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Art and Patronage in Medieval Hungary –

The Frescoes of the Augustinian Church at Siklós

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of
Yale University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Zsombor Jékely

Dissertation Director: Walter Cahn

Fall 2003

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Abstract

Art and Patronage in Medieval Hungary –

The Frescoes of the Augustinian Church at Siklós

by Zsombor Jékely

2003

This dissertation provides an in-depth analysis of the former Augustinian church at Siklós in southern Hungary, and its fresco decoration. Commissioned by an aristocratic family, the frescoes reveal a wealth of information about art and patronage in the reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437). The *Introduction* provides an overview of art historical literature dealing with Siklós and its church, and outlines the problems discussed in the dissertation. *Part I.* focuses on the history and architecture of the church. The Augustinian canons settled at Siklós in the early fourteenth century, invited by the Siklósi family. Their first church, dedicated to St. Anne, stood near Siklós castle, and was completed before 1343. It was built in a simple manner resembling contemporary mendicant churches. At the end of the fourteenth century, under its new patrons, members of the Garai family, the church was remodeled.

Part II. surveys the painted decoration of the church. There were two layers of frescoes in the sanctuary, and the remainder of this chapter is dedicated to the earlier layer, of which only fragments remain. Painted in the 1360s, these frescoes are most likely the work of a group of masters familiar with Riminese painting, or its offshoots in Hungary-Croatia (cf. Esztergom, Zagreb). *Part III.* focuses on the later, more fully preserved decorative scheme executed around 1410 under the Garai family's patronage. After a

description, the iconography of key scenes is analyzed. Most attention is given to the large scenes on the walls: the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, and the *Traditio Legis*. Based on comparisons with the painting of Altichiero and his circle, and with works of his followers in South-Tyrol, the chapter demonstrates that direct connections with Italian painting did not cease with the demise of the Neapolitan Angevin dynasty in Hungary (1382). The frescoes are then placed in their historical context. First they are examined as a product of Garai patronage, by comparing them to other monuments commissioned by this family and other barons. Other elements of an ensemble of monuments at Siklós, including the castle and its frescoed chapel, as well as the tombstone of Miklós (I) Garai, are also discussed. The church functioned as a family burial church, similar to a group of monuments, all richly decorated with frescoes. In conclusion, the contribution of these findings to a fuller understanding aristocratic patronage in the Sigismund period is summarized.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... **VI**

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY **1**

1. A WORD ABOUT THE SOURCES 5
2. SIKLÓS IN THE ART HISTORICAL LITERATURE 6
3. QUESTIONS OF HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY 16
4. THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ART IN HUNGARY IN THE REIGN OF KING SIGISMUND 23

PART I. – HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE **38**

1. SIKLÓS IN THE MIDDLE AGES 38
   A. Siklós under the Kán clan *38*
   B. Siklós under the Garai family *59*
2. THE BUILDING 69
   A. The two medieval phases of construction *69*
   B. Configuration and use of the church at the time of the Garais *82*
3. LATER HISTORY OF THE AUGUSTINIAN CHURCH 88

PART II. – THE FRESCOES AND THE FIRST PHASE OF DECORATION **93**

1. THE HISTORY AND DISCOVERY OF THE FRESCOES 93
2. REMAINS OF FRESCOES OUTSIDE THE CHANCEL 95
3. STRATIGRAPHY AND CONDITION OF THE FRESCOES IN THE SANCTUARY 96
4. REMAINS OF THE FIRST LAYER 99

PART III. – THE SECOND PHASE OF DECORATION **125**

1. THE PAINTED PROGRAM OF THE CHANCEL 126
2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KEY SCENES 129
3. QUESTIONS OF STYLE 160
   A. The style of the paintings at Siklós *161*
   B. The Italian Origins of the Style *165*
4. CASTLES, CHURCHES, AND TOMBS – ARISTOCRATIC PATRONAGE IN LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARY 191
5. FAMILY BURIAL CHURCHES AND PAINTED CHANCELS AROUND 1400 244

CONCLUSIONS – THE PLACE OF SIKLÓS IN HUNGARIAN ART AROUND 1400 ..... **257**

APPENDIX A. – CATALOGUE OF THE FRESCOES **260**

NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE AND CONTENTS 260
CATALOGUE ENTRIES 262

APPENDIX B. – LIST OF VISUAL SOURCES **284**

APPENDIX C. – LIST OF AUGUSTINIAN PRIORIES IN HUNGARY **289**

APPENDIX D. – CONCORDANCE OF PLACE NAMES **295**

FREQUENT ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY **298**

VOLUME II.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS ..... **III**

ILLUSTRATIONS ..... **XI**

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation deals with a geographical area perhaps somewhat unfamiliar to some of its readers. After all, the art of medieval Hungary is rarely treated in common handbooks of the period. The complicated history of shifting state borders and the resulting confusion often surrounding place names only adds to the difficulty. In this dissertation, I decided to give place names from the medieval kingdom of Hungary proper, including Slavonia, in their Hungarian form, with a more commonly recognized form often following in parenthesis. The present names and most other variants can be found in Appendix B (Concordance of place names). Family names are given as they have been used in Hungarian historiography – thus Garai instead of *de Gara*, and first names are also written in their Hungarian form.

The writing of this dissertation was made possible by various grants received through Yale University, including a generous University Dissertation Fellowship. Portions of my travels to Slovenia, Austria and Northern Italy were funded by awards from the Sumner McKnight Crosby Fund (1998, 1999), the Mellon Fund, and by a Short Term Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson Center (Washington D.C.).

Many people generously provided advice and encouragement during the long years while this dissertation was being written. Foremost among them was my advisor, Walter Cahn, who read and corrected many drafts of varying degrees of completeness. Deep thanks are also due to my readers. Ernő Marosi of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was the one to recommend this topic in the first place, and I benefited from his comments throughout this period. Maria Georgopoulou and Creighton Gilbert also helped with

advice and both returned chapters of the manuscripts with incisive and insightful comments. Also at Yale University, Margot Fassler, Charles McClendon, and Christopher Wood provided useful comments in the early phases of the project.

I carried out most of the research in Hungary, and am very grateful to all the institutions and individuals who made it possible. Regarding the Siklós frescoes, archeologist Mária Sándor and restorer Péter Boromisza both willingly shared their findings and observations, both of them providing guided tours of the site. Pál Lővei at the Office of Cultural Heritage also proved to be most helpful, as always. The Archives and Photo Collection of the Cultural Heritage office provided lots of information, as well as most of the illustrations to this study. I thank Jolán Pogány Váli and Zsuzsanna Bakó for facilitating access to material in these collections. For providing photographs, I am also grateful to József Vajda (color survey of the frescoes) and Bánóci Zsuzsa at the Photo Collection of the Art History Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy.

In matters of history, the comments of the late Pál Engel, who read my chapter on the history of Siklós, and the help of Márta Font were especially important. I received numerous comments from several scholars both in Hungary and abroad, including Miklós Boskovits (Florence), Mojmir Frinta (Albany), Robert Gibbs (Glasgow), Anca Gogâltan (Cluj), Susan L'Engle (New York), Marie Lionett (Paris), Mária Prokopp (Budapest), Floridus Röhrig (Klosterneuburg), and Dóra Sallay (Esztergom). In all questions relating to wall painting, my long-time friend Mihály Jánó of Sepsiszentgyörgy was an enthusiastic collaborator. Fellow students at the History of Art Department at Yale University, especially Elena Boeck, Elizabeth LaRocco, and Amy Prescher were always willing to share dissertation woes. In the last two years of writing, my colleagues at the Museum of

Fine Arts in Budapest, especially Szilárd Papp, Imre Takács, and Mária Verő were most understanding as well as helpful. Thanks are also due to those numerous individuals who opened church gates and enabled me to see lots during my travels, including Sándor Keresztes at Siklós, and the head of the *Opera* of the Santo at Padua, who allowed me see the frescoes of Altichiero then under restoration. Tibor Kollár offered his car and company to see monuments previously unknown to me, such as the church at Csáktornya. Access to original documents was facilitated by the helpful staff of the Hungarian National Archives. Similarly, the staff of libraries – especially at the Art and Architecture Library of Yale University, the Library of Congress in Washington, the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the Széchényi National Library (OSZK) in Budapest and the Library of the Museum of Fine Arts all contributed to the success of this project.

As this dissertation was being written, portions of it were published in studies focusing on different aspects of the topic. These include a study dedicated to the Garai tomb slab at the church of Siklós (*Acta Historiae Artium,* in 2000, editors Pál Lővei and Ernő Marosi), and a study on the frescoes of Csáktornya and the question of family churches (forthcoming, editor Tibor Kollár). I am very grateful to the editors of all these publications, whose comments I was able to utilize in the dissertation as well.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My wife, Lara Strong, not only encouraged me throughout the project, but also edited the text for clarity and proper English usage. I received help of similar nature from her parents, John and Jane Strong, as well.

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

A simple Gothic building, the former Augustinian church at Siklós in southern Hungary, has never attracted much attention from art historians, having been overshadowed by the castle of Siklós standing nearby. The castle and its chapel with frescoed niches had been regarded as the most important artistic achievements stemming from the patronage of the powerful Garai family.[1] Then, in 1985, while carrying out minor repairs inside the parish church, workers discovered colorful painted figures on the walls hidden under several layers of plaster. Complete removal of the plaster and whitewash revealed Gothic frescoes, in some areas fragmentary, but in others almost fully intact, which had once covered all the walls and vaults of the chancel, including the inner face of the triumphal arch. It was now certain that the medieval priory of the Augustinians, known from written sources, had been found. Any such find is bound to be of interest, but this discovery had a special importance because of the poor survival rate of medieval art in the central and southern regions of Hungary. The frescoes of Siklós stand out in particular because of their high artistic quality, and good state of preservation. The perfect condition of some of the surviving figures stands in marked contrast with the abraded surface of many frescoes from the region. The Siklós ensemble, now fully restored, is generally regarded as one of the most skillfully painted medieval fresco-cycles surviving in Hungary.

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[1] Although in earlier literature there had been a tendency to connect the Late Gothic sanctuary of this chapel with the Garai family as well, this is now securely placed to around 1500, thus some twenty years after the death of the last Garai, and when the castle was owned by the Perényi family. On the chapel, see chapter III.4.

The true importance of the Siklós church lies in the wealth of information it reveals about art and patronage at the time of King Sigismund (1387-1437). Coats of arms and other heraldic devices painted inside the church date the frescoes to some time after 1408, and identify the patrons as members of the Garai family, who held some of the highest offices in the court of Sigismund, and were even related to the king through marriage.[2] A red marble figural tomb slab with the Garai coat of arms was also unearthed in the church, indicating its special role as a burial church. Siklós thus provides a complete ensemble stemming from aristocratic patronage: the castle with its chapel serving as the center of the family's estates, and the adjacent family burial church. By comparing this to some of the other commissions of the Garai family, we can reconstruct how wealthy patrons during the rule of Sigismund selected artists and themes for their churches and palaces. Contrasting the Garai with other aristocrats of the time, such as members of the wealthy local Lackfi family, or foreign courtiers of Sigismund such as the Florentine Filippo Scolari, we can discover different attitudes towards art and artists. Drawing the artistic commissions of King Sigismund into the investigation should result in a new understanding of the entire period.

The church at Siklós also provides an excellent opportunity to reexamine other problems that have been in the center of scholarly interest regarding this period. The Italian Trecento style of the frescoes, for example, makes them key representatives of a broad trend in Hungarian painting that was already prevalent during the reign of the Angevin kings (1308-1387). Was this Italian idiom still part of the Hungarian artistic

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[2] The second wife of Miklós Garai, Anne of Cilli, was the sister of the queen, Barbara of Cilli, see *Table 3.*

language in the early fifteenth century, when the Siklós murals were painted, or did the patron have to invite skilled painters from abroad? In either case, where did these artists come from? Did the Garai brothers recruit them through the royal court, or through their regional or family connections? The program of the thematically coherent fresco cycle raises similar questions: is this the work of an original conception, or does it reflect an established model, partly modified in accordance with the wishes and needs of the patrons? And finally, what is the art historical place of these frescoes in the art of Hungary and Central Europe around 1400?

To answer these questions, a complex monographic analysis focusing on the church itself was chosen in order to examine all aspects of the building and its frescoes. The first chapter provides an overview of the medieval history of Siklós. The following chapter (I.2) focuses on the construction of the Siklós church, demonstrating that it was originally built before the time of the Garai family, some time in the first half of the fourteenth century, and that its building type resembles contemporary Central European mendicant structures. The building and at least some painted decoration existed before the second phase of work was commenced under the Garais and the Augustinians were also present in Siklós prior to this time. All this must be taken into account if we want to know what the patrons inherited from their predecessors and what was modified according to their wishes. To study the problems listed above it is thus necessary to also inspect the first phase of decoration (Part II). In this part I will demonstrate that this earlier decoration, commissioned by the Siklósi family, was an important achievement on its own, which can closely be tied to some of the chief monuments of the period, including mid-fourteenth century frescoes at Zagreb.

Part III – the longest part of the dissertation – examines the second layer of frescoes, the ensemble still visible today and commissioned by the Garai family. Here even fragmentary scenes are identified and analyzed, and the iconographic program of the entire sanctuary is reconstructed and its character is determined through a comparison with similar monuments. Also discussed are the reasons for replacing the older cycle of frescoes, and a detailed stylistic analysis of the new cycle is provided. The main focus of this part is on the Garai family's patronage, and on the style of the frescoes. Altogether, my dissertation provides the first detailed analysis of this monument, attempting to answer the questions raised above and to place the Siklós church in the larger framework of Hungarian art around 1400. My analysis suggests that the Siklós church is one of the best examples of a type of family church that was common among aristocrats in the early phase of King Sigismund's rule. I also show that the castle and church together form a typical ensemble of aristocratic commissions of the time, together asserting the family's power and devotion. The frescoes inside the sanctuary of the church also form a typical element of aristocratic family churches of the time, creating what are in effect private family chapels with a burial function. The churches thus represent the unity of the family and strive to preserve the patrons' memory. Along with the residences of these families, these churches are the most visible symbols of the power and refinement of the new aristocracy of King Sigismund.

1. A word about the sources

Few written sources guide us in sketching the history of the Augustinian church at Siklós. Documentary material about the church is scant: no foundation charter or letters of privileges survive, and no medieval phase of the construction or decoration is documented. Documents about the history of Siklós and its castle, however, abound, as do sources related to their owners. The majority of these documents are today housed at the Hungarian National Archives in Budapest (OL), and most were published in various source collections. Based on this written material – which mentions the Augustinian church several times – it was possible to reconstruct the history of the town, and that of the church within it. The historical account forming the bulk of Chapter I.1. is largely based on these written sources, which are listed and excerpted in the footnotes.

When describing the original shape of the building, I relied not only on the surviving elements and those discovered during the excavations, but on visual sources in the form of plans and views of Siklós as well. Early depictions of Siklós only provide a schematic view of the castle, and do not even depict the church next to it. The fifteenth-century depiction of the castle of Siklós in the Viennese copy of the Windecke chronicle shows only a simple tower as the place where Sigismund was held captive in 1401 (fig. 5). A sixteenth-century Turkish miniature, representing the siege of Siklós in 1543, concentrates on a schematic depiction of the castle walls and the Turkish cannons surrounding it (fig. 6). It is only with plans and drawings executed after the town was recaptured from the Ottomans in 1686 that the original layout of buildings on the castle hill is shown in considerable detail (figs. 7-8). The plans of Johannes Haüy, kept in the

archives of Karlsruhe include the Augustinian church as well, as it is nestled in one corner of the outer circle of castle walls (fig. 8). These, and other visual sources, are listed in Appendix C.

For the art historical chapters, a different sort of evidence was used. While I naturally relied on *in situ* examinations of the frescoes, I also had access to the exemplary documentation put together at the time of the restoration. This material consists of photos taken before and after cleaning, as well as after the completion of the restoration. In addition, a series of drawings were made based on an exact photogrammetrical survey of the walls. The locations of these sources are also given in Appendix C, and this material provides the bulk of the illustrations to the present study.

2. Siklós in the Art Historical Literature

Siklós has had a particular importance in the history of medieval Hungary due to a peculiar historical event in 1401. King Sigismund of Hungary, the future Holy Roman Emperor, was held captive in the castle of Siklós under the supervision of Miklós Garai and was only set free after acceding to several requests of the country's most powerful barons.[3] Even the medieval descriptions of this event included a few words about the castle of Siklós, and the scene was illustrated in the Viennese copy of the Windecke

[3] Sigismund stayed at Siklós from April until Nov. 28, 1401.

chronicle (c. 1450; fig. 5).[4] The castle, which survived the vicissitudes of history fairly intact, also awakened the interest of art historians early on,[5] but detailed information on the medieval phase of the building only became available during excavations carried out in the 1950s. These revealed the medieval extent of the castle and clarified the various stages of its construction. Numerous carved fragments of smaller architectural elements were also recovered, some of which (most notably an elaborate balcony) were then reconstructed.[6] The beautifully vaulted Late Gothic castle chapel situated in the east wing of the castle was also restored then (fig. 132). Examinations of its nave revealed frescoes in two wall niches. The frescoes, painted during the first half of the fifteenth century, were transferred onto a plastic base and restored; a detailed art historical analysis of them still remains to be done.[7] Another focus of research was Renaissance rebuilding and decoration of the castle

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[4] The classic narrative description of the event is in *Thuróczy*. Several of Thuróczy's mistakes, for example the description of the conditions of the sad captivity of Sigismund, and the pleas of the elder Miklós Garai's widow to his sons for the release of the king were perpetuated in later chronicles, see for example *Bonfini*, 3.2.200-240. In later tradition, the Renaissance fireplace in the castle of Siklós has been identified as the one where Sigismund has carved his laments during captivity. On Windecke's chronicle, and its illustrated copy (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 13975), see Marosi, Ernő, "A Zsigmond-kor művészettörténetének egy adóssága – Eberhard Windecke illusztrált Zsigmond-életrajza és a középkori képes krónikák," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 111 (1998), 547-560; Wehli, Tünde, "Magyarország történelme a középkori krónikaillusztrációk tükrében," *Történelem-Kép*, 303-304, 280-281, cat. IV-2. For the text of the chronicle, see *Windecke*.

[5] Good early history of the town and castle: Szalay, Antal, "Siklósról," *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 1824/12, 19-. Szalay also describes the church briefly, and identifies it as the Benedictine abbey of Siklós. Also mentions the Augustinians, based on the tithe list, with reference to *Koller*, II. pag 394, 410, 449.

[6] *Gerő 1958a; Gerő 1958*; Czeglédy, Ilona – Ferenczy, K., "A siklósi vár," [The castle of Siklós] *Műemlékvédelem*, 1966/2, 78-84; Czeglédy, Ilona, "Siklós (Baranya megye)," in *Várépítészetünk*, ed. Gerő, László (Budapest: Műszaki, 1975), 235-245.

[7] *Gerő 1958a*, 405-411; *Illés 1969*, 69-89. On the frescoes, see also *Radocsay 1977*, 161.

carried out under the Perényi family in the early sixteenth century.[8] Archaeologist Mária Sándor dedicated a long chapter to an examination of the Renaissance Siklós workshop in her monograph on Renaissance architecture in Baranya County.[9] In recent years, the castle – a building with an arrangement and decoration similar to Hungarian royal castles of the time – has been interpreted as one of the major works of the fifteenth century.[10] Despite all this, a detailed monographic treatment on the castle of Siklós, which would incorporate the results of historical and archaeological examinations alike, is still lacking.[11]

The most recent addition to the growing literature on Siklós is a detailed study by Márta Font on the medieval history of Siklós that appeared in a book dedicated to the town, and was published in 2000 as a millennial volume.[12] Font's study is based on documentary evidence and surveys the entire history of Siklós from the time of the Magyar conquest to the early sixteenth century. As the author relies on the same primary source material as the present dissertation, the history of the town as outlined by her is

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[8] The first important study is Szőnyi, Ottó, "Ismeretlen siklósi renaissance köemlékek," [Unknown Renaissance monuments from Siklós], *Magyar Művészet* 9 (1933), 169-180. Détshy, Mihály, "Az ónódi vár korai építkezései," [Early construction of Ónod castle], *A Herman Ottó Múzeum Évkönyve* 13-14 (Miskolc, 1975), cites documents demonstrating a workshop connection between two Renaissance projects of the Perényi family, Ónod and Siklós.

[9] *Sándor 1984*, 52-63, 81-84, 101-105, ills. 97-127. Originally written as a dissertation, see the defense and András Kubinyi's reader's opinion, *MÉ* 1981, 65-73. See also *Schallaburg 1982*, 573-574. Much of the book has been translated as Sándor, Mária, "L'inizio e lo sviluppo del Rinascimento nei dintorni di Pécs (Cinquechiese)," *Acta Archaeologica* 34 (1982), 249-277.

[10] *Czeglédy 1987;* Lővei, Pál, "Néhány címeres emlék a 14-15. századból," *MÉ* 40 (1991), 58-60, proposing a modified chronology; *Feld 1994*, 236-237. See also *MoMT 2*, 511; Koppány, Tibor, "A siklósi vár," *Pannonia Regia*, 374-375.

[11] The only monographic treatment of the castle of Siklós, *Gerő 1958*, has been rendered out of date by the excavations still going on at the time of its writing. A full-scale archaeological survey of the entire castle has still not been carried out. Most recent results are summarized in the little booklet: Czeglédy, Ilona, *Siklós, vár* (Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok Kiskönyvtára 96.) (Budapest, 2000[5]).

[12] *Font 2000.*

similar to the historical part of the present account, although with different emphases. Overall, Font is more interested in the economic structure of the Siklós estate than with the religious or artistic patronage of its lords. The other studies in the same volume provide a full overview of the later history of Siklós as well, therefore here only those facts that have a direct bearing on the fate of the Augustinian church and its frescoes are mentioned. For a fuller understanding of the wider historical context of the Siklós frescoes, I will refer my readers to the relevant sections of Pál Engel's recently published magisterial survey book on the history of medieval Hungary.[13]

Up to the 1990s, the parish church of Siklós, in the vicinity of the castle, had received much less attention than the town or castle. Although its medieval origins were obvious, the simple forms of the building and the heavy-handed later rebuilding warranted no detailed treatment. Flóris Rómer, one of the founding fathers of Hungarian art history devoted a few lines to the church in his notebook of 1872,[14] but published accounts of it appeared only much later. The church was mistakenly identified with the Benedictine Abbey of Szenttrinitás (Holy Trinity), which had been amply documented in medieval sources. The origins of this misunderstanding go back to the period after the expulsion of the Turks in 1686, when the Franciscan order occupied the church.[15] The few times the Siklós church was discussed at all, it was described as a Franciscan or a Benedictine church despite existing documentary evidence. The existence of the one-time Augustinian priory of Siklós was all but forgotten. The priory is not mentioned in the seventeenth-

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[13] *Engel 2001.*

[14] KÖH Library, Notebooks of Flóris Rómer, notes from the year 1872.

[15] The title of the abbot was reinstated in 1623, this time as the "Abbot of Siklós." This title survived up to modern times (abolished only after 1945), see *Sörös 1912,* 335-341.

century list commissioned by Archbishop Péter Pázmány of all Hungarian monasteries.[16] It is also missing from the nineteenth-century Hungarian catalogue of monasteries compiled by Fuxhoffer and Czinár.[17] Finally, Dezső Csánki, in his great database of medieval settlements in Hungary published in 1894, called attention to an Augustinian priory in Siklós, referring to a number of sources mentioning it. He also demonstrated that the Benedictine abbey of the Holy Trinity was outside the town.[18] This information somehow was not taken into consideration by other researchers and the Siklós church was still mistakenly identified as a Benedictine church.[19] As recently as 1994, in an Austrian book on Augustinian canons in Bohemia and Hungary, the existence of the Siklós Augustinians is mentioned based on documentary evidence alone but their building was not identified.[20]

The association of the church standing next to the castle with the Augustinian canons known from the sources was first made by art historian Dezső Dercsényi, who included the building in his small monograph on the medieval churches of Baranya County.[21] Dercsényi refuted the earlier erroneous hypotheses that identified the medieval church with the Benedictine abbey of Szenttrinitás and clearly demonstrated that it belonged to the Augustinian canons. He supposed, however, that the church was

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[16] *Pázmány.*

[17] *Fuxhoffer – Czinár,* 194- (Canonici regulares).

[18] *Csánki* II. 457-458, 527. This was also clearly demonstrated by *Sörös 1912*, 335-341.

[19] See for example Beszkid, Miklós, *A siklósi apátság története* [The history of the Benedictine Abbey of Siklós] (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1903), stating that the Benedictine abbey was located next to the castle. This was taken over, for example, by Bálint, Ferenc, *Siklós monográfiája* [A monograph of Siklós] (Siklós, 1928).

[20] *Röhrig 1994,* 329, entry written by Metod j Zemek.

[21] Dercsényi, Dezső, *Mittelalterliche Kirchen von Baranya* (Budapest: Corvina, 1984), 43-47.

transferred to the Franciscan order during the Middle Ages, and described the building as a characteristic mendicant structure.

Documents relating to the Siklós Augustinians were first collected in large number by György Györffy in the first volume of his topography of medieval Hungary, first published in 1963.[22] Györffy showed beyond doubt that the Augustinian priory was adjacent to the castle, whereas the abbey of Szenttrinitás was outside Siklós.[23] Thus, when Mária Sándor began the excavations of the Siklós parish church, it quickly became obvious that the building was indeed identical with the Augustinian priory dedicated to St. Anne during the Middle Ages. These excavations, which started in the cloister in 1975 and continued ten years later inside the church, revealed the medieval foundations of the cloister and brought to light an important medieval tombstone and other fragments from the church.[24] As the results of the excavations became public, the identification of the church became widely accepted. Consequently it is correctly identified and briefly described in Ferenc Hervay's recent catalogue of medieval monasteries in Baranya County,[25] and is also included in a modern catalogue of Hungarian monasteries, compiled by Beatrix Romhányi.[26] Oddly, Márta Font in her above-mentioned study fails to identify the Augustinian church and relate the sources about it, although she discusses the three

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[22] *Györffy* I. 378-379.

[23] *Györffy* I. 391-392.

[24] The archaeological documentation is kept at the Plan Archives of KÖH, Budapest. Short reports are available as: Sándor, Mária, "Ásatási jelentés," *Régészeti Füzetek*, Ser. 1. No. 30, 1977, 67; Ser. 1. No. 31, 1978, 117-118; Ser. 1. No. 32, 1979, 133-134; Ser. 1. No. 38, 1985, 116; Ser. 1. No. 41, 1988, 99-100; Ser. 1. No. 42, 1991, 88. See also *Sándor 1989*, 69.

[25] *Hervay 1991*, 46.

[26] Romhányi, Beatrix, *Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova – Monasteries, friaries, provostries and collegiate churches in Mediaeval Hungary*, dissertation, (Budapest, 1996), 51; *Romhányi 2000.*

other monastic foundations of the Siklósi family.[27] The church is only mentioned as the parish church of the town, with its frescoes briefly described.[28]

Once the frescoes had been cleaned, following their surprise discovery, it became clear that they are one of the most important recent finds in the field of medieval art in Hungary, and the church of Siklós quickly became famous.[29] Two superimposed layers of frescoes were identified during the course of cleaning. The restoration was carried out with a great deal of care and was amply documented, including a photogrammetrical survey of all the frescoes.[30] Unfortunately no detailed excavation report on the church was published, and news of the discovery was not enough to inspire an extensive study of the church.[31] The material, therefore, was not available when the handbook on Hungarian medieval art between 1300 and 1470 was published in 1987; thus only the elements of the building known prior to the excavations are treated.[32] The few art historical studies mentioning the church based their findings on cursory on site investigations.[33] More detailed art-historical interpretations of the church were only published once the restorers'

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[27] *Font 2000,* 61-62.

[28] *Font 2000,* 74-75.

[29] Several lectures were held about it, and tours were organized to the site during the restoration. See *Sándor 1989;* Deák, Klára, "Falkép-helyreállítások Baranyában," [Mural restorations in Baranya County] *A tegnap és ma építészete a történeti településeken. Műemléki Albizottságok és Társadalmi Bizottságok XIV. Országos Értekezlete, Pécs, 1987* (Budapest, 1989), 69; 74-76. See also Dercsényi, Balázs, "A magyar keresztény államiság építészeti emlékei a Dél-Dunántúlon – Baranya megye középkori templomai," *Kereszténység és államiság Baranyában (Christianity and Statehood in Baranya County* (Pécs, 2000), 95-109.

[30] *Boromisza 1995;* see also the list of visual sources in Appendix C.

[31] Shorter articles on the frescoes include Deák, Klára, "La résurrection du paradis – Peintures murales et restauration des fresques" *Monuments Historiques* No. 201 (1996), 94-97; Horváth, Zoltán György, "Freskókincseink – Siklós ágostonrendi kolostortemploma," *Magyar Művészeti Fórum* 3 (2000/1), 70-74.

[32] *MoMT 2,* 55, 661.

[33] Wehli, Tünde, "Über Bildfunktionen in Ungarn zur Hussitenzeit," *Sigismund 1994,* 288.

work was completed by 1995. In that year three important publications were devoted to the Siklós frescoes: Péter Boromisza described the restoration process and summarized the results of the technical investigations, Pál Lővei completed the first description of the frescoes and published an outline of the church's history, and Mária Prokopp made a first attempt to systematically discuss the iconography of the frescoes.[34] Shorter versions of these three reports were also published in a separate booklet; the first – and so far the only – publication devoted entirely to the church.[35]

Of these three articles, Lővei's is the most significant. As head of the research department at the Institute for the Protection of Monuments that carried out the restoration, he had an intimate knowledge of the frescoes. Some of the most important facts established in his study include the recognition of two layers of frescoes. His identification of each of the figures and transcription of the surviving inscriptions provides a firm basis for later research. He also summarized the historical documents relating to the church and through an analysis of the painted coats of arms established a *terminus post quem* of 1408 for the second phase of the frescoes. Lővei also studied the tombstone, which he first published the previous year in the exhibition catalogue *Pannonia Regia*.[36] Mária Prokopp added some important details mainly regarding the influence of St. Augustine's ideas on various elements of the program. She also made an attempt at identifying scenes that had

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[34] *Boromisza 1995; Lővei 1995; Prokopp 1995.* The article by Lővei has been translated into German with some additions: "Drache und Schlange – Heraldische Elemente auf den mittelalterlichen Wandbildern der Pfarrkirche von Siklós," in print, *AHA* 44 (2003). I thank Pál Lővei for providing an advance copy of the new version of his article.

[35] Lővei, Pál – Boromisza, Péter – Prokopp, Mária, *Siklós – Plébániatemplom.* (Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok kiskönyvtára, 520) (Siklós – Parish Church) (Budapest, 1995).

[36] *Pannonia Regia*, 276-277, cat. no. IV-49.

almost completely disappeared.[37] In his study the restorer, Péter Boromisza, identified six painters working on the frescoes of the second phase.[38] Prokopp agrees with Boromisza's findings, but suggests there were two leading masters – one more 'graphical' and one more 'painterly' in style – both of whom were familiar with Northern Italian painting of the International Gothic.[39]

A young Italian scholar, Claudia Piovano, recently voiced a new opinion. Piovano wrote her doctoral thesis for a restorer's school in Italy on Hungarian art restorations, and selected Siklós as a case study. Her observations about the frescoes were published in a separate article in 1997.[40] In it, she rejects the dating of the frescoes on the basis of coats of arms, which she takes to be later additions, and dates the frescoes to the 1360s on the basis of style, citing numerous comparisons from Cavallini to Giotto to the art of Northern Italy. She stresses possible contacts with the painting of Naples, and refers to the dynastic connection between Hungary and Naples during the fourteenth century in explaining this connection. Most of her analogies, however, only rely on general similarities, and do not stand up to closer scrutiny. She provides no concrete evidence that there was a direct connection between the Siklós frescoes and the great masters of the early Trecento such as Cavallini. Moreover, the author ignores the earlier layer of frescoes, and the dates she suggests for the second phase ignore Hungarian history and the artistic milieu, and fail to consider the ways in which artistic styles are transmitted to faraway places; thus the result is a dating that severely clashes with historical evidence. Realizing that her dating was

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[37] *Prokopp 1995*, 166.

[38] *Boromisza 1995*, 224-225.

[39] *Prokopp 1995*.

[40] *Piovano 1997*.

hard to reconcile with the strong evidence from the coats of arms (she dated the frescoes to a good thirty years before the Garais appeared at Siklós, even though their coats of arms are everywhere on the frescoes), Piovano attempts to justify her claims, by recommending further archival research. She believes this would result in finding new owners for these coats of arms, thus attempting to mold reality to fit her theory.

The Siklós frescoes have also appeared in some new survey books, notably in those written by Ernő Marosi. In addition to discussing them in the survey of Hungarian art, he also included the church in his book on Gothic art in Europe, placing it in a wider European context.[41] In a separate study he summarized the issues that have needed revision since the 1987 handbook in late medieval art in Hungary, and mentions the Siklós frescoes as an important new discovery.[42] Marosi calls for an investigation of a group of family churches built and decorated according to the wishes of aristocrats, and refers to the Siklós church as a particularly good example of the type. Marosi also deals with the Garai tombstone found at Siklós,[43] a monument that has since received a detailed analysis in my article published in *Acta Historiae Artium* (1998), which appeared in 2000.[44] This study concluded that the structure was intended as a family burial church, but, in the end, did not fulfill this role. Further arguments to support this thesis will be laid out in the present dissertation.

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[41] Marosi, Ernő, "Gótika," *Magyar művészet a kezdetektől 1800-ig* (Budapest: Corvina, 2001), 141; Marosi, Ernő, *A középkor művészete II. 1250-1500* (Budapest: Corvina, 1997), 204.

[42] *Marosi 1998,* 110-113, 120.

[43] See Marosi's review of the *Pannonia Regia* catalogue, *AHA* 37 (1994-1995), 338; *Marosi 1998,* 101, 118.

[44] *Jékely 1998.*

3. Questions of Historical Geography

As mentioned earlier, the Siklós frescoes and other commissions of the Garai family provide an opportunity to examine some key issues of this period, such as the character of court art in Hungary, questions of aristocratic patronage in Hungary, and the dissemination of Italian Trecento style in the region. The examination of these issues naturally places the Siklós frescoes in their wider art historical context. A critical review of the specialized literature will be part of these discussions. However, it is also necessary to provide a brief, yet systematic overview of the state of research regarding art in Hungary during the reign of Sigismund.[45] This overview will have to start with questions of historical geography and a clarification of terms.

When speaking of Hungary throughout this dissertation, the term always refers to the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and not to the much smaller modern state. Looking at any modern map of medieval Europe, the Kingdom of Hungary appears as a large country, roughly the size of France, located in the middle of Europe. Bordered by Poland to the north, the Holy Roman Empire (more specifically Moravia, Lower Austria and Styria) to the west, Venice and the Adriatic to the southwest, Serbia and Walachia to the south (from the mid- fifteenth to the nineteenth century under Ottoman rule), and Moldavia to the east, Hungary was at the peak of its power during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and its borders were often extended to include territories occupied for a longer or shorter period

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[45] For a more detailed overview, see Marosi, Ernő, "A Zsigmond-kor a magyar művészettörténetírásban," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 380-404; Marosi, Ernő, "A 14-15. századi magyarországi művészet kutatásának rövid története," *MoMT 2*, 19-30.

(fig. 1).[46] The kings of Hungary ruled over a vast territory – comprising also Croatia and other territories in the Balkans – with abundant resources, including the richest gold and silver mines in Europe. Their country was a regional superpower, worth fighting for among Europe's great dynasties, such as the (Neapolitan) Anjou, Luxemburg, Jagiellonian or Habsburg families. The rulers of Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Austria and even the Holy Roman Empire came from these four families during the greater part of the two centuries between 1300 and 1500.[47] The list of these countries adds up to a region now known as Central Europe. The term Central Europe as used by historians is not a geographical region in the strict sense of the word, and thus, there are numerous definitions of it, as well as competing terms aimed at characterizing the same region.[48] It is not our task to follow the entire debate surrounding this concept,[49] only to clarify the use of the term Central Europe in the art historical literature, and to determine whether the countries listed above did indeed form a coherent historic and artistic region during the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

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[46] For maps, see Magocsi, Paul Robert, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe (A History of East Central Europe I.*, (Seattle – London: University of Washington Press, 1993), esp. nos. 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 13.

[47] Well illustrated by the table in Johnson, Lonnie R., *Central Europe – Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 48.

[48] The most influential historical study about Central Europe as a distinct region in medieval Europe is by Szűcs, Jenő, "The Three Historical Regions of Europe" *Acta Historiae Academiae Scientarium Hungaricae* 29 (1983), 131-184, originally as "Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról," *Történelmi Szemle*, 3 (1981), 313-359. A recent overview of the region's history is provided by Johnson, Lonnie R., *Central Europe – Enemies, Neighbors, Friends* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

[49] See for example Ash, Timothy Garton, *The Uses of Adverity: Essays on the Fate of Central Europe* (New York, 1990); Schöpflin, George – Wood, Nancy, *In Search of Central Europe*, (Oxford, 1989). For a Hungarian language selection of the debate, see *Kell-e nekünk Közép-Európa, Századvég-Különszám* (Budapest: 1989).

A study of several fifteenth-century maps indicates that the concept of Central Europe did indeed exist at the latest by that time, at least among cartographers. A map of *Europa Centralis* by Florentine illuminator and publisher Francesco Roselli, dated to around 1490, includes the Holy Roman Empire (*Germania* and various principalities), Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, Poland, Hungary (Ungaria) and Transylvania, even Walachia – essentially everything from the North Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Rhine to the Black Sea. Roselli relies largely on the work of Nicolaus Cusanus and Henricus Martellus Germanus, both of whom had drawn up maps of Central Europe along the same lines – Cusanus perhaps as early as 1439, Henricus Martellus in the Codex Magliabecchi between 1480-1492.[50]

This concept of a wider Central Europe still lives on in historical writing. Often the leading role of Germany within this area is emphasized, especially by twentieth-century nationalistic German writers, who saw this entire area as the field of German cultural influence, a German *Kulturgebiet.* Although German influence was far-reaching, as can be seen for example in the Saxon towns of Transylvania, settled by Germans during the thirteenth century, this is a very simplified picture.[51] In artistic terms, the Italian or Bohemian influences were just as far-reaching and long lasting in the region as those coming from Germany, and by the second half of the fourteenth century, Prague, Vienna and Buda became artistic centers in their own right. Thus, when using this concept of a large Central Europe, it is necessary to acknowledge the important roles each of the

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[50] Stegena, Lajos, *Magyarország térképei a mohácsi vész előtt* [Maps of Hungary before the defeat at Mohács (1526)] (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1991.)

[51] Good examples of this kind of art history writings are Roth, Viktor, *Die deutsche Kunst in Siebenbürgen* (Berlin-Hermannstadt-Sibiu, 1934); Wiese, E. – Schürer, O., *Deutsche Kunst in der Zips* (Berlin-Vienna-Leipzig, 1938).

countries and nations played in it. It is in this sense that contemporary art historians, such as Thomas daCosta Kaufmann, use the term 'Central Europe'.[52]

Another term, however, also deserves our attention, and will be used throughout the dissertation – that of East Central Europe.[53] This term generally refers to Poland, Bohemia and Hungary, occasionally also including Austria, but always excluding Germany.[54] Although coined relatively late in the twentieth century, the term acknowledges the parallel and somewhat belated development of these countries. All these states were formed around the year 1000 (Austria was only a duchy then),[55] and by the thirteenth century, they presented somewhat unified artistic trends, which were only strengthened during the following centuries. The states were not tied together only by the interconnected dynasties mentioned above, but also by a shared religion, alphabet, and language (Latin and German served as *lingua franca* of the entire region). This was

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[52] DaCosta Kaufmann, Thomas, *Court, Cloister & City – The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[53] Used for example by the editors of the series *A History of East Central Europe,* although they include the Balkans as well, see especially vol. III.: Sedlar, Jean W., *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000-1500.* See also Wandycz, Piotr, *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (London: Routledge, 1992). In art history, used for example by Karłowska-Kamzowa, Alicja, *Malarstwo gotyckie Europy środkowowschodnie,* (Die Gotische Malerei Mittelosteuropas – Problem der regionalen Besonderheit) (Warszawa-Poznań, 1982); *Prokopp 1983.* See also Marosi, Ernő, "Modelle Mitteleuropas in der Historiographie zur Kunst des Mittelalters," *Westmitteleuropa-Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag.* Hrsg. Von Winfried Eberhard et al. (Munich, 1992), 59-69; Marosi, Ernő, "Van-e értelme és létjogosultsága a középkori művészet történetének Kelet-Közép-Európában?" *Kelet és Nyugat között – Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére,* ed. by Koszta, László (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), 367-379. Bialostocki's important book also adheres to this concept, despite having "Eastern Europe" in the title: Białostocki, Jan, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe,* (Ithaca-Oxford, 1976). See also Bakoš, Ján, "The Idea of East Central Europe as an Artistic Region and 14th-Century Painting and Sculpture in Slovakia," *Berlin 1993,* 51-64.

[54] The region thus includes the following countries today: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia, parts of Romania (Transylvania).

especially pronounced in comparison with what came further east – Orthodox Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet, or the Islamic empire of the Ottoman Turks. Consequently, these states also shared a distinct identity as the easternmost western states, situated on the border of Latin and Orthodox Christianity, but firmly belonging to the former, and serving as defenders of the rest of Europe.[56] Traces of this notion of the 'bastions of Christianity' can already be discovered during the mid-thirteenth century Mongol invasion. By the time of the Turkish wars from the late fourteenth century on, the concept had become increasingly more prevalent. It was first the Turkish invasion that meant the end of independent artistic tradition in the region – Hungary fell in 1526 at Mohács, and Buda was captured by 1541. Soon after that, Bohemia lost the last traces of its independence (1621), and later Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. These and other historical similarities justify the use of the term as a practical tool allowing us to study art in its own context. It is the dual concepts of Central Europe and East-Central Europe that provides the geographical framework and point of reference for this dissertation.

Finally, the notion of Hungarian art also requires clarification. Despite the common artistic characteristics shared by the Central European states, the study of medieval art within the region has more often than not been carried out within the framework of individual states. In fact the framework was generally provided by those modern nation states, which were only created after WWI and the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian

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[55] On their formation, see now *Europas Mitte um 1000. Handbuch zur Ausstellung*, ed. Wieczorek, A. – Hinz, H.-M. (Stuttgart, 2000).

[56] Hopp, Lajos, *Az "antemurale" és "conformitas" humanista eszméje a magyar-lengyel hagyományban (Humanist thoughts on the "antemurale" and "conformitas" in the Hungarian-Polish tradition)* (Budapest: Balassi, 1992).

monarchy.[57] Needless to say, the ethnic and national concepts of the nineteenth and twentieth century are entirely inappropriate for the study of the region's medieval art, and their use results in a distorted picture. What, then, can we say about the art of Hungary in the Middle Ages? Nobody would question the validity of the term "Hungarian art." When it comes to medieval art, however, the definition of this term is far from clear. What is the territory under consideration here, present-day or medieval Hungary? What counts as Hungarian art? Artworks commissioned by Hungarian patrons, or ones made by Hungarian artists, or artworks that contain some sort of special qualities, stylistic or otherwise?

When the art of medieval Hungary was first a subject of scholarly discussion, starting from the middle of the nineteenth century, these questions were not raised at all.[58] The study of medieval Hungarian art meant studying everything that survived within the country, which at that time still had approximately the same territory as during the Middle Ages. Thus questions of historical geography were not addressed, and medieval art was seen as a model for the new national art. The lands of the Hungarian Crown were seen to possess certain cultural unity, and this view also served to defend Hungarian interests from Austrian and German claims, which often viewed Hungary as just an extension of the German lands, and only as a field of influence (cf. the German concept of "Mitteleuropa").

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[57] Thus one often finds such ahistorical terms as 'Slovakian' or 'Romanian Gothic art.' See for example Vaculik, Karol, *Alte Slowakische Kunst* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1978).

[58] Even less in the 17-18th century descriptive and topographical works. Perhaps the first art historical work focusing on medieval monuments in Hungary is Henszlmann, Imre, *Kassa városának ó német stylü templomai* [Old-German style churches of the Town of Kassa] (Kassa, 1846).

The situation drastically changed after World War I. The Treaty of Trianon, in which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory, forced art historians to re-evaluate the question of national art. The most common approach was to preserve the original concept, and interpret art as proof of Hungarian cultural supremacy. At the same time, however, Slovakian, Romanian and Croatian art history also emerged, and claimed a different story, in effect creating new national histories and art-histories.[59]

The work of philosopher and art historian Lajos Fülep after World War II has provided a new conceptual framework. Fülep's inaugural speech at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1951 was a programmatic speech, outlining the tasks of Hungarian art history.[60] He made a clear distinction between *art in Hungary*, meaning everything produced within the Kingdom, including imported works, artworks made by foreign artists in Hungary, and such; and *Hungarian art*, which only developed fully in the nineteenth century. This of course does not mean that there was no medieval Hungarian art – in fact, Fülep's proposal was aimed at finding what could be classified as such. This distinction is still generally used in contemporary art historical writing, and the art of the medieval period is usually labeled as *art in Hungary*. The geographical framework of research for practical purposes, however, has remained the same – the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom.

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[59] For a critical summary of these different concepts, see *Bakoš 1984*, and the book's review by Marosi, Ernő in *AH* 14 (1986), 135-140.

[60] Fülep, Lajos, "A magyar művészettörténelem feladata," *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia II. Társadalmi-Történeti Osztályának Közleményei 3. múzeológiai sorozat II. kötet, 1. sz. Művészettörténet 1951*, 3-24, and later editions, most recently in Marosi Ernő, ed. *A magyar művészettörténet-írás programjai – Válogatás két évszázad írásaiból* [Programs of Hungarian Art History writing – selections from the writings of two centuries] (Budapest: Corvina, 1999), 283-305.

It also has to be stressed in this introduction that when we talk about Hungarian medieval art, we can only rely on a fragmentary and reconstructed picture. The term "reconstruction" applies in every sense of the word, as much of medieval Hungary and its culture were obliterated by the occupation of a large part of Hungary by the Ottoman Turks starting from 1541. Even greater destruction took place at the time of the sieges of re-conquest in the seventeenth century and during the rebuilding and modernization after. As written sources about the monuments are rare, the oft-rebuilt structures themselves provide the keys in interpreting them, with archaeology playing a major role in this task. Neither destruction nor modernization affected each part of Hungary equally. The outer areas (with the exception of the southern border) in particular preserved a large part of their medieval heritage, including churches still in use. Today most of these areas are found in the neighboring Central European states (especially Slovakia and Romania). Their preservation and research is in the common interest of Hungary and her neighbors.[61]

4. The historiography of art in Hungary in the reign of King Sigismund

Within the Kingdom of Hungary, or in the art of Europe in general, the age of Sigismund does not constitute an art historical period strictly speaking – the dates 1387 or 1437 do not represent any breaks in the continuity in artistic practice, they are merely dates borrowed from political history. From an art historical point of view, the period includes the flowering of the International Gothic style, which played an important role in

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[61] These thoughts are discussed in more detail by Marosi, Ernő, "Churches and their adornments – From the art history of Medieval Hungary," *1000 Years*, 207-208.

the court of Sigismund as well. While we now see the artistic importance of this period, Hungarian scholars for a long time neglected Sigismund of Luxemburg and his age.[62] Historians looked upon him as a king of foreign origin, who was more concerned with the affairs of the Empire than with Hungary during the fifty years of his rule (1387-1437).[63] This attitude explains the fact that while extensive source publications have been in existence since the 1870s for other periods, the first comprehensive series with summaries of charters of the age of Sigismund was started only in 1951, and is still incomplete.[64] From an art-historical point of view, the early fifteenth century had been similarly overlooked. The late Gothic style of the period was seen as an aberration of the classical Gothic standards or, at best, as a preparatory phase for the Renaissance. Consequently, the age of Sigismund was often unfavorably compared to the Romanesque of the period of the Árpáds (1000-1301) and the Early Renaissance of the court of King Matthias (1458-1490). Even fourteenth-century art under the Angevin kings received more attention.[65] This perspective changed early in the twentieth century with the recognition of the autonomous

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[62] For a useful overview of the historiographic traditions of Hungary, see Deák, István, "Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe – Hungary," *The American Historical Review* 97 (1992/4), 1041-1063. On the historiography of the rule of Sigismund, see Hoensch, Jörg K. "Bibliographie raisonnée: Schwerpunkt der Sigismund-Forschung nach 1945," in *Hoensch 1996*, 527-547.

[63] Sigismund was often away from Hungary, for example during the Council of Constance (1414-1418), and later during the seemingly endless Hussite wars. His journeys can now be followed practically week-by-week, see *Itinerar König und Kaiser Sigismunds von Luxemburg 1368-1437*, ed. Hoensch, Jörg K.; with Thomas Kees, Ulrich Niess und Petra Roscheck (Warendorf: Fahlbusch, 1995).

[64] *Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár (Zs.O.)*, ed. Mályusz, Elemér – Borsa, Iván (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1951-<2001>). The most recent volume (7) brings the series up to 1420. The entire material is now also available on the *DL-DF CD-ROM*. The original editor of the series is also the author of the only modern monograph on the reign of King Sigismund in Hungary, see *Mályusz 1990* (Hungarian edition: *Mályusz 1984*). Other monographs on Sigismund, focusing on his international activities and policies in the Empire include: *Baum 1993*, *Hoensch 1996*.

development in Northern art and with the emergence of the concept of the *Sondergotik* in German-Austrian scholarship.[66] At the same time, scholars such as Panofsky and Huizinga, placed a new emphasis on the intellectual and social basis of this art.[67] Together with these developments, the role of various late medieval European courts and their connections with each other were recognized, and the idea of an 'International Gothic' emerged. In 1937, following the new focus of these primarily northern (German, Dutch) scholars and applying the approach of the *Geistesgeschichte* school, Henrik Horváth completed the first extensive intellectual and artistic history of the age of Sigismund.[68] A number of detailed art historical studies, focusing primarily on stylistic questions, followed his survey. Edith Hoffmann, one of the most important researchers, followed the methods and approach of Max Dvořak and used objective stylistic criticism to clarify international connections of Hungarian manuscript illumination.[69] Tibor Gerevich, also

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[65] Marosi, Ernő, "A Zsigmond-kor a magyar művészettörténetírásban," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 380-381.

[66] Gerstenberg, Kurt, *Deutsche Sondergotik. Eine Untersuchung über das Wesen der deutschen Baukunst im späten Mittelalter* (Munich, 1913). See also the works of Riegl, Schmarsow, and for the Sondergotik especially those of Wilhelm Pinder (*Die deutsche Plastik des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts,* Munich, 1924).

[67] See Erwin Panofsky's work on the 'Andachtsbild,' especially "'Imago Pietatis' – Ein Beitrag zur Typengeschichte des 'Schmerzensmanns' und der 'Maria Mediatrix'," *Festschrift Max J. Friedländer* (Leipzig, 1927), 261-308 and now in *Deutschsprachige Aufsätze I.* (Berlin, 1998), 186-233. Johan Huzinga's *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (originally 1919) was most recently translated as *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[68] *Horváth 1937.* A similar overview of the time of Louis the Great is *Dercsényi 1941.* On the Hungarian *Geistesgeschichte* school, see Vardy, Steven Bela, *Modern Hungarian Historiography* (Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1976), esp. 62-101.

[69] Studies by Max Dvořak, such as "Die Illuminatoren des Johannes von Neumarkt," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 22 (1901), 35 ff. especially influenced Hoffmann. For a summary of her arguments, see *Régi magyar bibliofilek* [Old Hungarian Book Collectors] (Budapest, 1929, republished with additions by Tünde Wehli in 1992).

among the first scholars to deal with this period, applied the methods of Morelli to reconstruct the oeuvre of otherwise unknown artists, such as Thomas of Kolozsvár.[70]

After World War II, large-scale excavations, especially at Buda and Visegrád, finally brought the centers of Hungarian medieval art into sharper focus. This work recovered the lost royal palaces as well as fragments of their original decoration and seemingly justified earlier claims that the region of Transdanubia (where Siklós is also located) was the most important in medieval Hungary. This term refers to the area south and west of the Danube within the borders of medieval Hungary, and as such, it is a clearly defined geographical region. Already at the beginnings of Hungarian art history, this region was seen as a distinct and highly important region of medieval Hungary. Imre Henszlmann emphasized that Transdanubia is where the Roman province of Pannonia lay, and this heritage "provided not only the impetus to build, but the necessary building material as well."[71] This continuity with Roman tradition was also taken for granted later, but the art of medieval Transdanubia was also recognized in its own right.[72] Péter Gerecze

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[70] Especially: Gerevich, Tibor, "Kolozsvári Tamás, az első magyar táblaképfestő" [Thomas of Kolozsvár, the first Hungarian altar painter], *Országos Magyar Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve* (1920-22), 154-188.

[71] Henszlmann, Imre, *Magyarország ó-keresztyén, román és átmeneti stylü mü-emlékeinek rövid ismertetése* (Budapest, 1876), 6.

[72] Szőke, Béla Miklós, "A korai középkor hagyatéka a Dunántúlon," *AH* 26 (1998), 257-319.

[73] Gerecze, Péter, *Épitőművészeti emlékeink Árpád-házi királyaink idején, chapter VII.*, c. 1908, typescript in the Library of KÖH, call no.: 1330, p. 131. Translation my own.

[74] *Rómer 1874.*

[75] Ernst, Mihály, *A dunántúli falfestés középkori emlékei* [Monuments of medieval wall painting from Transdanubia] (Budapest, 1935), 5. Translation my own.

writes in his unpublished 1908 survey of Árpád-age Hungarian architecture: "The hilly area of Transdanubia had always been the part of the country with the largest population and with the richest concentration of monuments. This is the cradle of Hungarian Christianity and monarchy, and this is where our kings and aristocrats stayed most often. That's why even today our most beautiful monuments of old architecture stand here."[73] In wall painting, the region was also regarded as of primary importance. The works of Johannes Aquila – what Rómer in the first treatise on Hungarian frescoes has called the "Western group"[74] – became the focus of Mihály Ernst's monograph on the wall painting of Transdanubia. Ernst writes: "Our monograph treats the monuments of a geographical region, thus we kept this geographical term in the title. But wall-painting in Transdanubia forms a unit in the sense of its style as well, having specific characteristics which separate it from frescoes in other parts of Hungary."[75]

In later scholarship this view has largely been modified. Recently an entire exhibition was devoted to the medieval art of Transdanubia, and there it became explicit that it is only a geographical region, and cannot be treated as an artistic region.[76] Within it there were several local centers and several smaller regions, each with vigorous contacts not just with each other, but also with other centers outside the geographic region of Transdanubia. The art history of this region is thus impossible to write without taking cross-border connections into account. The large-scale excavations and reconstruction work carried out in medieval towns such as Sopron and Buda demonstrated some of these

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[76] See the study by Engel, Pál, "A középkori Dunántúl mint történeti táj," in *Pannonia Regia*, 13-21, (for a summary, see "Das mittelalterliche Transdanubien als eine geschichtliche Landschaft," in *Pannonia Regia*, 543-546). For reviews of the exhibition and its catalogue, see Marosi, Ernő, in *AHA* 37 (1994-1995), 328-345; Jékely, Zsombor in *AH* 23 (1995), 317-322.

cross-border connections that existed between various Central European centers.[77] Examples of such contacts are the role of members of the Prague Parler workshop on the church of Our Lady and the royal castle at Buda, or the influence of Viennese ateliers in towns in northwestern Hungary like Pozsony (Bratislava) and Sopron. Following the excavations, Buda in particular (either the royal palace or the town next to it) was determined to have had a central role as the place where many artistic innovations first took hold before reaching other parts of the country.[78] The area in central Hungary including the royal towns of Buda, Visegrád, Székesfehérvár, as well as the archbishop's seat at Esztergom – the area once known as "Medium Regni" – is now generally regarded as the most important artistic region of the country, even though it suffered most during the wars against the Ottoman Turks (1541-1686).[79]

It was only in the 1970s-80s that the importance of the Sigismund period at Buda was truly recognized. It has to be emphasized that after the election of Sigismund as King of the Romans in 1410, Buda essentially became the capital of the Holy Roman Empire for decades, even if Sigismund was often away. This is where foreign dignitaries and rulers, including the Byzantine emperor (in 1424) or the king of Denmark came to see the emperor. For a long time this important court had very little tangible remains. The discovery of the Buda statue group in 1974 from the middle period of Sigismund's rule finally shed some light on his direct patronage. It is symptomatic that the statues were first dated to the reign of the Angevin Louis the Great, and their true origin in the court of

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[77] Nagy, Emese, "Zsigmond kora a régészeti kutatásban," [The archaeology of the Sigismund period] *Sigismund 1987*, I. 364-379.

[78] For a summary of these views, see *Gerevich 1971*. Another overview of the city's medieval art is *Budapest 1991*.

Sigismund was only accepted somewhat later.[80] Recently a date after 1419 has generally been accepted for the creation of the statue group, and even newer finds from the priory of St. Sigismund, founded by the king in 1424, seem to reinforce this dating.[81] At the same time, the European stature of Sigismund was demonstrated by historians who dedicated monographs to his role at international events such as the Council of Constance,[82] and by art historians who identified his real and hidden portraits in works by leading European masters from Italy to the Netherlands.[83] The portraits of Sigismund in particular have provided an opportunity to analyze questions of representation, the role of image types,[84] or the more complex problem of the relationship between art and reality in the period. Ernő Marosi's investigations of some of the most important Hungarian works of art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (such as the Illuminated Chronicle, the statue of St.

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[79] For a modern overview of these centers, see *Medium Regni.*

[80] The statues are preserved at the *BTM.* Dated originally to the last decades of the Angevin-era by Zolnay, László, "Der gotische Skulpturenfund von 1974 in der Burg von Buda," *AHA* 20 (1976), 173-331, but a dating to the third decade of the fifteenth century was proposed by *Marosi 1976.* See also Zolnay, László – Marosi, Ernő, *A budavári szoborlelet* (Budapest: Corvina, 1989). Different ideas were suggested by Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert 1-2* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), esp. 444-468, dating the statues to around 1395-1396. His thesis is summarized: Schwarz, Michael Viktor, "König Sigismund als Mäzen und der Weiche Stil in der Skulptur," *Sigismund 1994,* 307-338.

[81] See the studies in "A Szent Zsigmond templom és a Zsigmond kor budai szobrászata – Konferencia a Budapesti Történeti Múzeumban" *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (2000), 7-139, esp. Marosi, Ernő, "A budavári Zsigmond-kori szobrok kérdései huszonkét év (és a Szent Zsigmond templom feltárásai) után," 93-102.

[82] Treatments of Sigismund's international activities since *Mályusz 1990* include: *Baum 1993, Hoensch 1996.*

[83] *Kéry 1972.* For examples in Italian art, especially by Masolino, see Vayer, Lajos, *Masolino és Róma – Mecénás és művész a reneszánsz kezdetén* (Budapest, 1962), esp. 135-158.

[84] Knauer, Elfriede Regina, "Kaiser Sigismund – Eine ikonographische Nachlese," *Festschrift für Otto von Simson zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Grisebach, Lucius – Reuger, Konrad (Frankfurt-Berlin-Vienna, 1977), 173-196; Végh, János, "Die Bildnisse Kaiser Sigismunds von Luxemburg – Typus und Individuum in den Herrscherdarstellungen am ende des Mittelalters," *Berlin 1993,* 2, 127-138.

George in Prague, or the statues found at Buda) are especially important in showing the period's demand for increasingly realistic representations of persons and events.[85]

Regarding Hungary, the new finds, such as the Buda statues or the Siklós frescoes, continually remind us of the richness of the period, and often modify our picture of the era. Because so little remains, any find or fragment can add new information. Thus one of the on-going tasks of art historians in Hungary and in the neighboring countries is to collect reliable databases of the surviving medieval heritage of the area. Further interpretation has to rely on the ever-growing corpus of monuments. In Hungary, the last comprehensive catalogue of medieval frescoes was published in 1954,[86] and dozens of new monuments, such as the frescoes of Siklós, have been discovered since. Catalogues of medieval panel paintings and wooden statues are only slightly more up to date.[87] More recently, a new series that aims to publish all the significant stone carvings of Hungary has been launched; the volume on the palace at Visegrád contains important material from the age of Sigismund.[88] Catalogues of all medieval tombstones as well as medieval manuscripts and manuscript painters are near completion.[89] Exhibitions, especially one dedicated to the age

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[85] *Marosi 1995,* with ample bibliography about the pieces mentioned. The book is in Hungarian, with a long English summary. However, most parts of it also appeared separately in either English or German, and I will always refer to these publications in addition to the book.

[86] *Radocsay 1954.*

[87] Radocsay, Dénes, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* [Panel Paintings of Medieval Hungary] (Budapest, 1955); ibid, *A középkori Magyarország faszobrai* [Wooden Statues of Medieval Hungary] (Budapest, 1967).

[88] *Lapidarium Hungaricum: Magyarország építészeti töredékeinek gyűjteménye,* ed. Horler, Miklós (Budapest, 1988-) *(LAHU)*. Volume 2 deals with the royal palace of Visegrád, partially built under King Sigismund: Buzás, Gergely, ed., *Pest megye I. Visegrád, királyi palota 1. A kápolna és az északkeleti palota* (Budapest, 1990).

[89] See the following reports: Wehli, Tünde, "Középkori miniátorok, [Medieval illuminators]" and Lövei, Pál, "A középkori Magyarország síremlékei – kutatási helyzetkép, [Medieval tombs in Hungary]" *AH* 23 (1995), 215-219, 243-252.

of Sigismund in 1987, and the "Pannonia Regia" exhibition about medieval art in Transdanubia in 1994, have not only provided a major forum for summarizing our knowledge about the period, but have also included information about new discoveries in their catalogues.[90] Furthermore, the period of Sigismund is one of the few eras that received detailed treatment in the large two-volume handbook (part of a series planned on the history of Hungarian art) that also appeared in 1987.[91] The handbook and the 1987 exhibition catalogue together still provide the best overview of the artistic accomplishments of the Sigismund-period in Hungary. Apart from the commissions of Sigismund, these books survey the entire artistic output in the Kingdom of Hungary, including aristocratic commissions and works for towns as well. Because of new finds, however, these surveys are already in need of revision, so far only attempted in an article by Ernő Marosi, who worked as an editor in both projects.[92]

With respect to the narrower focus of the present study, wall painting also flourished in the period. As wall painting provides perhaps the fullest view of the development of the visual arts in Hungary, the subject has been the focus of art historical research starting from the 1860s, when the first cycles were found hidden under later layers of plaster in various churches. The first overview of the material was provided by one of the "founding fathers" of Hungarian art history, Flóris Rómer.[93] His monumental work from 1874, entitled *Old Wall-paintings in Hungary,* describes all the wall-paintings

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[90] *Sigismund 1987; Pannonia regia.*

[91] *MoMT 2.*

[92] *Marosi 1998.*

[93] On the beginnings of Hungarian art history, see *Die Ungarische Kunstgeschichte und die Wiener Schule, 1846-1930*, ed. Marosi, Ernő (Budapest: Statisztikai, 1983).

known at that time, with accompanying illustrations.[94] It took eighty years for the next survey to appear, but the catalogue of medieval wall paintings published by Dénes Radocsay in 1954 remains the starting point for all fresco research in Hungary.[95] In addition to murals visible at the time, the book lists every destroyed or hidden painting as well. Radocsay's work also summarized the entire earlier research, and treated the most significant monuments in a chronological survey as well, emphasizing the Central European factors in their style and iconography. Discussing the period around 1400, he presented the emerging middle class in the towns of Upper Hungary (Lőcse, Kassa) as important commissioners of mural cycles, and stressed the central role of Buda in the late medieval art of the country.

However, the majority of the most important monuments from around 1400 were not known at that time, many of them discovered only in the last few decades (in addition to Siklós, Keszthely and Pónik are the most significant finds). Now that we know a number of monuments from major towns (Pest, Kassa, Lőcse), and a number of aristocratic commissions, such as the Siklós church, scholars have come to recognize the higher quality of wall painting from the years around 1400 compared to that of the previous decades. Unfortunately, the painting of the royal centers such as Buda and Székesfehérvár is almost completely lost. On the other hand, thanks to numerous discoveries and regional studies, we now have a clearer picture of several artistic regions, with works mainly in small village churches. Recent research focused on three such regions, each with an abundance of closely related monuments dating from between

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[94] *Rómer 1874.*

[95] *Radocsay 1954*, see also *Radocsay 1977.*

roughly 1360 and 1420: the counties of Gömör and Szepes in Northern Hungary (modern Slovakia) and the region of the Szekler lands in eastern Transylvania (today in Romania). The analysis of Mária Prokopp and Milan Togner have demonstrated the workshop connections among village churches in Gömör County, although they differ regarding the dating of some of these groups.[96] The frescoes of Szepes County (Spiš) – two ensembles in particular – are in the focus of Dušan Buran's new book.[97] In the Szekler lands, the frescoes of Székelyderzs, dated by an inscription to 1419, are the centerpiece of a group of frescoes, but the area also provides the largest group of St. Ladislas cycles. The frescoes of the area have been catalogued a few times, the most significant of these currently being completed by Mihály Jánó.[98] Finally, a particular group of frescoes has to be mentioned. Located in the border region of Hungary and Austria, these frescoes were executed by the workshop of Johannes Aquila of Radkersburg, and they range in date from 1373 to about 1400. Johannes Aquila, who signed his works and twice painted his self-portrait, naturally aroused the interest of Rómer as well – the painter was after all one of the first artistic personalities identified from medieval Hungary.[99] More recently the personality of Aquila

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[96] *Prokopp 1969; Togner 1989; Prokopp 2002.* The well illustrated overview of the frescoes of Gömör by Prokopp (2002) is scheduled to appear in an English language edition by late 2003. As this was not yet available at the time of finishing the manuscript, I referred to the Hungarian edition throughout.

[97] *Buran 2002.*

[98] For the Szekler county of Udvarhelyszék, see *Dávid 1981.* For samples of Jánó's work, see Jánó, Mihály, "A Székelyföld középkori (13-15. század) falképeinek kutatástörténete (vázlat)," *ACTA* II. (Sepsiszentgyörgy, 1996), 49-58; Jánó, Mihály, "Háromszék középkori falképei," *Tusnad 1997 – Nemzetközi tudományos ülésszak – A műemlékvédelem elméleti és gyakorlati kérdései* (Sepsiszentgyörgy, 1998) 191-197.

[99] *Rómer 1874,* 13 ff.

has been the subject of a conference and a monograph, and his work is treated by Hungarian, Austrian and Slovenian researchers alike.[100]

The large number of village monuments from this period results in the fact that often there are severe deficiencies even on a descriptive level. It is thus not surprising that interpretive research attempting to build upon this base straggles far behind. With regard to iconographic problems, researchers have paid special attention to Hungarian themes, particularly to various depictions of St. Ladislas and other Hungarian saints. The Ladislas cult, centered at the cathedral of Várad, reached its peak at the time of Sigismund, and some of the most spectacular cycles of his *historia* were painted at that time. This cycle, depicting the sainted king of Hungary (1077-1095) in battle against the Cumans is found in a number of churches throughout the country, with a great many examples dating from the Sigismund period. Various theories have been put forward regarding the origins and significance of this cycle, but the problem remains among those still debated.[101] The meanings of some other exceptional artworks were successfully deciphered with the help

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[100] *Aquila 1989; Höfler – Balažic 1992.* See also Végh, János, "Johannes Aquila, die Wurzeln seines Stils," *Graz 1990*, 114-126. The frescoed churches include Velemér, Mártonhely, Bántornya, and Fürstenfeld, and his frescoes were also discovered in the Pistorhaus in Radkersburg. A closely related monument is the rotunda of Nagytótlak.

[101] Marosi, Ernő "Der Heilige Ladislaus als ungarischer Nationalheiliger, Bemerkungen zu seiner Ikonographie im 14-15. Jh," *AHA* 23 (1987-88), 211-256. The full bibliography of the topic is available in László, Gyula, *A Szent László legenda középkori falképei* [The Legend of St. Ladislas in Medieval Murals] (Budapest: Tájak-Korok-Múzeumok, 1993). On the topic, see more recently Gerát, Ivan, "Willehalm und Ladislas – Liebe und Kampf in Text und Bild," *Ars* 1998, 49-94; Kerny, Terézia, "Historia Sancti Ladislai – A kerlési ütközet ábrázolásairól," *Történelem-Kép*, 188-196.

of various written sources and analyses of the patrons.[102] The complex analysis of the decoration of complete church interiors was rarely attempted, although there are a few notable exceptions. The most recent ones include a study focusing on the decorative system of the churches of Gömör,[103] and the chapter on the frescoes of Pónik in Dušan Buran's work.[104]

In addition to thematic issues, perhaps the central concern of recent research has been the question of Italian stylistic influence. Art historians have long recognized the importance of Italian art in fourteenth and fifteenth century Hungary, and this recognition gave rise to the concept of a Hungarian 'proto-Renaissance.' This theory supposed a continuous knowledge of Italian art from the days of the Angevin kings (or even earlier), culminating in the Renaissance under King Matthias.[105] Hungary was thus viewed as a 'Mediterranean' country, closer to Italy than to northern Europe, but following its own path. Wall painting, perhaps the most closely related to Italian models, plays a central role in the analysis of Italian influence. This theme remained pivotal for later scholarship as well, and most recently in the works of Mária Prokopp, who suggests that Hungary played

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[102] Good examples are: Végh, János, "Becsei Vesszős György különítélete [The particular judgment of György Becsei Vesszős]," *Eszmetörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról*, ed. György Székely (Budapest, 1984), 373 ff. For a similar approach regarding the historia of St. Ladislas, see Thomas von Bogyay, "Der gesellschaftliche Hintergrund der Ladislauslegende von Turnišče (Toronyhely – Bántornya)," in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland*, ed. Vardy, Stephen B. – Grosschid, Géza – Domokos, Leslie S. (New York, 1986), 237-263.

[103] Gerát Iván, "Naratívny cyklus zo života sv. Ladislava v ikonografickom programe gemersých kostolova (poznámky ku vzt'ahu obrazov k textom), *Ars* 1996, 11-56.

[104] *Buran 2002*, esp. 113-174.

[105] *Dercsényi 1941;* Balogh, Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance vol. 1. (1460-1541)* [Renaissance in Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), actually starting with Romanesque art.

a special role in spreading Italian idioms to the countries of Central Europe.[106] On the other hand, a knowledge of Bohemian and Austrian works has been demonstrated in wall painting, especially by Czech and Romanian scholars, such as Vlasta Dvořaková and Vasile Draguț, and more recently by the detailed study on the frescoes of Lőcse and Pónik by Dušan Buran.[107] While Hungarian scholars tend to point out similarities between works far-away, suggesting the mediating role of lost centers in the heart of Hungary, these scholars emphasize regional contacts, and point out the influence of smaller centers, often outside the borders of Hungary.

In the above overview I have focused on art in Hungary, as a similar overview of the literature on art in the entire Holy Roman Empire during Sigismund's rule would stretch the limits of this introduction, and because no general survey of the art of that period yet exists. Closest to such an overview is the multi-volume survey of European art under the Luxemburg dynasty, accompanying the 1978 Parler exhibition in Cologne.[108] The stated time frame of discussion there was 1350-1400, thus a good portion of Sigismund's rule was not covered. It is of course true that the rule of Sigismund was only nominal in most areas of the Empire, yet it was during his reign that European art underwent wide-ranging transformations. The first decades of the fifteenth century were characterized by accelerating change and great innovations, during which the unified and

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[106] *Prokopp 1983.*

[107] *Dvořáková – Krása – Stejskal 1978*; Draguț, Vasile, *Arta gotica în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Meridiane 1979); *Buran 2002.*

[108] *Parler 1978.*

largely homogenous art of the International Gothic[109] developed into markedly different ways of expression North and South of the Alps. Emperor Sigismund saw the emergence of the Humanist-inspired early Renaissance of Florence as well as the activity of those Northern masters, who laid the foundations of Late Gothic.[110] While these developments have little relevance for Siklós proper, they do provide the wide backdrop of European art of the time.

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[109] Significant exhibition catalogues focusing on the International Gothic include *Vienna 1962* and *Parler 1978*. See also *Gotik – Prag um 1400, der Schöne Stil, Böhmische Malerei und Plastik in der Gotik* (Vienna, 1990). For overviews of the problem of the International Gothic, see Pächt, Otto, "Die Gotik der Zeit um 1400 als gesamteuropäische Kunstsprache," *Vienna 1962*, 52-65; Castelfranchi Vegas, Liana, "Fortuna storica del 'Gotico internazionale' (a proposito della Mostra di Vienna)," *Paragone* (1962), 60-74; Schmidt, Gerhard, "Kunst um 1400. Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven," *Graz 1990*, 34-49. For a more broader overview of the historiography of the period, see Białostocki, Jan, "Late Gothic: Disagreements about the Concept," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 29 (1966), 76-105.

[110] General overviews of this period of accelerated change include: Białostocki, Jan, *Spätmittelalter und beginnende Neuzeit* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte vol. 7) (Berlin: Propyläen, 1972); Heydenreich, Ludwig H., *Éclosion de la Renaissance, Italie 1400-1460* (L'Univers des formes) (Paris: Gallimard, 1972); Recht, Roland – Châtelet, Albert, *Le monde gothique – Automne et renouveau* (L'Univers des formes) (Paris: Gallimard, 1989); each with ample bibliography.

PART I. – HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

1. Siklós in the Middle Ages

A. Siklós under the Kán clan

Siklós is a small town in southern Hungary, about five miles north of the river Drava and twenty-five miles west of the Danube. In the Middle Ages, as today, the region was part of Baranya County, which then also extended south of the Drava.[111] The area is generally hilly and fertile, and the hill at Siklós is the southernmost rock formation suitable for a settlement in the low-lying marshy region close to the Drava. This gave a strategic importance to the place, and the earliest medieval settlement of Siklós developed on top of this hill. This settlement was called Soklós in the Middle Ages, though the name was written with various spellings: *Suklos, Soklous, Suclos.*[112] The meaning and origin of this name are uncertain.[113] Siklós is in the district of the Baranya archdeaconry, within the diocese of Pécs. This town, about eighteen miles north of Siklós, was the ecclesiastical and intellectual center of the whole region. Not only were the cathedral and several monasteries and convents

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[111] Today the river Drava forms the border between Hungary and Croatia. For the history of Baranya County, see *Györffy* I. 247-268 for the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and *Csánki* II. 450-566 for later medieval history. See also Várady, Ferenc, ed., *Baranya múltja és jelene*, I-II. [The Past and Present of Baranya] (Pécs, 1896-1897).

[112] *Györffy* I. 378; Kovács, András, *A siklósi vár története* [History of the castle of Siklós], (Pécs, 1963).

[113] Some suggestions regarding the name's origin include the Latin *Sixtus*, and the Hungarian word *sikló* (snake), see *Font 2000*, 55.

located there, but also Hungary's first university was founded there by Louis the Great in 1367.[114]

The first known mention of the town, as *Villa Suclos,* is in a document dated 1191, which settles the division of property belonging to the Siklós estate between Buckh and Jula (Gyula), sons of Symon of Suklos (see **table 1.**).[115] The document is clearly a forgery, and it has long been demonstrated that the true date of its creation is 1251, based on the list of Pécs cathedral canons, who issued it.[116] From this document, we learn that members of the Siklósi family from the Kán clan owned the town at the time. The family most likely acquired the estate under the founder of the dynasty, Gyula called *Magnus*. He filled a high position in the royal court, serving as palatine from 1222 to 1227, and probably received Siklós as a royal donation some time after that.[117] In 1235, following the death of King Andrew II, however, he lost the new king's support and was imprisoned while his estates were

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[114] *Koller;* Koszta, László, "Püspöki székhely és városfejlődés – Pécs központi funkciói és vonzáskörzete a 14. század közepéig, [Pécs as a regional center up to the middle of the 14th century]" *Kelet és Nyugat között – Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére,* ed. by Koszta, László (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1995), 233-271. Szíjártó, Kálmán – Sándor, Mária, *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs (Archäologie und Bauforschung)* (Munich-Budapest: ICOMOS, 1999). It is uncertain how long the University functioned. On the important regional role of the Pécs cathedral chapter as a place of authentication, see: Koszta, László, *A pécsi székeskáptalan hiteleshelyi tevékenysége (1241-1353),* [The activities of Pécs chapter as a place of authentication] Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből 4. (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 1998).

[115] The charter is falsely dated March 1191, and was issued by the Chapter of Pécs. In it, the Siklósi brothers, "comitis Buchk et Jule, filiorum Symonis de Suklos de genere Kan," divide Siklós property ("Villa Suklos") in a way that "...medietas ville Suklos a parte septemtrionali cessisset in ius et proprietatem cum suis vtilitatibus et pertinencijs vniuersis Comiti Buchk, maiori filio Symonis supradicto, a parte vero meridionali remansisset Jule fratri suo antedicto." OL Dl. 26, published in *HO* VI. 4-5., no. 4; *CDH* VII. 5. 133; *ÁÚO* XI. 51-52., no. 33. See also *Györffy* I. 378-379.

[116] Karácsonyi, János, *A hamis, hibáskeltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig,* [List of fake, falsely dated and undated charters up to 1400] (Budapest, 1902, additions 1908, new edition: Szeged: Aetas Könyvek, 1988), ed. Koszta, László, 58-59, no. 19.

[117] Fügedi suggests that Gyula received the castle between 1229-1235, see *Fügedi 1977,* 187. See also *Karácsonyi 1900 (1995),* 737-738; *Font 2000,* 55-56.

confiscated. He later died in 1237.[118] The 1251 document mentions Buckh and Gyula (Jula), sons of Simon of the Kán clan. It is not certain what the exact relationship of Simon was to Gyula *Magnus*. However after the division of property in 1251, the descendants of the younger Gyula became the Siklósi family, while the descendants of Buckh formed a separate family, the Beremendi branch.[119]

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[118] *ÁÚO* VII, 100; *Karácsonyi 1900 (1995)*, 737; *Font 2000*, 57.

[119] This account is based on the primary sources and on the family tree provided by *Engel CD-ROM (Genealógia)*. It differs from the account given by *Font 2000*, where the family relations are given as outlined on the family tree by *Karácsonyi 1900 (1995)*. The two accounts differ mainly in the position of Gyula, the founder of the Siklósi branch. Karácsonyi and Font regard him as the son of Gyula *Magnus*, and believe that the Beremendi branch contained another Gyula, the brother of Buchk, both sons of Simon. Engel on the other hand takes Buckh, son of Simon to be the ancestor of the Beremendi branch, while Gyula, the ancestor of the Siklósi branch is identified with the brother of Buckh mentioned in the 1251 document. Thus the exact relationship of the Siklósi family with Gyula *Magnus* of the Kán clan is uncertain.

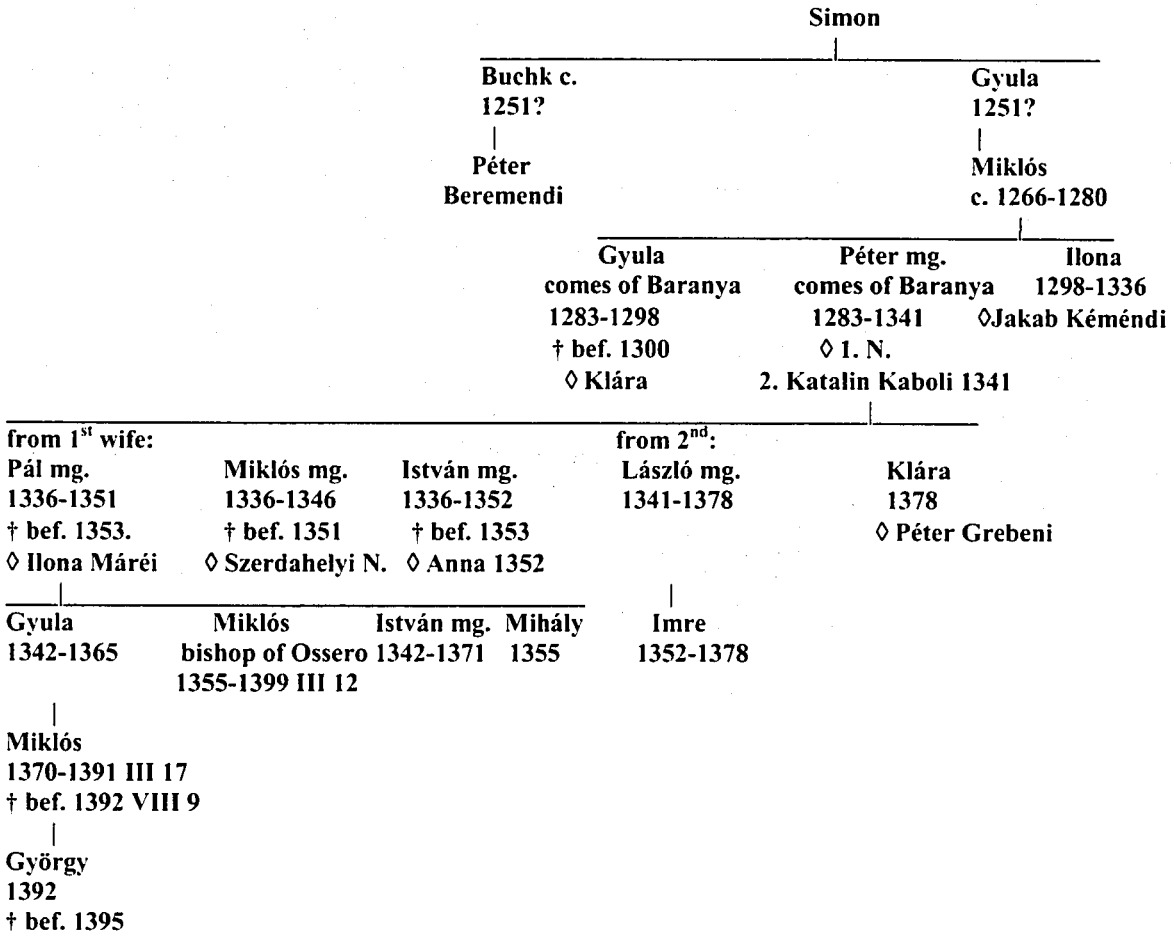

Table 1. -The Siklósi family of the Kán clan (without details of the Beremendi branch); Based on *Engel CD-ROM (Genealógia)*

The 1251 document only lists villages that belonged to these two families, including a list of villages belonging to their Siklós estate.[120] Siklós itself was divided, but we know from later documents that most of it was held by the Siklósi, and not the Beremendi branch. It took some time for the Siklósi family to regain royal favor after the imprisonment of Gyula *Magnus*. The son of the younger Gyula, Miklós received land near Szenttrinitás abbey (Holy Trinity, located near Siklós) from Prince Béla, confirmed by Queen Mary in 1269.[121] The sons of Miklós, another Gyula and Péter, were the most prominent members of the Siklósi family. Both of them became counts (*comes*) of Baranya County, and it was during their time that the castle of Siklós was built, located at the strategic hilltop overlooking the great roads connecting Pécs to the area south of the Drava, and close to an east-west main road.[122] The castle was built some time before 1294 when the documents of a trial were issued by the Pécs chapter mentioning a *castrum,* built by the Siklósi family (Gyula and

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[120] *Karácsonyi 1900 (1995),* 738. The villages are: Szomorfalva, Oszró, Lak, Adorjás, Kiskémes, Nagykémes, and Szaporca, all in Baranya. See *Györffy* I., 393, 334, 269, 324, 380 on these villages, as well as *Font 2000,* 57-58.

[121] "Maria, regina Hungaria" confirms prince Béla's (her son) donation to "Nicolaus comes, filius Iule de Suclos" of "terra Bezen in Comitatu Borona, in commetaneitate monasterii Sancte Trinitatis." OL Dl. 686, published in *CDH* IV/3, 399-400; *HO* VI. 162.

[122] The main route was coming from the ferry on the Danube at Kőszeg, and this crossed the main north-south route coming from Pécs just outside Siklós. Another important route went straight south towards the Drava from Siklós. *Györffy* I. 261-262; Glaser, Lajos, "Dunántúl középkori úthálózata," [The network of medieval roads in Transdanubia] *Sz* 63-64 (1929-1930), 138-167, 257-285. Routes passing through Siklós include route no. 130 connecting Pécs with Eszék, with direct connections to the main trade route running from Esztergom and Buda along the Danube down south to the Drava region, p. 271.

Péter, sons of Miklós are named).[123] The most likely date for the start of the construction is around 1270, when royal power began to weaken after the death of King Béla IV[124] and at the same time the power of the family increased with the rise of Gyula to the position of count.

The town around the castle developed rapidly, and by the late Middle Ages it had spread to the area below the castle hill. Due to its location, Siklós became an important regional center, its weekly market drawing people from within a ten-mile radius, and its proximity to major trade routes joining it to the roadwork of Hungary. We hear of Siklós and its castle most often in documents detailing various trials involving property disputes among members of the Siklósi family. The Siklósi family supported the Angevin kings from the very beginning, and their new castle was besieged by the troops of János Kőszegi in 1315. Kőszegi, as one of the greatest landowners in the region – and one of the opponents of the first king of the Angevin dynasty, Charles Robert (1308-1342) – attempted to spread his influence over the castles of Baranya County as well.[125] He managed to occupy many castles, including neighboring Harsány and Kéménd, but Siklós resisted successfully, under

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[123] In 1294, the castellan of Siklós was first mentioned. In two charters issued by the Pécs chapter, we hear of a property case involving "Magistri Jula et fratris sui Petri, filiorum Comitis Nycolai" and "Magister Kemyn," with a witness "pro parte Magistri Jula ... Comes Omoin castellanus castri eiusdem..." Dl 1387, published in *ÁÚO* XII. 553-555, no. 450; OL Dl. 1395, in *ÁÚO* X. 162-165, no. 107. A 1297 document is even more explicit, naming "Comitis Omoneus filij Michaelis de Topord Castellani de Suklous." See *ÁÚO* XII. 613-614, no. 490 (from the Révay family archives, Kisselmec).

[124] On the establishment of the castle, as well as other castles in the region (Harsan or Szársomlyó, and Kéménd), see *Fügedi 1977,* 187, 150; *Font 2000,* 58-59. On the period and the construction of castles, see also Szűcs, Jenő, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last Arpadian rulers] (Budapest, 1993, 2002[2]), 44-50.

the leadership of Péter Siklósi's castellan, István Beremendi.[126] Eleven years after this incident, a case was brought to court: it involved Péter Siklósi and István Beremendi, who debated some treasures that had disappeared during the siege (the power of Kőszegi was by then broken by the king).[127] The debate was settled by a duel.

From the testament of Péter Siklósi (1341), and other documents, we learn a great deal about the family and their dealings with the Siklós estate.[128] In the early fourteenth century, Péter was clearly the most important member of the family. In 1313 (and perhaps a few years before and after) he filled the important office of *comes* of Baranya,[129] a position he later lost. His second wife was Katalin Kaboli, whose brother, László Kaboli, became bishop of Zagreb in 1326, a position he held until 1343 when, at the end of his life, he became for a brief period the archbishop of Kalocsa. After the death of Péter Siklósi, the family slowly but surely descended into insignificance. None of his descendants would fill comparably high offices again, in fact the decline had already started in his lifetime. Many documents describe how the Siklósi property was fragmented among members of the family,

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[125] The Kőszegi were the most important aristocrats aiming for regional control in Southern Transdanubia in the early years of the rule of Charles I, see *Engel 2001*, 128-134; *Font 2000*, 59. For more details, Engel, Pál, "Die Güssinger im Kampf gegen die ungarische Krone," *Die Güssinger. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herren von Güns/Güssing und ihrer Zeit (13.-14. Jahrhundert)* (Eisenstadt, 1989), 85-113.

[126] *Font 2000*, 59.

[127] A document, dated 1326, is our main source about the 1315 siege. It documents the trial of "Petrus de Suclos contra Stephanum filium Nikolai de Beremen." *AO* II. 262, no. 241.

[128] Details of these are discussed in *Font 2000*, 60-61.

[129] *Engel 1996*, I. 102.

and how parts of it were loaned and sold to others, while other parts were lost in various trials in which Péter was involved due to his frequent acts of violence.[130]

More important for our purposes is what we learn of the numerous ecclesiastical institutions under Siklósi patronage, and the Augustinian priory at Siklós in particular. With the exception of the Siklós priory, the medieval buildings of the other churches did not survive; in fact, the institutions themselves all disappeared during the Turkish occupation of the area. It is still necessary to briefly discuss all of them, especially because a lot of confusion still surrounds Siklós (as mentioned above, a long-lasting tradition erroneously identified the Siklós church with the Benedictine abbey of the Holy Trinity). The monastic foundations in and around Siklós include the Benedictine abbey of Holy Trinity, two Augustinian priories, and a house of the Pauline order at Bajcs (fig. 2). The abbey of the Holy Trinity (Szenttrinitás) was the oldest of the four religious foundations. It was mentioned in an 1183 document when its patron was Péter, bishop of Spalato (Split), probably of the Kán clan.[131] From the early date of foundation and from the mention of Péter, we can infer that Szenttrinitás was the private foundation of the entire Kán clan and that it was probably used jointly with other families in the clan. The abbey remained an important place and became the favored abbey of the Siklósi family, who used it as a family

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[130] The testament of Péter Siklósi dates from 1341, see *AO* IV. 87-88, no. 66. Other documents regarding property matters include OL Dl. 73267 (from 1319), published in *CDCr* VIII. 536, *AOkl* V. No. 536; also *AO* III. 168-169, no. 118 (1335); *AO* III. 274, no. 187 (1336); *AO* III. 455, no 301 (1338); *AO* IV. 481, no. 289 (1350); *Zichy* II. 491, no. 365 (1352).

[131] 1183, Charter issued by King Béla III, confirming a property of Szenttrinitás and Okrimindszent abbeys, for "Petrus Spalatiensis Archiepiscopi, patronus videlicet monasterij Sancte Trinitatis, quod prope Quinqueecclesias situm est." See *ÁÚO* VI. 148, no. 96; *HO* I. 1-2. The authenticity of this document is debated.

burial church.[132] In 1303 Péter Siklósi tried to reform the monastery by transferring it from the Benedictines to the Cistercians of Heiligenkreuz, but the attempt must have failed, as the abbey remained in Benedictine hands.[133] In the 1332 tax-list assembled by papal tax collectors, the abbey paid the considerable sum of a full mark as tithe.[134] The abbey continued to exist probably up to the Turkish occupation. The foundation walls of the abbey were identified south of the village Vokány, near the area known as Trinitás-puszta (Trinity meadow), under agricultural buildings, but the site has not been excavated yet.[135]

The next monastery founded by the Siklósi family – and by them alone – was a priory of the Augustinian canons at Keresztúr. This was located in the hills north of Siklós, near the area known today as *Keresztúri szőlők* (Keresztúr vineyards). The foundation date of the priory is unknown, although its prior was first mentioned in 1280, when a church of the Pauline hermits was established nearby.[136] The Pauline church, at Bajcs, was also founded

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[132] In 1392, in a document issued by the Pécs chapter, "Martinus abbas" cancels the fine issued by the "Judex Curiae" against the Siklósi (deceased Miklós, son of Gyula) and Bajcs abbey. In return, Miklós, son of Pál makes a donation of a fishpond for his soul and for that of his parents, resting in the monastery of Holy Trinity (monasterii Sancte Trinitatis); OL Dl. 7802, summarized in *Zs.O.* I. 2591.

[133] 1303, "Magister Petrus de Siklós" as 'Fundator' turns "monasterium S. Trinitatis de Schuchlos ab ordine Benedictinorum iure patronatus alienatum, conuenti S. Crucis in Austria affiliat." Archives of the Cistercian Abbey of Heiligenkreuz in Austria, Rubr. 48., fasc. XI. n. 15., published in *CDH* VIII/7. 33, *DHA* I. 269, no. 531. See also Hervay, Ferenc L., *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungariae (Bibliotheca Cisterciensis 2.)* (Roma, 1984), 42.

[134] *MonVat* I/1. 239. Some documents about the abbey's history in the later Middle Ages are mentioned by *Sörös 1912,* 355-; *Hervay 1991,* 43; *Font 2000*, 61; Hervay, L., "Szenttrinitás," *Paradisum plantavit,* 516.

[135] *Györffy* I. 391-392; *Hervay 1991*, 43.

[136] The foundation is known from a 1289 transcription of the founding charter by the convent of Pécsvárad. Miklós comes, son of Gyula establishes the Pauline hermitage at Bajcs, and makes a donation for it, by turning over property formerly belonging to Szenttrinitás. "cum Diuino auxilio adiuuante Ecclesiam in Boych in honore Omnium Sanctorum edificassemus, et. Episcopum Quinqueecclesiensis nomine Job causa consecracionis adduxissemus, eodem die Abbas de Sancta Trinitate nomine Fabyanus cum suis fratribus astando patronum se eiusdem Ecclesie de Boysch asserebat." *ÁUO* XII. 352, no. 293.

by the Siklósi family, and received land formerly belonging to the abbey of Szenttrinitás. In both cases we know the founder: it was Miklós, son of Gyula, whose donations were upheld after his death, in 1283, by his sons, Gyula and Péter.[137] Keresztúr and Bajcs were both situated north of Siklós, in close proximity to each other. This fact necessitated that the properties of each of the three monasteries be sorted out, as both the abbot of Szenttrinitás and the prior of Keresztúr complained about the new foundation. In any case, both foundations of Miklós Siklósi proved to be successful, as we continue to hear about them throughout the Middle Ages.[138]

Perhaps as the castle of Siklós was being built, the Siklósi family decided to create a new canonial foundation right next to it, and settled Augustinian canons into Siklós proper as well. Although the foundation charter has not survived, we can tie the priory's beginnings to the Siklósi family, as the Augustinian church was located in the immediate vicinity of the castle; thus it must have been developed in close connection with the castle from the very beginning. The priory is first mentioned in the 1332-1335 papal tithe lists and it appears to have been a medium-size institution then.[139] These lists were made because the pope had ordered that a tenth of the income of every prelate, canon, abbot, and parish priest be collected over a six-year period. Between 1332-1337 the bishops did in fact pay one tenth of

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[137] 1283, confirmation of donation to Bajcs, by "Magister Jula et Petrus filij Nicolai Comitis (bone memorie)" *CDH* VII/3, 91. The donation was confirmed in 1369 by King Louis, and 1410 by János Garai. See *ÁUO* XII. 410, no. 339.

[138] On Bajcs, see *Györffy I.*,276; *Hervay 1991*, 47; *DAP* I., 2-5, *DAP* II. 23. See also: Knapp, Éva, "Pálos gazdálkodás a középkori Baranya megyében, [Pauline agriculture in medieval Baranya County]" *Varia Paulina I. – Pálos rendtörténeti tanulmányok.* Ed. Sarbak, Gábor (Csorna, 1994), 62-103, mentioning documents from 1410 and 1514, 1525, 1532, 1542. Keresztúr: *MonVat* I/1. 238 (1332); *Györffy* I. 325-326; *Hervay 1991*, 45. See also *Font 2000,* 62.

[139] *MonVat* I/1. 266, 276, 310. 1332 – 'prior de Sykleus solvit LXX banales' (266); 1333 'Item prior de ordine superpeliciatorum de Soglos solvit XX. banales,' (276); 1335 – 'Item prior de Suclos solvit L. banales' (310).

their recorded income in taxes. The parish priests, however, considered their recorded income to be only the tithe, and therefore they paid the pope only a tenth of the tithe, as this important historical source reveals.[140] Thus the figures in the tithe lists are sometimes hard to interpret, but they seem to indicate that the revenues of Szenttrinitás abbey were more than three times as much as those of the Siklós Augustinians. Even the parish church of Siklós reported a higher income than the priory (See *Table 2.*).

Locality	**Tithe paid in banal penny**						
	1332	**1333 I.**	**1333 II.**	**1334 I.**	**1334 II.**	**1335**	**Average per year**
Bajcs	.	.	.	.	.	.	no data
Keresztúr	50	.	.	.	- (listed only)	.	50
Siklós-town	240	130	50	104	50	60	159
Siklós–Augustinians	.	70	20	.	.	50	70
Szenttrinitás	240	.	.	120	- (listed only)	.	240

Table 2. – Tithe payment by religious houses in the Siklós area, 1332-1335

The buildings of the priory had probably already been completed by the time the tithe lists were compiled. A legal document from 1343 mentions the church of the Augustinians as a place marker – a sure sign of existing buildings. This document is also the

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[140] The lists are published in *MonVat* I/1., for their interpretation, see Fejérpataky, László, "Pápai adószedők Magyarországon a XIII. és XIV. században [Papal tithe collectors in Hungary in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries]," *Sz* (1887) 495–517, 589–609; Kropf, Lajos, "A magyarországi pápai tizedszedők számadásai a 13. és 14. században [Accounts of the Hungarian papal tithe collectors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries]," *Magyar gazdaságtörténelmi Szemle* (1901) 196–211, 233–266. See also Ortvay, T., *Magyarország egyházi földleirása a XIV. század elején a pápai tizedjegyzék alapján feltüntetve, I-II.* (Budapest, 1891-92).

first one to tell us that the church was dedicated to St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin.[141] We can be reasonably certain that the foundation was the work of Péter Siklósi. During the first decade of the fourteenth century, he was the head of the family (his brother, Gyula II had died before 1300) and his interest in matters of the churches under the family's patronage is shown by his attempt to reform the abbey of Szenttrinitás in 1303. We have seen that he became *comes* of Baranya, and through his second wife he was related to the bishop of Zagreb, László Kaboli. Thus given his status, it was fitting that he should establish a new monastery, an act which he might have felt compelled to do given the problems he apparently had with Szenttrinitás abbey. From later documents we know that the family's burial place continued to remain the Benedictine abbey, but the new monastery was closer to the family's castle, and was probably used by the patrons on a regular basis.

The relationship between the Augustinian canons and the Siklósi family must have been very good, as the family established two priories for the order within fifty years, the only family in Hungary to do so. In Siklós part of the reason to bring in the Augustinians might have been practical: as far as we know the castle had no chapel at that time, and the Augustinian canons, as consecrated priests, could take over parochial functions for the lords and commoners of the castle. The association between the order and the family became even closer when some time in the second half of the fourteenth century, Miklós Siklósi joined the Augustinians. By 1393 he was already the prior at Siklós; later he became the head of

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[141] The document, dated 1343 Nov. 11 was issued by the Chapter of Pécs in relation of a donation of property by the Siklósi to "Pukry-i Twz dictus Paul." The Augustinian church is mentioned as a place marker: "Claustrum ecclesie S. Anne fratrum supprapeliciatorum...in Soklous." OL Dl. 100013, summary on *DL-DF CD-ROM*.

the entire order in Hungary (*provincialis*).[142] It was probably during his tenure that the Siklós Augustinian priory became the most important church in the town.

It is necessary at this point to devote a brief excursus to the Augustinian canons, whose history in Hungary is somewhat obscure. The order of the Augustinian canons appeared in the eleventh century as a result of the Gregorian reform movement, although it only acquired its institutional characteristics during the twelfth century. There had been several attempts to regulate the life of canons previously, most notably in the Carolingian period, with the *regula* of Chrodegang of Metz. The order of the Augustinian canons is a canonial order, thus its members are all ordained priests, but in practical terms, they closely resemble monks. The order has no true founder – although St. Augustine fulfills this role for its members – and has no foundation date. It started as an attempt to reform cathedral and collegiate chapters in the spirit of the apostolic life. Members of the order vowed to live a communal life, and renounced private property. Many such houses were formed during the eleventh century especially in Italy (S. Frediano in Lucca, St. Maria in Porto in Ravenna),[143] and France (St.-Ruf near Avignon, St.-Quentin at Beauvais), but these generally followed diverse rules and constitutions. Most were started by a group of secular priests in search of greater piety, often by taking over corrupted monasteries and chapters. Bishops, who preferred to have a regulated group of canons under their jurisdiction, generally backed the movement – especially if it meant reforming the cathedral chapter. But usually other

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[142] See for example a document dated 1393 Jan. 19 (transcribed 1393 Febr. 09.), describing a trial because of bridge, mentioning Miklós Siklósi as "Dominus frater Nicoulaus *provincialis ordinis sancti Augustini canonicorum regularium,* filium Pauli de Soklos." OL Dl. 7835; *Zs.O.* I. 2790, 2821.

[143] Gehrt, Wolf, *Die Verbände der Regularkanonikerstifte S. Frediano in Lucca, S. Maria in Reno bei Bologna, S. Maria in Porto bei Ravenna und die cura animarum im 12. Jahrhundert,* (Frankfurt am Main – New York: P. Lang, c1984).

canonial houses also had close connections to the local bishop and the canons' liturgical practices generally followed that of their diocese.

The ideals and everyday life of the regular canons were very close to that of Benedictine monks and many authors have tried to define some special characteristics of the canons. Caroline Bynum saw a difference mainly in attitude, and demonstrated how the canons were particularly concerned with education.[144] Canons viewed themselves as teachers, as well as learners, as opposed to the Benedictines, who saw themselves primarily as learners. In Bynum's argument, central among the Augustinian ideals was teaching both by words and by example (*docere verbo et exemplo*). It is this teaching that manifested itself in the work of such famous canons as Hugh of St. Victor (died 1141) in Paris. Hugh and the Victorines also played a vital role in the twelfth century reform of the traditional liturgy. Margot Fassler's recent book has named them as the main force behind the creation and spreading of new liturgical forms, specifically the new sequences.[145]

The reform movement was quickly felt in Austria, Germany, and England as well, and a series of congregations were formed by the early twelfth century. Soon there was a need for greater uniformity, and members of the order began to be called *canonici regulari* everywhere. The most important development during the twelfth century was the adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine (prescribed in 1139 by the Council of Rome), after which the prestige of Augustine greatly increased within the order, and his authority was used as a

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[144] Bynum, Caroline, "The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century – A New Approach," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1973), 3-24; Bynum, Caroline, *Docere verbo et exemplo: an aspect of twelfth-century spirituality* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, c1979).

[145] Fassler, Margot, *Gothic Song – Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993).

strong defense against Benedictine attacks.[146] Although frequently in dispute with monastic authors, the regular canons often looked for inspiration from such influential figures of the monastic reform as St. Bernard of Clairvaux. They were also influenced by the monastico-canonial order that stood closest to them, the Premonstratensians, and their founder, St. Norbert. The institutional organization of the order was finally completed in keeping with the Twelfth Canon of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which prescribed that every kingdom or province that had not done so yet should institute triennial chapters of all religious orders. By this time several congregations and many independent houses of Augustinian canons spread all over Europe. As the Rule of St. Augustine was not a very detailed text, specific regulations were generally spelled out in the constitutions of individual houses. Later foundations often followed the constitutions of important churches, even if they did not form a congregation.[147]

If the twelfth century can be regarded as the high point and first flowering of this canonial order – Karl Bosl has called it "*das Jahrhundert der Augustinerchorherren*"[148] – the fourteenth century brought a second golden age, especially in Central Europe. At this time a new wave of foundations appeared, which is perhaps most apparent in Bohemia. The order had had no houses there before, but between 1333 and 1391 twelve canonial houses

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[146] The so-called Rule of St. Augustine is really a collection of diverse texts, including his letter 211 for the nuns of Hippo, and its transcription for men, which became the core text of the Rule. Lawless, George, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987); Schroeder, Paul, "Die Augustinerchorherrenregel – Entstehung, kritischer Text und Einführung der Regel," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 9 (1926) 271-306. One of the first house to take up the rule of Augustine was at Reims, in 1067. On the contested role of Augustine as the order's founder, see *Elm 1990.*

[147] Dereine, Charles, "Coutumiers et ordinaires de chanoines réguliers," *Scriptorium* 5 (1951) 107-113, 13 (1959) 244ff.

