant ornament. It could be identified with a small beast. The lines behind the rump of the horse imply the existence of another element, though it is difficult to identify. All the above elements compose a relatively complex and unique scene.

Our research has yielded a few similar stove tiles dated around the year 1480 and assembled in the Austrian monastery at Altenburg (Austria).⁹⁵ Although the figure on these tiles was interpreted simply as a knight, the head or "helmet" seen on the tile also had an emphasized animal-like form with a slightly open mouth. Even if this were simply armor, it was schematically and unconvincingly treated to be accepted as such. Around the figure, towards the corners, all kinds of decorations appear, which do not have their place at a tournament. The scene could not be clearly identified, but if it is identified in the future it will probably be interpreted similarly to the representation from Cluj. Once

⁹⁴ CRIȘAN 1996, 385–401, continued by MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 360, Plate 22/16.

⁹⁵ KLOSTER 2000, 209–210, cat. nr. 19.10.

more, to contradict the tournament and its hasty interpretation in this direction, another tile from the same place was defined as one with “a knight and a jester” (*Ritter und Narr*).⁹⁶ It is composed of three figures. The central one is a rider with a helmet (?) with a more appropriately shaped closed visor. The lance held with its right hand is directed upwards with a banner or something similar, though it is difficult to decipher. The figure in front of the horse was identified as a clown, while the third, behind the horse, is almost impossible to describe and identify.

In the Czech Republic tiles with the representation of the knight in armor with a helmet fitted with a beaked visor and lance oriented towards the sky are known.⁹⁷ Here, however, the elements of the armor are very clear and nothing resembling a flying creature hangs above the lance. Additionally, another series exists, where the knight in tournament is represented paradoxically with a closed helmet, which hides its anatomic features in contrast with the rest of the body, where the armor seems to be missing. The most relevant examples are known from the Czech city of Tábor.⁹⁸

Finally, even if we would admit the uniqueness of the representation of the helmet, without the rest of the armor, still we cannot perceive why it would be so strikingly similar to a canine head. This issue can be solved easily if we were to admit that the tile from Cluj indeed illustrates a humanized animal.

The range of tiles with personified animals from Transylvania is not great. The most important group was recovered from Feldioara (Braşov), where a preacher wolf⁹⁹ was only later identified, while another scene, on which a wolf-fox, a human figure, and a third,

unrecognizable animal can be seen, remains unidentified.¹⁰⁰ Other similar examples, also partially undeciphered, can be found on stove tiles from Moldova.¹⁰¹

If there would be no distorting helmet on the head of the knight the first interpretation to which a medievalist could turn would be the image of Reynard the fox, the main character of medieval French novels. As it is known, the initial text of the fairly popular novel was born between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. If it is indeed the same character, one cannot say that its appearance was prompted by French influence. German influence would be more realistic as the story was also assimilated in Germany. However, this would be the first materialization of this connection discovered at such a geographic distance.

From a stylistic point of view, the tile with the fox (?) knight does not belong to the workshop that produced St. Jerome (?) (Art Museum) and the archangel (Memorandului Street). Its decorative contours are much stronger, simpler, and cleaner. It seems like the gothic load does not exist on the tile. It seems to be closer to the groups of tiles found at the fortress/castle of Lita (Cluj). Unfortunately, comparisons can be made based only on the representation of the horses,¹⁰² without knowing how they really imagined the riders on the originals. Afterwards it can be specified that a cavalcade of saints also existed, identified as such through their nimbus on fragments of isolated heads. This group was recognized as possessing an individuality, which has very few clear territorial connections. Recently, a few isolated cases from the town of Cluj could be included in the same workshop.

⁹⁶ KLOSTER 2000, 217–218, cat. nr. 19.38.

⁹⁷ BRYCH ET AL. 1990, 31; MENOŠKOVÁ ET AL. 2008, 61/164–165; 62/166, 170.

⁹⁸ KRAJÍČ 1997, 43, 212, Plate 4.

