

## ANGEVIN COURTLY ART AS REFLECTED IN THE GILDED CHAPEL OF OUR LADY IN PÉCS

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My research focuses on fragments of fourteenth-century statuary excavated in Pécs at the archeological site of the so-called Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.<sup>1</sup> My aim is to envisage the fragments in their contemporary artistic, cultural, and political context in two steps of investigation. First, I sketch their possible relations and roles in the artistic interaction in fourteenth-century Central Europe and second, I attempt to interpret these observations by combining methods of art history and micro-history. I conclude that the fragments were direct reflections of, if not an integral part of, Angevin courtly art, which was almost completely devastated during the Ottoman invasion of the country. Through this research I investigate what kind of art the Angevin court promoted, as reflected in these fragments.

### **The Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in Pécs**

In 1978, excavations began north of the Saint Peter and Paul cathedral in Pécs to clarify what architectural changes had taken place at the building complex of the Bishopric Castle in the course of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Considering that Pécs was the second richest bishopric in Hungary during this period and could therefore invest in artistic production, the archeologists expected to find traces of intensive building activity at the religious center of the town. The excavation results confirmed their expectations. Among other features, the remnants of a fourteenth-century building that terminated in a polygonal end on the east were discovered around 1982.<sup>3</sup> During this excavation, fragments of architecture and sculpture were

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on my MA thesis, “The Statues of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady at Pécs –The French Connection in the Sculpture of Hungary and Central Europe” (Central European University: Budapest, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> For the first publication of the archeological excavations see Mária G. Sándor, “Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs – Siedlungs- und Baugeschichte im Überblick,” in *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung*, International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] Hefte des Deutschen Nationalcomitees 22, ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő (Munich-Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999), 15–20 (hereafter: ICOMOS 22).

<sup>3</sup> For the excavated building see Docs. No. 25424, 25635, 28155, 28156 in the National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest.

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found in a grave (without human remains) and were accepted as part of the original furniture based on both the archaeological and art historical research.<sup>4</sup> Based on the testimony of the written evidence, this building was identified as what medieval sources call the “Gilded Chapel of Our Lady.”<sup>5</sup>

*The history of building activity and the architectural structure*

Among the written sources that are relevant for the building’s history, the earliest known is the 1355 charter of Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362), in which he confirms the foundation of the chapel by Bishop Nicholas Poroszlói-Neszmélyi (1346-1360) and grants an indulgence for its altars.<sup>6</sup> Scholars have tended to see this source as evidence for dating the foundation of the chapel to 1355; this year, however, can only be understood as a date *ante quem*.<sup>7</sup> The end of the same text supports this further, since it enumerates eight altars of the chapel that were consecrated, thus already in use in 1355.<sup>8</sup>

At this time, the chapel could have been a single-nave edifice that had side chapels running along both sides of the nave (Figure 1). On the east, it terminated

<sup>4</sup> For the first publication on the sculptural finds see Mária G. Sándor, “Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai” [The Stone Carvings of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], ICOMOS 22: 61-98 (hereafter: Sándor, “Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai,” 1999).

<sup>5</sup> The description of Hungary by Nicholas Oláh served as the basis for identifying the chapel: *Ad septentrionale latus templi est collegiatum sacellum divae virgini auratae sacrum, in quo sepulchrum visitur Nicolai olim episcopi Quinque Ecclesiensis, exempli veri episcopi ...* For the full text see: Nicolaus Olahus, *Hungaria-Athila*, ed. Colomannus Eperjessy and Ladislaus Juhász (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), 15 (hereafter: Olahus, *Hungaria*). A charter of Pope Boniface IX mentions the chapel under the name *Deaurata* (gilded) in 1401. *Non obstantibus ... quod ut, asseris, altare sancti Stephani regis, situm in capella deaurata beate Marie Virginis castri Quinqueecclesiensis, quod sine cura est, cuiusque fructus ... quinque marcharum argenti ... valorem annum non excedunt, nosceris obtinere*, in *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 1, no. 4 (Budapest, 1889), 307. See also Ede Petrovich, “A pécsi Levéltár épülete” [The building of the Pécs Archive], *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 8 (1963): 161-171; idem, “Az egyetemalapító Vilmos pécsi püspök és Janus Pannonius sírhelye” [The burial place of Janus Pannonius and Bishop William, founder of the university of Pécs], *Baranyai Helytörténetírás* 1 (1968): 162 (hereafter: Petrovich, “Egyetemalapító”).

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

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 63, the text of the charter attests that Innocent VI confirmed the foundation of the chapel: *Capella, quam ... fundasse et construxisse dicitur*. See also György Tímár, “Szentisztelet Pécsert” [Cult of saints Pécs], *Tanulmányok Pécs történetéből* 9, ed. Márta Font (Pécs: Pécs Története Alapítvány, 2001), 96-101. Font explicitly states that the chapel was founded before 1355.

<sup>8</sup> *octo altaria ... dedicata et consecrata existat* [corrected by Koller: *existent*], see Koller, *Historia*, 64. The editor of the bull of Pope Innocent VI, Josephus Koller himself, attests that the chapel was founded before 1355. See Koller, *Historia*, 18. A few decades later, Michael Haas from the parish of Pécs dated the building of the chapel to around 1348.