[148] Bosl, Karl, "Das Jahrhundert der Augustinerchorherren," *Historiographia Mediaevalis – Festschrift für Franz-Josef Schmale* (Darmstadt, 1988), 1-18.

were created.[149] The order, with Raudnitz (Roudnice) at its center, led a spiritual renewal and reform all across Central Europe, reforming even some of the Austrian houses founded two centuries earlier. The Augustinian canons (including the Windesheim congregation in the Netherlands) became the main propagator of the *devotio moderna*.[150]

Little is known about the Augustinian canons in Hungary (fig. 3). The order disappeared from the country after the Middle Ages and most of their houses were demolished during the Turkish wars. Consequently document collections relating to individual priories or to the Hungarian chapter of the canons did not survive, and the order had no modern historians who could have attempted to collect these and write a history, as was common with other orders.[151] In the seventeenth-century list of Augustinian priories, compiled on the request of the archbishop of Esztergom, Péter Pázmány, only four priories are mentioned.[152] The present situation is not much better: although we know of about sixteen to seventeen Augustinian priories in medieval Hungary, only three, or possibly four surviving Augustinian churches have been identified so far.[153] This is especially unfortunate when compared with neighboring Austria and Bohemia. In Austria, which played a great part in the twelfth-century flowering of the order, six of the original twenty-five priories

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[149] *Röhrig 1994.*

[150] *Monasticon Windeshemense*, ed. Wilhelm Kohl – Ernest Persoons – Anton G. Weiler (Bruxelles, 1976); Mezey, László, "A Devotio Moderna a dunai országokban (Csehország, Ausztria, Magyarország), *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei – Annales Bibliothecae Universitatis De Rolando Eötvös nominatae*. V. 1970 (Budapest, 1971), 223-237, esp. 229-230. The study was translated as "Die Devotio Moderna der Donauländer Böhmen, Österreich und Ungarn," *Acta Litteratura* 1970, 37-51.

[151] I refer here to such works as the monumental *PRT.*

[152] *Pázmány.*

[153] See catalogue in Appendix C.

function up to this day, with buildings, libraries, and archives surviving intact.[154] Bohemia, home of the fourteenth-century canonial revival, also boasts more than a dozen surviving Augustinian churches, with well-documented histories.[155]

While the destruction of the Turkish occupation cannot be underestimated, the reasons for this discrepancy go back to the medieval period. The Augustinian order played a very important role in neighboring countries, but it apparently had a lesser impact in Hungary. During both phases of Augustinian expansion, Hungary was more receptive to other orders. At the time of the first phase – manifest in Austria – there was less need for a canonial reform in Hungary than in other places. In the twelfth century, the Hungarian church was still relatively young, and many early characteristics – such as the communal life of secular canons in cathedral chapters – still survived.[156] Of other canonial institutions, collegiate chapters played a comparable role in Hungarian culture to cathedral chapters and larger monasteries. The priory of the Virgin Mary at Székesfehérvár founded by St Stephen was one such church, magnificently rebuilt during the twelfth century.[157] In addition, important and exempt collegiate churches of great prestige marked the arrival of foreign *hospes* settlers into the country (Szepeshely). In terms of the monastic orders, the royal house especially

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[154] Röhrig, Floridus, ed. *Die bestehenden Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Österreich, Südtirol und Polen* (Klosterneuburg-Vienna, 1997). The Austrian priories which exist up to this day are, with their dates of foundation: Herzogenburg (1244), Klosterneuburg (1114), Neustift (South-Tirol, 1142), Reichersberg (1080, 1084?), St. Florian (1071), Vorau (1163).

[155] *Röhrig 1994.*

[156] On the beginnings of the church in Hungary, see Koszta, László, "L'organisation de l'église chrétienne en Hongrie," *Les hongrois et l'Europe: conquęte et intégration.* Textes réunis par Csernus, S. – Korompay, K. (Paris – Szeged 1999), 293–311.

[157] On the town and the basilica, see Gyula Siklósi, "Székesfehérvár," in *Medium Regni*, 45-88, with earlier bibliography. See also Dercsényi, Dezső, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Royal Basilica of Székesfehérvár] (Budapest, 1943).

favored the Cistercian order,[158] and another canonial order, the Premonstratensians, was also more widespread than the Augustinian canons. The Premonstratensians settled in Hungary some time during the twelfth century and they eventually established at least thirty-two monasteries, most of them founded by noble families or clans. Most of their priories were established before 1234, when the houses of the order were all listed in the list of Ninive. Their surviving buildings (Ócsa, Bény, Zsámbék, Türje) are chief works of Late Romanesque architecture.[159] In the second phase of their European expansion – connected with the Raudnitz reform – the Augustinian canons in Hungary had to compete with the Hungarian Pauline order, favored by the king and aristocrats alike.

Consequently, Augustinian foundations in Hungary are few and far between. There are different lists of their houses, the most recent ones compiled by László Mezey, Levente Hervay, Metod j Zemek, and Beatrix Romhányi. As none of these lists is faultless,[160] I have created yet another one (Appendix C), which – because of the lack of source material still cannot be complete, but aims to correct the mistakes in all the previous inventories. I have identified seventeen priories that almost certainly belonged to the Augustinian canons for some time. From this list, it becomes clear that the Augustinian canons appeared in Hungary

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[158] Hervay, F.L., *Repertorium historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Romae, 1984). The first Cistercian abbey was founded in 1142 at Cikádor, see Valter, Ilona, "Die Ausgrabungen in der ehemaligen Zisterzienserabtei Cikádor," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 52 (1996), 251–264. Perhaps the most important royal foundation was Pilis in 1184, see Gerevich, László, "Pilis Abbey a Cultural Center," *Acta Archaeologica* 29 (1977), 155–198; ibid., *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* (Szentendre 1984).

[159] Oszvald, Ferenc, "Adatok a magyarországi premontreiek Árpád-kori történetéhez," [Premonstratensians in Árpád-age Hungary], *MÉ* 6 (1957), 231-254.

[160] *Mezey 1970* includes a number of houses where the order is not certain. Zemek in *Röhrig 1994*, 293-333, works from old publications, knows nothing of a number of houses, and includes places where no Augustinian canons ever existed (Székesfehérvár, Pécs). Hervay's list in *KMTL*, 31, is the most reliable, whereas *Romhányi 2000* creates confusion by discussing all branches of regular canons and the hospitalier convents together, and also includes the collegiate chapter of Örs.

rather late, around the last decades of the twelfth century. Their intended role seems to have been that of reform here as well. The first documented case of their settlement was in 1198, when Pope Innocent III ordered the archbishop of Kalocsa to settle Augustinian canons in Kő (Bánmonostor), where a Benedictine abbey was taken over by the Canons regular of Hebron. The Hebron canons lasted there only for a short time, and their stay ended with a financial disaster. We do not know whether they were actually replaced by Augustinian canons, but in 1229, the place became the seat of the new Szerém bishopric.[161] This is the only case when we hear of the Hebron canons, but the Augustinian canons appear in increasing number during the last decade of the twelfth century – Dénesmonostor, Lulla and Ürög were all founded in the 1190s.[162] After the Mongol invasion the order participated in the renewal of monastic life, taking over deserted Benedictine abbeys such as Derzs.[163] Between 1250 and about 1340 all the Augustinian priories we know of were established with the exception of one.[164] This means that these foundations all predate the renewal of the order centered in the Bohemian priory of Raudnitz, founded only in 1333. The influence of the Raudnitz reform, however, can clearly be felt in the foundation of the latest Augustinian priory in Hungary, that of Vágújhely in 1414. There even the building followed the model of

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[161] *Paradisum planavit,* 499; Stanko, Andrić, "Canons Regular of Hebron in Medieval Srijem," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU 1996/1997* (Budapest: CEU, 1998).

[162] Romhányi, Beatrix, *Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova – Monasteries, friaries, provostries and collegiate churches in Mediaeval Hungary*, unpublished dissertation, (Budapest, 1996), 47.

[163] *Paradisum plantavit,* 542.

[164] For foundation dates and founders, see Appendix C.

the Prague Augustinian church of St. Charles.[165] A sole surviving manuscript from this priory also attests to these Bohemian connections.[166]

As far as we know, no Augustinian priory was ever founded by the kings of Hungary. The little data available indicate that most Hungarian Augustinian priories were founded during the thirteenth century in southern Transdanubia, all by smaller noble families or clans. In medieval Baranya County, there were at least six priories, including Munkád, Ürög, and Rendek-Szentgyörgy (Sveti Juraj), as well as Siklós and Keresztúr. We do not know what organization these priories had and whether Siklós had a special position among them. What we do know is that the individual priories were headed by a prior (praepositus), and there must have been a Hungarian *provincia* of the order, as we hear of a *provincialis* several times. In 1333, the provincialis was the prior of Apor in Tolna,[167] and at the end of the fourteenth century it was Miklós Siklósi of the Siklós priory.[168] At that time the Siklós church must have played an important role in the Augustinian order. A few years after Miklós Siklósi left the abbey in 1399, the Hungarian Augustinians held a general chapter meeting at Siklós (1405), where priors were named for several of their houses.[169] In

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[165] On the building, see below.

[166] *Röhrig 1994*, 307, a *Decretum Gratiani* from 1424.

[167] *MonVat* I/1. 278.

[168] Mentioned as *provinicalis* already in 1393, see OL Dl. 7835; *Zs.O.* I. 2790, 2821. When he left Siklós in 1399, he was still in that position: "Dominis fratris Nicolai, fily condam Magistri Pauli de Soklos, prouincialis fratrum Canonicorum regularium Ordinis B. Augustini per Hungariam." *CDH* X.2. 743-744, no. 387; *Zs.O.* I. 5756.

[169] The chapter meeting was held on Oct. 18., 1406, and we know of it from the report written in Derzs, by "frater Bartholomeus provincialis fratrum canonicorum regularium ordinis sancti Augustini." OL Dl. 9087; *Zs.O.* II. 4228.

these years we often hear of Augustinian canons from Siklós,[170] and as we will see later, the Siklós church was splendidly rebuilt and decorated at that time.

Nevertheless, the overall impact of the Augustinian canons in Hungary was still minimal. This is perhaps due to the fact that most Augustinian churches were founded by smaller clans, probably because a smaller Augustinian community was cheaper than, for example, a Cistercian monastery. In these cases the canons also took over the functions of the parish, so there was no need to maintain a separate parish church in a smaller town.[171] The foundation of two Augustinian priories near each other by the Siklósi family however makes us wonder why they preferred the order so much. Although not supported by clear documentary evidence, it is possible that different branches of the Siklósi family founded the two priories. It seems certain, however, that the church at Siklós was closely tied with the castle of Siklós –a natural phenomenon, given the close proximity of the two buildings. In this respect, the situation remained the same under the Garai family as well. However, with their arrival a family from the highest ranks of the aristocracy appeared at Siklós. It is their history and connection with Siklós that we will examine next.

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[170] For example in 1400, in a bull issued by Pope Boniface VII. "filius Franciscus Georgii, canonicus monasterii sancte Anne de Suclos, ordinis sancti Augustini, Quinqueecclesiensis dioceses" is mentioned, in a document regarding the Augustinian priory of Valle Eliae (Illésvölgy), see *MonVat* I/4. 183. In 1403, Mihály, "prepositus monasterii sancte crucis de monte sancte trinitatis (=Keresztúr) canonice regularis ordinis beati Augustini Quinqueecclesiensis dyocesi" mentions Ágoston, canon at Siklós. See OL Dl. 1430; *Zs.O.* II. 2569.

[171] Romhányi, Beatrix, *Monasteriologia Hungarica Nova – Monasteries, friaries, provostries and collegiate churches in Mediaeval Hungary*, unpublished dissertation, (Budapest, 1996), 17.

B. Siklós under the Garai family

Starting in the 1380s, the history of Siklós became tied with the Garai family for about one hundred years and through them with the national history of Hungary. The Garai family of the ancient Dorozsma clan received Siklós after the tumultuous years accompanying the change of dynasties in Hungary at the end of the fourteenth century. The rise of the Garai brothers, Miklós (II) and János, was largely due to their father, Miklós (I) Garai, himself a leading aristocrat, whose political alliances helped to launch his sons on a course that ultimately led them to the highest spheres of power. To see how they came into the possession of Siklós, it is necessary here to briefly summarize the events of these years.

(I) Miklós
palatine
1340-1386
† 1386 VII 25
◊ N. 1403

(II) Miklós	Ilona	Erzsébet	Dorottya	János
palatine	1424-1439	1405-1411	1409-1424	count of Temes, Voivod of Ozora
1387-1433	◊ Miklós Szécsi	◊ Simon Szécsényi	◊ Miklós Frangepán	1387-1427 XI 11
† 1433 XII 31 e.† 1429		† 1412	† 1432	† 1428 IX 1 e.
◊ I. Serbian princess				◊ Princess Hedvig
2. Anne Of Cilli				1410-1435
1408-1439				

From 1st:	From 1st:	From 2nd:	From 2nd:		
Miklós	Katalin	László	János	Dorottya	Borbála
1401-1435 VI 8	1407	palatine	1424	1434-1443	1434
† 1436 VI 4 e.	◊ Henrik count of Görz	1424-1459 II 17		◊1. László Kanizsai	
◊ Margit, daughter	† 1459 IV 19 e.			2. Rénold Rozgonyi 1443	
of Péter Lévai Cseh		◊ Alexandra, princess of Teschen			
		1450-1468			
Katalin					
1436	Jób		Anna		
	1450-1481 II 2		1450-1459		
	† bef. 1481 VII 14		◊ Imre Hédervári 1459		
	◊ Fruzsina Újlaki				

Table 3. The descendants of Palatine Miklós I. Garai. Simplified chart based on *Engel CD-ROM (Genealógia)*

In 1382, King Louis the Great of the Angevin family, who had ruled since 1342, died without a male heir, leaving his throne to his daughter, Mary.[172] She was duly crowned the day after the king's burial at Székesfehérvár, but a female ruler was difficult to accept for the majority of the Hungarian ruling class. Mary was also only twelve years old at that time, and the real power was in the hands of her mother, Elizabeth, and the Palatine, Miklós Garai. The Palatine (*regni Hungariae palatinus*) was the highest-ranking lay officer of the Hungarian court, serving as a substitute for the king in his absence and as chief justice of the realm. Miklós Garai was Palatine from 1375 to 1385 when, under pressure from the opposition, he was demoted to the title of Ban of Croatia, while still remaining the most loyal supporter of Queen Mary.[173]

Although Mary was engaged to the young Sigismund of Luxemburg, her supporters decided to arrange a new marriage with the French count Louis of Valois (later known as Louis of Orleans). Although Louis of Valois had already begun calling himself "the king of Hungary," the plan was ultimately not carried out, and Mary was finally married to Sigismund around October 1, 1385. In the meantime, however, the opposition invited Charles of Durazzo (of the Neapolitan branch of the Angevin family) to the Hungarian

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[172] The events of 1382-1387 are told by numerous sources. The most accessible medieval chronicle telling the story is *Thuróczy*, chapter 186-198 (I. 188-208). Studies on the period include Huber, A."Die Gefangenehmung der Königinnen Elisabeth und Maria von Ungarn, und die Kämpfe König Sigismunds gegen die neapolitanischer Partei," *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte* (1885), 511-; Pór, Antal, "Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei" [The Last Years of Charles the Little and Elizabeth], *Sz* 30 (1896), 129-147; *Mályusz 1990*, 7-26; Bak, János, "The Late Medieval period" in *A History of Hungary*, ed. Sugar, Peter F. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) 54-55. The full story of these years is best told in the little book of the eminent medieval historian, Fügedi, Erik, *"Könyörülj, bánom, könyörülj..."* [Have mercy, Ban, have mercy...] (Budapest: Helikon, 1986). In addition, see now *Engel 2001*, 195-202.

throne. On December 31, 1385, Charles II was crowned with the crown of St. Stephen at Székesfehérvár, but after a period of only thirty-nine days, he was brutally murdered by a few of Queen Elizabeth's men, Miklós Garai among them.[174] The country was effectively pushed into a state of civil war, and neither Elizabeth nor Garai were able to control further events. In the summer of 1386, the two royal women, Elizabeth and Mary, with a few of their men, traveled to southern Hungary, presumably with the intention of quelling the rebellion. The men of János Horváti, leader of the opposition, attacked them on the way. Garai was killed and the Queen mother Elizabeth and Queen Mary were captured.[175] The

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[173] See *Engel 1996*, I. 1-6. and II. 81 with further references. On the elder Garai's role in the events after the death of Louis I. in 1382, see *Mályusz 1990*, 13-26. *Thuróczy* (chapter 187) calls Garai the "country's most respected man, who was elevated to the post of Count Palatine by Louis, subordinated only to the king."

[174] Charles was the second ruler of Hungary under this name, and he is also known as Kis Károly (Charles the Little). He was attacked by Balázs Forgách and others on February 7, 1386, and died on February 24 at Visegrád, see *Engel 2001*, 198.

[175] The fifteenth-century chronicler János Thuróczy describes the events as follows:

> When on the most solemn feast day of blessed James the Apostle [July 25, 1386] they were proceeding, untroubled by any suspicion of an ambush, through the middle of a field toward the town of Diakó, the ban [regent of Southern Provinces], János of Horváti, who had collected a large hostile host and was burning for revenge, rushed in a rage against the escorting attendants. The two enemies confronted each other in a harsh struggle; and when the partisans of the queens and the Palatine saw that the enemy had them outnumbered, those who had not yet fallen turned their backs and precipitately fled. [...] And when Garai the Palatine had reflected that for so critical a situation death alone was the remedy, he got down from his horse, joined the queens in their carriage, and, wielding his sword against the enemy, defended himself and the queens with all his strength. But what good was the protection afforded by one hand alone? When enemy arms pressed him on all sides, wounding him with deadly arrows, he snapped like reeds the ones that had become lodged in his body, so that they would not get in the way of his sword-hand. And all the while he held off a very large body of men until his feet were seized by a certain knight from beneath the royal carriage, who from that position feared no injury. Garai was thrown to the ground and was there decapitated, as fear of their imminent death and the shrill screams of the queens and their servants increased.

attack meant the end of Elizabeth's behind-the-scenes rule. A few months later (January 1387) the queen mother was killed by the rebels, while Mary was kept prisoner for almost a year. The events almost led to the disappearance of the Garai clan as well, as two of Miklós Garai's cousins, János, son of Pál, and Pál, son of István, were also killed, and the Palatine's son, the younger Miklós Garai, was captured as well.[176]

The death of Charles meant that Sigismund was finally able to seize power and on March 31, 1387, he was officially crowned king of Hungary. He ruled until 1437. Mary and the other captives were freed from their prison, and Sigismund ruthlessly avenged the deaths of Garai and the Queen mother Elizabeth. Quelling several insurrections (most notably in 1401 and 1403), the new king slowly stabilized his rule, creating an alliance with the barons of the realm, including Miklós (II) Garai, son of the murdered Palatine.[177] Siklós played an important role in the events of 1401, when Sigismund was captured and the league of barons took over the power. Miklós Garai negotiated that Sigismund be kept in his castle at Siklós,

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Thuróczy, chapter 196. The English translation is by Frank Mantello from János Thuróczy, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1991), 33-34. Sources contemporary with the event include a letter of Queen Mary from 1387, see *CDH* X/3, 312-323, no. XL. Thuróczy's narrative served as a basis of later chronicles, where the events are sometimes described in even more detail (for example by *Bonfini* III.1, lines 290-310). The romantically told story became the basis of a number of nineteenth century historical paintings, for example by Mihály Kovács (1864) and Mihály Szemlér (1868), both at the MNG, Budapest. The base for them was a print from 1823, see *Történelem-Kép*, 550, cat. X-6.

[176] Similar names within the Garai family often lead to confusion. János and Pál killed at the battle of Gara were cousins, Miklós Garai is from another branch of the family. Also killed was Gergely, from yet another branch of the family, the Botos. For details of family history and a family tree, see *Wertner 1897; Engel 1987; Engel CD-ROM (Genealógia)*. The Garai casualties are listed for example in a 1406 donation charter by King Sigismund (giving Liptó County to the younger Garai brothers), see *HO* VII. 433-434, no. 401.

[177] For the early phase of Sigismund's rule, see *Mályusz 1990*, 27-69; *Hoensch 1996*, 48-118. On the younger Miklós Garai, *Engel 1987*.

and his brother János and his son were given over to the league in return.[178] Finally with the help of the Garai and Cilli families, Sigismund was freed and consolidated his rule, and in return Miklós Garai became the Palatine in 1402, a title he held until his death in 1433. In order to stabilize his rule, Sigismund relied on these two families, giving them high offices and huge donations. Their alliance was further strengthened with the marriage of Hermann of Cilli's daughters, Barbara and Anna, to Sigismund and Miklós Garai respectively (Queen Mary died in 1395).[179]

In exchange for their services, the Garai brothers received numerous donations from the king, one of the most important being the castle and estate of Siklós, which they acquired in 1395. As the Siklósi family had supported Charles of Durazzo and the Horváti family and had participated in a raid on Pécs, in 1387 King Sigismund confiscated the castle from Miklós Siklósi, son of Gyula, and gave it to members of the Pásztói and Kakas families (both from the Rátót clan).[180] The most important member of these families – listed first in the donation charter – was László (Ladislaus) Kakas of Kaza, since 1385 castellan of the royal castle of Újhely (Patakvár) and a member of the royal *aula*.[181] The power of Sigismund at this time was not strong enough to back all his decisions and the supporters of the new king were never able to enforce their right to the property. In 1391, they complained

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[178] *Thuróczy*, chapter 204-205. In English: Thuróczy, János, *Chronicle of the Hungarians* (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1991), 61-65. Sigismund was kept at Siklós from April 1401 until October 28, then was moved to Pápa, see *Itinerar 1995*.

[179] The engagements were held in 1401, the actual wedding of Barbara and Sigismund took place in 1408, the same year when Anna is first mentioned as Garai's wife. *Mályusz 1990*, 63.

[180] He gave it to 'Ladislaus et Johannes, filii Kokas, Johannes, filius Dominici, Ladislaus, filius Stephani de Paztoh', all 'de generacionis Ratold.' The document dating from 1387 Apr. 13, was issued by Sigismund at Buda. OL Dl. 7242 (transcription in 1406), OL Dl. 7243 (original). See *Zs.O.* I. 11; Békefi, Remig, *A pásztói apátság története. 1190-1702* (Budapest, 1898), 266-269, no. XVIII.

[181] *Engel 1996*, II. 120.

of being harassed during their attempts to settle in and asked for protection.[182] Thus between 1387 and 1395 Siklós appears to have remained in the hands of the Siklósi family. Miklós, son of Gyula died some time before 1392, when he is mentioned as recently deceased, and was survived by his son, György (Georgius, see **Table 1.**).[183] The most important member of the family at that time was another Miklós, son of Pál, chapter leader of the Hungarian Augustinian canons and prior of the Siklós Augustinians. In 1392, this Miklós settled a dispute with the abbot of Szenttrinitás and made a donation to the abbey. He was also involved in a dispute about a bridge in 1393.[184]

The tide changed in 1395 with the death of László Kakas of Kaza, who – as we have seen – held Siklós only in name.[185] Contrary to Hungarian laws of inheritance, after his death, Sigismund seized the property from the Kakas, and gave it to his most important supporters, the Garais. Miklós (II) and János Garai promised to give some property in the southern counties of Temes and Pozsega to the king in exchange, although these were later returned to them.[186] In any case, Sigismund felt obliged to proclaim the Garai brothers as the

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[182] 1391 March 20; OL Dl. 7679, *Zs.O.* I. 1938.

[183] In 1393, documents of a trial because of bridge, were written "post mortem Nicolai filii Gyula de Soklos." OL Dl. 7835; *Zs.O.* I. 2790, 2821.

[184] OL Dl. 7802; *Zs.O.* I. 2591; OL Dl. 7835; *Zs.O.* I. 2790, 2821.

[185] According to the inscription on his tombstone (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum), he died on March 19, 1395. *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984,* 46.

[186] Document dated 1395 Apr. 19, issued at Buda by King Sigismund, stating that King Sigismund gives Siklós (Castrum Soklos) to the Garai in exchange for property in Pozsega and Temes counties as well as 4000 forints:

legal owners of Siklós. Although members of the Kakas family brought a complaint before the chapter of Eger cathedral protesting this new donation, they could not compete with the power of the Garais and seem to have given up on Siklós after a while.[187] The 1395 donation also meant the end of the Siklósi family's power, especially because the Garai brothers only had to deal with the remaining Siklósi, namely the prior Miklós, son of Pál. In the fall of 1395, the Garai brothers allowed Miklós Siklósi to keep his property at Siklós, formally returning it to him, and probably only settled into the part of the estate originally owned by the other branch of the Siklósi family.[188] The problem of Miklós Siklósi was finally resolved in 1399, when the Garais named him bishop of Ossero, a Dalmatian island they had received

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"Nos Sigismundus... nos possessiones nostras regias Dobuch Garanpataka et Rohonich in Posega ac Saraagh appellatas in Temesiensi Comitatibus habitas et existenses, quas fidelis nostri magnificus vir dominus Nicolaus de Gara dictorum regnorum nostrorum dalmaciae et Croacie banus, ac Johannes frater eiusdem, nobis pridem in comcambialem permutacionem possessionum et porcionum possessionarium quondam Georgii filii Nicolai filii Gyiula de Soklos, hominis aliique heredum solacio sexus masculini decessi, ad dictum castrum Soklos spectancium et pertinencium in Comitatu de baranya existencium, dederant, tradiderant et assignavernat, vice versa eisdem domino Nicolao bano et Johanni fratri eiusdem, pro quatuor milibus florenorum auri plene ab ipsis habitis et receptis, titulo pignoris contulimus et effetine in pignoramus, tamdin per ipsos et eorum heredes dampno et impedimento alique omni possidendas tenendas et habendas sub tutela et speciale defensione nostre maiestatis, successores ipsis persduta fuerir quoad plenum, datum Bude feria secunda proxima post octavas festi pasce domini, Anno eiusdem MCCC nonagesimo quinto."

OL Dl. 8050. Published in Ortvay Tivadar – Pesty Frigyes, *Oklevelek Temesvármegye és Temesvárváros történetéhez, vol. I., 1183-1430* (Pozsony, 1896), 252-253, no. 148; *Zs.O.* I. 3926. In a document issued by Sigismund in Pozsony on 1401 Jan. 25, Sigismund returns the Temes property which he got from the Garai in return for Siklós, as he later donated Siklós to them. OL Dl. 8625. See *Zs.O.* II. 154, 837; *Csánki* II. 457. *Ortvay-Pesty,* 303-306, no. 184.

[187] Dated 1395 May 07, the charter register the complaint of the Pásztói and Kakas families "contra Nicolaum, filium condam Nicolai de Gara Palatini, castrum Suklos vocatem in Comitatu Baranya existens, ...occupantem et detinentem." OL Radvánszky cs. Sajókazai lt. Fasc. 10 nr. 39 (=OL Dl. 89601). See *Zs.O.* I. 3970; *CDH* X/3, 176, no. 173.

[188] The document of the settlement was issued by the chapter of Pécs and dated 1395 Sept. 23. OL Dl. 8087; *Zs.O.* I. 4089; see *Font 2000,* 63.

from Sigismund in 1397.[189] With his departure from Siklós, the Garai family finally had full control of the castle and the priory. Several detailed donation letters, including one from 1408, confirm the Garais' ownership of Siklós.[190]

Over the years, Miklós and János Garai came to own dozens of castles and palaces (including two at Buda) and about 700 villages, but Siklós remained one of their most important possessions. The castle became the center of the family's estates, primarily because of its convenient location. Situated in Transdanubia, Siklós was close to the central towns of the country and not too far from several of the family's recently acquired castles (Kőszeg, Simontornya, Csesznek, and Pápa). At the same time it was also close to their older family estates south of the river Drava, and their old seat at Gara.[191] Based on archaeological evidence, the castle consisted of a single elongated wing, with a tower at each end when the Garais received it. Over time, they built two more wings, each two stories high, forming a U-shaped building with towers at the corners. The castle was surrounded with tall and fortified walls, and an outer circle of walls surrounded the top of castle hill, including the Augustinian church.[192] The Garai family became the new patrons of the Augustinian church as well, and it essentially became the family's private church. Miklós and János Garai set up their father's tomb here and had the church rebuilt and re-decorated.

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[189] The Garais as patrons of this island, nominated Siklósi to be bishop on March 11, 1399, see *Zs.O.* I. 5756; *CDH* X/2. 743-744, no. 387 (OL Df. 286191). Ossero (episcopatus Absariensis) is in the archbishopric of Zara, then part of the Crown of Hungary.

[190] 1406 – *HO* VII. 434-445; 1408 (OL Df. 265781)– Nova Donatio S. Nicolao Gara et Joanni, "Item Castrum Soklos cum suis civitate tributis et Districtu, Belkues et aliis Districtibus et pertinentiis eiusdem...monasteriorum et ecclesiarum jus patronatus..." *CDH* X/4. 660-679 (672-3), no. 313. See also *Mályusz 1990.*

[191] Engel, Pál, "A középkori Dunántúl mint történeti táj," in *Pannonia Regia*, 19, (for a summary, see "Das mittelalterliche Transdanubien als eine geschichtliche Landschaft," in *Pannonia Regia*, 543-546).

The tomb slab of the elder Miklós Garai, who died in 1386, was recovered in the chancel of the church during the excavations of Mária Sándor.[193] The new castle was so well fortified that it resisted even the siege of János Hunyadi in 1441, when László Garai supported Elizabeth of Luxemburg and the infant Ladislas V, while Hunyadi was on the side of Wladislas I Jagello.[194] László Garai never supported the Hunyadis, but was allowed to keep the castle until his death in 1459, when Jób inherited it. Jób, the last male member of the Garai family, played only a small role in national politics, and with his death in 1481, the estate returned to the king's property.

It is from this time that the most detailed source about the Siklós estate remains. According to a settlement between the Garai and Szécsi families in 1478, all the Garai estates that were in the possession of the Garai family in 1398 were surveyed. The survey aimed to settle a dispute that had originated eighty years earlier: in 1398, when Ilona Garai married Miklós Szécsi, she did not receive the quarter of the estate she was entitled to, and the settlement rectified this situation. The survey contains a wealth of information though it is a strange document describing the estates held by the Garai family in 1398, as they existed in 1478. As the Siklós estate was already in the hands of the Garai family in 1398, it was surveyed in detail. From András Kubinyi's detailed analysis of the unpublished document

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[192] *Czeglédy 1987*; on the church, see *Lővei 1995*, 179.

[193] *Sándor 1989*, 69. The tomb slab was described and identified by Lővei, Pál, in *Pannonia Regia*, 276-277, no. IV-49; *Lővei 1995*, 195. The slab is presently set up inside the sanctuary of the Siklós church, officially it is part of the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs. For more details, see *Jékely 1998*.

[194] *Thuróczy* I. 239 II/2 313, *Font 2000*, 64-65.

we learn a great deal about the estate and the villages belonging to it.[195] In addition to the forty-two villages that belonged to the Siklós estate, the main sources of income were animals (horses), fishponds, wineries, as well as ferry taxes and the income of the Siklós market. It is obvious that during the eighty-six years of the Garai family at Siklós, the castle became one of the most important forts of the country, and a sophisticated aristocratic residence. The town of Siklós became a prosperous market town surrounded by walls and adorned with the sumptuously decorated Augustinian church in the center.

2. The Building

A. The two medieval phases of construction

As we have seen above, the Augustinian church at Siklós was most likely founded by Péter Siklósi some time before 1333, but we have no documentary evidence regarding the construction and medieval modifications of the building. An analysis of the architectural features and sculptural decoration of the church and convent, however, enables us to reconstruct these phases, and to establish a more precise chronology for the Augustinians of Siklós. In this section I explore the available architectural and archaeological material to show that there were two major medieval phases of construction, and a third phase of rebuilding of the whole structure in the Baroque period. The details of these phases have only been revealed recently, with the help of Mária Sándor's archeological research carried out within and outside the church. In this chapter, I will point out the major characteristics of

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[195] The survey was agreed upon in a settlement reached in 1475 in front of Palatine Mihály Országh between Jób Garai, grandson of Miklós Garai, and Miklós Szécsi, see OL Dl. 24934. The document

the two medieval phases, present a relative chronology, and attempt to date each of these phases.

The Augustinian church is located in the southeastern corner of the large area surrounded by the outer walls of the castle of Siklós (fig. 4). As it stands today, the church consists of a Gothic chancel and a single Baroque nave to which a chapel was added on the north side (fig. 11-14). The chancel is separated from the nave by a triumphal arch. It is two bays long, ending in a polygonal apse, and is lit by three slender Gothic windows on the eastern side, and two later, larger ones on the northern side. The chancel is vaulted with a simple ribbed cross vault. The ribs spring from carved stone corbels, set midway up in the walls. The only entrance to the church opens from the west side (fig. 14), though an additional doorway on the south side connects the nave with the cloister and the building of the former monastery. This rectangular building stands on the south side of the church; it is a Baroque building on medieval foundations. On the north side of the church, at the western front stands the Baroque tower, with a small chapel on the ground level.

This general configuration largely preserves the medieval arrangement and in most places the later architectural fabric covers the original medieval walls. The archaeological investigations of Mária Sándor during the 1980s revealed that there were two major medieval phases of construction, the second one being a remodeling on almost the same plan as the earlier one. The nave of the first church was several meters shorter than it is today, but most of the existing walls of the nave and sanctuary are from the first period. The chancel was of the same size and shape as today, and it has also been demonstrated that the ribs of the sanctuary vaulting were originally used in the first building and were re-used at the time

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of the survey is OL Dl. 18145, see *Kubinyi 1986*, *Font 2000*, 67-72.

of a later rebuilding.[196] The adjacent priory was small, although the full extent of the first building is not known. The first church was of modest size and simple groundplan and architecture, and lacking in architectural sculpture. The early building's features thus resemble late thirteenth–early fourteenth-century Central European mendicant churches in many respects. The architectural simplicity that appears here was introduced by the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century and represents the so-called "reductive" phase of Gothic.[197] The 'mendicant style' itself was not unified and in the early stages of their settlement mendicant monasteries did not follow any particular architectural tradition. However, most Franciscan and Dominican buildings share a simplicity of design, demanded by the mendicant tradition and influenced by location, architectural tradition and the constitution of the particular order.[198] By the later thirteenth century, certain trends emerged, and a greater uniformity can be observed. Thus, the main characteristics of the Hungarian mendicant church type could be summarized as the following: a long, unvaulted nave joined by a lower and narrower vaulted polygonal or rectangular apse. The most characteristic layout of late-thirteenth-century mendicant architecture was the multiple bay, polygonal apse construction, which first appeared in the Franciscan church in Beszterce, between 1242

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[196] *Lővei 1995*, 177-179.

[197] See *Marosi 1994*, 39-40. The concept of the "reductive Gothic" originates from Krautheimer, Richard, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland* (Köln, 1925, new edition: Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2000). See also Schenklun, Wolfgand, *Architektur der Bettelorden – Die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa* (Darmstadt, 2000), esp. 137-144; Entz, Géza, "Die Baukunst der Bettelorden im mittelalterlichen Ungarn," *Actes du XXII. Congres international d'histoire de l'art Budapest 1969* (Budapest 1972), 487-492.

[198] *Kutnyánszky 2000*, 83-128.

and 1268.[199] Thus churches with a single nave and a long sanctuary with polygonal ending can be called a characteristic Central European mendicant type, a type that became very common by the early fourteenth century, employed even by non-mendicant orders.[200] Many parish churches, as well as most buildings of the Pauline hermits, a Hungarian order, were also built along these lines.[201]

More particularly, the plan of the Siklós church resembles that of a group of Franciscan churches in Slavonia, the region of Hungary just across the river Drava from Siklós. The similarities include the fairly short but vaulted chancel, the fact that the nave might not have been vaulted, and – most importantly – the equal width of the nave and sanctuary. The Slavonian churches include the Franciscan friaries of Nekcse (Našice), Pozsega (Slavonska Požega), and Újlak (Ilok), all built probably at the end of the thirteenth century (fig. 87-88).[202] Unfortunately these buildings were partially destroyed and rebuilt several times, so not much can be said about their details, but they display the same architectural type as Siklós. Croatian research regards these Slavonian churches as the

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[199] *Kutnyánszky 2000,* 106-107; Rostás, Tibor, "A besztercei volt minorita, ma görög katolikus templom [The former Minorite, now Greek Orthodox Church in Beszterce]," *MvSZ* 8 (1998/2), 63-90. Rostás ties the form of the sanctuary to the so-called Kerc workshop, which played an instrumental role in introducing polygonal choirs in thirteenth-century Hungary. See Entz, Géza, "A kerci (Cirta) cisztercita építőműhely," *MÉ* 22 (1963), 121-147.

[200] *Marosi 1994*, 47-48. See also Marosi, Ernő, "Franziskanische Architektur in Ungarn," *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi – Franciskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Krems-Stein, 1982).

[201] Guzsik, Tamás – Fehérváry, Rudolf, *A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest: BME Építészettörténeti és Elméleti Intézet Magyar Építészettörténet, 1980); *Guzsik 2003.*

[202] On these churches, see Vukičević-Samaržija, Diana, "Mittelalterliche Kirchen der Bettelorden in Kroatien," in *Koldulórendi 1994,* 63-70. The church at Újlak was rebuilt and lengthened at the end of the fourteenth century, or perhaps in 1486, and rebuilt again in 1906, see Vukičević-Samaržija, Diana, "A középkori Újlak és műemlékei," *Dél-Alföld,* 482-496.

product of a workshop centered in Nekcse, but it cannot be proven that members of this workshop were responsible for building the Siklós church as well.

Documentary evidence puts the foundation of the Siklós priory before the year 1333, the first time it was mentioned. By 1343 at the latest, when the church was mentioned as a place-marker, the edifice must have been standing. In order to establish the date of the construction, we have to rely on the features of the building discussed above. However, the plan of the Siklós church represents such a widespread solution that it in itself cannot be used to precisely date the construction of the church. The mendicant parallels discussed earlier all date from the end of the thirteenth – beginning of the fourteenth century. Additional architectural elements, such as the simple ribs with a trapezoidal cross section, or the plain tracery in the southern window of the sanctuary are elements that are similarly difficult to pinpoint exactly, but would support a dating in the first third of the fourteenth century.[203] Based on all these features, the first church at the present location was most likely standing by the time the Augustinian canons were first mentioned at Siklós in 1333, and thus was most likely built by the Siklósi family, who had been in possession of the town since the thirteenth century. Just like the foundation, the construction was probably commissioned by Péter Siklósi, *comes* of Baranya. His close family connections to the bishop of Zagreb, László Kaboli, might explain why the chosen architectural type is similar to that of mendicant churches in Slavonia (the area around Zagreb).

The 'mendicant' features of the Siklós church indicate that there was no characteristic Augustinian architectural church type in Hungary. The idea of 'monastic architectural types' has recently been called into question anyway. While earlier literature

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[203] *Lővei 1995*, 177.

often spoke, for example, about a Hungarian 'Benedictine type' of churches, recent research has pointed out the richness of types used by the Benedictine order.[204] In addition to regional differences, the identity of the founder often determines the shape of the building. As provisions provided by private foundations were often meager, most Hungarian Benedictine churches – with the exception of the royal foundations of Pannonhalma, Somogyvár, and Garamszentbenedek – were generally small buildings, fulfilling simple liturgical needs, and serving small monastic communities.[205] The case must have been the same with the Augustinians, and the actual forms of the building must have been determined by factors such as geographical location and the financial means of the patrons. To see whether this is true, an examination of the architecture of other Augustinian churches in Hungary is in order. Making such a comparison, however, is complicated by the fact that no standing Augustinian church survives from the fourteenth century in Hungary. There are only two Augustinian churches still extant in more or less their medieval form: one significantly earlier, and one much later than the Siklós church. The earliest surviving Augustinian church is that of the priory of Horpács in western Hungary (fig. 85). The priory is well known from written sources as it was an affiliate of the priory of St. Pölten, and existed since at least 1223, when its prior was first mentioned. The founders were the Agyagosi family of the Osl clan. Although some confusion still surrounds the location of this priory,[206] it now seems

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[204] See especially Marosi, Ernő, "Bencés építészet az Árpád-kori Magyarországon – A 'rendi építőiskolák' problémája," in *Mons Sacer*, 131-142, also as "Die Baukunst der Benediktiner in Ungarn der Árpádenzeit – Zum Problem der 'Ordensbauschulen'," *AHA* 38 (1996), 15-29.

[205] For the variety of early Benedictine churches in Hungary, see Tóth, Sándor, "Benedictine churches in the eleventh-twelfth centuries," *Paradisum plantavit*, 637-650, as well as the description of individual buildings there.

[206] The priory known from documents was localized at Márcfalva (Rohrbach bei Marz), and this identification is still accepted by Austrian scholarship today. However, no building stands there today. See *Röhrig 1994*, 313-314, with further bibliography.

certain that it can be identified with the Romanesque church at Sopronhorpács, which was built in at least three phases. Construction at Horpács lasted most likely from around 1230 to 1250.[207] Horpács is the only Augustinian church among the contemporary "clan monasteries," which generally belonged to the Benedictines – such as Lébény of the Győr clan and Ják of the Ják clan in western Hungary or Szer of the Bár-Kalán clan in the Great Plains – or to the Premonstratensians, as for example Bény of the Hont-Pázmány clan, Ócsa of an unknown family, and Zsámbék of the Aynard clan, all in central Hungary.[208] While the details of these churches differ, they are all three-aisled basilicas, generally with a strongly emphasized western front, usually characterized by an elaborate central portal between two towers and a western gallery inside. While the existence of towers at Horpács has not been proven, it does have an elaborately carved western portal, and a western gallery. The details of the carved elements closely tie the building to the architecture of Ják, while the fragmentarily preserved tympanum of the western portal resembles the one from Szentkirály today in the Hungarian National Gallery.[209] Details of the Horpács church are also related to contemporary Romanesque architecture in Lower Austria, including the Frauenkirche at Wiener Neustadt, and the mother-church of Horpács at St. Pölten. Horpács is thus one of the late Romanesque clan churches of western and central Hungary, and in many respects it compares well with the mighty Romanesque Augustinian basilicas in Austria (most of them

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[207] For the history, see Némethy, Lajos, "A márcfalvi prépostság," *Sz* 34 (1900), 435-445; Stessel, József, "A márczi prépostság és a horpácsi monostor," *Sz* 35 (1901), 146-153.

[208] On these churches, see Dercsényi, Dezső, *Romanesque Architecture in Hungary* (Budapest, 1975).

[209] For the building and stone carvings: Bazsó, Gábor, *Sopronhorpács, plébániatemplom. LAHU 3. Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye I.* (Budapest: OMvH, 1995). The comparisons are discussed on 41-45.

rebuilt later in the Baroque style), such as Klosterneuburg.[210] However, neither its plan, nor its details can be compared to the church at Siklós.

While Horpács represents the first wave of Augustinian foundations in Hungary, the only other surviving Augustinian building, the priory at Vágújhely in northern medieval Hungary (today Nové Mesto, Slovakia), was founded much later (in 1414), and belongs to the Raudnitz reform movement (fig. 86). The priory was founded by the *voivod* of Transylvania, Stibor – a key supporter of King Sigismund – and was built after his death by his son, the younger Stibor.[211] The building was completed by 1423. The first canons arrived from Bohemia, and the building itself followed the model of the Prague Augustinian church of St. Charles (Charlemagne), founded by Emperor Charles IV. Both structures have an octagonal nave with a long choir attached, in emulation of the architectural form of the palace chapel (later cathedral) at Aachen. The church of the Stibor family remains a singular monument in Hungary.

The foundation and construction of the Siklós church falls between these two buildings, and between the two waves of Augustinian expansion in Central Europe. A number of Augustinian churches were established in the second half of the thirteenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, but no buildings survive intact. In fact, usually the location of churches known from written sources is uncertain as well. One such example is the priory of Pápóc in western Hungary. Here the remains of two medieval churches were

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[210] On the Augustinian canons in Austria, see *Röhrig 1997.* The book in the same series (Österreichesches Chorherrenbuch) on the suspended Augustinian churches is in preparation.

[211] *MoMT 2,* 535-536; *Röhrig 1994*, 301-307. There was most likely a connection with the Cracow-Kazimierz Augustinian priory, founded from Raudnitz in 1405 by the Polish king, see *Röhrig 1997*, 471-503. On the St. Charles church in Prague (Karlshof, founded by Charles IV in 1351), and its derivation from Aachen, see *Gotik in Böhmen,* 96-97.

identified in the 1960s, in addition to a centrally planned Romanesque chapel that is still standing. One of these – most likely a church only known from excavations carried out in the school yard – was the Augustinian priory, founded by Margit Gersei, and built before 1359.[212] As the documented building is the closest in time to Siklós, it would be better to know more about it than the sparse archaeological report available. Perhaps closer in type to Siklós is the building of the priory of Apar (today Aparhant) in Tolna County. Although the building was extensively rebuilt, the simple polygonal sanctuary there dates from the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century. In its simplicity it resembles Siklós, but it represents such a widespread solution that no further conclusions can be drawn. The comparisons (or lack thereof) ultimately reinforce what we have established earlier, namely that the Siklós church was built along the lines of mendicant churches in southwestern Hungary and Slavonia, and was most likely erected by a regional workshop with limited familiarity with recent artistic developments in Central Europe.

This original church at Siklós was somewhat rebuilt less than a hundred years after it was completed, this time under the Garais. The most important changes took place in the sanctuary. Perhaps structural reasons necessitated the rebuilding of the vault here. Keeping the original ribs and the original arrangement, the vault was fully rebuilt at a slightly lower angle than originally. The rebuilding is indicated by the different size of the bricks used for the walls and the vault; the newer, smaller bricks were also used to rebuild the crown of the walls before the new vault was constructed. The imprint of the old vault arches could be observed in the attic of the building, and the older layer of frescoes is covered at places by

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[212] *Régészeti Füzetek* 1.1 29 (1976), 30 (1977).

the new, slightly lower arches.[213] The reconstruction also provided a chance to replace the keystones, and to incorporate the heraldic devices of the new owners into the new architectural fabric. Although damaged, the eastern keystone of the vault still preserves the heraldic emblem of the Garai family: the twisting snake holding an orb in its jaws (fig. 21). At the same time a set of new, carved stone corbels make the new chancel more elaborate than its predecessor (fig. 17-19). These corbels, belonging to a type known from other parts of Hungary as well, are the most characteristic features of this building phase. The general shape of all eight corbels is similar. They have an elongated, conical shape, although the ones in the center of the north and south wall are wider than the rest, as they support three ribs as opposed to just one. The conical shapes point downward and are formed with various moldings, and their top is crenellated. Two basic types can be identified: the sides of one type are decorated with miniature blind arcades, while others are formed with horizontal fillet moldings. The latter type is often combined with a rich foliage decoration, and in one case a letter 'p' – of uncertain significance – has been carved on the bottom of a corbel.

Similar conical corbels with blind arches on their sides can be found for example in the Benedictine abbey church of Garamszentbenedek (fig. 89). Here the arcades on the corbels are completely open, creating a rich sculptural effect. The reconstruction of the Benedictine abbey church of Garamszentbenedek began under the Angevin king Louis the Great, most likely during the abbacy of Sigfrid, and was definitely completed by 1405, when in a papal letter of indulgence the need to renew the monastic buildings was mentioned.[214]

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[213] *Lővei 1995*, 179.

[214] *Takács 2001*, 627-628.

The Siklós and Garamszentbenedek corbels are discussed together in the handbook of Hungarian late Gothic art and architecture,[215] and numerous analogies are also mentioned, including the corbels in the western chapels of the St. Martin church of Pozsony (Bratislava) and in the nave of the St. Nicholas church at Nagyszombat (Trnava, Slovakia). The latter two can be dated to the second third of the fifteenth century. Similar corbels were excavated at the castle of Várpalota, where construction commenced in 1439.[216] On the basis of these parallels, the transformation of the church at Siklós was dated to around 1430.[217] The analogy with Garamszentbenedek, however, indicates that the rebuilding of the Siklós Augustinian church most likely took place earlier. This hypothesis can be reinforced by a number of parallels found in southern Hungary, which are formally and geographically closer to Siklós.

Conical corbels with fillet moldings are present for example at Bántornya, in the vault of the new sanctuary of the church, dating from the 1380s.[218] An even closer parallel to the Siklós corbels with horizontal fillets and battlement on top can be found at a small church in Berhida near Veszprém (fig. 90). Here the building of the vault in the nave of the Early Gothic village church is dated by the coat of arms on a keystone, belonging to the patron, Demeter of the Hont-Pázmány family, who was bishop of Veszprém between 1387 and

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[215] *MoMT 2.*

[216] *MoMT 2*, 661.

[217] Although this is not said explicitly in the book. The text and illustrations about the church however are at the beginning of the chapter "The first phase of Late Gothic, 1430-1470", see *MoMT 2*, 661, II. ill. 1568-69. The frescoes were not yet known at the time of the writing of the book.

[218] Zadnikar, Marijan – Balažic, Janez, *Turnišče – Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994).

1391.[219] Mention should be made of the corbels at the St. George church at Belec in Croatia, where the elongated corbels are decorated with floral motifs and topped with a thin flat element, resulting in a general shape very similar to the second type of the Siklós corbels. The pear-profiled ribs date this church to the end of the fourteenth century.[220] Also notable are the similarities that can be observed between the Siklós corbels with foliage decoration and a set of corbels stemming from the Franciscan church of Újlak, preserved today at Zagreb (fig. 91). These corbels date from the end of the fourteenth century, but their original locations within the church are uncertain. The corbels have the familiar polygonal conical shape, and their sides are decorated with foliage, and in one case with miniature blind arcades. The details of these corbels tie them to the Parler-workshop active in Zagreb at that time, as well as to construction at Buda in the early Sigismund period, in particular the church of Our Lady. At this time Újlak was already in the possession of the Garai family.[221] Although the corbels of Újlak and Siklós are only somewhat similar, it is significant that the Garai family was involved at both churches, perhaps indicating the role of Buda workshops in the dissemination of the type in both cases.

Putting these dates together with the coat of arms of the Garai family, carved on the eastern keystone of the sanctuary, we can date the reconstruction of the sanctuary to around

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[219] Czeglédy, Ilona – Ágostházi, László, "Berhida középkori temploma" [The medieval church of Berhida], *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 1967, 217-237; Koppány, Tibor, *A Balaton környékének műemlékei* (Budapest: OMvH, 1993), 85-86. A similar corbel is also known from Veszprém, see *MoMT* 2, 418/2.

[220] Vukičević-Samaržija, Diana, "Észak-Horvátország és Magyarország késő középkori kapcsolatainak képzőművészeti tanúbizonyságai" [Artistic connection between Northern Croatia and Hungary] *Hrvatska / Mađarska = Horvátország / Magyarország – Évszázados irodalmi és képzőművészeti kapcsolatok*, ed. Jadranka Damjanov (Zagreb, 1995), 297-300; *Sveti Trag*, 155.

[221] Vukičević-Samaržija, Diana, "A középkori Újlak és műemlékei," [Medieval Újlak and its monuments], *Dél-Alföld*, 482-496.

1400, thus probably fairly soon after the Garai brothers received the castle and town in 1395. Less certain conclusions can be drawn from the form of the tracery in the eastern windows (fig. 39-41). The northwest and the southwest windows are essentially the same, their simple tracery consisting of a trefoil arch at the top, and a roundel above it, also with trefoil within. The eastern window is larger with more complex tracery, two lights here are being capped by a triangular trefoil. These forms of tracery appeared already in the fourteenth century, and remained in use until the first half of the fifteenth century. Around the turn of the century, these forms were among the most common ones in smaller church buildings, so their appearance at Siklós can be viewed as a typical phenomenon at this time.[222]

The analysis of the carved details of the corbels helps to establish the workshop connections of the building more precisely. The features of the ones that survived fairly intact indicate that most likely the same workshop of stone carvers was active on the reconstruction of the church and castle of Siklós. Although very few carved details survive from the Garai phase of the castle, the similarity of the carved details of the chapel's portal to the corbels inside the Augustinian church warrants this proposition (fig. 135). A coat of arms on one of its consoles allows us to date the portal to the Garai period (fig. 136). This indicates that the castle and the church were rebuilt at the same time, and most likely shortly after the Garai family finally settled in the estate after 1399.

During these changes the church remained essentially the same simple building, but the addition of architectural carving and tombs, as well as a complete new fresco cycle, transformed it into a more refined monument, better fitting the rank and status of the Garai

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[222] Siklósi, Gyula, "Mérmüves ablakaink és kronológiai rendszerük" [Tracery and chronology in Hungary], *Alba Regia* 27 (1998), 123-204, esp. 137.

family. An examination of this phenomenon, as well as a wider investigation of the Garai family's patronage and artistic commissions will form the material in chapter III-3.

Once the church was completed with this second phase of construction, it was only slightly altered during the Middle Ages. Perhaps still during its possession by the Garais, possibly along with the rebuilding of the sanctuary around 1400, or some time later, the nave was lengthened towards the west, and a new facade was constructed there. On this façade two tall and narrow windows were added on either side of the present portal. Another late medieval change was the opening of a new window in the northern wall of the chancel. This window – which destroyed a large portion of the frescoes – was probably needed because a newly erected winged altarpiece blocked the light from the three eastern windows. This occurred in other places around 1500, so we can surmise that at Siklós too the new window was added around this time, after the Garais had lost possession of the church. The need for modernization required by the new owners, as well as the likely presence of a winged altarpiece explains why the frescoes were destroyed so soon after they had been painted. As we can observe at other places in Hungary as well, the average life of such painted decorations was about two generations (60-80 years.)[223]

B. Configuration and use of the church at the time of the Garais

We only have an imperfect understanding of the church's configuration after the modifications carried out under the patronage of the Garai family. Apart from the building

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[223] The above is not true for village churches, which often preserved their decoration unaltered for centuries.

itself, virtually the only element that survived from this period is the mural decoration. The church, however, had clearly circumscribed spaces for various functions, and it undoubtedly had a rich liturgical and artistic decoration. Using the few clues we have – gleaned mainly from the archaeological investigations and the 1688 drawing of the castle area by Joseph Haüy, executed just after the recapture of the town (fig. 8)[224] – I will sketch a picture of the late medieval configuration of the church after the second phase of construction.

Along with rebuilding and fortifying the inner castle, the Garais also built an extensive wall that encircled the entire castle hill, stretching about one kilometer in length.[225] The Augustinian church, located on the edge of the castle hill, now became nestled in the southeastern corner of these walls (fig. 4, 133). There were two gates opening in the long, fortified wall: one on the west, near the Gyüd tower, (this side of the fortifications was later reconfigured) the other one on the northeast, towards the town of Siklós. Entering through this gate, a small road led to the Augustinian church, located just off to the left. The gate tower and bridge survived the Turkish wars, as they are still indicated in Haüy's drawing. According to Haüy's drawing, one would take the same road when coming to the church from the castle. In both cases, then, the visitor would arrive at the north side of the church, and enter from there. The drawing indicates a doorway opening into the eastern section of the nave from the north side. Presumably this used to be the main entrance of the church. This wall of the church was only partially investigated during the 1980s, and it has not been clarified whether this doorway still survives within the later wall. No entrance from the west is indicated on the drawing, and no medieval portal was found in this wall; thus the present

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[224] See list of visual sources in the Appendix C for the drawing.

[225] *Czeglédy 1987.*

entrance there was likely only opened during the Baroque rebuilding of the church. The location of the church within the fortifications and its access explain why its entrance is from the north, and why the monastic buildings are on the south side, which is just the reverse of the usual arrangement.[226] There is no indication of a tower on the drawing, and the present tower of the building dates from the Baroque period; nevertheless the medieval church most likely also had a tower. The location of this tower has not been established yet.

Of the monastic buildings south of the church, we know little. These were ruined during the Turkish wars, and are only partially known from excavations. The only structure indicated on the Haüy drawing is the sacristy immediately south of the sanctuary. The present sanctuary dates from the eighteenth century, but during the reconstruction two small Gothic windows were found on its eastern wall, indicating the medieval origin of that wall. Other parts of the monastery suffered greater damage. The buildings, which stretched further to the south, had to be rebuilt from the ground up in the eighteenth century. The present Baroque structure consists of a two-story rectangular building arranged around a central courtyard. The original expanse of the monastery was most likely smaller. The east wing was certainly built, as proven by the foundations of the chapter house found here. The room formed a small chapel, with a polygonal apse jutting out from the east wall. The excavations of Mária Sándor have demonstrated the medieval origins of the southern wing also; here the medieval cellars still survive. The western wing was probably not built in the Middle Ages, and the north wing of the monastery probably only consisted of a cloister walk attached to the wall of the church. The buildings were only one story tall, as otherwise they would have

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[226] Although there are examples of this arrangement among the mendicant churches discussed in the previous section, see *Kutnyánszky 2000.*

obstructed the row of windows on the south wall of the church.[227] The monastic buildings were connected to the church by a doorway, which opened from the north cloister wing into the eastern end of the nave. Another doorway opened from the sacristy into the sanctuary; this most likely provided access from other rooms as well (chapter house). The present doorway from the monastery into the western end of the church dates from post-medieval times.

Our knowledge of the medieval interior of the church is rather scant. The present church measures eight meters across and forty-one meters long, extended to that length already in the medieval period. The floor level of the entire church was much lower than it is today, approximately one meter below the present floor. This original level was reconstructed after the excavations in most of the sanctuary to make the frescoes visible, but the nave was left as it was. Haüy's drawing indicates that the exterior of the entire church was heavily buttressed, suggesting that the nave was originally vaulted as well. If we can trust the drawing, the nave had five bays. Corresponding to this observation, and reinforcing our conclusions are the five large Gothic windows, which were found on the southern wall of the nave during the restoration of the monastery.[228] Further light entered through the two tall and narrow windows of the western façade. Of the interior decoration of the nave we have no information at present.

The sanctuary was separated from the nave by a choir screen. This screen disappeared, but traces of it were found during the excavations; it stood at the meeting of the nave and choir. The springing points of its arched structures could be observed on the walls of the

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[227] For these details, see *Sándor 1989*, as well as the archaeological documentation (Appendix C, List of Visual sources.)

triumphal arch,[229] and a short row of bricks just west of the triumphal arch might have been part of the foundations of the original structure (fig. 16).[230] The sanctuary thus was probably reserved for the canons and for the patrons, while the functions of the parish were carried out in the nave. We do not know how many altars the church had and what relics it possessed. The main altar was surely dedicated to the titular saint, St. Anne. The location of this altar was identified during excavations: as expected, it was in the eastern end of the sanctuary, on the central axis. No other altar foundations have been found in the sanctuary nor do we know how many were in the nave. It is likely that there was at least one, in front of the choir screen, for the use of the parish. The tabernacle for the keeping of the host was on the northeast wall of the sanctuary at least since the early fifteenth century. Here, a painted image of the Man of Sorrows still survives above the niche, but the carved decoration is completely destroyed. There were also burials in the sanctuary, adding to its significance. Although the sanctuary's floor was disrupted by a Baroque crypt running across the western end of the nave, two graves have been found inside the sanctuary (fig. 16). Both are located in the central axis of the church, one at the eastern end, and one in the center. These must have been the tombs of the patrons. One marble tombstone, that of Miklós Garai the elder, was found during the excavations (fig. 149-151). The tomb slab shows the life-size image of the deceased in armor, but the inscription around its edge was never completed. Unfortunately, we do not know how the tomb was displayed, what – if anything – was carved around its base, and where it was located inside the Augustinian

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[228] *Sándor 1989.*

[229] *Lővei 1995.* 193.

[230] Excavation plan, KÖH Plan Archives, 25655.

church. The broken marble slab was found in the sanctuary, not in its original context.[231] The final element added to the eastern section of the church still largely survives – the set of frescoes covering the walls and the vault of the sanctuary.

The use of the church must have been dictated by the prescription of the Augustinian liturgy. As no Augustinian liturgical manuscripts survive from Hungary, we have to make deductions about the liturgical rite followed here.[232] In general Augustinian priories followed the liturgies of their mother dioceses, in this case Pécs, and the Pécs liturgy was essentially similar to the Esztergom rite, the dominant one in Hungary.[233] The ecclesiastical activities of the canons consisted of the following: celebrating Mass and Office, as well as the parish functions. Since Siklós was a burial church, another task here was to perform ceremonies for the souls of those resting or commemorated inside the church, among them Miklós (I) Garai. We do not know how many canons performed these services. Three seats for priests were prepared in the sanctuary, and the monastery buildings were rather small; thus we can suppose that the community of canons was of modest size.

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[231] On the problem of the tombstone, see *Jékely 1998.*

[232] No Augustinian manuscripts are listed in the most extensive catalogue of liturgical manuscripts: Radó Polycarpus, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1973).

3. Later history of the Augustinian church

After the Garai family expired with the death of Jób in 1481, King Matthias bestowed Siklós on his natural son, John Corvin.[234] For a while the young prince was the greatest landowner in Hungary, but after the death of his father in 1490 he quickly lost his influence. In 1494, he exchanged the castle of Siklós with András Both of Bajna.[235] In 1507 Imre Perényi, one of the great landowners of the country occupied Siklós by force and became its legal owner some years later by buying the estate, paying his debt fully by 1509.[236] The castle was finally officially donated to Imre Perényi in 1515, who was the Palatine from 1504 until his death in 1519. He started the rebuilding of the castle in a combination of Late Gothic and Renaissance style and strengthened the fortifications. The chief work of this period is the magnificent Late Gothic sanctuary of the castle chapel, with its complicated net vaulting with curving ribs, which shows the influence of the Jagiellonian royal architect, Benedikt Ried.[237] The new sanctuary juts out from the residential wing of the castle and a polygonal fortification was erected in front of it to protect this area as well. In 1519 Imre Perényi took the Holy Blood relic from Báta abbey and displayed it in the newly

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[233] For an overview of liturgy in Hungary, see Török József, "A középkori magyarországi liturgia története [The History of Liturgy in Hungary in the Middle Ages], *Kódexek 1985*, 49-66, esp. 59. See also ibid., "The History of Liturgy in Hungary," *1000 Years*, 155-159.

[234] OL Dl. 67567, OL Dl. 67583. Summaries of the documents on the *DL-DF CD-ROM.*

[235] See OL Dl. 107613, and OL Dl. 68133, issued by Pál Kinizsi "Iudex Curiae" stating that John Corvin gives Siklós to András Both of Bajna, as he can not pay the 20.000 forints he owes him. The transfer was confirmed in OL Dl. 67577, OL Dl. 67578, OL Dl. 68134, OL Dl. 75707 (Vladislas II), OL Dl. 67580, OL Dl. 67581. For summaries, see *DL-DF CD-ROM.* and see *Kubinyi 1981*, 68.

[236] In 1507, there was a already a trial regarding the siege of Siklós, see OL Dl. 49540, summary on *DL-DF CD-ROM.* See *Kubinyi 1981*, 68.

[237] Papp, Szilárd, "Benedictine Reform and Architecture in Hungary in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: Pannonhalma and Somogyvár," *Paradisum plantavit*, 666-667.

rebuilt castle chapel where it stayed until 1521. The accounts of the building activity at Ónod and Siklós survive from the years 1514 to 1520; from these we learn that often the same craftsmen worked at both places. By the 1520s, Imre Perényi's son, Péter, was in charge of the castle. As the Turkish threat grew after the catastrophic defeat of the Hungarians at Mohács in 1526, Péter Perényi moved to Sárospatak in northeastern Hungary, followed by his mother, Dorottya Kanizsai, in 1527.

Péter Perényi actively supported the Reformation, and we know the name of his Protestant court pastor, Mihály Siklósi.[238] The church was perhaps converted for Protestant use at this time, but no conclusive evidence for this is known. It is unlikely that major construction was carried out there at the time. The changes that took place amounted to minor alterations, such as the opening of a window in the northern wall of the sanctuary. These changes affected the frescoes as well, and some damaged parts of them (such as the Crucifixion) were already whitewashed then. It appears, though, that most of the frescoes, along with the liturgical apparatus remained intact until the Turkish conquest. This final destruction came in 1543, when Siklós – along with Pécs and a number of other southern cities – was occupied by the army of Suleyman the Magnificent (fig. 6). Contemporary descriptions of the Turkish siege describe how the figural decoration of the churches of Siklós was destroyed by the occupying army. Sinan *chaus*, the official and eyewitness chronicler of the 1543 Turkish campaign, relates the events of the siege in detail. He describes how the priests and the people gathered in the (Augustinian) church, and "carrying out various rites they started to fight, trusting their idols and the power of their faithless rites." A cannon ball, however, broke down the wall of the church "where the idols were

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[238] Horváth, J., *A reformáció jegyében* (Budapest, 1953), 33-34.

kept," so they asked for mercy. First the outer castle fell by July 4th. The local people who were placed in the "church in the outer castle" (=Augustinian church) were set free, but the whole lower castle was demolished. We learn the consequences of this for the churches of Siklós from the description of the first day following the fall of the inner castle: "The *anatoli kazi-asker* also went into the castle, and as he was walking up and down, he accidentally was led into the church of the castle, where he saw that the idols of the cursed are still in their former, intact shape. Seeing this, he immediately grabbed a pole, and first he broke the right arm of the idol known as Isa (Jesus), and then all the other symbols of unbelief, all the idols and statues, as many as there were, he all knocked down and broke. Then he returned to his tent."[239]

Although the above description is about the castle chapel, we can just as well imagine the destruction of the Augustinian church. Soon after that, as Siklós was integrated into the Turkish empire, the church was transformed into a mosque. Evliya Celebi, who visited Siklós in 1664, described the town, and mentioned seven places of worship in the lower castle, the first one of them being "the djami of Suleiman khan, which is a small djami transformed from a church, has not much decoration, but contains one particularly beautiful detail."[240] This description refers to the Augustinian church, and sadly, we do not have a description of that "beautiful detail."

The town was only recaptured in 1686, and in 1689 became the property of General Caprara Eneas. It is from this time that the first views and plans of the castle and church

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[239] Szinán csausz, "Az 1543. évi hadjárat története." in *Török történetírók II., 1521-1566. Török-magyarkori Történelmi Emlékek, Második osztály: Írók.* Edited by Thúry, József (Budapest: MTA, 1896). 309-319. The last quote (my translation from Hungarian) is from page 319.

[240] *Evlia Cselebi török világutazó magyarországi utazásai, 1660-1664* [Travels in Hungary]. Edited and translated by Karácson, Imre (Budapest, 1904), 480.

survive (fig. 7-8).[241] As we have seen, Haüy's plan has been crucial in reconstructing the medieval configuration of the Augustinian church. The other views usually focus on the siege of the castle, and the Augustinian church usually cannot be identified in them with certainty, or at any rate, no details can be made out.

After the re-conquest, Franciscan friars settled in Siklós, and took over the ruinous Augustinian church. The town suffered a lot during the War for Independence led by Prince Rákóczi (1703-1711). It was sacked first by Serbian rebels, then in 1705 by the troops of Bottyán the Blind. The situation only normalized by the second decade of the eighteenth century. Large-scale reconstruction of the castle and the church only took place under the Batthyány family. In 1728, Eleonor Batthyány received the estate from the king, and her family continued to own the town until the end of serfdom in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the castle for an even longer period.[242] Some documents survive regarding the rebuilding of the castle and its chapel under the Batthyány family, but unfortunately none regarding the church.[243] Nevertheless, it was surely during the eighteenth century that the church was rebuilt in the Baroque style, and the full rectangular structure of the monastery was built. At the time of this Baroque rebuilding, the chancel was left as it stood, but the nave was completely rebuilt. The damaged frescoes in the sanctuary must have been whitewashed at this time, if not already earlier, and new windows caused irreparable harm to them. The tower of the church is from this period as well, although it must have had a

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[241] For the reconquest and for contemporary prints, see Veress, D. Csaba, *Várak Baranyában* (Budapest: Zrínyi, 1992).

[242] A general survey of the town, castle and the churches exists from 1785: *Descriptio Phisico Politico Topographico comit. Baranyensis, Processus Siklosiensis.* OSZK Fol. Lat. 289/3, the former Augustinian church is described as belonging to the Franciscans with 18 friars.

medieval predecessor. Further damage to the frescoes took place during the 1920s, when the sanctuary was re-decorated. During these works, the triumphal arch was re-carved, and the sanctuary was painted with simple decorative murals, on a thick cement-based plaster. Removal of this plaster, and the full reconstruction of the medieval sanctuary commenced in 1987, when the frescoes first came to light. The restoration was finished in 1995.[244]

At the end of our historical investigation we can conclude that the Augustinian canons settled at Siklós some time in the early fourteenth century, probably under the inducement of the Siklósi family. Their first church, dedicated to St. Anne, stood near Siklós castle, and was completed in the first decades of the fourteenth century. When at the end of the fourteenth century, the town and church were turned over to new patrons, the Garais, the church was remodeled and a new set of frescoes was painted. The church – like many in Hungary – was a family church, intended for burials as well, if not primarily. Tombs and the frescoes inside the sanctuary must have formed a remarkable ensemble, one probably left intact until 1543, when the Turks occupied the town. The building and the frescoes were both damaged at this time, and the latter eventually disappeared from view for centuries. Thanks to the most important discovery of recent decades, the Augustinian church at Siklós once again stands as one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence of the Garais' artistic patronage. The following chapters will explore the most valuable part of this ensemble: the frescoes.

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[243] On these, see Koppány, Tibor, "A siklósi vár," *Pannonia Regia*, 374-375. The documents are held at OL, in the Batthyány family archives.

[244] *Lővei 1995.*

PART II. – THE FRESCOES AND THE FIRST PHASE OF DECORATION

1. The history and discovery of the frescoes

The painted decoration of the Siklós Augustinian church covers the walls and vaults of the sanctuary, including the inner face of the triumphal arch. The majority of the visible decoration of the sanctuary largely dates from one period, and appears to be the result of a single painting campaign. Detailed examination of the painted surface in the sanctuary, however, reveals fragments of earlier frescoes as well. Therefore, just as there were two phases of construction in the sanctuary, there were two phases of decoration. The majority of the earlier layer is covered with the later frescoes (fig. 25-26).[245] The second layer was once present on every surface of the chancel, except for the three large niches on the south wall, where the first layer was left intact. Thus, the second layer is what largely determines the appearance of the interior today, although the frescoes suffered significant damage over the centuries. Nevertheless, the frescoes on the eastern walls of the chancel, around the windows, and some figures on the vaults are still intact. Unfortunately, the larger compositions on the side walls are fragmentary, damaged already in the fifteenth century, when the first large window was opened on the north wall, resulting in the almost complete destruction of the Crucifixion fresco. The sixteenth century saw new damage, when the occupying Turks defaced several figures and gouged out the eyes of others. At the time of the Baroque rebuilding the frescoes were plastered over and new openings in the walls, such

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[245] *Boromisza 1995,* Deák, Klára, "La résurrection du paradis – Peintures murales et restauration des fresques" *Monuments Historiques* No. 201 (1996), 94-97.

as another large window in the north wall and an oratory window in the south wall, caused irreparable damage. While fragments of some frescoes from the Baroque period were found on the north wall,[246] no extensive decorating campaign was carried out in the church until the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, numerous layers of lime and plaster were added over the centuries, the most harmful being a thick coat of cement-based plaster applied in the 1920s. At this time, in an attempt to create a smooth surface, workmen removed every bump and lump in the wall including the relief halos of the medieval frescoes. The frescoes on the inner face of the triumphal arch were pitted and scored before new plaster was applied, causing further damage. The smooth surface then created a convenient base for the very simple twentieth-century tempera paintings, which were present until the 1980s.[247]

After their discovery in 1985, the frescoes were restored over a period of almost ten years.[248] The cleaning, especially the removal of the considerably hardened layer of whitewash immediately covering the painted surface, took the most time. After the conservation of the remaining paint, repainting was limited to a minimum, and only smaller gaps in otherwise continuous painted surfaces were colored in. To fill in larger gaps a neutral color plaster was applied. Attempts at interpretative restoration were only made in a few places: the hand of St. Mark Evangelist (**V-9**),[249] and the lower part of the body of King Solomon (**V-14**). Some frames were also repainted, but otherwise the losses were fully acknowledged in the restoration. As a result of the minor retouching and the neutral fill of larger gaps, an aesthetically pleasing and unified effect was created. The restoration is fully

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[246] *Boromisza 1995*, 215.

[247] These are documented on a set of photographs in the Photo Collection of the KÖH.

[248] See *Boromisza 1995* for a detailed restoration report.

[249] Code numbers are the numbers of the individual frescoes in the Catalogue (Appendix A).

documented in three sets of photographs, showing always each area after the recovery, after the cleaning and after the restoration.[250] In addition, a detailed photographic and photogrammetrical survey of all the walls was carried out after the cleaning of the frescoes.[251]

2. Remains of frescoes outside the chancel

What we see at Siklós today is clearly only a part of the original rich decoration of the church and monastery. Several elements indicate the former extent of the decorative program, but its details can only be surmised. Nothing, for example, is known of the wall paintings of the nave; in fact, their existence has not even been demonstrated. There was no opportunity for a large-scale investigation of the nave walls during the restoration, but in the few areas where later layers were stripped away, nothing was found. A future restoration of the entire church will perhaps answer this question and might reveal evidence for the counterpart of the chancel's frescoes. On the other hand, a comparison with contemporary monuments, such as Keszthely, indicates the possibility that the nave was never frescoed at all.[252]

That the painted decoration was once more extensive is most clearly shown by remains of frescoes in the north wing of the cloister, on the outside wall of the church. These badly effaced frescoes may once have shown life-size figures of saints on the walls, but the

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[250] These are in the property of Péter Boromisza, Art4 Restoration Company, Budapest.

[251] Carried out by József Vajda and the Art V. Kft. A copy of the documentation is kept at the Plan Archives of KÖH, no. 28188, 28189.

level of destruction is so great that in many places only the presence of painted plaster can be established. The painted layer runs across the entire length of this wall on the first floor and is partially blocked by the Baroque vault of the new cloister wing. In addition to any intentional damage caused during the Turkish occupation, the frescoes were also subject to the rigors of weather for about one-hundred and fifty years. During the Baroque rebuilding the medieval bay and vaulting system was altered, resulting in the covering of the upper parts of the frescoes by the new vaults. Further damage was caused when the painted surface was prepared for the new plaster at that time and later when electricity was brought in. Consequently, only the traces of two figures are visible in what is now the central bay, but neither their iconography nor style can be determined at all. The painted decoration probably also included the original vaulting of the cloister walk, and most likely extended into other areas, such as the chapter house in the east wing. The bad state of preservation in this area means that the only part of the medieval priory where good quality paintings survived is the chancel. We thus have to confine ourselves to that area, and will start with an examination of the earlier set of frescoes there.

3. Stratigraphy and condition of the frescoes in the sanctuary

Soon after the frescoes were discovered, it became clear that there were at least two painted layers in the chancel of the church. Close examination carried out by the restorers has confirmed this observation, demonstrating that remains of an earlier layer survive under

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[252] At the Franciscan church of Keszthely, the nave was examined and restored, and no frescoes were found: *Prokopp 1980*, 367. On the sanctuary frescoes of Keszthely, see below.

the better preserved, newer layer.[253] Both layers were executed in true fresco technique; and fragments of the first layer are only visible today where the later layer has completely worn off. The overlapping of layers can be clearly observed in several areas, for example in the large Crucifixion on the north wall, where the same theme is repeated in both earlier and later frescoes. Other elements preserved are fragments of four consecration crosses on the side walls and the decoration of the wall niches on the south side. These niches were not repainted in the second phase. (For specific details on the location and condition of all the fragments from the first phase, see the Catalogue of frescoes in *Appendix A*.)

The technical examinations demonstrated physical differences in the supporting plaster and in the paint types employed. The materials used in the execution of the two layers are largely the same – mineral colors applied on wet plaster. However, there are enough differences to clearly separate the two layers on a scientific basis, and to safely identify the surviving elements of the two periods.[254] While the materials of the plaster are the same in the two phases – a 1:2 mixture of lime and sand from local sources – the proportions of specific minerals have been shown to be different in the two phases. The mineral composition is almost identical in the consecration crosses and the paintings inside the wall niches, while the second phase clearly differs from this.[255] Also different is the black pigment used: in the first phase (background of crosses), the painters used lampblack, while the later masters applied vine-charcoal black (*nigrum optimum*).[256] The other pigments used – all mineral colors – are the same in the two phases. For white, pure calcium carbonate

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[253] *Boromisza 1995;* Deák, Klára, "La résurrection du paradis – Peintures murales et restauration des fresques," *Monuments Historiques* No. 201 (1996), 94-97.

[254] The following issues are discussed in detail in *Boromisza 1995*.

[255] *Boromisza 1995*, 222.

was used, of the type known from Italian sources as St. John's white (*bianco Sangiovanni*), a common material in Italian fresco painting. For the reds, ground hematite; for the yellows, ochre; and for the greens, glauconite (green earth) was used.[257] More expensive materials that are more expensive were also used in the second phase, although only in smaller areas: azurite for blues, applied in a thin layer over a black background,[258] as well as some malachite green.[259] Small later additions could also be observed: real gold leaf and silver leaf was applied on some of the halos.[260] In addition, gold was used for the stars decorating the blue background of the vaults; of these only the remains of one were found.

The surviving elements of the first layer are badly preserved. The paint surface of the three figures painted in the wall niches of the south wall is abraded, and only fragments of other elements survive. The second layer has fared much better, but damage here is also extensive. Best preserved are the frescoes on the eastern walls and in the splays of the windows. Here the paint surface was preserved almost intact. Minor gaps were caused by the gouging out of the eyes of the figures, probably carried out during the Ottoman occupation. Otherwise the original colors still shine in their full brilliance, and minor details – even ones added later in *al secco* technique – were preserved intact. In general, a similar state of preservation characterizes most of the frescoes – the details that survived are generally in excellent condition, but there are often huge gaps around them. Especially

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[256] *Boromisza 1995*, 221; *Thompson 1956*, 84-85.

[257] *Boromisza 1995*, 221; *Thompson 1956*, 97, 98, 175-176, 163.

[258] Azurite can be found in some of the backgrounds. *Boromisza 1995*, 221; *Thompson 1956*, 127-134.

[259] Malachite can be found on some of the draperies, and on important frames. *Boromisza 1995*, 221; *Thompson 1956*, 160-162.

[260] Gold was observed on the halo of the *Vir dolorum* on the north-east wall, silver on the halos of St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the splays of the central eastern window, *Boromisza 1995*, 218.

lamentable is the extensive damage of the large compositions on the lateral walls, caused – as we have seen – by the insertion of later openings. In some cases, even the preserved frescoes have abraded surfaces; for example the apostles on the south-eastern wall of the sanctuary. Thus, the overall condition of the frescoes is less than ideal. Nevertheless the original program can be reconstructed in almost all of its details and the quality of painting can be safely judged based on those elements that survived the centuries intact.

4. Remains of the first layer

Detailed discussion of the frescoes has to start with the elements preserved from the first phase, as their presence also determined the arrangement and even the subject matter of the later frescoes as well. Moreover, the surviving fragments indicate that this first layer was a significant ensemble in itself. The fragments reveal the activities of a painting workshop that can be closely tied to the most important monuments painted in the style of the Italian Trecento in mid-fourteenth century Hungary: the chapels at Esztergom and Zagreb. Thus these early frescoes at Siklós belong to the first, and most important phase of the reception of Italian Trecento painting in Hungary. As the effects of this phase were still felt in the Sigismund period, it is necessary to examine these fragments in some detail, and through them to provide an overview of the beginnings of Italian Trecento influence in Hungary.

The quantity of frescoes surviving from the first period is rather small: fragments of four consecration crosses, fragments of a Crucifixion composition and of another scene, as well as three figures painted inside the wall niches on the south side. Proceeding to list all the surviving fragments in the order of their position on the walls, we start with the corner of

a painted frame on the north wall (**F-1**). Located on the left side of the western bay, midway up the wall and just below the corbel, this upper left corner of a border suggests that there might have been scenes painted in two rows on this wall. Nothing of these remains in the western bay. In the eastern bay of the north wall, fragments of a large Crucifixion survive in the upper part of the wall, in the large arched field, which is framed by an elaborate painted border (**F-2,** fig. 27). A cluster of feet – surviving in *sinopia* only – at the lower left side of this wall also belongs to this phase and has been interpreted by Mária Prokopp as part of the Crucifixion (**F-3,** fig. 28).[261] However, the position of this fragment on the lower part of the wall and the apparently small size of the figures suggest that it belonged to another scene, located below the Crucifixion, again supporting the hypothesis that two rows of scenes were painted on these walls. The surviving detail is not sufficient for a positive identification of this scene, and we have little to rely on in reconstructing the exact layout of scenes on this wall. It is perhaps most likely that two scenes were located in the lower register of each bay, but the area could have also been filled by just one long, rectangular scene. It is also possible that the north wall was not entirely frescoed.

In the center of the north wall, below the central corbel, fragments of a consecration cross also survive at approximately the height where the lower border of the lower register once was (**F-4**). On the northeastern and southeastern wall, below the windows, two other consecration crosses survive. The northeastern one is badly damaged, while the other one has survived largely intact (**F-5-6,** fig. 25). There are fragments of another painted frame on the center of the south wall (**F-7**). Located below the corbel again, this belonged to a consecration cross as well. In the wall niches on the south wall, three figures are painted,

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[261] *Prokopp 1995,* 159.

framed with colorful decoration imitating marble (**F-8-10,** figs. 22-24). The full and original extent of the frescoes from the first phase is hard to establish. Today these frescoes are only visible as fragments in a few areas, where the second layer has been destroyed. However, in many other areas where the second layer has partly or completely worn off, there is no sign of this earlier phase. No traces of the first phase were discovered between the windows or on the triumphal arch, or on the upper regions of the south wall. As the vault was completely rebuilt, it is naturally only covered with the later layer of frescoes. Although we cannot be certain, it seems that in the first campaign only a limited program was carried out, and frescoes were restricted to only parts of the walls. It is not even certain that the north wall was entirely frescoed, as suggested above. It is also not certain that all elements of the first phase were painted by the same workshop. As we will see, the borders of the Crucifixion fresco were painted with much greater care than the details of the consecration crosses. The imitation marble decoration of the wall niches on the south side is even more summarily executed. This fact reminds us of the possibility that even if these three elements of the decoration were carried out at the same time – as the technical analysis would suggest – painters of different training and skill were involved. It thus seems certain that a unified, complete decoration was only executed in the second phase, under the Garai family's patronage.

In the following section four elements of the first phase will be subjected to an art historical analysis: the consecration crosses, the three figures in the niches of the south wall, fragments of the Crucifixion-fresco on the north wall, and the intricate border framing it. Among these elements, probably the first ones to be painted were the consecration crosses. As described above, today the fragments of four consecration crosses are visible in the

sanctuary (fig. 25). Originally, there must have been a total of twelve, referring to the number of apostles.[262] Thus, we can surmise that the rest were painted on the walls of the nave. There is a notable case in Hungary where the consecration crosses are directly juxtaposed with the apostles: the palace chapel of Esztergom. Here the crosses are painted below the apostle-medallions on the lower section of the side walls (fig. 92).[263] The crosses at Siklós also refer to the apostles, but their figures were not painted. Instead, the crosses are enlarged and received an elaborate decoration, thus taking a place in the system of decoration in their own right. The materials and techniques used are the same as in other frescoes of the first phase, indicating that the crosses were executed in the same campaign, and possibly even by painters of the same workshop. The high artistic level of these painted crosses and their extraordinarily detailed execution differentiate them from the usual simple consecration crosses, and indicate that these were intended as a permanent part of the decoration. The crosses are inscribed in rectangular frames with elaborate borders and are painted with alternating green and red colors. The striking colors jut out from the uniform dark backgrounds. The borders are decorated with geometric motifs and rich foliage decoration reminiscent of frames found in fourteenth-century manuscripts.

The most important element of the earlier fresco cycle is the decoration of the three wall niches on the south wall, located just east of the door leading to the sacristy (fig. 22). These contiguous niches are built into the wall, are closed with arches on top, and are separated by slender engaged columns. The architectural elements – including the surface of

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[262] For the consecration crosses and the ritual of church consecration (*dedicatio* or *consecratio ecclesiae*), see the entry "Kirchweihe" in *LMA* 5., col. 1187, mentioning the twelve apostolic crosses.

the benches – are all built of brick. Such niches were used in the same way as choir stalls, as a seating arrangement for priests and canons. In other churches such niches often had an elaborate carved stone decoration.[264] At Siklós, the decoration was carried out entirely in paint. The original embellishment once might have included the painted reproduction of such carved features, but these elements – along with everything else that was not within the recess of the niches – were destroyed. The only motif imitating stone carving is the series of finials above the central, inner arch. Otherwise, the decoration imitates rich marble decoration: the columns mirror twisted and inlaid marble columns, and the sides of the niches and the arches are also painted in imitation of colorful marble. On the back wall of each niche, a seated figure is depicted under an arch. Although the paint surface is abraded, the three figures have survived largely intact. The decoration of the niches was not renewed in the second phase, but was instead incorporated into the new pictorial system. Although the attributes of the figures are somewhat hard to see today, they can be safely identified as follows: the central figure is St. Augustine (**F-9,** fig. 23), the one on the left is St. Lawrence (**F-8**), and the seated figure on the right is St. Stephen the protomartyr (**F-10,** fig. 24). The two figures on the side turn somewhat towards the center, whereas Augustine sits in a frontal position. The importance of the central figure is further emphasized by the painted finials on the arch.

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[263] On the iconography of apostles at Esztergom, see Prokopp, Mária, "Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi iconografici," *Acta Historiae Artium* 13 (1967), 273-312.

[264] Some mid-fourteenth c. examples of such triple wall niches include: Tüskevár, Pauline church, *MoMT* 2, I. fig. 406/4; Szécsény, Franciscan church; Kassa, chapel of St. Michael, *MoMT* 2, II. fig. 381, 484.

The identification of the central figure is made possible through his representation as a bishop. The bearded figure is depicted wearing a bishop's chasuble over a white tunic and has a bishop's miter and a halo. He holds a crosier in his left hand and is shown blessing with his other hand (damaged). Located in the central position in an Augustinian church, this bishop-saint could be none other than St. Augustine. This image presents an official, almost iconic image of the bishop: he is seen in full frontal view, dressed in ornate ecclesiastical vestments.

A brief discussion of the iconography of St. Aurelius Augustinus is worthwhile at this point. The Church Father lived between 354-430 and was elected bishop of Hippo in 394. He lived a communal life with his priests, and compiled the *Rule,*[265] which became the foundation for several medieval religious orders, among them the Augustinian canons (see also **Chapter II.1.A** above). The feast day of St. Augustine is August 28.[266] His earliest depictions conformed to the type of Late Antique author portraits, and these in turn led to his representations as one of the Church Fathers writing his books at his desk.[267] The most common representation of St. Augustine depicts him as one of the four western Church Fathers – as we will see this was part of the second cycle painted at Siklós as well. Since the twelfth century, another image-type emerged, where the saint was depicted as a bishop holding a book and often enthroned.[268] St. Augustine was favored mainly by the orders in

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[265] Lawless, George, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

[266] For his legend, see *Legenda Aurea* II. 116-132.

[267] For the iconography of Augustine, see *LCI* 5. col. 277-289. For his representation as a scholar in Hungary, see for example in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, *MAL,* XXXVIII (Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 75r, E 16931): One representation of him as a scholar, one of his death and four posthumous miracles.

[268] An early example of this type is on the fresco at Nonnberg in Salzburg, see Demus, Otto, *Romanesque Mural Painting* (Munich, 1968), 206.

which he is venerated as a founder or rule-giver: the Regular Canons, the Augustinian Hermits, the Premonstratensians, and even the Dominicans, who also observed the Rule of Augustine. In fact, the role of Augustine as the founder of the Augustinian order was a contested issue, as apart from the Regular Canons, the Augustinian hermits who were established as a new, independent order by the papal bull "Licet Ecclesiae" in 1256, also claimed St. Augustine as the true founder of their order.[269] Naturally they stressed the eremitical and mendicant aspects of Augustine's life, and often depicted him in the habit worn by the hermits. The Canons naturally claimed that they were the true successors of the communities established by St. Augustine in Northern Africa, St. Augustine gave them their rule, and also claimed that the Hermits are of much more recent origins. The debate went on throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and both orders strove to depict Augustine in a manner closer to their way of life. Augustine was depicted both as a canon and as a hermit, and in cycles of his life, he was represented as the author of the rule and as the father of communities.[270] The canons naturally favored an image of Augustine in a habit closer to that of the canons, and often depicted him as an abbot or bishop. Augustine the bishop was represented, for example, in the Allegory of the Holy Cross on the cloister wall of the Bohemian Augustinian priory of Roudnice (Raudnitz, c. 1345).[271] He is depicted in the company of prophets and the apostles, as a teacher and the writer of the Rule, and a group of canons kneel in front of him. Augustine's veneration must have been similar in Hungary as

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[269] *Elm 1990.*

[270] See for example the scenes from the life of Augustine, including him taking the habit of the Augustinian hermits in the *Eremitani* of Padua, painted by Guariento, *Pittura nel Veneto,* 131, fig. 148; *Flores D'Arcais 1965,* 98-108; Bettini, Sergio, *La chiesa degli Eremitani di Padova* (Vicenza, 1970), 47-48, 56-58.

well, where outside the various Augustinian orders he had no special cult, except of course in his role as a Church Father.[272] Although no Augustinian manuscripts survive from Hungary, a hymn to Augustine – preserved in the Breviaries used by the Hungarian Pauline order – was in all likelihood written in a Hungarian Augustinian priory, further demonstrating his central role within the spirituality of the order.[273] In the spirit of the hymn, which talks of Augustine as "Flos cleri, norma praesulum / canonicorum speculum," the figure of Augustine, the (presumed) founder of the order, appears as an example set for the canons.

Returning to the frescoes, we see that on the left, St. Lawrence is depicted in priestly vestments, seated on a throne holding an open book in his hands. Traces of a small grill, referring to the instrument of his martyrdom, are visible in front of the figure. Lawrence is well known as one of the most important early Roman martyrs. He was one of the seven deacons under Pope Sixtus II (257-258), and died in 258. His feast day is August 10.[274] According to his legend, Lawrence gave all the Church's money to the poor when the emperor tried to take it all away. The church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura in Rome was

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[271] Royt, Jan, "Příspěvek k ikonografii alegorie sv Kříže u Roudnici nad Labem" (Ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der Allegorie vom Hl. Kreuz in Roudnice nad Labem), *Um ní* 33 (1985/6), 492-507.

[272] For Augustine's cult in Hungary, see *ÜK* III, 267-268.

[273] Dreves, Guido – Blume, Clemens, ed., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886-1910), 43, 86; Mezey, László, *Deákság és Európa – Irodalmi műveltségünk alapvetésének vázlata* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1979), 204. The Hungarian Pauline order took over at least 6 hymns and several sequences from the Augustinian canons, many of them about Augustine, see Török, József, *A magyar pálosrend liturgiájának forrásai, kialakulása és főbb sajátosságai (1225-1600)* (Budapest, 1977), 140-141, 173, 198-199 (on "Flos cleri..."). Further proof of the Hungarian veneration of Augustine is an Italian manuscript with excerpts from St. Augustine's writings, which was most likely in the possession of a Hungarian Augustinian priory during the fourteenth century. Otto, canon at Pécs, donated it to the Augustinian priory at Vienna in 1447, see *Kódexek 1985,* no. 56; *MoMT 2,* 363.

[274] *Legenda Aurea* II, 63-73.

erected by Constantine over his burial place, and became one of principal cult centers of the eternal city.[275] The cult of Lawrence gained momentum north of the Alps after the defeat of the Magyar armies at Lechfeld in 955, which was attributed to the help of Lawrence.[276] In Hungary – presumably, once that defeat had been forgotten – the celebration of the feast of Lawrence was ordered by the laws of King Ladislas in the late eleventh century. His feast was later always listed in calendars and numerous churches were dedicated to him.[277] In his individual images, St. Lawrence is generally depicted as a beardless, bareheaded deacon, in dalmatic, with a grill as his main attribute.[278] The earliest-known representation of him is found in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, dating from c. 450, where he is shown with a cross and book in his hands, approaching the fiery grill.[279]

In the right-hand niche, St. Stephen is also depicted in deacon's vestments, holding an open book in his hand (fig. 24). The paint surface of this figure is the most damaged, but he can clearly be identified by the stones lodged in his head. St. Stephen is the first martyr of the New Testament and the Christian church; his special status is emphasized by the placement of his feast day right after Christmas day, the birth of Christ.[280] Stephen was one of the seven deacons whom the apostles ordained for the ministry, thus the archetypal priest.[281] As deacon, his job was to take care of the poor. St. Stephen's cult spread early in

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[275] Krautheimer, Richard, *Rome – Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980), 25.

[276] *LCI* 6. col. 374.

[277] *ÜK* III. 186-191.

[278] *LCI* 6. col. 374-375.

[279] Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy,* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), col. 587-590.

[280] On the importance of this date, see *Legenda Aurea* II. 41. His story is told in *Acts*, 6.8-8.1; *Legenda Aurea* I. 45-50.

[281] *Legenda Aurea* I. 45.

Hungary due to the influence of the bishopric of Passau at the time of the conversion of the Magyars. The patron saint of Passau cathedral was St. Stephen, and the importance of the saint is shown by a number of other dedications, such as St. Stephen's church (later cathedral) in Vienna, or an important late tenth-century church in Esztergom, Hungary. Hungary's first king, originally named Vajk, was baptized – and later canonized – as Stephen. The extensive cult of Stephen is shown by the number of church dedications, place names and altars.[282] In many places in Hungary, the private chapels of bishops next to cathedrals were dedicated to Stephen, as in Zagreb.[283] St. Stephen is always depicted as a young deacon, in a dalmatic, and other priestly vestments. Books and the stones of his martyrdom are his usual attributes.[284]

The two deacon-saints are frequently depicted together. The origins of their joint representation go back to the legendary events of the fifth century, when the body of Stephen (found in 415) was transported from Jerusalem through Constantinople to Rome (425). Here St. Stephen was buried next to St. Lawrence in San Lorenzo fuori le mura, where they have shared a cult site ever since. The story of the finding of Stephen's body and its unification with the body of St. Lawrence is also told in the Legenda Aurea.[285] Their joint representation was consequently quite frequent in medieval art, in part because of their

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[282] *ÜK* I. 146-149, III. 188-190; Mező, András, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben, 11-15. század,* [Church names in Hungarian geographical names] (Budapest: METEM, 1996), 92-94. It is not always certain whether a dedication or a placename originating from the original dedication of its church refers to St. Stephen martyr or to Stephen, Hungary's first Christian king, canonized in 1083, see Mező, András, "Melyik Szent István?" *Magyar Nyelvőr* 116 (1988), 324-328.

[283] *ÜK* I. 146.

[284] *LCI* 8. col. 395-403; Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy,* (Florence: Sansoni, 1978), col. 945-948. A good example, with attributes comparable to the Siklós frescoes: Lorenzo Veneziano, panel of a polyptich, col. 946.

[285] *Legenda Aurea*, II. 40-44. The day of the finding of his body was also commemorated as a feast.

common role as early deacons and martyrs of the church as well. It is precisely in San Lorenzo that their first joint representation can be found, among the mosaics of the triumphal arch from the late sixth century.[286] In the high Middle Ages, the two saints had a reputation comparable to that of the apostles. Promulgated by the popes as distinctively Roman saints, cycles detailing the legends of both appeared on a number of Roman monuments,[287] among them such holy places as the interior of the Sancta Sanctorum (1277-1279).[288]

It is thus not the least surprising that their joint representations can be found in Hungarian churches and manuscripts and on fifteenth-century winged altarpieces.[289] The legends of both saints are illustrated by numerous scenes in the most famous Hungarian compendium of saints' lives, known as the Hungarian Angevin Legendary, a royal commission dating from the 1330s. The two cycles focus on the torture and martyrdom of the saintly deacons.[290] In the depictions of the seated saints at Siklós, their martyrdom is not emphasized at all, as the only references to the violent nature of their death – their attributes

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[286] Dating from the time of Pope Pelagius II (579-590). Lawrence and Stephen are on either side of Christ enthroned, along with Peter and Paul, see Beckwith, John, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (New Haven-London, Yale UP, 1970, 1993), 147-149, fig. 122.

[287] Colella, Renata L., "Hagiographie und Kirchenpolitik – Stephanus un Laurentius in Rom," *Pratum Romanum – Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag,* ed. Renate L. Colella, et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 75-96.

[288] Gardner, Julian, "Nicholas III's oratory of the Sancta Sanctorum and ist decoration," *Burlington Magazine,* 1979, 283-294; Herklotz, Ingo, "Die Fresken von Sancta Sanctorum nach der Restaurierung," *Pratum Romanum – Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag,* ed. Renate L. Colella, et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 149-180, esp. 160.

[289] *ÜK* I. 144 lists altars from Csegöld, Kassa, Nagyekemező, Szászbogács, see also Radocsay, Dénes, *A középkori Magyarország táblaképei* (Budapest, 1955), 285, 341, 397, 429.

[290] Stephen's story comes right after the apostles and Evangelists, as the first martyr, see *MAL,* XVI, (Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 44v) but only in two scenes: his martyrdom and burial. His story is followed by that of Lawrence, illustrated in more than eight scenes (Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 45r – 46v), some lost. His story is narrated in detail, originally including his imprisonment and surely his martyrdom (these are lost, the cycle definitely did not end with scene 8.).

– are barely noticeable. Instead, they both appear as priests, and as learned figures with books in their hands. Thus, they seem to conform to the model of the centrally-located Augustine.

The significance of these three figures for the Augustinian canons is immediately clear. The center position is occupied by Augustine, who is regarded as the founder of the order, and the one that gave it the *Rule*. The other two figures occupy an important place here as the first deacons of the church, and thus as the ancestors of the canons themselves. The three together represent the ideal archetypes of the churchmen who actually occupied these seats in the real space of the church: the prior as a successor of Augustine, and the canons as successors of the deacons. Therefore, they are not just special saints of the order, but the symbolic predecessors of the medieval canonial community of Siklós.[291] In this respect it is also significant that Augustine and both deacons are known for renouncing private property and giving money to the poor, thus setting an example for the canons leading a communal life.

When the real-life canons took their seats directly in front of the painted likenesses of their spiritual ancestors, they could gaze on the large Crucifixion fresco on the opposite wall of the sanctuary (**F-2,** figs. 36-37). This large composition has since largely been destroyed, and was later painted over with another fresco of the same subject matter, which itself has suffered grave damage. Nevertheless, there are a few clues enabling us to imagine the kind of decoration that once filled this arched wall. First it should be mentioned that the arch was lower than it was during the second phase (and today) – as discussed in the construction history of the church, the vault was rebuilt at a slightly higher level than before.

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[291] Wehli, Tünde, "Über Bildfunktionen in Ungarn zur Hussitenziet," *Sigismund 1994*, 288.

Furthermore, as pointed out already, there was most likely another, separately framed composition at the bottom of this wall. The Crucifixion fresco was thus located in the upper two-thirds of this wall, closed on top by the wall arch. The bottom of the composition must have been around the level of the two corbels on the walls, and the entire scene was framed by a richly decorated border.

Of the Cross of Christ, only two small fragments are visible – the ends of the wooden cross bars high in the pictorial field, higher even than the same motif from the later composition. More of this is preserved on the right side, just below the clouds – here the hand of the Crucified Christ can also be detected. The most telling detail of the Crucifixion, however, is the figure of a small devil in the upper right part of the composition (fig. 27). The devil approaches the cross of the bad thief, a fragment of which (with one hand of the thief) still survives. The detail implies that the other Thief was also painted on the other side. The surviving details enable us to make a rudimentary reconstruction, in which the position of the three crosses can clearly be seen. The result is a compact composition, in which the three crosses are represented close to each other, with the two thieves essentially being depicted under the two arms of the cross of Christ. Other actors in the scene must have been grouped by the foot of the crosses. This arrangement was surely necessitated by the shape of the wall, and is a common solution in pictures with an arched or triangular top. An example for this type of composition is the Bohemian Kaufmann-Crucifixion today in Berlin.[292]

The crosses of the thieves are only included in Crucifixion scenes with many figures; thus we can suppose that the original representation here was an elaborate multi-figure

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[292] See Suckale, Robert, "Die Glatzer Madonnentafel des Prager Erzbishofs Ernst von Pardubitz als gemalter Marienhymnus (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie)," *WJbKg* 46-47 (1993-94), 751-756. On the other hand, the panel is described as Austrian in *Gotik 2000*, cat. 277.

Crucifixion of the type established in Italian, especially Sienese, Trecento painting. Apart from the Cross of Christ, those of the two thieves were painted as well, and the composition likely included a generous number of mourners (the Virgin Mary, St. John, Mary Magdalene), soldiers (among them the Centurion) and other figures. As to their number and grouping, we have no clues. Nevertheless, the fragments surviving from the Crucifixion along with the intricate borders surrounding it indicate that this part of the decoration was the most sophisticated of the first phase. Its destruction is a great loss, as no contemporary Crucifixion of this scale and apparent technical sophistication exists in Hungary. One exception is a fragmentary composition in the sanctuary of the Pauline church of Csáktornya, where a large Crucifixion was painted on the north wall in the 1380s.[293] While the style of the Csáktornya frescoes is closer to that of the followers of Vitale da Bologna, the iconography of the scene must have been similar to that at Siklós – there, too a multi-figure Crucifixion was depicted with the crosses of the two thieves. Another example, dating from the 1370s-1380s, was discovered not long ago in the church of Pelsőc (Plešivec), the family church of the Bebek family. The abraded surface of the frescoes makes the composition hard to read, but the crosses of the two thieves, as well as the groups of mourners and other participants are clearly legible.

Since the devil is the only element of the Siklós composition that survives fairly intact, we will examine it in more detail. The two thieves appeared already in the earliest Crucifixions in the history of Christian art,[294] and there are a few early examples showing

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[293] *Srša 1998.*

[294] See for example the door of S. Sabina in Rome or the Rabula gospels. Thoby, Paul, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente* (Nantes, 1959).

the figures of the angel and devil taking their souls.[295] These small supernatural creatures became commonly represented only in the second half of the Trecento.[296] Devils seem to appear in Sienese Crucifixions first, although the history of this motif has not yet been written. Millard Meiss connected the prominence of devils in paintings after the Black Death with the rise of penitent literature and sermons represented by the work of Dominican preacher Jacopo Passavanti.[297] His conclusions, however, might not apply to the particular iconography in question: after all not only devils appear in these Crucifixions, but angels as well, coming for the soul of the good thief. Nevertheless, a key example of a Crucifixion scene with devils harassing the unrepentant thief and taking his soul is Barna da Siena's fresco in the Collegiata of S. Gimignano (1350-55).[298] Many Sienese painters followed the multi-figure composition established by Barna,[299] and the theme soon appeared in Florence as well, in the large composition by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish chapel of Santa Maria Novella (1366-68).[300] This motif became common in Northern Italian painting as well[301] and soon spread to Central Europe.[302] At the time of the International Gothic, the motif was well

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[295] The earliest example is in a manuscript from around 800: UB Würzburg, Cod. theol. 69., fol. 7, see Zimmermann, E. Heinrich, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1906), Pl. 220.