⁹⁹ RUSU 2008a, 170–172.

¹⁰⁰ MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 421, Plate 83/14.

¹⁰¹ BATARIUC 1999, 236, pl. 39 (Suceava and Iaşi).

¹⁰² MARCU ISTRATE 2004, 431–432, Plate 92/12; 93/13a.

CONCLUSIONS

Earlier publications of stove tiles have convincingly persuaded the researchers that Cluj has an unexpectedly rich variety of representations on tiles, which do not (yet?) have identified analogies in other places from the province.¹⁰³ Presently the repertoire of authentic medieval tiles (without the pre-modern ones) in Cluj-Napoca contains the following: representations with the pelican, lion, Samson and the lion, David and Goliath, the Annunciation, the Good Samaritan, St. Ladislaus fighting the Cuman, St. Jerome, archangel St. Michael, tow-tailed mermaid, griffon, unidentified beast, illustration of a medieval epos (?), knights in tournament with sword or cavalcade, pedestrian knights or squires, and tiles with the coat of arms of King Matthias Corvinus. The conclusion is clear: *at the time of this paper's publication Cluj-Napoca is the most richly endowed town with stove tiles from the entirety of Transylvania.*

The outstanding situation of the town in producing stove tiles directs us to the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. In addition to the remains and the individuality of the workshop discovered archaeologically there are reasons to believe that two other workshops had once functioned with their own masters. For the time being, the most fragments of glazed stove tiles can be found in the same place from the entire province. More importantly, a part of these were polychrome, which again is rare. It is worth highlighting the artistic value of the molds as well. If we were to compare the products from approximately the same time with those from Prague or its vicinity, then the value of the representations from Cluj was higher. These tiles indicate the existence of contacts and transpositions of messages in a language of clay, with which art history had not met until now.

REFERENCES

BATARIUC 1999

P. V. Batariuc, *Cahle din Moldova medievală. Secolele XIV-XVII* (Suceava 1999)

BATARIUC 2012

V. P. Batariuc, Elemente animaliere pe cahle descoperite în Moldova, in: V. P. Batariuc, *Civilizație medievală românească. Ceramica monumentală din Moldova* (București 2012)

BĂTRÎNA-BĂTRÎNA 1993

L. Bătrîna – A. Bătrîna, Elemente de iconografie creștină în ceramica monumentală, *SCIA-AP* 40, 1993, 43–52.

BENKŐ 2004

E. Benkő, Kolozsvár magyar külvárosa a középkorban. A Kolozsvárba olvadt Szentpéter falu emlékei, *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 248 (Kolozsvár 2004)

BENKŐ et al. 1997

E. Benkő – I. Demeter – A. Székely, *Középkori mezőváros a Székelyföldön*, *Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek* 223 (Kolozsvár 1997)

BOLDIZSÁR ET AL. 2010

P. Boldizsár – E. Kocsis – T. Sabján, *A diósgyőri vár 16–17. századi kályhacsempéi / Die Ofenkacheln der Diósgyőrer Burg aus dem 16–17. Jahrhundert*, Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén Megye Régészeti Emlékei 8 (Miskolc 2010)

BRYCH ET AL. 1990

V. Brych – D. Stehlíková – J. Žegklitz, *Pražské kachle doby gotické a renesanční*, Katalog výstav (Praha 1990)

¹⁰³ BENKŐ 2004, 58–76.

BRYCH 2004

V. Brych, *Kachle doby gotické, renesanční a raně barokní*, Výběrový katalog Národního muzea v Praze (Praha 2004)

CRIȘAN 1996

V. Crișan, Săpăturile arheologice de salvare din Cluj-Napoca, str. Prahovei nr. 12, *ActaMN* 33/I, 1996, 385–401.

DĄBROWSKA 1987

M. Dąbrowska, *Kafle i piece kaflowe w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku*, *Studia i Materiały z Historii Kultury Materialnej* 58 (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź) 1987

EMŐDI 2007

T. Emődi, Leletmentésekből származó 15–17. századi kályhacsempék Váradról és környékéről, *DolgKölozsvár* (Ü.S.) 2 (12), 2007, 117–132.