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in a polygonal choir that was supported by buttresses; the character of its western enclosure – where the entrance was probably located – is unknown. The later fate of the chapel is rather ambiguous. After the Ottoman capture of Pécs in 1543 the chapel lost its original function, although it was not completely destroyed since some remains of its walls were still visible in the eighteenth century.<sup>9</sup> It is not known when or why the ruins disappeared entirely, only to be revealed next by archeologists in the late twentieth century.

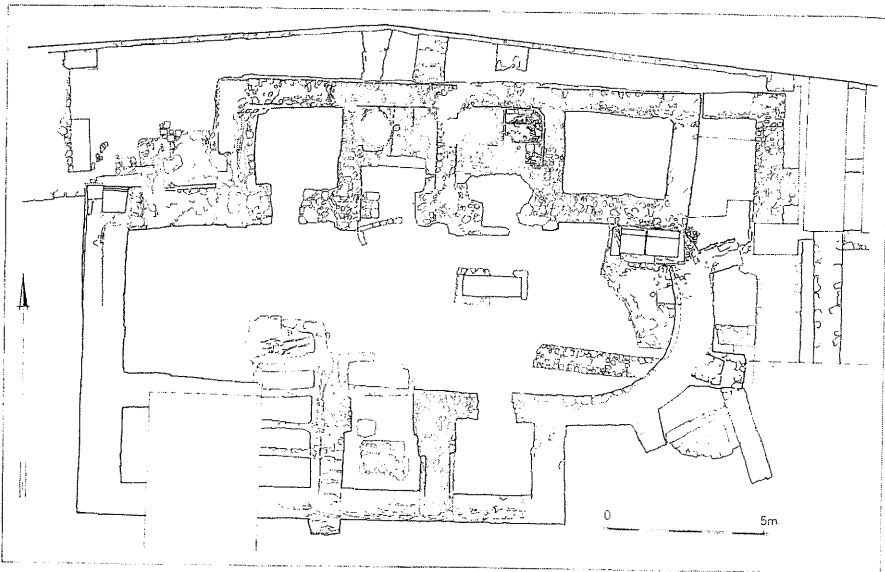


Fig. 1.: The ground plan of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady at Pécs

Mária, G. Sándor. "Die mittelalterlichen Gebäude und Gebäudereste der Bischofsburg zu Pécs" *Die Bischofsburg zu Pécs. Archäologie und Bauforschung, International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS] Hefte des Deutschen Nationalcomitees 22*, ed. Mária G. Sándor and Győző Gerő (München-Budapest: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1999), 32, Picture 14.

<sup>9</sup> Under Bishop György Klimó rebuilding activity was begun north of the cathedral, about which Josephus Koller reports: *In eodem Castro ... Collegiatum Sacellum B. V. Aurarae, cujus Vestigia sub Georgii Klimó cum Statua Deiparae, ... deprehenda fuerunt...* see Josephus, Koller, *Prolegomena in historiam episcopatus Quinqueecclesiarum* (Pozsony, 1804), 148-149 (hereafter: Koller, *Prolegomena*).

As a free-standing and richly decorated building, the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady was a private chapel, the prime function of which was to support its founder's individual salvation. In this role, Bishop Nicholas was believed to have been buried as close as possible to the main altar, thus probably in the grave where the sculpture fragments were found, although no human remains were recovered from this grave during the excavation. Besides its location, another piece of evidence is known about his burial place. In Nicholas Oláh's description of Pécs in 1536 he indicates that the penitential belt of the founder bishop was hanging above the tomb, suggesting thereby that a kind of saintly cult was being formed around him.<sup>10</sup>

The chapel preserved its burial function later on as well, which is known both from the written evidence and the excavations, which revealed approximately seven graves on the site of the building.<sup>11</sup> Today, regrettably, only three persons are known to have been buried in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady: Bishop Nicholas, his successor, William (1360-1374), and a later bishop of Pécs, Sigismund Ernuszt (1473-1505).<sup>12</sup> This may indicate that the chapel was later used by high-ranking clerics for burial, a hypothesis which is also supported by an eighteenth-century description of Pécs by an unknown author who claims that "many bishops and ecclesiastical men lie" in the chapel.<sup>13</sup>

The founder, Bishop Nicholas, also took care to shape the liturgy of the chapel. As the *Pécs Missale* explicitly states,<sup>14</sup> he brought the relics of a saintly bishop, Livinus, from the remote Ghent to the Gilded Chapel.<sup>15</sup> As well as the relics, Nicholas also brought the mass of this saint to Pécs; it can be assumed that this mass was celebrated in the chapel.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Olahus, *Hungaria*, 15. Oláh also emphasizes the humility and generosity of the bishop to the poor.

<sup>11</sup> For the excavation documentation, see note 3, above.

<sup>12</sup> During the eighteenth-century rebuilding mentioned above a ring inscribed with the name "Bishop William" was found north of the cathedral, which would indicate that Bishop William was buried here, see Petrovich, "Egyetemalapító," 161; Josephus Koller also states that this bishop was buried here, see Koller, *Prolegomena*, 149. Petrovich raises the possibility that Koller identified the chapel based on a statue of the Virgin Mary that was found with the ring. About the burial of the other bishops, see Tamás Fedeles, "Eine Bischofsresidenz in Südungarn im Mittelalter. Der Burg zu Fünfkirchen (Pécs)," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 13 (2008): 207.

<sup>13</sup> "Pécs város leírása" [A Description of Pécs], Pécs, Egyetemi Könyvtár. Ms. No. 67058, see also Petrovich, "Egyetemalapító," 164.