[296] An important exception: the pulpit in the Duomo of Pisa by Giovanni Pisano, c. 1302-1310, see Ayrton, Michael, *Giovanni Pisano, Sculptor* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1969), fig. 164.

[297] *Meiss 1951,* 84.

[298] *Meiss 1951,* 54-56, fig. 92.

[299] Examples of this characteristic and popular paintings from the second half of the Trecento include a panel from the workshop of Bartolo di Fredi in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest (*Boskovits 1966*, 39) or the central panel of a triptych by Andrea Vanni in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington (*White 1987,* 551).

[300] *Meiss 1951,* 97; fig. 96. An example showing the influence of Andrea's fresco: Jacopo da Cione, Crucifixion altarpiece, London, National Gallery (*Davies 1988*, 54-56, plate 33.)

[301] See for example Barnaba da Modena, lower right picture of altarpiece in London, National Gallery, dated 1374 (*Davies 1988*, 7-9, plate 4).

[302] The earliest example I know of dates from the 1350s: Thuringian workshop, Retable with Crucifixion, Erfurt, Predigerkirche, see *Suckale – Weniger 1999,* 65.

established north and south of the Alps as well.[303] In Hungary, the example at Siklós is the earliest I know, followed by the Crucifixion fresco of Csáktornya (1380s).[304] The devil at Siklós is shown holding a stick-like object in his hands. This makes it clear that the demon is not here to take the soul of the thief (commonly represented in the form of a minuscule naked figure), but to beat and harass the unrepentant thief. This iconographic variant appears in the fresco of Barna and in the Sienese works deriving from it as well. Just like other elements of the Siklós frescoes, this small detail then also points to a close Italian connection with regard to the iconography and style of these frescoes.

Thus, we can see that the important role of Italian Trecento painting in Hungary is already evident in the first phase of the decoration at Siklós, a question that will be more fully discussed in the next part. For the time being, I will examine the close relationship between the first phase of the Siklós frescoes and those preserved at Esztergom and Zagreb. As we shall see, these two monuments are related to the art of Rimini, and the same trend can be detected at Siklós as well.

Foremost of these monuments are the wall-paintings of Esztergom (figs. 92-93). These frescoes are located in the small early Gothic chapel from around 1200 within the complex of the former royal palace.[305] From the thirteenth century on this palace and chapel became part of the archbishop's residence together with his original palace standing on the

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[303] A famous example is the large central panel of Konrad von Soest's altarpiece in Wildungen from 1404 or 1414 (Anna Eörsi, *International Gothic Style in Painting* (Budapest, 1986), 33). In Hungary, the motif is found for example in the Crucifixion fresco of the sanctuary of Almakerék, c. 1400. *MoMT* 2, II.

[304] *Srša 1998.*

[305] For the architecture of the originally royal chapel, see *Gerevich 1938*, 83-94; Marosi, Ernő, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. Esztergom in der Kunst des 12-13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984), 49-50.

other side of the cathedral. In the first half of the fourteenth century, this chapel was decorated with frescoes. The only substantial element that has survived of this *in situ* is a series of half-length figures in quatrefoil frames at the lower level of the wall above a painted curtain, representing eight of the apostles. From various other fragments[306] it was possible to reconstruct other elements of the decoration, which consisted of two painted rows on the three walls of the nave and the side chapel. The scenes depicted events from the Life and Passion of Christ on the north wall and in the northern side chapel (where other elements survive *in situ*), as well as episodes from the Life of the Virgin on the south wall. The center of the apse vault was occupied by the figure of the *Maiestas Domini*.[307]

The stylistic characteristics of the Esztergom frescoes, and their fusing of Giottesque and Sienese elements are very similar to the mature phase of Riminese Trecento painting, especially the work of Pietro da Rimini.[308] A very close similarity can be established with the frescoes in the church of San Pietro in Sylvis near Bagnacavallo.[309] These frescoes were painted by an anonymous master, who is often identified with Pietro da Rimini, but was

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[306] Aside from some small *in situ* fragments (especially in the northern side chapel), most of these fragments survived on the original broadstones of the destroyed walls. For their most recent restoration, see Illés, J. "Az esztergomi királyi kápolna falképeinek helyreállítása" [Restoration of the frescoes in the royal chapel at Esztergom] *Magyar Műemlékvédelem* 1969-1970 (Budapest, 1972), 225-252.

[307] Prokopp, Mária, "Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi iconografici," *AHA* 13 (1967), 273-312; Prokopp, Mária, "Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi dello stile," *AHA* 18 (1972), 169-192. See also *Prokopp 1983*, 82-84.

[308] The possibility of a Riminese connection was first raised on iconograhic grounds by Szmodisné Eszláry, Éva, "Az esztergomi várkápolna trecento falképeivel kapcsolatos kérdésekhez," *ÉÉT* 5 (1973/3-4), 315-322. More recently the thesis similar to ours was proposed by Glocková, Barbora, "Nástenná výzdoba arcibiskupskej kaplnky v Ostrihome skúmaná v nových vzťahoch k umeniu talianskeho trecenta (alebo riminská maľba v Zaalpí)," *Ars* 2000, 61-77. I first demonstrated this connection in a seminar paper written for Creigthon Gilbert in 1996 (*The Master of the Palace Chapel Frescoes at Esztergom* – Giotto and His Time, 1996 Spring). I thank professor Gilbert for his suggestions in this matter.

most likely a separate figure with distinct artistic characteristics.[310] Apart from his most important work in the sanctuary of the Romanesque church of San Pietro in Sylvis, two crosses, one in Urbino and one in Princeton, have also been attributed to him.[311] Although the painter's identity is debated, the frescoes of San Pietro in Sylvis are securely connected to Rimini by a fragmentary inscription, which also dates the frescoes between 1313 and 1332.[312] In the frescoes of San Pietro in Sylvis, there is a large *Maiestas Domini* in the center of the apse vault, surrounded by the four Evangelists, and a Crucifixion and the twelve apostles in the lower register. The *Maiestas*, Passion pictures and the apostles all appear in the known frescoes from Esztergom, too and the variation of older and younger apostles seems to be similar too. The facial types and the different positions of the hands have a striking resemblance to the positions of the half-length figures at Esztergom. Another aspect of the San Pietro frescoes is the strong sense of plasticism, emphasized by flashes of light in the expansive folds of the drapery, which are almost classical in treatment. This plasticism is combined with a deep feeling that radiates from the figures, while drama and strong expressive faces are lacking. Although the Esztergom frescoes appear much more linear today, we have to take into account that most of the original modeling, giving

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[309] See *Gnudi 1977*, 120-136, figs. 103-118; *Volpe 1965*, fig. 67-74.

[310] The frescoes were attributed most recently to Pietro da Rimini, see Medica, Massimo "Pietro da Rimini e la Ravenna dei da Polenta," *Benati 1995*, 100-101. Attributed to the anonymous Master of San Pietro in Sylvis by *Volpe 1965*, 21-22, and also by *Gnudi 1977*. See also Volpe, Carlo, "La pittura del Trecento in Emilia e in Romagna," in Volpe, Carlo, *La Pittura nell'Emilia e nella Romagna. Racolta di scritti sul Trecento e Quattrocento* (Modena: Artioli, 1993).

[311] Tambini, Anna, "The Master of San Pietro in Sylvis and a Riminese Cross" *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University*, 40 (1981/1) 10-13, see also ibid., "Una croce riminese" *Paragone*, no. 357 (1979), 41-47. For the cross in Urbino, see *Volpe 1965*, 22-23, 73, figs. 75-77.

[312] The fragmentary inscription was reconstructed as ".... DE ARIMINO PRO ANIMABUS SIMONIS ET ALIORUM SUORUM MORTUORUM TEMPORE DOMINI GUIDONIS DE COMITIBUS DE CUNEO RECTORIS DOMINI ISTIUS PLEBIS DOMINUS BENVENUTUS FRATER EIUS FECIT FIERI HOC OPUS." See *Gnudi 1977*, 134, note 8.

plasticity and softness to the figures, is lost today. It is still apparent, though, on some better-preserved details, as for example, the apostle heads from the Ascension picture. These beautiful details match the quality of the Riminese artist. Several other components, such as the figures depicted in quatrefoil frames in the dividing zone, or the Cosmatesque borders are also identical in San Pietro in Sylvis and Esztergom. Even the inscription on the pages of the book held by the central Christ in Majesty is written with the same majuscule letters in both frescoes. Further comparison is made difficult because no narrative scenes are known by this master, but it has been demonstrated by Mária Prokopp that the reconstructed Esztergom frescoes followed similar compositional types as many Riminese painters, including Pietro da Rimini.[313]

The Master of San Pietro in Sylvis was active during the 1320s-1330s. This is precisely the period when the Romanesque cathedral and palace were first rebuilt in Esztergom, after the battles of the first decades of the century. It is known from written sources that when in 1330 Csanád of Telegd became the new archbishop of Esztergom, he immediately started to rebuild the cathedral and the palace, both of which had been damaged during the struggles for the throne earlier that century. A fourteenth century chronicler specifically states that he had two chapels built (or rebuilt) in the palace, and we might suppose that he was responsible for their decoration as well.[314] Csanád had close ties to

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[313] Prokopp, Mária, "Pitture murali del XIV secolo nella cappella del castello di Esztergom. II. Problemi iconografici," *AHA* 13 (1967), 273-312.

[314] Some relevant passages in the Codex Sambucus are the following: "De archiepiscopo Chanadino. Eodem anno {1330} dominus Chanadinus episcopus Agriensis [...], egregius doctor in iure, [...] archiepiscopus Strigoniensis creatur. Qui mox sanctuarium Adalberti gloriosi martiris cathedralis sue ecclesie funditus eversum et totaliter demolitum sectis lapidibus et dolatis ac curiosis celaturis, columpnis, duris basibus et epistiliis mirifice fabricatis arte lathomica et cum gloriosa testitudine inchoavit ac inchoatum opus cum fenestris vitreis decorando et exterius propugnacula faciendo, necnon totam ecclesia tegendo celeriter et feliciter consumavit. [...Reconstruction of the fortifications

Italy; in the 1320s he studied at the University of Padua, and later, as chancellor of the king, he accompanied him on a trip to Naples in 1333-1334.[315] It is not impossible that the archbishop of Esztergom acquainted himself with the works of Riminese masters in the Angevin court of Naples, but wherever he found his masters, they decorated his chapel some time during the 1330s.[316] It has recently been pointed out that Riminese painters were particularly willing to travel in order to receive suitable commissions. Their appearance at Esztergom is thus not all that surprising, and as we will see momentarily, not even unique in Hungary.[317]

The other significant monument of the period is the chapel of St. Stephen near the cathedral of Zagreb, which served as the private chapel of the bishop.[318] The episcopal seat, founded by King Ladislas in 1093, was the spiritual and artistic center of medieval Slavonia (the region of Hungary on either side of the river Sava). The chapel is located in the medieval episcopal palace of Zagreb, which surrounds the cathedral. The frescoes on the vault and the north wall were discovered in 1950 in fairly good condition, but the rest of the

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of the castle...] Palatium etiam archiepiscopale ab antiquo desertum et inhabitabile fecit summo studio restaurate et duas capellas de latere palatii consurgentes fecit edificare omnium oculis gratiosas. [...] see "Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," in *SRH*, 492-493.

[315] *SRH*, 501-502.

[316] A painter "Pietro Orimina," documented in Naples in 1328, can not be identified with Pietro da Rimini, see *Bologna 1969*, 257. However, the rich material provided by *Bologna 1969* demonstrates that Naples became a very important center of Trecento painting by the 1330s, with Cavallini, Giotto, and Simone Martini working there along with local masters. On this, see Leone de Castris, Pierluigi, "La peinture à Naples, de Charle Ier à Robert d'Anjou," *L'Europe des Anjou – Aventure des princes angevins du XIII^e au XV^e siècle,* exhibition catalogue, Fontevraud, 2001 (Paris, 2001), 105-121.

[317] For Riminese painting, see most recently Alison Christine Fleming, *Emerging from the Shadow of Giotto – The Riminese School and Other Masters in the Trecento Marche,* PhD Dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 2001. On traveling artists, see esp. 48-58.

[318] *Sveti Trag,* 124-126; *Deanović 1995.* See also the review article: Tibor Kollár, "A zágrábi püspöki palota Szent István-kápolnája," *MVSz* 1996/2, 87-96.

decoration largely perished. On the east side of the vault, an image of the *Maiestas Domini* can be seen, held by four angels (fig. 95). On the north and south spandrels the figures of the four Evangelists are depicted, each of them sitting on a throne and writing at desks (fig. 94, some of these figures are fragmentary). On the west spandrel, the figure of St. John the Baptist survives, while another similar figure was destroyed. The side walls were likely filled with a cycle depicting the life of Christ. Of this only a large part of the scene showing the twelve-year-old Jesus teaching in the Temple survives today, with three rows of elder figures holding books or scrolls. The southern wall was once filled with a Crucifixion; of this only the figure of Magdalene remains, indicating that this, too, was a multi-figure Crucifixion. The style of the frescoes is again closely related to Riminese painting, but this time to the Sienese-inspired art of Giovanni Baronzio, and with the refectory frescoes of Pomposa abbey.[319] It is not certain who commissioned these frescoes and when. Mária Prokopp suggested Miklós Keszei, bishop between 1350-56 and chancellor of the king, while Ana Deanović proposed that the commissioner was his follower, István Kanizsai (1358-1374).[320]

Esztergom and Zagreb represent the two major sites of wall painting in the second third of the fourteenth century, and both had an extensive circle of influence. In both cases we have reason to suppose that in addition to the small chapels preserved up until now, some sort of painted decoration was also executed at the same time in the cathedrals of Esztergom and Zagreb as well. In any case, the Esztergom frescoes had a wide-ranging influence in northern Hungary. Closest to the Esztergom frescoes are the very damaged murals of Pelsőc

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[319] *Prokopp 1983*, 87.

[320] *Prokopp 1983*, 86-87; *Deanović 1995*.

(Gömör County), including a scene of the Crucifixion and a Last Supper.[321] From the second half of the century, a number of monuments of varying quality are known from Gömör County, that show the influence of Esztergom and Pelsőc. Further to the east, the frescoes of Petőszinye, painted around 1350, again show the direct influence of Italian Trecento art, especially Riminese and Bolognese painting of the 1330s-1340s, perhaps mediated through one of the lost Hungarian centers. Comparisons with Siklós include the similarity of a small devil leading the damned to Hell in the Last Judgment fresco with the devil from the Crucifixion-fresco (figs. 97-98).[322]

These two chapels therefore outline a trend of which the Siklós frescoes are also a part. In fact, the frescoes of Esztergom and Zagreb provide the closest parallels to the style of the surviving fragments from the first phase at Siklós. The three seated figures in the niches resemble the seated Evangelists on the vault of the Zagreb chapel, and are also comparable to the Riminese-style paintings in the refectory of Pomposa abbey. While the desks are missing, the figures sit in their throne in a similar fashion as the Zagreb figures, and even the motif of the slightly turning heads of Sts. Lawrence and Stephen has its parallel at Zagreb. Although the Zagreb frescoes are executed with a higher level of sophistication, many of the details are similar. It seems that the Siklós frescoes belong to the sphere of influence of the Zagreb frescoes, which at one time must have been considerable. At the same time, direct comparisons can also be made with the painting of Rimini. The frontal figure of St. Augustine depicted as a bishop at Siklós is closely related in type to

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[321] *Togner 1989,* 14-18, 68-69, 92-95, 178-179; *Prokopp 2002,* 28-30.

[322] *Dvořáková – Krása – Stejskal 1978,* 146-148, fig. 40-41.

Augustine's portrayal at Rimini's S. Agostino, painted by Giovanni da Rimini;[323] while the figure of St. Lawrence is comparable to figures at the refectory of Pomposa, decorated by the workshop of Pietro da Rimini.

Also pointing in the same direction are the intricate ornamental borders surviving from the first phase. These can be studied best on the north wall, above the destroyed Crucifixion fresco, where the border follows the arc of the wall. A strip of alternating red, yellow and black stripes runs along both edges of the border, painted to resemble a colorful marble strip. The field within these strips is decorated with varied motifs, the different strands being separated by large discs with concentric circles inscribed. The decoration of the border in the lower zone is a geometric pattern of red, blue, black and white – an imitation of Cosmatesque marble work, a common feature of Italian Trecento fresco painting. At Siklós, dark and light squares alternate with rectangles filled with two black triangles pointing at each other. This motif is found in a number of Hungarian frescoes as well, painted under Italian Trecento influence. The most important example is the castle chapel of Esztergom, where the same pattern can be found for example under the row of apostle medallions on the side walls. The borders at Esztergom are identical to the ones found at San Pietro in Sylvis, the main stylistic parallel to the frescoes in general. The sections of the border are separated by concentric circles at these places as well. The Esztergom frescoes proved to be highly influential in Hungary, and a number of more or less provincial examples followed in their wake, especially in the northern Hungarian county of Gömör, where variants of such geometric borders are common (Rimabánya, Hizsnyó,

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[323] *Volpe 1965*, pl. 56.

1360s-70s).[324] The borders around the large scenes on the walls are similar in the chapel of St. Stephen at Zagreb as well. A variant of the border motif, here also combined with circles at regular intervals can also be seen on the frescoes of Petőszinye in Upper Hungary, dating from the 1350s.[325]

At Siklós, the decoration of the frame in the upper part of the arch is painted with white and various shades of reds, forming a wavy pattern presumably intended to resemble clouds. Several examples of this pattern are also known in Hungary: at Csáktornya, not far south from Siklós, all the frescoes have such a border.[326] The frescoes there date from after 1376. Some later examples also exist: Maconka in Nógrád County[327] and Almakerék in Transylvania, both dating from around 1400.[328] In the first case, the cloud ornament is combined with geometric patterns similar to the ones at Siklós. The shape of the discs separating the different fields of ornament is also common. An example can be found in Kőszeg, where identical shapes can be seen above the fresco representing the Madonna della Misericordia, although the pattern of the borders there is different (1380-1400).[329]

To conclude, it appears likely that the frescoes were painted by a group of masters familiar with Riminese painting, or its offshoots in Hungary-Croatia, exemplified by the surviving frescoes of Esztergom and Zagreb. Of these two, the Siklós murals are closer to the paintings in Zagreb, indicating that Siklós was part of the sphere of influence of Hungary's southern metropolis. The dating of the frescoes in light of these parallels can be

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[324] *Prokopp 1983*, 90-91, 155, 177, figs. 71-72.

[325] *Dvořáková – Krása – Stejskal 1978*, 146-148, fig. 42-43.

[326] *Srša 1998.*

[327] *Prokopp 1983*, 95, 164, figs. 83-85.

[328] *Radocsay 1977*, 119-121.

put most likely to the 1360s or thereabouts. The frescoes were painted in a style that became prevalent in Hungary around the middle of the fourteenth century. The importance of Italian painting in fourteenth-century Hungary will be more fully explored in the following chapter.

The decoration was almost certainly commissioned by the Siklósi family, the founders of the church. The decoration might be connected with Miklós Siklósi, son of Pál (first mentioned in 1355, A.VI. 413), who became an Augustinian canon at Siklós, and later became prior, then the Hungarian *provincialis* of the order, and finished his life as bishop of Ossero, nominated to that post by the Garais in 1399. At the same time, the painting campaign must have been financed by other members of the family, including most likely the brother of Miklós, István, and Miklós's cousin, Imre, who was granted patronage of the church by his father in 1352 (see **Table 1.**).[330] Although we have seen that this was not their burial church, its proximity to their castle naturally contributed to the importance of the church and made its appropriate decoration almost a necessity. It is fair to say that until the discovery of these frescoes, we knew next to nothing about the artistic patronage of the Siklósi family. Later construction almost completely obliterated their work on the castle of Siklós. Their most important family monastery, the Benedictine abbey of Szenttrinitás, disappeared almost without a trace, as did the churches of Bajcs and Keresztúr.[331] Even in the Siklós church, the building was later reconstructed and the frescoes painted over. The quality of the surviving frescoes from the first phase, however, indicates that they were

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[329] *Radocsay 1977*, 144, fig. 39.

[330] 1352 – István Siklósi gives property over to his son Imre, his wife and their daughter: "Magister Stephanus filius magistri Petri de Soklous ... Soklous ecclesie et Castri et eciam suum patronatum totum cum Jure montano, tributo, terris arabilibus, pratis siluis, nemoribus, vineis et alys quibuslibet utilitatibus suis et pertinencys spectantibus ad easdem Emerico filio suo..." *Zichy* II. 491, No. 365.

[331] See Chapter I.1.A on these churches.

discerning and sophisticated patrons. The arrangement of frescoes created in the sanctuary under their patronage – with the saints of the order in the niches and the Crucifixion on the opposite wall – proved to be very successful and was adhered to when the new frescoes were painted. Thus, the role of the older scheme in determining the new one was considerable, and it is regrettable that no more of it has been preserved.

PART III. – THE SECOND PHASE OF DECORATION

The second phase of painted decoration determines the interior appearance of the Augustinian church of Siklós to this day. This complex – if fragmentarily preserved – decorative scheme resulted from the cooperation of at least three creative agents: members of the Garai family acting as patrons, providing financial support and probably the general framework for the decoration; the Augustinian canons, who presumably worked out the thematic details of the program; and the painters, who were responsible for executing it, no doubt making numerous decisions affecting not only form, but content as well. We will examine the contributions of these three forces in turn, in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the entire pictorial program. Thus a chapter will be dedicated to the evaluation of the program and the individual scenes in it, and after that the style of the frescoes, and the Italian connections of their painters will be discussed. Most attention will be given to the patronage of the Garais, who transformed Siklós into a representative aristocratic family church. Many details suggested along the way will be highly conjectural because they cannot be supported by any surviving sources – the whole work as such is undocumented, thus we will have to gain our insights directly from the pictures themselves. This necessitates that our analysis start with a description and close examination of the frescoes. This description and analysis is complemented by a comprehensive catalogue of the frescoes to be found in **Appendix A**, which is keyed to the illustrations.

1. The painted program of the chancel

It was shown in a previous chapter that soon after the Garai family obtained the castle of Siklós in 1395, they remodeled the adjacent Augustinian church. The sanctuary was rebuilt in a more elaborate manner, decorated with intricately carved stone corbels on the walls, while the tombstone of Miklós Garai (I) was set up along the central axis. To complete the remodeling, the walls and vaults of the sanctuary were adorned with a complete cycle of wall paintings (figs. 29-30). The new fresco cycle covered the remains of the earlier wall paintings, with the exception of the three figures in the wall niches. Coats of arms painted in numerous places securely tie this phase of the decoration with the patronage of the Garai family (figs. 21, 41). Among these heraldic devices, the insignia of the Order of the Dragon also appears, placed in the crown of the southern window (fig. 20). This chivalric order was founded by King Sigismund in 1408, and Miklós and János Garai were listed among the founding members. The date 1408 then determines the *terminus post quem* for the second phase of the frescoed decoration.

The arrangement of the frescoes was governed by the clear architectural system of the sanctuary. The vaulting ribs and the windows create simple architectural forms, which provided ample room for a coherent cycle of fresco decoration. The decorative system was further clarified by the addition of painted architectural elements, such as the illusionistic twisted columns introduced under the carved stone brackets. In addition to this, rich painted borders frame the individual compositions and figures. In many cases the framing takes the shape of miniature architectural elements, as, for example, in the tower-like structures in which the apostles are standing on the eastern wall. The lower zone of the

chancel walls was once also part of this system, and here painted marble panels and fictive benches are added to the rich imitation architecture. The painted frames, the marbling of the ribs and the painted architecture result in a unified framework, in which larger scenes, large figures and smaller elements all have their place.

The large scenes prominently placed on the side walls constitute the main element of the decoration. Unfortunately, these scenes have suffered the most over the centuries, leaving us with empty spaces where once groups of figures acted out key scenes of the story of salvation and the Life of the Virgin. Small fragments and traces of these once-elaborate scenes enable us to reconstruct the arrangement and subject matter of most of these pictures, but their former glory has been lost forever. The northern and southern walls had at one time provided the largest uninterrupted surfaces within the church before windows were opened in them – in the north wall, already around 1500, and on the other side in the Baroque period – consequently, the largest scenes were placed here. The theme of the destroyed scene in the western bay of the northern wall is unclear, but on the wall of the eastern bay, parts of a large, multi-figure Crucifixion still survive. On the opposite wall, the Coronation of the Virgin was depicted in a complex architectural setting. The western bay of the south wall has a blind window with shields and heraldic devices and a saint standing on both sides with an almost completely destroyed scene below it. Another part of this set of large scenes is the *Traditio Legis* painted on the inside of the triumphal arch; Christ is in the center, handing over keys and a book to St. Peter and St. Paul. Also on this scale of the decoration are the life-size standing apostles depicted in two rows, between the windows of the three eastern walls. The monumental apostles stand under

arcades and hold books in their hands. First in line among them is an image of the Man of Sorrows, painted above the former tabernacle.

The second stratum of decoration is on the vaulting of the church. Here various figures are depicted inside painted medallions, all of them half-length. The focal point of the vault decoration is Christ in Majesty, depicted in a medallion high in the center of the vault (largely destroyed). Also on the central axis, another medallion depicts the Virgin and Child, while a third shows the patron of the church, St. Anne holding Mary and Jesus. In two sections of the central bay's vault, around the figure of Christ, the symbols of the four Evangelists are painted in quatrefoil frames. The majestic winged animals, looking towards the center, display inscribed scrolls. In the eastern sections of the vault, six medallions show images of Old Testament kings and prophets. Four other medallions in the western section hold images of the four Church Fathers, of which the figure of Jerome is the best preserved.

The third level of decoration consists of figures on a smaller scale, and a few odd elements. Most notable of these is the figure of a hermit sitting alone on a rock, depicted above the southeastern window. Two small dogs, painted at the bottom of the north wall, are a similarly curious element. The splays of the windows are fully painted with ornamental designs and medallions populated by busts of various saints and different images of Christ in the crowns of the arches.

Clearly, we are dealing with a carefully planned and clearly organized program, which fills the entire wall surface in the area behind the former choir screen. The various elements all fit into their place like interlocking pieces of a puzzle. I will first examine the elements of this puzzle, and then proceed to interpret the entire ensemble.

2. The significance of key scenes

The individual elements serving as the building blocks of the program are all traditional subjects of Christian art. However, several elements acquire special significance here, either by their position within the church and their juxtaposition to other elements of the program, or by the historical and spiritual background of the period of their creation. These crucial elements of the program will be treated in this chapter. The analysis will start with the large scenes on the side walls, as these guide the arrangement and selection of secondary scenes as well. Along with these scenes, the group of apostles on the eastern walls will also be discussed, and we will demonstrate that even this fairly conventional element of the program can acquire special significance in an Augustinian church around 1400. After this a few remarks will be devoted to the image of St. Anne, the patron of the church, as well as to the various images of Christ arranged along the central axis of the church. Special attention will be given to those images where He appears as the suffering Christ. Finally come some smaller idiosyncratic elements of the fresco cycle, such as the figure of the hermit on the hill, the saints in the window splays, and the image of small dogs in the dado.

Upon entering the sanctuary, the viewer's attention is still drawn to the largest scenes on the south and north walls, although their impact is greatly diminished due to the extensive damage they suffered. It is still evident, however, that one of these dominant large scenes was a multi-figure Crucifixion on the north wall (**N-3-4,** figs. 36-38). This fresco repeated the theme, but not the composition of the earlier fresco at the same place

(see previous chapter). The picture field of the new fresco was of a different size than in the first phase. The single Crucifixion composition occupied the entire field of the wall, just as the Coronation fills much of the opposite wall. The bottom was painted with imitation benches, the exact shape of which can be reconstructed on the basis of fragments on other walls. Above this level, imitation marble paneling covered the walls, similar to a curtain-like decoration common at the time. Although this part of the decoration is missing, it can be reconstructed based on the other walls. The composition was surrounded by a painted border, just as in the previous phase, but now following the higher arch of the wall, and conforming in ornamental details and style to other frames from this phase. Its details can best be studied on the right side of the composition.

Enough remains of the Crucifixion to identify the picture type and the main elements of the composition. Unlike in the first phase, now only the cross of Christ was painted, high in the picture field, and not those of the thieves. Only the end of the left arm of the cross survives, with the hand of Christ nailed to it. This single detail from the figure of the Crucified gives an idea of the scale of his figure, which must have dominated the entire picture. If reconstructed, the cross-arm would span almost the entire width of the top of the picture, and would rise high above the other participants in the scene. Fragments of red, plumed wings on the left side indicate that mourning angels hovered about the cross. Of the other participants, only the group on the right side of the cross survives (fig. 38). The surviving details of this group reveal the sure hand and great skill of the painter responsible for it. In the center of the composition stands one large figure, shown in full-length. Enough survives to indicate that he was not depicted on horseback, but standing on the ground. His head is destroyed, but his body, clad in armor, survives. He rests his left

hand on a large shield, and presumably was pointing towards Christ on the cross with his other hand. This, at least, is the iconographic tradition into which this centrally placed figure, identifiable as the Centurion, can be placed. A great many other figures were depicted behind him; of these the head of an older, bearded figure survives, as well as many helmets, occasionally with faces peeking out from under them.

In Italian art, multi-figure Crucifixions had been common since the time of Duccio (Siena, *Maestà*) and Giotto (Padua, Arena chapel).[332] The culmination of the type is a series of monumental frescoes in Padua, including Altichiero's works in the St. James chapel of the Paduan Santo and the Oratory of San Giorgio (figs. 101-102) as well as Giusto da Menabuoi's fresco in the Paduan Baptistery.[333] In these, such a multitude of figures were depicted that anything comparable would have been impossible at Siklós because of its smaller scale, but the general outlines of the composition at Siklós – as reconstructed – are similar to these Italian examples. Of course, multi-figure Crucifixion images were already widespread in Central Europe at this time as well, thus this element alone does not prove a direct Italian connection. It is perhaps most instructive to compare the Siklós fragments with the most monumental work of court art from the era of King Sigismund, the Calvary-altar of Thomas de Coloswar from the Benedictine Abbey of Garamszentbenedek, dated 1427 (Esztergom, Christian Museum, fig. 102). It was

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[332] *White 1987,* 293-295, with bibliography (Duccio); *Pittura nel Veneto,* 102, fig. 107.

[333] *Pittura nel Veneto,* 142, fig. 164; 160-163, figs. 185-188. On Altichiero's Crucifixion images at the Santo and inside the Oratory of St. George, see also *Richards 2000,* 159-164, 197.

commissioned by Miklós son of Petüs, a canon at Győr and cantor of the royal chapel,[334] who had himself come from Garamszentbenedek, and the donor is similarly depicted kneeling on the central panel. The Passion-altar has a central panel and two wings.[335] The inside panels, including the central panel, make up a series starting with scene of the Agony in the Garden, and continuing with the scene of the Way to Calvary, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and ending with the Ascension. On the large, central Crucifixion, the Centurion – this time on horseback – occupies the first and central position on the right side, and a great many other figures are grouped behind him, in an arrangement similar to the Siklós fragment. In this iconographic tradition, the Virgin Mary is grouped with St. John and the other mourners on the other side of the Cross. In the picture by Thomas de Coloswar, other soldiers, Longinus with his lance among them, are depicted behind the mourners. The sources of Master Thomas's style can be found in Austrian and Bohemian art, but close ties with Italian and even French art have been demonstrated in his art.[336] The stylistic components of his art, however, have not yet been adequately studied. Nevertheless, compositional parallels of his Calvary picture (and by implication, those of the Siklós fresco) abound in Bohemian art of the last quarter of the fourteenth century and around 1400. A panel from the Master of the Trebon altar, or the central part of the Calvary panel of the Rajhad altar all belong to this type, but they all

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[334] Documented on the predella of the altar, which had burned in a fire in 1905. It is reproduced in Knauz, Nándor, *A Garan-melletti Szent-Benedeki apátság* (Budapest 1890), pl. 9. The text is also published in Gerevich Tibor, *Kolozsvári Tamás, az első magyar képtábla-festő* (Budapest, 1923), 3-4; *Takács 2001*, 630. See also *Esztergom 1993*, 172-174, no 1.

[335] On the altarpiece, see also Mucsi, András, *The Calvary Altarpiece of Thomas de Coloswar* (Budapest, 1980); *Marosi 1995*, 131-134; *Takács 2001*, 629-631. See also *MoMT 2*, 619-623.

[336] For an overview, see Török, Gyöngyi, "Problems of Central European Art. c. 1400: The Thomas de Coloswar Altarpiece in Hungary," *Washington 1986*, 133-138.

show the soldiers standing – just like, presumably, at Siklós.[337] In Austria, in a large Viennese atelier, generally labeled as the workshop of the St. Lambrecht votive image, a series of such monumental, multi-figure Crucifixions were painted in the decades between 1410-1440. The Centurion generally occupies a central position on the right half of the pictures, but unlike the Siklós fresco or the Bohemian examples mentioned above, the Viennese pictures generally include the crosses of the two thieves as well.[338] Closer comparisons are hard to make, as the group of figures on the left side of the Siklós composition disappeared without a trace. The direct sources of the Siklós image are thus very hard to pinpoint, as so little of the composition survives. In any case, the large Crucifixion certainly served as one of the focal points of the chancel decoration, focusing attention on the suffering of Christ and on the act of salvation.

More survives of the large composition on the opposite, south wall, depicting the Coronation of the Virgin (**S-1,** figs. 56-58). Originally a large architectural structure dominated this picture, in which the main protagonists – Mary and Christ were placed at the center. Adoring angels stood on the sides, under the arcaded sides of the throne-building. Mary was on the right side of Christ, and Christ was shown placing the crown on the Virgin's head. The two main figures are largely destroyed, though some parts survive

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[337] Prague, National Gallery, dating from 1380 and 1420, respectively. See *Staré České Umění – Sbírky Národní Galerie v Praze* (Prague, 1988) no. 31, no. 48; *Pesina 1970,* 223-226, cat. 307; 241-243, cat. 338. Already around 1365, the Crucifixion from the Emmaus monastery (*Staré České Umění,* no. 19, *Pesina 1970,* 218 cat. 302,) shows this type. In earlier examples, such as the Vissy Brod altar, c. 1350 (*Staré České Umění,* no. 11, *Pesina 1970,* 212 cat. 292), John was on the right side of the cross, as was common in Italian art. The grouping goes back as far as Giotto (Arena) and Duccio (*Maestà*), although there the centurio was not yet emphasized, see before.

[338] The examples include the Crucifixion retable of St. Lambrecht (c. 1415, Graz, Joanneum) and the "Crucifixion of Linz" (c. 1435, Linz, Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum), see Oberhaidacher, Jörg, "Die Linzer Kreuzigung als Beispiel für die Spätzeit der Tafelmalerei der internationalen Gotik in Wien," *ÖZKD* 61 (2002), 226-238.

in sinopia only, while at other areas only the outline of the figures can be seen. The fact that the heads have completely disappeared indicates that the figures must have been intentionally damaged.

The composition belonged to a fairly common type, which had already been developed in thirteenth-century French cathedral sculpture, and was further elaborated in Italian Trecento painting.[339] Despite contemporary developments in the iconography of the scene – for example the introduction of the Trinity in the Coronation instead of depicting Christ alone[340] – the Siklós picture still adheres to the traditional type. Such coronation images remained popular in Northern Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century, as the monumental frescoes of Altichiero (Padua, figs. 103-04), Guariento (Venice, Padua) and Giusto de' Menabuoi (Padua) demonstrate.[341] While the focus of these compositions remained on the action of the central two figures, a throng of figures appeared on either side of the throne. These groups of angels and saints further elevated the picture into the heavenly sphere. Such angels also appear in the Siklós fresco, although in smaller numbers. In all likelihood, further figures, in particular two groups of saints, were also depicted in the foreground of the picture, but in the very abraded surface of this part of the wall, only the faint fragments of a halo indicate this arrangement. Overall, the composition

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[339] Verdier, Philippe, *Le Couronnement de la Vierge – Les origines et les premiers développements d'un thème iconographique* (Montreal-Paris, 1980).

[340] Flor, Ingrid, "Hans von Judenburg II – Die trinitarische Marienkrönung – Zur Entfalung eines neuen ikonographischen Themas," *Graz 1990*, 233-252; Flor, Ingrid, "La rappresentazione dell'Incoronazione della Vergine Maria e l'iconografia di 'tipo veronese'," *Arte Cristiana* 87 (1999), 17-32. In medieval Hungary, the first example of the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity is at Csáktornya, dating from the 1380s, see *Srša 1998.*

[341] For Guariento's images, including the Coronation in the center of the monumental image of Paradise inside the Palazzo Ducale, Venice, and see *Pittura nel Veneto*, 62, fig. 51; *Flores D'Arcais 1965*, 131-133. Giusto de' Menabuoi, Padua, *Santo*, tomb of Niccolò e Bolzanello di Vigonza, *Pittura nel Veneto*, 152, fig. 176.

can be reconstructed as that on the central panel of an altarpiece by Giusto de' Menabuoi in the National Gallery of London (fig. 107). The arched top of the central panel provides a picture space similar to the wall surface at Siklós, and the two central figures are seated in a throne with elaborate architectural background. Angels and saints are standing on either side, and there are further saints on either side in the foreground of the panel. Dated 1367 by an inscription, the altarpiece was painted in the Lombard period of Giusto, and is imbued with North Italian characteristics.[342] Similarly, the elaborate architectural setting of the Siklós Coronation recalls Altichiero's fresco from the Paduan oratory of St. George, although it does not reach its complexity (fig. 104).[343] This motif of Altichiero was taken up by a great many of his followers, and spread throughout Northern Italy. In fact, this was one of the most characteristic and imitated elements of his art. In Siklós, the throne appears as a true building, with a tile roof and two entrances on the sides, and it is significant that an attempt has been made to depict the central figures inside this space.

Some comments should now be made about the lost picture on the western section of the north wall (**N-1-2**, figs. 34-35). The destruction of this entire composition is perhaps the greatest single loss in the sanctuary. The surviving elements provide only minimal clues to the identification of the scene once depicted here. One sole figure remains, located on the right side of the wall surface; it turns toward the center of the picture, holding something (perhaps roses) in its hand. Remains of wings behind its back identify the figure as an angel. The surviving areas on the left side of the picture depict a rocky landscape. Mária Prokopp supposed that a scene from the life of St Augustine had been depicted

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[342] *Davies 1988*, 41-44, no. 701.

[343] *Richards 2000*, 198; *Pittura nel Veneto*, 164.

here,[344] but this is improbable. A scene from the life of Christ and the Virgin would have been more in keeping with the decorative program of the sanctuary and with contemporary trends of sanctuary decoration. Based on the surviving elements and on the overall decorative structure of the sanctuary, this scene was most likely the Nativity, perhaps combined with the Adoration of the Shepherds, or – possibly – the Adoration of the Magi. The rocky landscape was the traditional background of the Nativity, even if by the second half of the fourteenth century the birth was depicted not inside a cave, but in a wooden structure.[345] A good case in point would be the Nativity by Altichiero inside the Paduan Oratory of St. George.[346] The figure of the angel is a common participant in Nativity scenes.

The images in the fourth section, the western area of the south wall are also quite damaged (**S-5-8**, fig. 59). Here the upper section was perhaps the part most closely related to the patrons of the church, the Garai family. The figures were arranged around a window, which is decorated with coats of arms, and identifies the commissioners, as well as the approximate time of painting (fig. 20). Unfortunately only the heraldic emblems of the kingdom of Hungary and that of the Garai family can still be identified, along with the

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[344] *Prokopp 1995*, 161. The scene she proposed was the meeting of St. Augustine with the boy who tried to scoop the water out of the sea, thus *The Vision of St. Augustine*. This scene was occasionally depicted, see for example on the predella panel by Fra Filippo Lippi in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, see Kustodieva, Tatyana K., *Italian Painting, Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries – The Hermitage (Catalogue of Western European Painting)* (Moscow – Florence, 1994), 234-235. Lippi's work, dating from c. 1450-1460 is regarded as one of the first examples of the theme, thus its occurrence at Siklós is wholly improbable.

[345] Although the earlier type can still be detected at this time, see for example a series of panels with the Nativity, attributed to Niccolò di Tommaso, Offner, Richard, "Niccolò di Tommaso and the Rinucci master," (1927), *A Discerning Eye – Essays on Early Italian Painting by Richard Offner*, ed. Ladis,Andrew (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1998), 209-235, figs. 8, 9.

[346] *Richards 2000*, plate 78.

insignia of the Order of the Dragon in the crown of the window. Of the figures next to the window, only St. John the Baptist survives (**S-6;** fig. 61). St. John was the patron saint of János Garai, the younger of the two brothers. On the other side, under arcaded structures, the patron saints of other members of the Garai family, such as St. Nicholas and St. Ladislas most likely stood. There is no sign today that would indicate the representation of the patrons themselves, although such a possibility cannot be excluded. Family members were represented for example at Bántornya (fig. 160) and at Tar, but at Siklós, space constraints indicate that probably only the patron saints were depicted, as at Almakerék.

Directly below the window, there was a larger scene. Some fragments of this composition suggest that it represented the Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 60), which would in normal circumstances have been depicted below the Coronation of the Virgin. The key to the reconstruction of the scene is the fragment of a figure lying on a bier, and another one standing next to it. Fragments of halos indicate that more figures stood in the background. The decision to leave intact the three figures painted inside the niches from the first phase meant that there was no room under the Coronation, which would have been the standard place for the Dormition. Nevertheless, it is not entirely certain that this picture depicts the Dormition of the Virgin, although this is the most likely identification.

With this reconstruction of the four large scenes on the side walls, the entire system of the sanctuary becomes clearer. Thus the north side depicted scenes from the life of Christ, from his Infancy and Passion alike, while the south side was dedicated to the Virgin. Meanwhile, all four major scenes on the walls contain the joint representation of the Virgin and Christ, depicting them in different contexts and different forms of interaction. In the Nativity, Mary protects the helpless little child, while in the Crucifixion

her protection is not enough to spare His sacrifice. On the north wall their relationship is different – Christ appears as God, and crowns his mother, and in another scene is shown standing by her deathbed. With the inclusion of a Nativity scene in this series of pictures, all significant stages of the life of Christ, from Infancy through the Passion and the events after the Resurrection are represented. Thus the structure of the narrative scenes is the same as in Altichiero's already-mentioned Oratory of San Giorgio. Here on the shorter end walls we have scenes from an infancy cycle (entrance wall, fig. 106), as well as a Crucifixion scene and the Coronation of the Virgin on the altar wall (fig. 99). While in Altichiero's chapel the Infancy scenes are arranged in a longer narrative cycle, at Siklós only an individual scene is selected. The selection of the two scenes on the altar wall at Padua is the same as the two main scenes opposite each other at Siklós: these are not part of narrative cycles in either case, but are the most important, crucial moments of dogmatically significant events. Similar strategies were often employed in altarpieces of this period as well: an example is Giusto da' Menabuoi's altarpiece with the Coronation of the Virgin in the central panel, already mentioned in connection with this scene (fig. 107). The interior wings depict the Nativity and the Crucifixion, with scenes from the life of the Virgin on the exterior.[347] The narrative structure of this altarpiece follows a trend established in Giusto's hometown of Florence, where altars by Bernardo Daddi employed the same system already in the 1330s.[348] In the case of Hungarian church interiors, a depiction of the Crucifixion inside the sanctuaries was a common feature, and a natural choice given the role of the space in the liturgy. Other images complementing this usually

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[347] *Davies 1988*, 41-43, no. 701, pl. 27-28.

[348] Delaney, Bradley J., "Giusto de' Menabuoi in Lombardy," *AB* 58 (1976), 19-35.

depicted a moment from the Infancy of Christ, and a scene from the Life of the Virgin, thus providing a selection of theologically crucial themes. As we will see later, this strategy was often used in the decoration of aristocratic chapels around 1400 in Hungary.

The eastern end of the sanctuary presents a variation on the most traditional pattern of decoration in this area. Already in the Romanesque period, it was common to show the apostles here, lined up under a series of arcades.[349] The motif remained common enough until the early 1400s (Bántornya, fig. 159; Mártonhely).[350] At Siklós the greatest variation is provided by the arrangement of the apostles in two rows, one above the other (figs. 39-41). A series of tower-like buildings are placed between the windows of the eastern wall, and each apostle is depicted inside a little niche-like building, in the upper row equipped with a nice tile roof. Of the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul can be identified, on either side of the central eastern window (**E-7-8;** figs. 43-44). Aside from them, only the figure of St. Andrew has an attribute making identification possible: he holds his X-shaped cross in front of him (**E-4;** fig. 42).

The apostles represent the continuity and unity of the church since its early days. The apostles and the apostolic life was a constant reference point for all reform movements, and thus, for the Augustinian canons as well. Their ideal was a return to the common life and poverty of the Apostles. Thus, they are represented here with bare feet, their only property the books of the Bible, representing the message it was their mission to disseminate. This is one of the central ideas of the Rule of St. Augustine, adopted by the

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[349] The most traditional Romanesque apse decoration consisted of the *Maiestas domini* combined with the series of the apostles. A characteristic example of the type from Hungary is the apse of the rotunda of Hidegség, dating from the mid-thirteenth century, *Tóth M. 1974*, 68-72, with further examples in the notes.

canons. The apostles are also teachers, and as such serve as models for the canons who – as Caroline Bynum has demonstrated – taught by "word and example."[351] While the figures painted in the wall niches during the first period reminded the canons of their (supposed) founder and origins, here the ideal model of the *vita canonica* is depicted. Thus the traditional decoration of the apse wall, which since the Romanesque period had included the images of the apostles under arcades, has here been adapted to the needs of the canons and attains new meaning in this context.

Turning back, we see a majestic image of Christ on the triumphal arch, in the scene of the *Traditio Legis et Clavium* (**W-1-3;** figs. 62-63). Christ is shown handing the keys to Peter and a book to Paul, with each figure included in a medallion. The scene combines two motifs: the Giving of the Keys and the Giving of the Law.[352] The first shows Christ giving the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven to St. Peter, as told in the gospel of Matthew (16:13-20). In medieval art, the representation of the counterpart of this story, the Giving of the Law (represented with a scroll) was more common, although the Bible does not mention it. The biblical passage does indicate, however, that the power of forgiveness was granted to Peter alone, and to the church built by him (Matt. 16,19). In the Siklós scene, and many medieval representations of the *Traditio Legis*, St. Paul is also present, and receives the Law. His appearance in this context is of course anachronistic, as he had not yet converted during the life of Christ, and thus has to be interpreted allegorically, referring to the fact that after his conversion he was one of the most ardent advocates of

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[350] *Höfler – Balažic 1992*, 33, 39.

[351] See Bynum, Caroline, "The Spirituality of Regular Canons in the Twelfth Century – A New Approach," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 4 (1973), 3-24.

the New Covenant. He also appears as the other Prince of the Apostles, who was especially venerated in Rome.

The Biblical passage and its representation can be interpreted to underscore the direct link between Christ and St. Peter and thus with his successors, the Popes. Consequently, the *Traditio Legis* became a favored subject already in Early Christian art, appearing in sarcophagi (Junius Bassus, 359, Vatican, Museo Vaticano) and on the mosaics and frescoes of churches in Rome. The dome of the Arian Baptistery in Ravenna (c. 500) shows Peter with the keys and Paul with a scroll standing on either side of the Throne of Grace. Throughout the medieval period, the scene emphasized the divine origins of the Roman church and the primacy of the Pope, stressing that Peter and his successors, the popes, are the only legitimate heads of the church. This was important at the time of the Great Schism (1378-1417), a time when frequent debates were held over the authority of the pope, the church councils and the emperor. Throughout the schism, Hungary always stood on the side of the Roman pope and not of its opponent in Avignon. Perhaps the inclusion of this Roman scene into the decorative system might have served to underscore the legitimacy of the Roman pope.[353] The controversy was resolved at the council of Constance, where Sigismund played a leading role in the election of a universally recognized pope, Martin V.[354] The abbot of Trinitás was there at Constance, and so was

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[352] Davis-Weyer, Cecilia, "Das Traditio-Legis Bild und seine Nachfolge," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* XII (1961), 7-45.

[353] On Hungary's relationship with the papacy in the period, see Erdő, Péter, "The Papacy and the Kingdom of Hungary during the reign of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387-1437)," *1000 Years,* 63-68.

[354] *Hoensch 1996*, 191-221, 244-278, with further bibliography on the Council.

Miklós Garai himself. Thus surely everyone of consequence in the area of Siklós must have been familiar with the debate.[355]

Peter and Paul also acquire a special, and more local significance, because of Siklós's location in the diocese of Pécs, the patron saints of which were Peter and Paul. In fact, the only other representation of this scene known from Hungary was a destroyed fresco from the splays of a thirteenth-century window in the main apse of Pécs cathedral (fig. 120). Known from a watercolor copy, the fresco showed Christ on top of the window, giving the keys to Peter and the book to Paul. All three figures were in round medallions, just as at Siklós, and the decoration also included six more apostles in medallions. The Pécs fresco most likely dates from around 1300, and was painted under strong Byzantine influence, but by a western master.[356] Sts. Peter and Paul can be found in a similar position in the decoration of a few contemporary church interiors as well. At Almakerék, the Triumphal arch displays an image of the *Madonna della Misericordia* (Virgin of the Protecting Cloak) in the center, in a clear eschatological function (fig. 170). On either side below the central image, Peter and Paul with their attributes, keys and sword, are represented. Placed in the traditional location of the Last Judgment scenes and other eschatological images, the Siklós image might also carry a subtle reference to the end of the world, especially as the central figure of Christ appears in a position similar to the one he assumes at the Last Judgment.

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[355] Hervay, Ferenc Levente, "Szenttrinitás," *Paradisum plantavit,* 516, see *CDH* X/4, 769; Garai: *Engel 1987,* 417.

[356] Pécs, Cathedral Chapter archives, Koppay-copies, no. II-III., see *Pannonia Regia* 222-223, no. III-6.

At Siklós, in an unusual iconographic solution, the central scene on the triumphal arch is complemented by the praying figures of Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt on either side (**W-4-5;** figs. 64-65). Both female saints are depicted inside a cave, their bodies covered with their long hair. As sinners who converted, they both pray to Christ for forgiveness, further enhancing the eschatological reference of the western wall. The Magdalene is depicted similarly in her legends. In a fresco by Cavallini in Naples (1308-09), she is depicted in a very similar setting, inside a cave in the scene depicting the miracle of the host-bearing angel.[357] Mária Prokopp suggested that the praying figures illustrate the concept of Grace developed by Augustine. According to Augustine, everyone deserves the grace of God, and has to pray for it continuously. Although the grace of God is present, salvation is only granted to those who opt for it through good deeds and prayer.[358]

At Siklós, the large scenes of the walls are complemented by the decoration of the vault, which is the subject of the following observations. When the viewer turns his gaze upward, he is greeted by the image of St. Anne with the Virgin and Child directly above (**V-1;** figs. 66-67). Along with the other scenes on the central axis of the vault, the large medallion shows the maternal ancestry of Christ – St. Anne, and in the next medallion, the Virgin and Child. The first image acquires special significance, as Anne was the patron saint of the church, and as the protector of Anne of Cilli, must have been specially venerated. St. Anne holding the Virgin and the Child is depicted inside a six-lobed medallion, which was once held by an angel on either side. The figures inside the

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[357] Naples, S. Domenico, Brancaccio-chapel, attributed to Cavallini and dated 1308-09, see *Bologna 1969*, 124, plate III-20, III-23.

medallion survive fairly intact. The large figure of St. Anne is covered in a large ochre-red mantle and holds the smaller figures of the Virgin and the Child in the center. The Virgin and Christ embrace each other and their faces touch as they kiss each other, in a very touching image of the Holy Family.

The cult of St. Anne is a late medieval phenomenon, and was favored by the Augustinians. St. Anne was essentially a constructed saint, her story told first in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James. She had a strong early cult in Byzantium, which also reached Rome, but her devotion developed slowly, taking off only in the twelfth century. Her legend was incorporated in the Legenda Aurea, and she became one of the more popular saints of the later Middle Ages. Anne's cult became especially important once the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin developed. The image showing St. Anne with the Virgin and Child can be regarded as a visual expression of this doctrine.[359] The doctrine became dogma at the Council of Basel in 1438, although some controversy continued to surround the issue.

The cult of St. Anne was popular in Hungary early on, perhaps due to Byzantine connections. The number of churches dedicated to St. Anne, including the church of Augustinian hermits at Esztergom (mentioned in 1272), testifies to her popularity.[360] In such churches, as well as in other places, the image of St. Anne holding the Virgin and the Child often appears. Fourteenth-century examples include a fresco on the tympanum of the palace chapel at Esztergom, and another fresco depicting the patron of the church and her

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[358] *Prokopp 1995*, 161.

[359] Ashley, Kathleen – Sheingorn, Pamela, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols – Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens – London: The University of Georgia Press, c1990), 1-53.

extended family at Marosszentanna.[361] The frescoes of Johannes Aquila, including the monumental image painted at Velemér (1373), and another one at Bántornya (fig. 161) show a type developed in the latter part of the century, depicting St. Anne standing, and holding two small figures.[362] An interesting variation appears at Siklós: The Virgin and Christ press their faces to each other, in the tradition of Byzantine *Eleousa* images. The type must have been known in Central Europe around 1400, as a panel painting from the Carmelite monastery of Strzegom (Poland) demonstrates.[363]

Also along the central axis, the next medallion contains the Virgin and Child (**V-2;** fig. 68). Their figures are largely destroyed, but it is still clear that the Child, dressed in a red robe, and standing in his mother's arms, gestures in blessing. His left hand is folded across his chest, above his mother's hand. In the next medallion, Christ was shown in Majesty. This is the most important of a long series of images depicting the Savior, and the focal point of the entire decoration. Originally two angels held up the round medallion, each supporting it with both hands (**V-3;** fig. 69). The background of the medallion was red, and inside it the figure of Christ was oriented differently than the figures in the two previous medallions: his head was facing west, thus oriented in the same direction as the central Garai shield on the keystone. Although the figure of Christ is essentially destroyed,

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[360] Mező, András, *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben (11-15. század)* (Church Names in Hungarian Geographical Names) (Budapest: Metem, 1996), 58-59.

[361] Other examples of St. Anne in medieval frescoes: Kiszombor (Dávid, Katalin, "Die Kirche von Kiszombor," *AHA* 16 (1970), 201/230, esp, 224/225, fig. 18), Tornaszentandrás, Petőszinye, Almakerék, Hetvehely. *ÜK* III. 121.

[362] *Höfler – Balažic 1992,* 25.

[363] Wroclaw, Muzeum Narodowe, c. 1400, see Otto-Michałowska, *Gótikus táblaképek Lengyelországban* (Budapest – Warsaw – Berlin, 1982), no. 4; *Parler cat*, Handbuch, 506 p. (A. Ziomecka).

significant clues remain to identify the image type. Christ was covered with a blue cloak, and held a book, the square bottom of which survives. Christ thus appeared in the traditional form of Christ in Majesty, in the form of Apocalyptic God. The representation of Christ as ruler had been one of the classic themes of sacred art ever since the Early Christian period. Pantokrator images in Byzantine apses, as well as *Maiestas Domini* reliefs in Romanesque tympana, heralded the glory and magnificence of Christ and emphasized the immortal, divine aspect of His nature over His suffering and mortal, human one.[364] As is typical of this image type, He is surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists, each depicted within a roundel (**V-8-11;** fig. 73-76). The structure of the vault necessitated some adjustments. Thus, the Evangelists seem to surround the Garai coat of arms on the keystone, and not the medallion of Christ. Each figure is depicted in half-length, and each holds a scroll in front of him, while his mouth opens in an expression of speech. The inscriptions carry important passages from the Gospels, written by the authors whose symbol is depicted.[365] The depiction of the four Evangelists as frightening, winged animals in medieval art is based on the description in St John's *Book of Revelation*, according to which four creatures accompanied the figure of God enthroned in a rainbow. The first resembled a lion, the second an ox, the third a person, and the fourth a flying eagle, each having six wings [*Rev* 4:7]. The four fantastic creatures were originally associated with Christ, who was born in human form, died like a sacrificial ox, rose like a strong lion, and flew to heaven like an eagle. Already in the third and fourth centuries, the

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[364] *LCI* 3. col. 136-142. For the origins, see also Berger, R., *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst* (Tübingener Forschungen zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 5) (Reutlingen 1926).

[365] For the surviving fragments, see the relevant entries in the Catalogue of Frescoes (Appendix A).

Church Fathers identified the four creatures with the four Evangelists and their divine teachings, and the subject became a standard motif of medieval art.[366] The four Evangelists were the witnesses to the acts of Christ, and the earliest and most authentic messengers of His acts and teachings. Next to them on the vault appear the images of the prophets and the Church Fathers, which are among the most characteristic and powerful portrayals at Siklós (fig. 77). Central among the prophets are two Old Testament kings, both ancestors and prototypes of Christ: Solomon and David (**V-14-15;** figs. 78-79). David – who belongs among the prophets because of his authorship of the Psalms – is represented as an older man, with a beard, playing his lyre. Solomon on the other hand is represented as a youthful man, holding a wide scroll upright in his left hand, pointing at the text with his right. Solomon's place among the prophets was based on his presumed authorship of the Proverbs and Song of Songs. As the two most important kings in the Old Testament, their inclusion in similar Old Testament cycles is quite common. The other prophets are in a somewhat subordinate role; Daniel and Zechariah on the northern side survive better: the first depicted as a young man in a Phrygian hat, the latter as a bearded old man (**V-16-17;** figs. 80-82). On the other side, the prophet Jeremiah can be recognized, while the figure in the other medallion is so damaged that it can no longer be identified. The inclusion of Zechariah in the cycle indicates that this group of four prophets did not represent the four 'greater prophets' (Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel). The figures were therefore selected according to other criteria, and we cannot be sure who the missing prophet was. Each prophet holds a scroll with an inscription identifying its holder.

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[366] *LCI* 1. col. 694-714 (Evangelisten und Evangelistensymbol).

The Church Fathers did not fare as well: only one of them has survived intact. However, in this case their identification at least presents little problem. On the southern side, St. Gregory the Great and St. Jerome are depicted as half-length figures, within medallions (**V-4-5;** figs. 70-71). Of the first figure, only the tip of his hat and his right elbow survives, with his hand resting on a book. The pointed hat can be identified as the tip of a papal tiara, hence the identification with Gregory, the only pope among the Church Fathers. The figure of Jerome is essentially intact: he is depicted behind his desk, with his left hand resting on the desk, while he examines his quill held in his right hand. He wears the attire and hat of a cardinal and his bearded face turns to the left. On the southern side St. Ambrose can be identified with the help of the inscription (**V-6;** fig. 72). Surviving areas of the figure include the face and the writing stand with the scroll. Next to him the figure of St. Augustine is largely destroyed, with the exception of small fragments from the head (**V-7**). Here, a bishop's miter and the upper part of the face can be seen. There is a small cherub on the right side of his head, indicating the divine origins of his writings.

The representation of these figures at Siklós also follows Italian models. The group of the four western Church Fathers gained prominence with the bull of Pope Boniface VIII of 1295, which raised these four figures, as the most valid interpreters of the Gospel, above all other theologians, naming them *doctor ecclesiae*.[367] The first known depiction of the Church Fathers as a group is found in the basilica erected over the tomb of St. Francis at Assisi, in the vault of the upper church above the main entrance. The vault frescoes

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[367] *LCI* 2. col. 529-538 (Kirchenlehrer, Kirchenväter); *LMA* 5., col. 1185-1186.

were painted on the orders of the pope, at the time of the bull was issued.[368] Numerous similar works of Italian Trecento painting imitated this composition, such as the frescoes in Ravenna's churches of Santa Maria in Porto fuori and Santa Chiara, and those in the Cappellone di San Nicola in Tolentino (all three painted by masters from Rimini).[369]

While in Hungary the traditional subject of the Majestic Christ with the Evangelists remained common throughout the fourteenth, this was increasingly supplemented with a depiction of the Church Fathers as well, especially in fresco cycles found in Gömör County (in Hizsnyó, Rákos, Ochtina, Gecelfalva, and Rimabrézo, figs. 116-117, 119).[370] Similarly, at Siklós, the most interesting element of the vault decoration is the juxtaposition of the Evangelists and the Church Fathers. Often the two groups are arranged in pairs, as in the Gömör churches listed above. Or, to bring an Italian analogue, Altichiero also included the busts of these eight figures arranged in pairs in the soffit of the arch of a niche containing the Dotto tomb (Padua, Eremitani, destroyed in 1944, fig. 110).[371] At Siklós the groups – supplemented by the prophets – are next to each other, forming an arrangement parallel to their position within universal history. The acts of Christ were foretold by the prophets, represented on the eastern section of the wall, and His life was witnessed and chronicled by the Evangelists, represented in the center. His teachings were later explicated in great detail by the four great Church Fathers, who are represented on the

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[368] For an illustration, see Romanini, Angiola Maria, *Assisi – The Frescoes in the Basilica of St. Francis* (New York: Rizzoli, 1998), 84-85. The date of the fresco is discussed by Poeschke, J., *Die Kirche San Francesco in Assisi und ihre Wandmalereien* (Munich: Hirmer, 1985), 33-34, 87.

[369] *Volpe 1965,* figs. 215, 112-115, 274-276.

[370] *Togner 1989*, 172, 179-180, 177-178, 173-174, 181-182, respectively; *Prokopp 2002,* 16; figs. 9-11, 47-48, 81-83.

[371] *Richards 2000,* 211-213.

western section of the vault. Three generations of prophecy and exegesis are thus linked together on the vault, just as the three generations of the maternal ancestry of Christ are laid out in the central axis of the vault. This complex system, once again, follows a pattern established by Altichiero in Padua: the three bays of the vaults of the St. James chapel and the Oratory of San Giorgio are both structured in the same way, with the busts of prophets, Evangelists and Church Fathers depicted inside medallions.[372] Thus, the composition of the depictions of the four Church Fathers at Siklós is directly related to such Italian Trecento models.

Throughout the program of the Siklós sanctuary, only one element appears more than once, and only one is common to the decoration of the church and the castle chapel: the image of the *Vir dolorum,* or Suffering Christ. The repetition is due to the different functions of the image in different places, but these representations together create a clear statement emphasizing the saving powers of the blood of Christ. The largest of these images is the one above the former tabernacle (**E-1,** fig. 39). The composition is framed by an arch, located on the lower floor of the tower depicted on the left side of the window. Christ is depicted in front of a cross, his head falls to the left, his right arm hangs down, and his left arm rests across his chest. The image placed here in direct reference to the host was a common arrangement at the time, found for example in the church of Hizsnyó or Almakerék (fig. 118). The depiction of the suffering, bleeding body of Christ illustrates the popular notion that the Eucharist is the body of Christ, especially if such an image was

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[372] See the layouts of the vaults in *Richards 2000,* 234, 239; see also plate 51a-d.

placed near a tabernacle.[373] This placement, however, is interesting for two more reasons: First, it is right next to the monumental Crucifixion image. Thus in the narrative scene, we witness the death of Christ, while here in an iconic scene we experience the mystery of the redemption. Second, the image of the Man of Sorrows was included as the first figure in the series of the Apostles.

The image type is connected to the cult of the Holy Blood and the wounds of Christ, a cult that grew in strength during the later Middle Ages. Relics of the Holy Blood were the objects of pilgrimages, and were venerated in many places in Europe, and special prayers were written to each of the wounds of Christ.[374] The veneration of the Holy Blood, the *Corpus Christi,* and that of the wounds, were all part of the series of feast days regulated by various papal bulls and accompanied by rich liturgical texts. In 1264, the *Corpus domini* was declared a universal feast, while the cult of the Holy Blood received new impetus from the miracle of the bleeding host at Bolsano in 1267. The cult of the Holy Blood also appeared in Hungary, and places where such relics were kept, such as Kassa and Garamszentbenedek, became important pilgrimage centers. As will be shown later, at Siklós the reference might be to the Benedictine Abbey of Báta, where a relic of the Holy Blood was kept, and which the Garai family supported as well.[375]

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[373] The most thorough analysis of the subject and of the emergence of the feast of *Corpus Christi* is: Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi – The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge – New York, 1991).

[374] On the Florentine centre of the veneration of the *Corpus Christi* and the Holy Blood: Borsook, Eve, "Cults and Imagery at Sant'Ambrogio," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institutes in Florenz* 25 (1981), 147-202.

[375] On the cult of the Holy Blood in Hungary, see Tüskés Gábor – Knapp Éva, "A szent vér tisztelete Magyarországon," *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról,* ed. Fügedi, Erik (Budapest, 1986), 76-116.

Another image of the Man of Sorrows appears in the crown of the central, eastern window (fig. 48). The image is incorporated in a medallion, complemented by the figures in the two medallions below it. In the center, the dead Christ in shown in the coffin, his hands crossed across his chest, his wounds and crown of thorns marked with red (**E-23**). Below him on the left, the bust of the Virgin with her hands in prayer appears in a medallion, looking up on her dead son (**E-24**). The bust of St. John the Evangelist appears on the opposite side. He touches his face with the familiar gesture of sorrow, and is shown with a book (**E-25**). The small picture appears at the end of the long axis of Christ images, which first shows Christ as a child, and ends with his death. The central image on this axis was once the most powerful of His representations, depicting Christ in Majesty.

In addition to the composition with the Man of Sorrows in its center, the window medallions include a number of other interesting images. The guiding principle of the arrangement is an image of the divinity in the crown of each window. The window on the left holds an image of the Holy Face of Christ (the *Vera Ikon*, or the veil of Veronica), one of the authentic images of Christ (*acheiropoietoi*), which enjoyed great prestige (**E-14; fig.** 45). The face is encircled by a crossed nimbus. Because of the bad state of preservation, it is hard to see whether it also depicted the crown of thorns on the head of Christ, as common in the *Vera Ikon* images. The image of Byzantine origin was transmitted through Italy, and became quite widespread in Central Europe around 1400.[376] The medallion in the crown of the right window holds a more controversial image, depicting the Trinity as a

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[376] *Belting 1981*, 202-203. On the image in more detail, including its connections with the Byzantine image of the *mandylion*, see Belting, Hans, *Likeness and Presence – The History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago-London, 1994), 208-224. In medieval Hungary, an example can be found at Pónik, on the eastern wall of the nave, above the triumphal arch, see *Buran 2002*, 152.

figure with three faces (*vultus trifons*), one frontal and the other two in profile (**E-30;** figs. 52-53). The image was designed to emphasize the unity of the Trinity, making the difficult dogma more accessible. This image later became quite controversial, and was in fact ultimately banned by Pope Urban VIII in 1628 for not representing the complexity of the Trinity in a proper fashion.[377] However, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the image type was quite common along with its variation, which showed the Trinity as a figure with three heads (*tricephalus*). The official feast of the Trinity was instituted in 1334, and soon images of the Trinity showing all three figures in human form became widespread, replacing earlier image types such as the representation of Abraham with the three angels.[378] A single leaf from a mid-fourteenth century manuscript from Florence in the Pierpont Morgan Library shows a full compendium of popular Trinity images in four corner medallions arranged around a central image of Christ in Majesty.[379] It shows Old Testament images, such as Abraham and the three angels, as well as a popular late medieval devotional image, the *Gnadenstuhl.* The medallion in the lower right corner holds a figure with three faces, representing an image type that became quite common in Florence. The image type is related to representations of certain pagan (Gallic, Celtic) deities, and both the devil and the divinity were represented with three heads, no doubt

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[377] Bishop Antonius of Florence also banned the image in 1445, but despite the bans, the image-type lived on until the Baroque period, as an interesting eigteenth-century wooden statue, recently acquired by the Hungarian National Gallery, demonstrates. See Boda, Zsuzsanna, "Egységes hármasság – 18. századi trifons Szentháromság-szobor a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában," *MÉ* 45 (1996), 274-276.

[378] Kovács, Zoltán, "Antropomorf Szentháromság-ábrázolások a középkori Magyarországon – újabb adatok a típus ikonográfiájához," *MÉ* 45 (1996), 187-202. For an overview of various types of Trinity-images, see Braunfels, Wolfgang, *Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeit* (Düsseldorf, 1954); D'Achille, Anna Maria, "Sull'iconografia Trinitaria medievale: La Trinità sul Monte Autore presso Vallipietra," *Arte Medievale* 5 (1991), 49-73.

[379] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 742. D'Achille, *op.cit;* 70, fig. 48.

contributing to the eventual prohibition of the image.[380] From the fourteenth century, it became increasingly common. As the image appears frequently in fourteenth-century Bolognese codices, it was perhaps transmitted to Hungary by way of manuscripts.[381]

In Hungary, numerous examples of the image dating from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries are known. At the church of Kakaslomnic, a three-faced Trinity is depicted on a keystone,[382] and the type appears in numerous wall-paintings, for example in the Gömör region (Gömörrákos, Ochtina, figs. 122-123), as well as at Zsegra (Szepes County).[383] Another image is in the parish church of Muraszombat, where the decoration is stylistically related to fresco painting in Gömör County.[384] At Gömörrákos, where the church was dedicated to the Trinity, the large image is located on the south side of the triumphal arch, showing the three faces of God facing one another and ceremonially enthroned, with the Book of Life in the figure's left hand, and his right hand raised in blessing.[385]

Apart from the three images in the apex of the windows, the splays of the windows are also populated with busts of saints depicted inside round medallions. Only a few of these figures can be identified: St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the central window carry clear attributes (**E-26-27;** figs. 49-50). The two figures of monks (canons) below them,

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[380] Pettazzoni, R., "The Pagan Origins of the Three-headed Representation of the Christian Trinity," *JWCI* 9 (1946), 135-151.

[381] Cassee, Elly, *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux – A Study in 14th century Bolognese Miniature Painting* (Firenze, 1980), 72-73.

[382] Žáry, Juraj, *Dvojlod'ové kostoly na Spiši* (Bratislava, 1986), ill. 63.

[383] *Togner 1989*, 21; *Dvořákova – Krása – Stejskal 1978*, fig. 77, 78. See also fig. 6-7 in *Lővei 1995.*

[384] *Gotik in Slowenien*, 231.

[385] *Prokopp 2002*, 22, 26 fig. 17.

holding books, clearly refer to the community of canons inhabiting the priory, just as two similar figures do in the south-eastern window (**E-28-29-33-34,** figs. 51, 55). These pairs, however, wear different habits: the ones in the central window wear a light-brown robe; the other two have black robes. The figures in the north-eastern window are all haloed, but they carry no attributes. In this respect they are comparable to the dozens of figures depicted in a similar arrangement in the window splays of the Keszthely sanctuary. The motif, of course, is another one borrowed from the painting of the Italian Trecento; such figures inside medallions decorated the borders and window-splays of Italian churches ever since the Assisi frescoes and the works of Giotto.

Another peculiar element of the decoration shows a seated hermit in a rocky landscape, reading an open book (**E-37;** fig. 83). Placed prominently above the south-eastern window, right next to the image of the Trinity, it is one of the best preserved details of the entire decoration. The single figure is closely related to Italian scenes of the Thebaid, showing the life of the hermits in the desert near ancient Thebes. Some of these scenes – most dating from around 1400 – show up to fifty hermits engaged in various activities, while at Siklós, only a single figure appears. Apart from showing the miracles of such figures as St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, the Thebaid scenes generally illustrate the contemplative nature of the eremitical life. Ellen Callman has shown the Byzantine origins of the type, which appeared quite suddenly in Italian Trecento painting.[386] The earliest Italian representation of the Thebaid is in the Camposanto of Pisa,

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[386] Callman, Ellen, "Thebaid Studies," *Antichità Viva,* 1975, 3-22.

and dates most likely from between 1328-1333.[387] Attributed generally to Francesco Traini, the Camposanto frescoes have also been ascribed to an Emilian, most probably Bolognese painter. In the Camposanto works, hermits also appear in the scene showing the Three Living and the Three Dead (part of the Triumph of Death), where the ideal Christian life of the hermits is contrasted with worldly pleasures, which in turn lead straight to Hell. It is important to note that the Camposanto belonged to the Duomo, which at that time was under the direction of the Regular Canons. Another Thebaid appears in the former Augustinian eremitical convent of S. Marta, in Siena, painted around 1400.[388] Most examples of the theme were painted by Florentine painters of the early fifteenth century, including four related works: a complete panel in the Uffizi, Florence, a fragment in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, another one at the Christian Museum of Esztergom, as well as a fresco at S. Andrea a Cercina near Florence.[389] A characteristic figure of these large Thebaid scenes is the figure of the hermit sitting in front of a cave or building, reading a book. The Siklós figure must have been borrowed from such a composition. In fact, a figure of very similar position appears in the center of the Pisan fresco of the Triumph of Death, showing that it existed already before the middle of the fourteenth century (fig. 121). The scene generally appeared in the churches of eremitical orders (Augustinian Hermits) and Benedictine reform orders (Vallombrosan order, Olivetans), and was usually placed in the vicinity of burial grounds. The hermits then show the ideal life of contemplation and self-denial, which can lead to salvation. The emphasis of self-

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[387] Ramalli, Giuseppe, *Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa – Affreschi e Sinopie* (Pisa, 1960), 46-51, 60-65.

[388] Callman, Ellen, "Thebaid Studies," *Antichità Viva*, 1975, 6-7.

denial must have applied to the Augustinian Canons as well, who chose to live without property.

The final idiosyncratic element of the decoration is in the bottom level of the frescoes, on the north wall. It is a small, framed composition, showing two small, white dogs: one lying down, the other sitting, facing each other (**N-5;** fig. 84). The dogs are not part of any larger, narrative scene, although similar animals do appear occasionally for example in Annunciation images. It is more likely that their presence here has to do with the burials inside the sanctuary. Dogs, as symbols of fidelity and household virtues often appeared under the feet of female figures on tomb slabs,[390] while more fierce animals, such as lions or dragons were usually placed at the feet of men. Although only one gravestone, that of the elder Miklós Garai was recovered from the sanctuary, originally there must have been other burials here as well. Two graves were found during the excavations, others were no doubt disturbed when the Baroque crypt was constructed. Most likely the widow of Miklós Garai, who died around 1403 (her name is unknown),[391] was also buried inside the sanctuary, and presumably her tombstone was somehow aligned with the representation of the two little dogs.

While these distinctive elements enliven the program of the church, the overall impact of the painted decoration presents a clear and somewhat conservative program. This is especially true, when compared with more elaborate contemporary programs, such as Keszthely or Csáktornya, where scenes more in keeping with contemporary devotional

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[389] On the fragments in Budapest and Esztergom, see also *Boskovits 1975,* 391; *Esztergom 1993,* no. 87.

[390] *Mâle 1986 (1908),* 387; *Bauch 1976,* 73.

[391] *Wertner 1897,* 916.

trends also appear.[392] The large scenes at Siklós are all standard and frequently encountered subjects, and as far as we can tell today, the decoration is not really personalized. If the reconstruction of the side walls holds as outlined above, then the program is entirely built from the traditional subjects of Christian art, and thus conforms to established patterns of sanctuary decoration. Many details of this arrangement, such as the central image of the *Maiestas Domini* on the vault or the apostles on the eastern walls follow traditions stretching back to the Romanesque period, although Siklós conforms to more up-to-date models. The selection of the biblical-historical scenes – especially scenes from the Passion – on the walls is also traditional, although it corresponds to the mode of sanctuary decorations around 1400. In the program of the Siklós frescoes, the images on the vault represent the celestial sphere, with timeless images of the Divinity and of those who reported on it: the prophets, Evangelists, and the Church Fathers. The stars once present on the blue background of the wall, as well as the images of the Sun and the Moon on either side of the keystone, also clearly designate the vault as the sphere of the heavens.[393] The scenes on the walls present episodes from the biblical world, and more recent or contemporary saints only appear in the margins. Overall, the Siklós sanctuary can be regarded as an evocation of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Principles of sanctuary decoration were the same throughout the region of East-Central Europe, and the roots of this kind of decorative system are to be found in Romanesque painting on one hand

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[392] For example a cycle of the Seven Joys of the Virgin at Keszthely, or the Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity at Csáktornya. On the program of these churches, see below.

[393] Only the trace of one star was observed during the restoration, *Boromisza 1995*, 218.

(*Maiestas Domini,* Apostles), and in the painting of the Italian Trecento on the other.[394] As I will show later, the concentration of this heavenly imagery was characteristic of other aristocratic churches of the period, while the naves were usually painted with historical narratives, taken from the lives of saints. This is not to say that dogmatically important images did not appear in the nave, only that there they never formed such a coherent and hierarchical system as they do in the sanctuaries at places such as Siklós.[395] The paintings create a carefully thought out system inside the sanctuary, covering and transforming every available surface. The decoration thus unites the space, and every element from the large scenes to the marbling of the ribs conforms to this unified system.

In fact, the rich decorative elements play a key role in effecting this transformation. The ribs are painted red, green, brown, yellow and gray, and the base color is decorated with lighter and darker shades of the same color, with white to imitate colorful marble. The edge of the ribs is decorated with a painted pattern. The infillings of the vault are all surrounded by a frame, which is composed of two white fillets occasionally forming circles, with stars inscribed in them. The space in between these lines and circles is colored red, and in the eastern part, decorated with a pattern consisting of round motifs. A similar framing system appears on the walls, but here the dark red background is enlivened with thin white foliage, again appearing mainly in the eastern bay. In general, such pattern decoration is more frequent on the eastern part of the sanctuary than on the western. However, this decoration appears everywhere in the sanctuary, creating a unity of space

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[394] For Austria, see Bacher, Ernst, "Monumentalmalerei," *Gotik 2000,* 406-407; for Slovenia, *Höfler 2000,* 115. A detailed analysis of similar church decorations in Gömör County, with special emphasis on the frescoes of Karaszkó, is provided by *Gerát 1996.*

[395] For the decoration of naves, see *MoMT 2,* 193-194.

and painted decoration. Another unifying element is the fictive architecture, consisting of the painted benches at the bottom, the twisted columns below the real brackets, and the crockets and finials painted above the windows. The remaining empty wall surfaces – above the northeastern window and on the triumphal arch – are filled with rich foliage decoration. The bottom of the walls was decorated with colorful – red and green – fields imitating marble panels, and in a very characteristic way, the space between the medallions in the window splays is filled with a varied and colorful checkerboard pattern. In the southern window this is built up of prismatic shapes. Thus the whole sanctuary is fully painted with decorative and figural motifs, creating an intensive and colorful environment. This entire decoration was carried out in the same manner, in a very characteristic style reminiscent of the painting of the Italian Trecento. The next chapter will analyze this aspect of the frescoes, and examine more broadly the problem of Italian influence in Late Medieval painting in Hungary.

3. Questions of style

The Siklós frescoes exhibit a style of comparatively high quality in relation to Hungarian painting of this period. The near perfect survival of some of the figures enables us to fully grasp the character of the painters, even if so much of the original decoration was lost. While the quality is high, it is also immediately obvious that the painter is not someone we could identify by name. It is also clear that the technique and details of the execution are deeply rooted in the painting of the Italian Trecento. The Siklós frescoes demonstrate that contacts with Italian painting in Hungary were strong even in the decades

around 1400, when otherwise the Bohemian connection seems to have ruled in wall and miniature painting. In this chapter, I will characterize the style of the frescoes, and examine where the painters could have come from, what circle they may have belonged to, and how the Garais managed to employ them. The Siklós frescoes raise the broader problem of Italian Trecento influence in the painting of medieval Hungary, and require an examination of whether the case at Siklós is particular or characteristic of a wider trend. This naturally requires a comparison with other Hungarian monuments, commissions by relatives, such as the Cilli family in Styria, and a look at Northern Italy.

A. The style of the paintings at Siklós

The separation of hands is a necessary exercise before the roots of the stylistic components can be determined. The task was first attempted by the chief restorer, Péter Boromisza, and his findings were largely accepted by Mária Prokopp, although she made an important further observation: of the six hands identified by Boromisza, two were leading figures.[396] I suggest that only four painters worked on the figural decoration, and agree with Prokopp that two clearly identifiable masters were responsible for the bulk of the decoration. The majority of the frescoes were painted by one painter whom we will hereafter call the Siklós Master. The characteristics of his figure style can be demonstrated on two well-preserved figures, the prophets Daniel and Zechariah from the eastern medallions on the vault (**V-16, V-17**). Both figures are represented in three-quarter profile, a position often applied by this master. The simple draperies closely envelop the figures,

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[396] *Boromisza 1995*, 224-225; *Prokopp 1995*, 166.

and their detailed heads stand out from this background. The facial features are a good distinguishing feature of the master's figures. The two half circles of eyebrows curve in a continuous line into the lines defining the nose – one side darker, in shadow, and the other white with light. The tip of the nose is formed with another line, with characteristic circles indicating the nose flaps. Mouths are generally small, with red lips. The hair is generally long and curly. The faces are strongly modeled with light and shadow, and greenish flesh tones are commonly used, highlighted with red, brown and white. The hands and fingers of the figures are generally long. This master also painted a number of other figures on the vault, including St. Anne, the Virgin Mary with the Child, the Evangelists and the remaining prophets. Most importantly, he was also responsible for the execution of the large scenes on the walls, including the Crucifixion and the Coronation of the Virgin, as well as the *Traditio Legis* on the triumphal arch, and finally, the hermit on the hill. Despite the fragmentary nature of the large pictures, the head of the Centurion peering out from the Crucifixion image and the finely modeled head of an angel on the Coronation of the Virgin show that these images were largely his works.

The other main master at Siklós, the so-called "Graphic master," painted the remaining large figures, including the lower row of the Apostles, together with the *Vir dolorum*, as well as the figure of St. John the Baptist on the south wall. His figures are more graceful, with taller, leaner bodies and proportionally smaller heads. Instead of the metallic shine of the drapery painted by the Siklós master, his apostles' coats are modeled with darker and lighter patches of the same color. The hair and beards are more linear. This master most likely also worked on the vault, the figure of St. Jerome, and perhaps the other Church Fathers can likewise be ascribed to him. He also painted some of the window

medallions: the two monks in the center window share numerous characteristics with his apostles. It is not certain who painted the apostles on the southeastern wall, but these are most likely by him as well. The differences between these two main masters can best be studied by examining how they depicted the same saints – Peter and Paul – in the series of the apostles and on the triumphal arch.

The Siklós Master had a very close pupil, who closely followed his master's forms, often pushing them to mannerist extremes. He was clearly blessed with a less vigorous talent than his master. The four apostles mentioned above might also have been executed by him. His certain works include the figures in the upper window medallions, in between these apostles. These five upper medallions in each of the three windows constitute his main body of work. Similarly to his master's figures, the medallion portraits usually depict the figures in three-quarter profile. The same small, red mouth, continuous nose-eyebrow line, and strongly modeled faces can be seen here, but the execution is simplified, the expressions are bland, and the result is sometimes caricature-like. From the restorers he has earned the nickname 'Naïve master.' Apart from the figures in the upper medallions, he also painted the four apostles in the upper row of the eastern wall (**E2, E3, E5, E6**). Thus he was essentially responsible for decorating the upper part of the eastern wall. Although the four apostles here are badly abraded, it is instructive to compare them with the figures below. The apostles painted by the "Graphic Master" are graceful and finely painted figures, depicted within ample space to breathe in. The upper apostles are larger, bulky figures with heavier proportions, cramped into small spaces.

One more master was active in the church, but only four medallion figures in the lower part of the northeastern window can be ascribed to him: these heads are painted in a

simple, linear manner. Boromisza named him the "Moonface master." He, or perhaps further associates must have been responsible for the execution of the ornamental and background paint, including the marbling of the ribs, the colorful checkerboard decoration of the window splays, the picture frames and the illusionistic architecture of the lower zone of walls.

The restoration of the paintings provided an opportunity to carry out detailed examinations regarding the painting technique of the second phase. These frescoes were executed according to the highest standards of *al fresco* painting. Every detail of their technique indicates that their painters were experienced fresco painters, who used every method common in Italian frescoes as well. The daily units (*giornata*) of the painting were observed during the restoration, and the phases of painting were also reconstructed. Once the *sinopia* was done, in the first unit the decorative elements and backgrounds were painted, then the figures. Finally the faces were painted, generally in a separate unit. Painting was naturally started on the vaults, then the painters moved down with the levels of the scaffolding. The sinopia can still be observed in some areas, for example at the *Vir Dolorum* or the figure of St. John the Baptist. Other techniques of preparation included the preliminary scratching in (with rulers and compasses) of the frames and other main lines of the compositions. Another method for the preparation of such lines was the stretching of a cord, which had previously been soaked in paint. It can also be supposed that cartoons were used for transferring some figures; the fine imprint of the tracing line can be observed on the figures of the prophets and Evangelists.[397] Most haloes were built up in relief, and their decoration is further embellished by punched decoration.

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[397] For technical details, see *Boromisza 1995*, 223-224.

The best figures at Siklós are characterized by a liveliness of expression, and the expression of a fleeting moment. The mouth of some figures is open to indicate speech and life. In this sense they already point toward the new realism of the period after the International Gothic, and are in this respect comparable to the best works of the period, including the altar of Thomas de Coloswar and figures from the statue find at Buda.[398] However, the technique of the paintings, the ornamental details as well as the stylistic character of the main painters tie them to the traditions of Italian Trecento painting, especially to the art of Northern Italy. As I will demonstrate, the starting point for this style was the art of Altichiero, although the Siklós masters probably only knew his works as it was filtered through smaller centers of Northern Italy and Tyrol.

B. The Italian Origins of the Style

The importance of the innovative art of early Trecento painting in Italy can be measured in the wide-ranging and long-lasting effect it had on fourteenth-century painting in Europe. As Erwin Panofsky remarked, the wide recognition of Trecento painters "was as inevitable as that water seeks its own level once a significant rise has occurred at one point." Panofsky goes on to discuss this influence especially in France, and mentions in passing that Hungary meant a "special case," referring to the appearance of Italian painters in Hungary.[399] This fact was recognized in the first half of the twentieth century in

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[398] *Marosi 1995,* 129, 269-270; Marosi, Ernő, "Die Skulpturen der Sigismundszeit in Buda und die Anschaulichkeit der Kunst des frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Graz 1990,* 182-195.

[399] Panofsky, Erwin, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960; New York, 1972), 156-157.

Hungary, and was first analyzed in connection with a group of manuscripts from Bologna. A key piece in this group is the Bible of Demeter Nekcsei at the Library of Congress in Washington, first identified by Dezső Dercsényi in 1942.[400] Further research led to the identification and reconstruction of an even more splendid illuminated manuscript, a picture-book of the lives of the saints, the so-called Hungarian Angevin Legendary. The identification of these manuscripts came at a time when important frescoes, such as those of the palace chapel of Esztergom, were also discovered, and the predominantly Italian character of fourteenth-century wall painting in Hungary was recognized.[401] These observations gave rise to a theory of a so-called Hungarian Proto-Renaissance, which culminated in the full-scale assimilation of pure Renaissance forms in the court of King Matthias in the second half of the fifteenth century.[402] Today the period is looked at differently, and the similarly strong connections with the art of Central Europe are also acknowledged as a major force. Even the court of Matthias should more properly be seen

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[400] Dercsényi, Dezső, *Nekcsei Dömötör Bibliája a washingtoni Library of Congress-ben* (Budapest, 1942) (Offprint from *Magyar Könyvszemle* 1942/2, 113-125); Dercsényi, Dezső, "Manuscrits Hongrois du Moyen Age en Amérique," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie,* 1942, 109-117.

[401] On the discovery of the Esztergom chapel and its frescoes, see *Gerevich 1938,* 76-95, with an attribution of the frescoes to Niccolò da Tomasso and a date of c. 1380, 95. Gerevich should also be remembered as the author of a groundbreaking study on Bolognese illumination: Gerevich, Tibor, "Le relazioni tra la miniatura e la pittura bolognese nel Trecento," *Rassegna d'arte* (1909), 196-199 and (1910), 29-31, 46-48.

[402] The largest overview of Hungarian Renaissance art is *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541*, Ausstellungskatalog, Schallaburg (Vienna, 1982), with ample bibliography. See also Marosi, Ernő, "'Corvinische Renaissance' in Mitteleuropa – Wendepunkt oder Ausnahme," *Bohemia* 31 (1990), 333-. Most recently, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister, and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450-1800* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 39-46; and *Sisa-Wiebenson 1998,* 45-59.

as a meeting point of the latest innovations of Italian Renaissance and Central European Late Gothic art, rather than a pure outpost of Humanist culture in Central Europe.[403]

The demonstration of a continuous influence of Italian painting in Hungarian wall painting is the central theme of the works of Mária Prokopp, who suggests that Hungary played a special role in spreading Italian idioms to the countries of Central Europe.[404] One of the virtues of her book on the "Italian Trecento influence" is that it catalogues a great number of monuments, demonstrating that Hungary was a particularly fertile ground for Italian panting, still obvious despite five hundred years of destruction. However, her statements are rather general when it comes to identifying the sources of various frescoes, and she rarely examines questions of the transmission of iconographic and stylistic devices, or questions of patronage. With the exception of Prokopp's book, the question of the reception of Italian Trecento painting has not been treated in detail. While in neighboring countries such as Austria and Slovenia, workshops have been identified, and the close parallels of chief monuments have been named in recent scholarship,[405] Hungarian research still often stops at general statements, and classifies everything under the general heading of "Italian influence." Most recently, Gerhard Schmidt also noted that,

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[403] *Sisa-Wiebenson 1998*, 45-59. The first systematic overview of Late Gothic architecture in Hungary is an unpublished doctoral dissertation: Papp, Szilárd, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515 között, a délnémet és szász stílusösszefüggések szemszögéből*, Budapest, ELTE, 2002.

[404] *Prokopp 1983.*

[405] See especially the studies of Janez Höfler and Andreas Besold, cited repeatedly below. The specific connections of a number of important Central European paintings with Italian art have also been clarified, see for example a diptych with wings in Berlin (Nativity) and Zürich (Crucifixion), commissioned perhaps in the court of Emperor Ludwig der Bayer, *Suckale 1993*, 124-130. The diptych has also been localized to Austria, more specifically Vienna, see *Schmidt 1995*, 26.

despite summary works such as Prokopp's, the subject is still largely unexplored.[406] The clear Italian connections of the main masters of the Siklós frescoes from both periods provide a good starting point for the necessary reexamination of the continuing impact of Italian art in Hungarian painting. Some of the questions needing answers include whether frescoes such as the ones at Siklós were painted by Italian masters, or by painters who were trained in Italy, but settled locally? Was the selection of an Italian-trained workshop the result of a conscious selection on the part of the patron, or were such workshops readily available in the region, thus a choice was made on the basis of availability? In any case, how did the Italian idiom spread within Central Europe, and what were the ways of its transmission? How did a workshop get from one place to another? Did it work for several projects of the same patron, was it handed from one patron to the next, or did it work in a geographically prescribed region?

I would like to start by pointing out that it cannot be questioned that the impact of Italian painting played a major role in Hungary throughout the Middle Ages. During the Romanesque period, contact with Italy was largely indirect, and Italian idioms arrived through the Alpine region and south Germany.[407] Already around 1300, however, direct contacts with Italian painting can be observed.[408] For example the Passion cycle at

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[406] *Schmidt 1995,* 25.

[407] See *Tóth M. 1974*, with examples such as the fresco of St. George at Ják (78-81). The most important example where direct Italian (or Byzantine?) connections are suspected, are the frescoes of the Giselle chapel at Veszprém. The thourough analysis of these paintings, especially in light of numerous newly recovered fragments, is a pressing task. On the decoration, *Tóth M. 1974,* 73-76, for a new fragment, *Pannonia Regia* 224-225, III-8.

[408] For a group of frescoes painted around 1317 in Szepes County (Szepeshely, dated 1317 by an inscription, as well as Szepesdaróc and Kakaslomnic), see Togner, Milan, "Die Monumentalmalerei der Ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Slowakei: Beitrag über die Rezeption der italienischen Einflüsse in der Malerei Mitteleuropas," *King John of Luxembourg*

Gelence (Ghelința, Romania) clearly belongs to the tradition of thirteenth-century Italian painting. The iconography of the scenes, as well as their selection and arrangement, shows their dependence on Italian, as opposed to Byzantine models. The Byzantine elements that are undoubtedly part of the Gelence cycle also arrived through Italy, and the cycle as a whole calls our attention to the important role Italian painting played in the development of medieval art in Hungary.[409]

Later in the fourteenth century, when Hungary was ruled by Charles Robert and Louis the Great of the Neapolitan Angevin dynasty, closer dynastic and political connections resulted in a more direct influence of Italian painting, demonstrable in manuscript illumination and wall painting alike.[410] These connections were first explained exclusively by the Neapolitan connections of the Angevin kings of Hungary, but recent research tends to put less emphasis on the dynastic connections between Hungary and Italy, and instead stresses the role of a group of high clergymen and aristocrats who completed their studies at the University of Bologna.[411] In the fourteenth century, Bologna was the most important place for the education of Hungarian clergymen. Clerics studying there became not only important ecclesiastical figures, but also fulfilled important roles in

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(1296-1346) and the Art of His Era, ed. Klára Benešovská (Prague, 1998), 336-342, with further bibliography about each of the monuments.

[409] Jékely, Zsombor, "Krisztus Passiója a gelencei (Ghelința, România) Szent Imre-templom középkori freskóciklusán," *Rostás – Simon 2000,* 129-146. This published article is largely based on my paper presented at the 33rd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI in 1998: "Art between Byzantium and the West: The Passion cycle in the village church at Gelence (Ghelința, Romania)." I thank Maria Georgopoulou for her comments on that paper.

[410] On the dynastic connections, see *Engel 2001,* 159-161, etc. For an emphasis of these dynastic connections in art, see *Dercsényi 1941,* 129, 132; *Prokopp 1983,* 74-77. Due to the close diplomatic contacts, the figure of Louis the Great appeared in Paduan art, in the guise of King Ramiro on the frescoes of Altichiero in the Chapel of St. James, see *Plant 1981; Richards 2000,* 152-155.

the chancery and diplomacy of the Hungarian Angevin kings. These intellectuals – forming the Hungarian nation at the University of Bologna – commissioned a large number of illuminated manuscripts from Bolognese workshops, and played a decisive role in the reception of the new sensibilities of Italian art. The first Bolognese book that can securely be tied to a Hungarian commissioner is the Bible of Demeter Nekcsei, preserved at the Library of Congress (fig. 124).[412] The two-volume Bible must have been completed by 1338, by the death of Nekcsei, who was the *magister tavernacolorum* of the Hungarian court. The Nekcsei Bible has a unified system of decoration, which clearly marks the various divisions of the biblical text. This system ranges from simple red letters through various initials to elaborate frontispieces. The most elaborate pages mark the very beginning of the book, with the Letter of Jerome to Ambrosius (fol. 1v) and the beginning of the Biblical text (Genesis) itself (fol. 5v). All information indicating whom the commissioner was – including his coats of arms – was included on fol. 5v, where at the bottom left of the page an elaborate donation scene was also incorporated, showing Demeter Nekcsei and his wife presenting a church to Christ. The codicological evidence indicates that this leaf (comprising of fol. 2 and fol. 5) was inserted once the other pages of the quire were completed. This change clearly took place in the same workshop where the

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[411] This aspect is emphasized by *Marosi 1995,* 185-186, 153-156.

[412] Harrsen, Meta, *The Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible – A Fourteenth Century Manuscript from Hungary in the Library of Congress, Ms. Pre-Accession 1* (Washington: The Library of Congress, 1949); *Conti 1981,* 85; Svato Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress: A Descriptive Catalogue, I. Bibles, Liturgy, Books of Hours* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1989), Ms. 6, 29-35; A partial facsimile is also available: *A Nekcsei-Biblia legszebb lapjai* (Budapest: Helikon – Washington: Library of Congress, 1988), with studies on the Bible by Dezső Dercsényi, Tünde Wehli and Ferenc Levárdy (*Tanulmányok a Nekcsei-Bibliáról*). I was able to study the Bible during a one-month stay in Washington, enabled by a grant from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

rest of the book was made, as the very attractive miniatures on fol. 5 are the work of the same artist responsible for fol. 1. Whether this change was made because Demeter Nekcsei did not like the first version painted for him, or whether the workshop decided to replace a nondescript page of a standard Bible when they found an aristocratic buyer for it can be anyone's guess, but it seems certain that the only page directly related to Nekcsei (through his coat of arms and donor portrait) was inserted after the rest of the book was completed. Most of the miniatures in the Bible belong to the common repertoire of Bolognese illuminators, and the style of the illumination is most closely related to books illuminated by the "Master of 1328." The main painter of the Nekcsei Bible, named the "Hungarian Master," was a close associate of the Master of 1328, and his work can be detected in a number of other Bolognese manuscripts as well.[413] The northern script of the manuscript seemingly indicates that the book may have been executed in Hungary, as there is evidence that Bolognese artists did travel. After all, a group of Bolognese painters was active in the monastery of Sankt Florian in Austria around 1320-1325, although their connection, if any, to the creators of the Nekcsei Bible is not yet fully understood.[414]

The theory of a Hungarian place of origin was also put forward regarding the most important Bolognese manuscript for Hungarian patrons: the Hungarian Angevin

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[413] Pubic Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, Fr.F.v.XIV.3 (Benoit de Sainte-Maure, Le Roman de la guerre de Troie), see Voronova, Tamara – Sterligov, Alexander, *Western European Illuminated Manuscripts of the 8th to the 16th Centuries in the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg* (Bournemouth: Parkstone – St Petersburg: Aurora, 1996), 245-251, ill. 317-328. See also Gibbs, Robert, "Towards a History of Earlier 14th-Century Bolognese Illumination: Little Known Manuscripts by Nerio Bolognese and the Hungarian Master," *WJbKg*, 46-47 (1993/94), 211-222.

[414] See Schmidt, Gerhard, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian – Beiträge zur süddeutschen Malerei zu Ende des 13. und im 14. Jahrhundert*, (Graz, 1962), 135-143.

Legendary (fig. 125).[415] A book made for royal patrons, this lavishly illustrated picture-book of the lives of the saints contains four miniatures on each of its pages, accompanied by one-line text labels. The majority of the dismantled manuscript is preserved in the Vatican and Morgan libraries, but there are leaves from it in a number of other collections. As of today, altogether 140 leaves from the Legendary (some of them fragmentary) are known in five different collections of the world.[416] It is possible that some other fragments will come to light, and the original number of folios is estimated 200-208. The 545 surviving little pictures contain parts from the legends of altogether sixty-three saints, plus from the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary. The quality of its execution and its sheer size indicate that it must have been a royal commission, and its iconography – rich in Hungarian and Angevin saints – suggests it was created for the court of the Hungarian Angevin kings. According to general opinion, the codex could have been ordered by Charles I, king of Hungary (1307-1342), for his son, Andrew educated in Naples, or for his own library. This somewhat romantic notion, based on the naïve theory that medieval picture-books were meant for children, has recently been called into question, but no new

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[415] Ferenc Levárdy, "Il leggendario ungherese degli Angio conservato nella Biblioteca Vaticana, nel Morgan Library e nell'Ermitage," *AHA* 9 (1963) 75-138; *MAL*; Török, Gyöngyi, "Neue Folii aus dem 'Ungarischen Anjou-Legendarium'," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61 (1992/4) 565-577. See also Gnudi, Cesare, "La Bibbia di Demeter Nekcsei-Lipócz, Il 'Leggendario' Angioino, e i rapporti fra la miniatura Bolognese e l'arte d'Oriente," *Actes du XXIIe Congres International d'Histoire de l'art, Budapest, 1969* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1972), I. 569-581; Vayer, Lajos, "Rapporti fra la miniatura italiana e quella ungherese nel Trecento" *La miniatura italiana tra gotico e rinascimento I. Atti del Congresso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana.* Cortona, 24-26, Settembre 1982, ed. Emanuele Sesti, (Firenze, 1985), 3-33.

proposal has yet found favor among researchers.[417] With regards to its style, the research of Meta Harrsen, Robert Gibbs and others have clarified its connections with the Nekcsei-Bible, and thus with the circle of the Master of 1328.[418] Meanwhile, Tuscan, South-Italian and unidentified features are also present in the manuscript's style, and its iconography shows deep Hungarian influence; thus, the place of its creation might have been in Hungary. The dating of the codex is based on these hypotheses and stylistic examination, and can be put between 1328 and 1345.[419]

Apart from these two extraordinary manuscripts, a number of other Bolognese manuscripts commissioned by Hungarians are known. Two decretals, ordered by Miklós Vásári, canon and later bishop of Esztergom (1350-1358) in 1343, were illuminated by the chief Bolognese artist of the period, the so-called "Illustratore."[420] There are a few other surviving Bolognese codices commissioned by clerics, including a rich group preserved at

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[416] The Hungarian Angevin Legendary is preserved at the following collections: Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 8541; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 360; Saint Petersburg, Ermitage, Nr. 16930-16934; Berkeley, Bancroft Library of University of California, f. 2MS2A2M2 1300-37; New York, Metropolitan Museum 1994.516; Paris, Louvre RF 29940. The most detailed analysis of the manuscript to date is an unpublished dissertation: Szakács, Béla Zsolt, *A Magyar Anjou Legendárium képi rendszerei,* kandidátusi értekezés (dissertation), Budapest, 1997.

[417] Szakács, Béla Zsolt, "The Holy Father and the Devils, or could the Hungarian Angevin Legendary have been Ordered for a Pope?" *...The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak,* (Budapest, 1999), 52-60.

[418] Harrsen, Meta, *Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1958); Gibbs, Robert, "Towards a History of Earlier 14th-Century Bolognese Illumination: Little Known Manuscripts by Nerio Bolognese and the Hungarian Master," *WJbKg,* 46-47 (1993/94), 211-222.

[419] *Hoffmann – Wehli 1992,* 217-218. Wehli Tünde, "Magyar Anjou Legendárium," *Három kódex – Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár millenniumi kiállítása 2000. augusztus 17 – november 17.* (Budapest, 2000), 71-120.

Zagreb. Of two mid-fourteenth-century Bolognese codices preserved in Vienna, one may have been used at the royal chancellery of the Hungarian kings (Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 2042), while the other was owned in the fifteenth century by a canon at the chapter of Pécs (Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 790).[421] Bolognese legal codices, of course, were in high demand, and frequently appear in other Central European countries as well.[422] In turn, the pictorial solutions employed by Bolognese miniature painters had a lasting effect on Central European painting, especially in Bohemia.[423]

In addition to these manuscripts, direct Italian contacts can also be detected in Hungarian sculpture and goldsmithery of the period. The tomb of St. Margaret in the Dominican nunnery on Margaret Island near Buda was carved by a Neapolitan follower of Tino da Camaino (c. 1335-1340), while the third royal seal of Charles Robert was

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[420] Padua, Biblioteca Capitulare, MS A.24, Boniface VIII, *Liber Sextus*, dated 1343 and MS A.25, Clement V, *Constitutiones,* both executed for *Nicholaus prepositus Strigoniensis,* see Gerevich, Lászlóné, "Vásári Miklós két kódexe," *MÉ* 6 (1957), 133-137; *Conti 1981*, 92; *Hoffmann – Wehli 1992,* 221*; MoMT 2*, 363.

[421] *Kódexek 1985*, cat. 65, 56. The identification of the patron with János Uzsai has been called into question by Körmendy Kinga, in *Hoffmann – Wehli 1992*, 221-222.