ERKER 2010

E. Erker, Die Tafeln des Nikolaus-Altars, in: P. Husty – P. Laub (Hrsg.) *Ars sacra. Kunstschatze des Mittelalters aus dem Salzburg Museum* (Salzburg 2010)

FERDINANDEUM 2000

M. Abate (ed.), *Circa 1500. Landesausstellung 2000: mostra storica*, Durchführung Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum (Milano 2000)

FINGERLING 2001

I. Fingerling, Textil- und Lederfunde, in: *Alpirsbach. Zur Geschichte von Kloster und Stadt*, Forschungen und Berichte der Bau- und Kunstdenkmalspflege in Baden-Württemberg 10 (Stuttgart 2001)

FIREA 2010

C. Firea, *Arta polipticelor medievale din Transilvania (1450–1550)*, Teză de doctorat (Cluj-Napoca 2010)

FOULKES 1988

Ch. J. Foulkes, *The armorer and his craft. From the XIth to the XVIth century* (New York 1988)

FRANZ 1969

R. Franz, *Der Kachelofen* (Graz 1969)

GEREVICH 1966

L. Gerevich, *A budai vár feltárása* (Budapest 1966)

HEEGE 2012

E. R. Heege, *Ofenkeramik und Kachelofen. Typologie, Terminologie und Rekonstruktion im deutschsprachigen Raum (CH, D, A, FL), mit einem Glossar in siebzehn Sprachen* (Basel 2012)

HOLL 1971

I. Holl, Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon (II), *BudRég* 22, 1971, 161–192.

HOLL 1990

I. Holl, Középkori kályhacsempék Magyarországon IV, *ArchÉrt* 117/1, 1990, 58–95.

HOLL 2002

I. Holl, Középkori kályhacsempék: egy 120 éves kutatási terület, in: *Gerencserek, kályhások, tűzvigyázók. Feudáliskori kályhacsempék az Alföldről és peremvidékéről / Hafner, Ofensetzer und Feuerwächter. Mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Ofenkacheln der Ungarischen Tiefebene und ihrer Randgebiete*, Gyulai Katalógusok 11 (Gyula 2002), 7–30.

HOŠŠO 2005

J. Hoššo, Kachliarstvo v stredovekom meste Bratislava a v bratislavskom regióne, in: J. Chovanec (Ed.): *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch* (Trebišov 2005) 131–148.

HUREZAN – SZATMÁRI 1998

G. P. Hurezan – I. Szatmári, *Colecția de cahle și de ochiuri de cahlă din Evul Mediu târziu a Muzeului din Arad, Ziridava* 21, 1998, 83–138

KÉMENES 2005

M. Kémenes, *Kályhacsempék Csík-, Gyergyó- és Kászsorszékből 14–18. század*, Erdélyi Művelődéstörténeti Források 3 (Kolozsvár 2005)

KLOSTER 2000

H. Adler (Red.), *Fundort Kloster. Archäologie im Klösterreich. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Stift Altenburg*, Fundberichte aus Österreich. Materialhefte Reihe A, Heft 8 (Wien 2000)

KLUSCH 1999

H. Klusch, *Zauber alter Kacheln aus Rumänien* (Hermannstadt 1999)

KOCSIS 1998

E. Kocsis, *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhái és kályhacsempé leletei* (Visegrád 1998)

KOCSIS–SABJÁN 1998

E. Kocsis – T. Sabján, *A visegrádi királyi palota kályhái és kályhacsempé leletei*, Visegrád Régészeti Monográfiái 3 (Visegrád 1998)

KRAJÍC 1997

R. Krajíc, *Středověká kachlová kamna v Táboře (Archeologický výzkum v Křížkově ulici, čp. 28)* (Tábor 1997)

KÜHNEL 1992

H. Kühnel, *Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung. Vom Alten Orient bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1992)

LABUDA 2005

J. Labuda, *Zaujímavé kachlice z Banskej Štiavnice a Sitna*, in: J. Chovanec (ed.): *Gotické a renesančné kachlice v Karpatoch* (Trebíšov 2005), 175–182.