<sup>14</sup> *Missale secundum morem alme ecclesie Quinqueecclesiense* (Venice, 1499) CCXX, quoted in Koller, *Historia*, 15. See Tamás Fedeles, "Körmenetek Pécsen a 14–15. században" [Processions in Pécs in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries], *Pécsi Szemle* 10 (2007): 21 (hereafter: Fedeles, "Körmenetek").

<sup>15</sup> See note 20. About the Livinus altar of the Gilded Chapel of our lady see Koller, *Historia*, 64.

<sup>16</sup> Fedeles, "Körmenetek," 21.

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Besides serving individual aims, a further aspect of the function of the chapel may be reflected in the placement of the inner spaces as side-chapels, as this arrangement is known from churches that serve communities of ecclesiastical orders.<sup>17</sup> The written evidence also casts light upon the collegiate character of the chapel: Oláh calls the chapel *collegiatum sacellum divae virgini auratae sacrum* in his description.<sup>18</sup> Haas, in his *Gedenkbuch* of 1852, mentions the chapel as a *Kollegiatkirche*, comparing it to another one dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>19</sup> This all suggests that the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady had certain functions of a collegiate church, even if it never received this title officially. Archeologists raised a further possibility, namely, that the chapel was functionally attached to the medieval university of Pécs, based on identifying the building east of the chapel as a main edifice of the university.<sup>20</sup>

### The Sculptural Fragments: Unknown Angevin Courtly Art

During the excavations in 1982 sculptural fragments – parts of architectural decoration and statues – were found in a grave in the chapel and accepted as having belonged to the chapel decoration.<sup>21</sup> Some objects preserved traces of painting and even gilding, which made it possible to explain the ascription in the name of the chapel. The group consists of both limestone and marl fragments and is dated to the fourteenth century based on the style, which harmonizes well with the building if the chapel founding is dated before 1355.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Compare, e.g., the Pauline churches of Tüskevár and Csátka, see Géza Entz, “Főúri építkezések” [Building Activity of the Aristocracy], in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987), 406, figs. 1-2.

<sup>18</sup> Oláh, *Hungaria*, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Haas, *Gedenkbuch*, 24.

<sup>20</sup> Mária G. Sándor, “A pécsi Püspökvár feltárt középkori egyházi és világi épületei” [Sacred and Secular Buildings Excavated in the Bishopric of Pécs], *Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 37 (1992): 105-107. The biggest problem with this hypothesis is that no “university chapels” are known from the practice of medieval universities in Europe.

<sup>21</sup> See note 4.

<sup>22</sup> For the dating of the fragments see: Marosi, *Figurális szobrászat*, 458; and the catalogue entries about each of the remnants: Mária G. Sándor, “Női szent szobrának töredéke” [Fragment of a female saint], “Püspökszent szobrának torzója” [Torso of a Bishop Saint], “Térdelő női szent vagy angyal töredéke” [Fragment of a Kneeling Saint or Angel], “A pécsi középkori egyetem címerköve” [The Stone of the Coat of Arms of Pécs University], “Kezében füstölőt tartó angyal szobortöredéke” [Sculptural Fragment of an Angel Holding a Censer], “Domborműves párkánytag két próféta alakjával” [Relief with the Figures of Two Apostles], “Relieftöredék két női alakkal (Angyali üdvözlés részlete)” [Relief Fragment with Two

The recovery of these fragments in a secondary deposit (in the grave) has made it difficult for archeologists and art historians to interpret them. Conflicting ideas arose, especially concerning the original function of certain fragments. Specifically based on their place of discovery, one hypothesis claims that the fragments – together with additional pieces found near the cathedral of Pécs – were parts of one and the same tomb that was raised above the grave they were excavated from.<sup>23</sup> The other idea concerned different functions for different groups of fragments based on the material and stylistic diversity. This approach sees the limestone fragments as parts of statues that were standing on pillar consoles.<sup>24</sup> Their size – somewhat smaller than life-size – would correspond with this function because it would make these figures visible from a distance. Also, fragments of baldachins excavated from the same grave can be imagined as applied above the statues following the usual practice of the era. Concerning the marl fragments, Imre Takács interpreted one of them as belonging to the stone retable of the main altar of the chapel.<sup>25</sup>

Stylistically, the fragments have been separated into two groups, which is also supported by differences in the material – limestone and marl. The limestone pieces suggest a stylistic orientation towards South German fourteenth-century sculpture, while the forms of the marl fragments suggest a workshop that was trained in the Île-de-France region.<sup>26</sup>

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Female Figures Part of the Scene of the Annunciation]) and Imre Takács, “Pálcakeretes kőlap töredéke két álló figura részletével” [Stone Slab Fragment with Parts of Two Standing Figures], “Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával” [Relief fragment with the Torso of a Female Figure] *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541* [Pannonia Regia. Art in Transdanubia 1000-1541], ed. Imre Takács and Árpád Mikó (Budapest: A Magyar Nemzeti Galéria Kiadványai, 1994), 270-273 (hereafter: *PR*).