[422] S. Stelling Michaud, "Le transport international des manuscrits juridiques bolonais entre 1265 et 1320," in *Mélanges d'historie économique et sociale en hommage au Professeur Antony Babel a l'occasion de son soixante-quinzième anniversaire*, I. (Geneva, 1963), 95-125. On the subject with numerous examples, see most recently: L'Engle, Susan, *The Illumination of Legal Manuscripts in Bologna, 1250-1350 – Production and Iconography,* PhD Dissertation, New York University, 2000. On the *Illustratore*, see 132-137. L'Engle also discusses the two manuscripts in Padua, commissioned by Miklós Vásári and illustrated by this anonymous master, without recognizing that their patron has long been identified, see 136.

[423] Gibbs, Robert, "Bolognese Manuscripts in Bohemia and their Influence on Bohemian Manuscripts," *Il luogo ed il ruolo della città di Bologna tra Europa continentala e mediterranea, Atti del colloquio C.I.H.A. 1990*, ed. Giovanna Perini (Bologna: Nuova Alfa 1992), 55-76; Gibbs, Robert, "Bolognese Influences on Bohemian Art of the Later 14th and Early 15th Century," *Uměni* 40 (1992), 280-288.

executed by Petrus Gallicus of Siena, who settled in Hungary.[424] The chief work of fourteenth-century Hungarian sculpture, the equestrian statue of St. George in Prague (1373) was modeled and cast by Martin and George of Kolozsvár, who had presumably learned the art of monumental bronze casting after ancient prototypes in Orvieto, and who worked for at least three decades in the court of the bishops of Várad.[425] It is thus not surprising that direct and sustained connections between Italy and Hungary existed in wall painting as well. It should perhaps be mentioned that just as in Italian monuments, most Hungarian Gothic architecture preserved large surfaces of walls suitable for painted decorations.[426] Moreover, in many cases, as at Siklós, the technique of execution is true Italian fresco technique, and often the direct Italian origin of the frescoes' unknown masters can be established as well. Fragments of wall paintings almost invariably turn up in any religious building with significant medieval parts preserved. Undoubtedly, the number of monuments must have been once much greater. Especially lamentable is the almost total destruction of the major monuments from the center of the country, where there is very little hope of finding any new and significant frescoes. New finds, such as the painted architectural elements recently discovered at the site of the former Franciscan

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[424] For the first, see Lővei, Pál, "The Sepulchral Monument of Saint Margaret of the Arpad-Dinasty" *AHA* 26 (1980) 175-221. The only documented work of Petrus Gallicus of Siena is the third royal seal of Charles Robert, see *MoMT 2,* 375-376.

[425] Balogh, Jolán, *Márton és György kolozsvári szobrászok* (Kolozsvár, 1934); *Balogh 1982,* 19-26; *Marosi 1995,* esp. 96-107; Marosi, Ernő, "Itinerarien mittelalterlicher Künstler," *Slovenia 1995,* 17-23; ibid., "Probleme der Prager St.-Georg-Statue aus dem Jahre 1373," *Um ni* 47 (1999), 389-399. See also P. Balás, E., "Observations in Connection with the Antique Prototype of the St. George Statue of Márton and György Kolozsvári," *AHA* 21 (1975), 333-. For an attempt to attribute the statue to Peter Parler, see *Parler 1978* II. 663-664 (Jaromír Homolka).

[426] A similar architectural situation can be observed in the area of the Alps: Bacher, Ernst, "Monumentalmalerei," *Gotik 2000,* 403.

church of Buda, can only hint at what was lost.[427] The painted ribs found here, and their Cosmatesque decoration probably date from the beginning of the fourteenth century. The church was the burial place of the last Arpadian king, Andrew III (+1301), and it is conceivable that its decoration was commissioned by his successor, Charles Robert (1308-1342), once his power was stabilized. The fragments not only justify the supposition that such monuments were once much more common, but indicate that the Mendicant orders must have played an important role in spreading the new forms of Italian painting.

Much better known is a group of frescoes commissioned by prelates of the period for the decoration of churches and chapels at their seats. The two most important chapels – those at Esztergom and Zagreb – have already been discussed in a previous chapter, where the close ties between the first phase of the Siklós frescoes and the Riminese-influenced frescoes of Esztergom and especially Zagreb have been demonstrated. Direct Italian connections can also be observed in other centers of the country, in particular at Várad, where one frescoed ashlar block serves as a memento of the former decoration of the cathedral (fig. 126). The fresco fragment shows the head of a bishop inside a quatrefoil frame; the block probably came from the splay of window or a similar location. The painter most likely hails from Florence, and the fresco can be dated to around 1350-1360.[428] Thus despite the very fragmentary preservation of the material, it is clear that during the first half of the fourteenth century, Hungary had repeated, sustained and first-

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[427] The fragments were exhibited on the exhibition *Múlt rétegei – A budavári Szent György tér története* (Layers of the Past – The History of St. George Square in Buda Castle) at the BTM (Budapest History Museum) in 2002. The catalogue of the exhibition has not yet been published.

[428] Esztergom, Christian Museum, 54.1 *Prokopp 1983*, 84, suggests a local master. *Boskovits 1975* says the fragment is undoubtedly by a Florentine master, see 28, fig. 16. See also Prokopp, Mária, "A nagyváradi freskótöredék," *AH* 1 (1974), 77-90.

hand knowledge of Italian Trecento painting, perceivable in the commissions of the royal court and leading prelates alike. While it is true that, unlike in Naples, in Hungary none of the great, innovative workshops of the Tuscan early Trecento (such as Giotto, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Simone Martini) worked, the novelty of their art nevertheless appeared thanks to genuine Italian workshops, hailing from Rimini, Bologna, and even from Florence. The role of the Neapolitan Angevin court in these contacts is still insufficiently known.

A number of changes can be observed during the later part of the century. The series of Bolognese codices for example came to a halt, perhaps because of the founding of universities in Prague, Krakow, Vienna and Pécs (1348, 1364, 1365, 1367), which became the new centers for Hungarian intellectuals. Royal manuscripts commissioned under Louis the Great (1342-1382) – especially the magnificent Illuminated Chronicle – demonstrate that by 1360 a new, Central-European style of illumination was formed in Hungary, which nevertheless preserved its Italian roots.[429] While Italian manuscripts become much more scarce in Hungary, Italian masters were held in high regard throughout the period and the royal court on occasion still turned to Italian masters for specific commissions. This can also be observed in Bohemia, where an Italian painter, Tomasso da Modena executed two altarpieces for the private chapel of Charles IV at Karlstein,[430] Similarly, Louis the Great commissioned Italian artists to paint a series of votive panels

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[429] The Illuminated Chronicle of Hungary is today kept at OSZK, Cod. lat. 404, see *MoMT 2*, 488; *Marosi 1995*, 33. Another example of this group is the Istanbul Antiphonal, see the facsimile: *The Istanbul Antiphonal – About 1360. Facsimile edition with studies.* Edited by Szendrei, Janka. Studies by Mária Czigler, László Dobszay, Janka Szendrei and Tünde Wehli (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), and the studies by Vízkelety, András, "Az 'Isztambuli Antifonálé'," and Wehli, Tünde, "Az 'Isztambuli Antifonálé" iniciáléi," *AH* 17 (1989), 97-110.

[430] *Gibbs 1989*, chapter 8, dating the diptych to 1357-58, and the triptych to 1358/59-1365.

for chapels in Aachen and Mariazell.[431] By this time the forms of Italian Trecento painting appeared in numerous areas of Central Europe, especially in South Tyrol, and the neighboring regions of Carinthia and Styria.[432] In Hungary, the influence of local centers such as Esztergom resulted in a number of frescoes showing an indirect knowledge of Italian art, being painted by local masters in many parts of the country.[433] The influence of Trecento painting as practiced in Hungary and demonstrated by the example of Esztergom, can also be felt in neighboring Poland as well. The frescoes at Niepołomice near Krakow are in a side chapel of the local parish church, which was established by King Casimir the Great (1333-1370) between 1350 and 1358. The decoration was painted by a master, who was earlier identified with the painter of the palace chapel frescoes at Esztergom.[434] While this identification is unlikely, the connections with Esztergom are certain, although a knowledge of the art of Tomasso da Modena can also be detected. The Niepołomice frescoes were in all likelihood commissioned by Queen Elisabeth Łokietek between 1370

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[431] On the panels, see Marosi, Ernő, "Votívképek az Anjouk udvarából," *Louis 1982*, 109-110, and 110-113, cat. 15-18. Another instance of commissioning an Italian artist was the case of the sarcophagus of St. Simeon at Zara (Zadar, Dalmatia). It was commissioned by Queen Elisabeth, and executed by a Milanese master (Francesco di Antonio da Mediolano) between 1377-1380, see *Louis 1982*, 115-117, cat. 21; *MoMT 2*, II. 496-497; Fisković, Igor, "L'art en Croatie sous la dynastie des Anjou," *L'Europe des Anjou – Aventure des princes angevins du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, exhibition catalogue, Fontevraud, 2001 (Paris, 2001), 228, also 351-353, cat. 139. with further bibliography. See also Petricioli, I., "St. Simeon's Shrine in Zadar," *Monumenta Artis Croatiae* I/7, Zagreb, 1983.

[432] Wandering masters from Italy appeared in Austria, for example at Stein and Dürnstein (Crucifixion images, c. 1340), see Demus, Otto, "Ein italienischer Wanderkünstler an der Donau," *ÖZKD* (1951), 46-57; *Schmidt 1995*, 33. Other examples of Italian contacts in the region will be discussed later.

[433] It is possible that painters from the Esztergom workshop worked at Pelsöc (c. 1350) and at Százd (c. 1360), *Togner 1989*, 202.

[434] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Eva, "Die Stiftungen der Königin Elisabeth Łokietek auf dem Gebiet der Malerei," *Karłowska-Kamzowa 1977*, 69-70.

and 1375.[435] Queen Elisabeth, the sister of Casimir and widow of Hungarian King Charles Robert ruled Poland since 1370 as the regent of her son, Louis the Great. She probably brought a painter with her from Hungary, as the Italianate style of the Niepołomice frescoes cannot be detected in Small Poland before (or even after) this fresco cycle. Hungary was by that time so infused with Italian Trecento painting, that in many cases we cannot tell whether direct Italian connections are responsible for certain stylistic elements, or whether a given painting is simply part of a vigorous local school. In any case, by the second half of the fourteenth century, a number of iconographic solutions, Trecentesque frames and other decorative elements became native to Hungarian painters, and often were applied in a quite routine manner. This is especially apparent in the paintings of Upper Hungary, especially Gömör County, where dozens of such monuments have survived, dating roughly from the 1360s to the 1420s.[436] The area lies to the north of Esztergom, and is in the territory of the archbishopric.

Nevertheless, even in this period Hungarian painting continued to receive impulses from Italy, especially from Northern Italy. These arrived, however, through the transmission of the painting workshops of the Alpine region. The influence of Bolognese painting continues, but mainly through the personality of Vitale da Bologna, while the impact of Paduan-Veronese painting (Guariento, Altichiero, Giusto da Menabuoi) painting

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[435] Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska, "Die Fresken aus Niepołomice und das probem des Italianismus in der Mitteleuropäischen Malerei der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jh." *Karłowska-Kamzowa 1977,* 58-61. See also *Prokopp 1983,* 64-67. On the frescoes in the context of medieval wall painting in Poland, see Karłowska-Kamzowa, Alicja, *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce (Gotsiche Wandmalerei in Poland)* (Poznań, 1984), 248-249.

[436] For a catalogue of the monuments, see *Togner 1989.* On the frescoes of Gömör, see also *Prokopp 1969; Prokopp 2002.* See also *Prokopp 1983,* 87-94; *Dvo aková – Krása – Stejskal 1978.*

also increased. Both styles appeared in Hungary as well. Thanks to research of recent years, the impact of Vitale's painting in Central Europe is a relatively well-known phenomenon. The starting point of his influence is his activity in the cathedral of Udine and in the chapel of S. Niccolo (1348-49).[437] The frescoes of the cathedral were soon copied at Spilimbergo, while numerous artists left the master's large workshop to decorate numerous smaller churches in Friuli and Veneto.[438] Vitale also headed a large workshop involved in the decoration of the abbey church of Pomposa (c. 1351, sanctuary, parts of the nave), and in Treviso (S. Nicolò). The effects of these workshops can be felt in the eastern region of the Alps (in present-day Austria, Slovenia) all the way to the beginnings of the fifteenth century,[439] and the expressive style of Vitale did not remain unknown in Bohemia either. In Austria, best in quality are the frescoes in the sanctuary of the Franciscan church of Bruck an der Mur, dating from the third quarter of the fourteenth century. The image of the Virgin, as well as the fragmentary depictions of patrons and their coats of arms is surely the works of a painter originating in the workshop of Vitale himself.[440] Other works in Carinthia and Styria indicate that the Bolognese-Friuli style fell

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[437] Francesca d'Arcais, "Affreschi trecenteschi del Duomo di Udine," *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), 24-30.

[438] A good example is the Abbey church of S. Agostino near Vicenza, c. 1357, see Gibbs, Robert, "A group of trecento Bolognese painters active in the Veneto," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982) 77-86. Friuli: Skerl Del Conte, Serena, "Aggiornamenti su Vitale da Bologna e i suoi seguaci in Friuli," *Slovenia 1995,* 213-226.

[439] *Gotik in Slowenien,*cat. 129, 130, 131, 132; *Schmidt 1995,* 34-35.

[440] *Gotik 2000,* 450, cat. 204, pl. 128. See also in the same volume: Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die Malerei," 477-478. More on the frescoes of Bruck: Frodl, Walter, "Italienisches und Böhmisches in der Steirischen Trecentomalerei – Die Fresken der Minoritenkirche in Bruck a.d. Mur," *ÖZKD* (1951), 99-101.

on fertile ground here.[441] A recently discovered monument in Southern Hungary (present-day Croatia) reveals that this trend reached Hungary as well. István Lackfi founded the Pauline church of Csáktornya in 1376, and the frescoes of its sanctuary were painted not long after that (figs. 163-166). The strong emotions and the powerful gestures of the figures in the Crucifixion (fragment), and the intimate relationship of the Virgin and child in a lunette-fresco all show the impact of Vitale da Bologna.[442] The strongly modeled faces, the white highlights (noses, foreheads) and the predominance of brown, yellow and red colors on a blue background are also characteristic of the works of the Vitale workshop. It is very likely that the Csáktornya frescoes are the work of painters originating from this background and training.

The frescoes at Gerény in north-eastern Hungary (present-day Ukraine) demonstrate a knowledge of the painting of the 1360s in the area of Venice and Padua, especially the art of Guariento (figs. 127-128). Here a Romanesque rotunda was transformed into the sanctuary of a new church around the middle of the fourteenth century, under the patronage of the aristocratic Drugeth family. Some time later the new sanctuary was fully

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[441] Examples include Zweinitz, Judenburg, and the Leechkirche in Graz, see *Höfler 2000,* 114-115. See also the work of a workshop centered at Görz: Železnik, Adela, "Die Görzer Werkstätten des 14. und frühen 15. Jahrhunderts," *Gotik in Slowenien,* 237-245, with cat. 129-134. The examples include frescoes at Crngrob, Godešič, etc. See also Höfler, Janez, "Steiermark und Mittelosteurope zwischen Italien und Böhmen – Kunstgeographisches zur Malerei des späten 14. Jahrhunderts," *Graz 1990,* 128-129.

[442] On Csáktornya, see *Srša 1998*, as well as my study forthcoming in a study volume on art in southern Hungary (ed.: Tibor Kollár). For the Bolognese parallels, see: *Gnudi 1962,* esp. plates XXXIII and CXVI-CXIX. See also the Crucifixion-panel in Lugano: Boskovits, Miklós, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection – Early Italian Paintings, 1299-1470* (London, 1990), no. 32, 204-211.

frescoed with scenes from the Life of the Virgin and the Passion. The modes of the transmission of this style to Hungary have not yet been explored.[443]

This is the background of the Siklós frescoes, although no direct connection can be detected with any of the works mentioned above. The technical details of the execution, as well as the stylistic characteristics of the frescoes closely tie them to Italian fresco painting of the fourteenth century. In particular, the Siklós frescoes are indirectly related to the work of Altichiero in Padua and Verona, whose style was transmitted through a number of monuments in Central Europe. A number of direct comparisons can be established with the work of Altichiero, but Siklós repeats these elements in a simplified form indicating that its painters are at least one step removed from the great Paduan master. Some of these comparisons, such as the dependence of the picture types of the Siklós Crucifixion and the Coronation on Paduan works, were already mentioned in the course of the discussion of the original program of the frescoes above (figs. 99-101, 103-104). It was shown that the works of Altichiero provide relevant parallels for the large scenes from Siklós, in each case with a very similar iconography. The vault decoration is also related: both at the chapel of St. James and in the Oratory of St. George, the vault is decorated with prophets, Evangelists and Church Fathers. As at Siklós, the figures are depicted half-length, and are incorporated in round medallions (figs. 108-109). Where individual figures can be compared, the similarities are quite strong. Thus for example a motif, such as a Church Father (St. Jerome at Siklós) lifting up his pen to examine it, can be traced back to Altichiero, who in turn borrowed the motif from Giotto. The smaller elements of the

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[443] Marosi, Ernő, "A gerényi rotunda építéstörténetéhez," *ÉÉT* 5. (1973), 296-304. As I have never seen the monument, I don't feel qualified to discuss it further.

decoration can also be tied to Altichiero at Siklós: the rich fictive architecture, the marble panels and the twisted columns appear at Padua as well, as do the half-length saints depicted in medallions in the splays of the windows. To be sure, the Siklós frescoes do not reach the extraordinarily high quality of Altichiero's Paduan work. However it is certain that the painters of the Siklós cycle were familiar with Paduan art of the Late Trecento. Altichiero's impact was strong and long lasting. His followers executed numerous works in his home-town of Verona, as well as in smaller Northern Italian centers. As Padua had very close political ties with Hungary in the second half of the fourteenth century (before Padua, too, came under Venetian rule),[444] it is not unlikely that the close followers of Altichiero appeared in Hungary as well. The occupation of Padua, Verona, Treviso – traditional allies of Hungary – by Venice, however, meant that direct connections with these centers of painting became less frequent by the early fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the Siklós painters might have learned their trade from a follower of Altichiero, as his impact was felt throughout the north-eastern part of Italy, and these traditions continued to live on in the region of Padua (Ferrara, Verona) until the early Quattrocento.[445] The direct followers of Altichiero continued to imitate his style until this time, and the turning point was only the appearance of Pisanello, who had been documented in Ferrara from 1432. The Master of the Sant' Apollinare was one of the chief masters of the Padua-Ferrara area around 1400. His chief works are the frescoes in S. Apollinare, as well as in the chapel at Rocca di Vignola. The latter work provides numerous comparisons with the Siklós frescoes – the arrangement of the decorative system is similar, with Evangelist on the

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[444] On these political ties in the context of Hungary's conflict with Venice over Dalmatia, see *Engel 2001*, 161-163; *Plant 1981*, *Richards 2000*, 152-155.

vaults, and larger scenes on the side walls, and some iconographic details, such as the three-headed Trinity or an Evangelist examining his pen appear at both places.[446] Stylistically, however, the Rocca da Vignola frescoes are more evolved, and even though they preserve many Trecentesque elements, they already resemble the art of Pisanello.[447]

On the other hand, the Paduan-Veronese style also appeared outside these cities in a very natural way: Altichiero's influence quickly appeared in the region of South Tyrol (Alto-Adige), passing through the Brenner Pass with the ease of medieval travelers and merchants who used this way to cross the Alps. In the region of South Tyrol, especially around Bozen (Bolzano) the activities of a painter from the Paduan Giotto workshop had already rendered the Gothic linear style obsolete by the 1330s (St. John's chapel, Dominican church, Bozen).[448] Gauriento himself worked at Bolzano, painting Thebaid scenes at the Dominican church (1360-65),[449] and in 1378, a votive fresco painted in the same church clearly shows the influence of Altichiero in the architectural background of

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[445] On Altichiero's impact, see *Pettenella 1961*; *Richards 2000,* 222-230.

[446] Ragghianti, Carlo R., *Pittura tra Giotto e Pisanello – Trecento e primo quattrocento . Civilta artistica a Ferrara, 2.* (Ferrara, 1987), 118-128; ill. 301-318.

[447] Benati, Daniele, ed. *Il tempo di Nicoló III – Gli affreschi del Castello di Vignola e la pittura tardogotica nei domini estensi* (Modena: Panni, 1988).

[448] *Weingarnter 1947,* figs. 12-18; *Pintarelli 1997,* 110-120. For an example of such an Italianate fresco cycle from the end of the 14th century, see Unterthuner, Burgl, "Die Fresken in der Johanneskapelle von Schenna: Ein werk der Meraner Schule," *Denkmalpflege in Südtirol – Tutela dei Beni Culturali in Alto Adige, 1984* (Bozen [Bolzano], 1985), 145-156. The Italian connections are also discussed by Rasmo, Nicolò, *Affreschi Medioevali Atesini* (Milan, n.d. – 1974?), 126-155. A recent overview of the topic is provided by Chini, Ezio, "Il Gotico in Trentino. La pittura di tema religioso dal primo Trecento al tardo Quattrocento," *Gotico nelle Alpi,* 253-287, esp. 272-274 for the influence of Altichiero.

[449] Rasmo, Nicolò, "I distrutti afreschi guarienteschi nella chiesa dei Domenicani a Bolzano," *Cultura Atesina* 9 (1955), 118 ff.; ibid., "Pitture del Duecento e del Trecento in Trentino e Alto Adige," *Castelnuovo 1995,* 103.

the throne of the Virgin.[450] Wandering masters hailing from the workshop of Altichiero or his immediate associates (Avanzo, Stefano da Zevio, etc.) appeared in the region in great numbers, and exerted a strong influence over local painters as well. The fresco cycles of the cloisters of the cathedral of Brixen (Bressanona) and of the Augustinian priory of Neustift (Novacella, fig. 113) demonstrate the quick succession and great variety of these local workshops. Perhaps the most important of them was the one headed by Hans von Bruneck, whose frescoes at Neustift (1417) and Brixen (1418) illustrate how the Paduan late Trecento style was transformed under the newer impulses of northern International Gothic painting. Nevertheless, the vault frescoes in cloister arcade no. 4 at Brixen, with their half-length figures of the prophets, Evangelists and Church Fathers inside medallions also reveal how strong and long-lasting the impact of Altichiero was (figs. 111-112).[451] Other frescoes and decorative elements at the cloister of Neustift show examples of Italian techniques of fictive architectural decoration and the marbling of vaulting ribs, elements we can observe at Siklós as well.[452]

Paduan influence also appeared on the other side of the Alps, as demonstrated for example by the great central panel of an altarpiece from the Cistercian Abbey of Stams, known as the *Grussittafel* (fig. 105). The panel depicts the Coronation of the Virgin in a manner not unlike the Siklós fresco, with the seated figures of Christ and the Virgin depicted inside an elaborate throne with openwork back and sides, and with angels peering in through these openings. The arrangement, including the groups of saints at the front,

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[450] *Richards 2000,* 228. See also *Weingartner 1947,* fig. 26-28.

[451] *Pintarelli 1997,* 150-161.

follows a composition by Giusto de' Menabuoi (1367, London, National Gallery, fig. 107), the same panel mentioned in connection with the Siklós *Coronation.*[453] The painting in Stams was likely painted by a Konrad im Tiergarten von Meran, who was also documented as a court painter in Tyrol, and the work dates from around 1390. Further examples of Paduan connections include the frescoes of the *Salvatorkirche* at Hall in Tyrol (1406), modeled on Guariento's cycle at the Chiesa degli Eremitani.[454] By this time, the influence of the great Paduan painters and their Tyrolian followers was also felt in Carinthia and Styria, especially in the workshop organized around the so-called Master of Einersdorf, who executed frescoes in a number of churches such as Einersdorf, Altenmarkt bei Wies (Styria, fig. 130), and Ravne (Slovenia).[455] These share a number of iconographic solutions with Siklós, for example in the decoration of the vaults, and apply a similar decorative system. Elements, such as the marbling of the ribs, the rich frames with pattern decoration, and the imitation marble panels painted in the lower zone are also the same as at Siklós. The origin of this workshop is to be found in South Tyrol, among the followers of Altichiero. Another workshop with origins in South Tyrol worked in the territory of present-day Slovenia in the 1420s (Tainach; Ptujska Gora, pilgrimage church).[456] In

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[452] Weingartner, Josef, *Die Kunstdenkmäler Südtirols* (Innsbruck-Vienna-Munich, 1959[3]), vol. I., 253-254. The frescoes of cloister arcade no. 9 (with the Church Fathers) and no. 10 (Legend of St. Dorothy) were painted by Italian masters at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

[453] *Gotik 2000*, 478, 549 and fig. 179

[454] *Gotik 2000*, 457.

[455] *Höfler 2000,* 117; Besold, Andreas, "Wandmalerei in Kärnten, Slowenien und der Steiermark um 1400. Die Werkstatt des Einersdorfer Meisters," *Carinthia I,* 188 (1998), 297-311. Also appeared with some variations as "Wandmalerei in Kärnten, Slowenien und der Steiermark um 1400," *Celjski grofje,* 337-348. On St. Veit in Wies, see also *Gotik 2000,* 454, no. 209.

[456] Besold, Andreas, "Auf den Spuren einer Südtiroler Wandermalerwerksätte um Erasmus und Cristoph von Bruneck in Kärnten und der Südsteiermark," *Slovenia 1995,* 257-263; ibid., "Bemerkungen zu neuentdeckten Wandmalereien in Kärtnen," *Carinthia I.* 187 (1997), 333-341.

Central Europe, there is even evidence for much more direct connection with Altichiero: a votive picture in St. Stephen's cathedral at Vienna was painted by an immediate follower of the master around 1380 or 1400 (fig. 129).[457] While the identification of the fresco's patron with a Paduan merchant active in Vienna has not been proven beyond doubt, the painter certainly came from Padua or Verona, and apparently did not stay for very long, as his influence cannot be detected in the later painting of Vienna and its environs.[458]

Drawings in the hands of these artists might have facilitated the transmission of artistic forms. A miniature from the first third of the fourteenth century, coming from a Gradual of the Augustinian abbey of Neustift (South Tyrol) and depicting the Virgin and Child, provides an example of how the elaborate architectural settings of Altichiero appeared in the works of his followers – in this case most likely a Bohemian master.[459] The votive frescoes of the Dominican church of Bozen and of the Viennese St. Stephen's both must have been made with the help of similar drawings. In any case, the years around 1400 saw the emergence of artist's sketchbooks, while model-books multiplied and played a major role in the transmission of artistic forms.[460] Thus the existence of similar drawings or model-books in the possession of the Siklós Master is a definite possibility. The

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[457] The votive picture comes from near the *Singertor*, today it is in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, see *Prokopp 1983*, 35, 127; *Lanc 1983*, 41f.; *Gotik 2000*, 454-455, no. 210.

[458] The influence of Altichiero in Germany: Wolfgang Wolters, "Ein Freskenzyklus aus der Nachfolge des Altichiero in St. Salvatore zu Donaustauf," *Arte Veneta* 36 (1982), 9-19 (near Regensburg).

[459] This leaf is today preserved at Frankfurt, Städtische Galerie, *Vienna 1962*, 211, cat.194; The leaf comes from one of two large Graduals, illuminated by Freidrich Zollner, *Gotica nelli Alpi*, 640-641, cat. 88.

[460] On model-books and drawings, see *Vienna 1962*, 240-279; Ulrike Jenni, "Von mittelalterlichen Musterbuch zum Skizzenbuch der Neuzeit," *Parler 1978*, III., 139-150; Scheller, Robert W., *Exemplum – Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca.900 – ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam, 1995), for examples from around 1400, see 43 ff.

Neustift drawing in particular is something that might have been used when the Coronation image at Siklós was painted.

Siklós is stylistically further removed from Altichiero than those painted by his direct followers in Bozen or Vienna. However, it is also closer to the source than the workshop of the Einersdorfer Master, which became increasingly local and provincial in character. On the whole and in the details of the figures, the Siklós frescoes are executed on a much higher level than contemporary works in Carinthia and Styria. Thus it can be supposed that the Siklós frescoes are perhaps directly related to works in South Tyrol, where the impact of Altichiero was strongest. A now untraceable connection of the Siklós Augustinians with the Augustinian canons of Neustift might explain the connection, or Miklós Garai might have invited painters to Siklós during his stay in the region of Friuli and South Tyrol in the company of Sigismund in 1413, occasioned by a military campaign against Venice.[461] The unusually high quality of the painted decoration, and the lack of direct comparisons from either Hungary or the neighboring regions (Styria, which at the time was effectively ruled by Hermann of Cilli, the father-in-law of Miklós Garai) seem to suggest that the masters were specifically brought in for the decoration of the Siklós church. The workshop probably consisted of a group of painters who set up their shop for such commissions, going from one place to another in the region.

It should be stressed again that the frescoes of Siklós are stylistically much more purely Italian than most contemporary works in Hungary. In the years around 1400, the

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[461] On the political context, see Wakounig, Marija, *Dalmatien und Friaul. Der Auseinndersetzungen zwischen Sigismund von Luxemburg und der Republik von Venedig um die Vorherrschaft im adriatischen Raum* (Vienna, 1990); *Mályusz 1990.* Sigismund's stay in Bozen is reflected by his portrait painted in the Franciscan church there, see Mieth, Sven, "König Sigismund in Bozen und die Johanneskapelle der Franziskaner," *Schlern* 73 (1999), 341-354.

impact of Bohemian painting was already gaining significantly in Hungary.[462] The frescoes of the Franciscan church of Keszthely (datable to 1386-1397), for example, also demonstrate the knowledge of Italian forms, but the other dominant stylistic trend of the period, Bohemian painting, perhaps exerts a stronger influence there (figs. 167-169). This monument and the one at Csáktornya, both commissioned by Lackfi family, demonstrate that frescoes commissioned by the same patrons can be quite diverse stylistically. A similar mixture of Italian and Bohemian elements characterizes the art of Johannes Aquila, whose workshop was responsible for the frescoes of Bántornya (figs. 159-162), as well as of four other churches in the region (Velemér, Bántornya, Mártonhely, Radkersburg [Pistorhaus], Fürstenfeld). This painter of Radkersburg apparently knew not only the art of Theodorik and of Bohemian miniature painters, but also the innovations of the great Northern Italian masters, such as Tommaso da Modena. In his early work, especially in the frescoes of Velemér, painted in 1373, Italian painting appears dominant, probably reflecting his original training. New Italian impulses, for example the influence of Tomasso da Modena, can be observed in his later work as well, but the Bohemian current becomes more and more strong in his work.[463]

This Central European mixture of styles created a fertile ground in which the International Gothic art appeared and flowered for a long time. The court of Sigismund at Buda was one of the centers of the International Gothic. This can currently be demonstrated only with the help of the statues discovered in Buda in 1974, which were

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[462] On the impact of Bohemian painting, and its mixture with Italian motifs, see Höfler, Janez, "Steiermark und Mittelosteurope zwischen Italien und Böhmen – Kunstgeographisches zur Malerei des späten 14. Jahrhunderts," *Graz 1990,* 130-132.

carved starting from 1419, and which belong in the vanguard of contemporary European art, already moving towards Late Gothic.[464] In painting, we have fewer guiding points. The altarpiece by Thomas of Coloswar, the only monumental painted work stemming from the milieu of the court, unites numerous trends of International Gothic art, although is perhaps closest to Bohemian art (fig. 102). Monumental works commissioned in the most important towns of the realm, including Lőcse and Medgyes all conform to Northern stylistic models, perhaps attributable to the connections of their largely German populace.[465] A brief survey of the most important artworks from around 1400 thus indicates that the strong Italian connections came to an end around this time. On the other hand, documentary evidence indicates that these connections continued during the rule of Sigismund. The oft-cited example is the three-year-long stay of Masolino da Panicale in Hungary. He was invited by Filippo Scolari, who also had a Florentine architect, Manetto Ammannatini, to construct and decorate his palace at Ozora.[466] Italians, such as Filippo, at the court of Sigismund thus might have played an important role in maintaining strong artistic contacts between Hungary and Italy. Filippo's brother, Andrea Scolari, as bishop

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[463] On the style of Aquila, see Végh, János, "Johannes Aquila, die Wurzeln seines Stils," *Graz 1990*, 114-126; *Höfler – Balažic 1992*.

[464] This aspect of the statue group, especially of statues carved by sculptor of French training is emphasized by Heinrichs-Schreiber, Ulrike, "Die Bedeutung der französisch-höfischen Bildhauerkunst für den Meister von Großlobming," *Meister von Großlobming*, ed. Saliger, Arthur (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie, 1994), 25-26.

[465] *Buran 2002*, 21-112 on wall paintings in the Chruch of St. James at Lőcse. On Medgyes, see Draguț, Vasile, *Arta gotica în România* [Gothic art in Romania] (Bucharest: Meridiane 1979), 233-236, fig. 269-273; *MoMT 2*, 607.

[466] Vayer, Lajos, *Masolino és Róma – Mecénás és művész a reneszánsz kezdetén* (Budapest, 1962), 289-292, with bibliography.

of Várad, might have invited Italian artists as well.[467] Comparable was the role of cardinal Branda Castiglione, who, as governor of the bishopric of Veszprém, spent several years in Hungary.[468] Although the masters of the Siklós frescoes were not nearly as prestigious, they were probably chosen because their style represented a fashionable alternative at the time of the International Gothic. Siklós is thus a very significant monument as it is a surviving monument, demonstrating that the Italian connections characterizing much of the fourteenth century lived on during the rule of King Sigismund as well. The connections followed a trend established in the second half of the fourteenth century, and the work was executed by workshop-members or followers of an important Northern Italian workshop. It has to be examined how this fits in the larger pattern of Garai patronage in particular, and Hungarian aristocratic patronage in general.

4. Castles, churches, and tombs – Aristocratic patronage in Late Medieval Hungary

Throughout the sanctuary of Siklós, especially on the vaults and in the splays of the windows, the coats of arms of the patrons appear numerous times. In the church, these coats of arms are the only direct references to the patrons, and the patrons themselves are not depicted (although there is plenty of space where such figures could once have been

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[467] Balogh, Jolán, "Andrea Scolari váradi püspök mecénási tevékenysége," Archaeologiai Értesítő 40 (1923-26), 174-198; *Balogh 1982*, 27-28.

[468] On his personality and patronage, see most exhaustively Vayer, Lajos, *Masolino és Róma – Mecénás és művész a reneszánsz kezdetén* (Budapest, 1962).

shown). The most common of the heraldic devices is the gold twisting snake on a blue background, the device of the Garai family: this appears on the eastern keystone, several times on the vault, and in the splay of one of the eastern windows (fig. 21, 41, 52, fig. 147-148). This coat of arms is paired with another, showing a white shield with a red crossbar (fig. 72). This differs from the usual heraldic device of the Cilli family, but can still most likely be tied to Anne of Cilli, the wife of Miklós Garai.[469] Generally, the Cilli family's coats of arms had two or three such bars, and this field was generally combined with a field showing three stars on a blue background.[470] The heraldic device is the same as that of Anne of Cilli's mother's family, the Schaunburgs. Her cousin, Ulrik of Cilli, in his seal dating from 1453, once also used the same device.[471] The coat of arms of Hungary and the insignia of the Order of the Dragon complement the series of heraldic devices in the window of the south wall. The insignia of the Order of the Dragon in the arch of the south window must refer the Garai brothers, both of whom were founding members of this prestigious royal knightly order. The emblem show a dragon rolled up into a circle and biting its own tail, with the mark of the cross on it back. Incidentally, it is this detail, which enables us to date the frescoes with certain precision: as the Order of the Dragon was instituted by King Sigismund in 1408, the frescoes must date from after that time (fig. 20, 146). As we have seen above, their style indicates that they cannot have been painted

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[469] Another theoretical possibility would be the wife of János Garai (+1428), the smaller brother. However, his wife was Hedvig, a princess of Mazovia, so her coat of arms would be the Piast eagle, see *Handbuch der polnischen Heraldik*, 23.

[470] The coat of arms of Anne of Cilli appear in this form together with the Garai coat of arms for example on a lintel from the castle of Csesznek, *Feld 1994*, 236, and inside the parish church of Dévény, Johanidesová, Magda, *Stavebný vývoj devínskeho kostola* [The church at Dévény] (Bratislava, 1974), 11.

much later than that.[472] It has also been suggested that the coat of arms in the south window refers to the Cilli family.[473]

The painted coats of arms thus corroborate what we have learned from our examination of the historical sources, and make it certain that members of the Garai family, among them the Palatine Miklós Garai, commissioned the frescoes. Miklós and János Garai ordered the repainting of the church and they perhaps even provided the general idea behind the decorative system. By burying their father there, they also redefined the function of the church. The Garai family's international connections must have played a role in selecting a group of artists capable of carrying out the project, and it was the financial support of the Garais that ensured its completion. In this chapter we will investigate the Garai brothers as patrons, comparing their commissions with those by other aristocrats of the time. Our goal is to gather comparable material, and ultimately to understand the significance of the church for the family.

It is well known that the Garai family was one of the most powerful aristocratic families during the entire reign of King Sigismund. As already mentioned in the historical

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[471] *J. Siebmacher's grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch, IV/15, Der Adel von Ungarn,* ed. Csergheö, Géza – Nagy, Iván (Nürnberg, 1893), 100; *Lővei 1995,* 195.

[472] The Order of the Dragon was created by King Sigismund in 1408 to strengthen his ties with the Garai-Cillei League and to ensure the succession of his rule even on the female line. Baranyai, Béla, "Zsigmond király ú.n. Sárkányrendje" [The so-called Order of the Dragon of King Sigismund], *Sz* LX (1926), 561-591, 681-719; Lővei, Pál, "A Sárkányrend fennmaradt emlékei" [The Surviving Monuments of the Order of the Dragon] in *Sigismund 1987,* I. 148-179; Lővei, Pál, "Der ungarische Drachenorden" in *Die Ritter, Burgenländische Landesausstellung* (Güssing, 1990), 64-67; Studničkova, Milada, "Hoforden der Luxemburgen," *Uměni* 40 (1992), 320-328.

[473] Vukičević-Samaržija, Diana, "Das Künstlerische Erbe der Grafen von Cilli in Kroatien," *Celjski grofje,* 366. This would be possible if there were stars in the blue filed of the shield, however, they do appear to be lilies. Combined with four white bars this is beyond doubt the coats of arms of Hungary, as used by the Angevin kings. This retrospective use of coats of arms is not entirely uncommon in the fifteenth century, see the examples cited by *Lővei 1995,* 202, note 25.

overview, the Garai family rose to spectacular heights within a relatively short time during the fourteenth century. The family traces its origins to the Árpád-period Dorozsma clan.[474] They received the castle of Gara from King Béla IV in 1269, and took their name from it.[475] Their wealth was established at the time of Pál, who filled high offices in the court of Charles Robert and his queen. The descendants of Pál's son, András, form the most important branch of the family – this is the Garai family that plays a major role in our story (see family tree, *Table 3.*).[476] This story begins with Miklós I, a long time supporter of King Louis the Great. In 1375 he became the Palatine, the highest secular office at court.[477] When he was attacked and killed in 1386, many other members of the Garai family perished with him, almost leading to the extinction of the family.[478] The old Palatine's sons, Miklós II and János, however, survived, and by allying themselves with the new king, Sigismund, secured the family's powers for two more generations. At the time of his father's death, Miklós (II) Garai might have been around 19 or 20 years old,[479] and probably spent a large part of his youth at the royal court. His intellectual development must have taken place in the proximity of Louis the Great, in the atmosphere of his refined court. In later years, we find him often in the king's company, traveling with him abroad into battle (Nicopolis, 1396, against Venice in 1413), and on diplomatic trips (Constance

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[474] *Karácsonyi 1900 (1995).* 434-446.

[475] *CDH* VII. 3, 64; *Wertner 1897,* 903

[476] *Wertner 1897,* 912-914.

[477] *Wertner 1897,* 915; *Engel 1996,* I. 4.

[478] Two of Miklós Garai's cousins, János, son of Pál, and Pál, son of István, were also killed, and the Palatine's son, the younger Miklós Garai, was captured as well. Also killed was Gergely, from another, the Botos branch of the family. The Garai casualties are listed for example in a 1406 donation charter by King Sigismund (giving Liptó County to the younger Garai brothers), see *HO* VII. 433-434, no. 401.

and Paris, and further, 1414-17). Garai was first and foremost known as a member of the military elite; his greatest service to his king was the consolidation of the ruler's power in the southern counties during the last decade of the fourteenth century. Only after 1402, when he became palatine, did he engage in more peaceful activities, especially since following the unsuccessful 1403 coup, Sigismund no longer faced internal enemies. By the time of the Hussite wars, Garai was an elder statesman who rarely engaged in direct battle any more. Miklós II Garai was Palatine from 1402 to his death in 1433, and his son, László, followed him in this position as well.[480] Along with this title came many other offices filled by these men, as well as by their close relatives. Miklós's brother, János, also played an important role in governing the country, while his sisters were married to powerful barons from the Szécsi and Szécsényi families.[481] As Erik Fügedi demonstrated, in 1435 – two years after the death of Miklós Garai – members or relatives of the Garai family filled all the important government positions.[482]

Throughout the rule of King Sigismund, Garai remained one of his most loyal supporters. For a long period of time Garai the Palatine was one of five men who held the most power in the closest circle of Sigismund.[483] With the exception of Garai, they were all of foreign origin. The father in law of the king, Hermann of Cilli, had less formal titles, but all the more influence on the king. He received huge estates from the king in Southern

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[479] *Engel 1987,* 417.

[480] *Engel 1996,* I. 5, 6.

[481] See the family tree (*Table 3.*).

[482] *Fügedi 1974,* 166, 172-173.

[483] On the "pillars of the regime," see *Engel 2001,* 209-214.

Hungary and Slavonia, next to his "home territories" in Styria.[484] Through the marriage of his daughters to the king and to Miklós Garai, the three most powerful people in the kingdom further strengthened their alliance. The next most powerful person after Garai and Cilli in the first half of the Sigismund period was one of his early supporters, Stibor of Stiboric, of Polish origins. He received large estates in northern Hungary, especially in the valley of the river Vág, and filled important positions in the government. From 1395 to 1401 and again from 1409 to 1414, he was the *voivod* of Transylvania. His estates – but not his political importance – was inherited by his son, the younger Stibor, who died in 1434.[485] Two further chief supporters of Sigismund were also of foreign origin: Filippo Scolari entered his service at the end of the fourteenth century, and soon became not only his important general and diplomat, but also his trusted financial advisor. Pipo, as he came to be called in Hungary, was the count in charge of salt mines, and from 1404, Count of Temes, thus essentially the governor of the south-eastern corner of the country.[486] The fifth bastion of Sigismund's power was Eberhard, who – apart from being bishop of Zagreb – served as the chief chancellor of the king from 1404-1419, and was followed in this position by his cousin, János Albeni.[487]

These supporters of Sigismund stood by him during those times when his rule was challenged – for example in 1397, 1401 or 1403. Sigismund always came out victorious

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[484] On the family, see Dopsch, Heinz, "Die Grafen von Cilli – ein Forschungsproblem," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 17-18 (1974-75), 9-49; as well as the study collection *Celjski grofje.*

[485] Wenzel, Gusztáv, *Stibor vajda,* (Budapest, 1874); Engel, Pál, "Stiborici (I.) Stibor vajda (+1414) és fia, (II.) Stibor (+1434)," *Sigismund 1987,* I. 444-448.

[486] Engel, Pál, "Ozorai Pipo," *Vadas 1987,* 53-88, reprinted in *Engel 2003,* 247-301. See also ibid., "Ozorai Pipo temesi ispán (+1426)," *Sigismund 1987,* I. 432-434.

[487] *Engel 2001,* 212, see also Süttő, Szilárd – Engel, Pál, "Beiträge zur Herkunft und zur Tätigkeit der Familie von Alben in Ungarn," *Südost-Forschungen* 54 (1995), 23-48.

from these events and ruthlessly avenged the attempts against his power. A characteristic example is the fate of the Lackfi family, powerful barons throughout the fourteenth century. In 1397, István Lackfi made the mistake of orienting himself towards the Neapolitan party and Ladislas of Anjou. Despite being the Palatine of Hungary for years, in 1397 he and his brother were killed by Sigismund's men, and all his estates were confiscated.[488] After the election of Sigismund as King of the Romans (1410) and during his lengthy absences at the time of the Council of Constance (1414-1418) and other international affairs, Sigismund could rely on his faithful barons to preserve his power at home.

For their faithfulness and services, the supporters of Sigismund received huge estates from the king. In addition to receiving castles confiscated from families committing treason – such as Siklós – the barons were also rewarded with a number of royal castles and their estates. This same group of loyal supporters were also entrusted with the governing of those castles still in royal hands. Thus Filippo Scolari, although he owned little apart from the castle of Ozora, managed all the royal castles of Temes country, including Temesvár. Thanks to the royal donations, estates of unprecedented size were formed in the hands of the barons. The Kanizsai family for example, built up an "empire" formed around seven castles in western Hungary, in the counties of Zala, Vas and Sopron. Although the Garai family had been among the richest families already during the rule of Louis the Great, in the late 1380s their wealth grew immensely, thanks to the new donations, which included castles with great estates, such as Siklós, as well as other property: towns, Dalmatian islands and such. They also received additional castles in

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[488] *Engel 2001*, 204.

return for unpaid loans to the king.[489] Several royal decrees (in 1406 and 1408)[490] list these holdings, reinforcing the donations and outlining the property boundaries in order to avoid misunderstanding. In the end, the Garai brothers came to own fifteen larger and several smaller castle-estates in south-western Hungary and about 700 villages, with Siklós forming the center of the family's estates. A detailed picture of part of their property emerges from a 1478 charter, which lists and describes all the Garai estates that were in the property of the family in 1398, according to a settlement of an old case between the Garai and Szécsi families.[491] The Cilli family, who managed an almost contiguous area of sixteen large estates in Slavonia, amassed comparable wealth.[492] Landowners with such powers had to be taken into account even at times when they had no nominal power in the government of the country, and they came to be called barons as well, irrespective of their current office or title. Thus by the end of the period, a new class of barons – clearly distinguished from the middle nobility – was formed.[493]

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[489] *Mályusz 1990*, *Engel 1977*, 47-49; *Engel 1987*, 418.

[490] One document (1406) lists the Garai family members deceased in 1386, and lists all the good deeds of Miklós and János Garai in the service of the king. Sigismund reinforces the earlier donations, and also donates property in Liptó County to them, *HO* VII. 434-445. Another, from the time of the foundation of the Order of the Dragon (1408), confirms again all the donations, among them "Item castrum Soklos cum suis civitate tributis et Districtu, Belkues et aliis Districtibus et pertinentis eiusdem...monasteriorum et ecclesiarum jus patronatus... See *CDH* X/4. no. 313, 660-679 (672-3).

[491] See history chapter, *Kubinyi 1981*.

[492] Tringli, István, "Die Würden und die Besitzungen der Cillier in Ungarn," *Celjski grofje*, 115-124.

[493] See Sugar, Peter F., ed., *A History of Hungary* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1990), 57. On the barons, see Bak, János, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 13-16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1973), esp. 27-38; Fügedi, Erik, *A 15. századi magyar arisztokrácia mobilitása* [Social Mobility of the Hungarian Aristocracy during the Fifteenth Century] (Budapest, 1970). See also Engel, Pál, "Zsigmond bárói" [The barons of Sigismund], *Sigismund 1987*, I. 114-129, reprinted in *Engel 2003*, 225-246.

Apart from the secular barons, the highest-ranking people in the realm were the prelates – all with considerable estates and thus secular power as well. In addition, they generally had an important role in the royal chancellery and in diplomacy. The two most important prelates of the Sigismund period both held the highest ecclesiastical position, archbishop of Esztergom. János Kanizsai, a supporter of Sigismund who also turned against him on numerous occasions, was a representative of the old aristocracy (1387-1418), while the ordination of György Pálóczi as archbishop signaled the arrival of a newly emerging family (1423-1439). Chancellor and bishop Eberhard was already mentioned, and it is characteristic of the time that his relatives of the Albeni family also filled important ecclesiastical positions. At Pécs, first János Albeni (1410-1421), later Henrik Albeni (1421-1444) were bishops. Filippo Scolari's brother, Andrea Scolari was bishop of Várad (1409-1426).[494]

Knowing their political power, international connections and extended estates, it is surprising how little we know of the art patronage of the aristocracy. The problem has never been systematically explored. Nevertheless, it seems that the two main aspects of their patronage were the building of castles to represent their power, and the building of churches and chapels to ensure their salvation. Consequently, most artworks associated with aristocratic families are works of the monumental arts – buildings, stone carvings, wall paintings, and we know very little of other kinds of works. The horizon of the aristocracy broadened considerably in this period; after the 1410 election of Sigismund as King of Romans, his seat at Buda (and Tata, Visegrád) became in effect the seat of the empire, where ambassadors and foreign rulers followed in each other's footsteps. At the

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[494] Engel, Pál, "Eberhard főkancellár és az Albeniek," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 412-415.

same time, a great entourage of Hungarian nobles accompanied Sigismund on his lengthy trips to the Council of Constance (1414-1418, to Paris as well), and on his route to the imperial coronation in Rome (1431-1434).[495] Thus the aristocrats – Miklós Garai among them – were able to see first-hand the most up-to-date artistic endeavors of the period, although this experience apparently had little impact on them. Sigismund himself, however, was much impressed. It can be observed for example that the issuance of armorials with the coats of arms painted on them received new impetus from the trip to Constance and beyond. The nobles accompanying the king received a series of beautifully decorated armorials, which renewed or created heraldic devices for them.[496] Particularly outstanding are the two armorials received by Miklós Garai in 1416 in Paris: one issued by Charles VI, King of France, and the other by Sigismund (147).[497] Sigismund also had his portrait painted several times,[498] commissioned artists to paint frescoes,[499] and invited

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[495] Csukovits, Enikő, "Egy nagy utazás résztvevői – Zsigmond király római kísérete," *Tanulmányok Borsa Iván tiszteletére,* ed. Csukovits, Enikő (Budapest, 1998), 11-35. See also *Engel 2001,* 229-243 in general about Sigismund on the international scene, and 242-243 about the aristocrats.

[496] *Radocsay 1958.*

[497] Both armorials date from 1416, March 26 (the one issued by the French king is dated 1415 according to the old calendar). The texts are published in *CDH* X/5. 563, *CDH* X/5. 681. One copy was destroyed in 1945, see *Radocsay 1958*, 322, 352. Nyáry, A., *A heraldika vezérfonala* [Guide to Heraldry] (Budapest, 1886), 236; Áldásy, A., *A MNM könyvtárának címereslevelei* II. [Armorials in the Library of the Hungarian National Museum] 1923, 31-33. The other copy is presumably at the Town Museum of Turócszentmárton (Martin, Slovakia).

[498] See *Kéry 1972*, 28-32. On the basis of a comparison with two Pisanello portraits drawings in the Louvre, a contemporary portrait of the Empreor in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum) was also attributed to Pisanello, see Degenhart, B., "Das Wiener Bildnis Kaiser Sigismunds, ein Werk Pisanellos," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien,* N.F. 13 (1944), 359-376, although the attribution has since often been questioned. See: Künstler, G., "Sinn und Zweck der Darstellung Sigismunds in dem Wiener Bildnis," *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Galerie* 19/20 (1975-76).

[499] For the frescoes in the Augustinian church at Constance, commissioned by Sigismund during the Council, see Altgraf zu Salm, Christian, "Die Wandgemälde der Augustinerkirche in

many foreign masters to rebuild his residences.[500] In fact large-scale construction at Buda commenced around 1419, after his return from Constance, and the statues of the Buda castle find were carved at this time by two groups of western masters, clearly in an attempt to emulate what he had seen on his trips.[501] On his later trip to the imperial coronation in Rome, Sigismund commissioned paintings from Pisanello.[502] The same cannot be said about the local aristocrats. As most of their wealth was in the form of estates and not in cash, Hungarian aristocrats had little chance to buy or commission luxury artifacts on their trip. In a letter from Paris, István Rozgonyi, royal chancellor, complained to his brothers, saying that he found the shops wonderful, but "since I do not have money, I prefer not to look at them."[503] The exceptions are unfortunately only known from written sources: It is well known that Masolino worked in Hungary for three years, either for his long-standing patron Branda Castiglione, or for Filippo Scolari, but nothing of his work here remains. It is nevertheless important to briefly survey the artistic commissions of aristocratic families, and to see how the Garais compare to them.

Konstanz," *Studien zur Kunst des Oberrheins – Festschrift für W. Noack* (Konstanz-Freiburg, 1958), 46ff.

[500] For an example, see Liedke, Volker, "Meister Dietrich, Baumeister König Sigmunds," *Ars Bavarica* 3 (1975), 18-20; further examples in *Horváth 1937*, 109.

[501] For a summary, see Marosi, Ernő, "Zu 'Werkstatt' und 'Künstler' in der Skulpturenreihe des Sigismundszeit von Buda," *Meister von Großlobming*, ed. Saliger, Arthur (Vienna: Österreichische Galerie, 1994), 56-63.

[502] For the portrait drawings, see above. In addition, Pisanello also painted a Madonna picture for the emperor, see Tumidei, Stefano, "Un tableau perdu de Pisanello pour l'empereur Sigismond," *Pisanello – Actes du colloque organisé au museé du Louvre par le Service culturel les 26, 27 et 28 juin 1996* (Paris, 1998), I., 15-27.

[503] *Engel 2001*, 242, citing it from Kumorovitz, L. Bernát, ed., *Monumenta diplomatica civitatis Budapest*, vol. 3 (1382-1439), 2 (Budapest, 1987), 2.

The activity of Miklós Garai as a patron of the arts consisted of the rebuilding and fortification of castles and other residences, as well as the building of churches and chapels. The last decades of the fourteenth century and the first ones of the fifteenth saw continuous building activity in the newly acquired Garai properties. Best known are his efforts to upgrade the family's residences as befit their new high status.[504] The old seat of the family, the castle of Gara was destroyed at the end of the fourteenth century, and was never fully rebuilt. Fifteenth-century documents only mention a manor house built of wood there (1478).[505] Almost nothing is known about the architecture of their other castles south of the river Drava (Cserög, Cerna, Szentlőrinc, Újvár, Vicsadal).[506] Some of these, such as Cserög, were already in the family's hands at the time of Miklós (I) Garai,[507] and similarly to Gara, were damaged during the conflicts of the last decades of the fourteenth century. Their rebuilding only happened much later; at least we have no knowledge of significant renovations carried out in these castles in the years around 1400.[508] It seems that at this time, building activity was concentrated in Transdanubia, on the newly acquired castles. These castles were located closer to the centers of royal power, and with their high positions at court, the Garai family's activities were also concentrated in this

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[504] On these, see *Feld 1994*.

[505] *Koppány 1999*, 44, 82, 146.

[506] These are listed in *Engel 1996*, II. 80.

[507] *Engel 1996*, I. 294.

[508] At Cserög, a new manor house was built some time before 1470, see *Koppány 1999*, 131. On Cerna, see *Koppány 1999*, 128. Vicsadal (or Vicsodol) was built at around 1400 by the Garais, but nothing is known of its architecture. After 1432 it is mentioned as a *castellum*, see *Koppány 1999*, 243.

centrally located area.[509] Three castles stand out in particular here: Siklós, Csesznek and Kőszeg, the largest project of these being Siklós, the new center of the family's estates.[510]

Like many aristocratic castles of the time, the Siklós castle followed the example established with the Angevin royal castles, such as Diósgyőr and Zólyom – that is, a rectangular building of four wings, with four towers on the corners.[511] Sigismund's castles also belonged to this type, such as the castle of Tata, rebuilt by the king after 1397 (fig. 139).[512] At Siklós, the original castle of the Siklósi family consisted of just one wing, the present south wing of the structure, with towers on each end, and a rectangular area encircled by a wall to the north (fig. 134). Most of this wall was demolished by the Garais, and two new wings were built on the eastern and northern sides. A chapel was established in the eastern wing. The courtyard created by the new wings was closed by a wall on the north side, and the entire structure was surrounded by fortified walls. Thus, the result was not the four wings of a regular, "Italian-type" castle, although the overall impression of the new castle still resembled examples of that type. To complete the project, an outer circle of walls was built around the entire hill, incorporating the Augustinian church as well (fig. 133).[513] The date of this rebuilding work has not yet been properly established. As a lot of work was done there, construction probably took several years. It is most likely that building activity commenced only in the early fifteenth century, probably after 1401, once

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[509] Engel, Pál, "A középkori Dunántúl mint történeti táj," *Pannonia Regia*, 21.

[510] Overview: Nagy, Emese, "Zsigmond kora a régészeti kutatásban," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 367-368.

[511] On Diósgyőr, see: Czeglédy, Ilona, "A diósgyőri vár Nagy Lajos kori épülete," *Louis 1982*, 234-241; Czeglédy, Ilona, "The Results of the Excavations of the Castle of Diósgyőr," *Alba Regia* 22 (1985), 33-38. Castles for aristocrats: Kanizsai at Kismarton, built before 1415, *MoMT 2*, 509-511.

[512] *MoMT 2*, 508.

the tumultuous years of Sigismund's early rule had ended. When Sigismund was kept at Siklós in 1401, the castle must still have been the old building of the Siklósi family. Thus the rebuilding of the castle happened most likely at the same time as the rebuilding of the Augustinian church in the first decade of the fifteenth century. The castle was rebuilt in two further phases, essentially, with every new owner it was modernized. Around 1450, an elaborately decorated bay window was built by László Garai, with coats of arms and various insignia above the windows, of which the flaming cross, an insignia of the Order of the Dragon, survives.[514] Perhaps at this time the chapel was also modified, as proven by the repainting of the frescoes there. Later, after Jób Garai became the head of the family (he came of age after 1464, died in 1481), the castle was modified again – proven by a horizontal corbel recovered during excavation and inscribed with the text: "arma magnificy domini job de gara." Large-scale rebuilding of the castle, the chapel and the fortifications however, only took place in the Perényi period. Szilárd Papp recently demonstrated that the new sanctuary and vault of the chapel, combining Late Gothic vaults with Renaissance elements, only took place between 1507 and 1515 (fig. 132, 153).[515] Although the castle was modernized and expanded in the eighteenth century, the general configuration of the buildings is still that of the time of the Garais (fig. 131). The unity of castle and its chapel, with an adjoining family burial church, and the whole complex surrounded by a wall, can still be observed today.

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[513] *Czeglédy 1987*, 347-351.

[514] Lövei, Pál, "Néhány címeres emlék a 14-15. századból," *MÉ* 40 (1991), 58-60.

[515] Papp Szilárd, *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515 között, a délnémet és szász stílusösszefüggések szemszögéből*, dissertation, Budapest, ELTE, 2002, 109-115, 310-319.

Comparable in scale was the rebuilding of Csesznek castle, located north of Veszprém in the Bakony Hills, which the Garai family received in 1392 from Sigismund in exchange for some estates in the southern province of Macsó (figs. 137-138).[516] Here the original small castle, built on top of a hill, was rebuilt as a representative family residence. An inner palace with wings of several levels was built, and was decorated with rich architectural sculpture. Because of the features of the castle hill, it was not possible to erect a regular rectangular castle here, and the buildings are arranged between two massive tower-like structures. Construction must not have started at once, or was carried out in several steps: carved fragments of the frame of a gate date the completion of the work to 1424.[517] The lintel is decorated with the coats of arms of the Garai and Cilli families, which together with the inscription indicates that the primary commissioners were Miklós Garai and his wife.[518] Apart from the fragments of this gate, there are few sculptural remains from Csesznek. The most important of them is a lion's head, which is carved in a

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[516] *Engel 1996*, I. 294.

[517] The inscription on the lintel reads Nicolai de / Gara · regni / Hungariae · palatini / filii · Pa/latini. On another piece from the frame of a door, the following inscription gives the 1424 date: Anno · domini · millesiomo · ccc · x/x · quarto · tempore domini/Sigismundi · romanorum · hun/garie · bohemie · et · cetera regis. Today in the Hungarian National Museum, 58.245.2, 3-4. Héjj, Miklós. "Gótikus faragványok a cseszneki várból. *Fol. Arch.* XI (1959), 135-139; *LAHU* 1., 154-155; Várady, Zoltán, *Gótikus minuszkula feliratok a Dunántúlon* (Az Illyés Gyula Pedagógiai Főiskola Társadalomtudományi Monográfiasorozata 4.) (Szekszárd, 1999), 42-43, 113.

[518] *Feld 1994*, 236; Koppány, Tibor, *Csesznek vára* (Budapest, 1962); Pámer, Nóra, "Csesznek," in: *Várépítészetünk*, ed. László Gerő (Budapest, 1975), 120-125.

style characteristic of the later phase of the Parler workshop, and has parallels in Buda and Zagreb.[519]

Miklós and János Garai also received the castle and town of Kőszeg (Vas County) from Sigismund in 1392, in partial exchange after paying 4400 gold florins.[520] They owned the town until 1440, after which it was eventually occupied by Frederick III (in 1445). Little is known about the details of their construction there, as the castle was also rebuilt around 1500, but there are elements that can be tied to the Garais.[521] The most important is the building of a new western wing, added to the thirteenth-century castle. Today only a complex window group with painted ornamental decoration shows the level of artistic accomplishment achieved there. The details demonstrate that Kőszeg was also transformed into a large, representative castle. This construction can be dated relatively well on the basis of stove tile finds, which belong to the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Mainly documentary evidence is available for some of the other Garai castles.[522] Nekcse, Rohonc,[523] Somló, and Futak[524] were also acquired between 1387 and 1408, but

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[519] *MoMT 2*. Koppány, Tibor, *Csesznek vára* (Budapest, 1962), 15-17 suggests a connection with the royal workshop, and compares the lion's head with the carvings of the Sigismund-period font at Visegrád. His reconstruction of the workshop's activities: first Buda csatle, then Garai chapel at Buda, and after 1412 – Csesznek. He suggests that they also worked for Stibor (Beckó, Vágújhely, Csejte), as well as on Siklós and perhaps Pápa.

[520] *Engel 1996*, I. 350.

[521] Gergelyffy, András, "Kőszeg," *Várépítészetünk*, ed. László Gerő (Budapest, 1975), 194-199; Gergelyffy, András – Sedlmayr, János, *A kőszegi Jurisics-vár* (Budapest, 1964); Imre Holl, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban [The castle of Kőszeg in the Middle Ages]* (Budapest, 1992); *Feld 1994*, 236-237.

[522] Castles and date of their acqusition: Atyina (1435-37, after Miklós), Cerna (Valkó, before 1408), Cserög (Szerém, before 1372, from Louis I), Csesznek (1392, exchange with Sigismund), Dévény (1414/19), Futak (c. 1403), Gara, Kőszeg (Vas, there was also an upper castle, 1392), Lánzsér (Sopron, AU, ruin, 1424/25), Nekcse (ruin, 1407), Pápa (1389), Rohonc (ruin, 1404), Siklós (1395), Simontornya (1427, János Garai, László), Solymár (1453), Somló (ruin, 1389), Szaplonca (1424/29), Szentlörinc (Valkó, 1387/95), Ugod (Miklós I, east of Pápa, 1380/84), Újvár/Pg (before 1408), Vicsadal (Valkó, before 1408) *Engel 1996*, II. 80; *Engel 1987*, 418.

not much is known of their architecture. Pápa was built only after 1408, as in that year only the village is mentioned, while the castellan of the castle is first mentioned only in 1427. The extent of the fifteenth-century castle was the same as that of the present Baroque edifice, but its details are not known.[525]

Just as we have observed with the Garais, the main activity of Hungary's barons consisted of rebuilding their castles, the centers of their estates. Almost everywhere, especially with the newly received castles, the buildings were expanded, rebuilt and decorated. Castles on a regular, rectangular plan became especially favored, modeled after the royal castles in the time of Louis the Great (Diósgyőr, Végles, Zólyom) and Sigismund (Tata, fig. 139). Apart from the Garai castles at Siklós and Kőszeg, the Kismarton castle of the Kanizsai family in western Hungary and the Ónod castle of the Cudar family were also built on a square plan, with towers at the corners. Also regular in plan, but without towers is the castle at Gyula, built by the ban of Macsó, János Maróti, after receiving it from Sigismund in 1403.[526] The castle of Filippo Scolari at Ozora was built on a square plan, but in an Italian spirit (fig. 140). Perhaps the Florentine architect, Manetto Ammannatini, who is recorded to have worked for Filippo, was responsible for designing it. Filippo erected the structure between 1416 and 1426, and it was a square palace, with a

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[523] It is not known when the castellum of Rohonc, which they received in 1404 (*Zs.O.* II. 3529, *Engel 1996*, I. 401-402), was built. It was in the Garai family's possession until 1440, when it became Habsburg property, see *Koppány 1999*, 203.

[524] Futak, acquired probably around 1403 (*Engel 1987*, 418) was built between 1408 and 1422, see *Koppány 1999*, 145.

[525] *Engel 1996*, I. 389, *Koppány 1999*, 194; Gerő, László – Sedlmayr, János, *Pápa* (Budapest, 1959), 39-40, 45-54.

[526] Feld, István, "A gyulai vár a középkorban," *Dél-Alföld*, 256-280.

colonnaded courtyard in the center.[527] Another type was the irregular "knightly castle," usually erected on hilltops – Csesznek and Beckó of the Stibor family are characteristic examples. In these cases, the features of the landscape largely determined the plan and arrangement of the buildings.

Simultaneously rebuilding several castles must have put a considerable strain on the commissioners, especially as projects continued for several years. Moreover, the churches at the center of the estates were usually rebuilt at the same time, and often – as at Siklós – the entire ensemble was surrounded by walls. When several buildings in one location were reconstructed, the workshop responsible for them was generally the same, but it is not certain that the same workshops were active in several different projects of one family. We can observe the activities of just such a family workshop in the case of the Stibor constructions in upper Hungary. The elder Stibor, *voivod* of Transylvania, died in 1414, and his son, "Lord of the River Vág," in 1434. Of Polish origin, they were both high-standing supporters of Sigismund, who received huge estates in Northern Hungary, around the River Vág. The center of their estates was the castle of Beckó (Bolondóc), which was enlarged and modernized under the elder Stibor starting soon after he acquired it in 1388. Replacing the earlier, simple castle, the *voivod* erected a large, irregular structure arranged around a central courtyard. The chief part of the structure was erected on the northern side of the hill, with an elaborate chapel in its eastern wing. The chapel was richly decorated with stone carvings – showing knowledge of Parler forms – and with wall paintings, which

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[527] He received Ozora in 1398, and got a building permit in 1416, although the castle was perhaps built somewhat earlier. See *Vadas 1987*. For the excavation report, see Feld, I. – Kisfaludi, J. – Vörös, I. – Koppány, T. – Gerelyes, I. – Miklós, Zs., "Jelentés az ozorai várkastélyban és környékén 1981–85-ben végzett régészeti kutatásokról," *Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* 14 (1988); Feld, István – Koppány, Tibor, "Az ozorai vár," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 332-346.

have survived only in the splays of the windows. Based on the stylistic features of other works commissioned by the family, it is clear that the services of the same workshop were applied over a long period of time and in many works, including the rebuilding of other castles, such as Csejte. The same workshop erected the parish church (St. Stephen) of the small town of Beckó situated under the castle, and they worked on the Augustinian church of Vágújhely, built between 1414 and 1419 (fig. 86). This church, already discussed elsewhere in this dissertation (see Chapter I.3), once again reveals the Bohemian connections of the workshop, as it copies the plan and arrangement of the Prague Augustinian church of St. Charles, erected by Charles IV. The details of the church, for example the profiles of the fillet molding around the niches in the south wall of the sanctuary, repeat forms already applied at Beckó. The location of the Stibor estates along the trade routes towards Bohemia explains the close connections with the art of that region.[528]

At the same time, Hermann of Cilli rebuilt his newly acquired castles in Slavonia and in the Mura valley, among them Csáktornya and Sztrigó. However, he put his greatest effort into the building of the family's seat at Cilli (Celje) in Styria. In addition to the rebuilding of the castle of Upper Cilli (Obercilli), the family also erected a palace inside the town, transformed the Franciscan church into a family burial place, and erected a

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[528] Dr. Ethey, Gyula – Ifj. Csemegi, József, "A Stibor család építkezései – Adatok a felvidéki gótikus építészet történetéhez," *A Magyar Mérnök- és Építész-Egylet Közlönye*, 77 (1943) Értekezések, Beszámolók I. 1-10; Kodoňová, Maria, "A beckói (Beckov) uradalom művelődéstörténeti jelentősége a későgótika korában," *Sigismund 1987*, I. 312-331.

family chapel next to the parish church of the town.[529] Their main stone mason-master builder in Cilli is also known: named Hans Melfrid, he became the castellan of the castle of Obercilli in return for his services.[530]

While the castles were the true administrative centers and symbolic focal points of the estates organized around them, and represented the power of their owners, the aristocrats also needed urban houses, especially in the center of the kingdom, Buda.[531] These were first bought for practical reasons, so the holders of national offices could be close to the king, but the data available indicates that these houses were also built in a manner appropriate to the power and prestige of their owners. The well-documented houses of the Garai family are the best examples, known from descriptions made when they were divided between Miklós and János Garai in 1412. One of the houses was a veritable urban palace, with a painted chapel on its upper floor.[532] Hermann of Cilli obtained the former house of István Lackfi after 1397, and in 1423 exchanged it with the Pauline order, and thus received the building of the former royal residence, the Kammerhof.[533]

In addition to building residences, the aristocratic families were greatly involved in the patronage of ecclesiastical structures. The castles of the period usually contained a

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[529] Guštin, Mitja, szerk., *Srednjeveško Celje – Medieval Celje* (Ljubljana, 2001). On Cilli commissions in general, see Balog, Zdenko, "Majstorska radionica u službi Hermana Celjskog – Bauhütte im Dienst des Hermann von Cilli," *Celjski grofje,* 325-336; Srša, Ivan, "Međimursko graditeljstvo u doba celjskih grafova – Die Baukunst in Međimurje während der Herrschaft der Gräfen von Cilli," *Celjski grofje,* 349-362.

[530] Stopar, Ivan, "Mojster Hans Melfrid in Celjska delavnica – Meister Hans Melfrid und die Cillier Werkstatte," in *Slovenia 1995*, 413-426.

[531] On houses in Buda in general, see *Gerevich 1971*, 77-78, 89-90.

[532] For the houses of the Garai brothers at Buda, see *MoMT 2,* I. 132, 417.

[533] On the Kammerhof, see *MoMT 2,* I. 152.

significant chapel building as well, usually located in the eastern wings of the structures. The castle chapels were intended for the private use of the family, and also represented the power and independence of the family. For their foundation, the founders had to receive the permission of the bishop or the pope. Usually the founders obtained special privileges, which enabled them to attend mass in their chapel, even at the time of general excommunications.[534] The most elaborate chapels of the period are those at Siklós with its frescoed niches and Beckó, with its chancel jutting out in front of the eastern wall of the castle. However, the barons also felt the need to support the local church next to their castle, most of which were entrusted to monastic and mendicant orders. While the castles expressed the worldly power of their owners and builders, the churches standing next to them were meant to ensure their salvation, and to preserve their memory. Thus perhaps the most characteristic building unit of the period is what we can observe at Siklós: the castle and the (monastic) church standing next to it. The best examples of this arrangement are known from the realm of the aristocracy, but the royal court once again provided the models of the arrangement. King Sigismund founded the royal priory of St. Sigismund next to the Buda royal castle, the construction of which was carried out from 1410 to 1424.[535] Similarly, he invited the Observant Franciscans, and settled them next to the royal castle of Visegrád (fig. 174). In 1425, the friars received the former royal chapel dedicated

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[534] *Mályusz 1990; Függedi 1974*, 155.

[535] See the studies in *Budapest Régiségei* 33 (1999): *A Szent Zsigmond templom és a Zsigmond kor budai szobrászata*. The studies were presented at a conference in 1996, further information about the church is available in the small catalogue of the exhibition presenting the finds at the same time: Buzás, Gergely – Feld István, ed., *A budavári Szent Zsigmond templom és gótikus szobrai* (Budapest: BTM, 1996).

to St. George, but the king later erected a new church dedicated to the Virgin for them.[536] At the other end of the spectrum, we also know a similar arrangement of manor houses and parish churches from the level of the lesser aristocracy. A good example of this is the manor house and church standing at the village of Tar, and rebuilt by the family of Lőrinc Tar between 1411 and 1426.[537]

These aristocratic family churches take over the role of the earlier clan monasteries. Clan monasteries, private foundations of the twelfth-thirteenth century were meant to serve as burial places for an entire clan at one time, before the clans were broken up into different families. The monasteries were generally Benedictine, later often Premonstratensian, and their main function was not cultural or literary activity, but rather to preserve the founders' memory and to provide a place for family worship. The most important such private foundations – Lébény, Ják, Ócsa, Zsámbék, Vértesszentkereszt, etc. – were established at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and their churches were generally built with two western towers and with rich figural and ornamental decoration.[538] These structures served as a tool for representing the ancient origins and privileges of noble clans. Thus the visual representations of their founders often appear in

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[536] Buzás, Gergely – Laszlovszky, József – Papp, Szilárd – Szekér, György – Szőke, Mátyás, "The Franciscan friary of Visegrád – History, archaeological remains, the results of the 1990-1993 campaigns," *Medieval Visegrád (Dissertationes Pannonicae II.4.)*, ed. Laszlovszky, József (Budapest, 1995), 27-29, fig. 170-207.

[537] *Cabello 1993.*

[538] On the institution in general, see *Fügedi 1991*. On the buildings themselves, see Marosi, Ernő, "Benedictine building activity in the thirteenth century," *Paradisum Plantavit*, 651-658, with further bibliography. On Ják, see Marosi, Ernő, "Die benediktiener Abteikirche St. Georg zu Ják. Bauwerk und kunsthistorische Problematik," *AHA* 37 (1997), 19–70. On non-Benedictine clan monasteries, *Sisa – Wiebenson 1998*, 18-25; Dercsényi, Dezső, *Romanesque Architecture in Hungary* (Budapest, 1975). See also Marosi, Ernő, "Churches and their adornments – From the art history of medieval Hungary," *1000 Years*, 213.

their sculpted and painted decoration (for example in the frescoes of Ják).[539] The monasteries were supported even in the later Middle Ages together by the families descending from the clan. However, the churches, often located far from the new centers of aristocratic families, did not fulfill the needs of the powerful barons. After the breakup of the clans, these extended family relations became nominal only, and the institution of private churches was also renewed into patronage rights during the ecclesiastical reforms. Thus the family churches of around 1400 were the foundation of usually just one family, although with the participation of several generations. A rich and powerful family often established several of these churches, while of course, also retaining the right of patronage to most other churches located in their estates. The most important role, however, was afforded to those churches located at the centers of estates, and serving as burial churches for the families. In these cases one of the conditions of donations and support was the saying of masses for the souls of the deceased.[540] The families expressed their rights to these churches with their coats of arms, and the churches in effect became the private chapels of the founding families, representing the unity of the family. Although the function of most family churches was similar, in other respects they greatly differ from each other: there were newly founded monasteries and long-existing parish churches

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[539] For an example showing the founders of Ják Abbey, see *Tóth M. 1974*, 56-67; Jékely, Zsombor, "Wall paintings at Ják and Garamszentbenedek," *Paradisum plantavit*, 622, ills. on 153-156. The frescoes are located under the south tower of the abbey church. The patrons are clearly represented on the frescoes of the vault, while their presence on the side walls is debated.

[540] An example is the donation letter of the Cilli family to the Pauline monastery of Csáktornya, dating from 1420. *DI 32811*; Mályusz, Elemér, "A szlavoniai és horvátországi középkori pálos kolostorok oklevelei az Országos Levéltárban, 1. közlemény," *Levéltári Közlemények* 3 (1925), no. 4.; *DAP* I. 22., *Zs.O.* VII. 2246. The conditions of the donations of the village of Sinkolch to the Pauline hermits was the saying of "...tres missas videlicet feria secunda pro mortuis, feria sexta in memoria passionis domini nostri Iesu Christi et Sabatho de beata virgine..."

among them, and in terms of architecture, some are refurbished Romanesque structures, while others are built according to the latest fashion of the period. A family monastery like the Siklós Augustinian priory greatly increased the prestige of a family, especially if the burial rights were also acquired.[541] The value of such a church could also be expressed in monetary terms, as recorded in several detailed lists. The Siklós church, as a monastery with burial rights, and most likely with a tower was clearly in the highest category, valued at 100 Marks.[542] It is no wonder then that most noble families attempted to appear as patrons of at least a modest church, and some like the Garais had at their disposal several such institutions. Although the aristocrats owned the patronage of many churches and monasteries within their family estates, and received new ones along with royal donations, still the line of new foundations remained impressive in the Sigismund period as well. The foundation of a new monastery must have been a considerable affair: the founder needed to obtain the king's support as well as the permission of the pope. In addition, the founder had to provide the means for the construction of the buildings, and had to endow the new institution with enough property to sustain it through the years. Most newly founded monasteries came from the Pauline and Observant Franciscan orders.

The Pauline order is an eremitical order of Hungarian origins, which became very popular during the reign of Louis the Great. In 1367, Pope Urban V officially approved the

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[541] On burial rights inside churches in medieval Hungary, and on the competition of monasteries and parish churches for burials and with the "oblatio" coming with it, see Solymosi, László, "Egyházi és világi (földesúri) mortuarium a 11-14. századi Magyarországon," *Sz* 121 (1987), 547-583.

[542] *Fügedi 1991.* Marosi, Ernő, "Megjegyzések a magyarországi romanika épülettipológiájához," *Architectura Religiosă Medieavală din Transilvania – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania,* ed. By Imola Kiss – Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare, 1999), 10-24.

order.[543] From the middle of the fourteenth century, and more definitely from 1377, Pauline churches could also take on parochial functions, which greatly increased their popularity.[544] King Louis was one of the great supporters of the order; in addition to founding new monasteries, he also obtained the relics of the patron saint of the order, St. Paul the Hermit from Venice in 1381.[545] The relic was kept at the chief house of the order at Budaszentlőrinc. Due to these factors, aristocratic foundations of Pauline monasteries abound starting from the second half of the fourteenth century: in 1371 the Bebek-Csetneki family established the Gombaszög hermitage, in 1376 István Lackfi founded a monastery at Csáktornya, the Kanizsai at Örményes before 1378, in 1384 Miklós Zámbó at Told and the widow and son of János Drugeth at Ungvár. This was followed by the foundation of Lepoglava in Slavonia by the Cilli family (1400) and of Kurityán (Újház) by the Perényis in 1408.[546] The latter was clearly a burial church: the tombstone of chancellor Imre Perényi (+1418) was recovered from its ruins, and the tombstone of István Perényi (+1437), today at nearby Rudabánya, most likely originates from there as well. The Garai family joined the ranks with a late foundation at Porva: the idea supposedly originated

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[543] Mályusz, Elemér, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1971), 258; Kisbán, Emil, *A magyar pálosrend története*, I-II. (Budapest, 1938-40). The order also played an important role in Croatia, see *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244-1786. Slikarstvo, kiparstvo, arhitektura, umjetnički obrt, književnost, glazba, prosvjeta, ljekarstvo, gospodarstvo. Exh. Cat. 1989* (Zagreb: Globus, 1989).

[544] Guzsik, Tamás – Fehérváry, Rudolf, *A pálos rend építészeti emlékei a középkori Magyarországon* (Budapest, 1980), 26.

[545] 1381: Bencze, Zoltán – Szekér, György, *A budaszentlőrinci pálos kolostor* (Budapest, 1993), 9. Royal foundations include Márianosztra (1352), Gönc (1371), Máriavölgy (1377), see *MoMT 2*, 398-399, *DAP* II. 91, I. 167, I. 278. On Budaszentlőrinc, see also *Guzsik 2003*, 153-161.

[546] The list is based on *Guzsik-Fehérváry 1980*. On the individual monasteries, see also: Csatka: *DAP* I. 33, Elefánt: *DAP* I. 99, Gombaszög: *DAP* I. 160, Csáktornya *DAP* I. 22, Örményes: *DAP* II. 138, Told: *DAP* III, 31, Ungvár: *DAP* III. 159, Lád: *DAP* I. 217. See also *MoMT 2*, 404. On the individual buildings, see now also *Guzsik 2003*.

from Miklós Garai, but the church was only established and built under László Garai between 1439-1441.[547]

The Franciscans, especially their new, Observant branch, were also favored among the barons. István Lackfi brought the Franciscans to Keszthely, and intended to be buried there. At least the sanctuary was completed by the time he was killed in 1397, and the interior of the church is still dominated by his large red marble tombstone.[548] János Maróti established a Franciscan friary next to his castle at Gyula. The elongated building of the church is only known from excavations.[549] Filippo Scolari erected a Franciscan church next to his castle at Ozora, completing it between 1418-1423.[550] The churches of Gyula and Ozora were both one-aisled, long structures, with extensive friary buildings next to them. The Szécsényi family – after erecting the Franciscan church of Szécsény under Louis the Great – around 1400 had the new sanctuary of the Gyöngyös Franciscan church built.[551]

Other orders played a smaller role in the period. The Augustinian church at Siklós is somewhat unusual, and something the Garai inherited from their predecessors. As we have seen before, the only Augustinian foundation of the period, by the Stibor family at Vágújhely, can be explained by their family connections. Just as the Garais inherited the Augustinian church at Siklós, many other earlier clan monasteries, and even royal

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[547] On Porva, see *Guzsik 2003,* 221.

[548] *Prokopp 1980.*

[549] Szatmári, Imre, "Gyula középkori ferences temploma és kolostora," *Koldulórendi 1994,* 409-436.

[550] Nagy, Emese, "Az ozorai obszerváns ferences kolostor," *Koldulórendi 1994,* 257-268.

[551] G. Lászay, Judit, "A szécsényi ferences kolostor építéstörténete a 17. század végéig," *Koldulórendi 1994,* 491-516.

foundations were now under the patronage of an aristocratic family. An example is the Cistercian abbey of Szentgotthárd, a royal foundation from 1184, which now became the burial church of the Szécsi family. The tombstones of Miklós Szécsi (+1428) and his wife, Ilona Garai (+1441) originally stood in the sanctuary of the church.[552]

In these family churches the sanctuary – separated from the rest of the church by a rood screen – was the separate worship and burial area of the aristocratic patrons. In larger churches, the same function was fulfilled by private chapels, attached to the sides of the main buildings. Such chapels were sometimes added to family churches, as at Pelsőc, erected by László Bebek (+1401), or to cathedrals, usually by bishops. One of the most important examples of the type is the burial chapel of bishop János Hédervári (1386-1415) at Győr. The building of the chapel of the Trinity was facilitated by the supplication of Pope Boniface IX in 1404.[553] Archbishop János Kanizsai founded a chapel dedicated to the Virgin next to the cathedral of Esztergom, similarly endowed by a letter of Boniface in 1400.[554] The archbishop probably intended the building as his burial place, but unfortunately it – along with any trace of the large-scale building activity at Esztergom around 1400 – completely disappeared. Following these examples, as a new trend, aristocrats began to erect such family chapels next to the most important churches of the kingdom, such as the royal basilica of Székesfehérvár, the cathedrals of Esztergom and

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[552] On the church, see Valter, Ilona, "Előzetes beszámoló a szentgotthárdi volt ciszterci monostor ásatásáról," *AÉ* 102 (1975), 88-100.

[553] *MoMT 2*, I. 521; Kozák, K. – Levárdy, F. – Sedlmayr, J., "A győri székesegyház Szentháromság- (Hédervári-) kápolnája," *Arrabona* 14 (1972), 99ff.

[554] *MoMT 2*, 410; *CDH* X/2. 792-795.

Várad,[555] and the Church of Our Lady at Buda. At Székesfehérvár, their model might have been the burial chapel of the Angevin kings.[556] The first Hungarian king of the Neapolitan Anjou family, Charles Robert (1308-1342), was buried there in 1342, after a gap of more than a century. In an unprecedented event his tomb was robbed by one of the canons in 1349, so King Louis the Great erected a funerary chapel inside the church for the family tombs some time after that. Family members, including his daughter, Catherine (+1374) and eventually he himself were buried there. The tomb of Louis, who died in 1382, was later destroyed together with the chapel and the whole church. Its character can be judged by a passage in Thuróczy's chronicle, describing the preparations for the coronation of Charles II in 1386: "The Queens were also present... They first walked around the holy altars, then entered the burial chapel of King Louis. When they saw the marble statue of the benign king, their hearts nearly broke, and embracing the cold stone, they kissed the sad likeness for a long time, covering the red marble with tears."[557] Excavations at Székesfehérvár have revealed several red marble fragments identifiable with the tomb of

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[555] Burials at Várad were favored because the cathedral was the resting place of St. Ladislas. King Sigismund was buried there in 1437. For aristocratic burials, see *Balogh 1982*, I. 17-18.

[556] On the town and the basilica, see Siklósi, Gyula, "Székesfehérvár," in *Medium Regni – Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 45-88, with earlier bibliography. On burials at Fehérvár: Engel, Pál, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában" [Burials inside the Medieval Basilica at Székesfehérvár], *Sz* 121 (1987), 613-637. On the Székesfehérvár sarcophagus of St. Stephen, most recently dated to 1083 (the time of Stephen's canonization), see Tóth, Sándor, "A székesfehérvári szarkofág és köre" [The sarcophagus at Székesfehérvár and related monuments], *Pannonia Regia*, 82-87, with earlier bibliography. See also Dercsényi, Dezső, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Royal Basilica of Székesfehérvár] (Budapest, 1943).

[557] *Thuróczy*, chapter 193. Translation my own. The passage served as a source for nineteenth century historical paintings, see Sándor Liezen-Mayer's *Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary at the Sarcophagus of Louis the Great,* 1864, illustration in Szabó, Júlia, *Painting in Nineteenth Century Hungary,* (Budapest: Corvina, 1985), 236.

Louis the Great, which can thus be approximately reconstructed.[558] The tomb was in effect a large *tumba*, with figures under ogee arches on its sides. The king's figure was depicted lying on the upper slab of the tomb, his head and feet resting on lions. The sepulcher was under an elaborate baldachin, which most likely enveloped the whole structure. The inspiration for this tomb must have come from the series of monumental baldachins standing in the churches of Naples and erected for members of the Angevin family.[559] Austrian examples, such as the double tomb of Rudolf IV, and his wife, Katharine, also influenced the monuments at Székesfehérvár. Details of the surviving fragments indicate that Austrian and southern German masters, coming from a region where the use of red marble was very common, executed the tomb. The red marble might have been used as a revival of earlier royal customs as well. Inspired by the Neapolitan and Austrian examples and motivated by a need for *representatio,*[560] Louis introduced (or reintroduced) the large

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[558] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Eva, "Remarques sur le tombeau de Louis le Grand," *AHA* 14 (1968/3-4), 215-222; Alán Kralovánszky – Ernő Szakál – Pál Lővei, "I. Lajos székesfehérvári síremléke" [The Székesfehérvár tomb of Louis I] in *Louis 1982*, 165-203, cat. no. 100-110; *Pannonia Regia*, 275-276, cat. no. IV-48. Latest excavations revealed further red marble fragments of the royal tombs. Their eventual analysis might significantly enhance and modify our picture of the royal burial chapels at Fehérvár. I thank Imre Takács for this information.

[559] On the tombs in Naples, see *Bauch 1976,* 179-184; *Körner 1997,* 152-156. On the associations and sacral aspects of baldachins, see *ibid.*, 84-89. More recently on the royal tombs in Naples, see Lővei, Pál, "Anjou-magyar síremlékek és címeres emlékek Nápolyban" [Hungarian Angevin tombs and heraldic monuments in Naples], *AH* 26 (1998), 18-51, referring to Enderlein, Lorenz, *Die Grablegen des Hauses Anjou in Unteritalien. Totenkult und Monumente 1266-1343. (Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Band 12)* (Worms an Rhein, 1997).

[560] On representing the king at the funeral, see *Marosi 1995,* 45-48 (English summary: 251-252), discussing the funeral of Charles Robert in 1342. See also "A Royal Funeral," in *Medium Regni – Medieval Hungarian Royal Seats* (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 82-83.

figural marble tombs in Hungary, and apparently promoted their use in the region.[561] The royal example was apparently highly influential. Instead of being buried at his private Augustinian monastery at Vágújhely, Stibor Stiboric was buried at Székesfehérvár, while his son chose to be buried in a chapel next to the Church of Our Lady at Buda (of which only his tombstone remains, fig. 152). In 1425, Filippo Scolari received permission to repair the tower of the Fehérvár priory, and built a family burial chapel for himself and his wife there, dedicated to the apostles Philip and James and to St. Ladislas. Two years later, in 1427 István Rozgonyi, Count of Fejér also received permission to build a chapel.[562]

Apart from Fehérvár, burials at Buda became increasingly common as well. Some time before his death in 1433, Miklós Garai founded a family chapel next to the Church of Our Lady at Buda.[563] Remains of this chapel came to light (and were dismantled) when

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[561] He perhaps erected a marble tomb for Béla IV at the Franciscan church at Esztergom, a monument only recently identified. The identification of this tomb with Béla's new tomb is not certain, see *Pannonia Regia*, 274-275, cat. no. IV-47. Louis also commissioned the tomb of the Polish king Casimir the Great, whom he succeeded on the Polish throne after the latter died in 1370. The tomb is still standing in the cathedral of Krakow, and because of its better state of preservation, the close relationship these monuments had with Austrian works, such as the shrine of St. Coloman in Melk and the tomb of Rudolf IV (died 1365) is more clearly demonstrated. For the historical background, see Knoll, Paul W., "Louis the Great and Casimir of Poland," in *Louis the Great: King of Hungary and Poland* (New York, 1986) 105-127. On the tomb, see Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Ewa, "Nagrobek Kazimierza Wielkiego w katedrze wawelskiej," [The tomb of Casimir the Great in the Cathedral of Krakow] *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu* IV. (Krakow, 1978), 1-115; see also Piotr Skubiszewski on the tomb of Casimir, *Parler 1978*, II. 482. On the connections between Melk, Vienna and Krakow, see Lővei, Pál, "A székesfehérvári Anjou-sírkápolna művészettörténeti helye" [The art historical place of the Angevine burial chapel at Székesfehérvár] in *Louis 1982*, 215, n. 34. On the Viennese monuments, see Feuchtmüller, Rupert, "Die Fürstenbildnisse an der Wiener Stephanskirche," *Parler 1978* II. 417-421; Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die Wiener 'Herzogenwerkstatt' und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas," (1977/78) in *Schmidt 1992*, I. 142-174. The *gisant* on the tomb is similar to certain statues of the King's gallery of Reims cathedral, carved by masters from Brabant, see Schmidt, Gerhard, "Bemerkungen zur Königsgalerie der Kathedrale von Reims" (1972), in *Schmidt 1992*, 118-119.

[562] Engel, Pál, "Temetkezések a középkori székesfehérvári bazilikában," *Sz* 121 (1987), 628-629.

[563] *Csemegi 1955*, 33, 102-104. The monographer of the church dates the building of the chapel to after 1412, when the transformation of the main church into a hall church was completed, because the chapel joins the then newly built northern apse. See also *MoMT 2*, I, 526, 577-578.

Frigyes Schulek rebuilt the entire church at the end of the last century (figs. 141-143). The fragments indicate that it was one of the most sumptuous structures stemming from the family's patronage, and was clearly intended as the palatine's burial place once similar plans were abandoned at Siklós. The chapel, dedicated to All Saints, stood on the northern side of the Church of Our Lady, and opened into the eastern end of the northern aisle with an elaborate double portal, and was richly decorated with reliefs. The palatine's tomb did not survive, although three graves were excavated inside the chapel, and a red marble fragment with the Garai coat of arms was recovered nearby.[564] Miklós Garai's grandson, Job Garai, also made a donation to the chapel, as it was acknowledged in a charter issued by the town of Buda in 1461. The document describes the Palatine's donation, and mentions the tomb as decorated with coats of arms and inscriptions.[565] The structure of the chapel's portal follows the model established by such late works of the Parler-workshop as the portal of the Church of St. Mark in Zagreb. The decoration consisted of superimposed niches of various sizes, with sculpted figures inside them. What little remains of these figures indicates that their style was comparable to the statues commissioned by King Sigismund to decorate his castle and the Priory of St. Sigismund in Buda. The connection

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[564] The red marble fragment was excavated near the Church of Our Lady, it probably comes from the Garai chapel. The slab dates from between 1425-1475, and it was reused in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when the figure of a man in a hat was carved in high relief on the back of it. It is not known whose tomb it marked, see *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984,* 58-59, no. 23; *Lővei 1991,* 527, no. 910; Török, Gyöngyi – Osgyáni, Vilmos, "Reneszánsz kőfaragványokról" [On some Renaissance Fragments], *MÉ* 30 (1981), 103-104. The only other known tomb of a member of the Garai family is the tomb of Ilona Garai from Szentgotthárd. She died in 1441, and was buried next to his husband, Miklós Szécsi, see, *MoMT 2,* II. fig. 1683; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 128, 131, figs. 21-22. It is a heraldic tomb, with the twisting snake of the Garais.

[565] *Csemegi 1955,* 11. Némethy, Lajos, *Nagyboldogasszonyról nevezett budapestvári főtemplom történelme* [The history of the Church of Our Lady] (Esztergom, 1876), 54-55. The chapel is described as "capelle palatinalis ad latus Ecclesie a parte septentrionali;" the tomb: "eisudem [Nicolai de Gara] tumulo, armis et epitaphio."

with this royal workshop can also be detected in other parts of the Church of Our Lady. It is likely that the royal workshop worked on the Garai chapel as well.[566]

A central element of the decoration of these churches and chapels was clearly the tomb of the founder and his family members. Most tombstones of the time were heraldic tombstones, of a type established between 1360-1380, and carved from Hungarian red marble.[567] The tombs slabs in their central field bore heraldic devices, accompanied by an inscription on the perimeter carved in a Gothic minuscule script.[568] This type of heraldic tomb originates from Austria and southern Germany, and remained popular in Hungary well into the fifteenth century.[569] The decoration is carved in low relief, with a tilted shield bearing the coat of arms in the center, crowned by a helmet and large crest, while the whole slab is encircled with an inscription. Characteristic examples of these full heraldic tombs include the sepulchers of Heinrichus Pauher (+1373) at Buda, of György Bebek (+1390), whose tomb at Tornagörgő (Hrhov, Slovakia) was carved after 1371, or among the later examples, that of István Perényi (+1437) at Rudabánya.[570]

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[566] *MoMT 2*, 577-578.

[567] The material is in fact a highly polishable red limestone, in all aspects similar to marble, although in geological terms not that. Medieval sources, however, always referred to the material as marble, *Lővei 1992*, 3-4 cites several medieval examples; see also *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 117-118.

[568] *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 123-124. A list of such tombs from between 1360-1390 is given on p. 160, note 43, a list of later tombs on p. 161, note 50. On the general use of heraldic devices in Hungary, see Kurcz, Ágnes, *Lovagi kultúra Magyarországon a 13-14. században* [Knightly Culture in Hungary in the 13-14th centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1988), 122-124; *MoMT 2*, I. 216-217.

[569] See *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 126, with examples in 161, note 44; *MoMT 2*, I. 462.

[570] Bebek was *magister tavernicorum* of the queen, for his tomb (carved after 1371), see *MoMT 2*, II, fig. 618; Engel, Pál – Varga, Lívia – Lővei, Pál "A tornagörgői, egy bazini és egy ismeretlen helyről származó sírkőről" [On tombstones from Tornagörgő, Bazin and from an unknown place], *MÉ* 30 (1981), 255-259; *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984*, 44, no. 2. On other similar tombs, see *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984*; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 123-131; *MoMT 2*, 459-463.

It has long been demonstrated that the majority of these red marble tombs were carved in a very similar manner, although naturally their details changed with the times. The first phase of production probably took place at the quarries themselves, and the rough blocks were transported to the carving workshops at major towns such as Buda and Esztergom. The finished or half-finished tombs were shipped from these centrally located workshops to every part of the country, and even as far as Poland to the north, and Croatia and Bosnia to the south.[571] The exceptionally rich material discovered in the churches of Buda, primarily the Church of Our Lady and the adjacent Dominican church, indicates that the town was a major center of red marble tombstone carving.[572] Even with tombstones recovered from various family churches, there are such close similarities that they can be regarded as the work of a central workshop. The tombstone of Miklós Garai (I), the first figural tombstone for a non-royal secular baron in Hungary, was also carved in a Buda

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[571] *Gerevich 1971,* 93-94; *Lővei 1992.* The marble was shipped for example to Zagreb, see Engel, Pál – Lővei, Pál, "A gerecsei vörösmárvány használata Zágrábban és környékén a középkorban – Verwendung des Rotmarmors von Gerecse in Agram und Umgebung im Mittelalter," *Annales de la Galerie nationale Hongroise* (Budapest, 1991), 47-51.

[572] Buda's central role was first suggested by Divald, Kornél, *Budapest művészete a török hódoltság előtt* [The art of Budapest before the Turkish conquest] (Budapest, 1903). Henrik Horváth localized the main workshop to the Dominican monastery: Horváth, Henrik, "A székesfővárosi Múzeum középkori lapidáriuma a Halászbástyán" [The medieval lapidary of the Museum of Budapest in Fishermen's Bastion], *Magyar Művészet* 8 (1932), 89-128, 149-165, see esp. 112-114. Although this exact localization is not likely, the central role of the Buda workshops was also accepted by *Gerevich 1971,* 93-94; Radocsay, Dénes, "Les principaux monuments funéraires mèdiévaux conservés à Budapest," *Mélanges offerts à Szabolcs de Vajay* (Braga, 1971), 461-486; Lővei, Pál, "Mittelalterliche Grabdenkmäler in Buda," *Budapest im Mittelalter,* ed. Gerd Biegel (Braunschweig: Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum – Historisches Museum Budapest, 1991), 351-365; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92,* 124-125. On the Dominican church, see H. Gyürky, Katalin, *Das mittelalterliche Dominikanerkloster in Buda* (Budapest, 1981).

workshop (figs. 149-151). Discovered in the church of Siklós, this tombstone and the circumstances of its creation merit a more detailed examination.[573]

The tomb slab was discovered in 1986 during Mária Sándor's excavations carried out inside the church.[574] It was unearthed from a layer of rubble in the middle of the chancel, without any indication of its original context. The slab is broken into two pieces, and the lower left corner of it is lost; this missing area has been restored using artificial stone. The tomb is carved out of dense, polishable, marble-like red limestone. The 19-centimeter-thick slab originally measured 230x127 centimeters with the upper two corners cut off. A 20-centimeter-wide border runs around the slab, but this area is only roughly finished. The inscription intended there was never executed. The central field of the tomb, on the other hand, is fully finished and polished, and is largely occupied by a *gisant* carved in low relief. The figure is in full armor; he wears a chain mail overlaid with plate armor, and an elaborate belt around his waist. His bearded and somewhat battered head is covered by a pointed helmet and rests on a pillow, while his legs are placed on small dragons. His hands are folded across his chest in a gesture of prayer. Two chains attached to his breastplate connect to weapons on both sides: a longer sword is on his left, while on his right there might have been a mace or another sword of which only the handle survives. On the figure's right there is a shield decorated with his coat of arms, while on the other side a large helmet is displayed. It is turned upside down, with a mantle and crest over it, repeating the heraldic device of the shield – a twisting snake – over a stylized eagle wing.

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[573] The following discussion is based on my article where the argument is outlined in somewhat more detail, see *Jékely 1998*.

Based on the particular details of the device, the slab can be identified as the tomb of Palatine Miklós Garai senior.[575] We have seen that the Palatine was killed in 1386, yet his tomb stood at Siklós, which was donated to the Garai family only in 1395.[576] Thus the Garai tomb was almost certainly set up in the Augustinian church as a posthumous memorial. It would be easy to suggest that the entire tomb was carved at this time, but the unfinished state of the slabs seems to contradict this possibility. If the Palatine had already been dead when his tomb was carved, it would be hard to explain why the inscription was never added. The logical solution to this problem is to suppose that Miklós Garai senior commissioned the slab himself, and it was carved while he was still alive. The slab was most likely delivered to the Palatine with the inscription indicating the date of death and current information missing.[577] Had it still been in the workshop at the time of his death, there would be no plausible explanation for this omission. After Garai's death, and the

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[574] *Sándor 1989*, 69. The tomb slab was first described and identified by Pál Lővei in *Pannonia Regia*, 276-277, no. IV-49; *Lővei 1995*, 195. The slab is presently set up inside the sanctuary of the Siklós church, officially it is part of the collection of the Janus Pannonius Museum, Pécs.

[575] The shield on the tomb slab shows two snakes intertwined. This rare version of the Garai device was only employed by Miklós Garai senior. His seal used in 1377 shows the intertwined snakes, and this is the only other known instance of this form. The seal is at the Budapest History Museum, see *Louis 1982*, 354, no. 260, plate 70 for illustration.

[576] See history chapter (I.1.B).

[577] Pál Lővei in *Pannonia Regia*, 277, suggests that it might have been set up at Gara, the hometown and family estate of the Garais, just across the river Drava, south of Siklós. Unfortunately no documentary evidence exists to support this hypothesis, and nothing is known about the medieval monuments of Gara.

return of calmer times, his sons must have transported the slab to Siklós and set it up near their newly acquired castle.[578]

It is not surprising that Miklós Garai decided to prepare his own burial. Preparation for the afterlife was a characteristic feature of late medieval society, and it often included the preparation of tombs in advance as well.[579] The practice appears to have been widespread in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungary, although generally the inscription was also carved in advance, with only the numbers indicating the exact year of death left for completion. This was the case for example with the tomb of István Lackfi, which was prepared and set up at Keszthely sometime after Lackfi became the Palatine in 1387. When he was executed ten years later, the year 97 (l xxxxvii) had to be added to the already present numbers (m ccc).[580] Similarly, the dates on Bálint Alsáni's tomb (Garai's relative and bishop of Pécs, died in 1408) were added later, while the beautiful figural tomb of Abbot László Czudar of Pannonhalma probably got its inscription only after the

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[578] After the massacre of 1386, no member of the Garai family was in a position to gather his remains and bury them properly. Moreover, we know that Garai's head was sent to Naples and displayed to the public there together with the heads of others responsible for the death of Charles of Durazzo. *Mályusz 1990*, 22; Pór, Antal, "Kis Károly és Erzsébet utolsó évei" [The Last Years of Charles the Little and Elizabeth], *Sz* 30 (1896), 147. The heads of Miklós Garai, Balázs Forgách (the assassin of Charles of Durazzo) and János Garai were transported to Naples by bishop Pál Horváti, where they were carried around town and put on display on Sept. 16, 1386, see the 1387 letter of Queen Mary, in *CDH* X/3, 313.

[579] For preparations for death in general, see Binski, Paul, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 33-47. On preparing tombs before death in Hungary, see Lövei, Pál, "Középkori síremlékeink megrendelői köre" [The commissioners of medieval tombs in Hungary], *Pavilon* 4 (1990), 8-13.

[580] *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984*, 40, no. 5.

abbot's death in 1372.[581] Consequently, we might assume that the Siklós tombstone was made on the orders of Miklós Garai senior, and it was probably carved during his lifetime. When the tomb slab was finally set up at Siklós, it must have functioned more as a *memoria* than an actual tomb, and this might explain why its inscription was never finished.