MÁCELOVÁ 1997

M. Mácelová, *Archeologický výzkum Mestského hradu v Banskej Bystrici*, *ArchHist* 22, 1997, 181–190.

MARCU 1994

D. Marcu, *Cahle medievale descoperite la Vad (jud. Hunedoara)*, *Ars Transsilvaniae* 4, 1994, 157–173.

MARCU ISTRATE 2004

D. Marcu Istrate, *Cahle din Transilvania și Banat de la începuturi până la 1700* (Cluj-Napoca 2004)

MARCU ISTRATE 2007

D. Marcu Istrate, *Sibiu. Piața Huet. Monografie arheologică I.* (Alba Iulia 2007)

MARCU ISTRATE 2008

D. Marcu Istrate, *Catedrala romano-catolică „Sfântul Mihail” și palatul episcopal din Alba Iulia. Cercetări arheologice (2000–2002)* (Alba Iulia 2008)

MAROSI ET AL. 1982

E. Marosi – M. Tóth – L. Varga (szerk.), *Művészet I. Lajos király korában. 1342–1382*, István Király Múzeum–Székesfehérvár. Katalógus (Budapest 1982)

MĂRGINEAN 2007

F. Mărginean, *Cahle medievale târzii din colecția Muzeului Arad*, *AnB (S.N.)* 15, 2007, 143–153.

MENOUŠKOVÁ ET AL. 2008

D. Menoušková – Z. Měřínský – I. Loskotová, *Krása, která hřeje. Výběrový katalog gotických a renesančních kachlů Moravy a Slezska* (Uherské Hradiště 2008)

MRT 10

D. Jankovich B., *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája 10. Békés megye régészeti topográfiája*. IV/3/2 (Budapest 1998)

POPA ET AL. 1987

R. Popa – D. Căpățână – A. Lukács, Cercetările arheologice de la Voivozi. Contribuții la istoria Bihorului în secolele XII–XV, *Crisia* 17, 1987, 61–105.

POPOVIĆ 1996

M. Popović, La forteresse de Slankamen, *Starinar* XLVII, 1996, 155–168.

PUPEZĂ 2009

L. P. Pupeză, Urban archaeology in Cluj-Napoca. The findings from the Art Museum's courtyard, *ActaMN*, 45–46/I, 2008–2009, 223–240.

RUSU 1996

A. A. Rusu, Cahle din Transilvania (I), *Ziridava* XIX–XX, 1996,

RUSU 2008a

A. A. Rusu, Cahle din Transilvania (III). Trei motive decorative medieval in: A. A. Rusu, *Investigări ale culturii materiale medievale din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca 2008) 142–154.

RUSU 2008b

A. A. Rusu, Cahle din Transilvania (IV). Cavalerul în turnir, in: A. A. Rusu, *Investigări ale culturii materiale medievale din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca 2008) 155–178.

RUSU 2008c

A. A. Rusu, Cahle din Transilvania (V). Contribuții la cultul provincial al sfinților, in: A. A. Rusu, *Investigări ale culturii materiale medievale din Transilvania* (Cluj-Napoca 2008) 179–202.

RUSU 2012

A. A. Rusu, Stove tiles with royal coat of arms of king Matthias I Corvinus, *EphemNap* XXII, 2012, p. 313–326.

SLĂTINEANU ET AL. 1958

B. Slătineanu – P. H. Stahl – P. Petrescu, *Arta populară în Republica Populară Română – Ceramica* (București 1958)

SLĂTINEANU 1972

B. Slătineanu, *Studii de artă populară* (București 1972)

SZATMÁRI 1985

I. Szatmári, Későközépkori kályhacsempék Nagymágocsról, *AASzeged*, Suppl. V, 1985, 55–77.

SZATMÁRI 1994

I. Szatmári, Késő középkori házrészletek és kályhacsempék Békéscsabán, in: G. Lőrinczy, *A kőkortól a középkorig. Tanulmányok Trogmayer Ottó 60 születésnapjára /Von der Steinzeit bis zum Mittelalter. Studien zum 60. Geburtstag von Ottó Trogmayer* (Szeged 1994) 495–517.