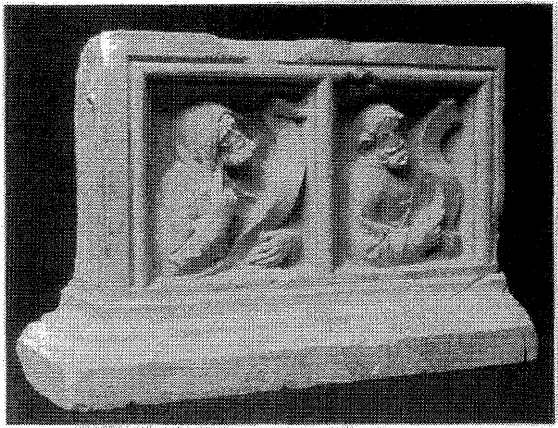
<sup>23</sup> Mária G. Sándor, “Az Aranyos Mária-kápolna,” [The Gilded Chapel of Our Lady] *Magyar királyi és főrendi síremlékek* [Royal and Peer Tombs in Hungary] ed. Zoltán Deák (Budapest: Urbis, 2004), 106-108 (hereafter: *Síremlékek*); For the theoretical restoration of the tomb with a baldachin see Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremlékének rekonstrukciója az Aranyos Mária-kápolnából” [A Reconstruction of the Tomb of Bishop William of Bergzabern in the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady], ICOMOS1999: 92-99. For a mock-up and a detailed explanation see: Gergely Buzás, “Bergzaberni Vilmos püspök síremléke,” [The Tomb of William of Bergzabern] 109-117; the maquette of the tomb is depicted and described in Doc. Nr. 38709. in the National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest.

<sup>24</sup> I would like to thank Imre Takács for calling my attention to this character of the statues.

<sup>25</sup> Imre Takács, “Domborműves fríz részlete” [Piece of a Frieze with Reliefs] *Sigismundus. Rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387-1437* [Sigismundus. Rex et imperator. Art and Culture in the Age of Sigismund of Luxemburg 1387-1437], ed. Imre Takács (Budapest-Luxemburg: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), Cat. No. 1.32., 112 (hereafter: *Sigismundus*).

<sup>26</sup> Imre Takács, “Királyi udvar és művészet Magyarországon a késő Anjou-korban” [The Royal Court and Art in Hungary in the Late Anjou Period], *Sigismundus*, 76-78.

The marl fragments have attracted more attention, mainly because the high quality of carving led scholars to point to direct stylistic analogues in the French-style console figures of the Franciscan church in Vienna.<sup>27</sup> This identification opened up further paths of investigation. First, it raised the possibility of identifying the workshop and therefore interpreting the fragments in the context



*Fig. 2.: The so called "relief with prophets"  
Imre Takács, "Blason de Guillaume Bergzabern, évêque de Pécs" in *L'Europe des Anjou :  
Aventure des princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle.*  
(Paris: Somogy éditions d'art, 2001), 333.*

of contemporary Central European art, which is the aim of this paper. Second, it connected the group to the monumental sculpture produced for the Angevin royal court, thereby providing an opportunity to form a picture of courtly art in the Angevin era.

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

*Analysis of the fragments*

One particular fragment led art historians to the conclusion that this second group of fragments was carved by a Viennese workshop. The so-called “relief with prophets” is rectangular piece of marl approximately forty centimeters long that depicts two figures as busts on the front (Figure 2). Although it is not entirely precise from an iconographical point of view, the figures have traditionally been identified as prophets based on the fact they hold scrolls in their hands. Scholars have already emphasized that the relief is of outstanding quality, which is clearly manifested in the use of exact proportions and in the fine formulation of the architectural and figural details. The profile of the figure niches is finely carved and the folds of the figures’ mantles are precisely shaped.

Besides all these fine details, the artistic formulation skill of the masters – whoever they were – is clearly reflected in how they arranged the composition of its single piece of stone. The figures are neither too small nor too large for the niches they are in, which they therefore take entirely but gently in their possession. They are depicted as busts; the composition arranges their arms, hands, heads, and even their hair – the curls of which seem to echo the movement of the figures themselves – give the impression that these busts are complete figures.

The superb way the stone material is handled can be acknowledged as the “fingerprints” of the masters, which can best be demonstrated on the mantles of the figures. These are dominated by carefully polished surfaces left without folds, the sharp lines of which rarely break the surface, but then continue in a more determined way. This manner of carving results in the sensation of a vivid surface forcing the limestone to give up being simply inert and calling it into the process of formulating the image. Only in this way do the surfaces of the mantle that are left without articulation as “empty” take on a powerful role in holding the composition together.

Harmonizing correspondences of artistic formulation (with the same imprecise difference between prophets and apostles) is what makes the console figures of southwestern portal of the Franciscan church in Vienna close to the Pécs relief (Figure 3). The presence of both richly carved and “empty” polished surfaces at the same time in the Vienna figures reflects the same manner of carving as in the case of the Pécs “relief with prophets” carving. The plain surfaces on the lower parts of the figures that slip into each other along the line of the folds are mirrored exactly in the mantle of the Pécs prophet. The way the figures use the space that is available to them is also similar. Apparently, it does not really matter what kind of space it is – flat or curved – their flexibility strengthens its borders. Consequently, the figures on the Pécs relief do not

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*Fig. 3.: A figure of prophet from the southwestern portal of the Viennese Franciscan Church.  
Photo by the author.*

seem flat, while the other pair in Vienna is not closely bound to the corbels they are carved on. Again, the formulation of the details (e.g., the facial or hand types, the latter quite clumsy but still charming) is quite similar.