Most of the details on Garai's tomb have very close parallels with many of the tombs carved in the 1370s and 1380s, especially with slabs carved in Buda. Like most Buda tombs of the time, Garai's sepulcher is executed in very low relief, resulting in a flattened *gisant*. The wide border for the inscription is a common feature of these tombs, while the main decoration – the shield and helmet, or in our case, the figure – is in the somewhat recessed central field. The main decoration stands out in a shallow relief from this deeper field, while the rest of the field is left without any carving. This arrangement – including this 'spacious background' – can be observed, for example, on the tombs of Heinrichus Pauher (+1373, Buda) or that of Nicholas, son of Thomas (+1375, Buda).[582] While the central shield and helmet have been replaced by the figure, the heraldic elements still play

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[581] On these tombs, see Lővei, Pál, "Középkori síremlékeink megrendelői köre," *Pavilon* 4 (1990), 8-13; on László Czudar's tomb, see also Lővei, Pál, "Középkori síremlékek" [Medieval sepulchers], *Mons Sacer*, 311, 314, and German translation: "Mittelalterliche Grabplatten und Grabsteine in Pannonhalma," *AHA* 38 (1996), 89-96. For Alsáni and other examples (Bertalan Gergellaki, +1469; György Schönberg, +1486, tomb from 1470), see *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 120, 131-143. Bálint Alsáni's father, János was married to the daughter of Pál Garai, see Engel, Pál, "Alsáni Bálint bíboros" [Cardinal Bálint Alsáni], *Sigismund 1987*, I. 405.

[582] Thomas, son of Nicholas, corrected in the frame to Nicholas, son of Thomas, see *MoMT 2*, I, 460, II, figs. 616, 617. Other examples from Buda also there, see figs. 612, 613. On later examples, the empty areas of this field are usually filled by the fringes of the mantle of the helmet.

a very important role on the Garai tomb. Other details of the Garai tomb at Siklós also reinforce its connections with this group of Buda tombs.[583]

While the technique and the details of the Garai tomb thus tie it to German-influenced Buda workshops, in this case a new element, the funerary effigy, takes over the central role. Until the 1360s, figural tombstones were only erected under special circumstances, and at that time they became common for members of the high clergy.[584] The two most important works of this phase are the red marble tombs of Sigfrid (+1365) and László Czudar (+1372), both abbots of the premier Benedictine abbey of Hungary, Pannonhalma.[585] From the late fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth century most known tombs of prelates were figural, but such monuments were much rarer for secular lords. It seems that among laymen, first only members of the royal family and aristocrats of the highest standing, such as Miklós Garai, had figural tombs and most barons of the

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[583] For comparisons, see *MoMT 2,* II. fig. 613 (Buda, 1388), 621 (Székesfehérvár, 1373). An important example is László Kakas's tomb at the Hungarian National Museum. It comes from Serke (Širkovce, Slovakia), see *MoMT 2,* II. fig. 622. For detailed comparisons, see *Jékely 1998,* 133.

[584] The history of the gisant is well researched, I will only concentrate on Hungary here. See on the origins, Panofsky, Erwin, *Tomb Sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Abrams, 1964), 49-59; *Bauch 1976; Hurtig 1979; Körner 1997,* 99-117. See also Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld," (1987) in *Schmidt 1992,* I. 28-45. Among fourteenth century tombs in Hungary, there is an exceptional figural tombstone for a (foreign) knight at Beszterce (Bistrița, Romania), dated 1327, see Varga, Lívia, "Neudeutung der Bistrizer Grabplatte," *Beiträge zur siebenbürgischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege*, ed. Christoph Machat, (Munich, 1983). A number of crude examples also exist, these are very hard to interpret and date (Kisnána, etc.), *MoMT 2,* 340-341; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92,* 120-122. Other special cases include the shrine of St. Simeon at Zára (Zadar, Croatia), executed between 1377 and 1380 by Francesco di Antonio da Mediolano, see *MoMT 2*, 496-497, and II. figs. 795-802.

[585] The earliest surviving and dated figural tombstone of a prelate was made for András Szécsi, bishop of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, Romania) (+1356). The red marble slabs at Pannonhalma are still preserved in the south aisle of the church, see *Varga – Lővei 1990-92,* 131-133; Lővei, Pál, "Középkori síremlékek," *Mons Sacer* I. 310-314, and German translation: "Mittelalterliche Grabplatten und Grabsteine in Pannonhalma," *AHA* 38 (1996), 89-96. For later tombs of prelates, see *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 120, 131-143.

realm still preferred the heraldic tombs.[586] The funerary effigy provided a higher level of representation than the heraldic tombs, and the real breakthrough finally happened in the last third of the fifteenth century with the tombs of the 'banderial lords.' As in Western Europe, the emergence of this type coincides with a change in the status of knights, but a change that happened much later in Hungary than in France, England, or Germany.[587] Apart from isolated early examples, Miklós Garai's figural tomb is the first example of the secular figural red marble tombs. As such, it reflects his high standing and power at court, but calls for further examination. A closer look at the figure itself leads us to the sources of this type of representation, and perhaps reveals some of Garai's motives for commissioning it.

The representation of the deceased on the Siklós tomb slab belongs to a well-known type of funerary effigy, which Gerhard Schmidt has called "der liegende Beter" in his study on the Gothic gisant.[588] Although the figure is shown lying as if dead (his head is resting on a pillow), his open eyes and hands clasped in prayer seem to contradict this. The praying *gisant* originates from thirteenth century French royal tombs, and remained the

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[586] See *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984*; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 133-137, 149-157.

[587] Judith Hurtig has demonstrated in her study on the armored *gisant* that such a change took place in England, France and Germany at the turn of the thirteenth century. As members of the nobility became important patrons, they aspired to erect "monuments that express the pride in their newly acquired social position and power." *Hurtig 1979*, 188-226. The quote is from 214. In Hungary, the increasing separation of the higher and lower ranks of the nobility culminated in the laws of 1498-1500, which spelled out those aristocratic families who had to go to war with their private armies, under their own banderole. It is members of these families, who tend to get figural tombstones, with their banderoles prominently displayed on them. See *A History of Hungary*, ed. Sugar, Peter F., (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1990) 78, and for the tombs of these aristocrats, *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 148-152.

[588] Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld," (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, I. 31-34.

most popular type there, spreading into Germany with somewhat less success.[589] Apart from expressing the faith of the deceased, the type also refers to the liturgy of the burial, and implies the salvation of the perished man's soul. Erwin Panofsky called these tombs 'prospective,' but the Garai gravestone is also rich in 'retrospective' elements.[590] The praying figure is clearly represented as a knight in all his earthly glory, in a state of eternal readiness. He wears a full plate armor over his chain mail, and his weapons and shield are prominently displayed at his sides. For Garai's tomb, the most important parallels are from fourteenth-century Germany. Tombs such as Albrecht von Hohenlohe's (Schöntal, Klosterkirche), who died in 1338, already show the same arrangement – a praying knight in armor, with his shield and weapons displayed by his side. This type spread by 1350, as a

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[589] *Hurtig 1979*, 22; Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld," (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, I. 31-34. On the thirteenth century French tombs, see also *Mâle 1986*, 356-368. For German monuments, especially the early fourteenth century Marburg tombs, see Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, "Der Ritter im Heergewäte – Bemerkungen über einige Bildgrabsteine der Hochgotik," in *Studien zur Geschischte der Europäischen Plastik – Festschrift Theodor Müller*, ed. Kurt Martin et. al. (Münich: Hirmer, 1965) 73-91.

[590] The type – especially when combined with censing angels at the figure's head, has been called 'liturgical' by Judith Hurtig, distinguishing it from 'commemorative' tombs. *Hurtig 1979*, 11-13; see also Panofsky, Erwin, *Tomb Sculpture: its changing aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Abrams, 1964), 60-63. On the eschatological nature of this type, see Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld," (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, I. 38-39. The preservation of earthly memory and a preoccupation with the afterlife was also often combined in contemporary Italian wills, see Cohn, Samuel K., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992), esp. 242-243.

number of southern German monuments indicate,[591] and only the armor changed through the following decades. The full plate armor replaced the earlier tunic over the chain mail around the middle of the fourteenth century, in a change observable on French and German tombs alike.[592]

It is precisely these details of the armor that lead us to further parallels, which in turn enable a more precise dating of the tomb. The same configuration of armor can be found on the works of the Viennese *Herzogenwerkstatt*, including the first seal of Rudolf IV, as well as Rudolf's portraits on the Stephansdom, and his tomb inside the cathedral.[593] Rudolf died in 1365, so these works also suggest that Garai's armor belongs to the style of the 1360s and 1370s. [594] We thus find the sources of this figure type in the same region that influenced the Buda carvers in their creation of heraldic tombs. When interest in figural tombs arose in Hungary, the Buda carvers once again turned to this same circle for

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[591] Kuno von Falkenstein, Kirchzarten/Br. (+1334), *Bauch 1976,* 137-138, fig. 221; Berthold von Zähringen c. 1350, Freiburg/Br., *Bauch 1976*, 345, n. 456, and fig. 352a; Hans von Ybs, +1368 at Ips, Niederösterreich, see Lind, Karl, *Sammlung von Abbildungen Mittelalterlicher Grabdenkmale aus den Ländern der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie – Kunsthistorisches Atlas* X/1 (Vienna, 1892), fig. XIII/1; Kühnel, Harry, "Grabdenkmäler in Niederösterreich," in *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich – Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte eines Landes im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna, 1963), 186-187, fig. 175. See also the 'activated' figure of Konrad von Seinsheim at Schweinfurt, *Hurtig 1979*, 104-107, fig. 168, 162. The term 'activated' ('die aktivierte Liegefigur') comes from Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die gotischen 'Gisants' und ihr Umfeld," (1987) in *Schmidt 1992*, 35-37. The other feature these tombs all share with the Siklós slab is the raised and generally inscribed border around the figure, a revival of the thirteenth-century box tombs, *Hurtig 1979,* 104-107.

[592] *Hurtig 1979,* 44. For further examples, including tombs of a "Northern type" in Padua, see *Bauch 1976*, 139-140; *Hurtig 1979*, 176-177; Wolters, Wolfgang, *La Scultura Veneziana gotica (1300-1460),* (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), 203-204, cat. no. 115, 116, 117.

[593] This connection was raised by Ernő Marosi, in his review of the *Pannonia Regia* catalogue, *AHA* 37 (1994-1995), 338; and *Marosi 1998*, 101, 118. On Vienna, see Schmidt, Gerhard, "Die Wiener 'Herzogenwerkstatt' und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas," (1977/78) in *Schmidt 1992,* I, 142-174.

[594] *Bauch 1976*, 139-140, fig. 225; *Hurtig 1979*, 176-177, fig. 326. See also Wolters, Wolfgang, *La Scultura Veneziana gotica (1300-1460),* (Venice: Alfieri, 1976), 203-204, cat. no. 117; for similar examples, see also cat. no. 115, 116.

inspiration and models. For Garai himself, inspiration for a figural tomb was probably provided by the example of his king, Louis the Great, who had erected a number of figural tombs. As we have seen already, Garai spent most of his time at the royal court, and was very close to the royal family, later becoming one of the most loyal supporters of the widow and daughter of Louis I. The king's commissions might have provided the idea for Garai, but he turned to a workshop in Buda with his commission. The Buda carvers used their established connections in southern Germany and Austria, and used the type of the praying *gisant* when executing the tomb slab. In any case, Garai's tomb was the first one to follow the example set by Louis the Great and the western aristocracy.

Even though the heraldic tombs remained popular in Hungary up to the 1440s among members of the aristocracy, Miklós Garai's tomb initiated a new type, which eventually became the chosen form of burial for the barons of the court. The most prominent example of these kinds of tombs can be tied to the Stibor family, who clearly employed one workshop for the execution of a series of tomb monuments. Regardless of where they were found, tombs of the Stibor family members were carved by the same master, dubbed simply the Master of the Stibor tombs.[595] The group consists of the tomb of the elder Stibor at Székesfehérvár, of the younger one at Buda (fig. 152), and of the fragments of the tomb of a female family member.[596] Following the suggestion of Ernő

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[595] *Lővei 1999*, 103-121.

[596] The younger Stibor's tomb was discovered in 1907, the tombstone comes from the southeast side next to the Church of Our Lady in Buda. Fragments of another, very similar tombstone were found at Székesfehérvár in 1923, it marked the tomb of Stibor Stiborici senior (+1414), probably set up by his son. Apart from the work in the previous note, see *Sigismund 1987*, II. 281-283, 291-294 (no. Sz. 47-49); *Engel – Lővei – Varga 1984*, 47-50, no. 9-11; *Varga – Lővei 1990-92*, 134-136, *MoMT 2*, I, 589-591.

Marosi,[597] the research of Pál Lővei has recently demonstrated that this sculptor comes from the workshop that executed groups of statues for King Sigismund in the Buda castle.[598] Once the royal commissions were completed, this master probably set up shop in Buda, already a center of red marble tomb carving, and apparently had a long and fruitful career, carving tombs for the kings of Bosnia among others.[599] Unfortunately the tombs of both Miklós II and János Garai are lost, but based on the fairly uniform tombs for Hungarian aristocrats, those must have been carved of red marble as well, and as they were buried in the Buda chapel, the tombstones were certainly carved in Buda. Whether they continued the tradition of figural tombstones, started by their father, is not known.

This long excursus served to demonstrate that the patronage of the Garai family was closely tied to the models provided by the royal court and by the art of the center of the country. Similar connections were observed in the architectural commissions of Miklós and János Garai as well. In summary, the patronage of the Garai family in the decades around 1400 conforms to the general patterns of aristocratic patronage in Hungary. Most emphasis was put on erecting and rebuilding castles under their jurisdiction, and on the building of churches and chapels, in particular those serving as family burial sites. We are in a fortunate situation that several of these commissions are fairly well known, including such outstanding works as the Garai chapel at Buda, and the ensemble at Siklós. Thus we are also able to detect certain characteristics of their patronage. One such aspect is the lack of direct workshop connections between the various buildings erected by the family. In

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[597] *Marosi 1976*, 362.

[598] *Lővei 1999.*

[599] Andelič, Pavao, *Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska Stolna mjesta bosanskih vladara u XIV i XV stolječu* (Sarajevo, 1973); *Lővei 1999*, 105-106.

other words, we can not talk of a family workshop, which went from one project to the next. There are common motifs, which can be found on several buildings – such as, for example, the masked corbel known from Csesznek (where an inscription on a lintel dates construction to 1424), the parallel of which we also find at Kőszeg. This motif, however, originating from the Prague Parler workshop, had at this time been widespread in Hungary, from Buda to Zagreb. It seems more likely that the same local workshops worked on several projects in one location. The Kőszeg workshop for example probably also participated in the rebuilding of the town's St. James parish church – the town itself had been a Garai property since 1392, and the family's coat of arms can be seen on a keystone in the nave (fig. 144).[600] Such a connection was also supposed at Siklós: the carved details of the castle chapel's portal are similar in style to the corbels built inside the Augustinian church.[601] We can also establish that even though the Garai family tended to select artists from the pool of locally available talent, nevertheless the art of Buda seems to have provided an orientation point for their commissions. Connection with the royal workshops is most obvious at Buda, where the sculptural work of the Garai chapel shows the participation of masters who also worked for the king.[602] In the case of the Buda chapel, local connections and close ties to the royal court played the key role in the selection of the master. At Csesznek, they probably brought masters from Buda, but from a different circle than the masters who worked on the Garai chapel at Buda. Naturally,

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[600] This church is a medium-sized city parish church, with three aisles and a polygonal sanctuary with ribbed vaulting, *MoMT 2*, 55; Menténvi, Klára, "Kőszeg, Szent Jakab-templom," *LAHU 5 – Vas megye I. Vas megye műemlékeinek töredékei 1. Belsővat – Kőszegszerdahely*, ed. Lővei, Pál (Budapest: KÖH, 2002), 463-476, demonstrated that the building of the church was a longer process, 464-466.

[601] *MoMT 2*,661.

when commissioning tombstones, they also turned to the established workshops operating in the capital of the country. Such reliance on models of the royal court can be detected in other ways as well: the tile stoves, glass- and stoneware found at Kőszeg and Csesznek are made from the same sort of material known from royal castles.[603]

While we can at least grasp the character of the buildings and tombs of the Garai family, we are far more challenged when we try to understand the artistic milieu of the paintings in the Augustinian church of Siklós. We have very little to compare the Siklós frescoes with, as the decoration of other churches commissioned by the Garai family did not survive. The mediocre frescoes of the parish church of Kőszeg more likely stem from the patronage of the town than of the Garai family, who – as lords of the castle and town – financed the reconstruction of the church (fig. 145). The modest murals on the eastern wall of the southern aisle, functioning as altarpieces depict the Madonna della Misericordia, above it the Adoration of the Magi, and to the left a huge St. Christopher, added at a later date.[604] Regarding manuscripts, none survive that could be tied to any member of the Garai family or their churches, and such manuscripts probably did not exist in any significant numbers to begin with. This is perhaps not as surprising, when we look at the example of King Sigismund, who can hardly be called a bibliophile. The tradition of remarkable illuminated manuscripts, represented by codices such as the Hungarian Angevin Legendary or the Illuminated Chronicle, was not continued during Sigismund's reign. The few manuscripts that can be brought into connection with him, were either

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[602] *MoMT 2*, 577.

[603] Holl, Imre, *Kőszeg vára a középkorban [The castle of Kőszeg in the Middle Ages]* (Budapest, 1992); 36-41, 83.

[604] Gergelyffy, András – Sedlmayr, János, *A kőszegi Jurisics-vár* (Budapest, 1964), 12-13.

given to him as gifts, or their provenance is debated.[605] Also rare are manuscripts commissioned by other aristocrats, with the exception of the ecclesiastical leaders, such as György Pálóczi, archbishop of Esztergom. It seems that Hungarian aristocrats of the time did not feel the need to commission elaborately decorated manuscripts. They did, however, have to provide manuscripts to the churches founded by them.

The only painted work providing comparative material with the frescoes of the Augustinian church is found right at Siklós, in the castle chapel. In fact, one of the unique features of the Siklós site is that it preserved two contemporary cycles of frescoes, one in the Augustinian church and one inside the castle chapel. The frescoes of the chapel have been known for a long time, but have never been adequately studied. As they also stem from Garai patronage, and were executed close to the time of the frescoes of the Augustinian church, their examination here is in order. The comparison will reveal that the more limited program of decoration in the chapel differs in most respects from that in the church, a difference most obvious perhaps in the frescoes' style.

The castle chapel of Siklós is located in the eastern wing of the castle, a wing entirely built under the Garais. Later, at the end of the fifteenth century, an elaborately vaulted sanctuary, which juts out from the eastern wall of the castle, was added to the chapel. The original sanctuary must have been much smaller, and in fact, according to the excavations, the original chapel did not jut out from the wall, and was thus rectangular in plan. The foundation of an altar was found in front of the present-day triumphal arch. On each of the side walls, there is a wall niche of considerable size, each originally housing an

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[605] On Sigismund's manucripts, see *Hoffmann – Wehli 1992*, 29-36, 229-230; *Schmidt 1987*. See most recently: Csapodi, Csaba, "A magyar könyvkultúra Zsigmond korában," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 111 (1995/1), 1-14.

altar, and decorated with wall-paintings (figs. 154-156). We have no knowledge of any other painted decoration inside this chapel. Based on the features of its portal, the building of the chapel can be dated to the early fifteenth century, and the niches were most likely constructed at that time as well. Both niches are semicircular, with an altar table, and with decoration on their back wall, as well as on their splays. The niche in the southern wall is decorated with the figures of two standing saints (fig. 154). The eastern wall contains an image of the Man of Sorrows (fig. 155), while the vault of the niche is decorated with the Lamb (*Agnus Dei*). The back wall of the northern niche contains an image of the suffering Job, accompanied by his wife and three of his friends (fig. 156).

One of the saints in the southern niche can be identified as St. Leonard, a Merovingian Benedictine, who is regarded as the patron saint of captives and prisoners. The closest center of his cult to Hungary was at St. Leonhard in Lavanttal in Carinthia, so perhaps Anne of Cilli might have played a role in transmitting his cult to Siklós. The appearance of this saint here is due to a historical event, which took place in 1415. In that year, János Garai led an army into Bosnia, against Hervoja, but was captured. Later released, he gave his shackles to the Benedictine abbey of Báta, to honor the relic of the Holy Blood kept there. The figure of St. Leonard, with the shackles in his hand, clearly refers to this event, while the image of the Man of Sorrows is probably a direct reference to the relic of the Holy Blood kept at Báta.[606] The story of János Garai is our first information about this relic. The event was so memorable that it was included in the chronicle of János Thuróczy, and later in a verse chronicle about the Sigismund period by

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[606] *MoMT* 2, 214-215, this possibility is mentioned, but with several mistakes. The text gives the wrong date (1455) and makes János into the brother of László Garai.

Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos (mid-sixteenth century). It was beyond doubt the captivity and release of János Garai that was commemorated in the fresco of St. Leonard. In 1434, a supplication letter stated that the relic was kept in the church of St. Michael of the Benedictines of Báta. Indulgence was granted by the pope on the request of Emperor Sigismund himself (1433).[607] Thanks to the support of the Garai family and the emperor himself, Báta became an important cult site and pilgrimage center in the later Middle Ages.

The other figure is St. Ladislas depicted with his traditional attributes – a shield with the Hungarian double cross, and with a battle-axe – but as Terézia Kerny noticed, under his crown the saint wears a tied scarf.[608] This is the insignia of King Venceslas of Bohemia's Order of the Scarf, of which Miklós Garai became a member on August 19, 1401. The insignia of the order also appears on the armorial letter of Garai received in 1416 in Paris.[609] St. Ladislas is the patron saint of the favored son of Miklós Garai, László, who followed his father in the position of palatine, and became his heir.

The scene depicting Job shows the main protagonist lying on the dunghill, while his wife and friends approach him from the left, and appear to converse with him. The story of Job, and the scene as well can be interpreted as the affirmation of faith even in

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[607] Kónyi, Mária: "A bátai apátság Szent Vér ereklyéje," *Regnum – Egyháztörténeti Évkönyv* 2 (1937), 119-140; Kónyi, Mária. – Holub, József – Csalog, József – Dercsényi, Dezső, *A bátai apátság és Krisztus-vére ereklyéje,* Pécs 1940, 12-13. Jób Garai also made a donation to the abbey, in the form of two vestments and a silver statue of St. Akos, *ibid*, 16.

[608] This was noted by Terézia Kerny, in her monograph on the cult of St. Ladislas in Hungary (*Szent László tisztelete és ikonográfiája,* unpublished manuscript). I thank the author for allowing me to consult a chapter of the text.

[609] OL Dl. 8664 (destroyed in WWII). Published in *CDH* X/4. 80. On the Garai coat of arms, see "Garai Miklós címereslevele," *Sigismund 1987.* I. 390–391., cat. M. 22. On the Order of the Scarf, Kovács, Éva, "A Luxemburgi uralkodók rendjei, [Chivalric orders by the Luxemburg rulers], *Sigismund 1987,* 138.

distress, a concept applicable to the captivity of János Garai as well. The image is supplemented by a number of inscriptions written on elegantly arranged scrolls: The inscription above the figure of Job comes from the Book of Job (1,21): "Dominus dedit dominus abstulit, sicut domino placuit, nomen domini sit benedictum." The eastern wall here contains the section of a building, with an open door, while the vault has an image of the Lord in a circular frame, with an inscription on a scroll: "ego sum dominus." Tünde Wehli suggested that the source of this image might have been a scene from a book of hours, where Job often appears on illustrations to the Office of the dead (All saints).[610] It is also clear that the two sides form a typological parallel. The figure of the suffering Job in the Old Testament was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Man of Sorrows.[611]

The pictures, which were perfectly legible after their discovery in 1956, have suffered a great deal, and the image of Job has especially deteriorated – perhaps misleading researchers into dating the two scenes to two different periods. There were in fact two phases of frescoes here: the scenes were renewed some time in the later fifteenth century. Although this repainting was earlier dated to around 1500, it has recently been demonstrated that it was more likely painted around the middle of the fifteenth century, commissioned by László Garai.[612] The two saints were reversed on the new layer, for reasons that are not entirely clear. The figure of St. Ladislas was updated according to the fashion of the period: his knightly attire was replaced by a large robe, and his face shows more individualized features. During the 1960s, the frescoes were removed, and

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[610] *Wehli 1983*, 22-23.

[611] Osten, Gert von der, "Job and Christ – The Development of a Devotional Image," *JWCI* 16 (1953), 153-158. The typological connection of the two niches was noticed by *Wehli 1983*, 122-123 as well, although she dated both niches to the middle of the fifteenth century.

transferred to a plastic backing, and then reinstalled. The later layer of paint was also removed at the restoration, and is preserved separately. The paintings of the other niche were also renewed, although of this only traces remain.

Various dates have been proposed for the frescoes. The dating ranges from c. 1400 (Ladislas and Leonard)[613] to the time of Jób Garai (1450s) and even to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, even within one book.[614] The interpretation and dating of the pictures have been confounded by the fact that the grandson of Miklós Garai was called Jób, and the frescoes of the eastern niche were connected with him. This, however, is unlikely, as he only appears in the sources around 1450, and the frescoes must have been painted earlier than that. There is general agreement that the figures of St. Ladislas and Leonard date from the first third of the fifteenth century, and I see no reason to suppose that the scene depicting Job is a generation later than the figures of the saints. Despite (or because of?) several conservation efforts, this fresco is essentially lost to us, but its style is clearly visible on old photographs, and indicates that this fresco was also painted at the time of the International Gothic. The naked figure of Job, covered with only a loincloth, is comparable to figures dating from the 1420s in other parts of Hungary, and the inscription on a wavy scroll above him reminds us of similar parallels. Thus for the frescoes of both niches, a date soon after 1415 (the captivity of János Garai) is the most likely. Thus I would like to propose that the two niches were decorated at the same time, and they are both prime

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[612] *MoMT 2*, 704, dating the repainting (second layer) to the mid-15h century.

[613] *MoMT 2*, 614 (Possible connections a with similar figure of St. Leonard at Bodesce in Slavonia, dating from the end of the fourteenth c.)

[614] *MoMT 2*, 704.

examples of International Gothic painting, dating most likely from around 1420. Their patron then must have been Miklós Garai, together with his brother, János.

The learned aspect of the frescoes and the importance of inscriptions (on the Job-scene) relate them to a group of frescoes dating from around 1415-1430. In all these churches, the fresco decoration was executed relying on model books, manuscripts, or prints. This aspect is underscored by the use of long inscriptions on borders and scrolls, providing a detailed explanation for the complex iconographic programs. The earliest cycle, dated by an inscription to 1415, is in the small church of Pónik in Upper Hungary. The paintings provide a compendium of fashionable mystical and devotional themes of the years around 1400, including a representation of the Living Cross,[615] and a scene of intercession. The frescoes show a knowledge of contemporary Bohemian (Prague) painting, and their painters must have been familiar with a group of Bohemian manuscripts dating from the 1410s.[616] In two churches – one in Upper Hungary (Kiete), the other in Transylvania (Magyarszovát) – the north wall of the nave is decorated with a large, circular Last Judgment fresco. Both at Kiete and Magyarszovát, the large circle is divided into various compartments, and both scenes are rich in explanatory inscriptions. The date 1426 is part of the Kiete cycle and is given in one of these inscriptions.[617] The

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[615] On this motif: Timmerman, Achim, "The Avenging Crucifix: Some Observations on the Iconography of the Living Cross," *Gesta* 40 (2001), 141-160, Pónik on 145.

[616] *Sigismund 1987,* 301-311; Biathová, K., "Die Funde in Poniky im Gesamtbild der gotischen Wandmalerei der Slowakei," *Sigismund 1994,* 339-345; *Buran 2002,* 119-207.

[617] On the frescoes, see *Togner 1989,* 154-155, 175-176; *Prokopp 2002,* 66-74, with illustrations of the Last Judgment on 69-74. Kiete was under the patronage of the Derencsényi family (*Csánki I*) of Transylvanian origin, they received the village in 1413 from Sigismund (OL Dl. 9489). At this time Imre Derencsényi was head of the family, from 1419-1423 *comes* of Gömör, and a member of the royal aula (1411-1432), see *Engel 1996,* I. 131. The patrons were thus not members of the Szécsényi family, as stated in *Prokopp 2002,* 66.

Magyarszovát frescoes must date from this period as well; their patrons, whose coat of arms can be seen on the capitals supporting the vault, were members of the Suky family.[618] The most complex of such cycles can be found in the side aisles of the basilica of Csetnek, also in Gömör County. Dated to 1420-1430, the frescoes were commissioned by László Csetneki, a member of the royal court and prior in Esztergom and Buda, and from 1439 bishop of Nyitra. This cycle of frescoes complements and replaces a rather complex set of earlier wall paintings.[619] The subject of the frescoes includes the Infancy and Passion of Christ in the northern aisle, and cycles showing the Seven Liberal Arts as well as the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25, 14-30) in the southern aisle (fig. 157). In the center of the south wall, there used to be a portal, which was walled in at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the western portal was built. The area was then decorated with a representation of the Seven Sacraments. Additional wall surfaces and arches in the church are all decorated with figures of saints and prophets, including such interesting representations as the prophet Jonah being released from the whale, a foreshadowing of the Resurrection of Christ. Once again, detailed inscriptions arranged on the borders and on scrolls accompany the scenes.

Of these four, the frescoes of Csetnek are stylistically closest to those in the Siklós chapel, quite obvious in a comparison of similar figures from the two sites, as St. Ladislas

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[618] Kelemen, Lajos, "A szováti falfestmények, (The frescoes of Szovát)" *Művészettörténeti tanulmányok* (Bukarest, 1977), 114-119, with an overview of the patron family's history. See also Lángi, József – Mihály, Ferenc, *Erdélyi falképek és festett faberendezések I.* (Frescoes and painted wooden elements in Transylvania) (Budapest, 2002), 68-69. Today only fragments of the decoration survive. The decoration follows some prototype in miniature painting, see *Wehli 1983,* 116-117.

[619] Csetnek was painted under the patronage of László Csetneki, canon at Esztergom, prior of Budafelhévíz and Esztergom-Zöldmező, in 1420 governor of the Esztergom archbishopric, and from 1439-1448 bishop of Nyitra, *Prokopp 2002,* 32.

and St. Leonard are both depicted at Csetnek as well (fig. 158). The frescoes in all five churches exhibit a comparable International Gothic idiom. This confirms that the Siklós chapel frescoes must have been painted soon after the 1415 captivity and release of János Garai. As the "learned" style appears in a number of churches throughout the country, it is possible that it reflects the style or manner of fresco painting in the center of the country, in the royal court.[620] Despite their chronological proximity, the frescoes of the castle chapel differ considerably in style from those of the church. Stylistically, the most obvious comparison is provided by a look at the images of the Man of Sorrows in both cycles. It is apparent that the stylistic roots of the two images are different: while the frescoes in the chapel belong to the late phase of a fashionable, International Gothic current, the frescoes of the church are much more closely related to prototypes of the Italian Trecento, and are thus part of a tradition stretching back in time at least a century. This stylistic difference indicates that there was no "family workshop" executing paintings one after the other in service of the Garais. From the appearance of this type of decoration in many parts of the country at around the same time, it is reasonable to suggest that they reflect a style and manner of decoration favored by the royal court. Perhaps they represent a new type of decoration, one that is further removed from the example of the Italian Trecento, one that is learned and fashionable, and which perhaps rendered the Italian-inspired frescoes somewhat outmoded. The analysis of the chapel frescoes thus reinforces what we have already established about the Garai family's reliance on models provided by the royal court and by the art of Buda in particular. However, the frescoes inside the Augustinian

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[620] Further examples, among them the frescoes of the chapel built in the fortifications of the Szászhermány church are not discussed here, because this monument dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, see *Wehli 1983*, 117-120.

church of Siklós do not seem to fit in this pattern. On the other hand, the Siklós church is by no means a unique monument: its counterparts can be found in other family churches, established by aristocrats. A significant group of these churches preserved their painted decoration up until now, providing a good chance for a comparative analysis.

5. Family burial churches and painted chancels around 1400

When about a decade after his father's death, Miklós Garai the younger decided to set up his father's *memoria* at the family's new estate, he also set out to decorate the church, and transform it into a representative burial site. The tomb as well as the painted decoration was all concentrated in the chancel of the church, separated from the nave by a rood screen. The intention of Miklós Garai seems to have been to create a family burial site inside the Augustinian church. Marked profusely by coats of arms, carved on the keystones and painted on the vaults, the area is designated as the exclusive territory of the patron family, to which only they and the canons had access. The coats of arms also refer to the identity of those buried inside. In fact, it is possible that – apart from the canons daily liturgy – the primary function of the church was to celebrate mass regularly on behalf of the family. Although no wills or donation letters survive that would stipulate this system at Siklós, it must have functioned as a family burial church. The proximity of the church to the premier castle of the family, and the Augustinians' credentials in ministering to the dead made this a natural choice. This considerably broadened the original function

of the church, which had not been used as a family burial site under the Siklósi family.[621] In its function and decorative system, the Siklós church resembles a group of aristocratic family churches, all serving as burial sites, and all with fully painted chancels from the decades around 1400. The fervor of aristocratic church foundations and some of the monuments have already been mentioned before, but in this section a comparative analysis of family churches with fresco decoration will be carried out, so the characteristics of the Siklós Augustinian church can be better grasped. Thanks to recent discoveries, such as Keszthely, Csáktornya and Siklós, the available material has greatly expanded over the last few decades. For this analysis, we have selected churches that were under the patronage of an important aristocratic family, and where the entire sanctuary was painted along the outlines of a prescribed plan. The chronological boundaries are roughly from the first year of Sigismund's rule (1387) to about 1410. The churches differ in many respects from one another: some are Mendicant churches in towns, some are parish churches, and architecturally they range from refurbished Romanesque buildings to large Gothic edifices. Most served as burial churches, but some apparently did not. The following churches were selected: Bántornya, where the Bánfi family commissioned the workshop of Johannes Aquila to paint the sanctuary in 1383. Two churches of the powerful Lackfi family: the Pauline church of Csáktornya and the Franciscan church of Keszthely. From the region of Gömör, the church of Hizsnyó was selected, because here we can be reasonably certain that the patrons were members of the powerful Jolsvai family. Almakerék is a monument from the other part of the country, Transylvania, and was

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[621] There is evidence that they were buried in the nearby Benedictine Abbey of Szenttrinitás. In 1392, Miklós Siklósi made a donation to Szenttrinitás, to ensure his salvation, as well as that of his parents and ancestors, resting in the monastery, see *Zs.O.* I. 2591.

founded by the Apafi family. A few brief sentences will suffice to characterize the arrangements of the painted programs of individual churches.

The church at Bántornya, was the family church of the Bánfi of Alsólendva family, and at least one of the family members was buried in front of the altar in the sanctuary (Figs. 159-162).[622] The church was painted in the 1380s for László Bánfi I, who was represented together with his family praying in front of the Virgin.[623] Although this scene was destroyed in 1928, the sanctuary and the triumphal arch are still adorned with Bánfi's coats of arms and beautiful frescoes. Bántornya was painted by the workshop of Johannes Aquila, painter from Radkersburg in Austria, whose works are known from two other Hungarian churches, Velemér and Mártonhely, as well as from the Augustinian hermits' church at Fürstenfeld. At Bántornya, his workshop was employed twice: the sanctuary was painted in 1383, and the nave in 1389.[624] This sanctuary is the nave of the former church of Bántornya: leaving the Romanesque apse and its frescoes intact, the old nave was transformed into a large sanctuary, when a Gothic nave was added on the western side. The newly formed sanctuary was then vaulted, creating a two-bay structure of rectangular plan. The sanctuary's paintings cover those from around 1300. On the two bays of the vault, the four Evangelists and four music-playing angels are depicted. These were probably meant to be seen together with the *Maiestas Domini* of c. 1300 in the conch of

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[622] Today only a fragmentary tombstone remains. The red marble slab was removed from the church, and now lies broken up outside the church, see Pál Lövei, "Az alsólendvai Bánfi család egy tagjának bántornyai sírköve – Der Grabstein in Turnišče eines Mitglieds der Familie Bánfi von Alsólendva," *Aquila 1989*, 87, 127-128.

[623] Bogyay, Tamás, "A bántornyai falképek donátorairól," (The patrons of the Bántornya frescoes), *AH* 14 (1986), 147-158.

the original apse. The walls show scenes from the infancy of Christ and large-scale standing figures of the twelve apostles. The decoration was completed with a dedication picture of the Bánfi family, later destroyed (fig. 160). This was the only example in Hungary of that Paduan type of kneeling donors in front of the Madonna, presented by their patron saints. (Although perhaps a similar arrangement once existed at Tar).[625] Complementing the sanctuary, a great number of different hagiographic and eschatological themes cover the walls of the nave.

The frescoes of Csáktornya are a fairly recent discovery, and their great significance lies in the fact that with their help we can directly compare two commissions of the same aristocratic family, the Lackfi (figs. 163-166). The Pauline church at Csáktornya was founded by István Lackfi and other members of the family in 1376. István Lackfi became the Palatine in 1387, and was one of the main supporters of Sigismund until 1396, when he changed allegiance. This led to his downfall, and he was executed in 1397.[626] The painted decoration was certainly completed before this date. Today only the sanctuary stands, with frescoes on all of its walls, although the vault was unfortunately reconstructed in the Baroque period, destroying all the frescoes there.[627] We are probably not far from the truth if we suppose that – perhaps among other things – representations of the *Maiestas Domini* and the four Evangelists were present here as well. On the walls there are large scenes of

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[624] *Höfler – Balažic 1992*, 29-37, 117-121; *Gotik in Slowenien*, 232-237. For a monograph on the church, see Zadnikar, Marijan – Balažic, Janez, *Turnišče – Zgodovinska in umetnostna podoba farne cerkve* (Murska Sobota: Pomurska založba, 1994).

[625] Wehli Tünde, "A tari Szent Mihály-templom falképei," *Cabello 1993*, 80-81.

[626] Engel, Pál, "A Lackfiak," in *Sigismund 1987*, I. 427-430.

[627] On the frescoes, see *Srša 1998*. My study on the frescoes is currently in preparation, to be published in a study volume edited by Tibor Kollár on "Art in Southern Hungary" (forthcoming in 2004).

highly original iconography, topped with half-figure representations of the Madonna *lactans* and the figures of the Trinity. The larger scenes are the following, listed from the northwest corner of the sanctuary going round: Crucifixion, Ascension and Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity, a monumental image of the Man of Sorrows, saints in the windows, Presentation in the temple and other scenes.

Contemporary with Csáktornya, and also commissioned by István II Lackfi are the frescoes of the Franciscan church of Keszthely, founded in 1381, which served as the executed Palatine's burial church (167-169). As the king confiscated his estates, including Keszthely in 1397, it is certain that preparations for his burial had been made well before his death. The year of his death was added later to his already completed tomb slab, and the frescoes had been painted before his death as well. At Keszthely, just as in Siklós, only the sanctuary was painted with a large series of saints and narrative scenes, and Lackfi's coats of arms were also present, for example, on one of the keystones. His tomb was erected in the central axis of the sanctuary's western bay, thus constituting the focal point of the whole ensemble.[628] The large expanses of walls, especially on the windowless northern wall, provided ample surface for a rich mural decoration. Two cycles, one dedicated to the seven joys of the Virgin (top row), and one to the Passion of Christ (two bands on the north wall), fill these large expanses. A number of saints are depicted between the windows, while the apostles are represented in medallions under the stringcourse. It is uncertain what was on the vault.

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[628] The tomb was removed from the floor in 1896. On the frescoes, see *Prokopp 1980*, 367-385; *Prokopp 1995*, 155-158.

Further examples of such family churches can be found in Gömör County in Upper Hungary (today Slovakia). During the fourteenth century, one of the most important families in the region was the Jolsvai, members of which filled a number of high offices in the royal court. The center of their estates was the rich iron-mining town, Jolsva, which they had acquired in 1327. Just above Jolsva in the hills lies the village of Hizsnyó (Chyzné), a property of the Jolsvai family. The church there was built in the first half of the fourteenth century, and its rectangular sanctuary is entirely covered with wall paintings (figs. 116-118). The Annunciation is depicted on the eastern wall, in keeping with the church's dedication. Two further scenes are painted on the side walls: the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. Below these scenes the twelve apostles are depicted in groups of two. On the north wall a door leads to the sacristy, its lunette decorated with the Man of Sorrows (fig. 118). Another image of Christ, this time the *Maiestas Domini,* is on the inner face of the triumphal arch surrounded by the five Wise and Foolish virgins, referring to the Last Judgment. This rich program is complemented by the figures on the vaults; the four Evangelists and the four Church Fathers are arranged in pairs on the four spandrels (Ambrose-Mark, Gregory-Luke, Jerome-John, Augustine-Matthew). The prophets are also incorporated in the program, in eight medallions on the lower face of the triumphal arch. The frescoes – which survived in fairly good condition – date from the early 1400s. Executed by local masters, the frescoes at Hizsnyó are a characteristic example of the vigorous style developed under Italian inspiration in Gömör County.[629]

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[629] *Prokopp 1969*, 140-141; *Togner 1989*, 126-133, 172; *Prokopp 2002*, 15-20.

The most complex decoration of the group can be found in the sanctuary of the Almakerék church, painted before 1405 (figs. 170-173).[630] Belonging to the Apafi family, the church in Almakerék is a three-aisled basilica, with a western tower and a sanctuary, which terminates in a polygon. The nave is separated from the sanctuary by a triumphal arch; the two bays of the sanctuary are covered by rib vaults. The keystone of the eastern section of the vault is decorated with the heraldic device of the Apafi family, with its grape motifs, and an inscription in Gothic majuscules: +AN·AVTV·APPA·.[631] The windows in the sanctuary include three pointed windows on the eastern walls and a circular window on the south wall. The walls and vaults of the sanctuary are fully covered with a unified cycle of fresco decoration, which dates from around 1400. An inscription from 1405, scratched into the surface of the fresco, dates their creation certainly to before that. Although repainted in the eighteenth century, the entire decoration survived virtually intact, including the main altar from 1445 in the center of the sanctuary.[632] The frescoes were planned and executed in a single campaign. The program is so rich that a simple listing of the themes cannot do it justice. On the vaults apart from the combined representation of

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[630] See Roth, Victor: "Die Freskomalereien im Chor der Kirche zu Malmkrog," *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 26 (1903), 49-53, 91-96, 109-119, 125-131, 141-144; Éber, László: "Tanulmányok Magyarország középkori falfestményeiről" [Essays on medieval murals of Hungary], in: *Magyarország Műemlékei*, ed. Gyula Forster (1915), vol. 4, 71-86; *Radocsay 1954*, 55-56, 109-110 (with extensive earlier bibliography); *Radocsay, 1977*, 127-29; Drăguț, Vasile: "Les peintures murales de l'église évangelique de Mălîncrav," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art* 5 (1968), 61-71; Zsuzsa Urbach: "Ikonográfiai megjegyzések az almakeréki Nativitas-freskó egy motívumához" [Iconographic remarks on a motive in the Nativity fresco in Almakerék], *AH* 23 (1995/2), 179.

[631] Gogaltan, Anca – Sallay, Dóra, "The Church of Mălâncrav and the Holy Blood Chapel of Nicholas Apa," *Architectura religiosă medieavală din Transilvania – Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture in Transylvania*, II., ed. Péter Levente Szőcs (Satu Mare, 2003), 181-210. I thank Dóra Sallay for providing an advance copy of the text prior to the publication of the volume.

[632] On the altar, see Richter, Gisela and Otmar: *Siebenbürgische Flügelaltäre* (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt, 1992.), 46-57.

the Church Fathers and the Evangelists, four scenes – the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Presentation in the temple – are also illustrated. On the eastern spandrels of the vault, ten female saints are depicted on thrones. The north wall is filled with scenes of the Passion in three rows, while on the south wall, as in the spaces between the eastern windows saints and hagiographic scenes (St George killing the dragon, Stigmatization of St Francis) are depicted. The Madonna della Misericordia is represented on the face of the triumphal arch.

Dóra Sallay and Anca Gogâltan in a recent article identified the church with a chapel of the Holy Blood, for which Nicholas Apafi requested a papal supplication in 1424. The identification is unlikely, and the presence of the image of the Man of Sorrows in the church is not sufficient to support it. As we have seen the Man of Sorrows is a ubiquitous feature of painted sanctuaries, especially in the vicinity of the tabernacle. The 1424 supplication letter must refer to a private chapel attached to the church, the existence of which could perhaps be demonstrated with the help of an archaeological exploration (cf. the example of Pelsőc, etc., or the separate chapels existing at the Transylvanian churches of Szászhermány and Barcaszentpéter). Judging from the High Altar, the church itself was most likely dedicated to the Virgin.

The list of such could be lengthened, but the complete decoration did not survive at other places, or the date and commissioner of the frescoes is still uncertain. Examples, which could be brought into a broader analysis include Maconka, since 1396 the property of Leusták Jolsvai, then Palatine of Sigismund, its sanctuary decorated around 1400; Százd of the Szerecsen family, or Tar of the Tari family. Important frescoes survive at Pelsőc, the center of the Bebek family's estates in Gömör County, but the cycle is not yet fully

uncovered. However, the five churches described along with the Siklós Augustinian church will suffice to make some conclusions.

The general concept of the pictorial program in these churches is the same, but when it comes to details there is great variety. The vault is always dedicated to such themes as the *Maiestas Domini* with the four Evangelists, and often with prophets or Church Fathers as well. On the walls, larger scenes, sometimes arranged in narrative cycles, are depicted. Passion scenes are almost invariably part of these narratives. Their presence is due to the main liturgical function of the chancels, the Mass. The reference to the sacrifice of Christ and the Host is even more obvious in the figure of the *Vir dolorum*, which is there near the tabernacle in most of these churches (Almakerék, Csáktornya, Hizsnyó, and Siklós). Usually, the Virgin Mary is granted special attention as well, generally in the context of the Coronation, but sometimes in more elaborate cycles as at Keszthely. Another common element is the presence of the apostles on the walls of the sanctuary, and the depiction of saints in the window splays or on the lower zone of walls. Of the saints, the apostles occupy a special place, other saints are often selected with regard to the church's or the donor's patron saint, and generally the most popular saints are depicted. Personal elements referring to the donor also include coats of arms, and in a few cases the representation of the donors as well (Bántornya, and perhaps at Csáktornya). In sum, all these fresco cycles are planned and unified. Such examples cannot be found from the later part of century, or in most of the contemporary naves, where instead we find narrative cycles, and increasingly, individual altar-like devotional scenes. Another similarity of these fresco cycles is that they all share a combination of Italian and Central European style, although

some, like Siklós, are closer in conception to the art of the Italian Trecento, while others such as Almakerék are more purely Bohemian.

In terms of their function, the churches were intended as the burial sites of members of the family, and were meant to preserve their memory. As discussed above, burial rights constituted a very important factor in the prestige of family churches, and the red marble tombstones discussed above often served as the focal point of church chancels. This liturgically most important part of the churches was thus also charged with special meaning, emphasizing the important role the patrons played in the life of the local community. When complete with tombs and frescoes, the effect of chancels of such churches resembled that of free-standing private chapels. The origins of this type of family chapel next to the primary residence are to be found in French court art of the age of St. Louis, with the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris being the private chapel *par excellence*. Although intended to hold relics, and not for burials, its magnificence influenced later examples. The Sancta Sanctorum in Rome was modeled after it in spirit, but there the radiance of stained glass is replaced with the richness of fresco decoration. In Italy, this paved the way for later development, and frescoed family burial chapels abound in the fourteenth century. The most famous example perhaps is the Arena chapel in Padua, with the tomb of Enrico Scrovegni, while the Oratory of San Giorgio, frescoed by Altichiero, is one of the most monumental ones. Such private chapels of course are also plentiful inside many larger churches.[633] A large number of Italian wills stipulate the details of such chapels, often

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[633] On the uses of such chapels, see Paul Binski, *Medieval Death – Ritual and Representation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1996), 115-122; Evelyn Welch, *Art and Society in Italy 1350-1500 (Oxford History of Art)* (Oxford-New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1997), 184-204. Enrico Scrovegni's tomb is from the 1360s, see *Bauch 1976*, 175.

outlining the elements of decoration, including heraldic elements and representations of the patrons.[634] While such wills are less common in Hungary, the function of the churches was similar. Fruitful comparisons could be made with other private churches and their frescoes in Central Europe, as there are a number of similar monuments in Austria and Bohemia as well, although their frescoes are often different in style.[635]

In Hungary, among the predecessors of such church sanctuaries we can mention the frescoed decoration of the episcopal palace chapels of Esztergom and Zagreb, painted around the middle of the fourteenth century. This building-type clearly originates in the architecture of the royal court. The chapel at Esztergom was, in fact, built by King Béla III (1196), and the entire castle was only turned over to the archbishops by his son, Imre in 1198. Finished perhaps only after this time, the palace chapel was built under the direct influence of French early Gothic architecture. The workshop responsible for it was also active in the construction of the royal palace and chapel at Óbuda at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[636] The Esztergom chapel was painted already around 1200; of this only

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[634] Fourteenth-century Central Italian wills have been analyzed by Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death – Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins UP, 1992). The situation of course was not always easy, as the patrons' wishes often contradicted the monks or friars using the church, see for example the famous case of Francesco Sassetti at Santa Maria Novella, who was not allowed to commission the Life of St. Francis is the main choir of the Dominican church, and eventually moved – along with burials and all – to Santa Trinita: Warburg, Aby, "Francesco Sassettis letzwillige Verfügung (1907)," *Gesammelte Schriften I.* (Leipzig-Berlin: Teubner, 1932), 127-158.

[635] For an example, see Zuzana Všetečková, "Nást nné malby v kostele Panny Marie ve Starém M st u Bruntálu" (Die Wandmalereien in der Marienkirche in Staré M sto bei Bruntál, Altstadt bei Freudenthal)" *Um ní* 47 (1999/1-2), 18-32.

[636] On this group of monuments, see Marosi, Ernő, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. Esztergom in der Kunst des 12-13. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1984), esp. 49-50, 67-74, 120-121 (Óbuda).

fragments remain.[637] Another monument that could be successfully brought into an analysis of painted churches is the Giselle chapel in Veszprém, which is stylistically connected with these early Gothic works. Built in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, it was a two level chapel standing next to the Queen's palace at Veszprém. The chapel stood on the north side of the palace, and its upper floor was directly connected to the residence. Today only one wall of the upper story survives, but the lower level has survived intact, although reconstructed in the eighteenth century. This level also preserved much of its rich mural decoration (including standing apostles on the walls), while fragments of paint indicate that the upper story was once painted as well.[638] While we know next to nothing of the decoration of later royal chapels – such as the ones at Buda and Visegrád – the chapel at Veszprém is clear proof that richly painted private oratories already existed in the first half of the thirteenth century. The painted decoration of the chapels of Esztergom and Zagreb represent the next phase of development. Aristocrats of the Sigismund-period chose not to adorn the castle chapels with richly painted decoration, (for example at Siklós, the chapel was only partially painted), but rather to focus their artistic enterprises on the independent churches standing near the castles (Siklós, Csáktornya).

The church at Siklós is an illustrious member of this group of burial churches, but nevertheless, it never became the Garai family's primary burial place. As discussed above,

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[637] *Tóth M. 1974*, 46-52.

[638] On the building and its stone carvings, see Rostás, Tibor, "A veszprémi úgynevezett Gizella-kápolna épülete a 13. században, [The building of the Giselle chapel in Veszprém], *Rostás – Simon 2000*, 61-81; Rostás, Tibor, "Udvari művészet Magyarországon a 13. század második negyedében és közepén, avagy a Gizella-kápolna hazai kapcsolatrendszere [Court Art in Hungary in the mid thirteenth century]," *MvSz* 10 (2000), 5-53. On the frescoes, *Tóth M. 1974*, 73-76; *Pannonia Regia* 224-225, III-8.

some time before his death in 1433, Miklós Garai founded a family chapel next to the Church of Our Lady at Buda. As it is clear that the chapel was intended as a burial chapel, similar ideas at Siklós must have been abandoned. Buda, as the true capital of Hungary at the time, became a favorite place for aristocratic residences and burials. Although the younger Miklós Garai and later members of the family were buried at Buda, the family church was completed at Siklós. Tombs and frescoes must have formed a remarkable ensemble inside the Augustinian church, an ensemble probably left intact until 1543, when the Turks occupied the town. Miklós Garai's tomb and the frescoes were both damaged at this time, and they eventually disappeared from view for centuries. Thanks to the most important discovery of recent decades, the Augustinian church at Siklós once again stands today as one of the most remarkable pieces of evidence of the Garai's generous patronage.

CONCLUSIONS – THE PLACE OF SIKLÓS IN HUNGARIAN ART AROUND 1400

Siklós provides us with a rare survival of a late medieval ensemble, where the castle, the castle chapel and the adjoining family church each survive, and even significant parts of their decoration remain. This ensemble of monuments provides a unique glimpse into the life of a high-ranking aristocratic family, as it preserves the results of their patronage at the center of their estates. Comparable sites rarely preserved the unity of church and castle in such good condition. The most important part of this ensemble, the former Augustinian church at Siklós, has emerged as a characteristic monument of aristocratic patronage in Late Medieval Hungary. Standing next to the castle of Siklós, the church had a richly decorated sanctuary, which was appropriate for the private worship and burials of the patron family. The origins of such richly decorated private spaces are to be found in court art, and the fact that a number of high-standing aristocrats commissioned similar works in the decades around 1400 indicates that such works perhaps existed in the court of King Sigismund as well.

The observations regarding aristocratic patronage of the period show that in the designs of their castles and in the character of their tombs, aristocrats closely followed the model of the royal court. Masters from royal workshops were commissioned for their projects as well, and they probably exchanged craftsmen, as well. In some cases, for example with the Stibor family, these masters formed a true family workshop, while in other cases the patronage of one family was more varied. In any case, a fairly consistent group of buildings, carvings, and frescoes can be tied to aristocratic patrons, demonstrating that their common desire for self-representation and the preservation of their own *memoria* resulted in

the commission of similar kinds of works, decorated in similar ways. Thus in the reign of Sigismund, just as a particular kind of art was practiced in the towns – perhaps less dependent on the art of the royal court – another stratum can be detected in aristocratic patronage. The private churches of aristocrats are therefore the counterparts of the monumental parish churches erected in towns throughout the country at the time, often by interrelated workshop (Buda, Pest, Kassa, Lőcse, Kolozsvár, Brassó). The church at Siklós is the product of this aristocratic self-representation, and as such, it is one of the best-preserved and best quality ensembles of this level of patronage in Late Medieval Hungary.

I demonstrated that the frescoes at Siklós were painted by a group of Italian painters. I also discussed that a painting style inspired by Italian Trecento art had by this time become native to Hungary. The parallels cited in connection with Siklós demonstrate that trends of wall painting were similar in the southern half of Central Europe, from the region stretching from South Tyrol to Transylvania. The Italian Trecento provided inspiration for unified decoration of churches, and various groups of masters delivered renewed impulses. At the same time, the flourishing of art in Prague and Bohemia provided an alternate center. True, fourteenth-century wall painting in Bohemia was also characterized by Italian connections, however, it soon developed a more rustic approach, which in turn also had its own, large sphere of influence. Bohemian and Italian trends met and mingled in much of Central Europe around 1400 – certain monuments more clearly present the influence of one or the other, while the style of others is more mixed. Thus contrary to other claims, our investigations demonstrate that a date of around 1410 for the Siklós frescoes does not mean at all that they are belated. The ways of transmission and the artistic character of neighboring regions has to be taken into account for a just evaluation of the monument, and

in this Central European context, the Siklós frescoes stand out on account of their high quality, careful organization, and attention to details. The workshop, whose roots are in South-Tyrol, created a monument worthy of the patron, Miklós Garai. The completely different style of the frescoes in the castle chapel shows that a different set of painters was responsible for the work in the church. There is no indication whether this workshop executed other works for the Garai family, or perhaps went on to work for other aristocratic families. The execution of the paintings in similar churches still surviving was carried out by a different workshop in each case, indicating that itinerant painting workshops must have been available in fairly great numbers. The Italian painters of Siklós must have presented a fashionable alternative at the time of the International Gothic. An important characteristic of Italian painting may added to its appeal to the Garais: its ability to transform the simplest architectural space into a richly decorated, unified area evoking the Heavenly Jerusalem. Thanks to these painters, the overall impact of the Augustinian church of Siklós when first completed must have been considerable, and this can still be felt today from a distance of six-hundred years.

APPENDIX A. – CATALOGUE OF THE FRESCOES

Note on the catalogue and contents

This catalogue contains a description of every distinct element of frescoes inside the Augustinian church of Siklós. The individual figures and compositions are each numbered, the numbers facilitate identifying them on the accompanying sketches, as well as finding them among the illustrations, where these numbers are used throughout. The catalogue entries on each element follow the same structure: first the inscriptions (if any) are transcribed and their source given, then the location and condition of the frescoes are specified. The inscriptions were transcribed by Pál Lővei. Next a detailed description is given, including a short iconographic assessment. Finally in a section labeled 'technical notes' any observations related to the painting process – such as preparatory drawings, and the *giornata* – are listed, and the painting is ascribed to one of the hands (see Chapter **IV-5.**) active in the church.

CONTENTS OF THE CATALOGUE

Fragments from the first phase – code: F

Northern wall – code: N

Western bay

N-1-2. Fragments of a large scene

Eastern bay

N-3-4. Fragments of Crucifixion (two layers)

N-5. Two small dogs

Eastern end – code: E

E-1. Vir Dolorum
E-2 to E-13. – Apostles
E-14 to E-36. – Window medallions

E-37. Hermit on the hill
E-38-39. Consecration crosses (first phase)

South wall – code: S

Eastern bay

S-1. Coronation of the Virgin
S-2. St. Lawrence (first phase)
S-3. St. Augustine (first phase)
S-4. St. Stephen deacon (first phase)

Western bay

S-5. Unidentified fragment
S-6. St. John the Baptist
S-7. Fragmentary scene – Death of the Virgin?
S-8. Painted benches
S-9. Device of the Order of the Dragon
S-10 to S-12. Shields with coat of arms

Western wall of triumphal arch – code: W

W-1 toW-3. Traditio Legis
W-4. Mary Magdalene
W-5. St. Mary of Egypt

The vault – code: V

V-1. St. Anne with Mary and Jesus (Medallion once held by two angels)
V-2. Virgin and Child (Medallion once held by two angels)
V-3. Christ in Majesty (Held by two angels)
V-4 to V-7. Church fathers
V-8 to V-11. Symbols of the Evangelists
V-12 to V-17. Prophets and Old Testament Kings
V-18 to V-24. Heraldic shields

Catalogue entries

FRAGMENTS FROM THE FIRST PHASE

F-1. North wall, western bay: corner of a painted frame on the left side. Upper left corner of a border, located just below the corbel

F-2. North wall, eastern bay, upper zone: fragments of a large Crucifixion framed by an elaborate painted border. The surviving parts include the ends of two crosses, the hand of bad thief, the figure of a devil, and clouds.

F-3. North wall, eastern bay, lower zone: A cluster of feet surviving in *sinopia* only. Most likely part of a separate scene under the Crucifixion.

F-4. North wall, center, below the central corbel: fragments of a consecration cross.

F-5. Northeastern wall, below the window: fragments of a consecration cross.

F-6: Southeastern wall, below the window: fragments of a consecration cross.

F-7: South wall, center, below the central corbel: parts of the frame of a consecration cross.

F-8-10. Sitting niches from the first period -Three figures, one in each niche.

Location and condition: These three figures are painted inside the niches formed in the wall. They are painted on the back surface of the niches, under arches. Painted arches duplicate the real ones, and the entire structure received a rich painted decoration. All three figures have suffered from surface damage. All three date from the first period.

Description:

F-8. St. Lawrence (of Rome, diaconus, martyr, Aug. 10)

Seated on a throne. He is wearing priestly vestments, is tonsured, and has a halo. He holds an open book in his hand, and traces of the grill are visible in front of him.

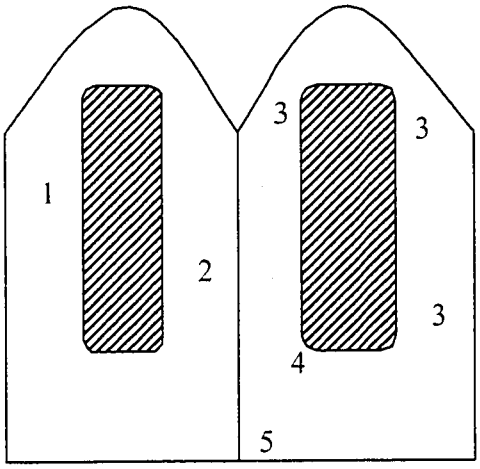
F-9. St. Augustine

Seated on a throne. He is wearing priestly vestments, including a bishop's miter, and has a halo. He holds a crosier in his left hand, and blesses with the other (damaged). The painted arch above his head is decorated with flowers.

F-10. St. Stephen deacon and first martyr (Dec. 26.)

Seated on a throne. He is wearing priestly vestments, is tonsured, and has a halo. He holds and open book in his hand, and identifiable by rocks lodged in his head. The paint surface of this figure is quite damaged.

NORTHERN WALL



Western bay

N-1, N-2. Fragments of a large scene

Location and condition: Only small painted areas are preserved on this wall. Fragments of this large scene can be seen on either side of the large window opened in the western bay of the northern wall. Much of the damage comes from the large window opened in the middle of the wall, but the lower part of the fresco completely disappeared as well.

Description: The following parts are preserved: fragments of the ornamental frame around the upper edge of the surface. N-1: Details of a rocky landscape. N-2. A figure, perhaps an angel holding something. Illusionistic benches at the lower part of the fresco. The scene might have represented the Nativity originally.

Also visible here is the lower right quarter of a dedication cross from the first period. This is directly below the corbel and ribs dividing the northern wall. On the left side, directly below the corbel, there is the corner of a frame, also from the first period.

Technical notes: The fresco is essentially destroyed.

Eastern bay

N-3. Fragments of a large Crucifixion from the second period.

Location and condition: This large scene occupied the eastern bay of the northern wall, today only fragments are visible around the large window. When the window was opened, the entire fresco has been badly damaged, but it is possible to identify the scene with certainty. The frame of the composition is preserved in some parts.

Description: The following details of the picture can be identified: In the upper left corner: The end of the crossbar of a cross, with a hand. On the right side, a group of figures from the foot of the cross. This includes a lot of soldiers. There is a bearded figure in the middle, his face is cut across by the hat of another. A large figure, with his left hand resting on a shield stood in the foreground.

Technical notes: This scene overlaps a similar scene from the first period. Painted by the Siklós master.

N-3, N-4. Fragments of a large Crucifixion from the first period.

Location and condition: Same as above, destroyed and covered by later layer.

Description: The earlier fresco composition can be identified as well, it had the same subject matter. The following fragments are notable: Details of the frame in the upper area. In the upper right, the end of a cross with a hand tied to it – must be the hand of Christ. Below it, a small devil takes the soul of the bad Thief, the devil and the Thief's hand survive. In the lower left, the sinopia of a group of figures survive. This might have been another composition under the Crucifixion.

N-5. Two small dogs

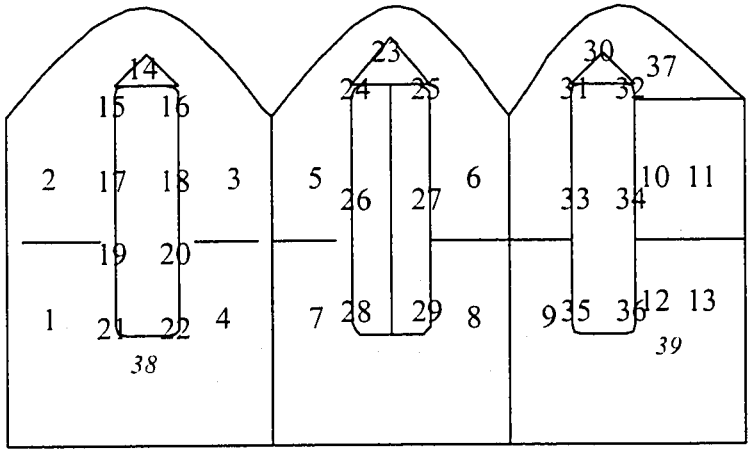
Location and condition: At the bottom of the eastern bay of the north wall, in a rectangular painted frame. In excellent condition, slight damage from water (noticeable damage since the restoration.)

Description: In a red background, two small white dogs, one sitting, one lying. Illusionistic benches next to them.

Painter:

EASTERN WALLS AND WINDOWS

Christ and the Apostles



Northeast wall

E-1. Vir Dolorum

Location and condition: On the left side of the northeastern window, lower row. Above the former tabernacle. The bottom part of the figure is lost, the face has been intentionally damaged.

Description: The upper part of the Vir Dolorum above the tabernacle survived. The composition is under an arch, which is framed, and is the lower floor of the tower on the left side of the window. Christ is depicted in front of a cross, his head falls to the left, his right arm hangs down, and his left arm is across his chest.

Painter: Graphic master

E-2. Apostle

Location and condition: On the left side of the northeast window, above the Vir Dolorum. The face and upper part of the figure is worn, and the plaster has flaked off at parts. Most of these minor flakes have been repaired during the restoration.

Description: The apostle is depicted in the niche of the upper floor of the tower, under an arch covered with a red tile roof. He is facing inwards, holding a closed book in his hands. He is dressed in a green tunic, and a red mantle with yellow lining. His face is damaged, but appears to have been youthful. He is barefoot. No other attributes are visible. Fills his niche completely; simple concentric circles on his halo.

Painter: Naïve master

E-3. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the northeastern window, in the upper tier. The head and the right side of the figure is worn, otherwise it is in fine condition.

Description: Youthful apostle with closed book in his hands. He is also depicted in the upper floor of the tower, and faces inwards. He wears a yellow tunic and a red mantle. Has no other attributes. Fills his niche completely; simple concentric circles on his halo.

Painter: Naïve master

E-4. Apostle – St. Andrew

Location and condition: On the right side of the northeastern window, lower tier. The eyes of the figure have been gauged out, and there are some minor blemishes (mostly restored), otherwise the figure is in an excellent state of preservation.

Description: St. Andrew, holding his cross in front of him, depicted under an arch. He is bearded, and faces forward. Light rose tunic, darker mantle. His left hand, holding the cross, is covered with the mantle. Relief halo, with punched decoration.

Painter: Graphic master

Eastern wall

E-5. Apostle.

Location and condition: On the left side of the eastern window, upper tier. The figure is damaged, the paint surface is missing in large areas.

Description: In the upper floor of the tower, the figure is facing inward. Another youthful apostle in orange tunic and maroon mantle. In his left, there is a closed book, while in his right hand there is an open scroll. The inscription is not visible today. Fills his niche completely; simple concentric circles on his halo.

Painter: Naïve master

E-6. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the eastern window, upper tier. The paint is missing in a large area along the central axis of the figure, but its main characteristics are still visible.

Description: The figure is turned towards the central window. There is a closed book in his right hand, and remains of a scroll in his left – a mirror variation of E-5 apostle. A maroon tunic, and a red mantle with green lining. This also is a youthful apostle, the face is damaged. Fills his niche completely, or is actually half inside his building. Simple concentric circles on his halo.

Painter: Naïve master

E-7. Apostle – St. Peter

Location and condition: On the left side of the eastern window, lower level. A small area at the bottom is missing, and the eyes have been damaged, otherwise in fine condition.

Description: The figure is facing the beholder. Bearded and balding apostle, with the characteristics of St. Peter. He holds a closed book in his left hand, and what must have been keys in his right hand. These were secco, and not visible any more, only in traces. He wears a light rose tunic, and a yellow mantle with similar rose lining. His halo is decorated with punched motifs.

Painter: Graphic master

E-8. Apostle – St. Paul

Location and condition: On the right side of the eastern window, lower tier. The head is somewhat damaged, and a few minor gaps were restored, otherwise in fine condition.

Description: This figure also faces the viewer. Depicted as a balding apostle with long beard and the features of St. Paul. A long sword held by the right side of his body makes the identification certain. In his left hand he holds an open book, pointing at the top of the page with his right hand. He wears a green tunic and a red mantle with white lining.

Painter: Graphic master

Southeast wall

E-9. Apostle

Location and condition: On the left side of the southeastern window, lower tier. The mantle has slightly been touched up during the restoration.

Description: The figure is turning towards the window, depicted in full profile view. He holds a book in his hands, it is slightly open and he is reading from it. He wears a red tunic, and a dark maroon mantle with green lining. No attribute is visible, but it might have been present in secco.

Painter: Graphic master

E-10. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the southeastern window, the left apostle in the upper tier. The figure is damaged, his feet are missing.

Description: The figure is depicted under the left arch of the double niches forming the upper level of the building here. Above the niches there is a spire, this closes off the structure. The apostle is bearded, and holds a closed book in his hands. He wears a maroon tunic and a yellow mantle, and faces slightly to the right. No attributes are visible, the lower part of the figure is damaged.

Painter: Graphic master?

E-11. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the southeastern window, this is the right apostle in the upper tier. The figure is damaged, especially in the lower part.

Description: In the right side of the double arches. The apostle faces to the left, his right hand is lifted up in a speech gesture. There seems to be a scroll in his left hand, but this area of the picture is damaged. He has a short beard, and wears a maroon tunic and a lighter, rose mantle. No attributes are visible.

Painter: Graphic master?

E-12. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the southeastern window, this is the left figure on the lower level. The figure is badly damaged, only the right edge of it survives, the rest is missing, or visible only in traces of sinopia.

Description: He wears a yellow tunic and a red mantle. His attributes are missing.

Painter: Graphic master

E-13. Apostle

Location and condition: On the right side of the southeastern window, this is the right figure in the lower tier. This figure is badly damaged, what survives is only sinopia, the details are uncertain. His plastic halo and his head are in the best condition, the lower part is completely destroyed.

Description: He appears to have been facing the viewer, and pointing at a book?

Painter: Graphic master?

The window medallions

See the diagrams for the exact locations of the medallions

Northeast window

E-14., Top roundel of the window – The face of Christ

Survives only in sinopia. Frontal face of Christ, the cross is inscribed in the halo.

E-15. Bust of a bearded man, painted by the Naïve master

E-16. Bust of a bearded man, with darkened halo. Three-quarter profile, painted by the Naïve master

E-17. Head of a woman with tied up hair, darkened halo. Frontal view. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-18. Head of a woman with roses in her hair, darkened halo, three-quarter profile and looking outwards. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-19. Head of a woman, with long hair and golden halo. Full profile, looking outwards. Painted by the "Moonface master."

E-20. Head of a woman, with golden halo, facing forward in full frontal view. Painted by the "Moonface master."

E-21. Head of a woman, facing slightly outward, with halo. Painted by the "Moonface master."

E-22. Head of a bearded man, depicted in frontal view, with halo. Painted by the "Moonface master."

Central window

E-23. Medallion on top of the window. Man of Sorrows.

Dead Christ in the coffin, his hands crossed across his chest, his wounds and crown of thorns marked with red. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-24. Bust of the Virgin – hands in prayer, looking up on his dead son. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-25. Bust of St. John the Evangelist – The figure is represented with a book, and he holds his head with his right hand in a gesture of sorrow. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-26. Bust of St. Catherine – Facing outside in three-quarter profile. Represented with a spiky wheel and a palm branch, crown and halo on her head. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-27. Bust of St. Barbara – Facing outside, in three-quarter profile. Represented with a tower in her hand, crown and halo on her head. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-28. Bearded and tonsured male saint in a brownish cloak. Represented with a book and cross in his hands. Painted by the Graphic master.

E-29. Bearded and tonsured male saint in white cloak. Represented with an open book in his hands. Painted by the Graphic master.

Southeast window

E-30. Crown of the window: Bust of the Trinity

Head with three faces (The left side is damaged, the central face has a long white beard, the right face is youthful). Holds a scroll in front of him with the inscription "...trinitas". Painted by the Naïve master.

E-31. Bust of an angel with blue wings, in blue tunic and gold cloak. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-32. Bust of an angel with red wings, in a decorated red cloak. Painted by the Naïve master.

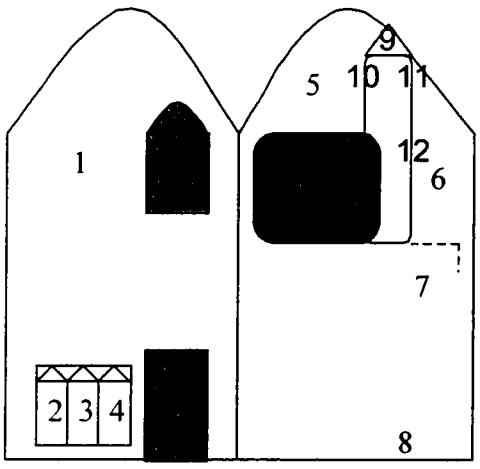
E-33. Bust of a tonsured youthful monk, in gray cloak. Facing outward in three-quarter profile, and holding a red book in his right hand. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-34. Bust of a tonsured youthful monk, in gray cloak. Facing outward in three-quarter profile, holding up a red book in his right hand. Painted by the Naïve master.

E-35. Empty shield. The insignia on the shield was apparently never painted.

E-36. Garai coat of arms on shield. White shield, yellow (golden) snake with orb in its mouth.

SOUTH WALL



Eastern bay

S-1. Coronation of the Virgin

Location and condition: In the upper half of the eastern bay of the south wall. The scene is largely destroyed, only parts of the upper left area survive in good condition. Of the central figures only the underdrawing survives, the lower part of the composition is completely destroyed. Further damage was caused when a window was opened in the wall, destroying the right side of the picture. This has been walled back during the restoration.

Description: Remains of a large composition, once filling the entire upper area of the wall. The composition consisted of a large building, with Mary and Christ in the center, and angels on the sides. The structure of the building is still visible: There were tower-like structures on the sides, with red tile roofs on top. A large baldachin-like structure was in the middle, its top spires and arches are still visible, and so is the bottom platform which serves as a base for the central figures. The central part was topped with two ogee-arches, and a central spire above them. The building was symmetrical. The figures have largely disappeared, the Virgin was on the left, Christ on the right. Their heads are missing, their bodies survive only in underdrawing, but the gesture of Christ – placing the crown on Mary's head – is clearly visible. The angels were under the arches of the side towers, two on the right side is visible, and the head of the upper one is intact. In the front of the picture, originally there must have been groups of saints on either side. On the lower left side, the traces of one halo are still visible in front of the side of the building. The sky in the background is blue, the ornamental frame of the composition survives as well.

Painter: Siklós master.

Sitting niches from the first period – See the catalogue entry for first phase frescoes, F-8-10.

Western bay

S-5. Unidentified fragment

Location and condition: Only isolated fragments remain on this wall.

Description: The following elements can be identified: The upper left corner of a building, with spire on top – similar to the building of the double apostles, perhaps there were figures under arches as well. An unusual wavy object (cloud?) appears at the top, and most of the ornamental frame survives on the left side. A large oratory window damaged the frescoes here, this is now walled up.

Painter:

S-6. St. John the Baptist

Location and condition: On the right side of the window on this wall. The figure is damaged, but still recognizable

Description: Large standing figure under an arch. The figure is quite damaged, but its main characteristics can be identified. He is a bearded, barefoot man, dressed in a hair-shirt. In his left, he holds what appears to be a lamb, and points at it with his right hand. No inscriptions are visible today.

Painter: Graphic master.

S-7. Fragmentary scene – Death of the Virgin?

Location and condition: Under the window on the western bay of the southern wall. This scene almost completely disappeared, only the upper right corner of the frame survives intact.

Description: The background was blue. In the upper right corner, the halo of a figure is visible. Some other small fragments of the composition survive, including a figure lying on a bier (detail of head), and another one standing next to it. Perhaps the scene represented the death of the Virgin, or other death scene.

Painter:

S-8. Painted benches

The south window medallions:

S-9. Device of the Order of the Dragon

Round dragon in top of the window

S-10. Shield with coat of arms

Unidentified, fragmentary coat of arms

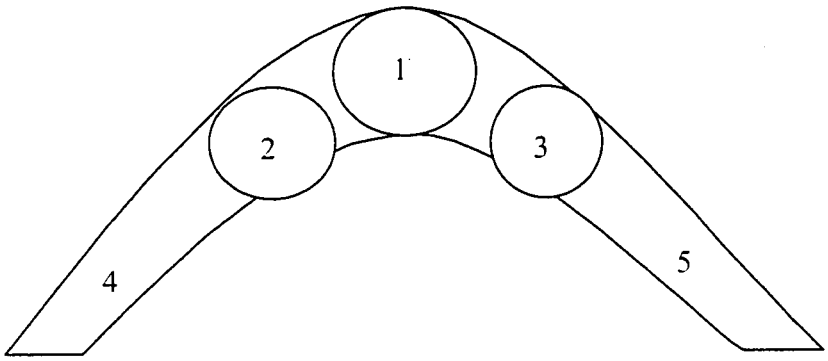
S-11. Shield with coat of arms – Hungarian Anjou

Arpadian lines and Anjou lilies. – The coat of arms of Hungary

S-12. Shield with coat of arms

?

WESTERN WALL OF TRIUMPHAL ARCH



W-1 – 3. Traditio Legis

Location and condition: This scene is depicted on the inner face of the triumphal arch. The three main characters are each enclosed in medallions. The bottom part of the figures got damaged when the triumphal arch was reconstructed in a round form. All figures were hacked with hammers before new plaster was applied over them. These holes have been repaired during the restoration.

Description:

W-1. Christ

Christ is in the center of triumphal arch, depicted in a great roundel. His head is destroyed, but most of his body is intact. The upper part of his halo (with fragments of the inscribed cross) and flames behind his head survive on the right side. Christ wears a maroon tunic, and a light coat. He stretches out his arms, handing keys to Peter on his right, and a book to Paul on his left. The book is red, and closed with clasps.

W-2. St. Peter

Peter is also depicted in a roundel, the bottom of which is destroyed by the new arch of the triumphal arch. He turns towards Christ, and reaches out his hands to receive the keys. He is bald, with a short beard, wearing a light tunic and a yellow coat.

W-3. St. Paul

Paul is also in a roundel, the bottom is destroyed. He turns towards Christ, there is an upright sword in his right hand, and opens his left palm to receive the book. He wears a yellow tunic, which is only visible at his neck, otherwise his whole body is enveloped in a red cloak.

Painter: Siklós master

4. Mary Magdalene

Location and condition: Depicted in the lower left side of the triumphal arch. Partly restored.

Description: The figure is inside a rocky cave, praying turning towards the central figures. Her body is enveloped in her hair.

Painter: Siklós master

5. St. Mary of Egypt

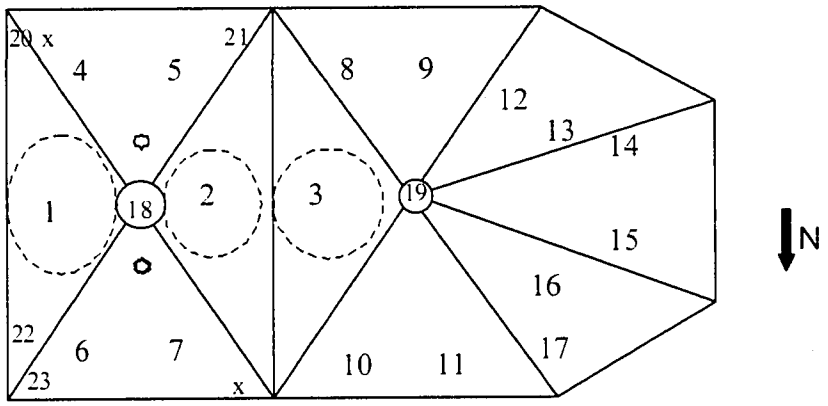
Location and condition: Depicted in the lower right side of the triumphal arch.

Description: The figure is inside a rocky cave, praying turning towards the central figures. Her body is enveloped in her hair or a hair shirt – the figure is damaged.

Painter: Siklós master

VAULT

Outline of the vault with indication of frescoes



The central axis of the vault

V-1. St. Anne with Mary and Jesus (St. Anne: July 26)

Location and condition: The whole composition filled the western longitudinal web of the first bay, the main figures are depicted inside a medallion in the center of the field. The diameter of the medallion is about two meters. The fresco is greatly damaged, only the two side corners and the center of the composition survives. Luckily the main figures survived almost intact. Smaller missing areas, especially the frame on the left side, were restored, otherwise the picture is largely as it was found, although touched up.

Description: The six-lobed center medallion was once held by two angels. The feet of the angels rest on coats of arms placed in the corners; their bodies were destroyed. The angels were dressed in yellow garments, the tip of the wing of the left one also survives. The coat of arms on the right side is that of the Garai family, the one on the

left is damaged and unidentified, but most likely the Cilli arms. The six-lobed medallion itself is also damaged, but the figures in the center of it survive fairly intact. The large figure of St. Anne, dressed in a large ochre-red mantle, holds the smaller figures of the Virgin and Child in the center. St. Anne embraces them, holding the Child with her right, and the mother with her left arm. The Virgin and Child embrace each other, Mary supports the feet of Jesus with her left arm, and their faces touch as they kiss each other.

Technical notes: The figures all have plastic haloes. Giornata is not indicated on the drawing. Painted by the Siklós master.

V-2. Virgin and Child

Location and condition: In the eastern longitudinal web of the first bay, the composition once filled the entire triangular space, a medallion in the center contained the chief figures. The figures are largely destroyed. Originally there were cherubs on either side, holding the medallion, of these only fragments (wings) remain. The central six-lobed medallion is badly damaged, and so is the figure of the Virgin. The figure of Jesus is largely intact, although the top paint surface is missing. The paint surface has been touched up during the restoration.

Description: A cherub on either side supported the six-lobed medallion that held the main figures. The wings of the angels survive in parts. There are no coats of arms in this section. The Virgin, cloaked in yellow, holds the child in front of herself, supporting him with her hands on both sides. The child stands upright, in a red robe, and holds his right hand up in a blessing. His other hand is folded across his chest, above his mother's hand. He has light, curly hair.

Technical notes: Painted by the Siklós master.

V-3. Christ in Majesty (Rev. 4,1...)

Location and condition: In the longitudinal web of the eastern bay of the vault there was a medallion in the center held by two angels. The medallion itself is destroyed, parts of

the two angels survive, although the right hand and wing of the southern angel is restored.

Description: Two angels held up the round medallion, supporting it with both hands. The medallion was round, with no quatrefoil inscribed in it. Its red background survives, with flames or rays. The figure of Christ was oriented differently than the figures in the other two medallions, his head was facing west, thus oriented the same way as the central Garai shield on the keystone. The figure is almost completely destroyed, with only a small portion of bottom of blue cloak surviving at the bottom. Christ held a book, the square bottom of this also survives.

Technical notes: The angel is a separate daily unit, painted after the ornament. Painted by the Siklós master.

Church fathers

These figures were placed in the lateral webs of the western bay of the vault. Within each web, there are two medallions on either side of the lateral ridge, with half-figures within them, meeting at their heads. The lateral webs have blue backgrounds, the sun is depicted on the north side and the moon on the west. The background of the medallions is dark maroon.

V-4. St. Gregory (died 604, feast day

Inscription: Lost

Location and condition: Within a six-lobed medallion in western side of the southern lateral web. A coat of arms is visible in the corner below the medallion. The figure is almost completely destroyed, restoration was not attempted.

Description: Of the figure, only the tip of his hat, and his right elbow survives, with his hand resting on a book. The pointed hat can be identified as the tip of a papal tiara, hence the identification with Gregory, the only pope of the Church Fathers. The coat of arms is unidentified.

Painter:

V-5. St. Jerome (died 420, feast day:)

Inscription: 'Heronimvs' – on the left side of the head.

Location and condition: In the eastern section of the southern lateral bay of the first bay. The lower right area of the composition is missing, but the figure survived. Small missing areas were retouched during the restoration.

Description: Jerome can clearly be identified with the help of his clothing, and the inscription. Jerome is dressed in a red cardinal's dress, with the accompanying hat. His bearded face turns to left, he is examining his quill held in his right hand. His left hand rests on the desk in front of him, a scroll hangs from the desk.

Painter: Graphic master

V-6. St. Ambrose (died 397, feast day: Dec. 7)

Inscription: '[Am]brosius' – on the left side of the head.

Location and condition: In the western half of the northern lateral web of the first bay, the figure is inside a six-lobed medallion. Coat of arms below the medallion, with the Cilli arms. The head and lower part of the figure survives, the rest is largely destroyed.

Description: The figure can be identified with the help of the inscription. Surviving areas include the face and the writing stand, with scroll. His head turns slightly to the left, it is covered by a hood of some sort.

Painter: Graphic master?

V-7. St. Augustine (died 430, feast day: Aug 28.)

Inscription: Lost.

Location and condition: In the eastern half of the northern lateral web of the first bay, the figure is inside a six-lobed medallion. Destroyed, with the exception of small fragments from the head.

Description: Only the top part of the medallion and the figure survives, and that area is damaged as well. A bishop's miter and the upper part of the face can be seen. There is a small cherub on the right side of his head.

Painter: Graphic master?

Symbols of the Evangelists

These four figures are located in the lateral webs of the eastern bay of the sanctuary. The figures are inside painted medallions, these are located on either side of the lateral ridges of the webs. The medallions are in front of dark blue background, inside them the background is dark red. In essence these figure belong to the image of the Majestic Christ, together forming the traditional image of the Maiestas Domini, but the structure of the vault made a rearrangement of this composition necessary, and the Evangelists seem to surround the Garai coat of arms on the keystone, and not the medallion of Christ.

V-8. Matthew the Evangelist in the figure of a man

Inscription: Lost – the left edge of his scroll is visible, but nothing survives of the text.

Location and condition: The figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion in the western side of the southern lateral web. The lower side of the figure, together with the corresponding area of the frame is destroyed.

Description: The figure turns to the right with his youthful head, and blonde, curly hair. He wears a green dress, fragments of the wings are also visible, but the bottom part of the figure is destroyed. The cloak continues behind the arches of the frame as well.

Painter: Siklós master

V-9. Mark the Evangelist in the figure of a lion

Inscription: On the scroll: 'ma[rcus: vox clamantis] i(n) d(e)serto p(ar)ate via(m) d(omi)ni' = Mark 1.3

Location and condition: The figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion in the eastern side of the southern lateral web. Only an area in the left center and the bottom right is missing. The center left area, with the lion's hand has been restored, following the other side (and probably incorrectly.)

Description: The figure of the winged lion representing Mark survives almost intact. The powerful figure of the lion-headed bust is dressed in a red cloak, its maw is slightly open. He is depicted with wings and a halo, and holds a scroll in front of him.

Painter: Siklós master

V-10. Luke the Evangelist in the figure of an ox.

Inscription: On the scroll: 's(anctus) lucas: beat(us) ven(ter) qui te [portavit]' = Luke 11.27

Location and condition: The figure is inside a six-lobed medallion in the western side of the northern lateral web. The bottom part is destroyed, but the figure survives almost intact. Only minor damage has been retouched.

Description: The ox turns his head to the left, he is cloaked in a large greenish mantel, has two wings and a halo. Holds a scroll. His mouth is partially open.

Painter: Siklós master

V-11. John the Evangelist in the figure of an eagle

Inscription: Lost.

Location and condition: The figure is inside a six-lobed medallion in the eastern side of the northern lateral web. Largely destroyed, only the upper right area survives.

Description: Most of the figure is destroyed, only the head of the eagle and the corner of the scroll survives. Also visible is part of the wing.

Painter: Siklós master

Prophets and Old Testament Kings

Six figures are depicted inside medallions in the three eastern webs of the vault. There are two medallions in each web, the figures again meet at the top.

V-12. Prophet

Inscription: Lost.

Location and condition: On the south side of the southeast lateral web, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. Large areas of the figure destroyed, only part of the head survives.

Description: Only part of the face and halo survive, head turned to the right.

Painter: Siklós master?

V-13. Jeremiah

Inscription: 'Jer[emias]'

Location and condition: On the north side of the southeast lateral web, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. The image is largely destroyed.

Description: The beginning of his scroll survives, and small areas of his head. One of the four greater prophets.

Painter: Siklós master?

V-14. King Solomon

Inscription: On the scroll: 'Rex Salomon. Huius / sapie(n)cia / a domine /deo d...'

Location and condition: On the south side of the eastern web of the vault, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. The figure survives in quite good condition, only the bottom is damaged. This area has been restored.

Description: He holds his wide scroll upright in his left hand, pointing at the text with his right. Represented as a youthful man.

Painter: Siklós master

V-15. King David

Inscription:

Location and condition: On the north side of the eastern web of the vault, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. The face and lower part of the body survive.

Description: He is represented as an older man, with a beard. He is playing his lyre.

Painter: Siklós master

V-16. Daniel

Inscription: On the scroll: 'daniel Innocente(m) et justum non int(er)ficies' = Daniel 13.53

Location and condition: On the south side of the northeastern web of the vault, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. The frame is somewhat damaged and restored on the right side. The figure survives intact.

Description: Represented as a young, in a green Phrygian hat. Turns slightly to the right, is dressed in a large cloak, and holds his scroll in front of him. One of the four greater prophets.

Painter: Siklós master

V-17. Zechariah

Inscription: On the scroll: 'Zacharias: loq(uim)ini veritate(m) unvs(q)u(i)sq(ue) cu(m) p(ro)x(i)mo svo' = Zechariah 8.16

Location and condition: On the north side of the northeastern web of the vault, the figure is inside a quatrefoil medallion. The frame is somewhat damaged on the left. The figure survives almost intact.

Description: Represented as an old man with a long beard, balding in the center of his head. Dressed in a large yellow cloak, which covers even his left hand, but not his right. He holds a long scroll in his hands, and turns slightly to the left.

Painter: Siklós master

V-18. Keystone missing

V-19. Keystone – Garai coat of arms

V-20. Coat of arms with red band – Cilli family?

V-21. Coat of arms with red band – Cilli family?

V-22. Garai coat of arms

V-23. Coat of arm with red band – Cilli family

V-x. Missing shields? – Potentially even more

APPENDIX B. – LIST OF VISUAL SOURCES

1. Historical views of Siklós

-King Sigismund is locked up in the castle of Siklós, 1401 – Miniature in the Windecke chronicle (Eberhard von Windeck: Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Kaiser Sigismunds), c. 1450. Vienna, ÖNB Cod. 13975, fol. 69v.

Siklós is represented as a simple tower. Reproduction in *Történelem-Kép*, 305, fig. 8.

-The occupation of Siklós by the Ottomans in 1543 – Turkish miniature from 1575

Tabakat el-memalik ve derecat el-mesalik, ÖNB, Osm. Hist 41, p. 248b Reproduction in Fehér, Géza, *A magyar történelem oszmán-török ábrázolásokban* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1982), 189, ill. 49.

-The siege of Siklós in 1686. Italian print with the inscription "Sicklos ó Sockilos." This fairly large print is one of four similar depictions placed on a large sheet. Titled "Teatro della guerra contro il turco... 1687," it chronicles the battles of reconquest in Hungary. The print shows the castle, and the lower town in front of it, but its details are fantastic. MNM TKCS 12.807

-Siklós in 1686. This small print comes in two versions: once showing just the castle, and once depicting the siege of Siklós. The second version is part of a flyer announcing the liberation of Hungary (Abbildung der glückliche Eroberung...Simontornya, Fünfkirchen, und Siklós, 1687, Wien). MNM TKCS T.6317 and T.6384.

-The reconquest of Siklós. Prints similar to the previous one often appear in the corners of larger prints celebrating the capture of Buda in 1686. An example is Sebastian Le Clerc, *Le Siege de Bude;* MNM TKCS 71.192, 12.744

-1687, July 13. – The troops of the Prince of Bavaria at Siklós. This drawing shows the layout of the camp in front of Siklós (L'Accampamento del di 13 di Luglio).

-1688 – Joseph Haüy drawings. Two plans of the castle hill of Siklós, and a cross section of the fortifications. One plan also includes the Augustinian church, and is a very important source of information regarding the layout of buildings of the castle hill. Karlsruhe, GLA Hfk. XIV.47 (1424), GLA Hfk. VIII. 23 (1425), GLA Hfk. XIV. 28 (1426). Copy of a plan at KÖH Photo Collection, 42.397

On the Haüy drawings, see: Glaser Lajos, *A karlsruhei gyűjtemények magyar vonatkozású térképanyaga (Ungarn betrefende Karten und Pläne der Karlsruher Sammlungen)* (Budapest, 1933), no. 90, 245, 258; Kisari Balla György, *Karlsruhei térképek a török háborúk korából – Kriegskarten und Pläne aus der Türkenzeit in der Karlsruher Sammlungen* (Budapest, 2001), No. 87, 241, 252, pp. 87-88, 160-161, 169-170, 346, 500, 511.

-View of the castle hill of Siklós in the 1820s. A print of Lehnhardt, based on the drawing of Strázsay. The print shows the castle as well as the western façade of the Franciscan church, together with the friary and the tower. Published in *Tudományos Gyűjtemény,* 1823. MNM TKCS T.6318

-View of the castle hill of Siklós in the 1850s. Print by Rohbock, published in 1856. Copy: KÖH Photo Collection, 42.639

2. Survey drawings and archival photos of the Augustinian church

-A set of drawings documenting the Siklós church, 1930s? KÖH Plan Archives, 6371-6378, KÖH Photo Collection, 106.167-106.171. The set includes exterior views of the church, and sheet with the plan and sections of the church, as well as interior details from the sanctuary.

-Plan of the building complex, 1975 – KÖH Plan Archives, 61933

-Archaeological documentation of the excavation of the monastery buildings, with a layout sketch of the entire site. The set is by archaeologist Mária Sándor. KÖH Plan Archives 49250-49275

-Further archaeological drawings of the monastery wing. KÖH Plan Archives 52359-52360.

-Archaeological survey drawing of the sanctuary of the church, 1988. By Mária Sándor. KÖH Plan Archives 25655

-Plan for the restoration of the monastic buildings. Ilona Kremicsán, KÖH Plan Archives, 45076.

-Documentation of the research of the west façade of the church in 1984. Includes drawings of the western façade and the windows found there, as well as photographs. KÖH Plan Archives 25541.

-Church interior before the uncovering of the frescoes. KÖH Photo Collection, 56.641.

-Interior of sanctuary before the uncovering of frescoes. KÖH Photo Collection, 120406.

3. The discovery and restoration of the frescoes

-51 b/w photos of the uncovering of frescoes behind the altar, 1985-86. KÖH Plan Archives, 21071.

-Photogrammetrical survey of the walls and frescoes of the sanctuary, 1992. Team lead by József Vajda. The set includes 1:20 drawings of the walls, 1:10 drawings of individual medallions on the vault. KÖH Plan Archives, 28188.

-Full photo documentation of the frescoes after their cleaning, 1992. Carried out in connection with the photogrammetrical survey, photos taken by József Vajda. KÖH Plan Archives, 28189.

-Full photo documentation of the restoration. Includes three sets of photos, showing the frescoes after uncovering, after cleaning, and after restoration. Compiled by Péter Boromisza, in the property of Art 4 Restoration company.

APPENDIX C. – LIST OF AUGUSTINIAN PRIORIES IN HUNGARY

Apart from the Augustinian canons – and more specifically their branch known as *canonici superpelliciati* – a number of other kinds of regular canons were also present in Hungary. The most important of these were the regular canons of the Holy Sepulcher (*Ordo Canonicum Regularium Sancti Sepulchri Dominici*). Founded in Jerusalem, and regulated in 1114, the order quickly spread in western Europe. They appeared in Hungary during the late twelfth century, and received significant property in Slavonia and Croatia. Later they also settled in northern Hungary, arriving from neighboring Poland. The Hungarian houses formed a common province with Poland, under the supervision of the priory of Miechów. Throughout the Middle Ages, they only had about five houses in the entire Kingdom of Hungary, with two of them, Glogonca and Landek existing throughout the Middle Ages.[639] Also present in Hungary were a number of Hospitaller canonial orders, which were established at the time of Crusades. Their houses are often only mentioned as 'belonging to canons,' so their convents have often been confused with the Augustinian canons. Of these, mention should be made here of the Antonine order (Hospitalarii S. Antonii), and the Stephanites, the former founded in France, and having priories at Daróc and in Pozsony[640]. The Stephanites (*Cruciferi Sancti Stephani Regis*)

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[639] Glogonca (Glogovnica, Croatia), founded before 1207; Landek (Lendak, Slovakia), founded in 1313, with its Late Gothic church still standing today; Marchia (southern Hungary, uncertain location), founded before 1207; Novák (Nováki, Croatia); Szentistván (?); Tenyő (?). In 1489, the order merged with the Johannites. On the order and its Hungarian houses, with summaries of documents, see Kurecskó, Mihály – Stossek, Balázs, "A Szent Sír Kanonokrend története Magyarországon," [The history of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher in Hungary], *Capitulum I. – Tanulmányok a középkori magyar egyház történetéből*, Ed. Koszta, László (Szeged, 1998), 83-128.

[640] *KMTL*, 51.

originated in Hungary, and their house at Esztergom-Szentkirály was founded between 1150-1160.[641] These orders played a relatively small role in Hungary and many of their houses disappeared by the fifteenth century. It is nevertheless important to mention them, especially because many of their houses were mistaken for those of the Augustinian canons. The history of these other orders has only been clarified by research in the last decade.[642]

The following list contains seventeen Augustinian priories with the most important information about them. In my opinion, the identification of other Augustinian houses is not convincing. In the list in *Röhrig 1994*, there are some clear mistakes, for example Pécs (where Augustinian hermits existed, and if "canons" are mentioned, they must belong to the cathedral chapter), or Székesfehérvár, an important collegiate chapter (but not Augustinian). Develich, listed by *Pázmány* and taken over by *Röhrig 1994*, can not be identified, and I found no primary sources about it. At Titel (listed by *Röhrig 1994*) and Felsőörs (listed by *Romhányi 2000*) only collegiate chapters can be demonstrated. In the case of Bő (Somogy County, diocese of Veszprém), it is uncertain whether it was a collegiate chapter or an Augustinian priory. It was founded bounded before 1257.[643]

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[641] Boroviczény, Károly-György, "Cruciferi Sancti Regis Stephani. Tanulmány a stefaniták, egy középkori magyar ispotályos rend történetéről," *Orvostörténeti Közlemények*, 133-34 (1991-92), 7-48; *KMTL*, 610.

[642] In Hungary, two more orders followed the rule of St. Augustine: the Augustinian hermits and the Pauline order, see *KMTL* 32, 524, with references. It is not uncommon to mix the Augustinian canons with the Augustinian hermits, and often with Collegiate chapters as well. The hermits appeared in Hungary in 1262, with the foundation of their Esztergom house. In 1266, according to the Bull of Clement IV, they incorporated the three Vilhemite houses as well, see Mályusz, Elemér, "Az Ágostonrend a középkori Magyarországon," *Egyháztörténet* I. (1943), 427-440.

[643] *KMTL* 31; *Romhányi 2000*, 15.

Securely identified Augustinian priories in Hungary

1. Apor, Tolna County, diocese of Pécs (today: Aparhant)

First mentioned in 1314, dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Built on the property of the Apor clan. In 1332-1337, the prior here was the provincial of the order. Its building can be identified with the present-day parish church of Aparhant, which has a polygonal sanctuary built in the early fifteenth century. The church was rebuilt in the 18th century.

Bibliography: *Csánki* III. 414, *Romhányi 2000*, 9.

2. Dénesmonostor, Zaránd County, bishopric of Eger, today in Romania, location uncertain

Founded before 1199, its church was dedicated to the Holy Spirit. Prior Belus is mentioned in 1199. In 1294, it was under the patronage of Gergely, son of Apa of the Becsegergely clan.

Bibliography: *Csánki* I. 729, *Romhányi 2000*, 20.

3. Derzs, Bács County, bishopric of Kalocsa, located where today Selenča, Serbia, is located

Benedictine abbey founded before 1192, dedicated to the Savior. Destroyed during the Mongol invasion (1241-42), resettled by Augustinian canons before 1255.

Bibliography: *Györffy* I. 217; *Csánki* II. 136; *Romhányi 2000*, 21.

4. Horpács, Sorpon County, diocese of Győr, today Sopronhorpács

Founded before 1295, dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul. Most likely identical with the foundation of the András Agyagos of the Osl clan in 1222-1223. Its first canons came from Herzogenburg, Austria.

Bibliography: *CDH* VII/2 183-184; *Urkundenbuch des aufgehobenen Chorherrenstiftes Sanct Pölten.* Bearb. J. Lampel, Niederösterreichisches Urkundenbuch I.1. Vienna, 1891, 160, 183-184; Némethy Lajos, "A márcfalvi prépostság," *Sz* 34 (1900), 435-

445; Stessel József, "A márczi prépostság és a horpácsi monostor," *Sz* 35 (1901), 146-153; Bazsó Gábor, *Lapidarium Hungaricum 3. Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye I. Sopronhorpács, plébániatemplom*, Budapest: OMvH, 1995; *Romhányi 2000*, 31.

5. Illésvölgy (Ellyevölgy), Somogy County, diocese of Veszprém, today in the area of Bárdudvarnok.

Dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In 1400 Pope Boniface IX appoints Ferenc of the Siklós Augustinians as prior of the priory. Known as *Vallis Eliae* in Latin.

Bibliography: Mon Vat I/4, 183-184.; *Zs.O.* II/1 154; *Romhányi 2000*, 23.

6. Keresztúr, Baranya County, diocese of Pécs, today near Nagytótfalu?

Founded before 1280 by the Siklósi family of the Kán clan. It was first mentioned when its prior complained about the foundation of the Pauline hermitage of Bajcs next to it (1280).

Bibliography: *Györffy* I. 325-326; *Csánki* II. 527; *Hervay 1991*, 45; *Romhányi 2000,* 36.

7. Kő (Bánmonostor), Szerém County, diocese of Kalocsa, today Banoštor, JUG

Benedictine abbey, founded between 1142-1163. Given over to the Canons of the Valley of Hebron by archbishop András of Kalocsa (1176-1186), but they also left by 1198. It is not sure that the Augustinians took it over. The town became the seat of the bishopric of Szerém in 1229, and the buildings were taken over by the cathedral chapter.

Bibliography: *Csánki* II. 234-235; *KMTL* 79; *Romhányi 2000,* 10.

8. Lulla (Szentlászló), Somogy County, diocese of Veszprém, today Szentlászló in the area of Ságvár

Founded between 1192-1199, dedicated to St. Ladislas.

Bibliography: *Csánki* II. 645; *KMTL* 31; *Romhányi 2000*, 42.

9. Munkád, Baranya County, diocese of Pécs, located between Pécs and the hill Meszes

Founded before 1333, dedicated to St. James Major. Mentioned in the papal tithe lists, in 1334, "Stephanus prior de ordine superpelliciatorum supra Munkad solvit XXX. banales" *MonVat* I/1, 286.

Bibliography: *Györffy* I. 344; *Csánki* II. 509; *Hervay 1991,* 46; *Romhányi 2000,* 45.

10. Pápóc, Vas County, diocese of Győr

Founded by Margit Gersei, widow of Pál Magyar in 1359. However, there is some confusion about the foundation, as some believe that this was a collegiate chapter, and at the same time a monastery was also founded for the Augustinian hermits (*Romhányi 2000,* 50). The site was excavated in the 1970s, but more research is needed for the clarification of the history.

Bibliography: *Csánki* II. 726-727; *KMTL,* 532; *Romhányi 2000,* 50.

11. Siklós, Baranya County, diocese of Pécs

Founded before 1333 by the Siklósi family of Kán clan, dedicated to St. Anne.

Bibliography: *Györffy* I. 378-379, *Hervay 1991,* 46; *Romhányi 2000,* 58.

12. Solymos, Arad County, diocese of Csanád, Soimus near the town of Lippa, Rom.

Founded by ban Pál before 1278.