TAMÁSI 1989

J. Tamási, Népies kályhacsempék a Nagyvázsonyi Kinizsi-várból. Újabb adatok a Dunántúli népies kályhászműhelyek működéséhez, *Pápai Múzeumi Értesítő* 2, 1989, 149–181.

TAMÁSI 1995

J. Tamási, *Verwandte Typen in schweizerischen und ungarischen Kachelfundmaterial in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Vergleichsuntersuchungen zu den Werkstattbeziehungen zwischen dem oberrheinischen Raum und Ungarn*, Ungarisches Landesdenkmalamt (Budapest 1995)

TÖRÖK 2005

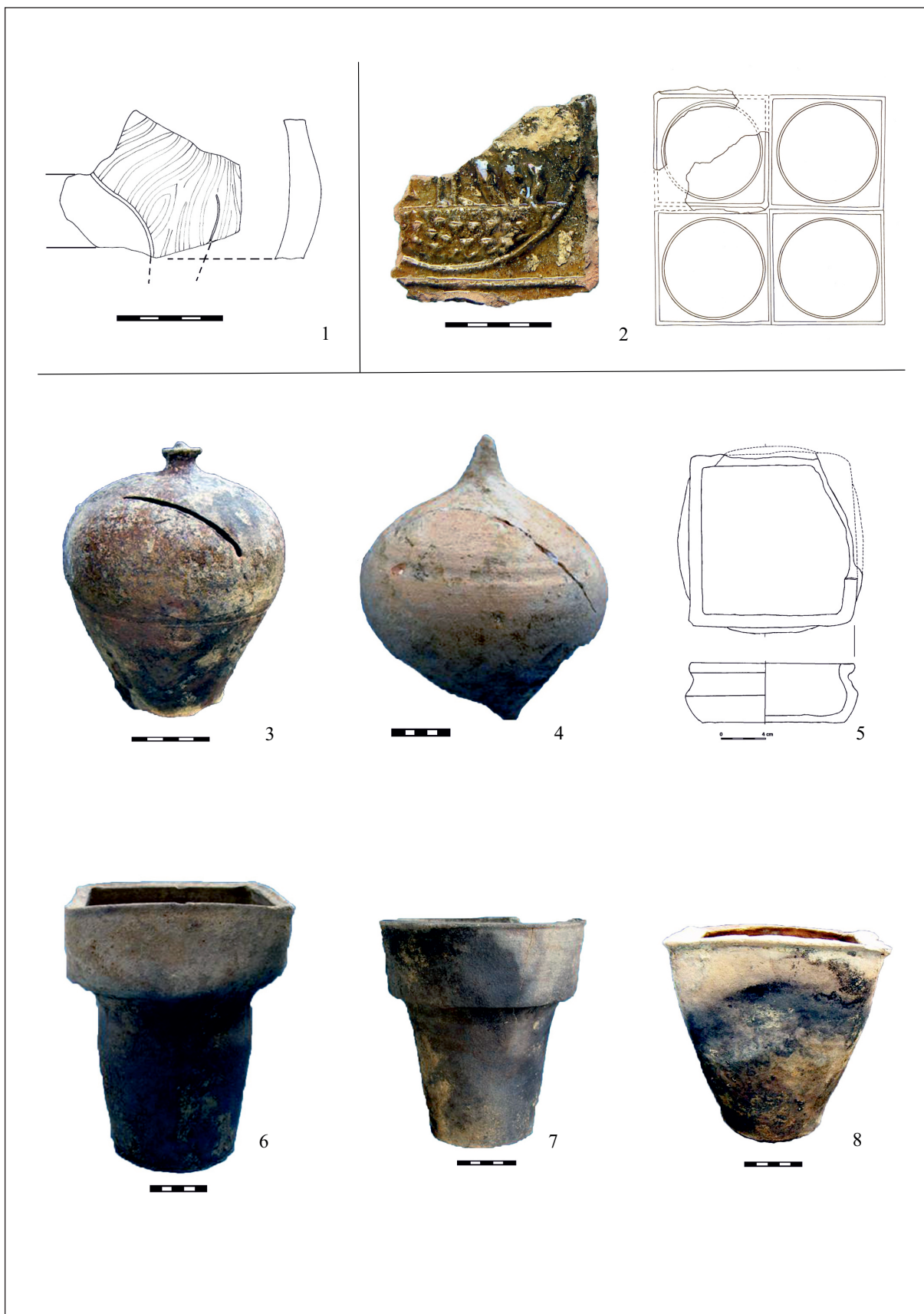
Gy. Török, *Gothic panel paintings and wood carvings in Hungary*, Permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Gallery (Budapest 2005)