The similarity between the Pécs and the Viennese reliefs promotes the idea of accepting these two groups as created by one and same workshop. This also corresponds well to the approximate dating around 1350 due to the historical circumstances of building both the chapel and the Viennese church.<sup>28</sup>

This conclusion is supported by a comparison of the Viennese reliefs with the other Pécs carvings – for example, the torso of a carefully carved figure of an angel swinging a censor. In this case, I would highlight how each element of the motion of swinging is genuinely in the angel's composition. The left hand may have

held one end of the chain that crosses the body in a horizontal line that is continued in the line of the right arm. From here, the chain to the censor turns down vertically, accompanied by folds of the cloth. It seems as if the chain carries the quintessence of the whole movement; in this sense, it stands very close to all the prophet reliefs, where their scrolls perform the same function that the censor here does.

The relief, which once depicted a scene from the Annunciation or the Visitation, shows the same artistic character as all the reliefs mentioned above.<sup>29</sup> Found in an

<sup>28</sup> For the building history of the Viennese Franciscan church see: Mario Schwarz, "Die Minoritenkirche in Wien," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher (New York: Prestel, 2000), 318-322.

<sup>29</sup> Imre Takács, "Dombormű töredéke női figura torzójával," in *PR*, 273.

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unknown place in the area of the Bishopric Castle, this relief is a good example of how the sculptural material of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady may be expanded by fragments found earlier.

The argument that the workshop making the marl decoration for the chapel may also have worked on the Franciscan church in Vienna seems acceptable. In order to find out more about the historical context in which this workshop would have come to Pécs, I will investigate the circumstances that characterized its Viennese activity.

## The Workshop in the Service of the Habsburg Ducal Court in Vienna

### *The workshop's oeuvre and its commissioner*

In contemporary Habsburg Vienna, the workshop had several commissions, which have been addressed by many scholars. In the “grand horizon” narrative of art history in Austria in the 1960s, scholars mainly investigated the tympana reliefs of the façade decoration of the Franciscan church, attributing to them the influences of different – mainly Italian or Austrian – stylistic orientations.<sup>30</sup> The other prominent part of the façade decoration, the jamb statues, was brought into the common view of art history by Gerhard Schmidt.<sup>31</sup> Besides seeking their stylistic analogues within the borders of medieval Vienna, he strove to find parallel stylistic phenomena in Western Europe and identified similarities between these figures and the contemporary sculptural tradition of the Île-de-France.<sup>32</sup> As a result, he established a stylistically independent group of statues which he called the oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* (Franciscan workshop).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Peter von Baldass, “Die Plastik der Österreichischen Früh- und Hochgotik,” *Gotik in Österreich* (hereafter: *GÖ*), ed. Rupert Feuchtmüller, Wilhelm Mrazek, Walther Buchowiecki, and Peter von Baldass (Vienna: Forum Verlag, 1961), 91 (hereafter: Baldass, *Plastik*, 1961); Josef Zykan, “Die Plastik” *Gotik in Niederösterreich*, ed. Fritz Dworschak and Harry Kühnel (Vienna: Druck und Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1964), 126-127; Karl Ginhart, “Die Bildneri in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,” (hereafter: Ginhart, *Bildneri*) *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Vienna, Bd VIII*, ed. Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien (Vienna: Selbstverlag für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, 1970) (hereafter: *GBÖ*), 1-2; Robert Wlattnig, “Die Skulpturen der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Wien,” Ph.D. dissertation (Vienna, 1988), 6-7 (hereafter: Wlattnig, *Skulpturen*).

<sup>31</sup> Gerhard Schmidt, “Zu einigen Stifterdarstellungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich,” In *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 128-129 (hereafter: Schmidt, “Stifterdarstellungen”).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Gerhard Schmidt, “Die Wiener ‘Herzogenwerkstatt’ und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 33-31 (1977-78): 181 (hereafter: Schmidt, “Herzogenwerkstatt”).

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Assuming that parts of the façade decoration were handled independently from each other resulted in attributing different stylistic orientations to them, and some parts of the façade were never mentioned or analyzed. Until then, researchers had thought in terms of stylistic connections and their network, not about harmonizing the various concepts of the stylistic orientation of different statues of one and the same façade. From the perspective of the present investigation, however, it is necessary to give a working definition for what I mean by “Franciscan workshop.” Can the prophets, which are the prime examples for demonstrating close ties between the Pécs and Viennese groups of sculpture, be considered as created by this workshop?

The sculptural decoration of the façade of the Franciscan church comprises the carvings of the south, central, and north portals. The pair of console figures at the latter I would not attribute to the Franciscan workshop because these figures are stylistically close to similar carvings in the Stephansdom choir, which are dated around 1340.<sup>34</sup> All the other parts of the façade decoration – the tympana reliefs, the jamb, and console figures (including those connected to Pécs) – is what I would acknowledge as the *Minoritenwerkstatt's* work, even if some differences in their artistic solutions are clearly visible.

I would primarily account for the differences with the restoration of the façade that re-worked the surface of the figures and thereby rendered stylistic analysis rather difficult. If an art historian still wishes to attempt to establish conclusions about the stylistic composition of the decoration, he or she must rely on comparing figural types, motifs of movement and cloth, characteristics of arranging the composition and using space rather than stylistic issues.

The tympanum reliefs, which have most been frequently compared to local examples, can be linked to the jamb figures through the use of similar motifs. The motif, for example, of holding a book in a hand covered by the mantle is comparable in the cases of both Saint John the Evangelist (tympanum) and Saint John the Baptist (jamb) or the way parts of the mantles hang towards the ground, which suggests the use of the same artistic sample.