Bibliography: *Györffy* I. 184-185; Jakó Zsigmond, ed. *Erdélyi okmánytár* I. (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1997), 364; *Romhányi 2000,* 58.

13. Szentgyörgy, Baranya, later Kőrös County, diocese of Pécs, Sveti Đurađ, Croatia

Founded before 1333, perhaps by the Pekri family of Tétény clan. Dedicated to St. George.

Bibliography: *Györffy* I, 386; *Hervay 1991,* 40; *Romhányi 2000,* 62.

14. Től, Tolna County, diocese of Pécs, located near the village of Gyulaj

Mentioned in 1332-1333 in the papal tithe lists.

Bibliography: *MonVat* I/1.; *Csánki* III. 455, *KMTL* 31; *Romhányi 2000,* 69.

15. Ürög (Ireg), Baranya County, diocese of Pécs, located in the western section of today's Pécs.

Founded before 1218, dedicated to the Virgin. Destroyed during the Mongol invasion, but rebuilt.

Bibliography: *Csánki* II. 492; *Györffy* I. 399-401; *Hervay 1991,* 45; *Romhányi 2000,* 70.

16. Vágújhely, Nyitra County, bishopric of Esztergom, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Slovakia

Founded in 1414 by Stibor of Stiboric I, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Completed by 1423.

Bibliography: Némethy, Lajos, *Series parochiarum et parochorum....* Strigonii, 1894, 303; *Romhányi 2000,* 71.

17. Vaska, Kőrös or Verőce County? diocese of Zagreb, Vaška, Croatia

Founded in the thirteenth century, dedicated to St. Martin. In 1465-66, Mátyás was the prior (DL. 35114, 35116, 35118)

Bibliography: *KMTL* 31, *Romhányi 2000*, 72.

APPENDIX D. – CONCORDANCE OF PLACE NAMES

Throughout the dissertation, placenames from the medieval kingdom of Hungary were given in their Hungarian form. This table gives the current names of the places located outside the present borders of Hungary, including the countries where they are located. Also given are the historical counties, as well as in some cases the German form of the placenames.

Hungarian name	**Present name**	**Historic County**	**Present country**
Almakerék	Malâncrav (Germ.: Malmkorg)	Nagy-Küküllő	Romania
Bántornya	Turnišče	Zala	Slovenia
Barcaszentpéter	Sânpetru	Brassó	Romania
Beckó	Beckov	Trencsén	Slovakia
Bény	Bina	Esztergom	Slovakia
Beszterce	Bistriţa (Germ.: Bistritz)	Beszterce	Romania
Brassó	Braşov (Germ.: Kronstadt)	Brassó	Romania
Csáktornya	Čakovec	Zala	Croatia
Csejte	Čachtice	Nyitra	Slovakia
Cserög	Čerog	Szerém	Croatia
Csetnek	Štitník	Gömör	Slovakia
Dévény	Devín	Pozsony	Slovakia
Diakó	Djakovo	Valkó	Croatia
Gara	Gorjan	Valkó	Croatia
Garamszentbenedek	Hronský Beňadik	Bars	Slovakia
Gecelfalva	Kocelovce	Gömör	Slovakia
Gelence	Ghelinţa	Háromszék	Romania
Gerény	Gorjani	Ung	Ukraine
Gömörrákos	Rakos	Gömör	Slovakia

Hizsnyó	Chyžné	Gömör	Slovakia
Kakaslomnic	Veľka Lomnica (Germ: Gross-Lomnitz)	Szepes	Slovakia
Karaszkó	Kraskovo	Gömör	Slovakia
Kassa	Košice (Germ.: Kaschau)	Abaúj	Slovakia
Kiete	Kyjatice	Gömör	Slovakia
Kismarton	Eisenstadt	Sopron	Austria
Kolozsvár	Cluj (Germ.: Klausenburg)	Kolozs	Romania
Lőcse	Levoča	Szepes	Slovakia
Magyarszovát	Suatu	Kolozs	Romania
Márcfalva	Marz	Sopron	Austria
Marosszentanna	Sintana de Mures	Maros	Romania
Mártonhely	Martjanci	Vas	Slovenia
Medgyes	Mediaş (Germ.: Mediasch)	Nagy-Küküllő	Romania
Muraszombat	Murska Sobota	Vas	Slovenia
Nagyszombat	Trnava (Germ.: Tyrnau)	Pozsony	Slovakia
Nagytótlak	Selo	Vas	Slovenia
Nekcse	Našice	Baranya	Croatia
Ochtina	Ochtina	Gömör	Slovakia
Pelsőc	Plešivec	Gömör	Slovakia
Petőszinye	Svinica	Abaúj	Slovakia
Pónik	Poniky	Szepes	Slovakia
Pozsega	Slavonska Požega	Pozsega	Croatia
Pozsony	Bratislava (Germ.: Pressburg)	Pozsony	Slovakia
Rimabánya	Rimavská Baňa	Gömör	Slovakia
Rimabrézó	Rimavské Brezovo	Gömör	Slovakia
Rohonc	Rechnitz	Vas	Austria
Szászhermány	Hărman	Brassó	Romania
Százd	Sazdice	Hont	Slovakia
Székelyderzs	Dârjiu	Udvarhely	Romania
Szepeshely	Spišská Kapitula	Szepes	Slovakia

Sztrigó	Štrigova	Zala	Slovenia
Temesvár	Timisoara (Germ.: Temeschwar)	Temes	Romania
Újlak	Ilok	Szerém	Croatia
Ungvár	Uzsgorod	Ung	Ukraine
Vágújhely	Nové Mesto nad Váhom	Nyitra	Slovakia
Várad (Nagyvárad)	Oradea (Germ.: Grosswardein)	Bihar	Romania
Zólyom	Zvolen (Germ.: Altsohl)	Zólyom	Slovakia
Zsegra	Žehra	Szepes	Slovakia
Zseliz	Želiezovce	Bars	Slovakia

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If there is a detailed summary in a western language, title of that is given in parentheses. If there is no summary, the title is translated in brackets. Most important journals and institutions are abbreviated, see list below.

INSTITUTIONS

BTM	Budapesti Történeti Múzeum [Budapest History Museum]
MNG	Magyar Nemzeti Galéria [Hungarian National Gallery], Budapest, opened in 1957, the collection was formerly part of the Museum of Fine Arts
MNM	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum [Hungarian National Museum], Budapest
MOB	Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága [Hungarian Committee of Historical Monuments], Budapest, between 1881 and 1949
MTA	Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], Budapest
MTA MKI	MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Intézet [Art History Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy], Budapest
KÖH	Kulturális Örökségvédelmi Hivatal [Cultural Heritage Office], Budapest, between 1957-1992 called Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség, between 1992-2000 called Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal
OL	Magyar Országos Levéltár [Hungarian National Archives], Budapest
OL Dl.	Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatikai Levéltár, Mohács előtti gyűjtemény (Collection of charters dating from before Mohács)
OL Df.	Hungarian National Archives, Diplomatikai fényképgyűjtemény
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
OSZK	Országos Széchényi Könyvtár [Széchényi National Library], Budapest
SZMM	Szépművészeti Múzeum [Museum of Fine Arts], Budapest

PERIODICALS AND SERIES

AÉ	*Archaeologiai Értesítő* [Archaeological Review], Pest-Budapest 1869-
AB	*Art Bulletin*, New York
AH	*Ars Hungarica*, Budapest 1973-
AHA	*Acta Historia Artium Academiae Scientiarium Hungaricae*, Budapest 1953-

ÉÉT *Építés, Építészettudomány (earlier Építés- és Közlekedéstudományi Közlemények)*, Budapest, 1958-

LAHU *Lapidarium Hungaricum – Magyarország építészeti töredékeinek gyűjteménye* (Catalogue of Architectural Fragments from Hungary), ed. Horler, Miklós, Budapest, 1988- (1-5)

MÉ *Művészettörténeti Értesitő* [Art Historical Review], Budapest 1952-

MMV *Magyar Műemlékvédelem*, Budapest (irregular series)

MvSZ *Műemlékvédelmi Szemle* [Review of Monument Protection], Budapest 1992-

ÖZKD *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, Wien

Sz *Századok*. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat folyóirata. 1867-

WJbKg *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Wien

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Art and Patronage in Medieval Hungary –

The Frescoes of the Augustinian Church at Siklós

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Volume II. – Illustrations

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Fig. 1. Map of medieval Hungary with neighboring regions

Fig. 2. Map of the area of Siklós, with religious institutions marked

Fig. 3. Map of Hungary with Augustinian canons marked (after *Romhányi 2000*)

Fig. 4. Map of the castle hill of Siklós (Based on Haüy survey)

Fig. 5. Windecke – View of Siklós (Wien, ÖNB, after *Történelem-Kép*)

Fig. 6. The siege of Siklós in 1543 – Turkish miniature (*Fehér 1982*)

Fig. 7. The recapture of Siklós in 1686 (after *Gerő 1958*)

Fig. 8. Haüy plans, Karlsruhe (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 9. View of Siklós. By Strázsay, 1823 (from *Tudományos Gyűjtemény*, 1823)

Fig. 10. View of Siklós. By Rohbock, 1856 (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 11. Siklós, Plan and section of the Augustinian church (KÖH, Plan Archives)

Fig. 12. Exterior survey drawings of the church (KÖH, Plan Archives)

Fig. 13. View of the church from the east (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 14. View of the church from the west

Fig. 15. View inside the sanctuary before restoration (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 16. Excavation plan (KÖH, Plan archives, Mária Sándor)

Fig. 17. Drawing of corbels (KÖH, Plan Archives)

Fig. 18. A corbel (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 19. A corbel at the time of discovery (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 20. South window during restoration (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 21. Garai keystone (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 22. Wall niches on the south side, with St. Lawrence, St. Augustine, and St. Stephen (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 23. St. Augustine on the south wall (S-3)

Fig. 24. St. Stephen on the south wall (S-3)

Fig. 25. Fragment of a consecration cross, with ornament from second layer (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 26. Overlapping layers of frescoes on the north wall

Fig. 27. Devil from the Crucifixion, first phase

Fig. 28. Sinopia detail of a group of figures, first phase (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 29. Glimpse into the sanctuary towards east

Fig. 30. Glimpse towards the triumphal arch

Fig. 31. Drawing of frescoes on the north wall (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 32. Drawing of frescoes on the eastern walls (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 33. Drawing of frescoes on the south wall (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 34. Rocky landscape in the background of a destroyed scene (Nativity?)

Fig. 35. Fragments of a figure from the left side of a destroyed scene (Nativity?)

Fig. 36. North wall, eastern bay, Crucifixion (two phases) – drawing (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 37. North wall, eastern bay, Crucifixion, state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 38. Crucifixion, group of figures by the side of the Cross

Fig. 39. North-east wall, Man of Sorrows and apostles, state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 40. Eastern wall, Apostles, state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 41. South-east wall, Apostles, state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 42. St. Andrew, north-eastern wall (E-4) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 43. St. Peter, eastern wall (E-7) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 44. St. Paul and another apostle, eastern wall (E-8, 9) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 45. Drawing of figures from the north-eastern window (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 46. Female saint from the north-eastern window (E-20) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 47. Drawing of figures from the eastern window (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 48. Man of Sorrows, the Virgin and St. John, eastern window (E-23-25), state during restoration (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 49. St. Catherine, eastern window (E-26) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 50. St. Dorothy, eastern window (E-27) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 51. Holy monk, eastern window (E-28) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 52. Drawing of figures from the south-eastern window (KÖH,Vajda)
Fig. 53. Trinity, south-eastern window (E-30) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 54. Angel, south-eastern window (E-32) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 55. Holy monk, south-eastern window (E-33) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 56. South wall, eastern bay, drawing (KÖH, Vajda)
Fig. 57. South wall, eastern bay, Coronation of the Virgin
Fig. 58. Figure of an angel from the Coronation, south wall (S-1) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 59. South wall, western bay
Fig. 60. Fragments of a destroyed scene on the south wall (Dormition of the Virgin?)
Fig. 61. St. John the Baptist, south wall (S-6) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 62. Drawing of frescoes on the triumphal arch (KÖH, Vajda)
Fig. 63. *Traditio Legis,* triumphal arch (W-1-3)
Fig. 64. The Magdalene, triumphal arch (W-4)
Fig. 65. St. Mary of Egypt, triumphal arch (W-5)
Fig. 66. Western bay of the vault
Fig. 67. St. Anne on the vault (V-1), state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 68. The Virgin and Child, vault (V-2), state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 69. Fragments of the Majestic Christ, figure of an angel (V-3), state after cleaning (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 70. Fragments of St. Gregory, with St. Jerome, vault (V-4)
Fig. 71. St. Jerome, vault (V-5)
Fig. 72. Fragments of St. Ambrose, with Cilli coats of arms, vault (V-6, 23) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 73. The symbol of St. Matthew, vault (V-8) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 74. The symbol of St. Mark, vault (V-9) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 75. The symbol of St. Luke, vault, detail (V-10) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 76. The symbol of St. John, vault (V-11) (Photo: Vajda)
Fig. 77. Eastern section of the vault

Fig. 78. King Solomon, vault (V-14) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 79. King David, vault, detail (V-15) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 80. Drawing of vault sections with Daniel and Zechariah (KÖH, Vajda)

Fig. 81. Prophet Daniel, vault (V-16) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 82. Prophet Zechariah (V-17) (Photo: Vajda)

Fig. 83. Figure of a hermit on a hill, southeastern wall

Fig. 84. Two dogs, bottom of north wall

Fig. 85. Plan of the Augustinian church of Sopronhorpács (after *LAHU* 3)

Fig. 86. Plan of the Augustinian church of Vágújhely (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 87. Plan of the Franciscan church of Újlak (*Koldulórendi 1994*)

Fig. 88. Plan of the Franciscan church of Nekcse (*Koldulórendi 1994*)

Fig. 89. A corbel from the abbey church of Garamszentbenedek (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 90. A corbel from the church of Berhida (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 91. A corbel from the Franciscan church of Újlak (*Dél-Alföld*)

Fig. 92. Esztergom, frescoed wall of the palace chapel (*Radocsay 1974*)

Fig. 93. Esztergom, medallion with an apostle from the palace chapel (*Radocsay 1974*)

Fig. 94. Zagreb, chapel of St. Stephen, figure of an Evangelist at his desk (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 95. Zagreb, Chapel of St. Stephen, Majestic Christ (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 96. Zagreb, Chapel of St. Stephen, Angel (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 97. Petőszinye, detail from the Last Judgment (*Dvořáková – Krása – Stejskal 1978*)

Fig. 98. Petőszinye, detail from the Last Judgment (*Dvořáková – Krása – Stejskal 1978*)

Fig. 99. Padua, Oratorio di San Giorgio, Coronation and Crucifixion by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 100. Padua, Oratorio di San Giorgio, Crucifixion by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 101. Padua, Santo, Chapel of St. James, central part of Crucifixion by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 102. The central panel of the Calvary altar by Thomas de Coloswar, Garamszentbenedek, 1427 (Esztergom, Christian Museum) (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 103. Padua, Eremitani, Coronation of the Virgin by Altichiero (destroyed) (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 104. Padua, Oratorio di San Giorgio, Coronation of the Virgin by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 105. Coronation of the Virgin, Stams, Cistercian abbey (*Gotik 2000*)

Fig. 106. Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, Nativity by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 107. Giusto de' Menabuoi: Triptych, London, National Gallery (*Davies 1988*)

Fig. 108. Padua, Santo, Chapel of St. James, figure of St. Jerome on the vault by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 109. Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, figure of St. Augustine on the vault by Altichiero (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 110. Padua, Eremitani, Symbols of the Evangelists, Church Fathers by Altichiero (destroyed) (*Mellini 1965*)

Fig. 111. Brixen, 4th cloister arcade, vault, Symbols of the Evangelists, Church Fathers and Prophets, by Hans von Bruneck, 1417 (*Pintarelli 1997*)

Fig. 112. Brixen, 4th cloister arcade, vault, St. Jerome by Hans von Bruneck, 1417 (*Pintarelli 1997*)

Fig. 113. Neustift, Cloister of the Augustinian priory with fresco decoration (*Röhrig 1997*)

Fig. 114. Ptujska Gora, vault decoration of a chapel, Church Fathers and Symbols of the Evangelists (*Gotik in Slowenien*)

Fig. 115. Karaszkó, sanctuary, symbols of the Evangelists on the vault (MTA MKI, Photo Collection)

Fig. 116. Hizsnyó, sanctuary vault, Evangelists and Church Fathers (*Prokopp 2002*)

Fig. 117. Hizsnyó, sanctuary vault, Evangelists and Church Fathers (*Prokopp 2002*)

Fig. 118. Hizsnyó, sanctuary, *Imago Pietatis* (*Togner 1989*)

Fig. 119. Gömörrákos, Evangelist and Church Father (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 120. Pécs, cathedral, Traditio Legis and Apostles (copy) (*Pannonia Regia*)

Fig. 121. Pisa, Camposanto. Hermits from the fresco of the Triumph of Death (*Meiss 1951*)

Fig. 122. Gömörrákos, Trinity with three faces (*Prokopp 2002*)

Fig. 123. Ochtina, Trinity with three faces (*Togner 1989*)

Fig. 124. The Bible of Demeter Nekcsei (Washington, Library of Congress), fol. 5v (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 125. A leaf from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541) fol. 44v (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 126. Fresco fragment with the figure of a bishop from the Cathedral of Várad (Esztergom, Christian Museum) (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 127. Gerény, rotunda, frescoes of the central apse (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 128. Gerény, rotunda, Adoration of the Magi (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 129. Vienna, Stephansdom, Votive fresco by a follower of Altichiero (Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien) (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 130. Altenmarkt bei Weis, St Veit, Church father (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 131. Siklós, aerial view of the castle (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 132. Siklós, view of the sanctuary of the castle chapel (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 133. Siklós, reconstruction drawing of the castle and church in the fifteenth century (by I. Czeglédy, after *Sigismund 1987*)

Fig. 134. Siklós, plan of the castle with construction periods marked (by I. Czeglédy, after *Sigismund 1987*)

Fig. 135. Siklós, the portal of the castle chapel

Fig. 136. Siklós, Garai coat of arms on the portal of the castle chapel (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 137. Plan of the Garai castle at Csesznek (after *MoMT 2*)

Fig. 138. View of the castle at Csesznek (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 139. Plan of the royal castle of Tata (with later fortifications) (after *MoMT 2*)

Fig. 140. Plan of the castle of Ozora (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 141. Buda, the remains of the portal of the Garai chapel (demolished) (*Csemegi 1955*)

Fig. 142. Buda, relief fragment with figures in niches from the Garai chapel, Buda (BTM) (*Csemegi 1955*)

Fig. 143. Buda, interior and exterior drawing of the portal of the Garai chapel. Church or Our Lady (MTA MKI, Photo Collection)

Fig. 144. Kőszeg, parish church, sanctuary (MTA MKI, Photo Collection)

Fig. 145. Kőszeg, parish church, nave, *Madonna della Misericordia* (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 146. The insignia of the Order of the Dragon, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 147. Garai coats of arms from the armorial of Miklós Garai, 1416 (copy)

Fig. 148. The seal of Palatine Miklós (II) Garai from 1408 (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 149. The tomb slab of Miklós Garai (I.) in the Augustinian church of Siklós (*Pannonia Regia*)

Fig. 150. Detail of the Garai tomb slab (*Pannonia Regia*)

Fig. 151. Drawing of the tomb slab of Miklós Garai I. (*Pannonia Regia*)

Fig. 152. The tomb slab of Stibor of Stiboric II, from Buda (BTM) (*MoMT 2*)

Fig. 153. Siklós, the sanctuary of the castle chapel, early sixteenth century (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 154. Siklós, castle chapel, St. Leonard and St. Ladislas, c. 1420 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 155. Siklós, castle chapel, *Vir Dolorum*, c. 1420 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 156. Siklós, castle chapel, Job and his family, c. 1420 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 157. Csetnek, nave, medallions in a window arch (*Prokopp 2002*)

Fig. 158. Csetnek, nave, St. Leonard (*Prokopp 1983*)

Fig. 159. Bántornya, sanctuary, Apostles; by Johannes Aquila, 1383

Fig. 160. Bántornya, sanctuary, the patron family in front of the Virgin Mary (destroyed), by Johannes Aquila (*Höfler – Balazič 1992*)

Fig. 161. Bántornya, St. Anne with the Virgin and child, Johannes Aquila

Fig. 162. Bántornya, detail of frescoes in the nave, Johannes Aquila

Fig. 163. Csáktornya, glimpse into the sanctuary, 1380s (Photo: Attila Mudrák)

Fig. 164. Csáktornya, sanctuary, eastern window, 1380s (Photo: Attila Mudrák)

Fig. 165. Csáktornya, saints from the splay of a window, 1380s (Photo: Attila Mudrák)

Fig. 166. Csáktornya. Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and Man of Sorrows, 1380s (Photo: Attila Mudrák)

Fig. 167. Keszthely, view into the sanctuary, before 1397 (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 168. Keszthely, sanctuary, figures in the splay of a window, before 1397 (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 169. Keszthely, sanctuary, wall niches, before 1397 (KÖH, Photo Collection)

Fig. 170. Almakerék, view of the triumphal arch from the sanctuary, c. 1400 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 171. Almakerék, view of the vault, western bay, c. 1400 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 172. Almakerék, view of the vault, eastern bay, c. 1400 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

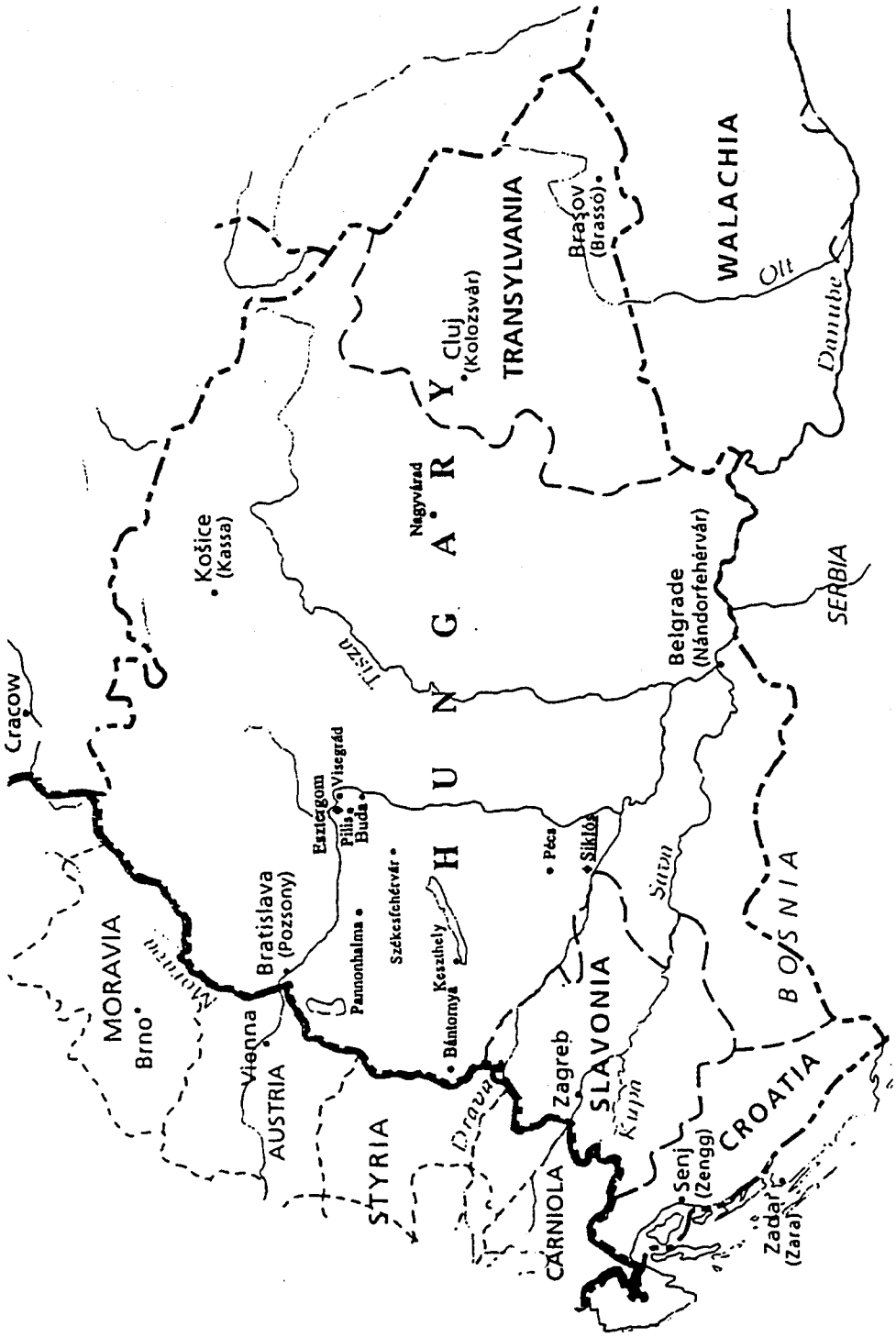
Fig. 173. Almakerék, sanctuary, north wall, Passion scenes, c. 1400 (MTA MKI, Photo collection)

Fig. 174. Plan of the royal palace of Visegrád, with the Franciscan friary nearby (*Koldulórendi 1994*)

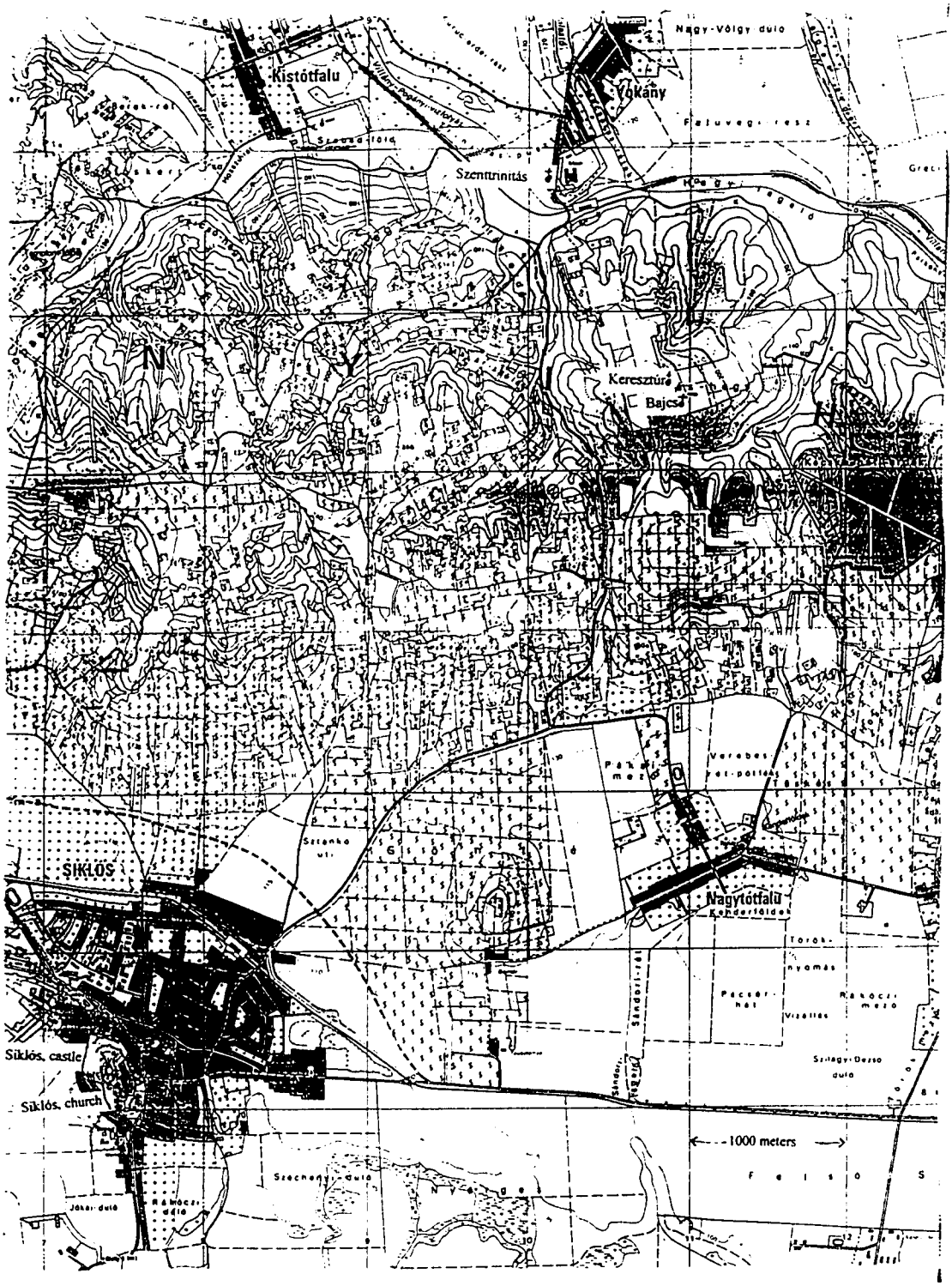
Fig. 175. Interior view of the lower level of the Giselle Chapel, Veszprém, facing west (*Tóth M. 1974*)

Fig. 176. Two Apostles from the painted decoration of the Giselle Chapel, Veszprém (*Tóth M. 1974*)

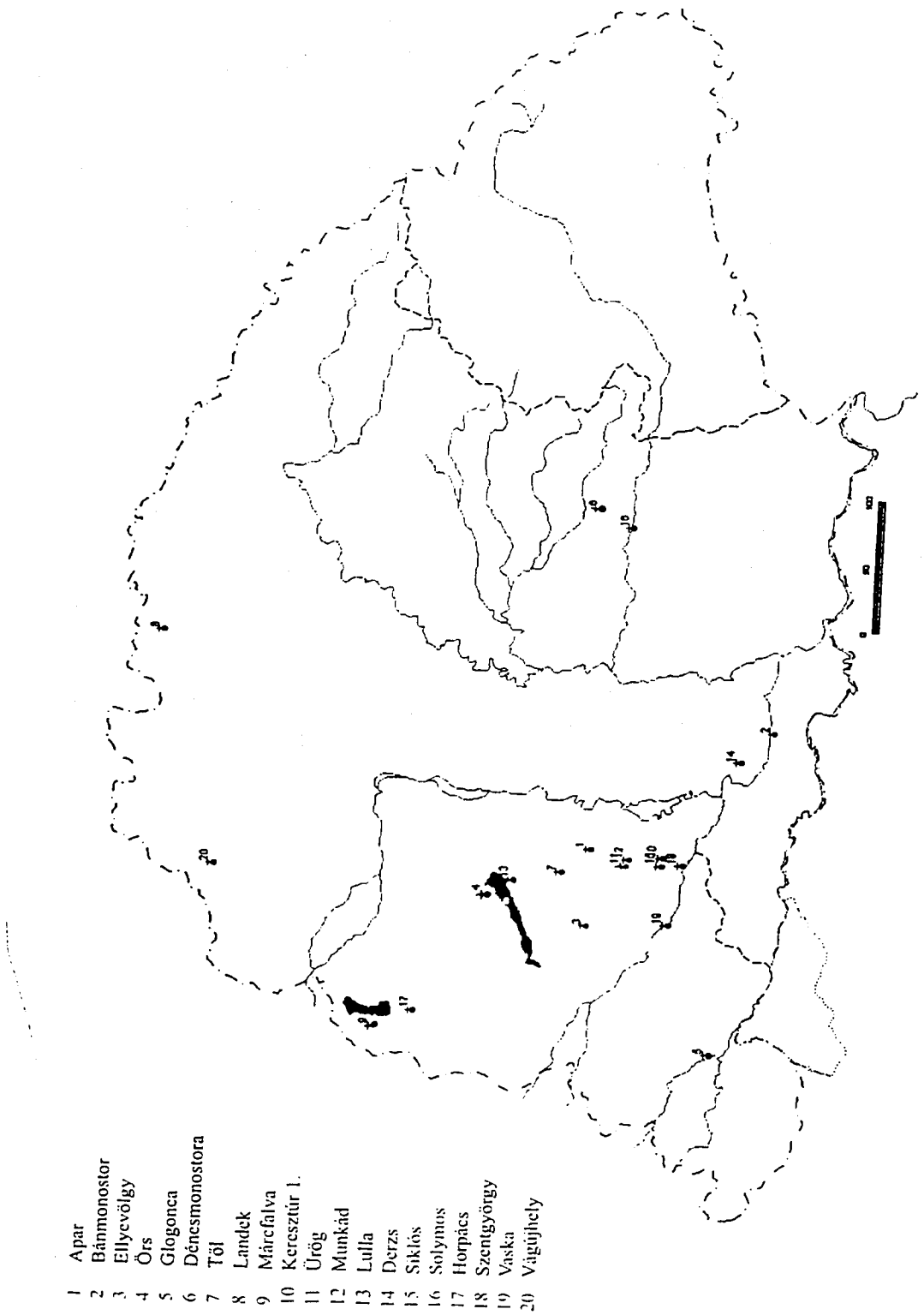
ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Map of medieval Hungary with neighboring regions



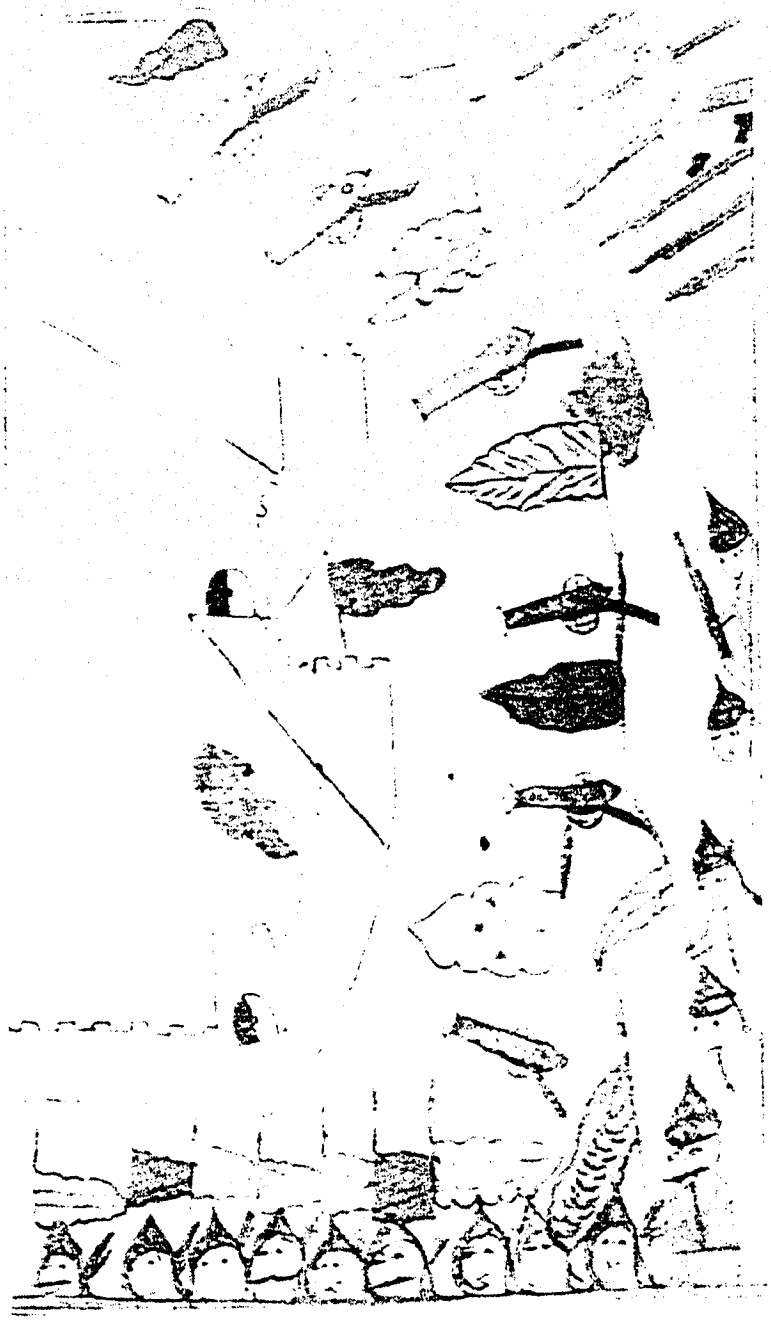
2. Map of the area of Siklós



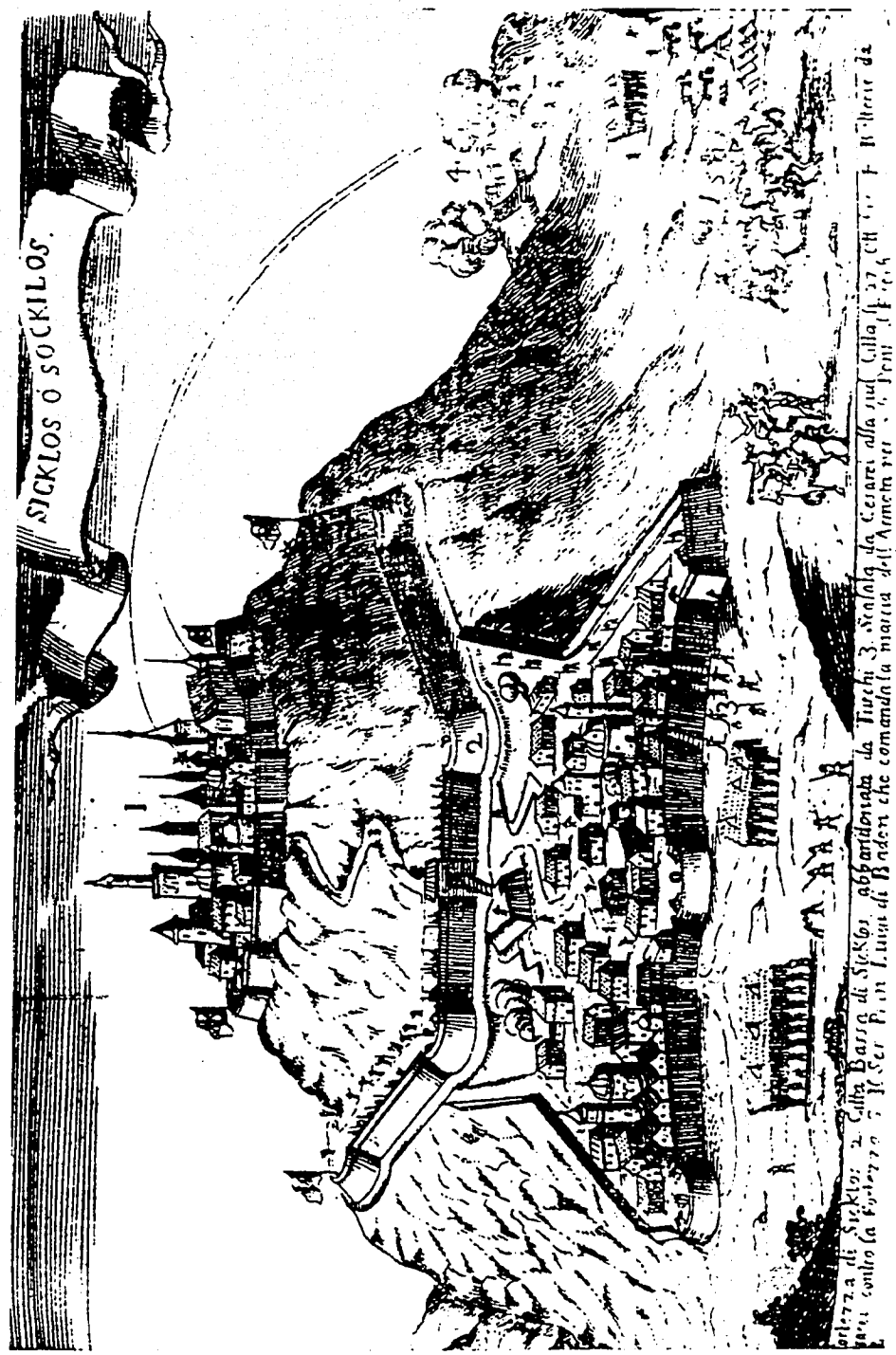
3. Map showing Augustinian priories in medieval Hungary

4. Map of the castle hill of Siklós

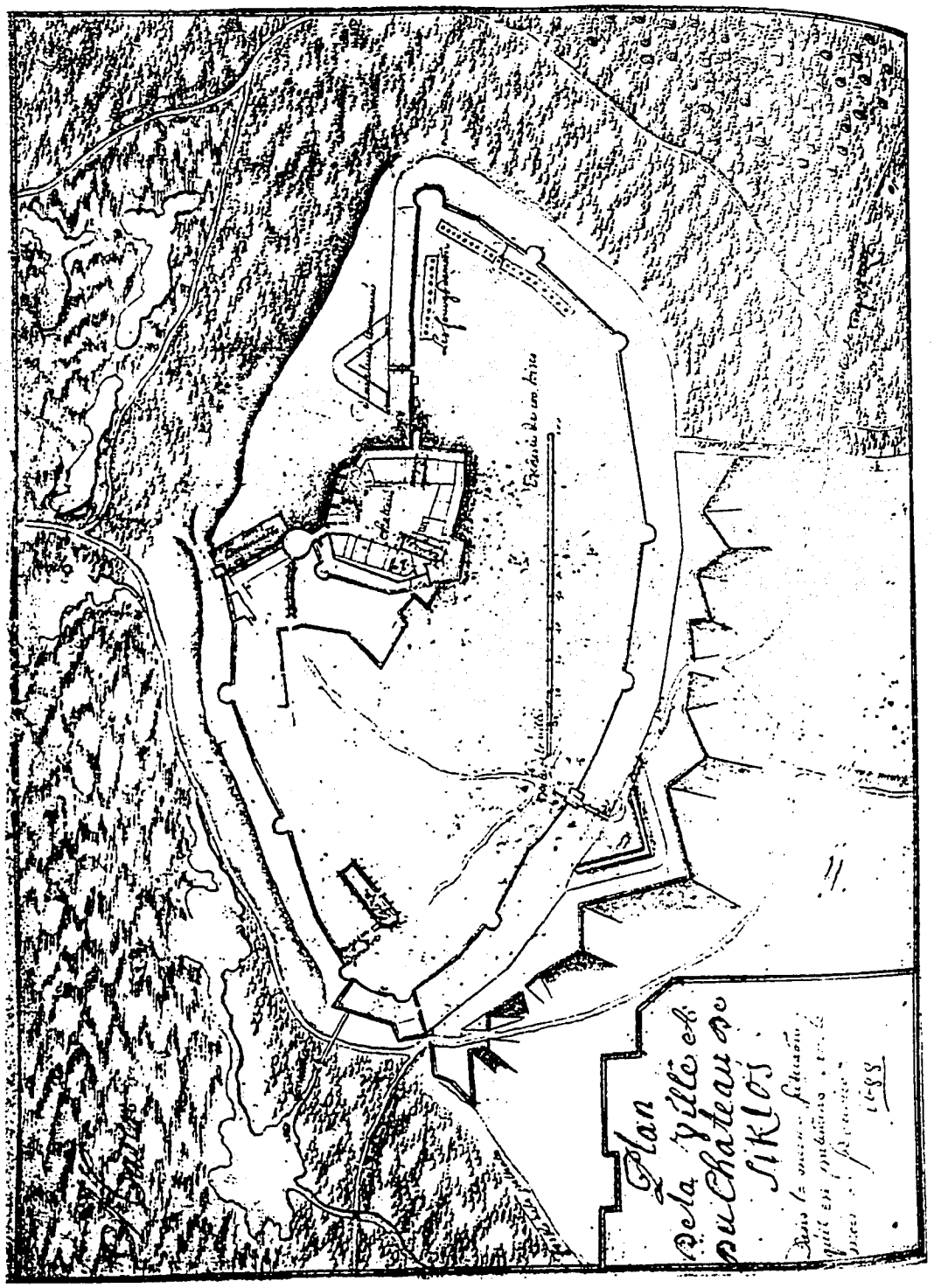
5. King Sigismund is taken to the castle of Siklós, Windecke-chronicle



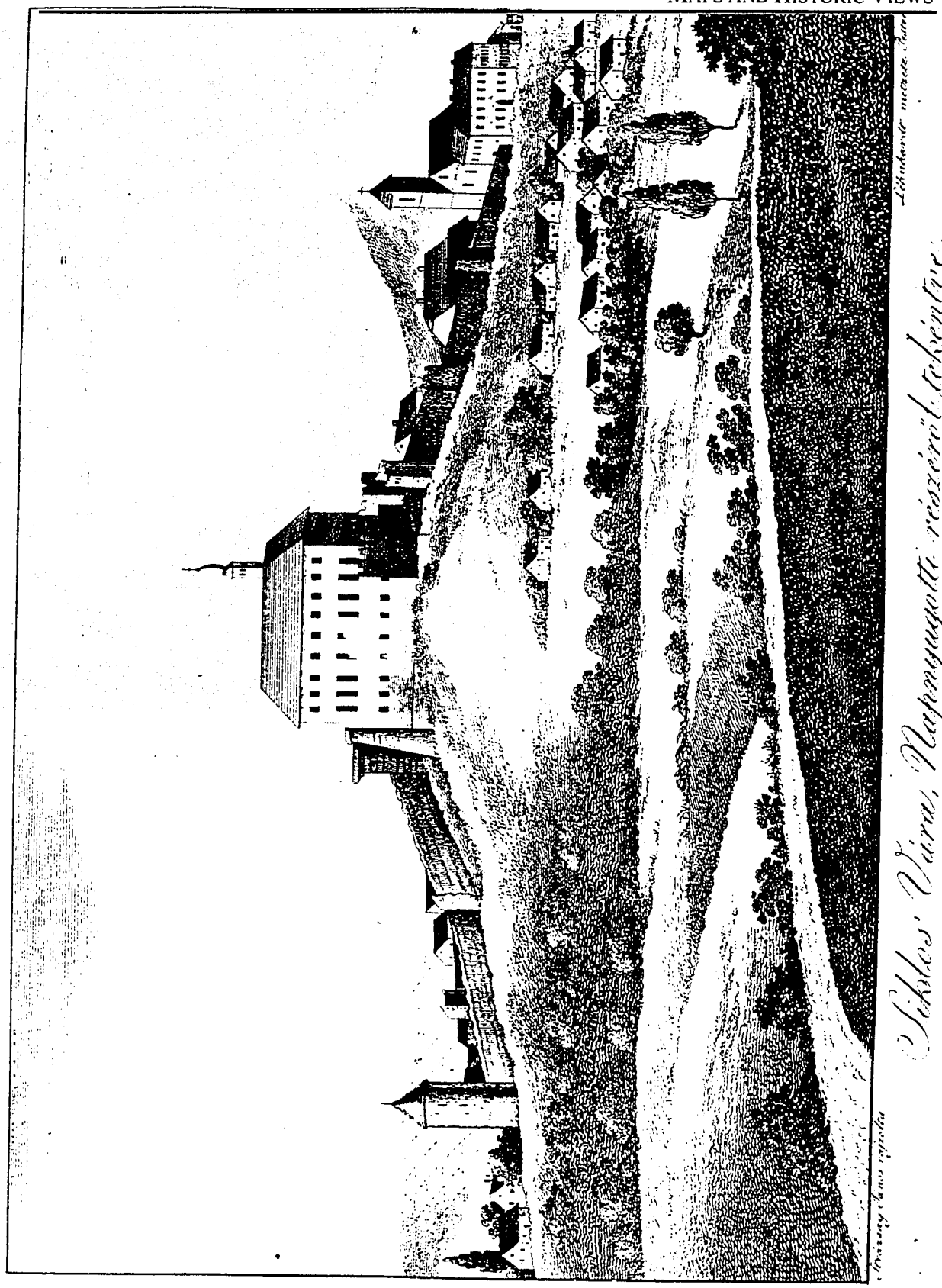
6. The siege of Siklós in 1543, 16th c. Turkish miniature



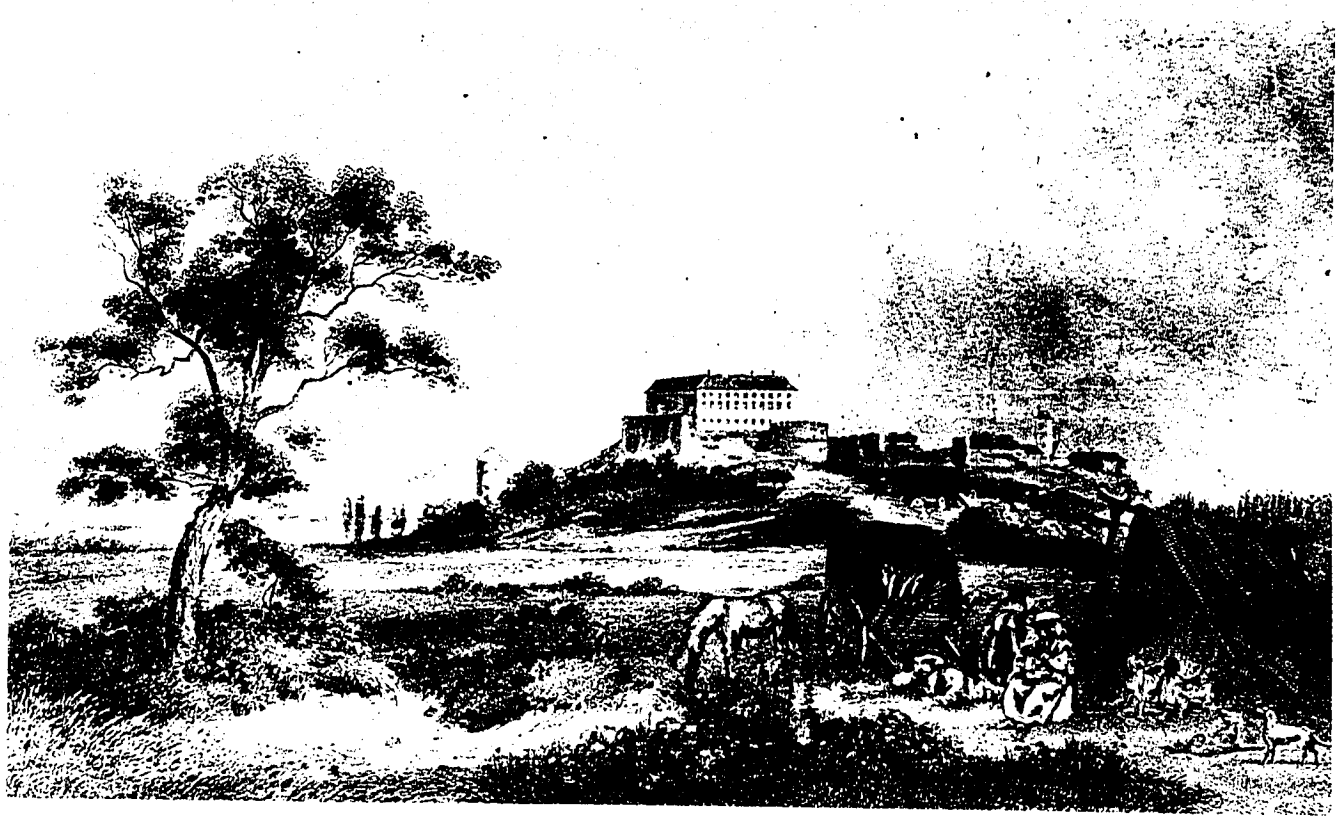
7. The recapture of Siklós from the Turks in 1686



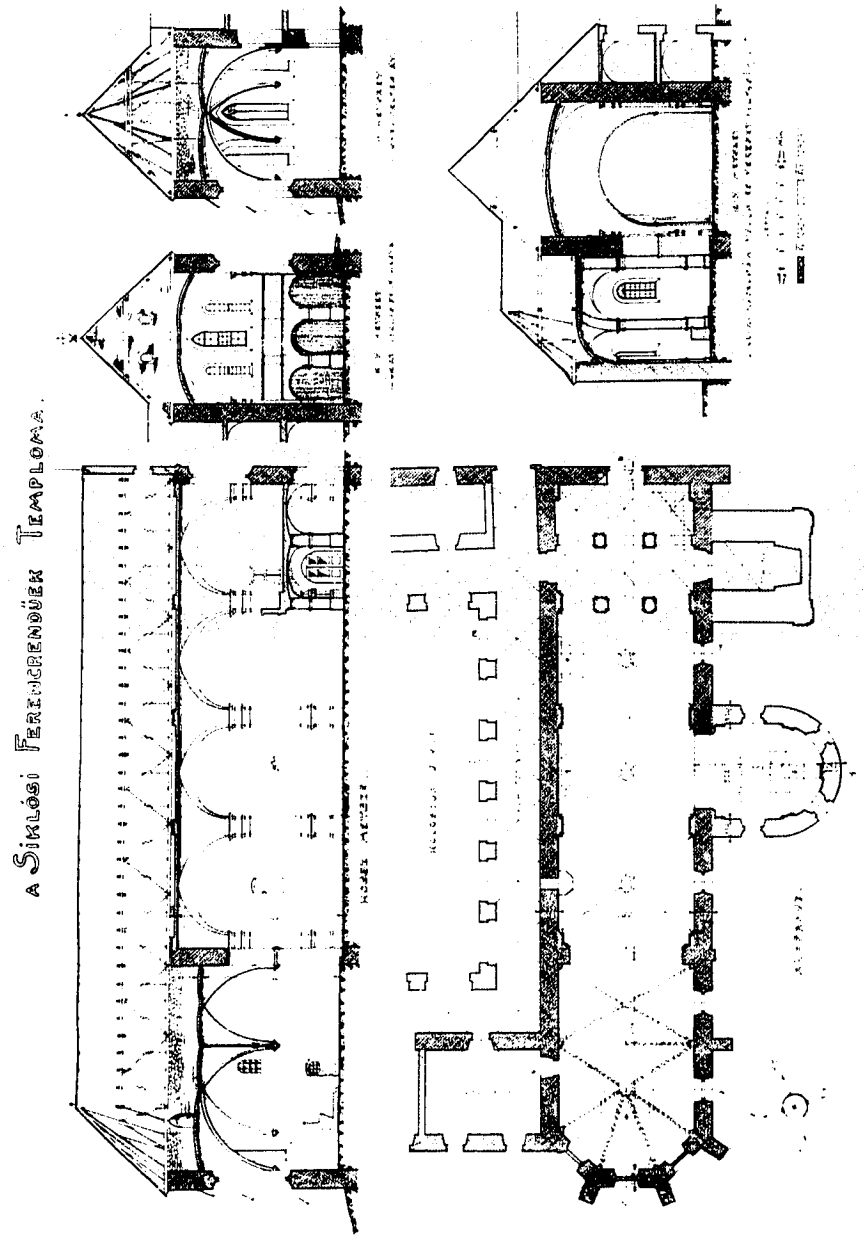
8. Survey of the castle hill of Siklós by Haüy



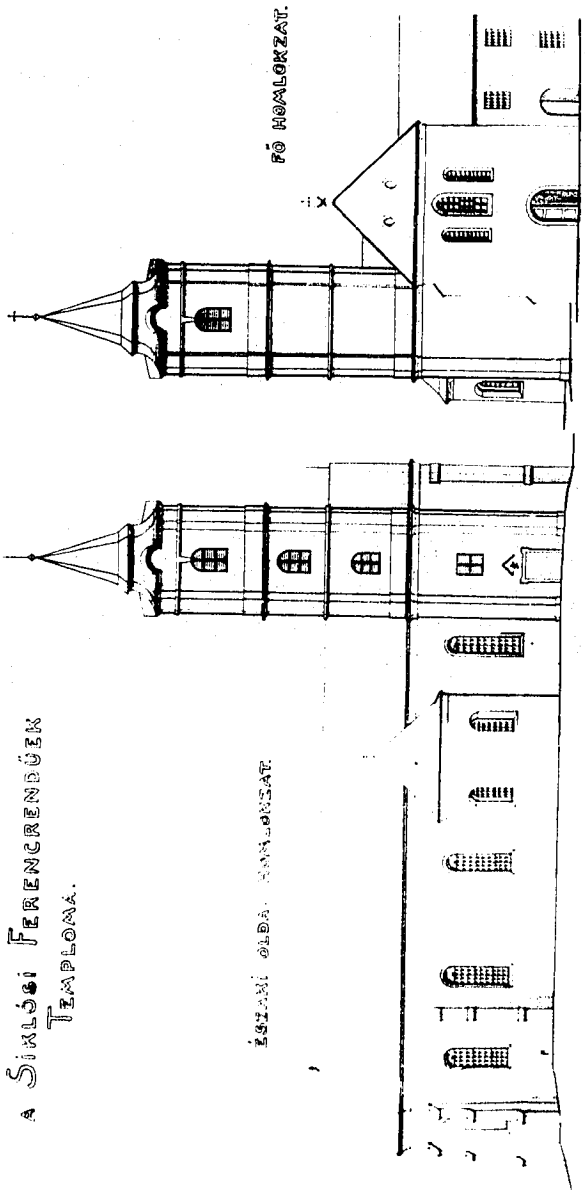
9. View of the Siklós castle hill, Strázsay, 1823



10. View of the castle hill of Siklós, Rohbock, mid-19th c.



11. Plan and sections of the Augustinian church at Siklós

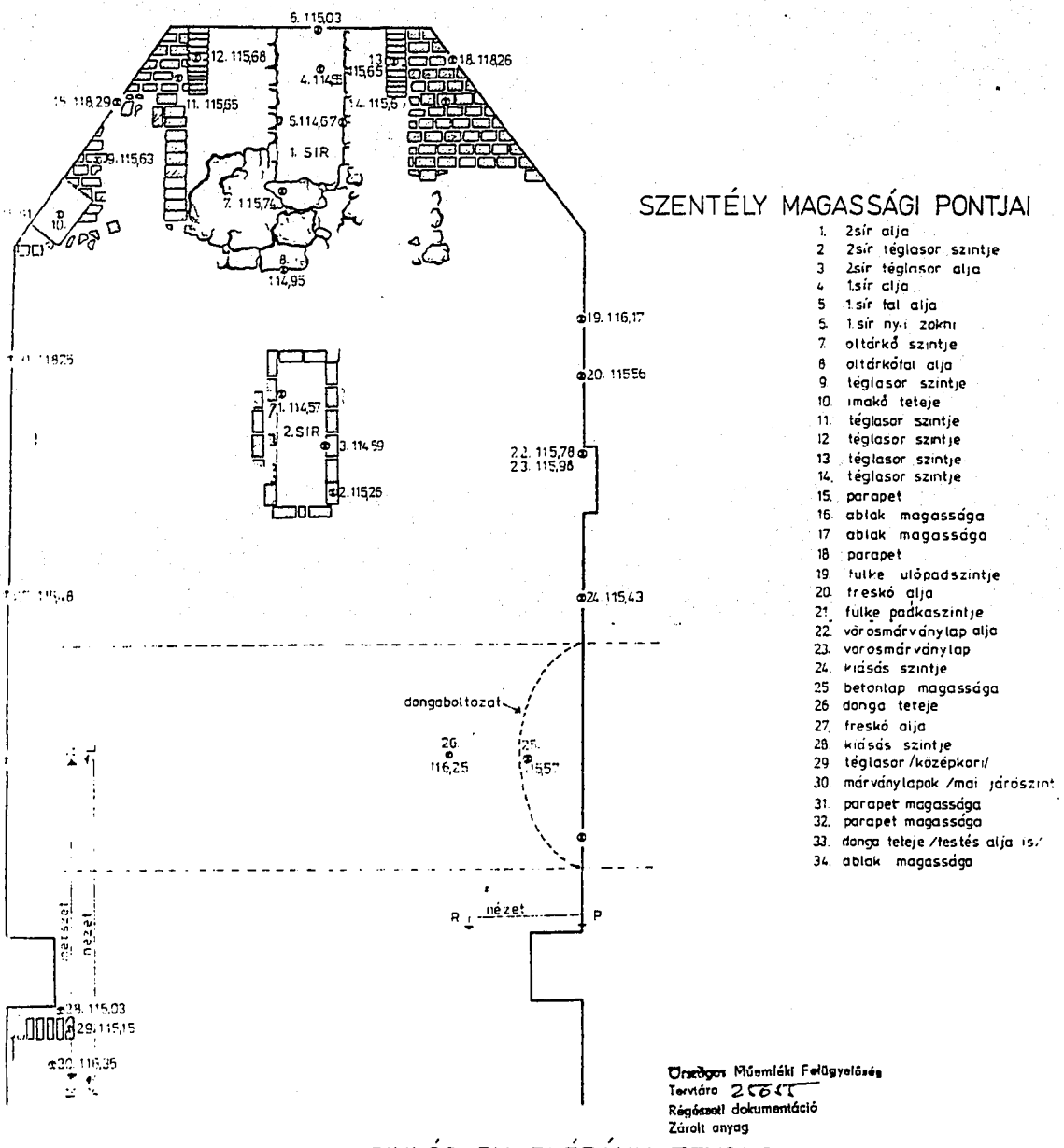


12. Exterior survey drawings of the church

13. View of the church at Siklós from the east

14. View of the church at Siklós from the west

15. View inside the sanctuary of the church before restoration



SZENTÉLY MAGASSÁGI PONTJAI

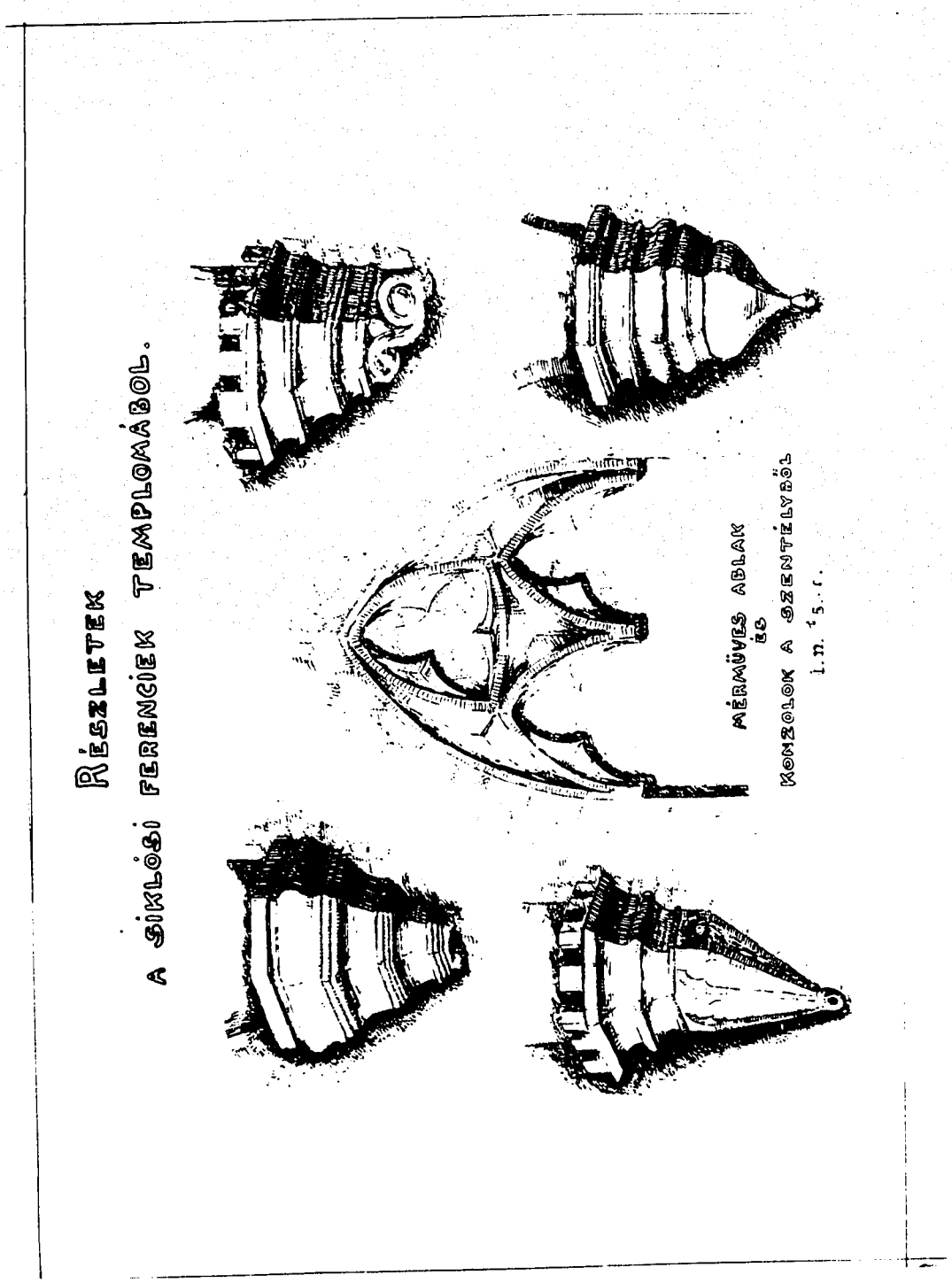
1. 2sír alja
2. 2sír téglasor szintje
3. 2sír téglasor alja
4. 1.sír alja
5. 1.sír fal alja
6. 1.sír ny.i zokni
7. oltárkő szintje
8. oltárkőfal alja
9. téglasor szintje
10. imakő teteje
11. téglasor szintje
12. téglasor szintje
13. téglasor szintje
14. téglasor szintje
15. parapet
16. ablak magassága
17. ablak magassága
18. parapet
19. fülke ülőpadszintje
20. freskó alja
21. fülke padkaszintje
22. vörösmárványlap alja
23. vorosmárványlap
24. kiásás szintje
25. betonlap magassága
26. donga teteje
27. freskó alja
28. kiásás szintje
29. téglasor /középkori/
30. márványlapok /mai járószint
31. parapet magassága
32. parapet magassága
33. donga teteje /testés alja is./
34. ablak magassága

Országos Műemléki Felügyelőség
Tervtára 2567
Régészeti dokumentáció
Zárolt anyag

SIKLÓS RK. PLÉBÁNIA TEMPLOM

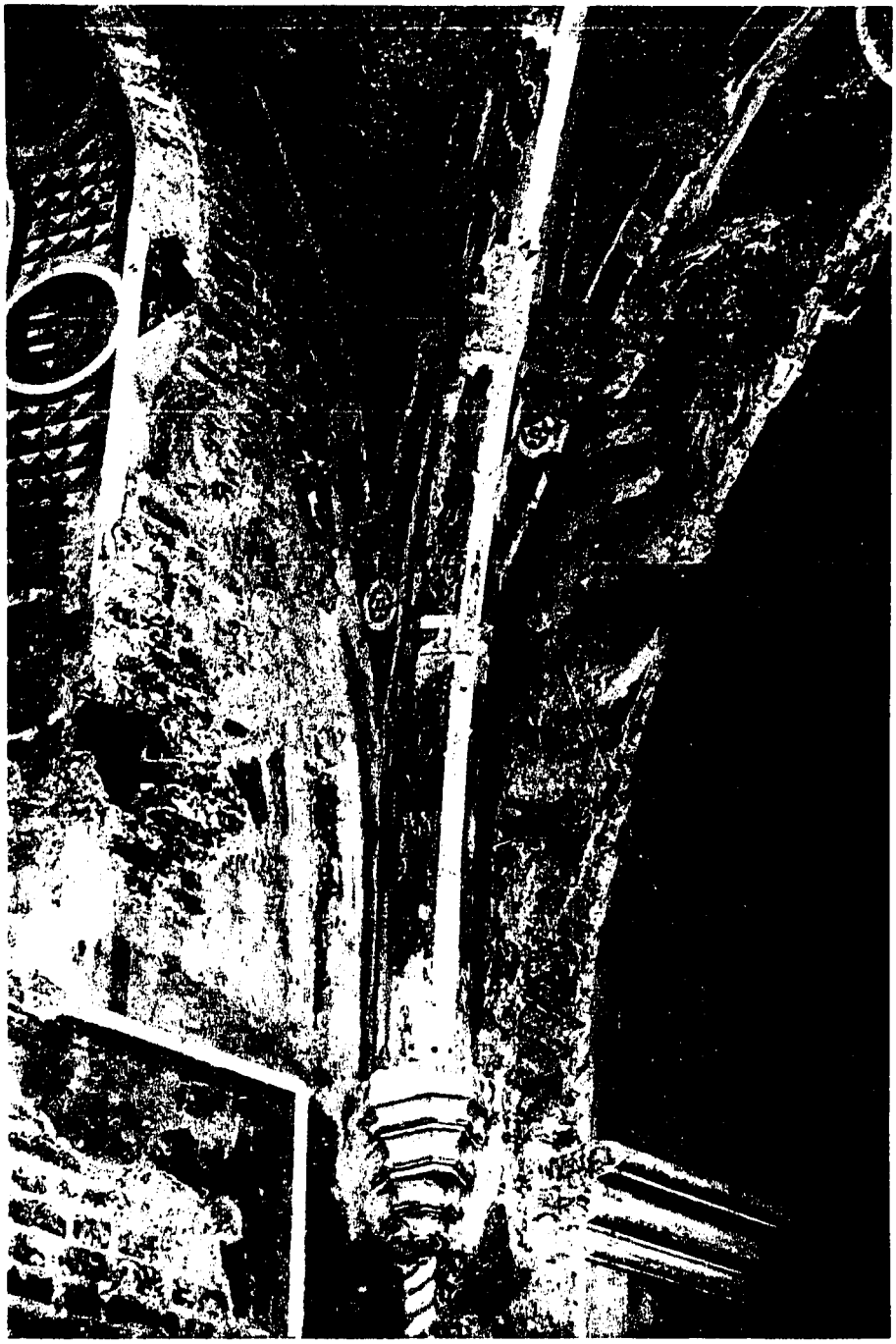
• 1988

16. Excavation plan of the sanctuary, Mária Sándor

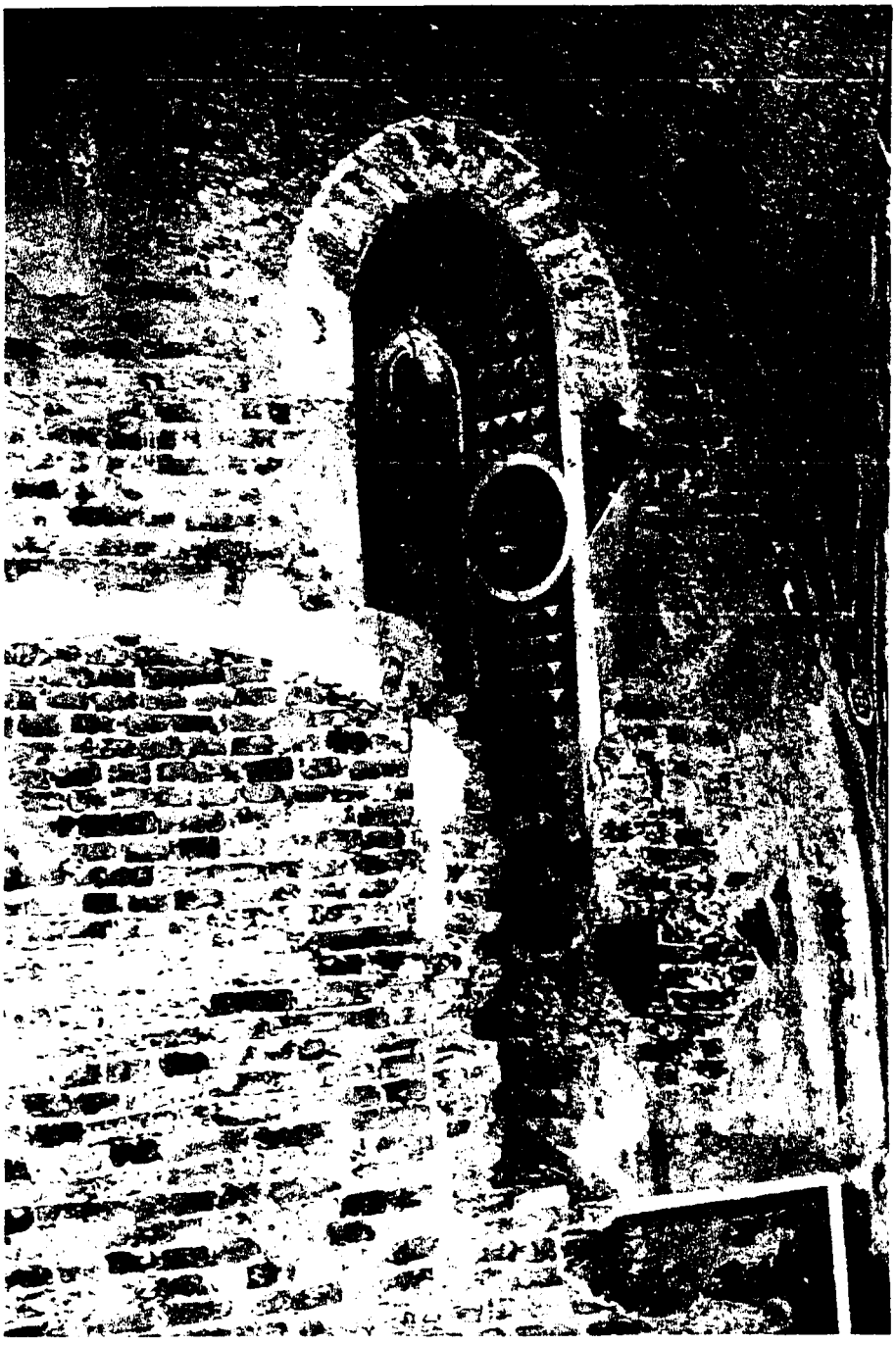


17. Drawing of corbels and a window before the restoration

18. A corbel from the sanctuary

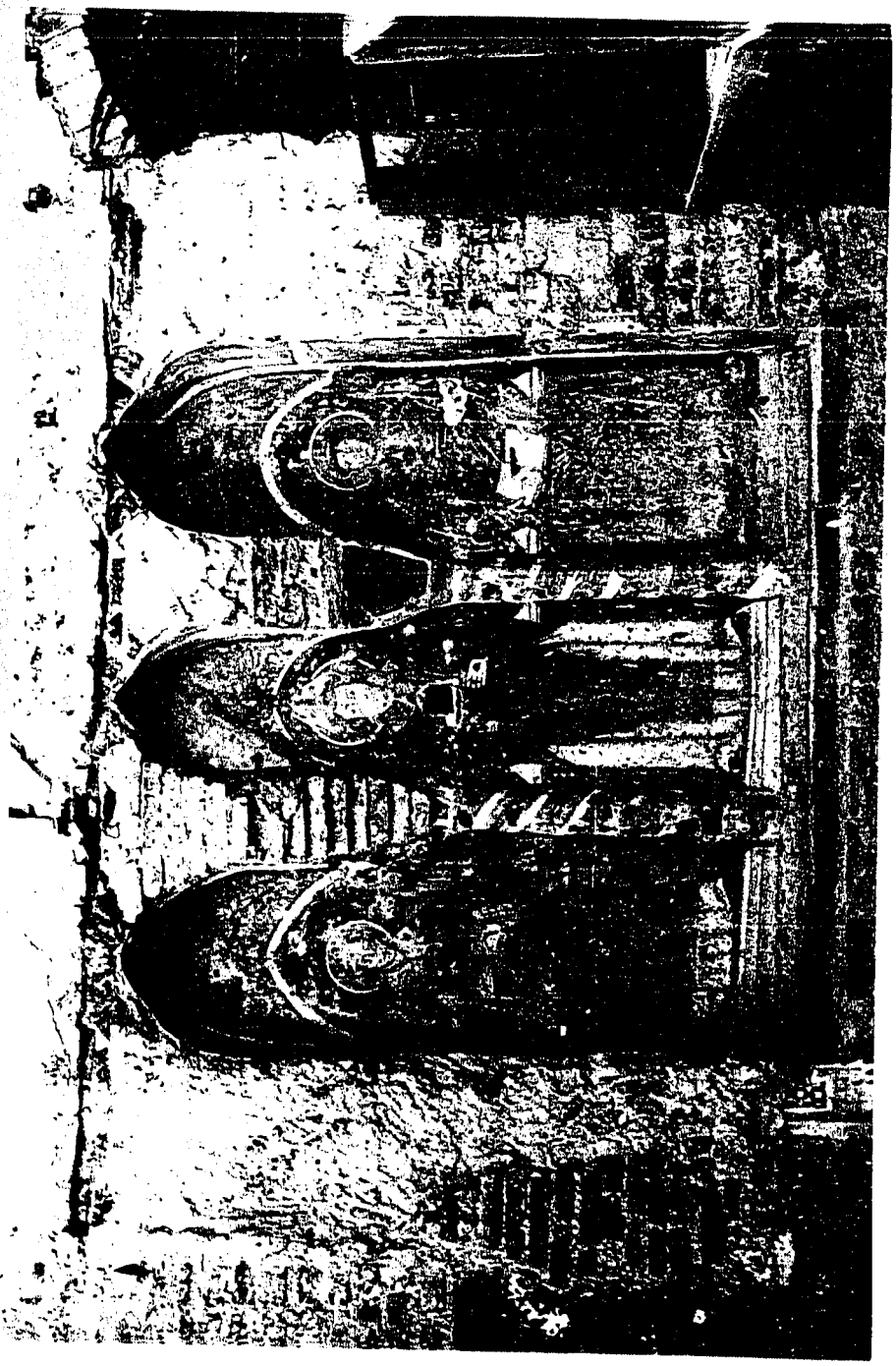


19. A corbel from the sanctuary at the time of the discovery of the frescoes

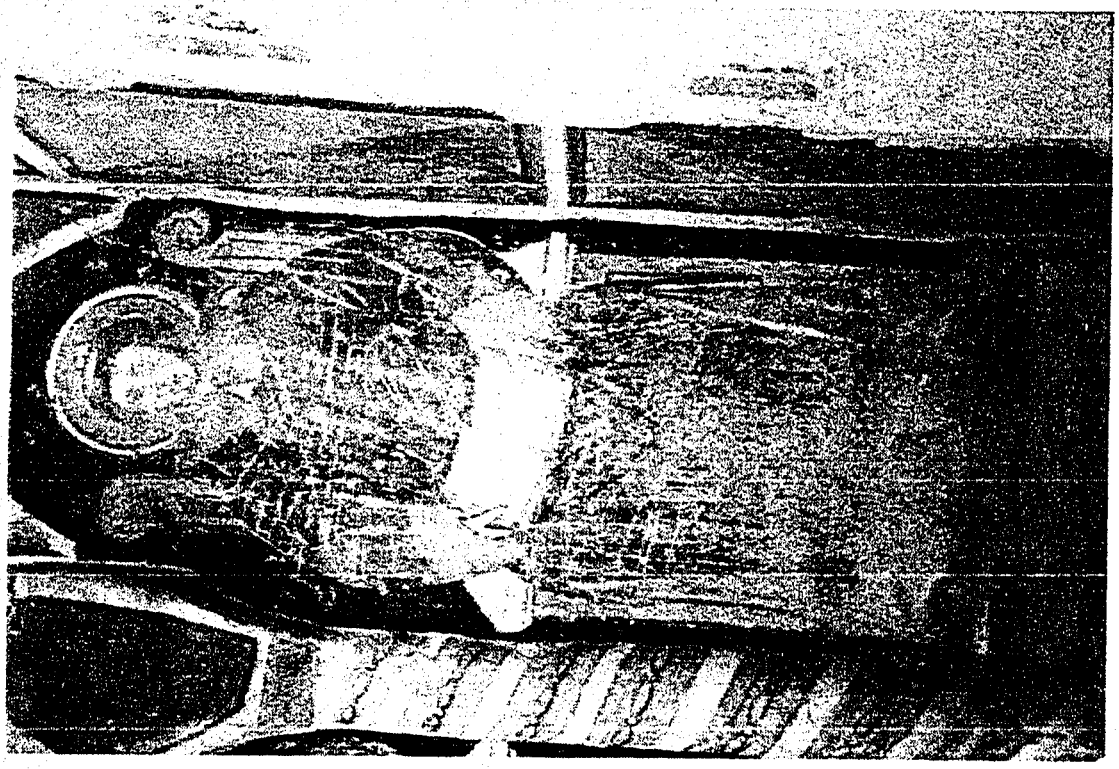


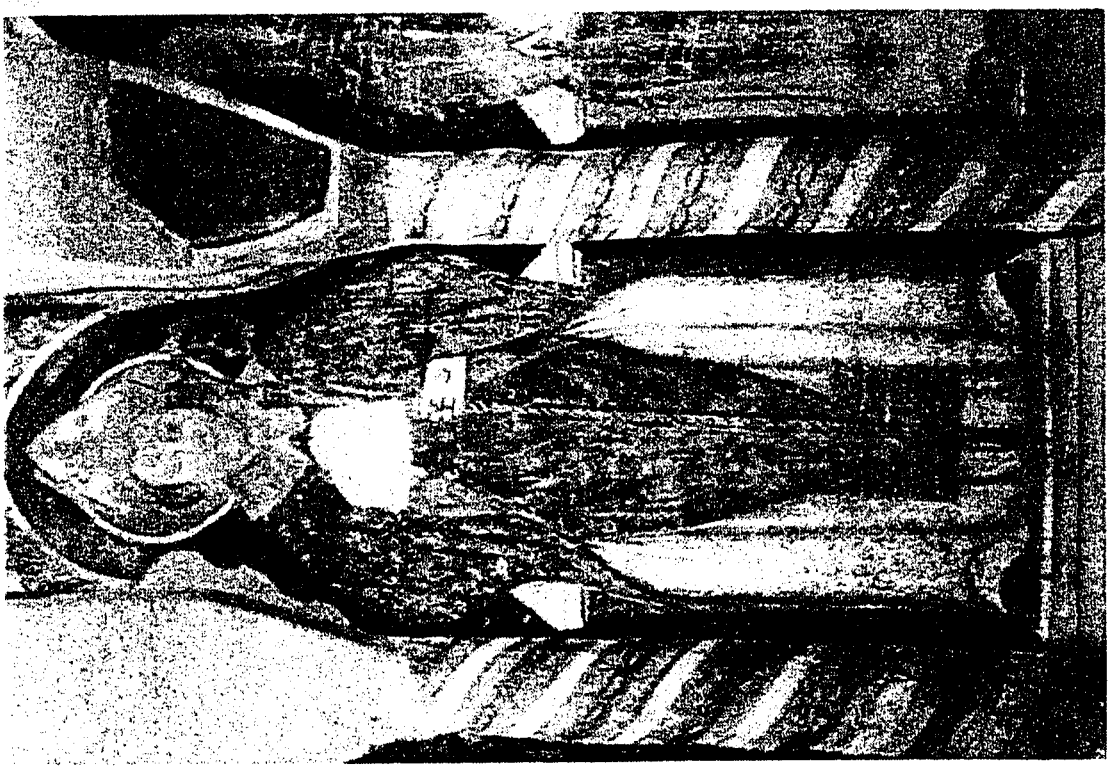
20. View of the south window during restoration

21. Keystone in the sanctuary with the Garai coat of arms

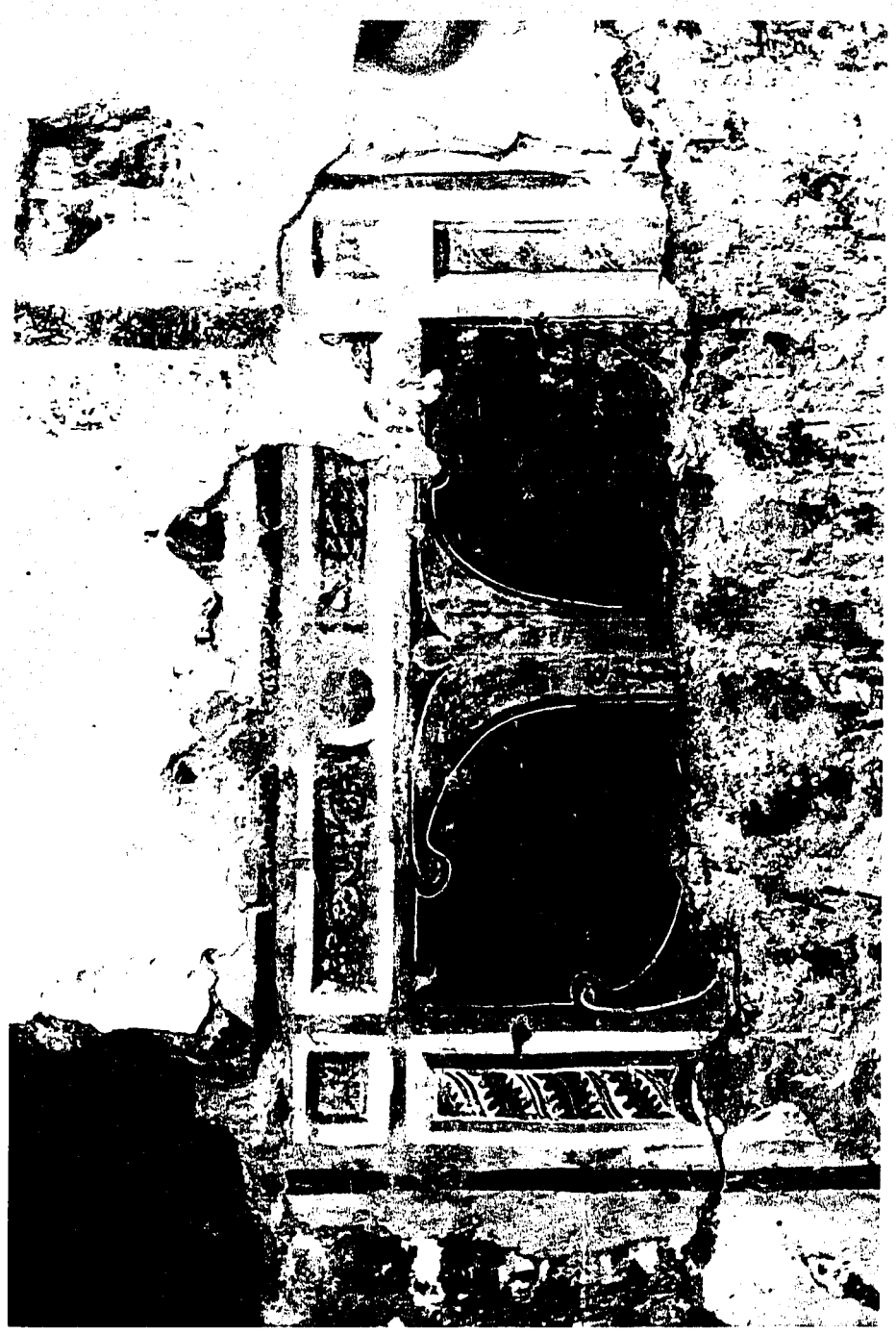


22. Wall niches on the south side, with St. Lawrence, St. Augustine, and St. Stephen

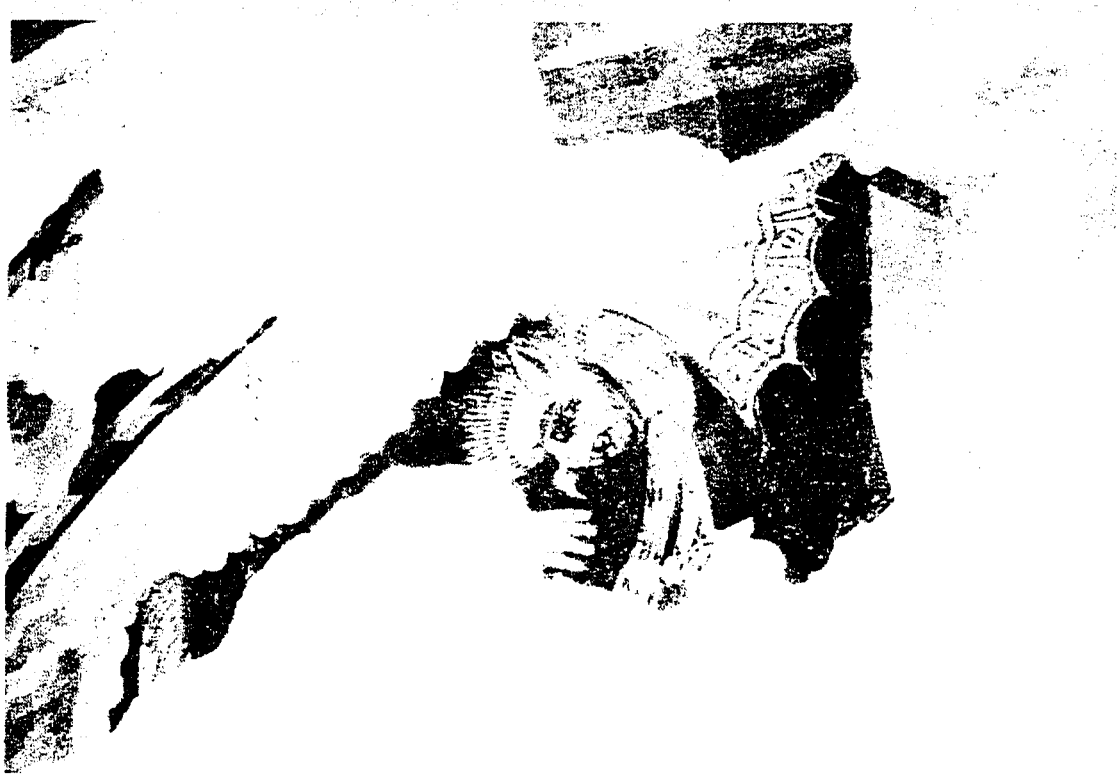




23-24. St. Augustine and St. Stephen on the south wall (F-8-10)

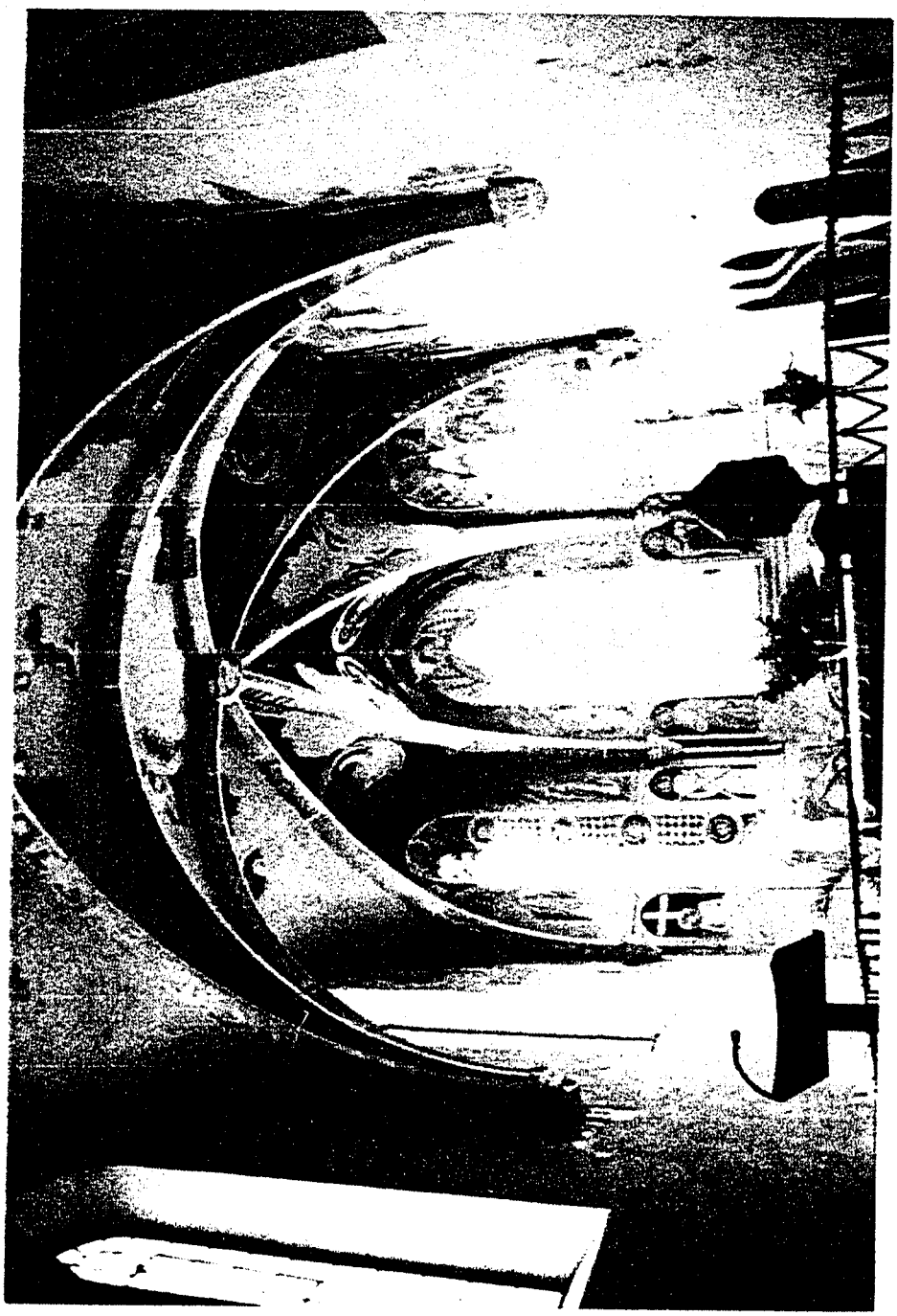


25. Fragment of a consecration cross, with ornament from second layer



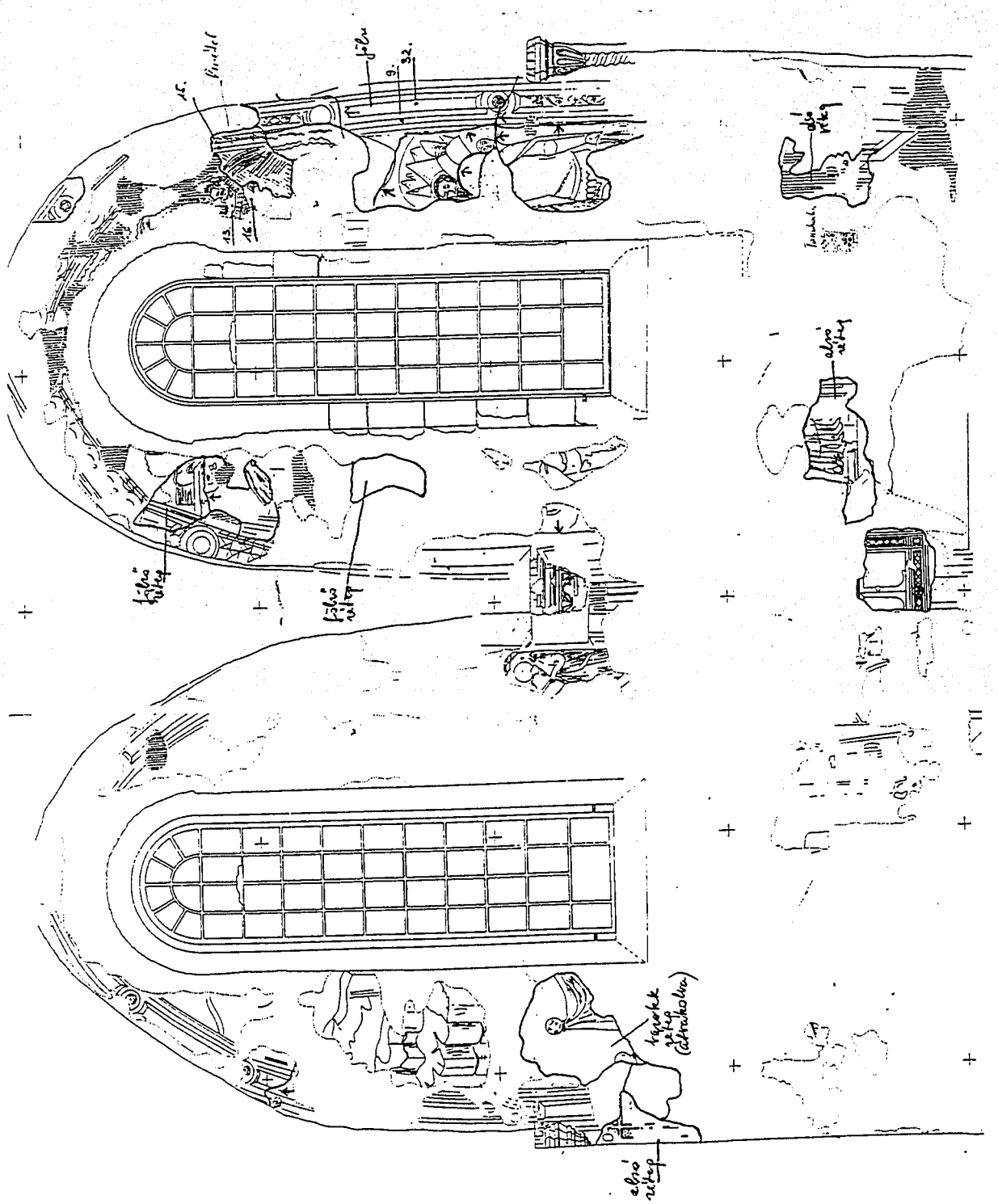
26-27. Overlapping layer of frescoes on the north wall; Devil from the Crucifixion (F-2)

28. Sinopia detail of a group of figures (F-3)

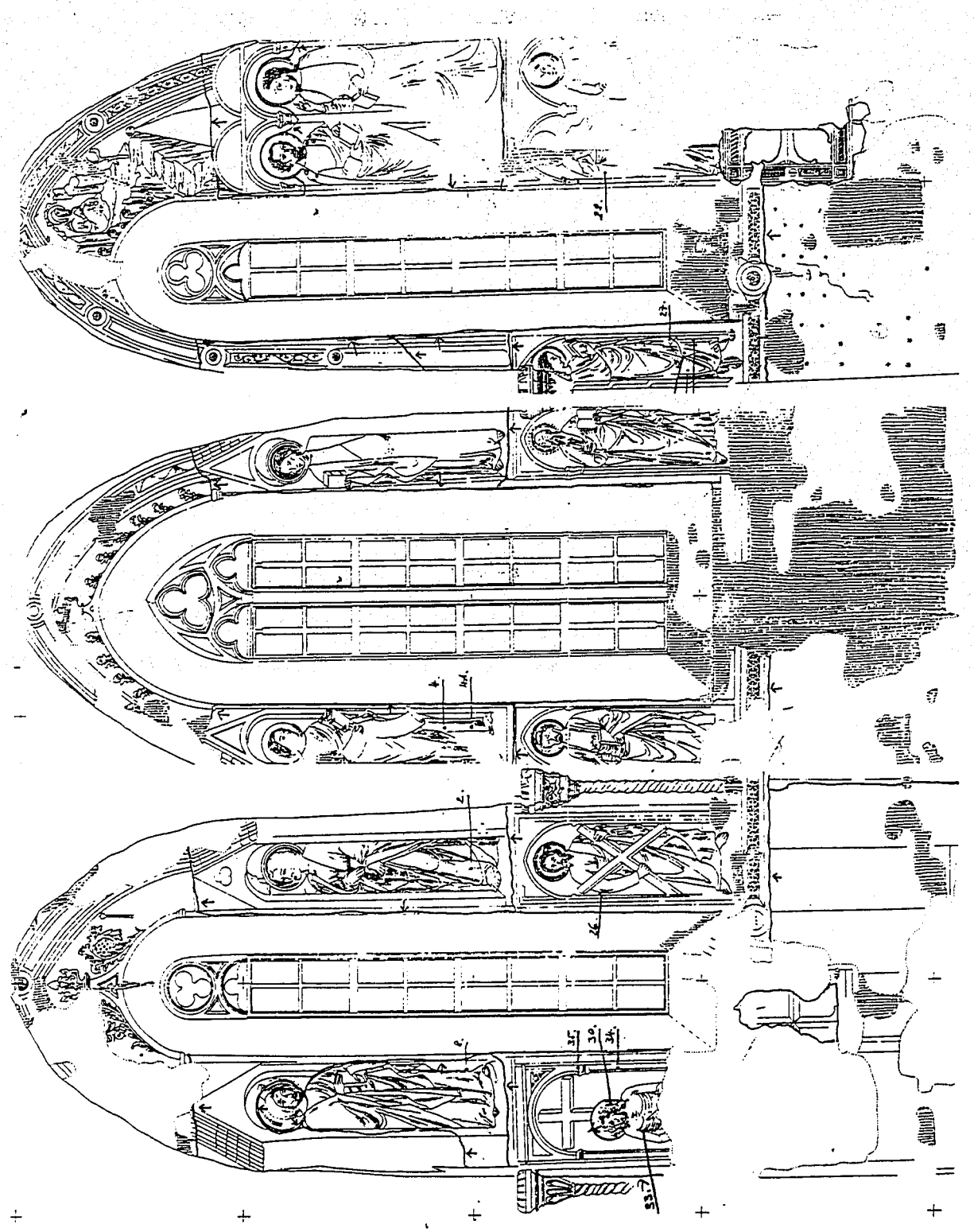


29. Glimpse into the sanctuary towards east

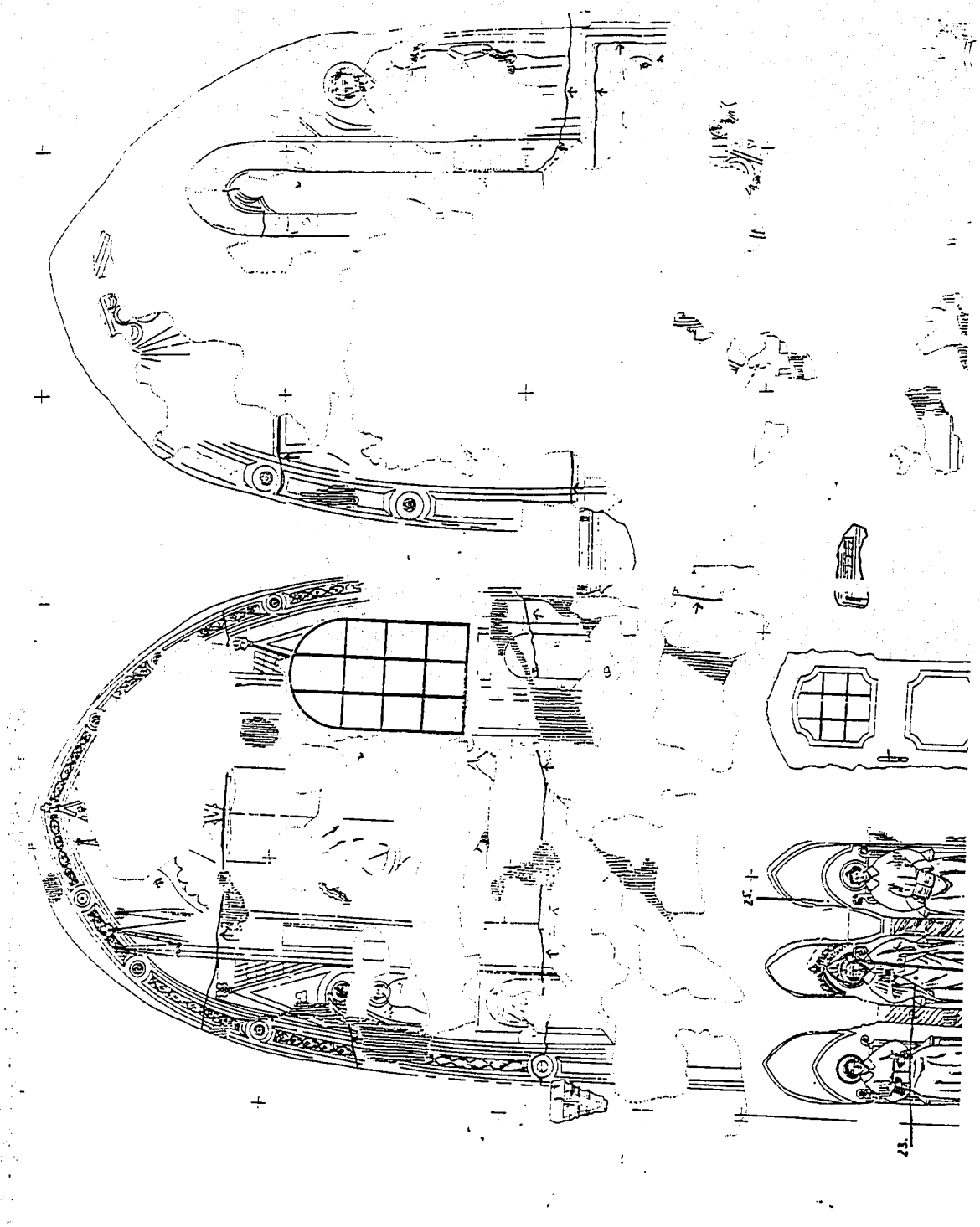
30. Glimpse towards the triumphal arch



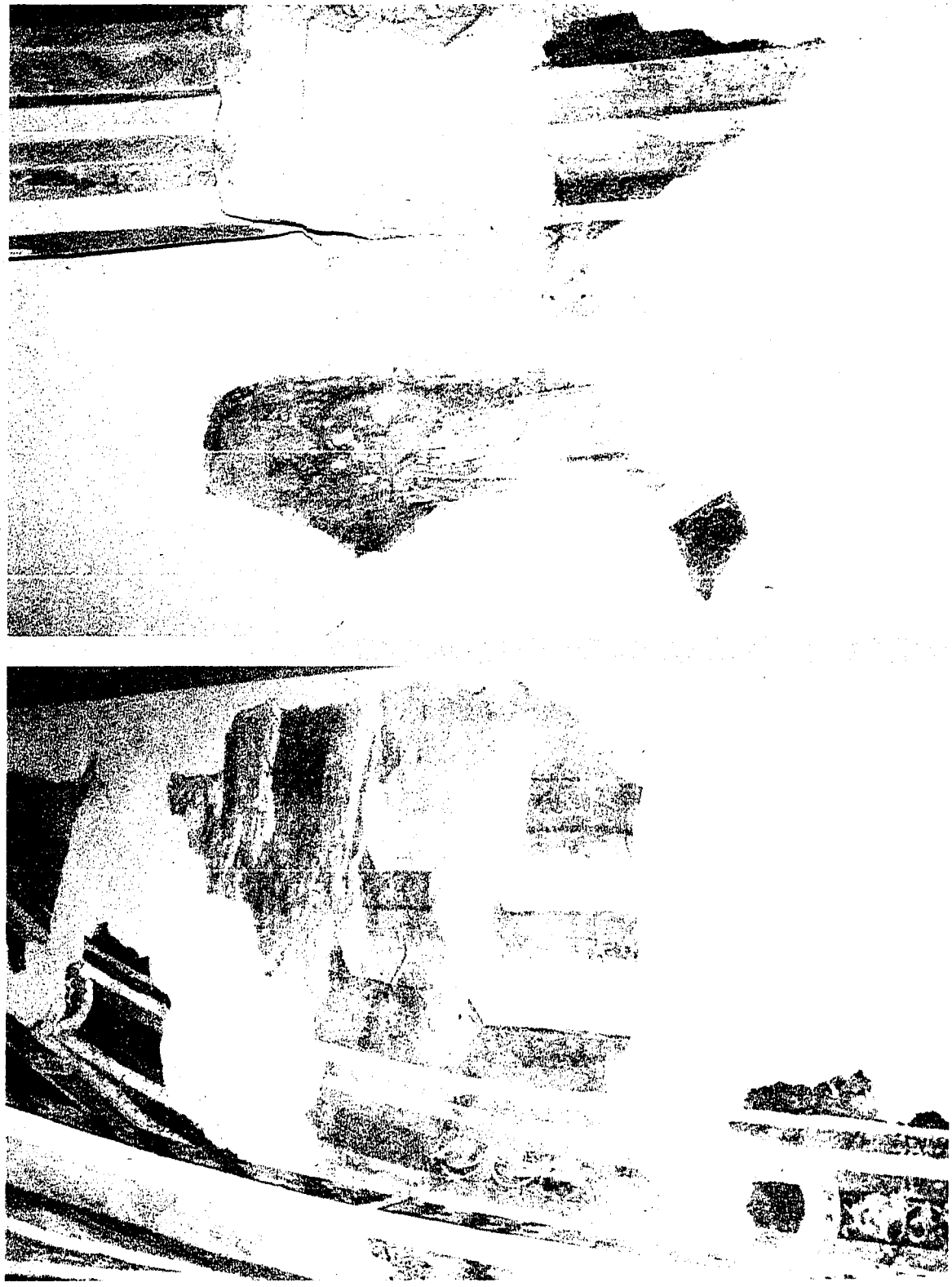
31. Drawing of frescoes on the north wall