VOIT-HOLL 1963

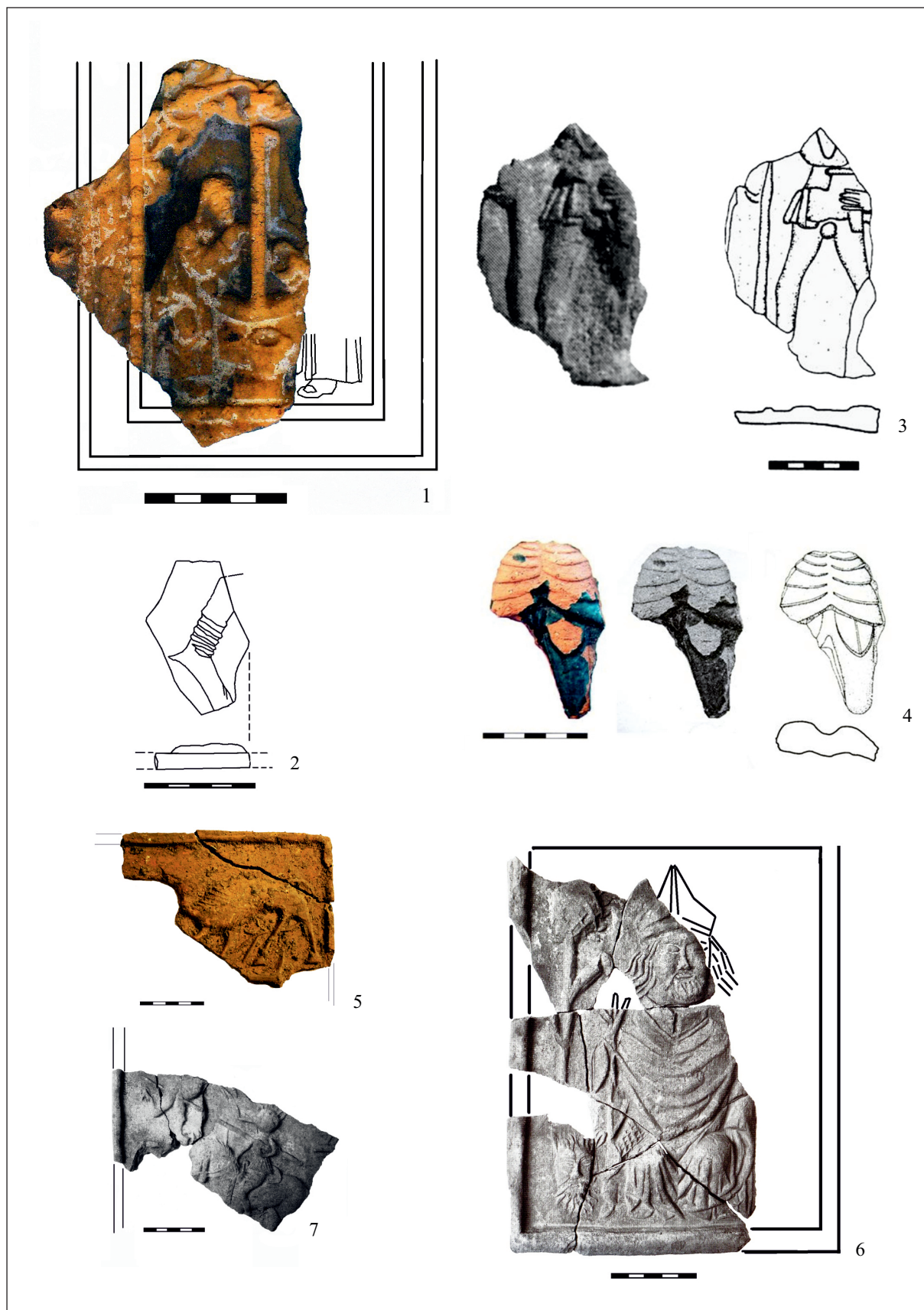
P. Voit – I. Holl, *Anciens carreaux de poêle hongrois* (Budapest 1963)