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<sup>34</sup> Hans Schweigert, “Figurale Konsole,” in *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Gotik*, ed. Günther Brucher (Vienna: Prestel, 2000), 339-340; for the comparable corbel figures of the Stephansdom, Arthur Saliger, analyzing three figures, discusses iconographical features rather than their stylistic origin, see Arthur Saliger, “Drei Konsolen für einen Wasserspieler, Flötenspieler, Trommler, Hornist,” *850 Jahre St. Stephan. Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997*, Sonderausstellung Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 24. April bis 31. August 1997, ed. Renata Kassal-Mikula (Vienna: Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 1997), 73-74 (hereafter: *850 Jahre St. Stephan*).

This decoration also hints at who the commissioner of the work could have been. Among Christ's mourners depicted on the middle tympanum, a figure without a halo also appears. Wearing a cap on his head and elegant secular clothing, this man is traditionally identified as the duke of Austria, more precisely as Albert II (1330-1358), based on the dating of the façade's decoration.<sup>35</sup> An appropriate note in the necrology of the church emphasizes Albert II's role in connection with the decoration. The text lists a certain Jacobus Parisiensis, who it states "built" *nostram portam*.<sup>36</sup> This person has been convincingly identified as a monk from Zwettl abbey whom Albert II himself took as his confessor. Due to this position, Jacobus could have contributed to the making of the church decoration as a donor.<sup>37</sup>

Besides the figural decoration of the Franciscan church façade, two other statues have been linked to the Viennese oeuvre of the *Minoritenwerkstatt*: a figure of Saint Dorothy (now in the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien)<sup>38</sup> and a figure of Saint Thomas (now applied to a pillar of the choir in the Stephansdom). The parallels between these two figures and the jamb statues of the Franciscan church are convincing indeed: the cloth at the chest describes the same motif on the figures of Saint Helena and Dorothy; their posture and formulation of several details (e.g., the curls of the hair) are also comparable.<sup>39</sup> Saint Thomas, perhaps, stands a little bit farther from the male saints of the Franciscan church jamb, but the concise formulation – although a distinctive element – does not separate it from the *Minoritenwerkstatt*'s oeuvre.

The attribution of these statues to the workshop raises further questions, i.e., whether the *Minoritenwerkstatt* was responsible for decorating the choir of the Stephansdom in Vienna as well. Speaking for this fact is that the commissioner here – similarly to the workshop's other work – was closely related to the Habsburg court. If this was the case, that means that two workshops – the *Minoritenwerkstatt* and

<sup>35</sup> Ruprecht Feuchtmüller, "Das Westportal der Wiener Minoritenkirche," in *Kunst in Österreich*, 1 vol., ed. Ruprecht Feuchtmüller (hereafter: Feuchtmüller, "Westportal"), 102.

<sup>36</sup> Feuchtmüller, "Westportal," 102.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.; Horst Schweigert, "Kreuzigung Christi," *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Gotik*, ed. Günter Brucher (New York: Prestel, 2000), 342 (hereafter: Schweigert, "Kreuzigung").

<sup>38</sup> Arthur Saliger suggested that the statue belonged to the sculptural setting of northern choir, basing his opinion on stylistic rather than iconographical considerations. See Arthur Saliger, "Heilige Dorothea," in *850 Jahre St. Stephan*, 82.

<sup>39</sup> The appearance of the same motif on the figure of Dorothy as on an apostle on the jamb of the Franciscan Church brings statue of the female saint very close to the jamb figures. For the statue of Saint Dorothy see Arthur Saliger, "Heilige Dorothea," in *850 Jahre St. Stephan*, 82.

so-called *Herzogenwerkstatt* (Ducal Workshop) – were responsible for creating the inner sculptural decoration of the choir, probably at the same time.<sup>40</sup> This parallel commission for the same decoration is known from the example of the Franciscan church façade, where the console figures of the north portal were similarly made by the workshop working in the Stephansdom choir, thus the *Herzogenwerkstatt*.

### *The workshop's origin*

Where were the masters originally trained before carving the decoration of the Franciscan church façade? In the absence of relevant written sources, it is the statues of their reconstructed oeuvre that help suggest a place of origin. In the course of research, most of these works of art have been variously compared to different – Austrian, Italian and French – analogues, all of which were remote enough to assume a direct influence.<sup>41</sup> While this paper cannot promise to bring this inquiry to a halt, I would point out that one group of the decoration was considered to have closer stylistic parallels. Gerhard Schmidt compared the jamb figures of the central portal to contemporary donor statues in the Navarre chapel of the Mantes-la-Jolie cathedral.<sup>42</sup> By pointing out similarities in many layers of artistic formulation, Schmidt found close links between the Viennese and the French works and raised the possibility that the *Minoritenwerkstatt* was trained at Île-de-France.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that the donor of the church building, Jacobus Parisiensis, may have come from Paris, as his name would indicate. Apart from the fact that “Parisiensis” clearly reflects his origin, nothing would argue for him being familiar with the royal sculpture of Île-de-France, neither would the fact that he was a monk in Zwettl before serving the Austrian duke.

The parallels are rather promising between the statues that Schmidt mentions, the figures of St. Helena and a female saint from the Chapelle de Navarre. Based on this, direct influence from France seems to be acceptable, although why the similarities are not so striking in the cases of the other statues remains to be decided. This may partly be accounted for by the different iconographical characters of

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<sup>40</sup> Gerhard Schmidt raised the idea that some masters of the *Minoritenwerkstatt* worked in the *Herzogenwerkstatt* as well, see Schmidt, “Herzogenwerkstatt,” 181.