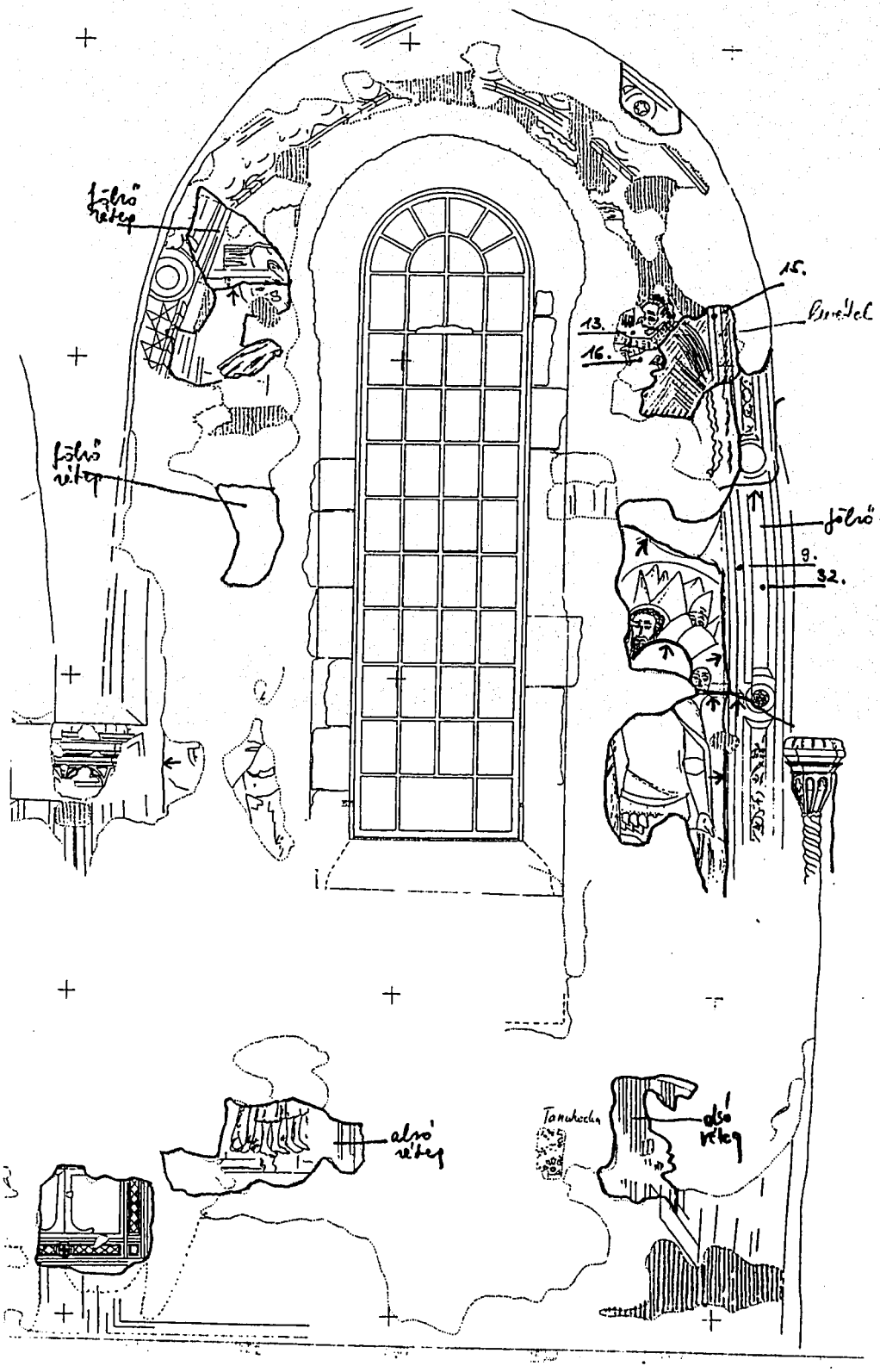
32. Drawing of frescoes on the eastern walls



33. Drawing of frescoes on the south wall



34-35. Rocky landscape and figure from a destroyed scene (Nativity?) on the north wall

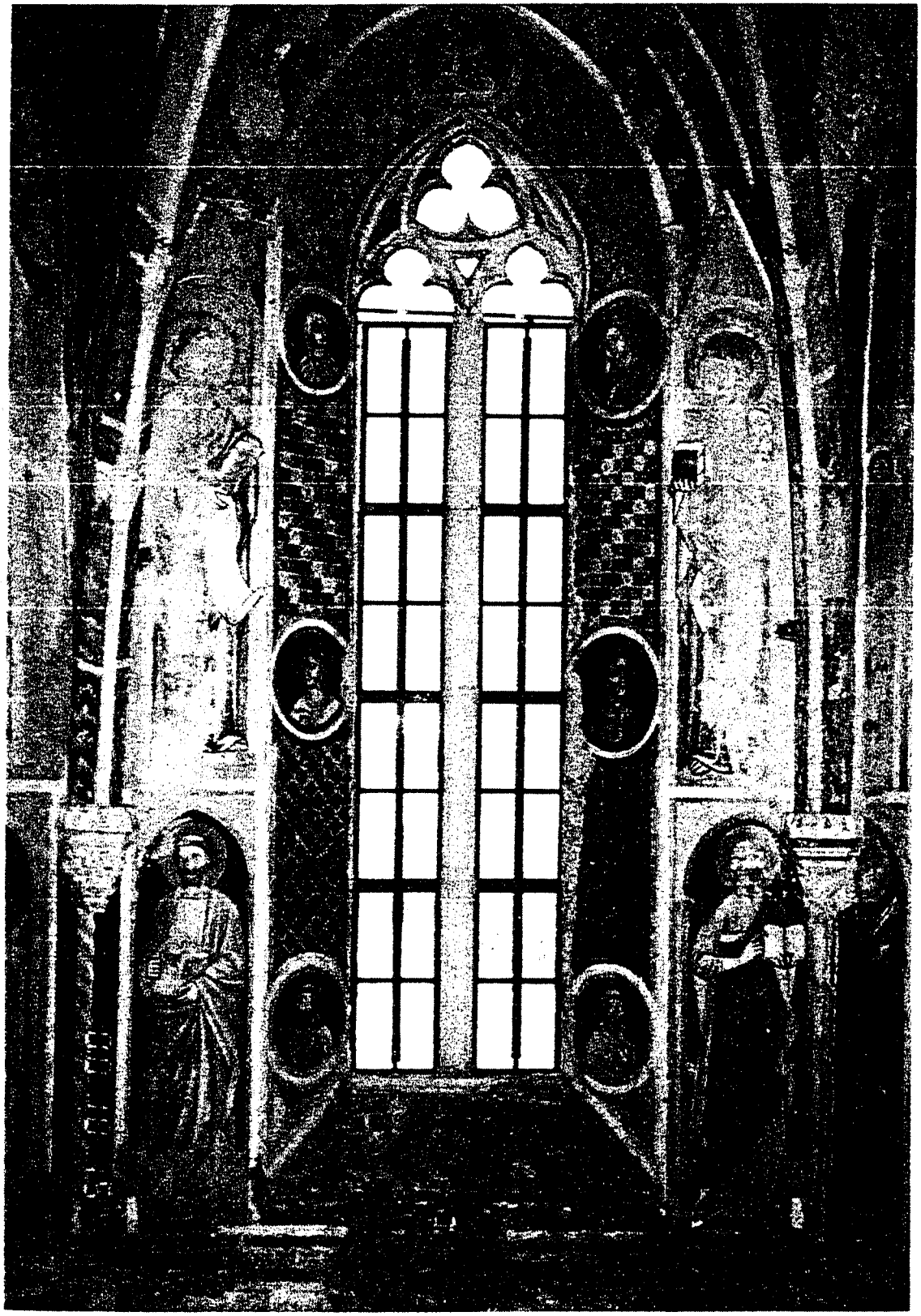


36. North wall, eastern bay, Crucifixion (two phases) – drawing

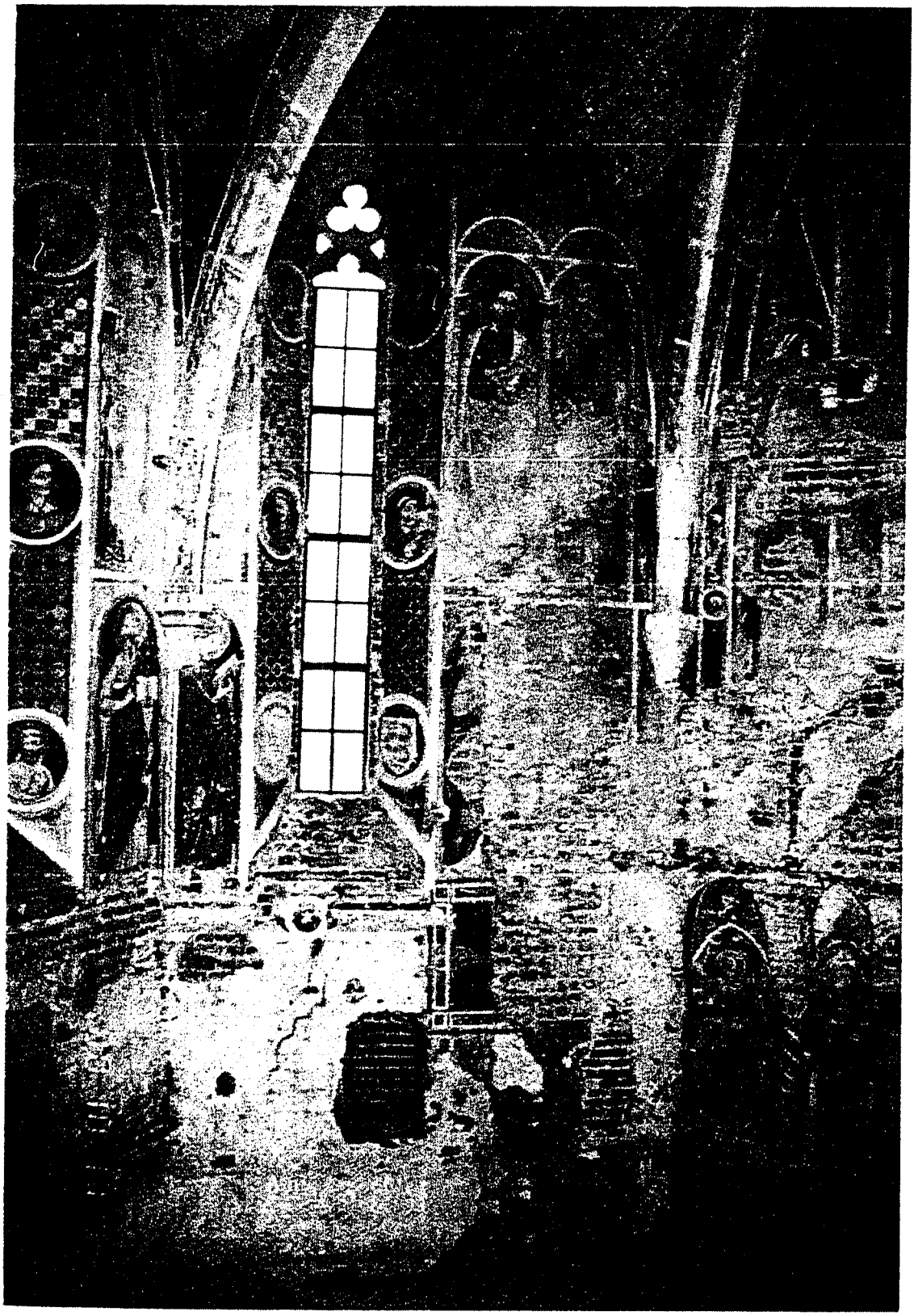
37. North wall, eastern bay, Crucifixion

38. Crucifixion, group of figures by the side of the Cross

39. North-east wall, Vir Dolorum and apostles



40. Eastern wall, Apostles

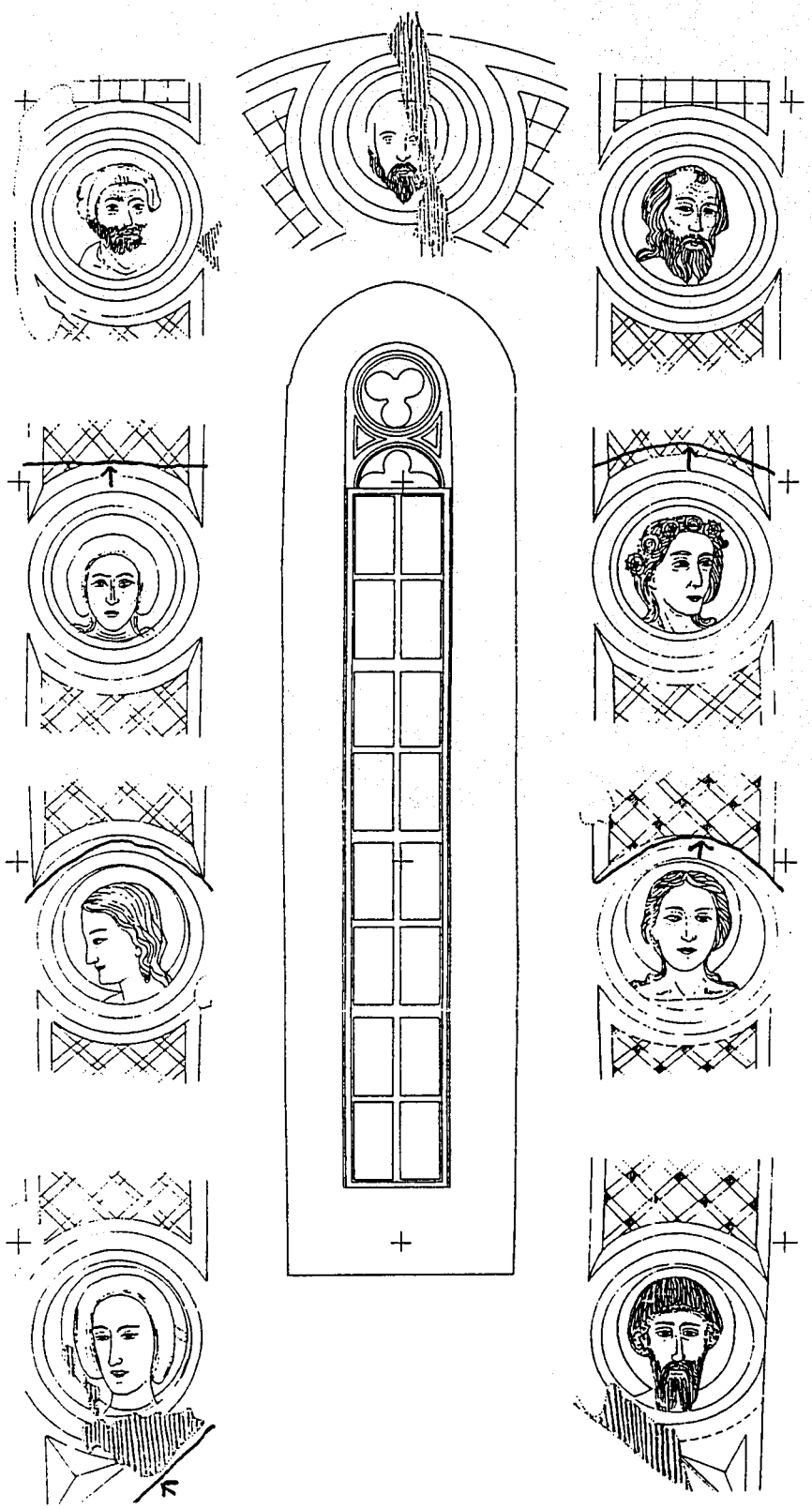


41. South-east wall, Apostles

42. St. Andrew, north-eastern wall (E-4)

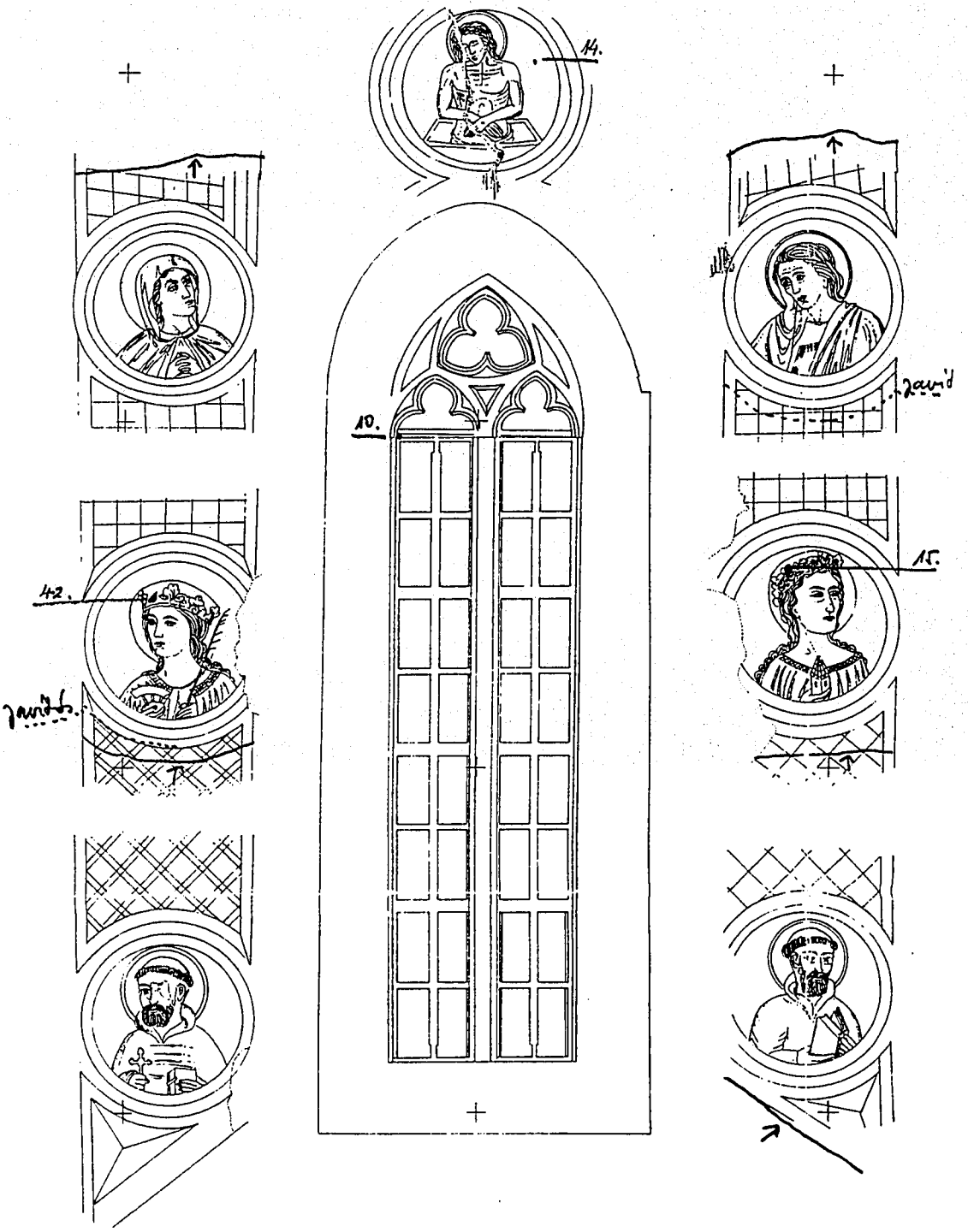
43. St. Peter, eastern wall (E-7)

44. St. Paul and another apostle, eastern wall (E-8, 9)

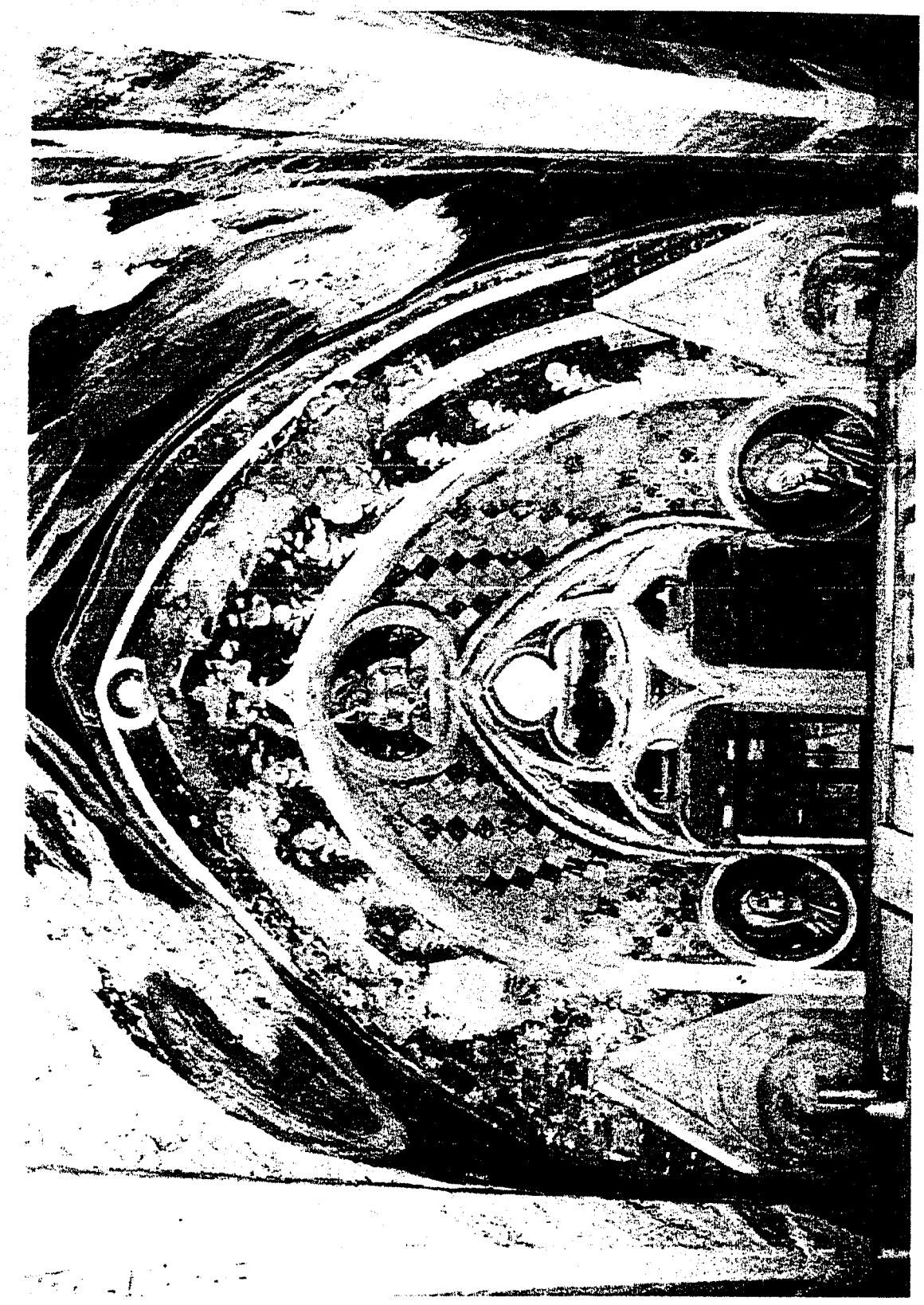


45. Drawing of figures from the north-eastern window

46. Female saint from the north-eastern window (E-20)



47. Drawing of figures from the eastern window

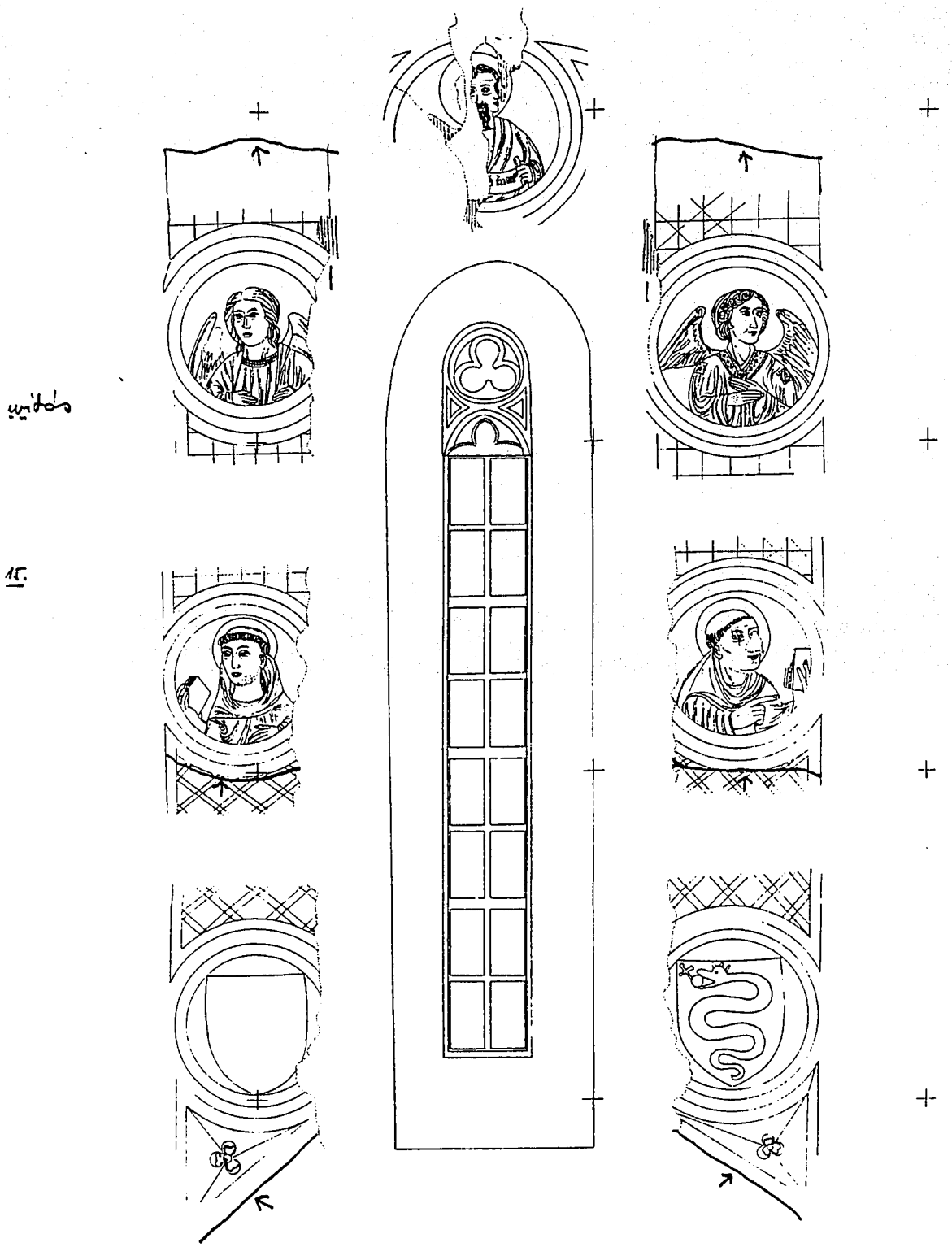


48. Vir Dolorum, the Virgin and St. John, eastern window (E-23-25)

49. St. Catherine, eastern window (E-26)

50. St. Barbara, eastern window (E-27)

51 Holy monk, eastern window (E-28)

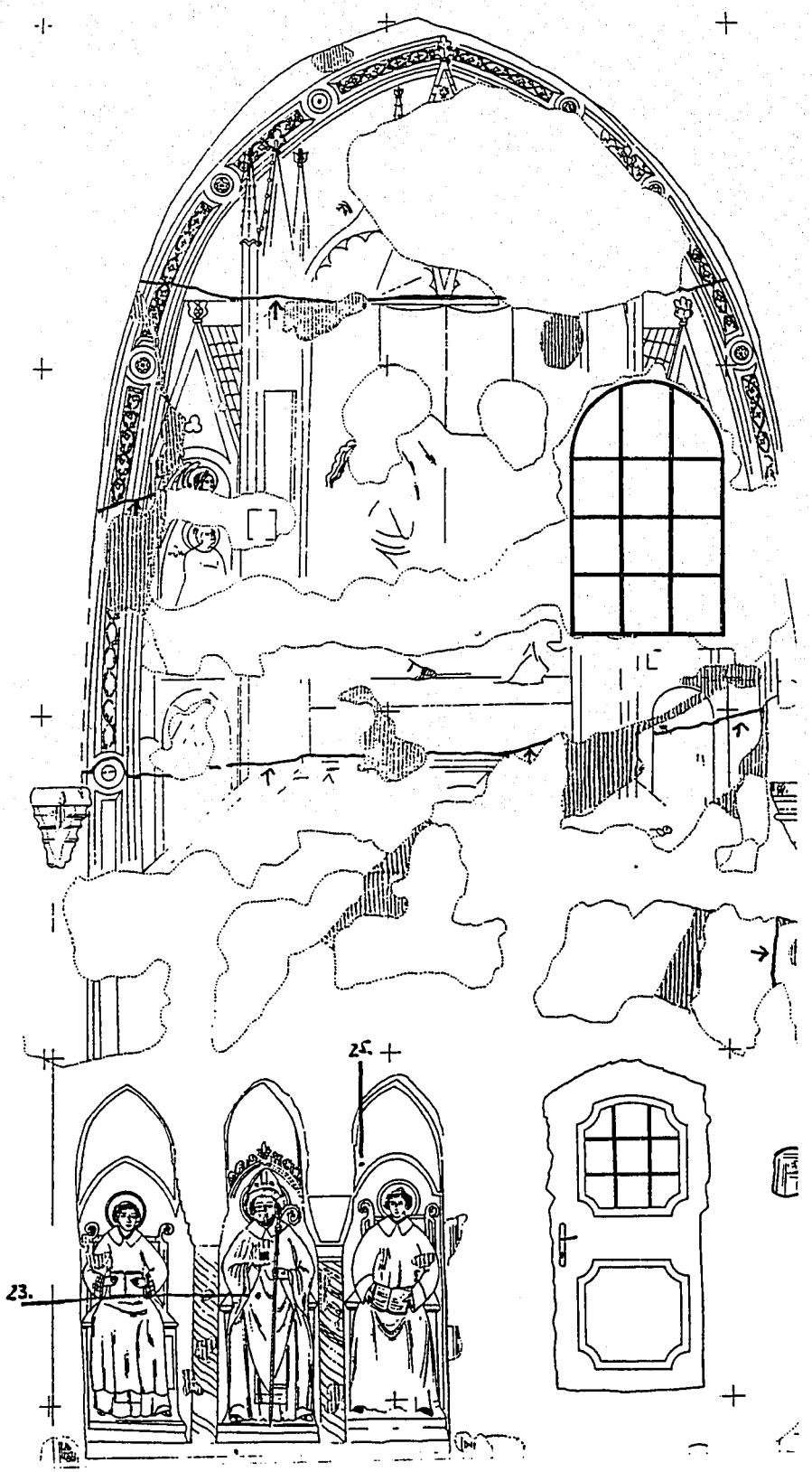


52. Drawing of figures from the south-eastern window

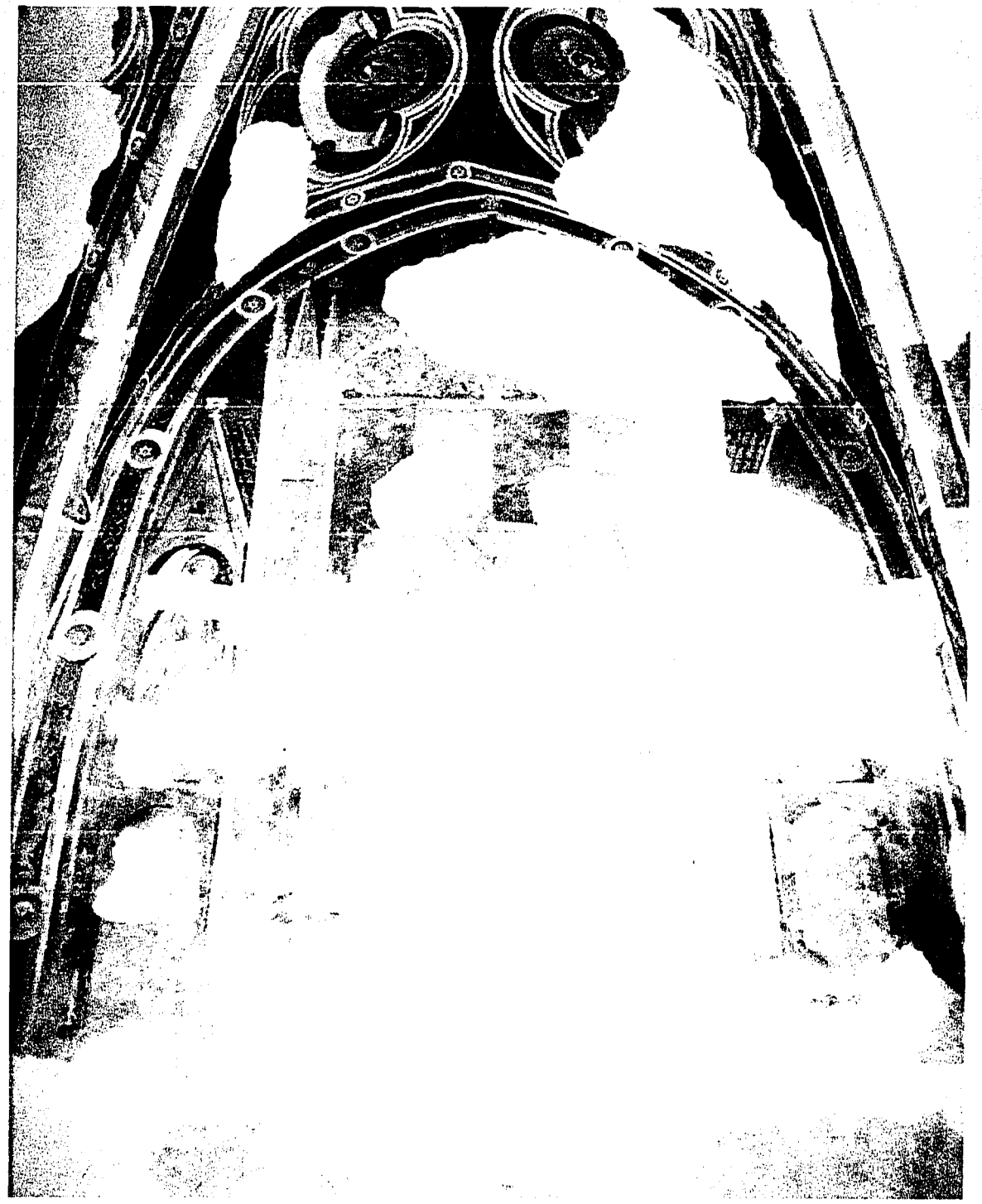
53. Trinity, south-eastern window (E-30)

54. Angel, south-eastern window (E-32)

55. Holy monk, south-eastern window (E-33)



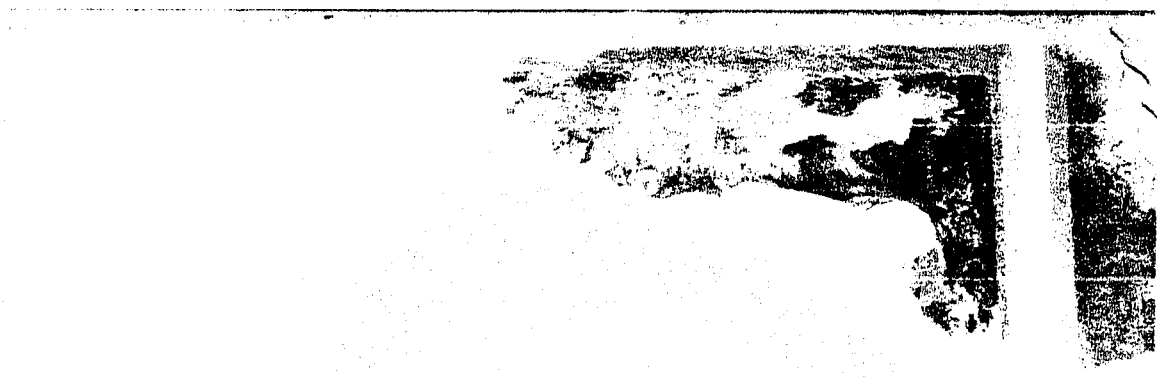
56. South wall, eastern bay, drawing



57. The Coronation of the Virgin, South wall

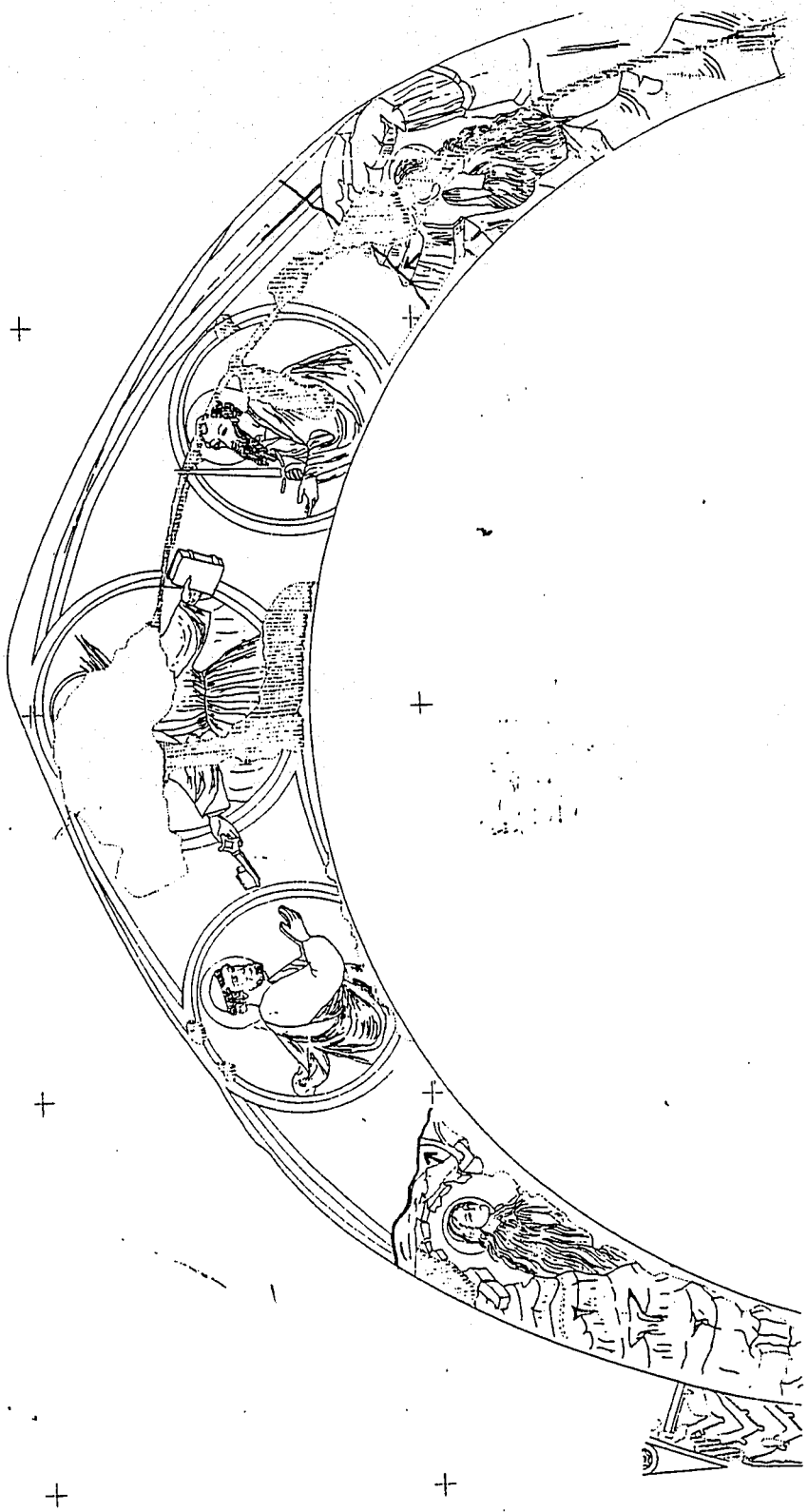
58. Figure of an angel from the Coronation, south wall (S-1)

59. South wall, western bay

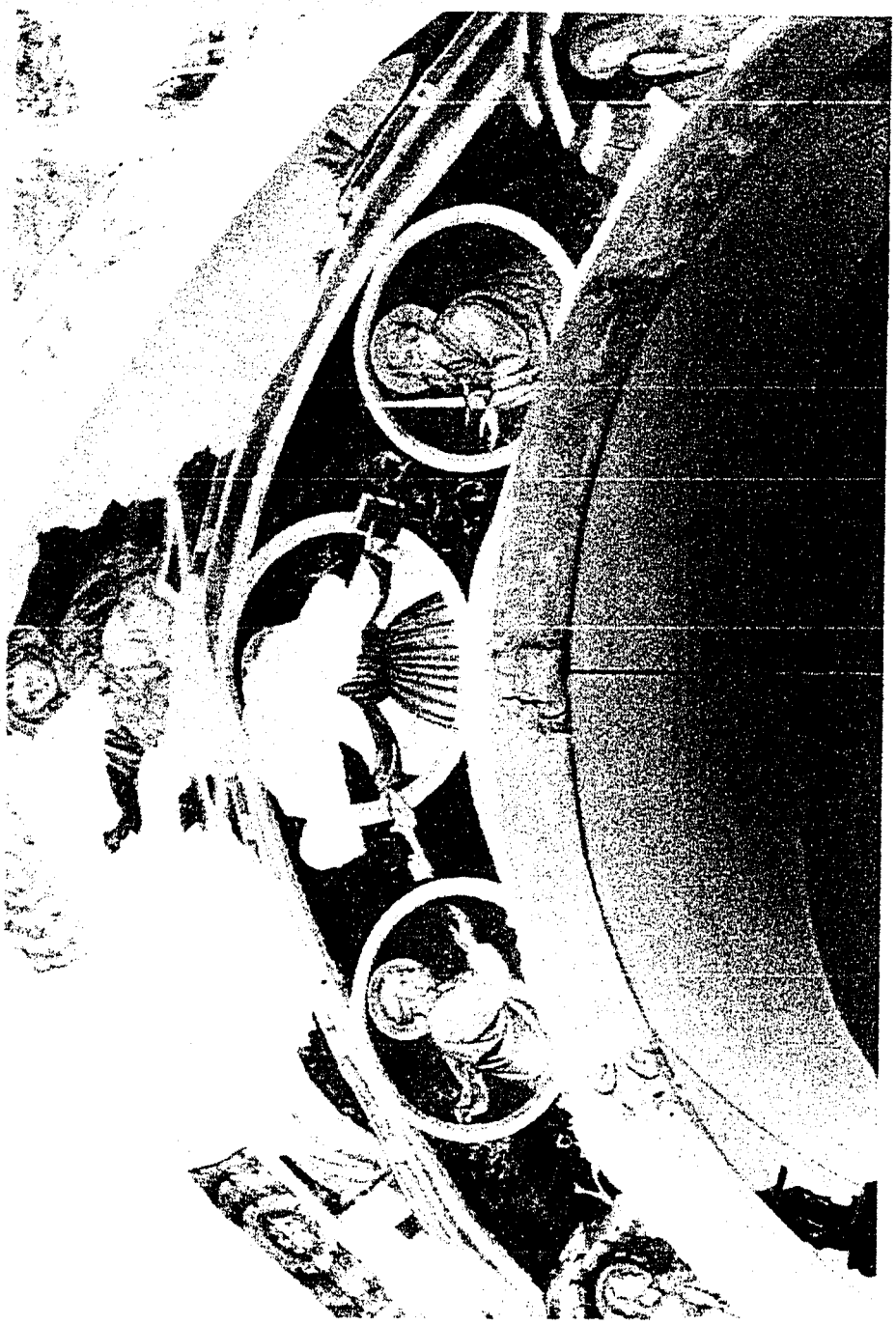


60. Fragments of a destroyed scene on the north wall (Dormition?)

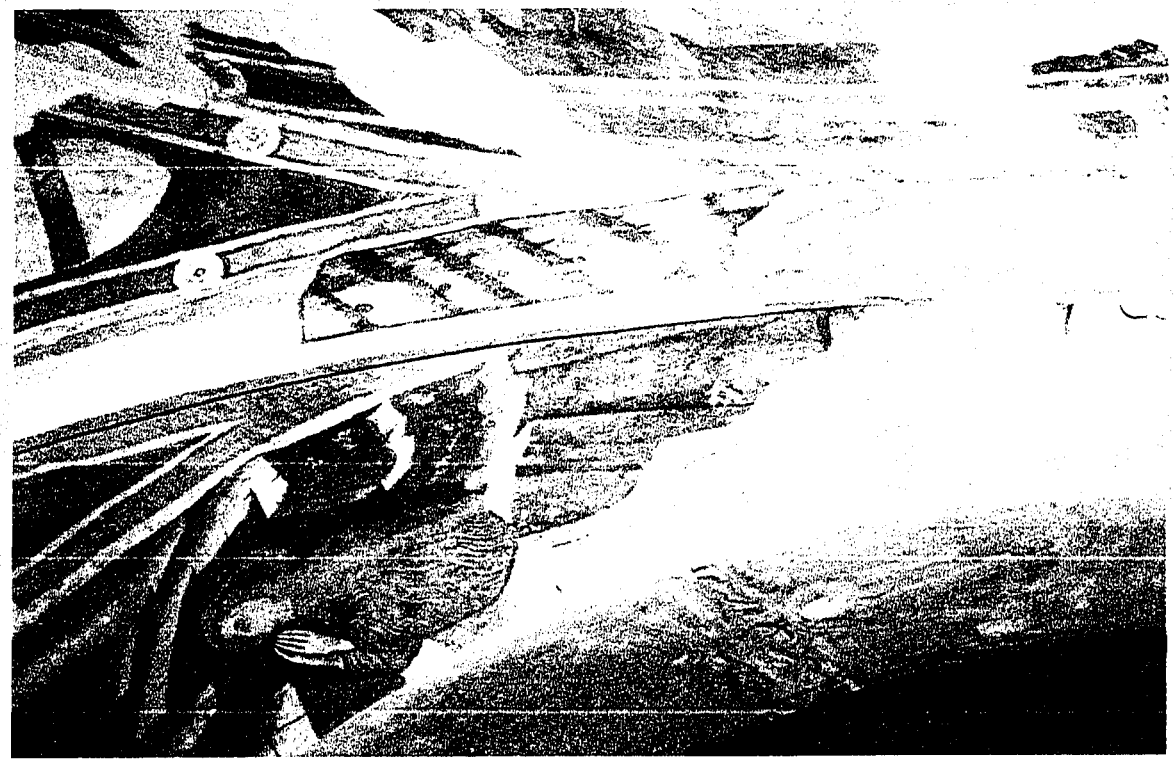
61. St. John the Baptist, south wall (S-6)

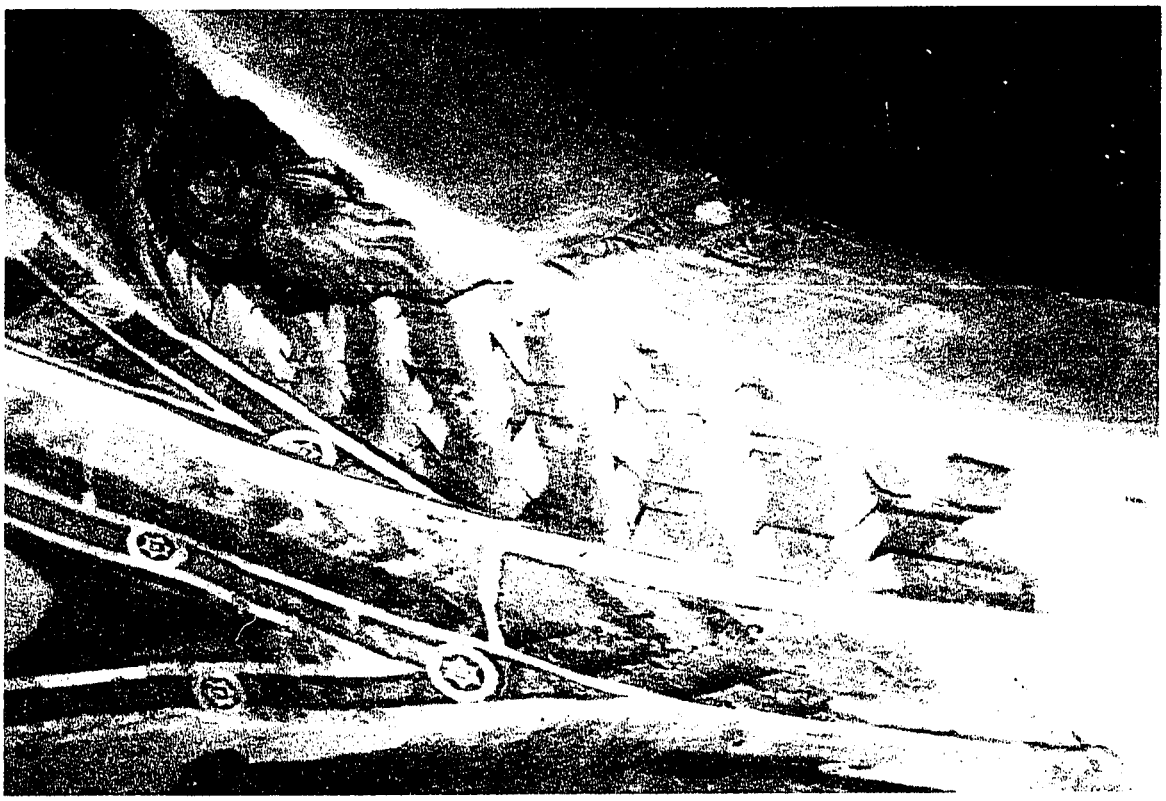


62. Drawing of frescoes on the triumphal arch

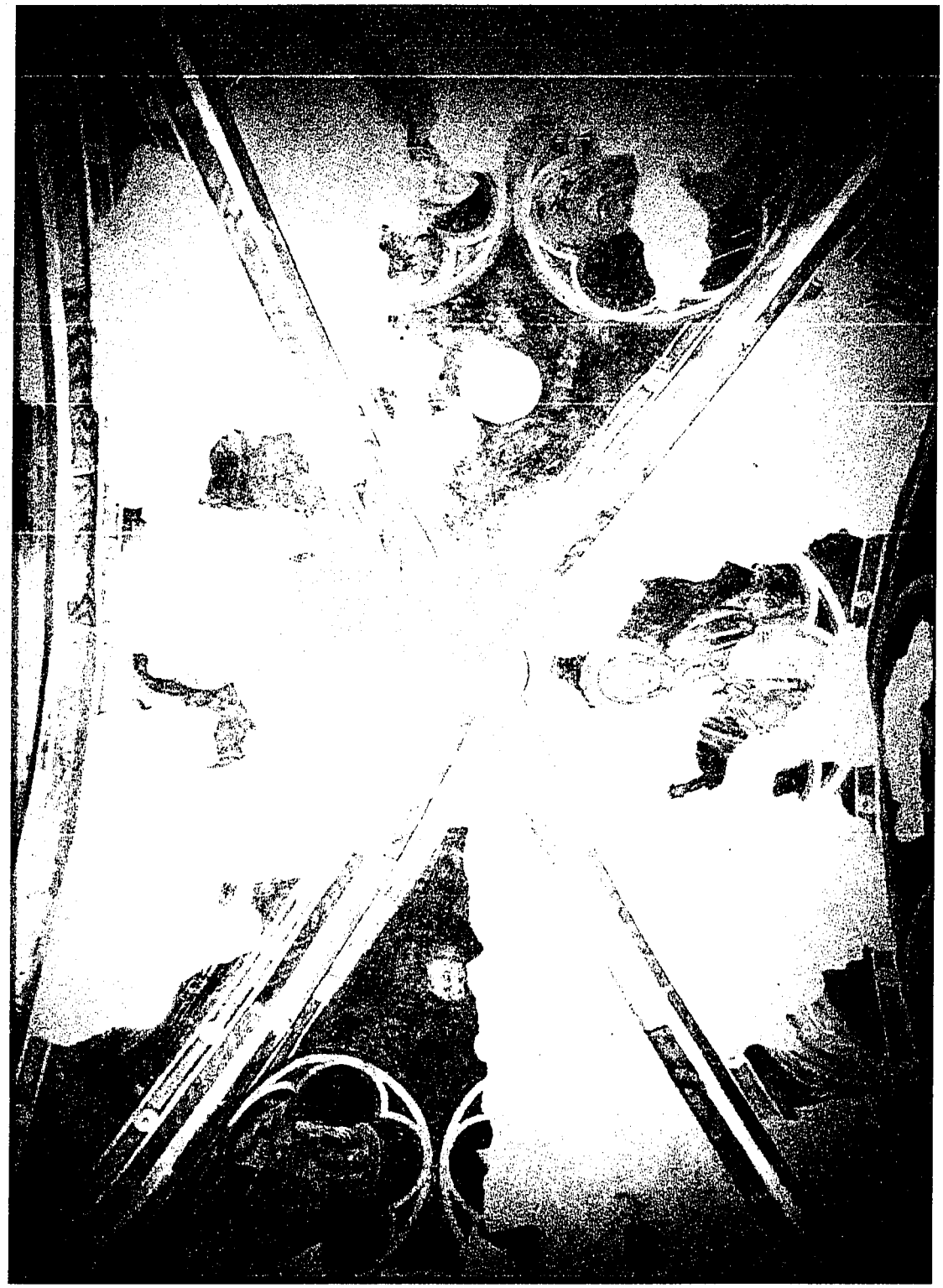


63. Traditio Legis, triumphal arch (W-1-3)





64-65. The Magdalene and St. Mary of Egypt on the triumphal arch



66. View of the western bay of the sanctuary vault

67. St. Anne with the Virgin and the Child, vault (V-1)

68. The Virgin and Child, vault (V-2)

69. Fragments of the Majestic Christ, figure of an angel (V-3)

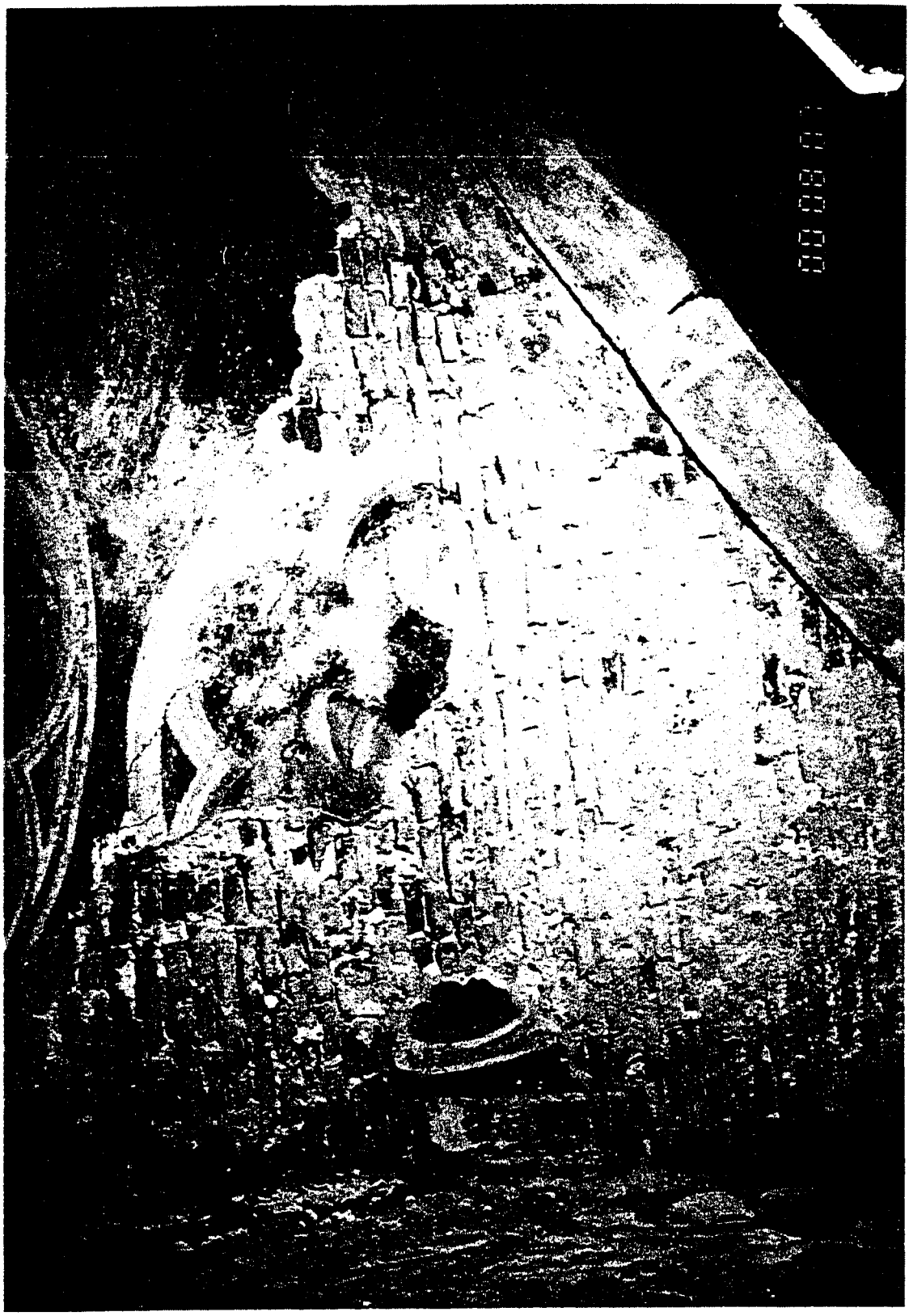
70-71. Fragments of St. Gregory (V-4) and the figure of St. Jerome, vault (V-5)

72. Fragments of St. Ambrose, with Cilli coats of arms, vault (V-6, 23)

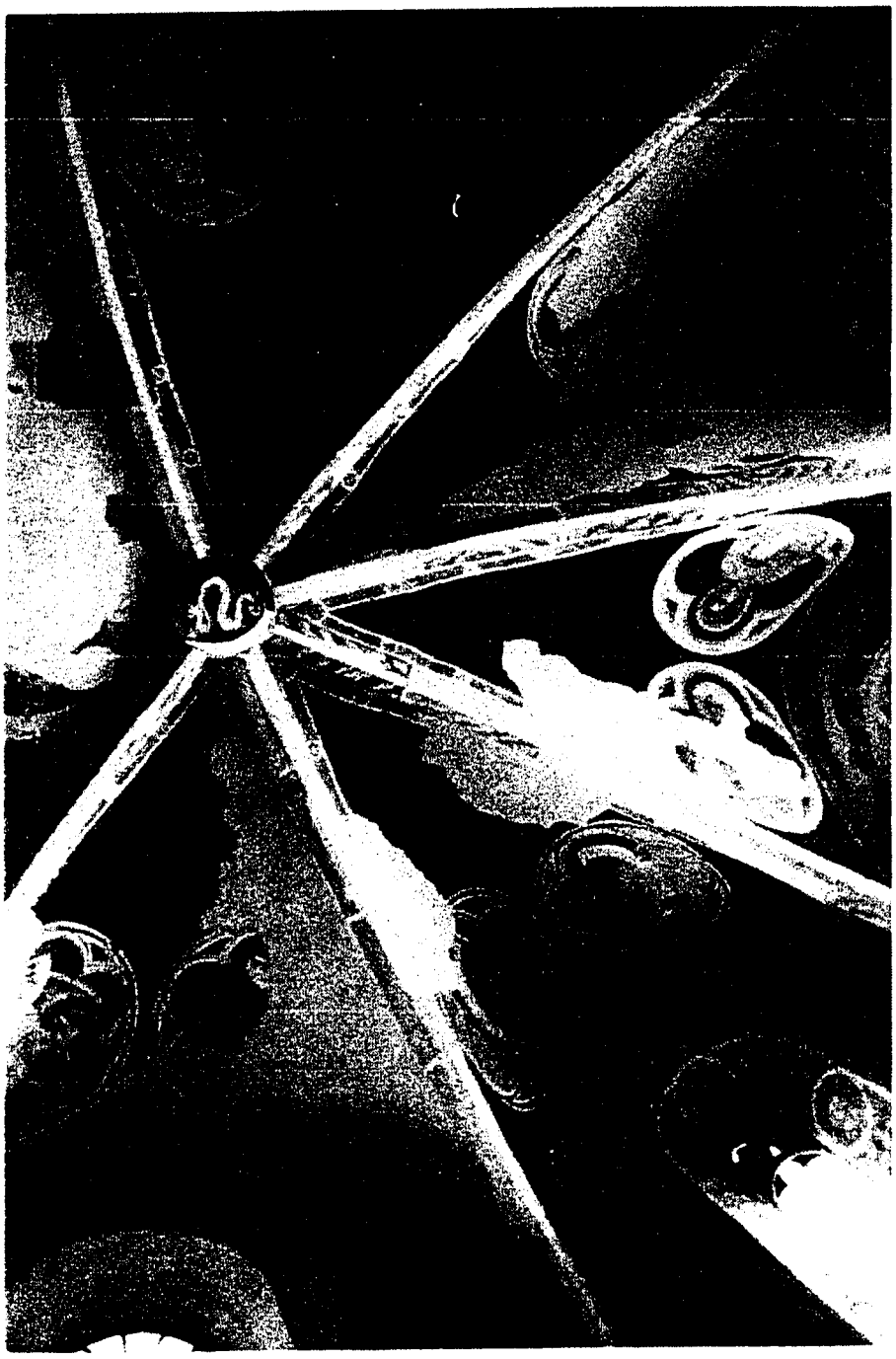
73. The symbol of St. Matthew, vault (V-8)

74. The symbol of St. Mark, vault (V-9)

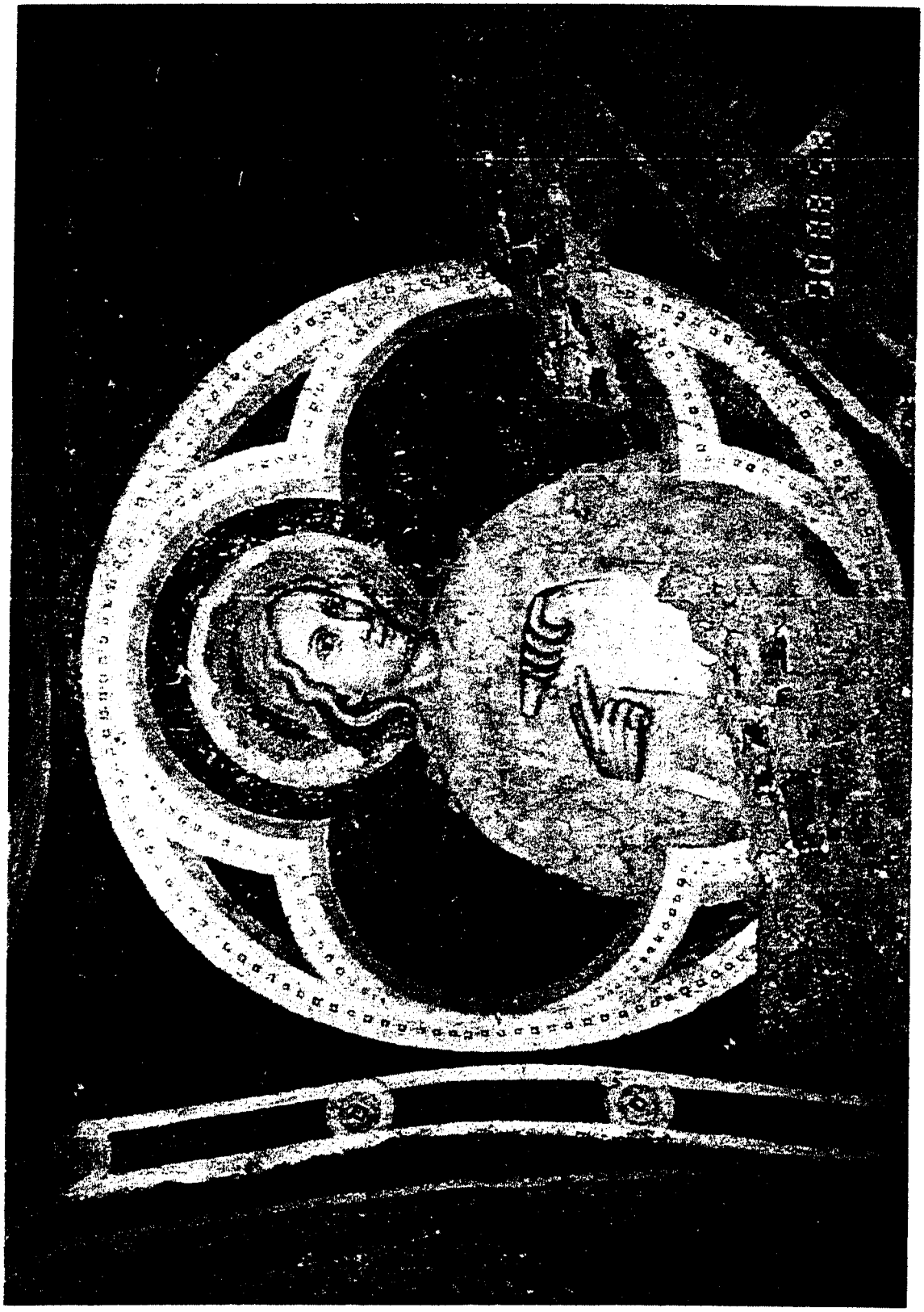
75. The symbol of St. Luke, vault, detail (V-10)



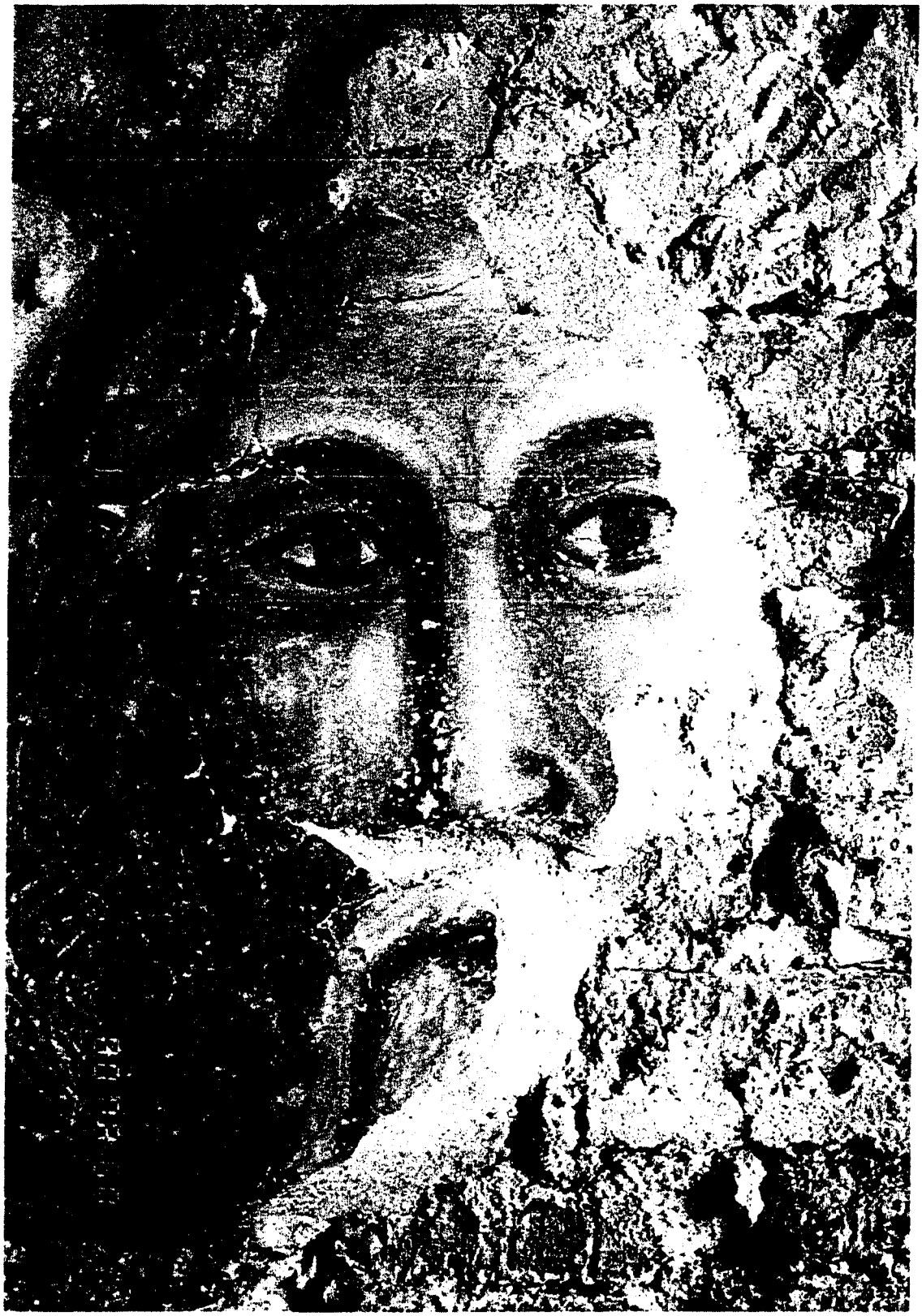
76. The symbol of St. John, vault (V-11)



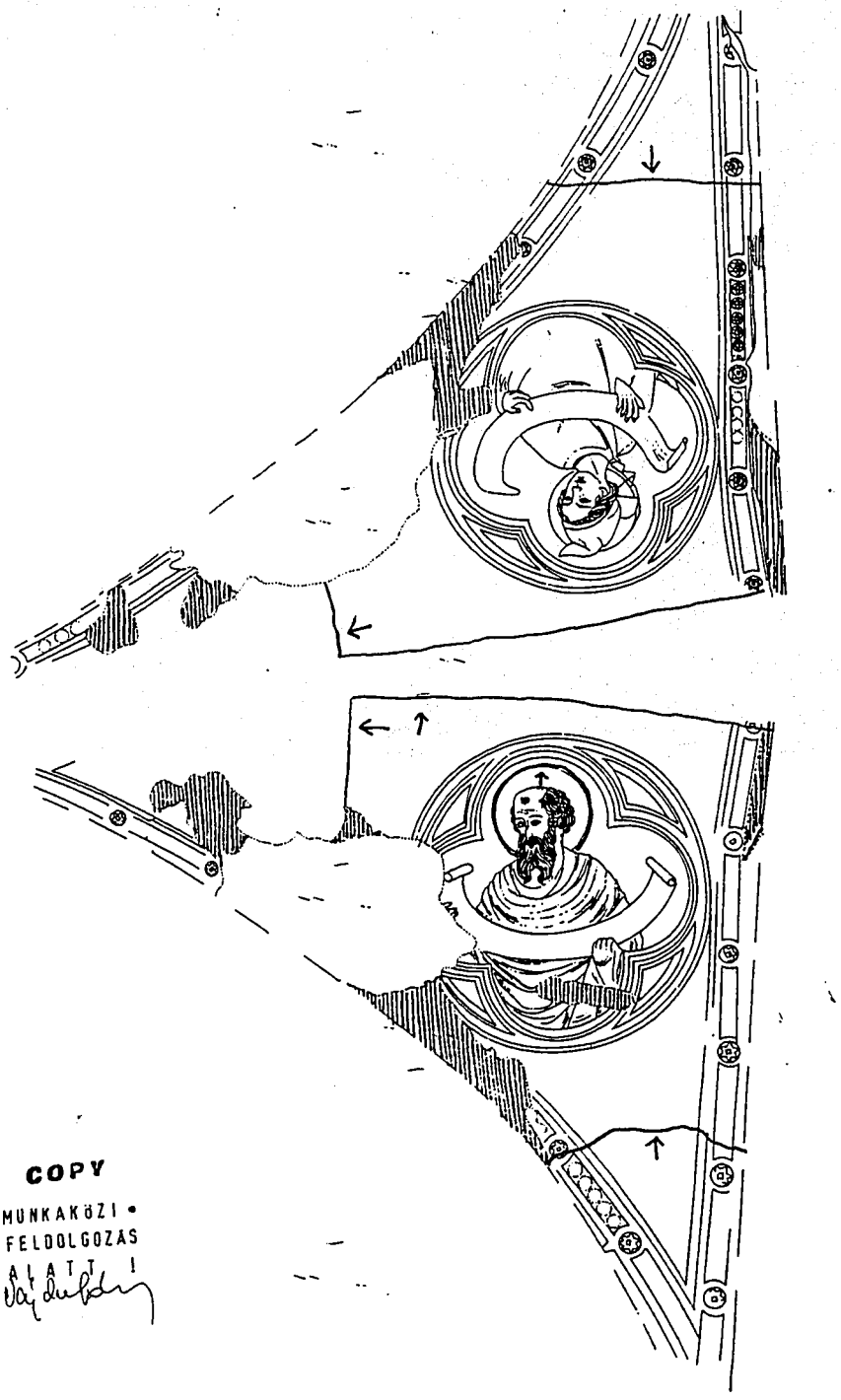
77. Eastern section of the vault



78. King Solomon, vault (V-14)



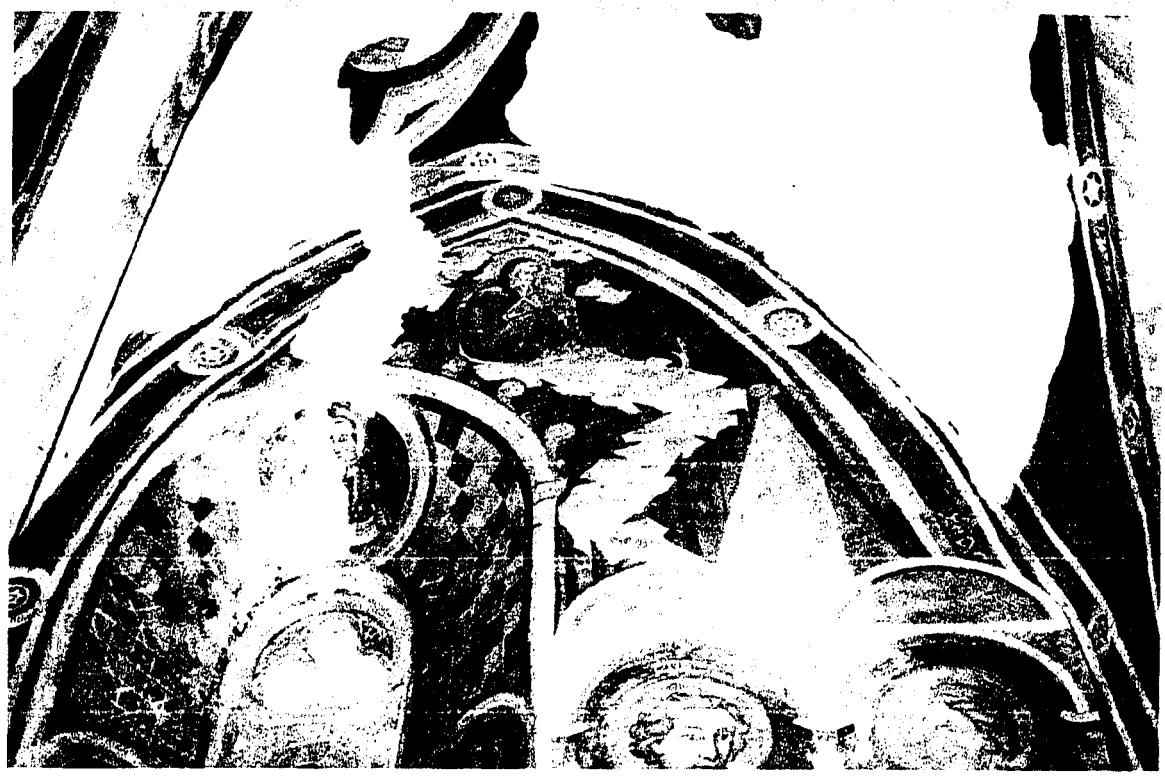
79. King David, vault, detail (V-15)



80. Drawing of vault sections with Daniel and Zechariah

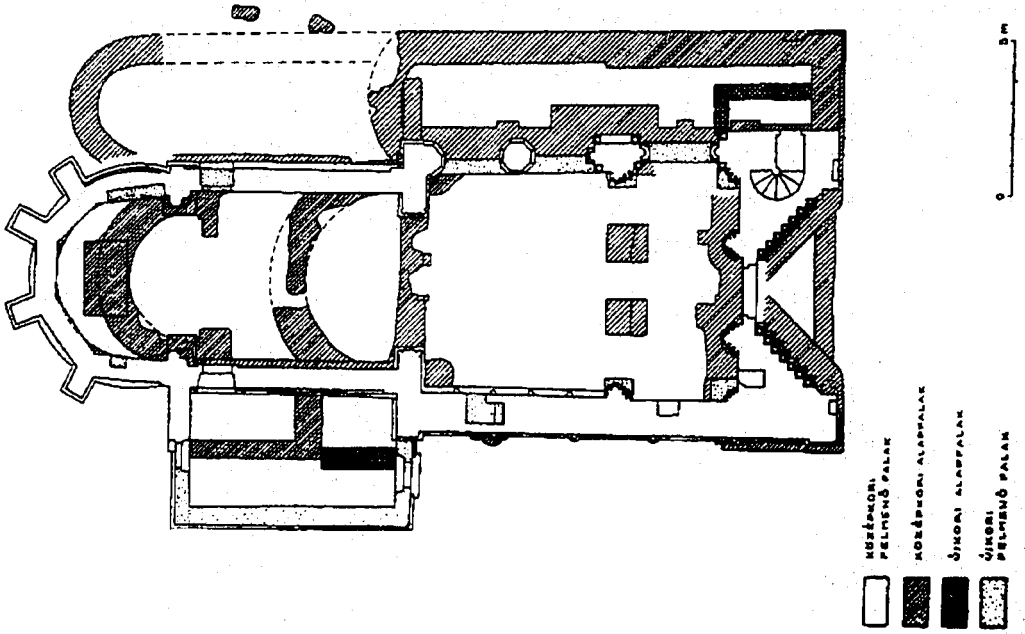
81. Prophet Daniel, vault (V-16)

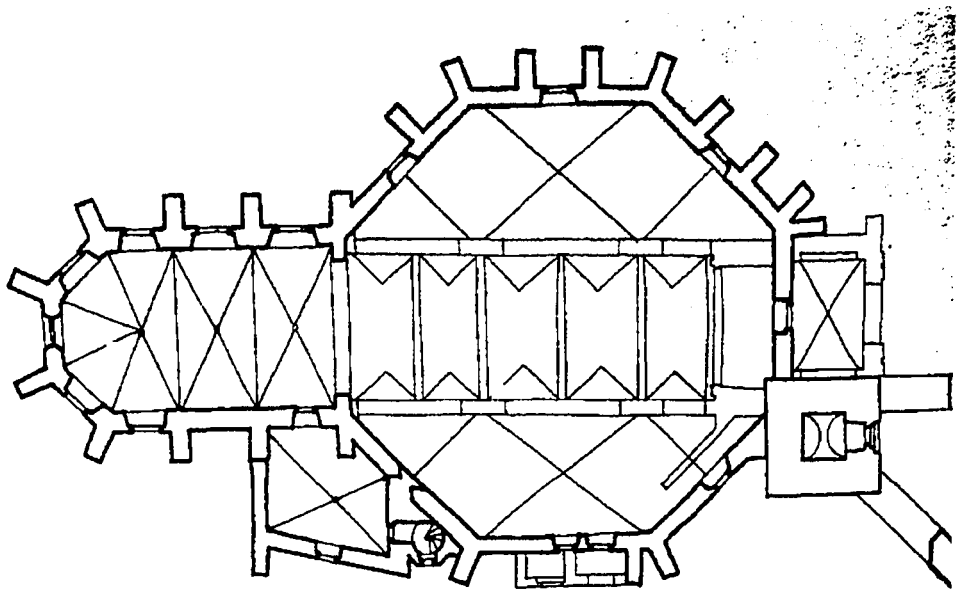
82. Prophet Zechariah, vault (V-17)



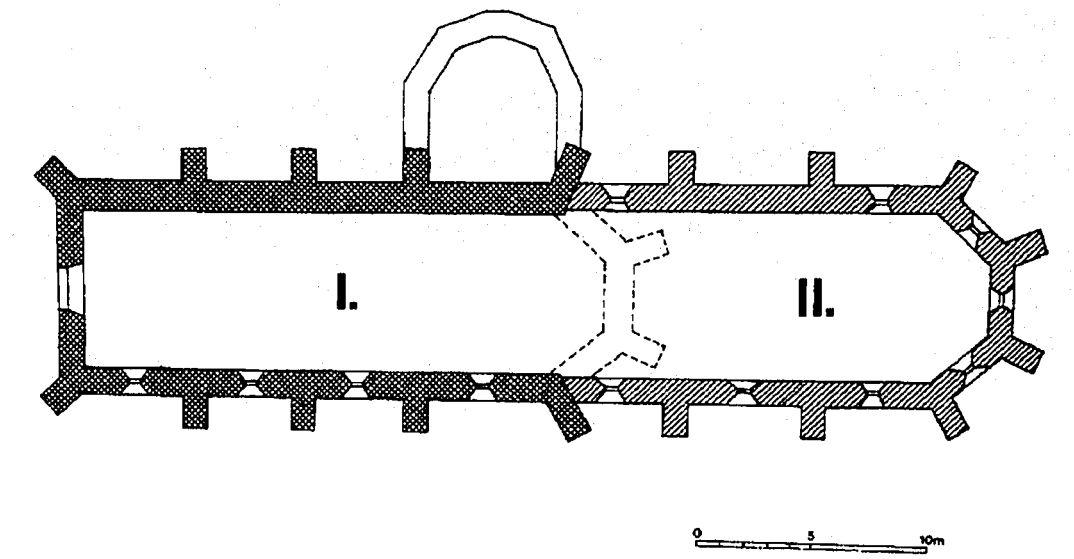
83. Figure of a hermit on a hill

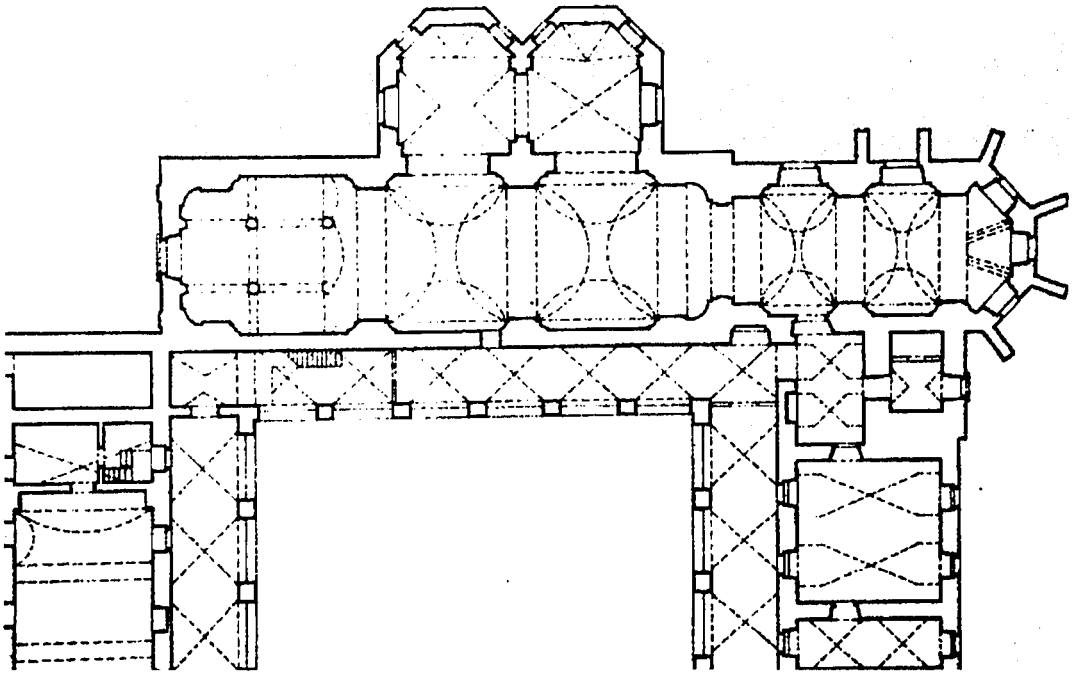
84. Two dogs at the bottom of the north wall



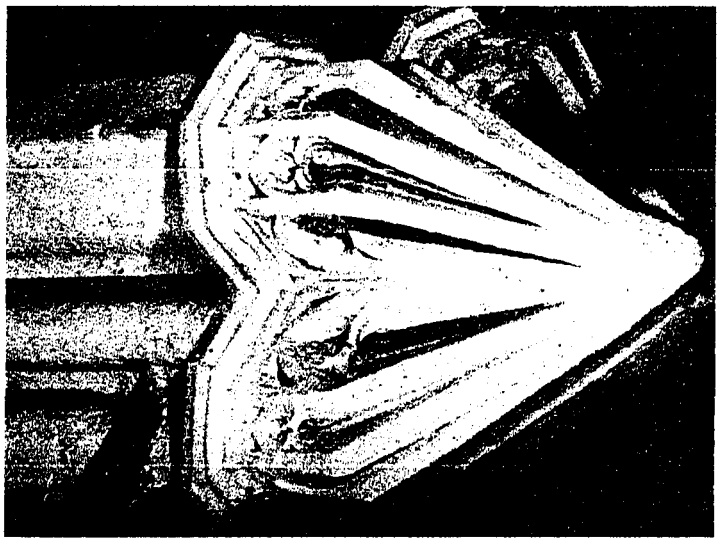


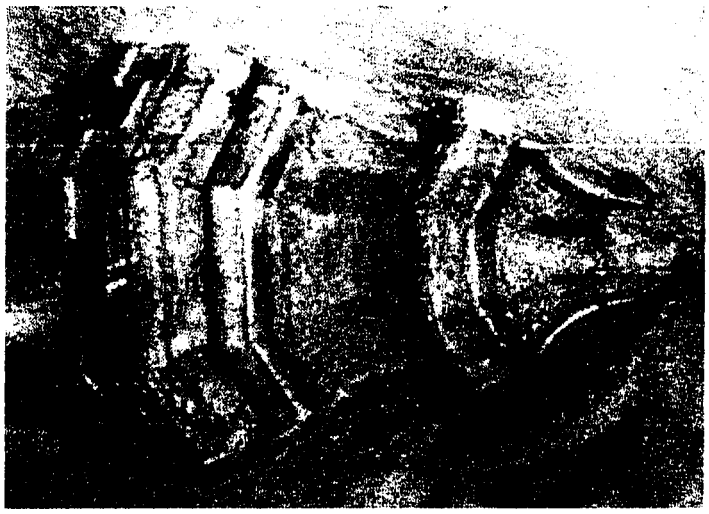
85-86. Plans of the Augustinian churches of Horpács and Vágújhely (not to scale)



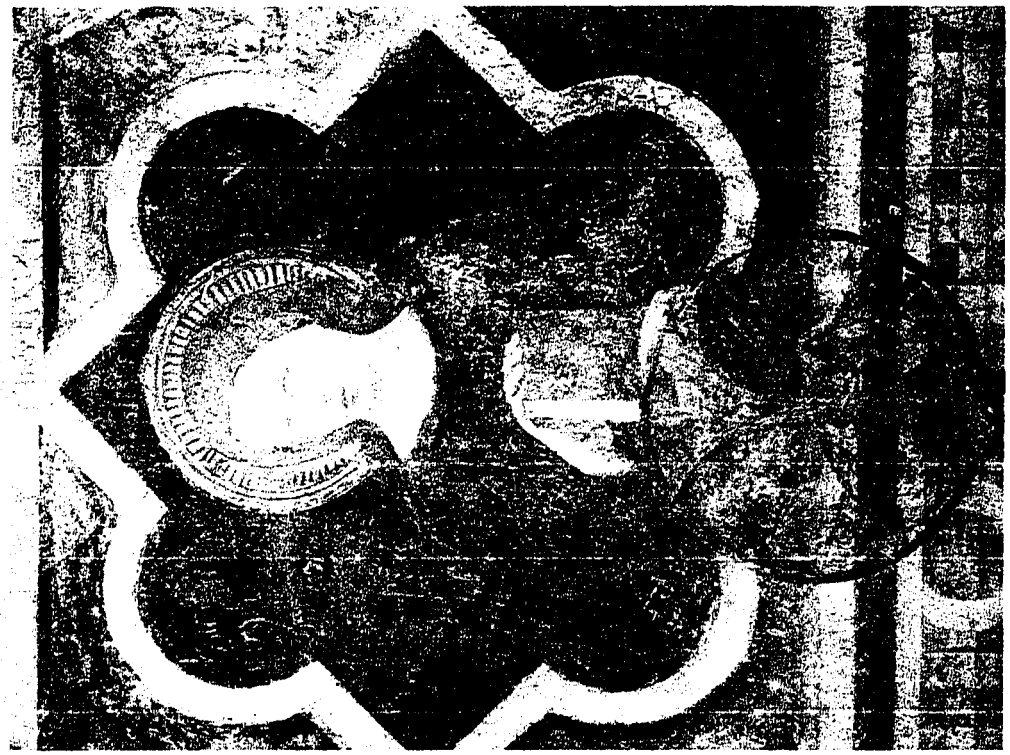


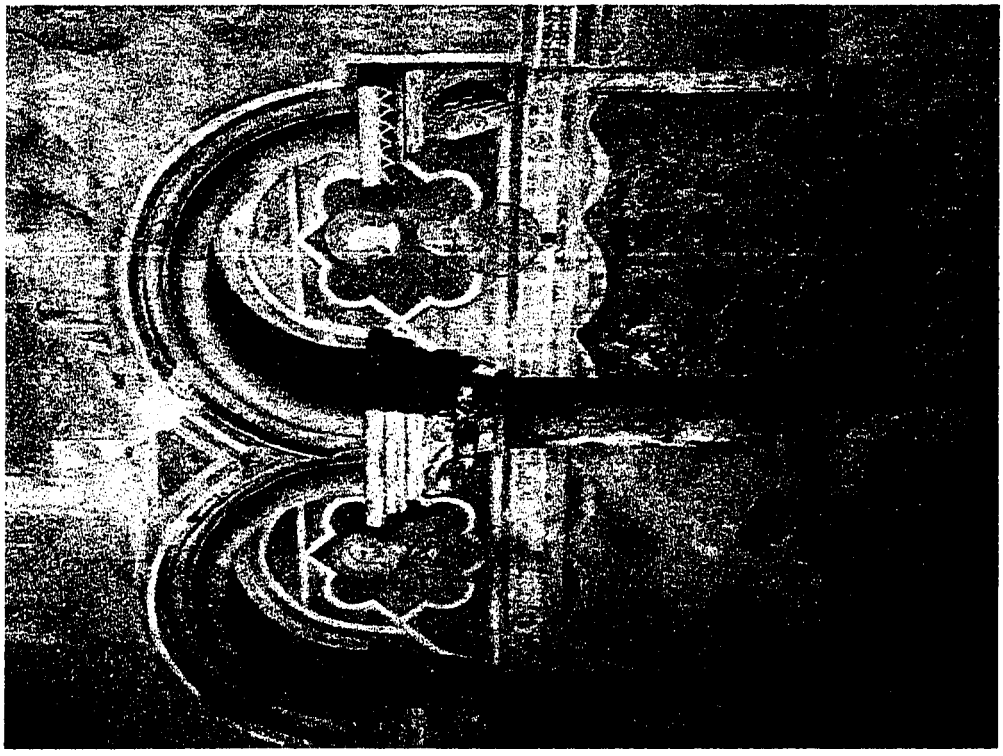
87-88. Plans of the Franciscan churches of Újlak and Nekcse (not to scale)





Corbels from (89.) Garamszentbenedek; (90.) Berhida; (91.) Újlak (Franciscan church)





92-93. Esztergom, details from the frescoes of the palace chapel

94. Zagreb, chapel of St. Stephen, figure of an Evangelist at his desk

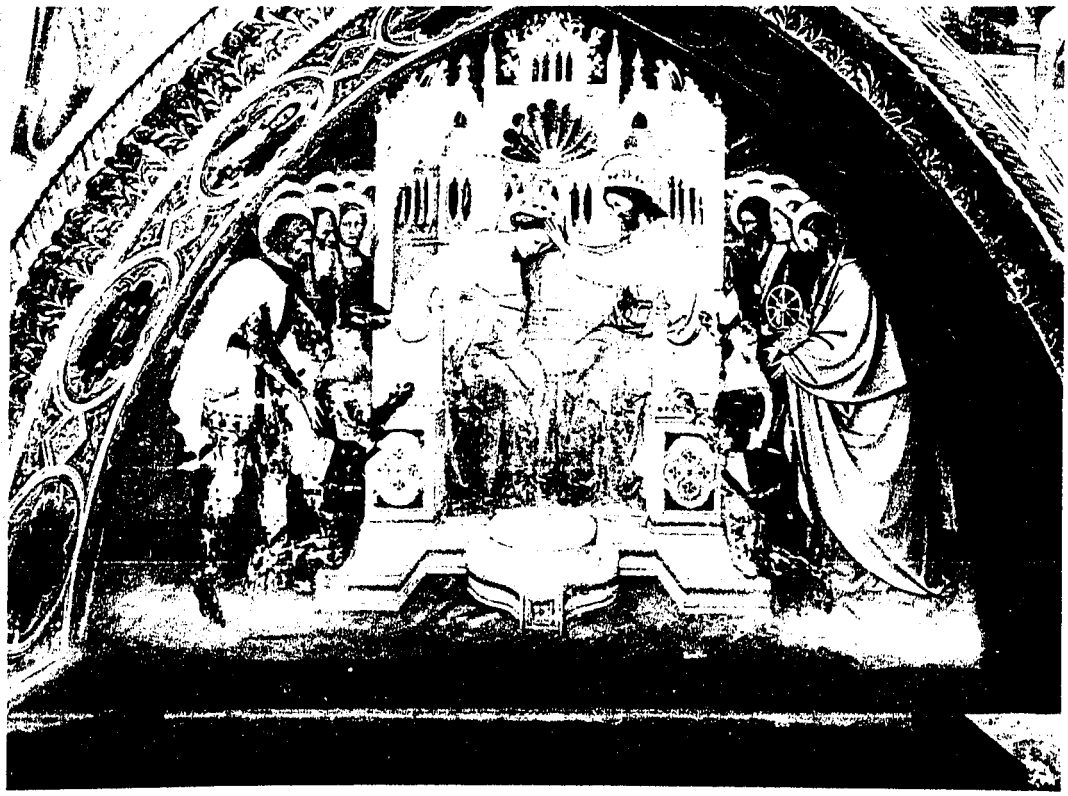
95-96. Zagreb, Chapel of St. Stephen, Majestic Christ; Angel

97-98. Petőszinye, two details from the Last Judgment

99. Padua, Oratorio di San Giorgio. Coronation and Crucifixion by Altichiero

100-101. Padua, Crucifixion images by Altichiero in S. Giorgio and S. Giacomo (central part)

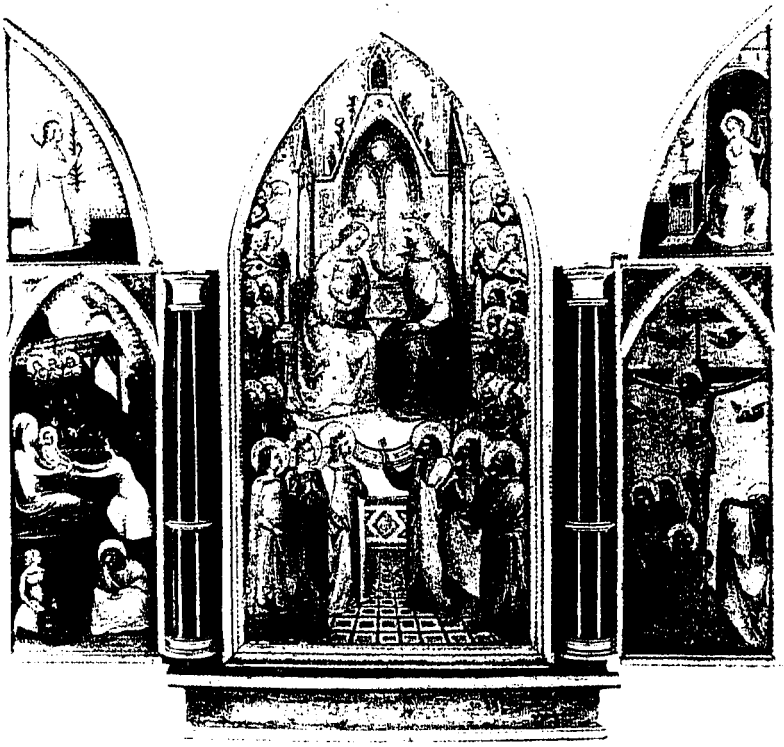
102. The central panel of the Calvary altar by Thomas de Coloswar, Garamszentbenedek, 1427 (Esztergom, Christian Museum)



103-104. Padua. Coronation images by Altichiero in the Eremitani and in S. Giorgio

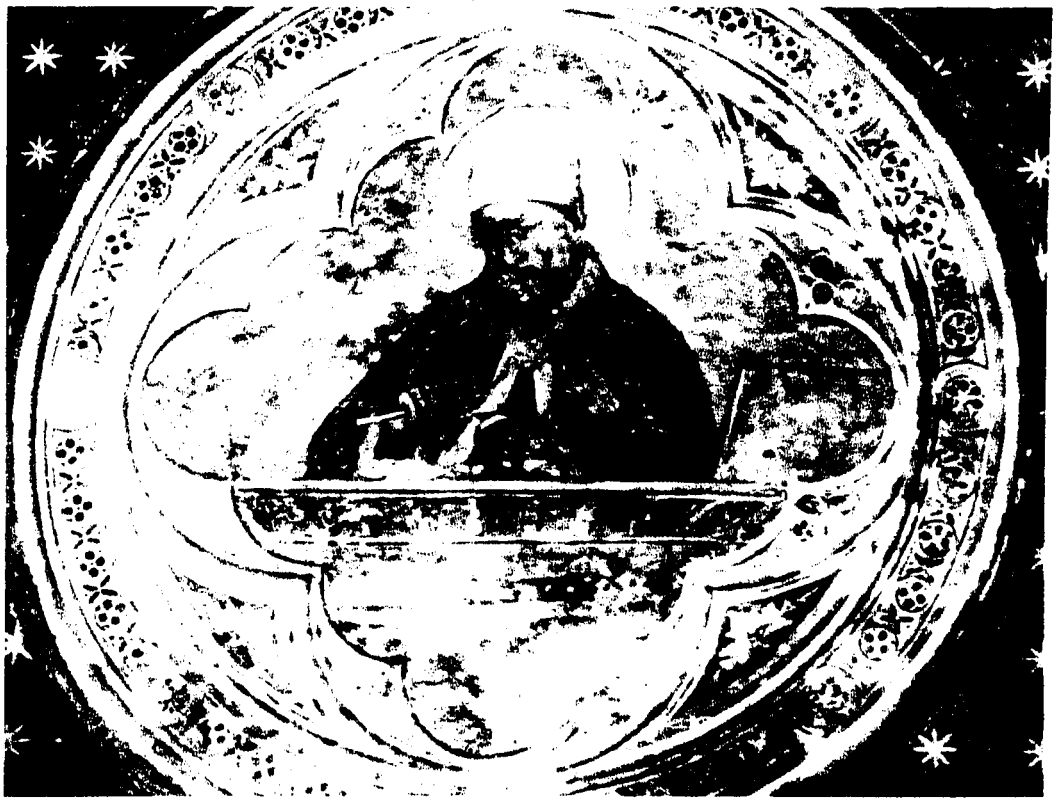
105. Coronation of the Virgin, Stams, Cistercian abbey

106. Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, Nativity by Altichiero



107. Giusto de' Menabuoi: Triptych, London, National Gallery

108. Padua, Il Santo, Chapel of St. James, St. Jerome by Altichiero

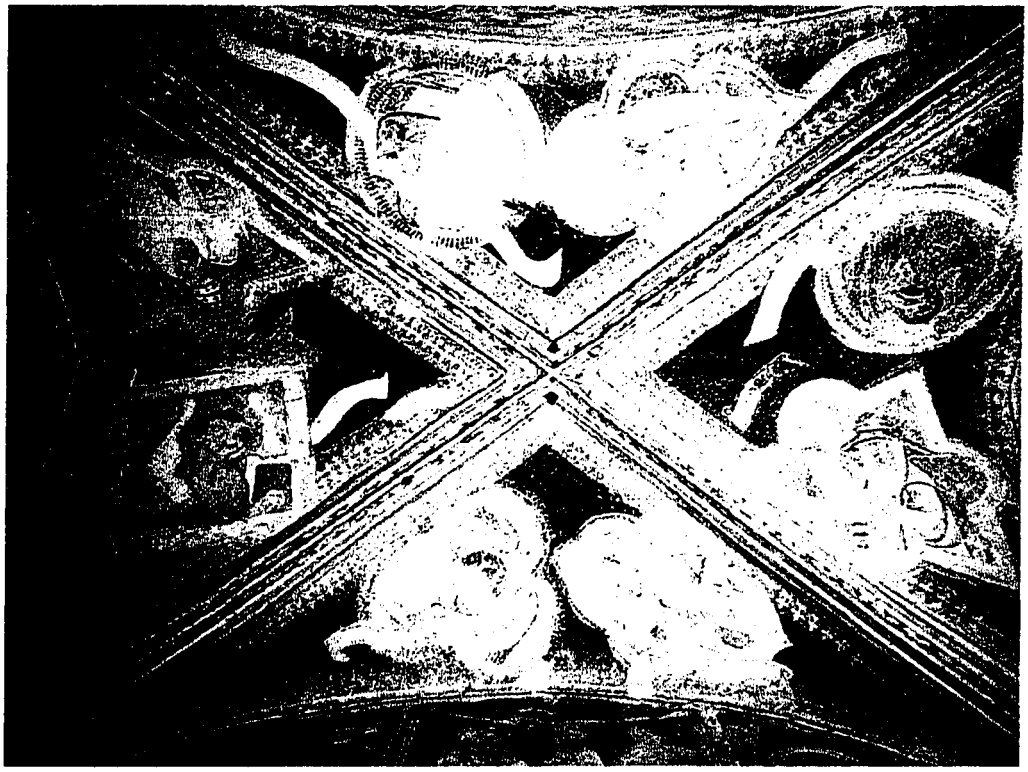


109. Padua, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, St. Augustine by Altichiero

110. Padua, Eremitani, Symbols of the Evangelists, Church Fathers by Altichiero

111-112. Brixen, 4th cloister arcade, vault, Symbols of the Evangelists, Church Fathers and Prophets, by Hans von Bruneck, 1417

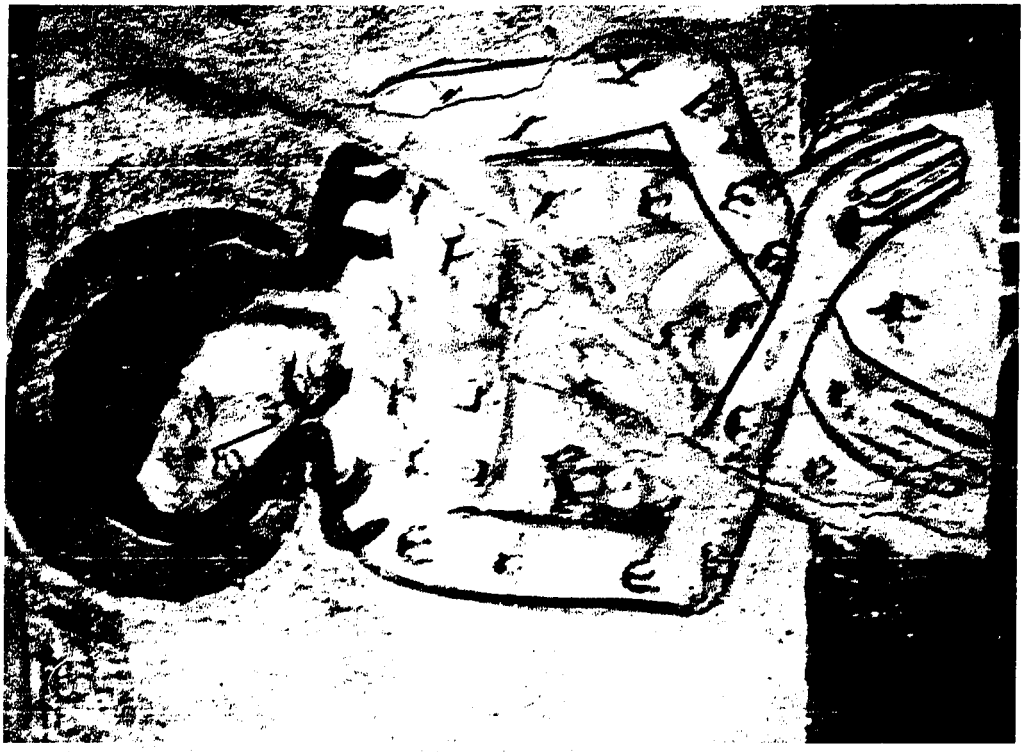
113. Neustift, cloister walk of the Augustinian priory with fresco decoration



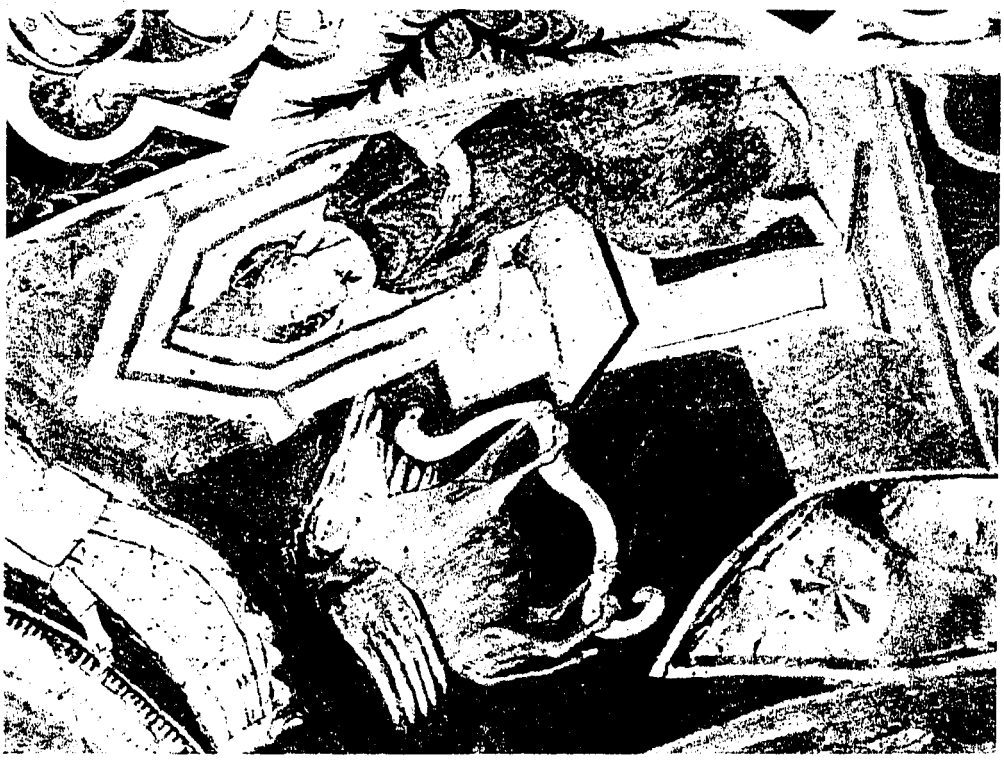
114. Ptujska Gora, vault decoration Church Fathers and Symbols of the Evangelists

115. Karaszkó, sanctuary, Symbols of the Evangelists on the vault

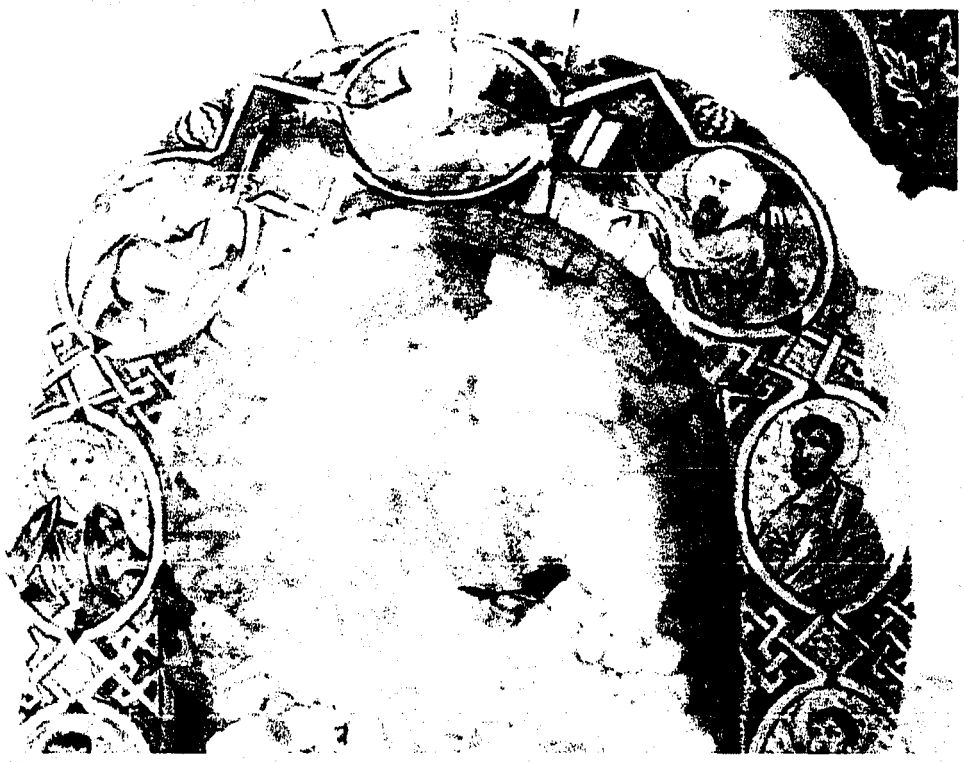
116-117. Hizsnyó, sanctuary vault, Symbols of the Evangelists, Church Fathers



118. Hizsnyó, sanctuary, *Imago Pietatis*



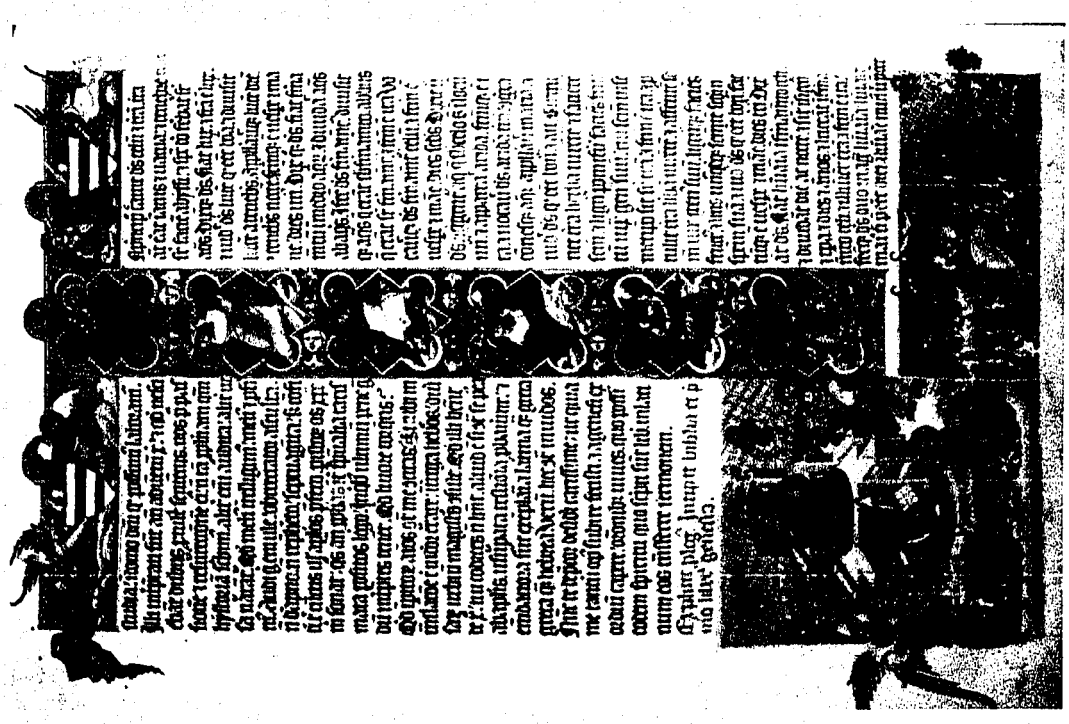
119. Gömörrákos, Symbol of an Evangelist and Church Father



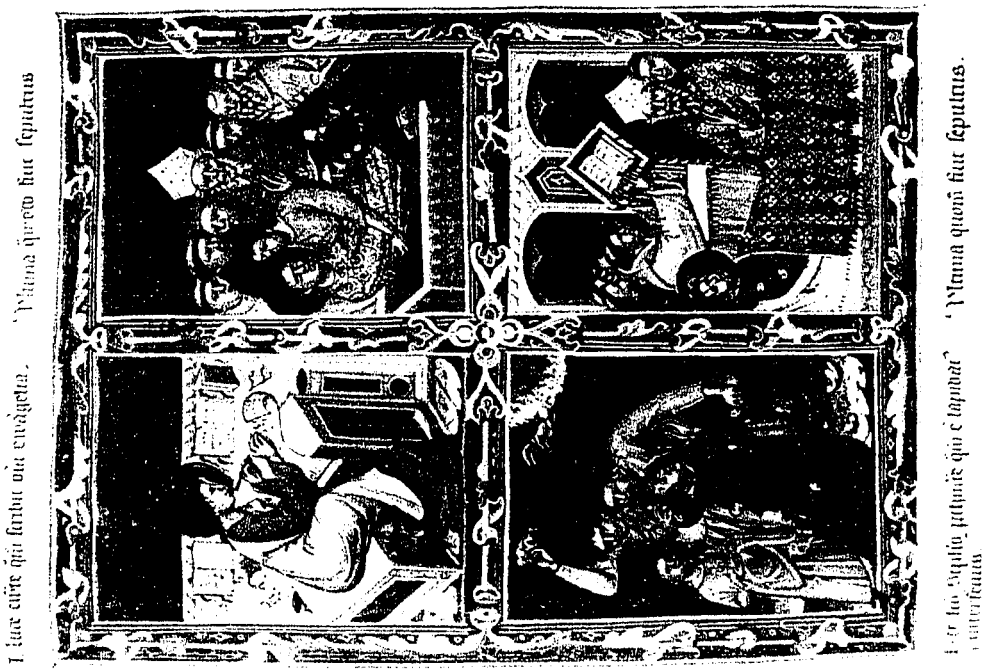
120. Pécs, Cathedral, *Traditio Legis* and Apostles (copy)

121. Pisa, Camposanto, hermits from the fresco of the Triumph of Death

Images of the Trinity with three heads at (122.) Gömörrákos and (123.) Ochtina



124. The Bible of Demeter Nekcsei (Washington, Library of Congress), fol. 5v



125. A leaf from the Hungarian Angevin Legendary (Vat. lat. 8541) fol. 44v

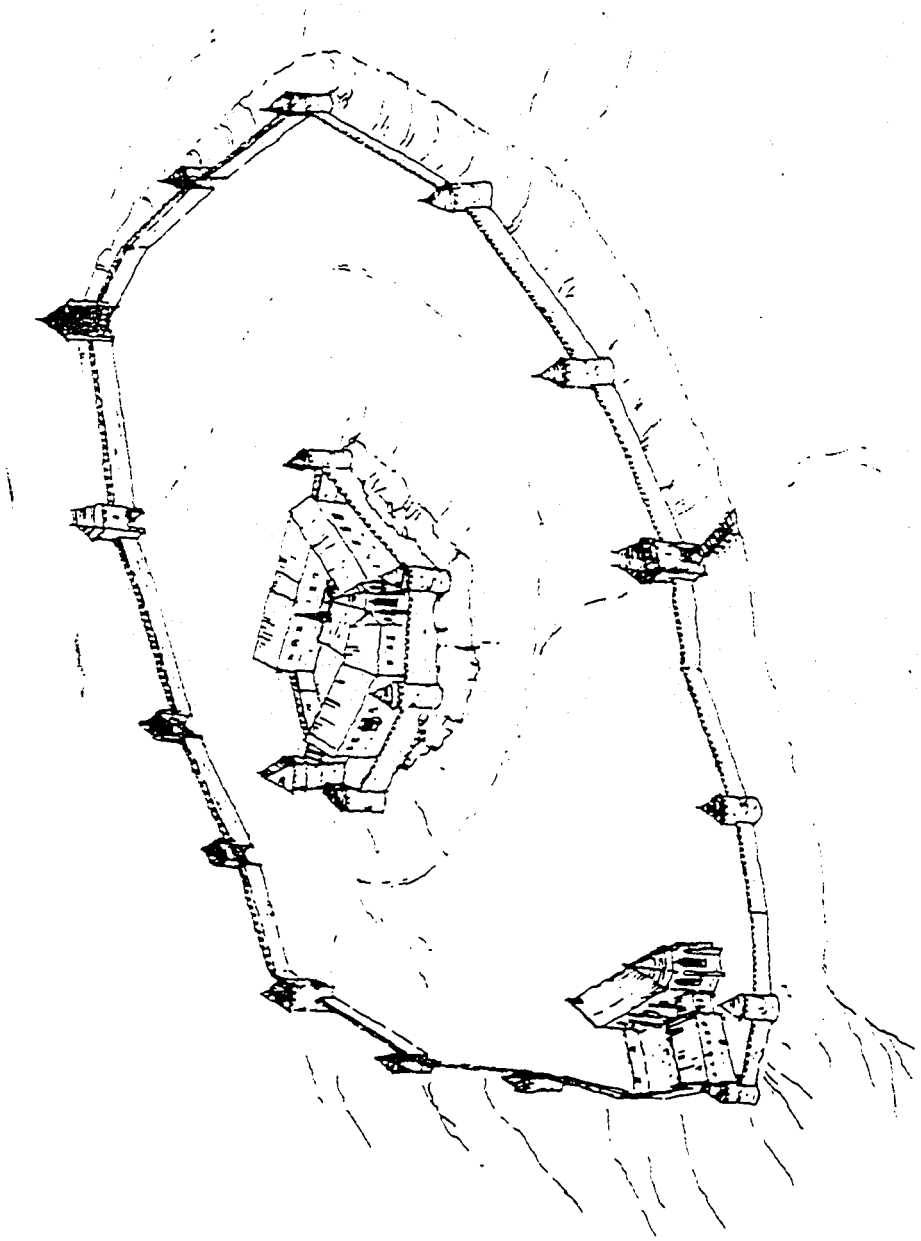
126. Fresco fragment with the figure of a bishop from the Cathedral of Várad (Esztergom, Christian Museum)

127-128. Gerény, rotunda – Frescoes of the central apse; Adoration of the Magi

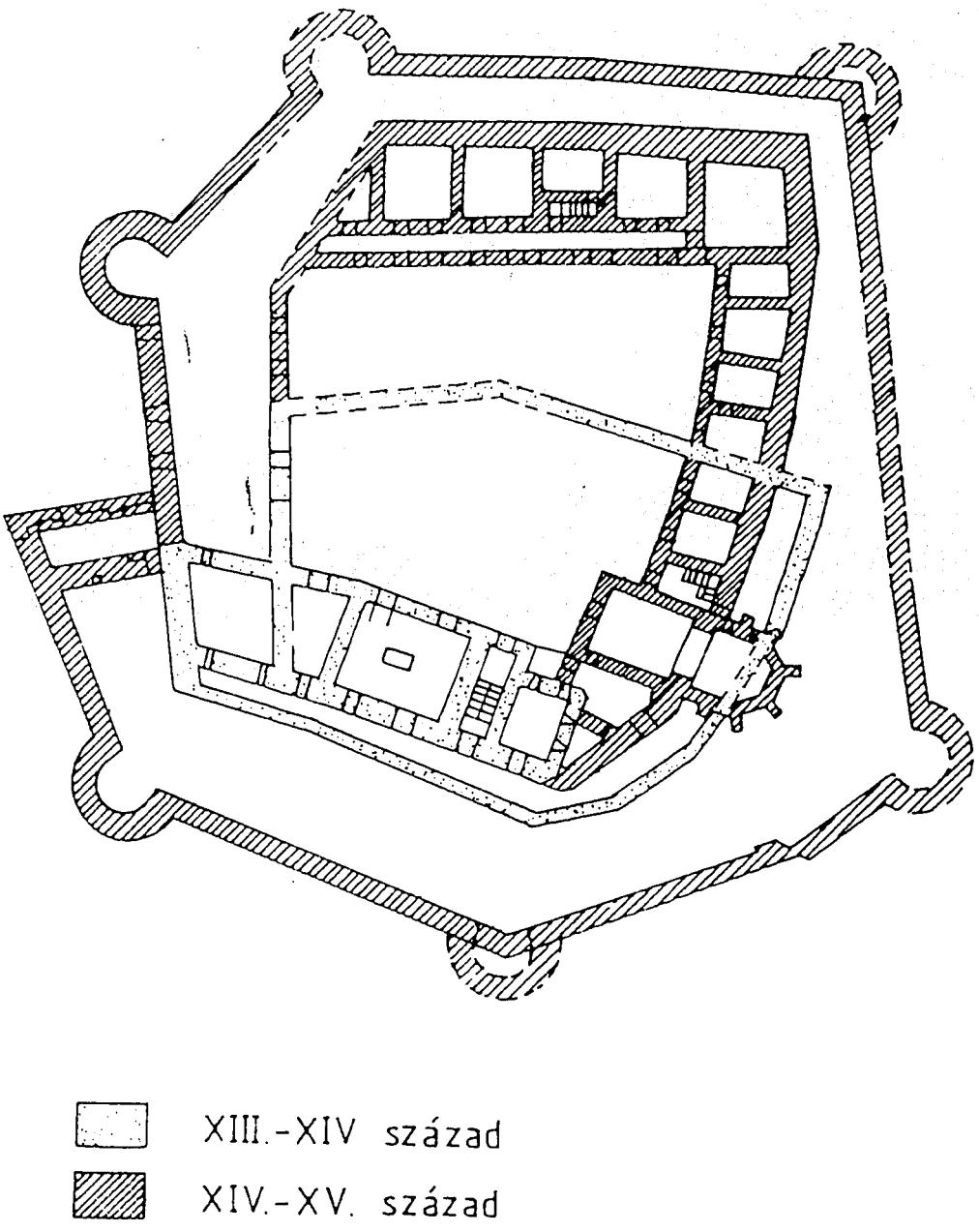
129. Vienna, St. Stephen's, votive fresco

130. Altenmarkt, St Veit, Church Father

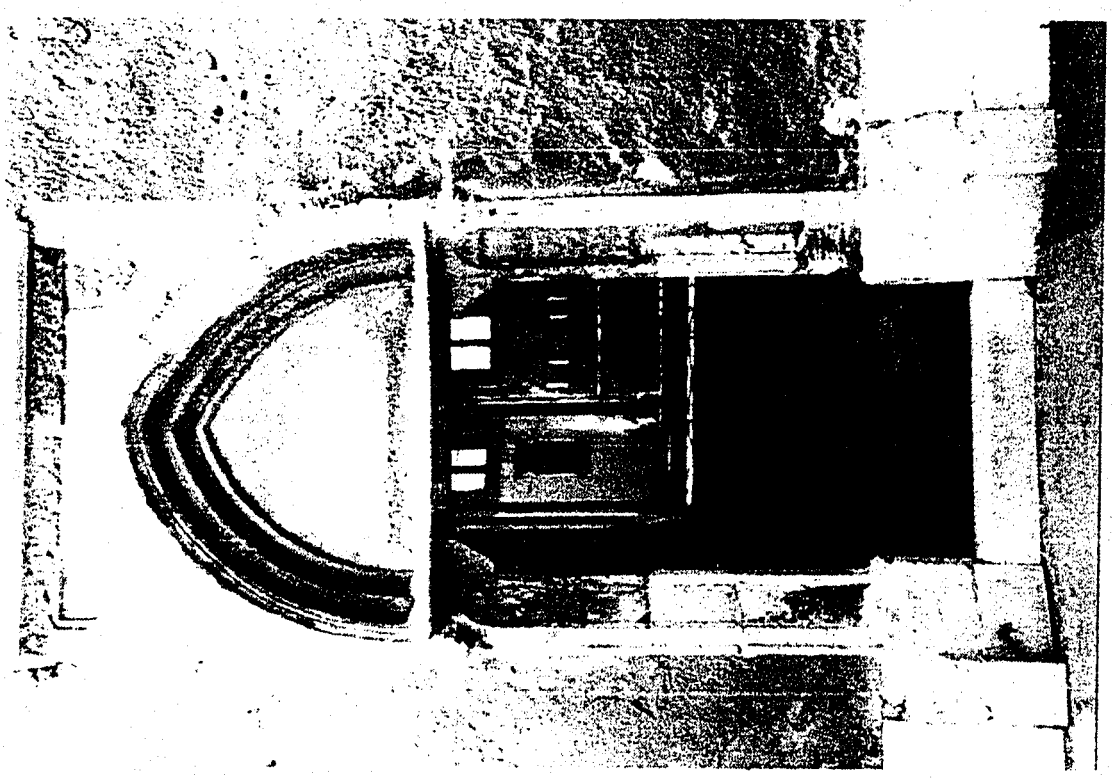
131-132. The castle at Siklós and the sanctuary of its chapel



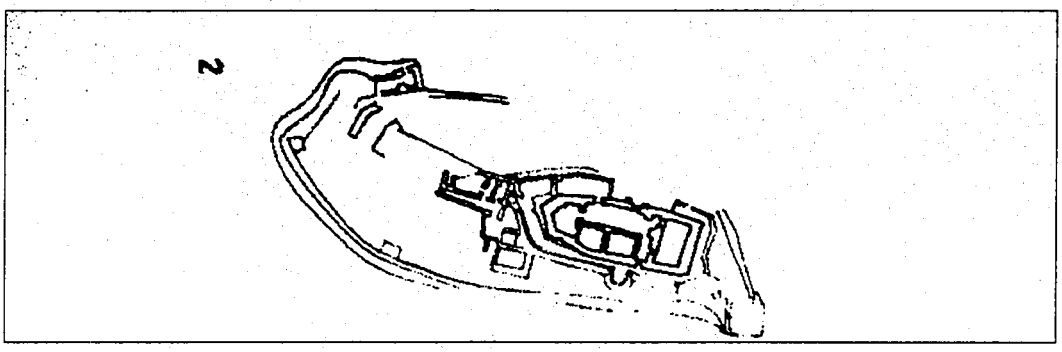
133. Siklós, reconstruction drawing of the castle and church in the fifteenth century



134. Siklós, plan of the castle with construction periods marked

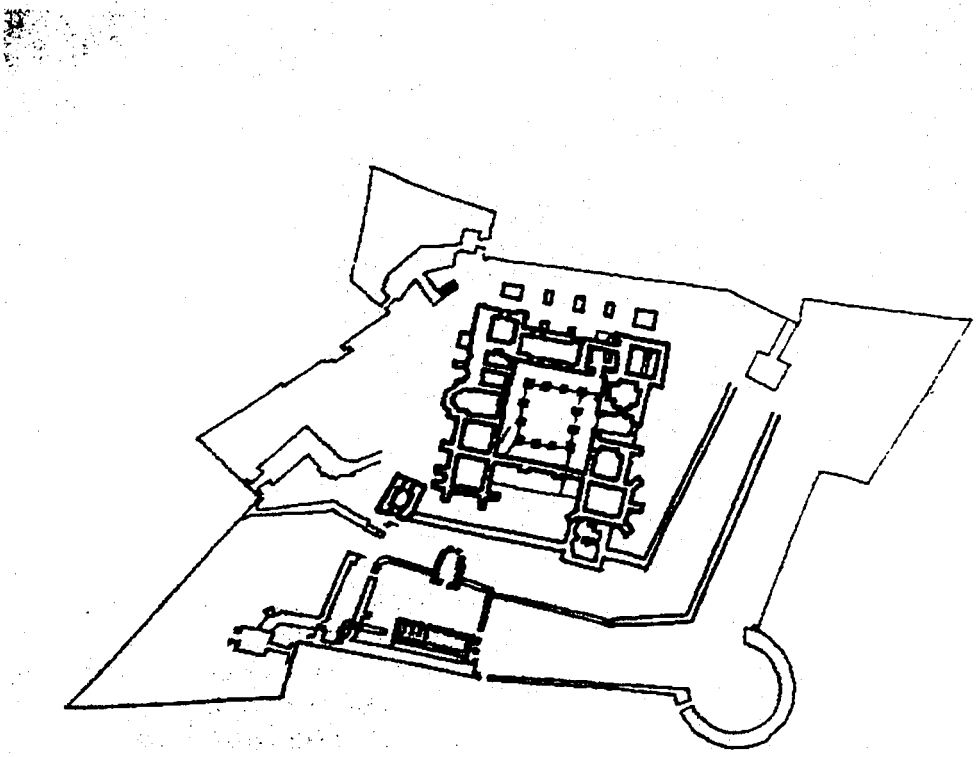


135-136. Siklós, the portal of the castle chapel, with the family coat of arms

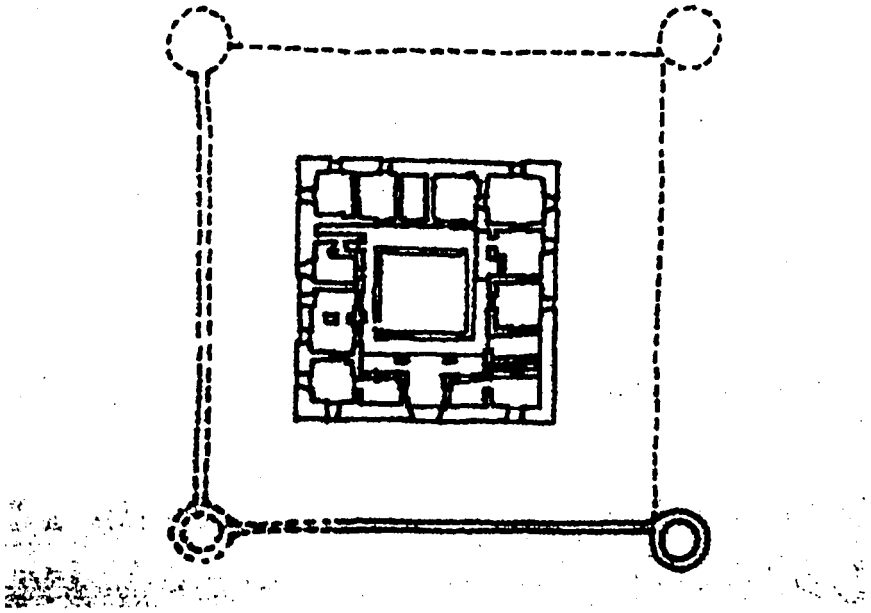


137. Csesznek, plan of the Garai castle

138. Csesznek, view of the castle



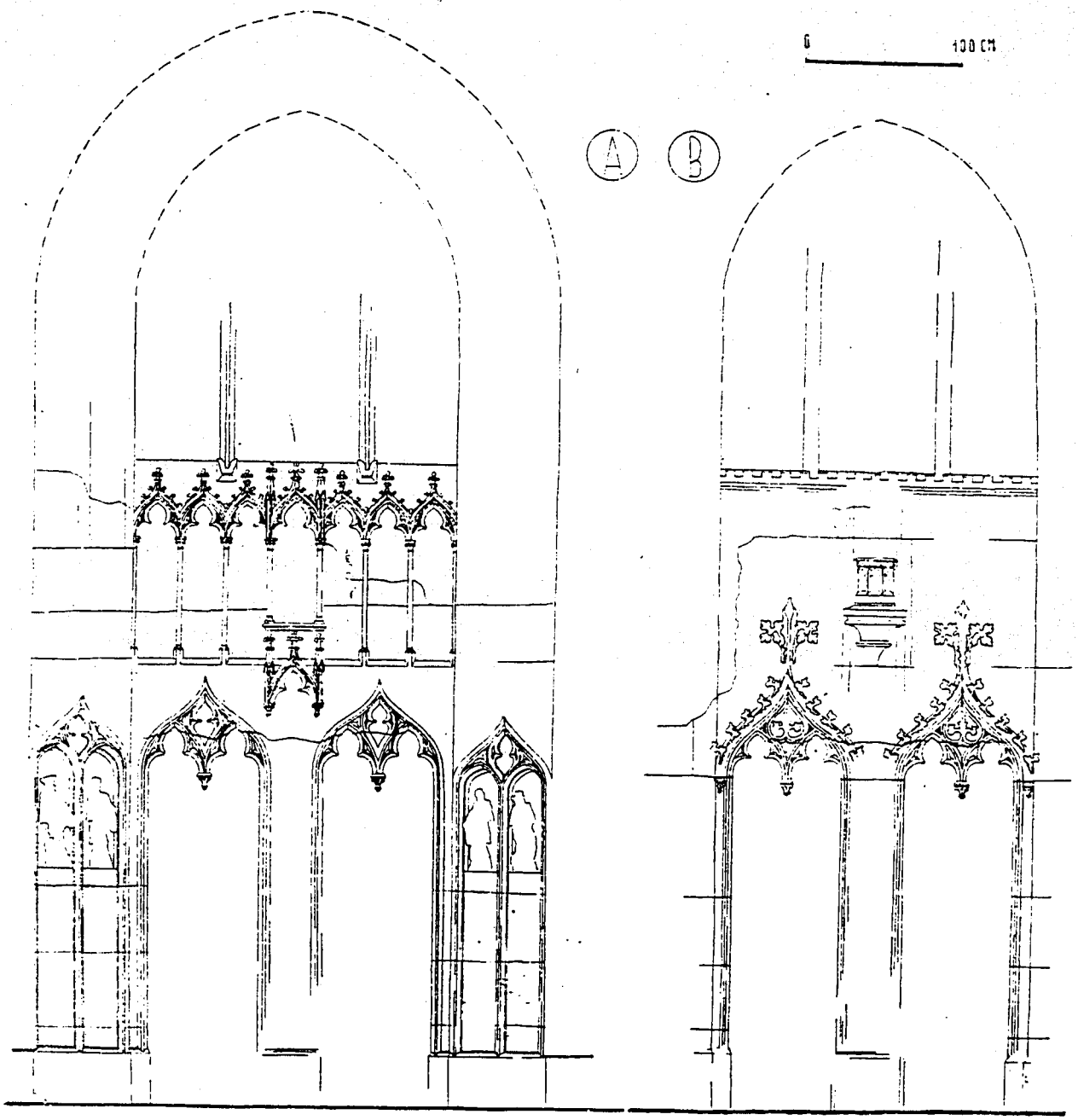
139. Plan of the royal castle of Tata (with later fortifications)



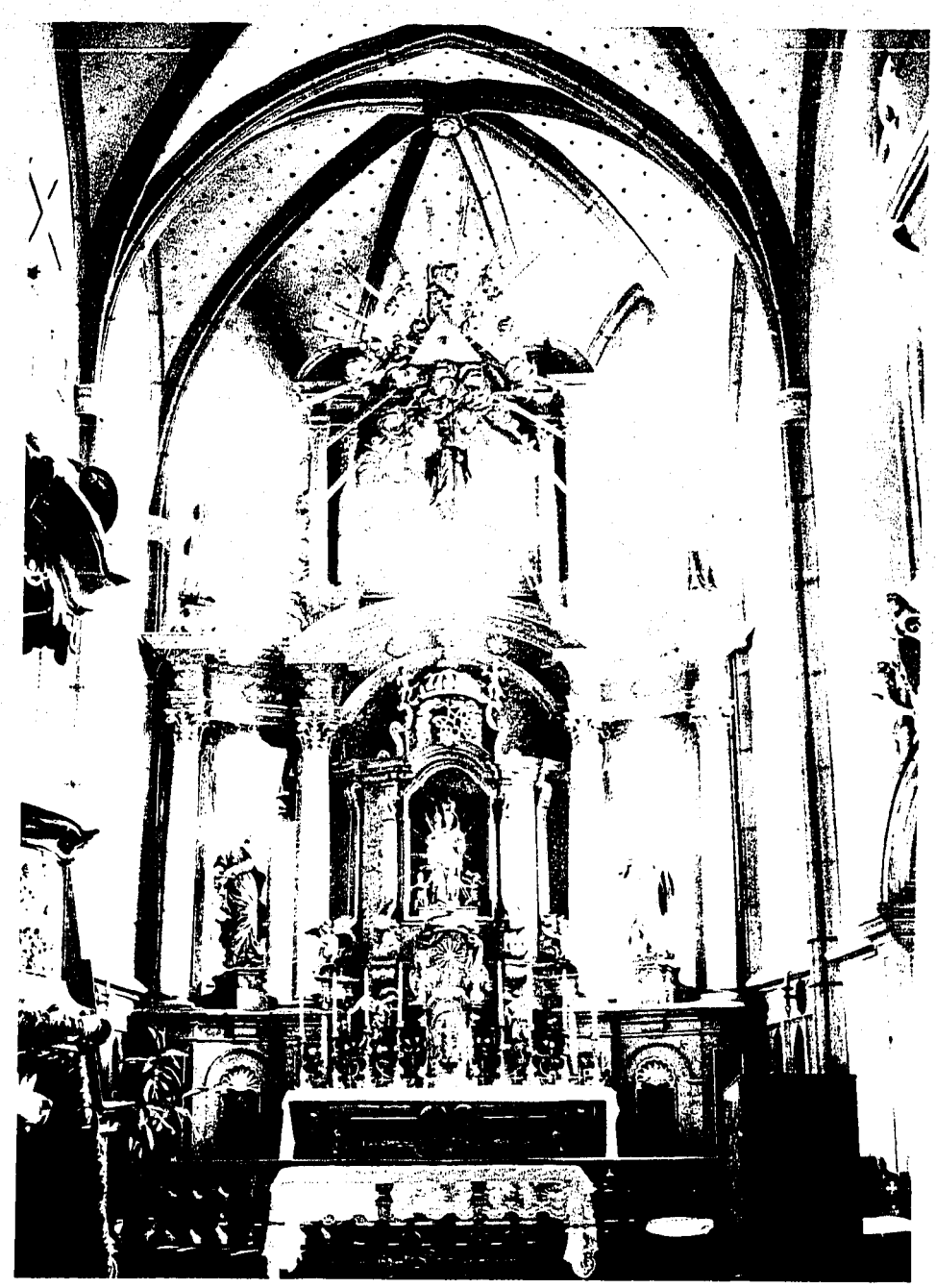
140. Plan of the castle of Ozora

141. Buda, Church of Our Lady, the remains of the portal of the Garai chapel

142. Relief fragment with figures in niches from the Garai chapel, Buda (BTM)

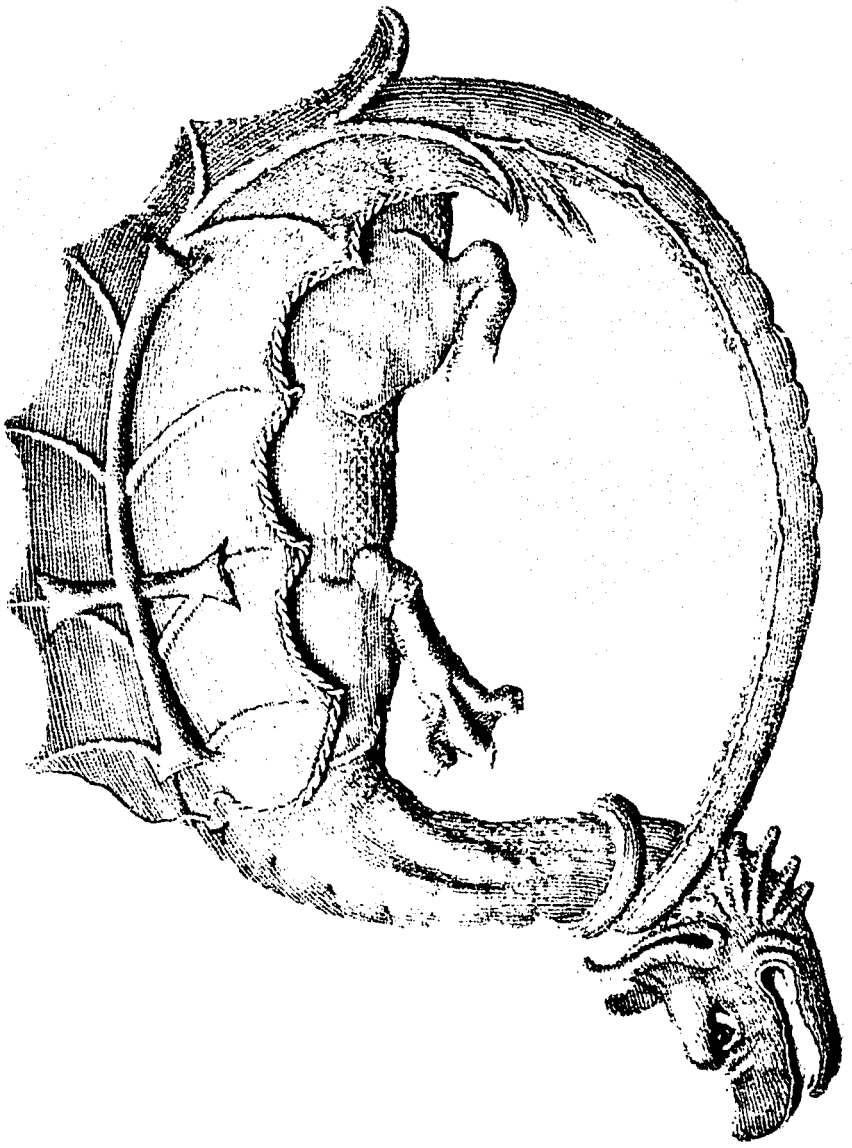


143. Buda, reconstruction drawing of two sides of the portal of the Garai chapel

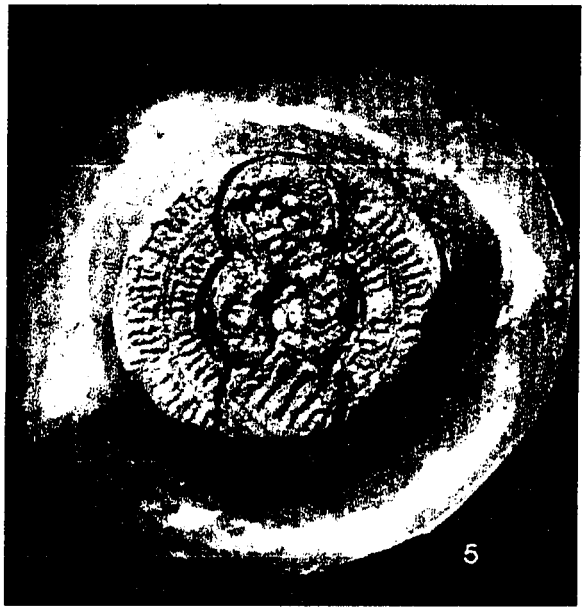


144. Kőszeg, parish church, sanctuary

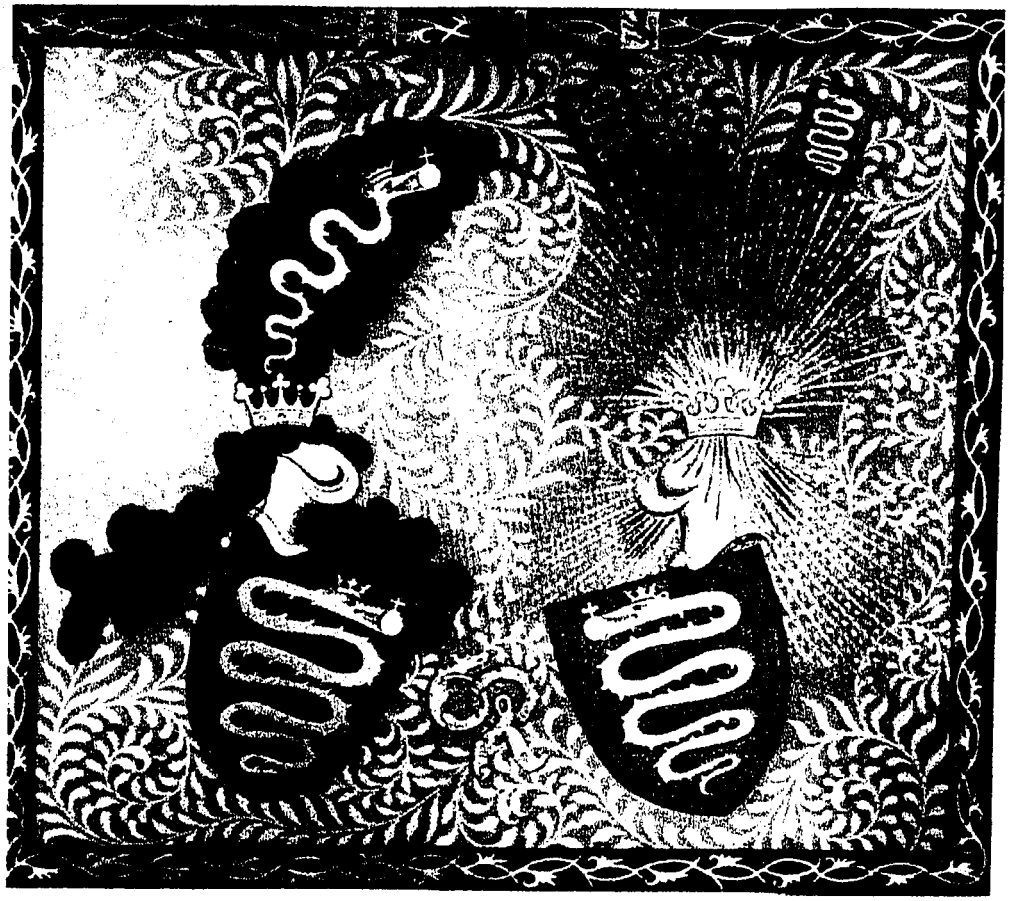
145. Kőszeg, parish church, nave, Maria della Misericordia



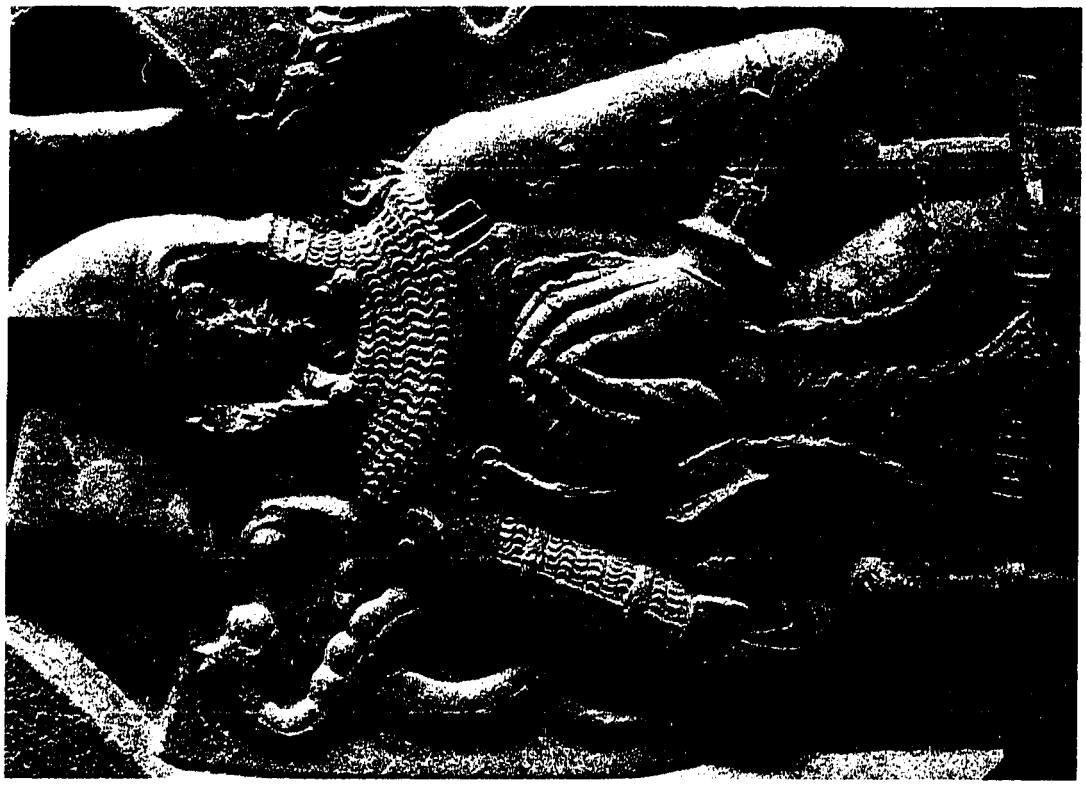
146. The insignia of the Order of the Dragon (Munich)



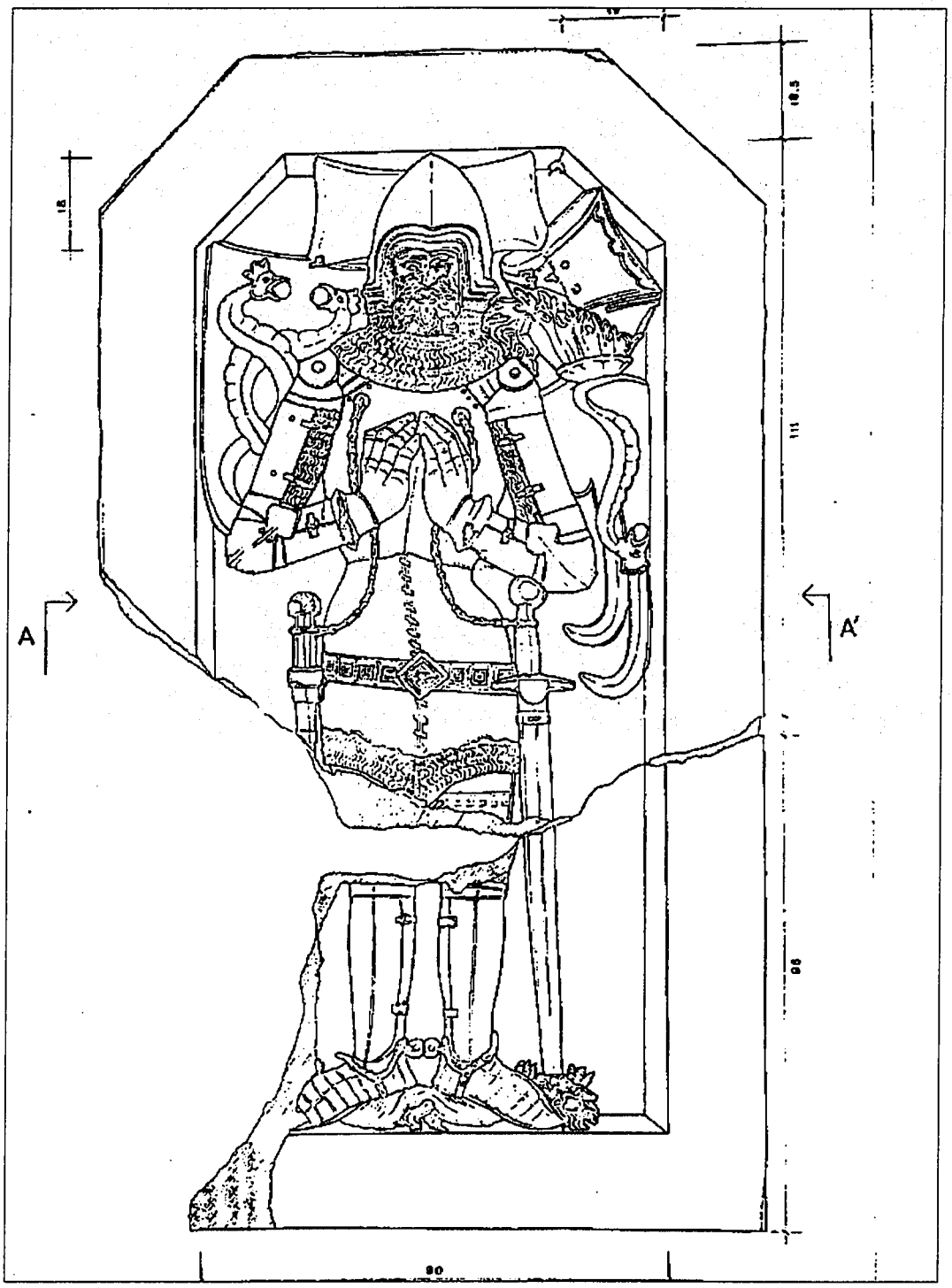
147. The seal of Palatine Miklós (II) Garai from 1408



148. Garai coats of arms from the armorial of Miklós Garai, 1416 (copy)

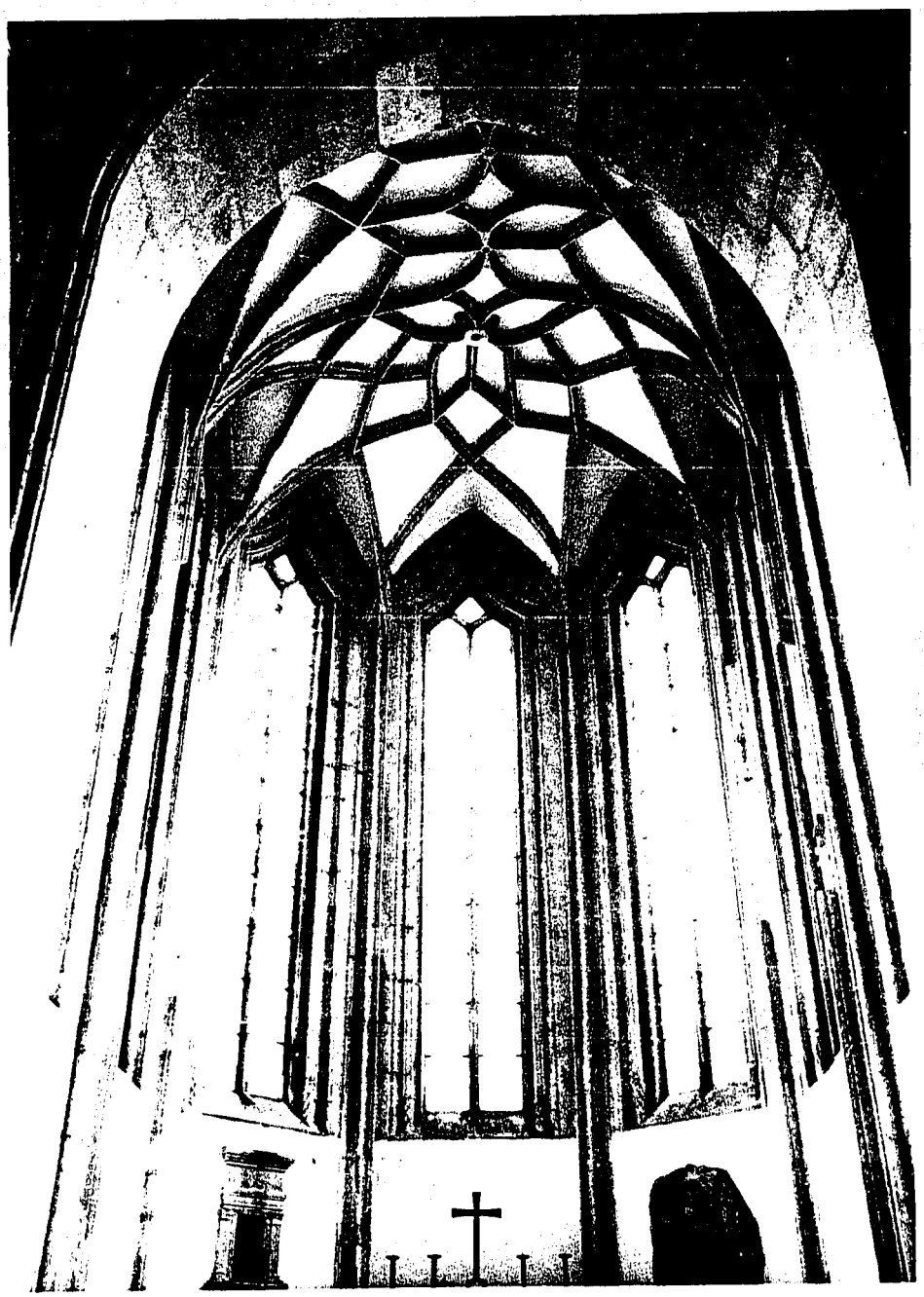


149-150. The tomb slab of Miklós Garai (I.)

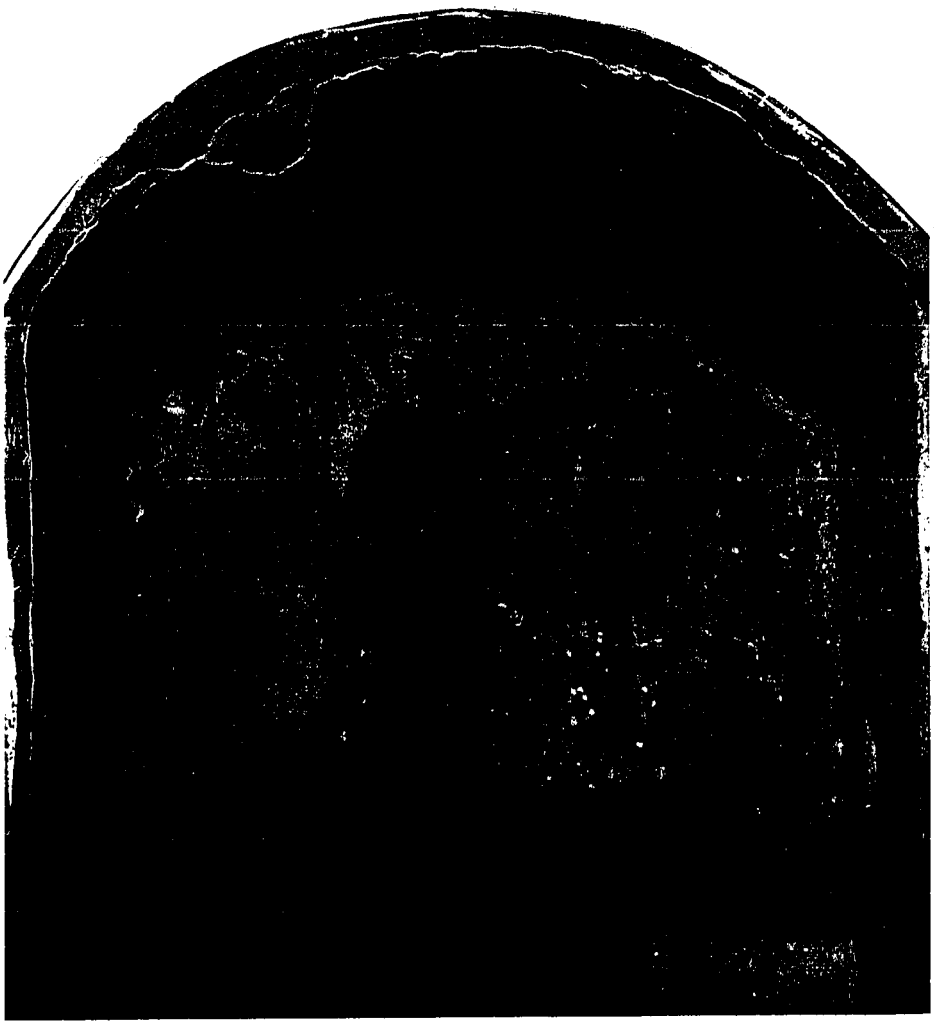


151. Siklós, drawing of the tomb slab of Miklós Garai I.

152. The tomb slab of Stibor of Stiboric II, from Buda (BTM)

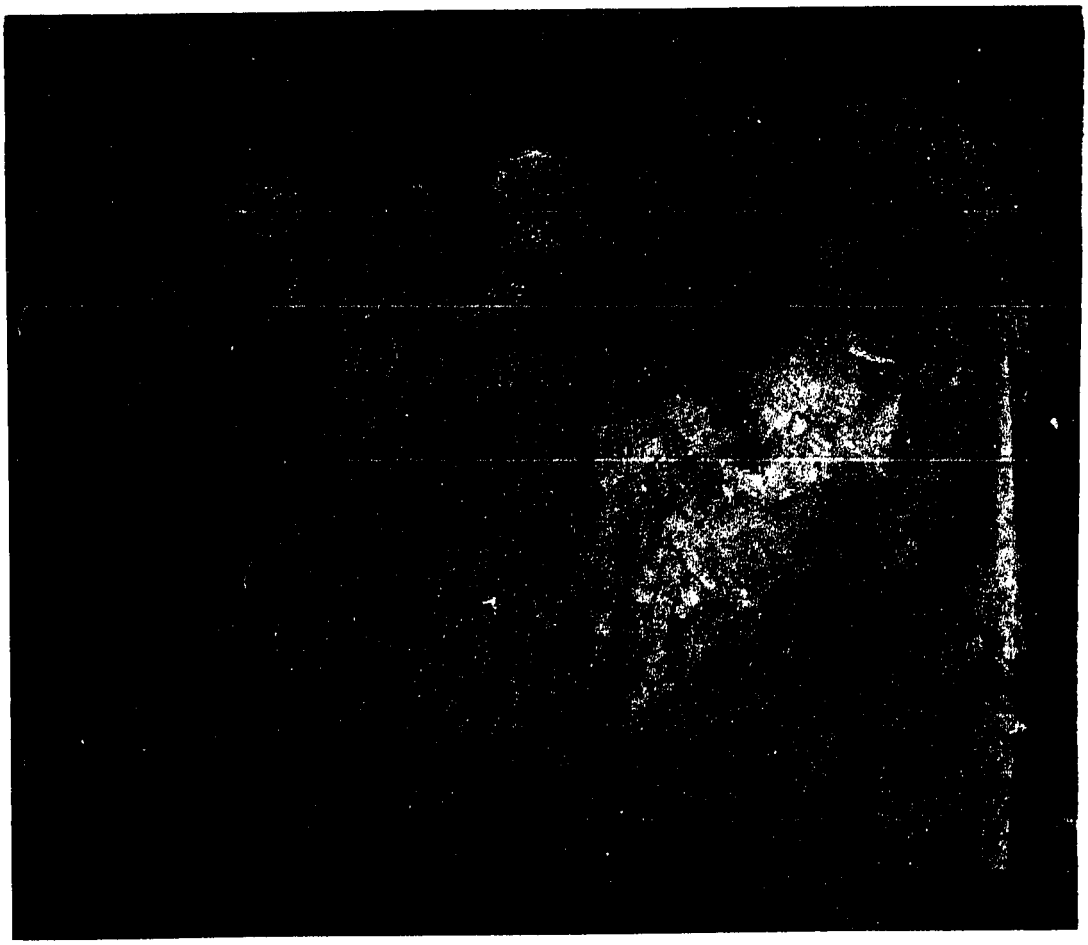


153. Siklós, the sanctuary of the castle chapel, early 16th century

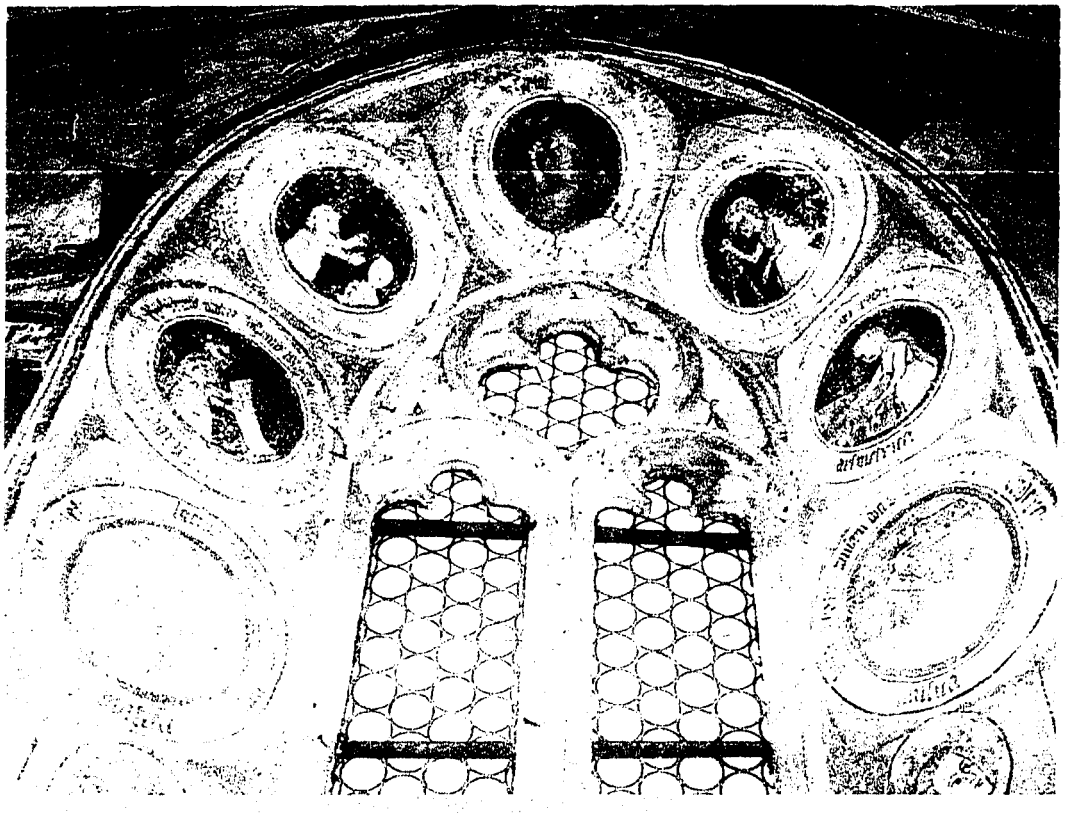


154. Siklós, castle chapel, St. Leonhard and St. Ladislas, c. 1420

155. Siklós, castle chapel, Vir Dolorum, c. 1420

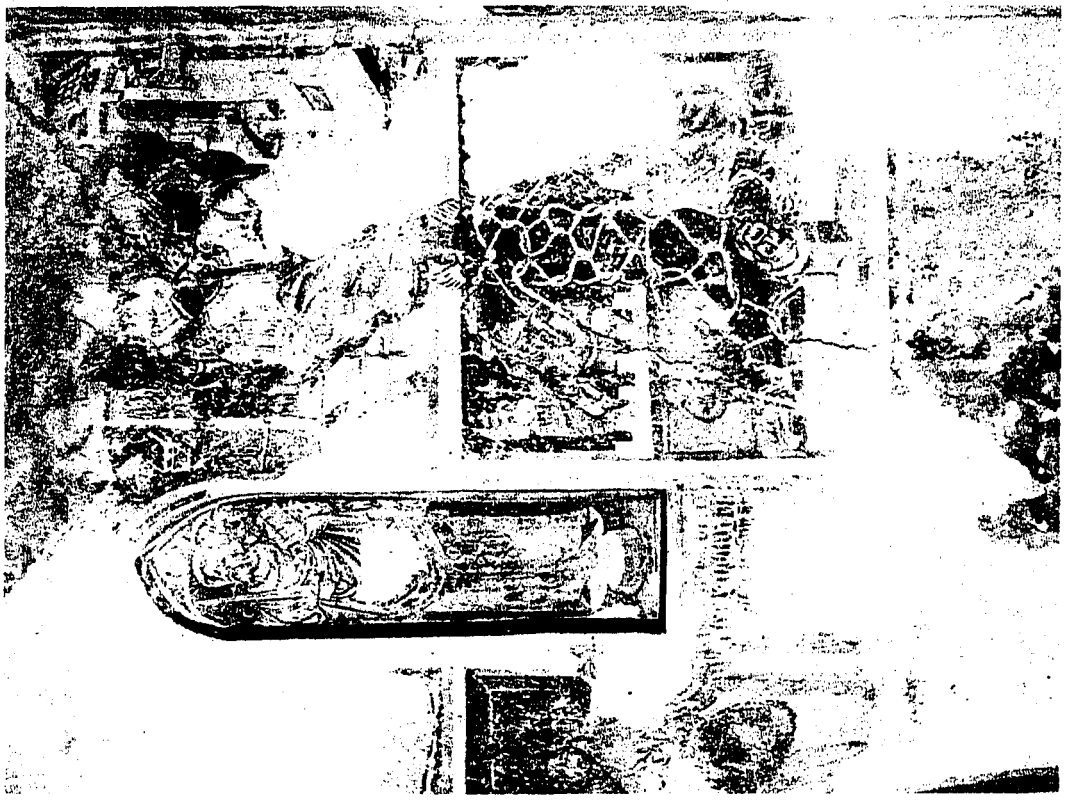


156. Siklós, castle chapel, Job and his family, c. 1420

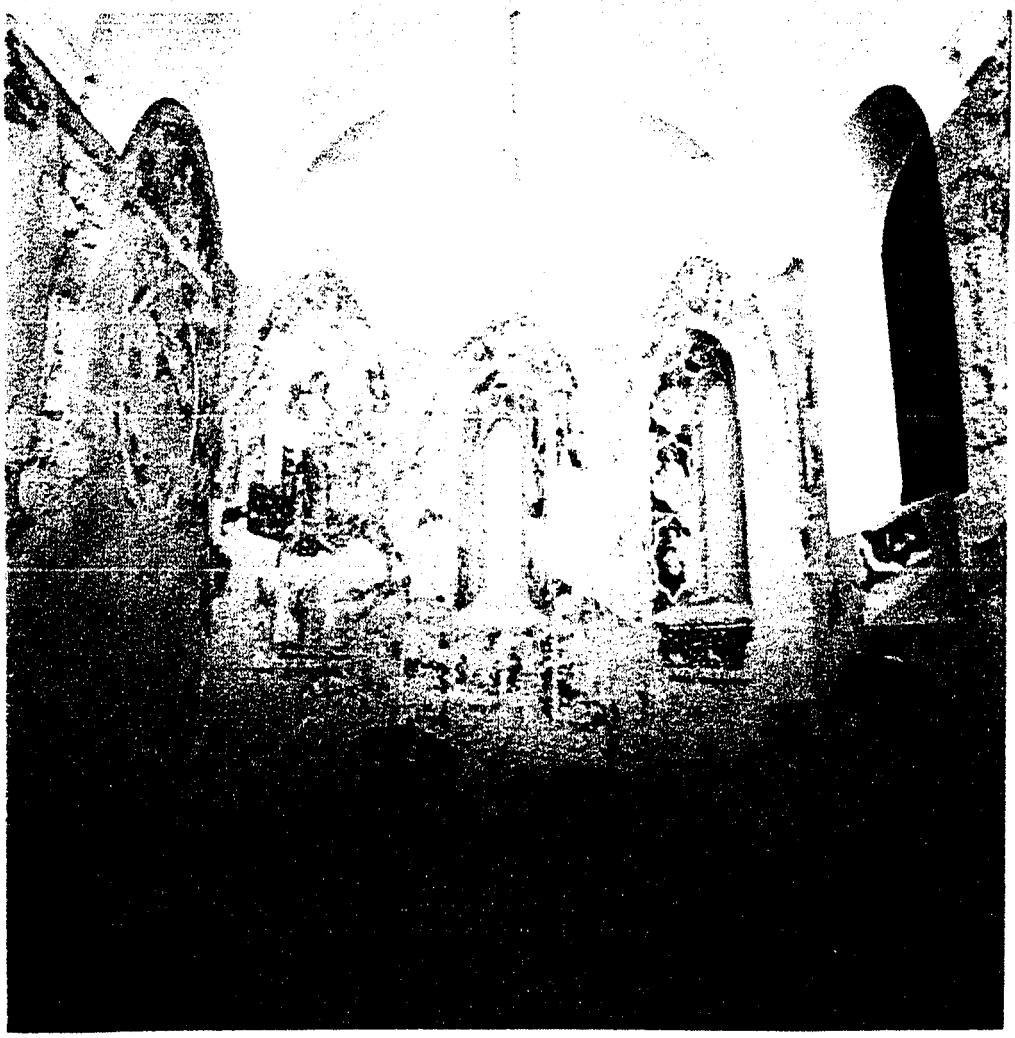


157-158. Csetnek, nave, medallions in a window arch; St. Leonhard

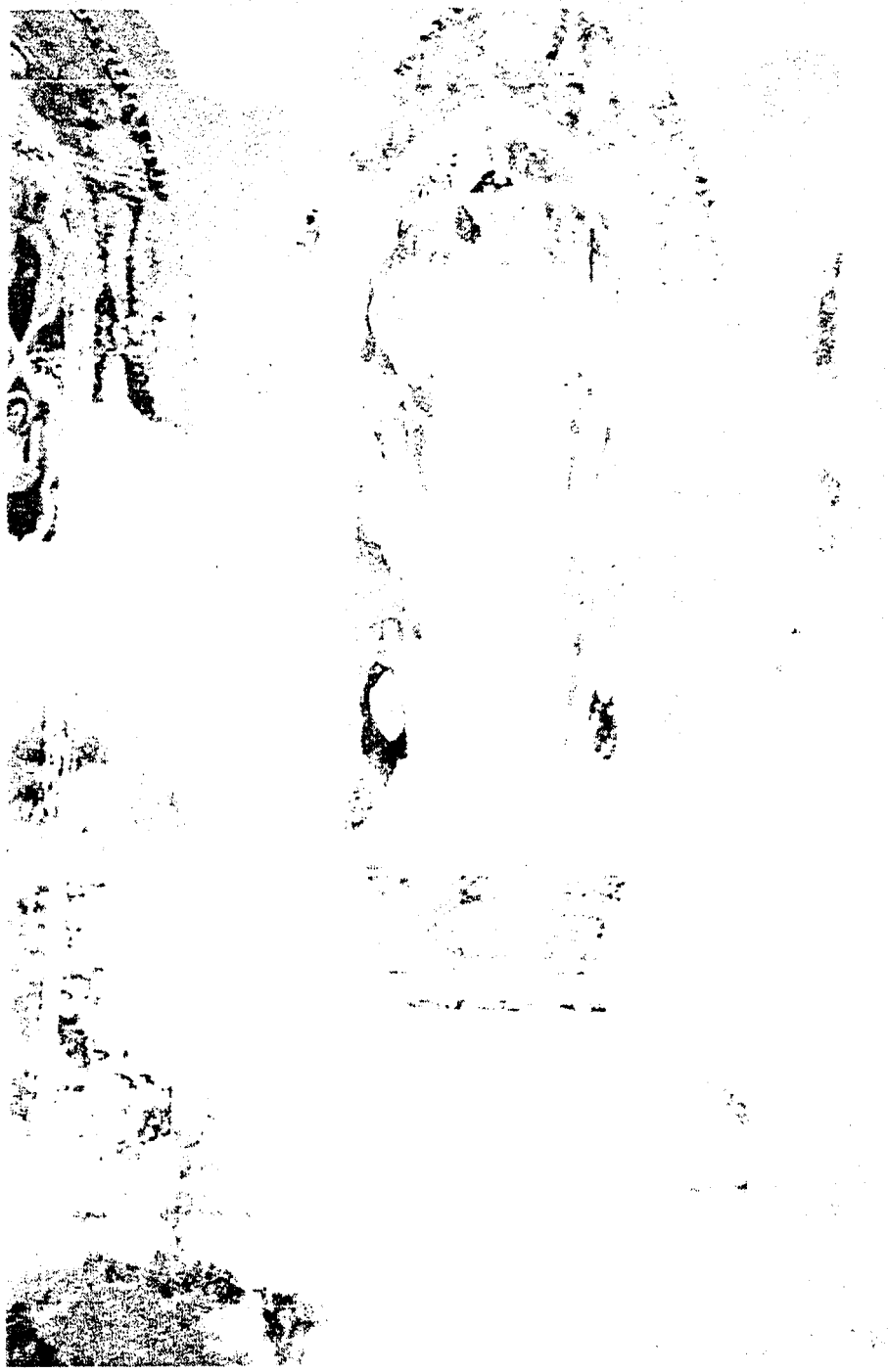
Bántornya, sanctuary: (159.) Apostles; (160.) The patron family in front of the Virgin



161-162. Bántornya, St. Anne with the Virgin and child; a wall of frescoes in the nave

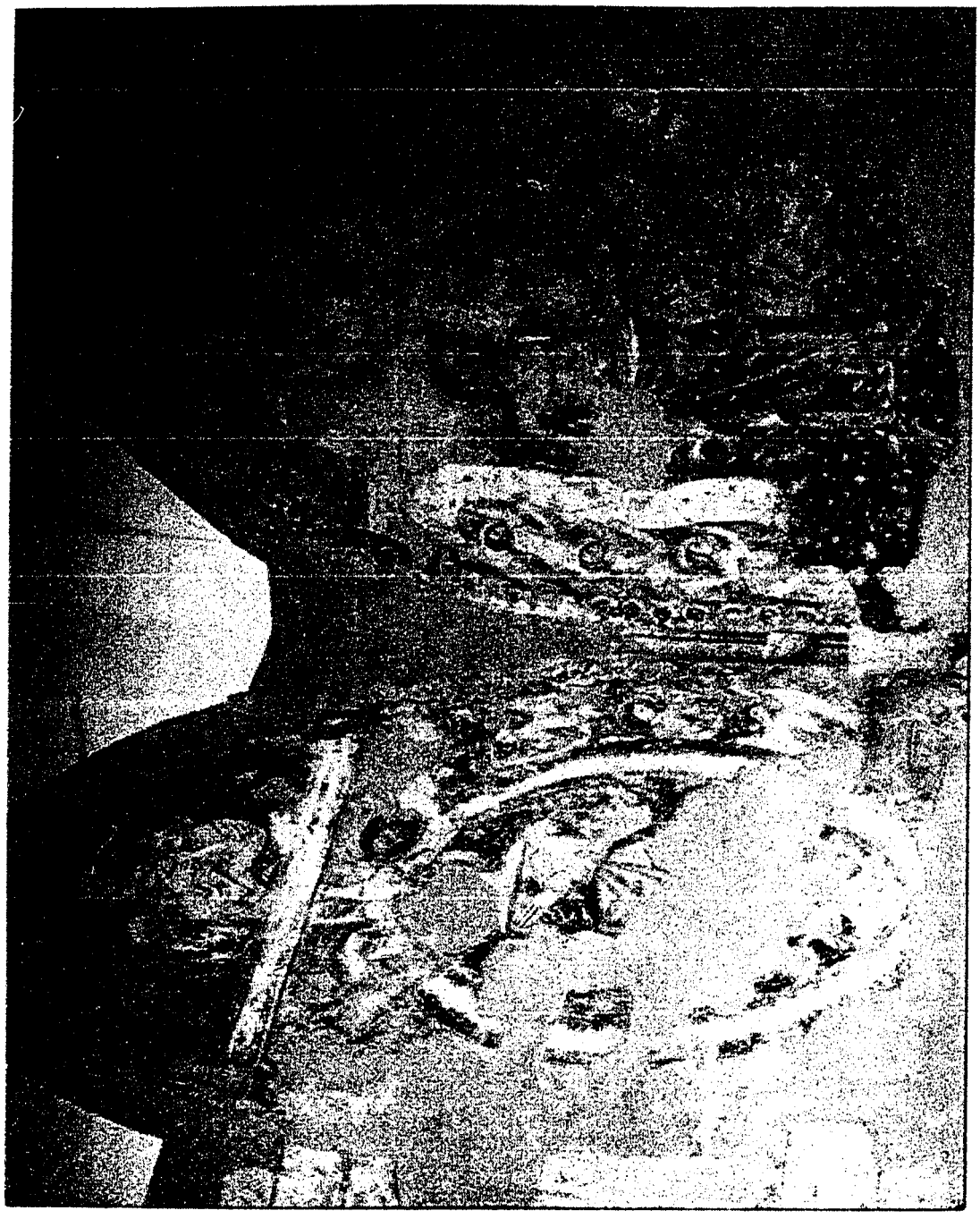


163. Csáktornya, glimpse into the sanctuary, 1380s



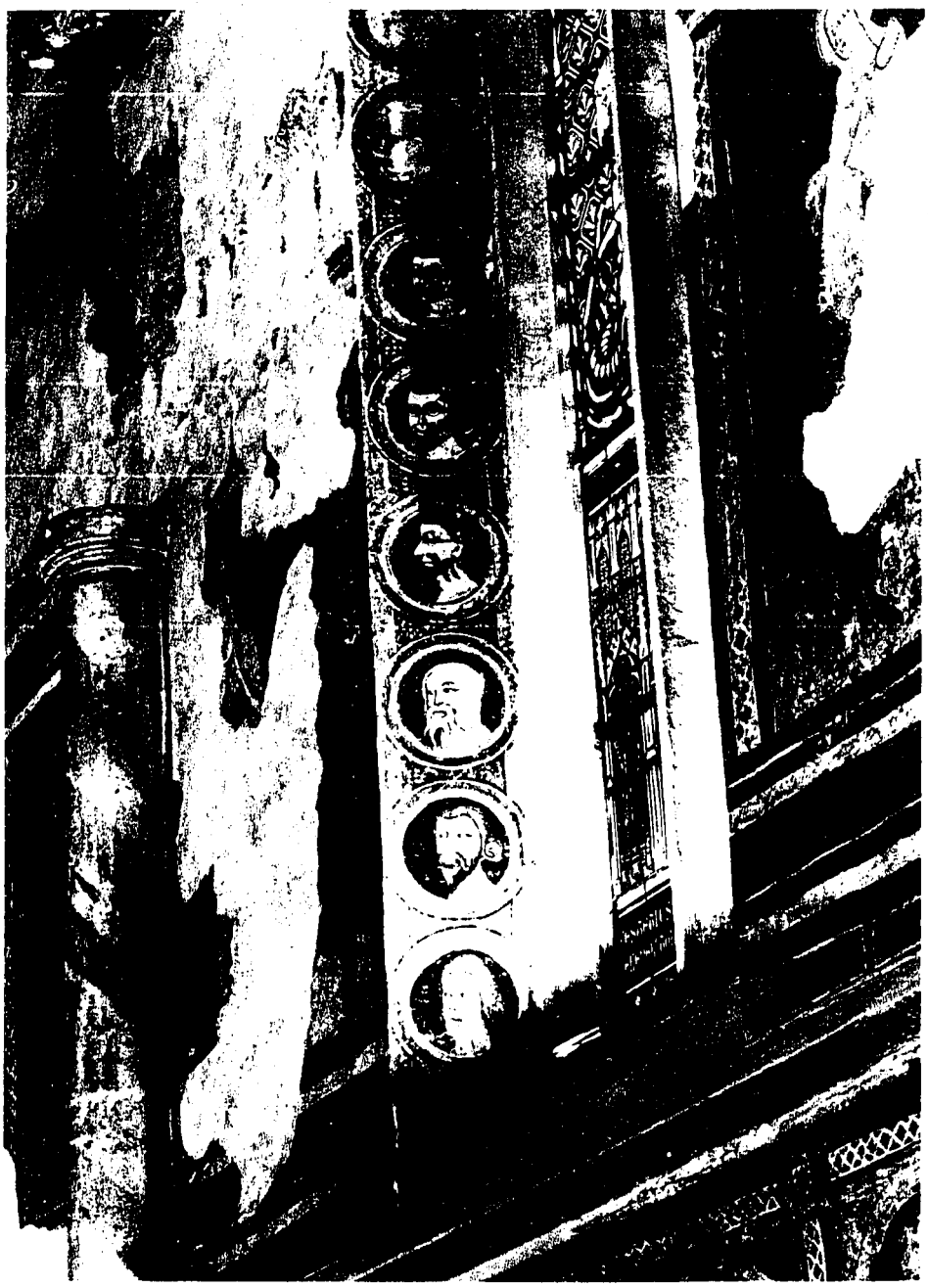
164. Csáktornya, sanctuary, eastern window, 1380s

165. Csáktornya, saints from the splay of a window, 1380s

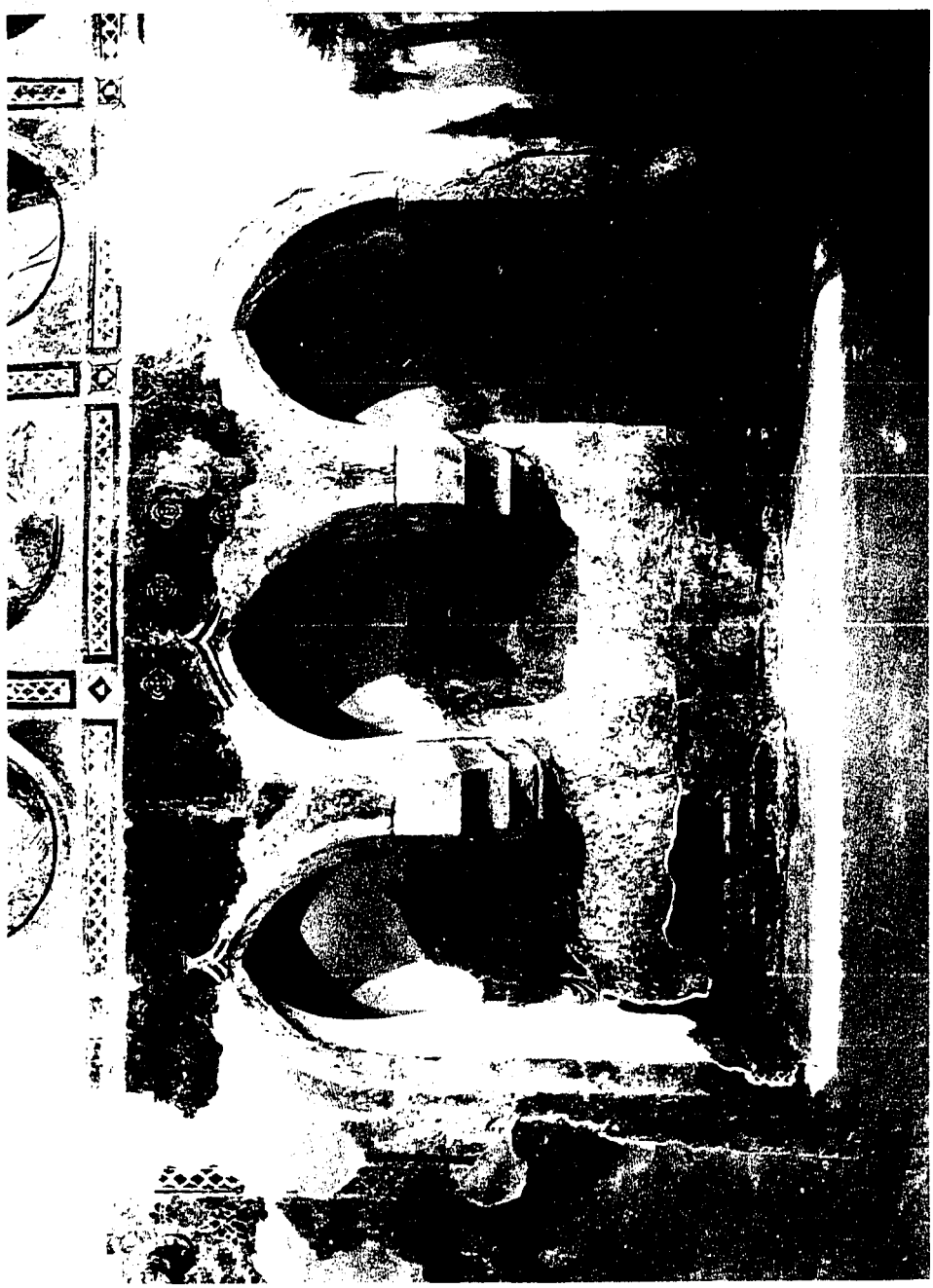


166. Csáktornya, Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin; Man of Sorrows, 1380s

167. Keszthely, view into the sanctuary, before 1397

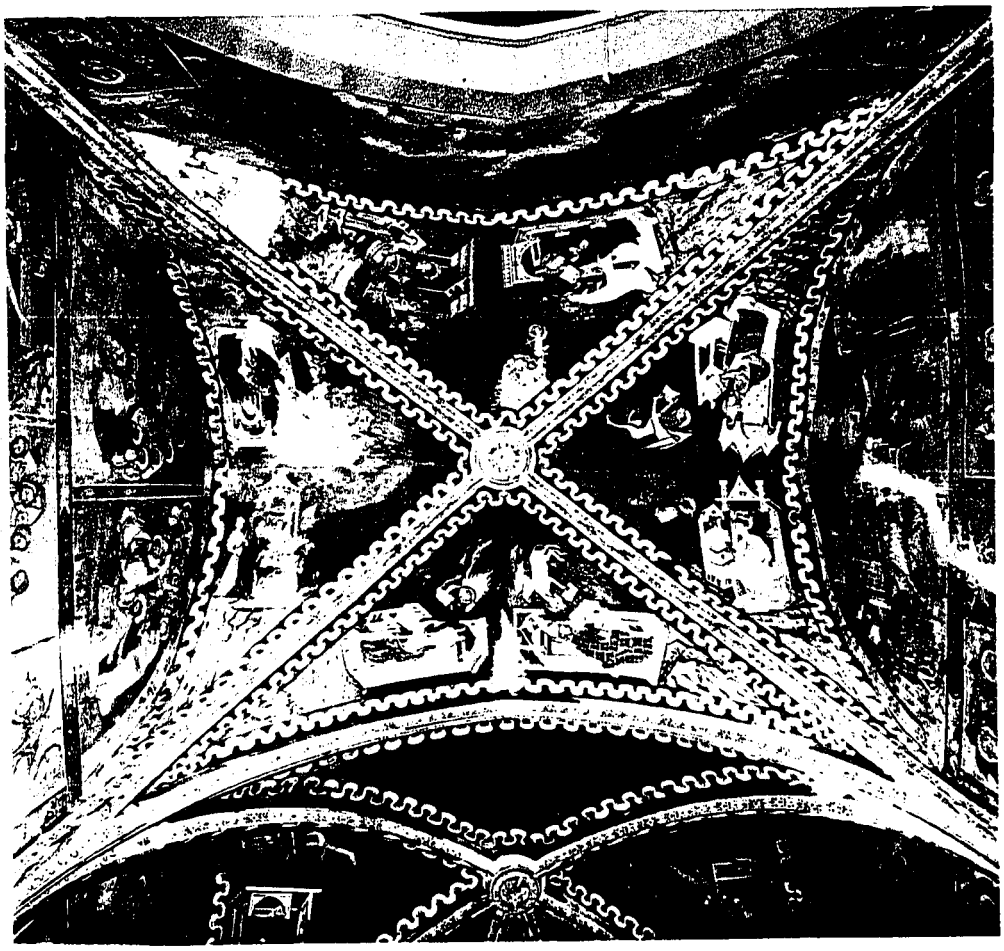


168. Keszthely, sanctuary, figures in the splay of a window, before 1397

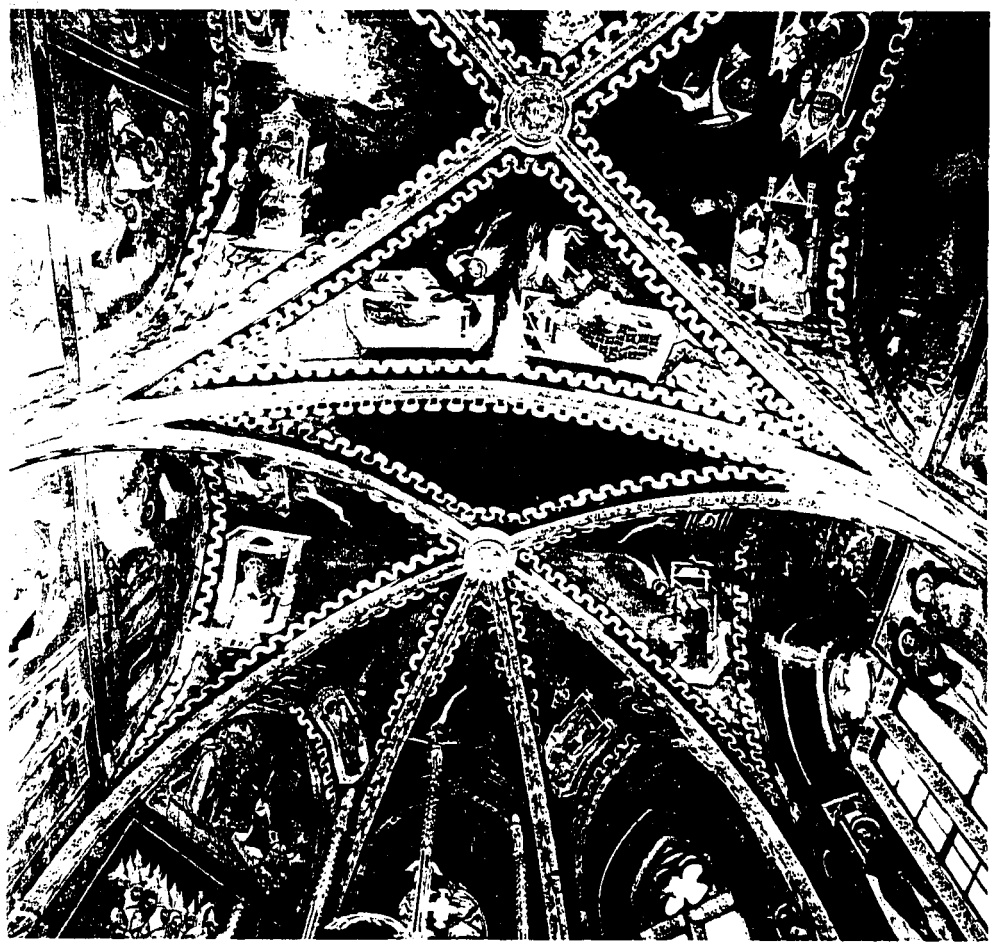


169. Keszthely, sanctuary, wall niches, before 1397

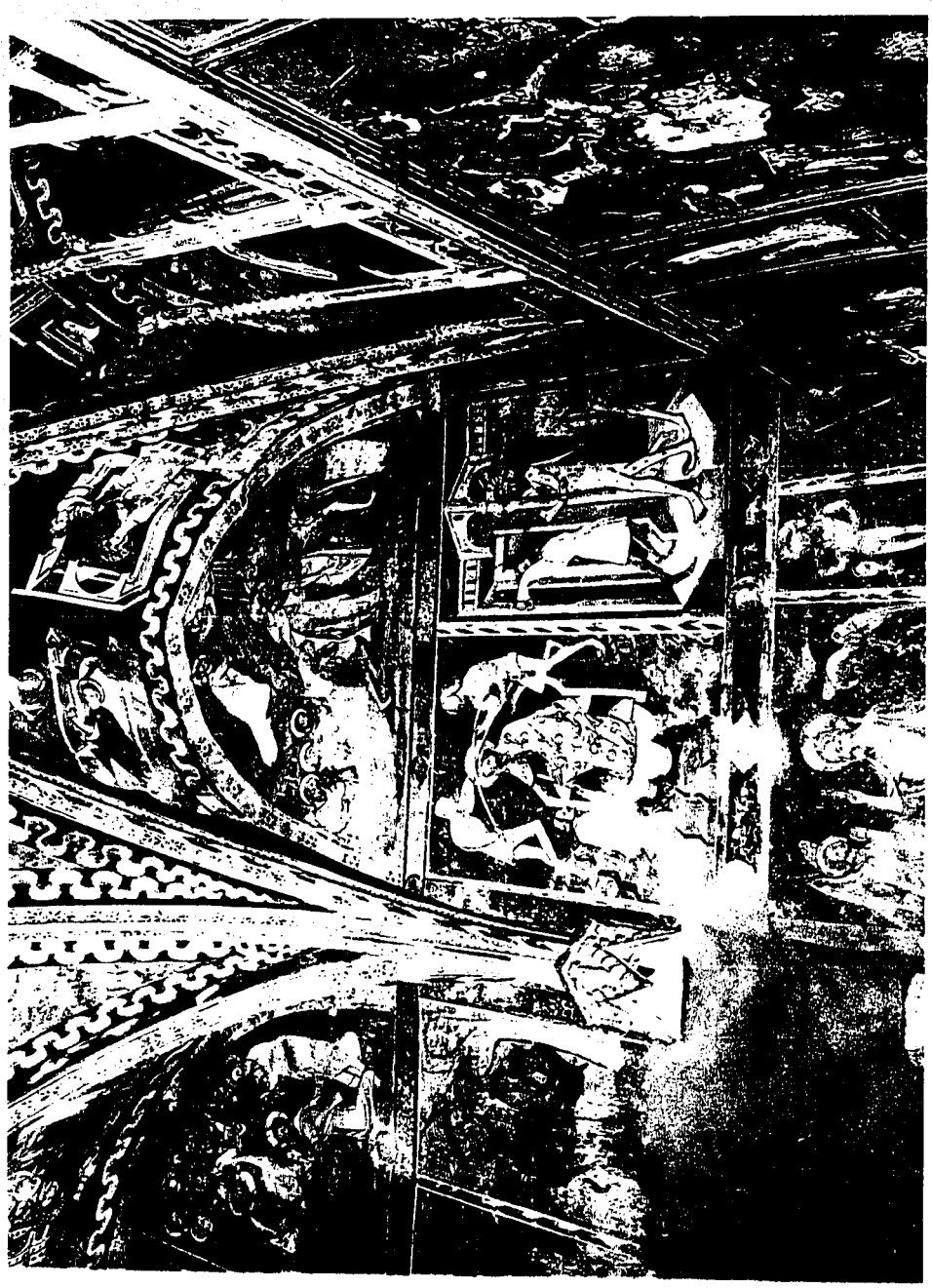
170. Almakerék, view of the triumphal arch from the sanctuary, c. 1400



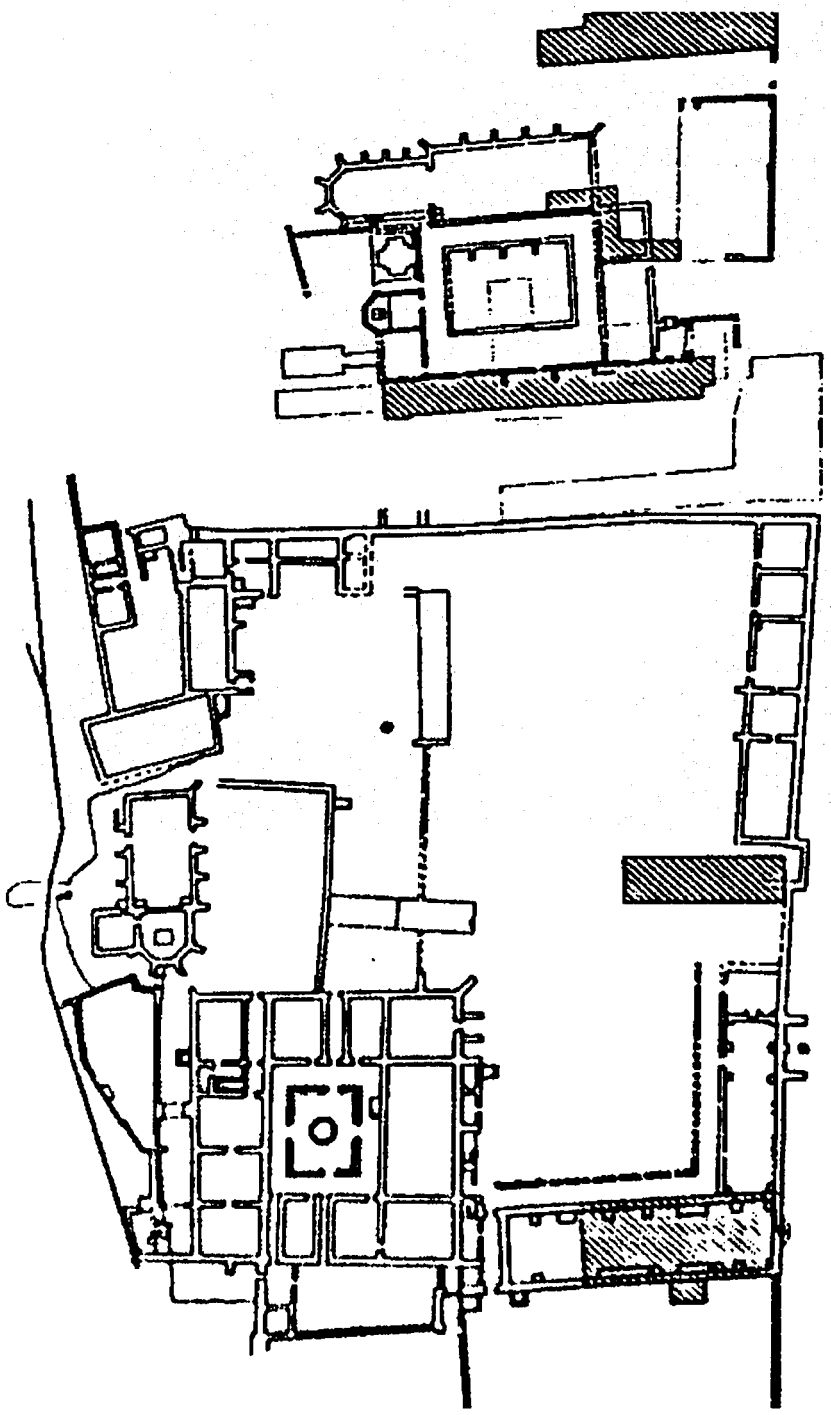
171. Almakerék, view of the vault, western bay, c. 1400



172. Almakerék, view of the vault, eastern bay, c. 1400



173. Almakerék, sanctuary, north wall, Passion scenes, c. 1400



174. Plan of the royal palace of Visegrád, with the Franciscan friary nearby

175. View of the Giselle Chapel in Veszprém with its fresco decoration

176. Two apostles in the Giselle Chapel in Veszprém