ZRINYI 1975

A. Zrinyi, Olarii din Târgu Mureş şi produsele lor în lumina cercetării materialului rezultat din săpături, *Marisia* 5, 1975, p. 93–111.



Pl. I. Medieval stove tiles from Cluj-Napoca. 15th century



Pl. II. Medieval stove tiles from Cluj-Napoca. 15th century

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AASzeged</i>	Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica
<i>Acta MN</i>	Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>Acta MP</i>	Acta Musei Porolissensis
<i>AJug</i>	Archaeologia Jugoslavica
<i>ArchÉrt</i>	Archaeologiai Értesítő
<i>ArchHist</i>	Archaeologia Historica
<i>AnB (S.N.)</i>	Analele Banatului
<i>Apulum</i>	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis
<i>APregl</i>	Arheološki pregled. Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije
<i>ATr</i>	Ars Transsilvaniae
<i>AVFSL</i>	Archiv des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde
<i>Balkanica</i>	Annual of the Institute for Balkan Studies in Belgrade
<i>Balcanoslavica</i>	Balcanoslavica. Centar za istraživanje na staroslovenskata kultura
<i>BCȘS</i>	Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești
<i>BAR (-IS)</i>	British Archaeological Reports (-International Series)
<i>BudRég</i>	Budapest Régiségei
<i>Crisia</i>	Crisia. Muzeul Țării Crișurilor
<i>Dacia (N.S.)</i>	Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, I–XII (1924–1948), Nouvelle série (N. S.): Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne
<i>DolgKoložsvár (Ú.S.)</i>	Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából, (új sorozat, 2006–), Kolozsvár
<i>ErdMúz</i>	Erdélyi Múzeum
<i>EphemNap</i>	Ephemeris Napocensis
<i>GPSKV</i>	Grada za proučavanje spomenika kulture Vojvodine
<i>Istros</i>	Istros. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei
<i>Marisia</i>	Marisia (V–), Studii și Materiale
<i>PBF</i>	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
<i>REByz</i>	Revue des études byzantines
<i>RMV (=RVM)</i>	Rad Muzeja Vojvodine/ Rad Vojvodjanskih Muzeja. Vojvodjanski muzej u Novom Sadu
<i>Sargetia (N.S.)</i>	Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis
<i>SCIA-AP</i>	Studii și cercetări de istoria artei. Seria Artă plastică
<i>SCIV(A)</i>	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche (și Arheologie 1974–)
<i>Starinar</i>	Starinar. Arheološki Institut Beograd
<i>ZborRadBeograd</i>	Zbornik radova Vizantinološkog instituta Beograd Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines
<i>ZfB</i>	Zeitschrift für Balkanologie
<i>Ziridava</i>	Ziridava. Studii și cercetări
<i>Ziridava–StArch</i>	Ziridava. Studia Archeologica