<sup>41</sup> See note 31.

<sup>42</sup> Gerhard Schmidt, “Zu einigen Stifterdarstellungen des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich,” in *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1992), 127–128, figs. 126–128. (Hereafter: Schmidt, “Stifterdarstellungen”).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

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the statues in Vienna and in Mantes, but Michael Viktor Schwarz has rightly pointed out that heavy restoration is primarily what hinders arriving at more solid conclusions.<sup>44</sup> In light of what the Pécs fragments may add to the knowledge of the Viennese statues as their analogues, I would accept the concept of a probable French origin for the workshop.

### **Patrons from the Angevin Royal Court: Courtly Demands in the Hungarian Bishopric**

The investigation of the circumstances that characterized the Pécs workshop's Viennese activity make it possible to identify that it worked on courtly commissions. This casts a new light on the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady in that it needs an explanation of what led such a workshop to fulfill the commission of a bishop in Hungary.

Given that there is little written evidence about medieval art in Hungary, some resources remain that reveal that the founder of the chapel, Bishop Nicholas Poroszlói-Neszmélyi, originally worked for the royal administration in the Anjou court before accepting the Pécs bishopric. Born probably in Wrocław, he was invited to Hungary by Queen Elizabeth the Elder around 1331 to serve as a teacher of the child Louis I.<sup>45</sup> It may reflect the royal pair's satisfaction with his services that he received the titles of royal chaplain and secret chancellor.<sup>46</sup> Parallel to this, Nicholas received ecclesiastical rewards as well; he was given smaller religious titles before being appointed to the archbishopric seat of Kalocsa around 1344.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps

<sup>44</sup> Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Höfische Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986), 294.

<sup>45</sup> Antal Pór, "Neszmélyi Miklós, Nagy Lajos király tanítója" [Nicholas of Poroszlói, the Educator of Louis I], *Katholikus Szemle* 21 (1907): 472 (hereafter: Pór, "Neszmélyi").

<sup>46</sup> A charter from 4 October 1344 states that he became secret chancellor. At the same time, this document calls him as royal chaplain: *Nos magister Nicholaus, quondam informator dominin Ludovici...reges...comes capelle et secretarius cancellarius eiusdem... Anjou-kori Oklevéltár Documenta Res Hungaricus Tempore Regum Andegavensium Illustrantia*, vol. 4, ed. Gyula Kristó (Budapest, 1996), 454. See also Pór, "Neszmélyi," 472; Pál Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* [The Secular Genealogy of Hungary 1301-1457] (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, 1996), vol. 2, 175.

<sup>47</sup> Queen Elizabeth supplicated Pope Clement VI in a charter from 9 May 1343 to receive the canon title of Esztergom for Nicholas. *Supplicat Helisabeth regina Hungariae ... quatenus sibi in personam Nicolai, clericis Wratislaviensis diocesis, informator seu pedagogi Ludovici regis Hungariae... Acta Clementis VI. pontificis Roniani Monumenta Vaticana, Res Gestas Bohemicas illustrate I*, ed. Klicman Ladislaus, et al., (Prague: Typis

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because he failed to get this title acknowledged officially by the pope, Nicholas was awarded the bishopric of Pécs in 1346.<sup>48</sup>

The fact that the Gilded Chapel was decorated by a workshop which had served the duke of Austria may have been a reflection of Bishop Nicholas' courtly past. Being a person who had frequent access to the royal court and enjoyed its lavish artistic output every day, Nicholas definitely had preferences for the genre, iconography, and style of any artistic production. As a patron of art in Pécs, the newly elected bishop would have tried to adapt models from the court to the chapel he founded. He would have been able to turn this demand into reality by taking advantage of the personal connections that he had made at the royal court. It is plausible that through his connections at court he got to know the French-trained workshop and invited them to contribute to the decoration of the chapel he founded. It is also reasonable to presume that the workshop did not come directly from Vienna to Pécs, but they would have had earlier opportunities to meet in the Anjou court.

One argument for this is that the same French stylistic orientation characterized other Central European courts as well. Therefore, it is not surprising that the fragments from Anjou Hungary, likewise influenced, can be closely connected to a commissioner from the royal court. A good example of this is the beautiful piece of marble tomb slab that was found in the area of the royal coronation and burial place, the Székesfehérvár cathedral.<sup>49</sup> Carved with professional care in order to let the

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gregerianis, 1903), 108 (hereafter: *Monumenta Vaticana*). He also possessed the canon seat of Veszprém and the prebend title of Győr. See *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* [Collection of Charters from the Anjou-period], ed. Ferenc Piti (Budapest-Szeged: Szegedi Magyar Medievisztikai Kutatócsoport, 2007) vol. 27 (1343), 208 n., 196. In 1345, he was appointed to the canon seat of Pécs as papal chaplain, see *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarica* [sic] *sacram illustrantia*, ed. Augustin Theiner (Rome, 1859), 9 n., 707 (hereafter: *Vetera monumenta*); Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 475. About the fact that he was appointed to the archbishopric seat of Kalocsa by the chapter of Kalocsa, see Pór, "Neszmélyi," 745.

<sup>48</sup> The earliest charter in which Nicholas is called bishop of Pécs (in the name of Pope Clement VI) is dated to 13 February 1346 in *Vetera monumenta*, vol. 1, 727. See Pór, "Neszmélyi," 479. In April of the same year, Nicholas paid 3000 *florenos* to the Holy See as a half of the prize for some kind service (*quinque servitia*), which may be identified as the bishopric title. I would like to thank Cristian-Nicolae Gaspar for putting this information at my disposal.

<sup>49</sup> Dezső Dercsényi, *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika* [The Royal Cathedral of Székesfehérvár] (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943), 100-101, 123, figures 86-87; *Művészet I. Lajos király korában* [Art in the Period of Louis I.'s Reign], ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth and Lívia Varga (Székesfehérvár: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), 108 n., 201-202; Pál Lővei, "Az Anjou síremlékek újonnan előkerült töredékeiről" [Newly Excavated Fragments of Anjou Tombs], *Síremlékek* 81 (2004): fig. 146; *PR*; Imre Takács, "Szarkofágfedlap töredéke" [Fragment of a Tomb Slab], *Sigismundus*, 110.

sharpened edges interfere harmoniously with the gentle surface of parts that form the cloth, this female tomb slab has been favorably compared to the achievements of contemporary Île-de-France sculpture.<sup>50</sup> Based on the fact that this tomb slab is believed to be from the tomb of Louis I's daughter, Princess Catherine, it may be associated with a commission from the court. Furthermore, the tomb slabs of the abbots of Pannonhalma, Szigfrid (1355-1365) and Ladislaus Czudar (1365-1372), who certainly had connections at court, have been interpreted as representative of this stylistic direction, transmitted via Austria or Bohemia.<sup>51</sup>

Turning to the first (the so-called German-style) group of fragments from Pécs, the question that should immediately be posed concerns the appearance of another style parallel to the French one. The question of this workshop's origin and the reasons for its invitation to Pécs are not clear. In this regard, the stylistic character of the fragments gives a hint. In Hungary, fragments with a similar German stylistic orientation are known from the Pilis Cistercian abbey north of Budapest. Although it is tempting, regrettably it is not possible to arrive at conclusions about the relation between the workshops at Pilis and at Pécs, that would necessitate the discovery of further pieces. Their commissioner, Abbot Henry of Pilis, was an inside member of the courtly circle and may have been in contact with Bishop Nicholas.

Nicholas' contribution to the work of the German workshop can be seen in the iconographical features of the fragments. For example, the torso of a figure clothed in casual dress with the inscription "Nicholas" on its base can be regarded as a sign of this. It would be quite unrealistic to assume that this statue depicted the donor himself; because its format is close to several other limestone figures of saints it would have stood in the row of saint figures as Saint Nicholas. The historical person Nicholas may have been connected to this torso in another way; he may have ordered its carving because the saint was his patron. It cannot be excluded, however, that Nicholas himself was indeed depicted in the chapel. Two heads with bishop's miters are known from the remains; assuming that one

<sup>50</sup> Imre Takács, "Szarkofágfedlap töredéke" [Fragment of a Tomb Slab], *Sigismundus*, 110.

<sup>51</sup> Ernő Marosi, "Pentimenti. Korrekciók a 14-15. századi magyar művészet képen" [Pentimenti. Corrections to the Image of Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-century Hungarian Art], *Tanulmányok Koppány Tibor hetvenedik születésnapjára* [Studies for the Seventieth Birthday of Tibor Koppány], ed. István Bardoly and László Csaba (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 1998), 100; Pál Lövei, "Szigfrid apát síremléke" [The tomb of Abbot Sigfrid], *Mons Sacer 996-1996. Pannonhalma ezer éve* [Mons Sacer 996-1996. A Thousand years of Pannonhalma], ed. Imre Takács (Pannonhalma: Pannonhalmi főapátság, 1996) vol. 1, 312.

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belonged to the torso mentioned above, the other still might have been part of a portrait. The concept of letting historical persons appear in the cycle of the limestone decoration of the chapel is further supported by the iconography of a bust. The gesture of the left hand crossed over the chest and the typical clothing of a robe fixed by a string at the shoulders refers quite explicitly to a knightly figure in the mirror of European analogues.<sup>52</sup> These characteristics of the original iconography prompt an association with Nicholas as a commissioner. He, as a man of the court, could have desired to leave some reference to his career and origin in the iconography of the decoration of the chapel that he had founded. The probable complexity of the entire iconographical program of the limestone decoration – perhaps including the Last Judgment and a cycle of the Life of Christ – would have had to be genuinely harmonized in the small space and would have befitted a man well educated in theology, as Nicholas was, who also took care that his own priests should be well educated.<sup>53</sup>

The courtly connection of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady did not end with the death of Bishop Nicholas in 1346. His successor, William of Berzgabern-Koppenbach (1346-1360), was bound with similar closeness into the network of the royal courtly circle. Similarly to Nicholas, William also came from abroad to serve Louis I of Anjou and was charged with the duties of royal chaplain and secret chancellor, by which he contributed actively to making advantageous compromises in Anjou diplomacy.<sup>54</sup> He also followed Nicholas in being an ambitious commissioner as the bishop of Pécs. He created the university there – the first one in Hungary – and probably he also initiated the making of artifacts, probably including some parts of the decoration of the chapel. William's contribution either to the building or to the decorating of the building may be reflected in the fourteenth century carving which depicts his coat of arms. Scholars have connected this carving to the chapel's decoration because it is made of the same marl as some of the excavated sculpture fragments. For the time being though, why it was not deposited in the grave where

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<sup>52</sup> According to current knowledge, Nicholas' brother, Mathias, was a knight among those close to the bishop. That would raise the possibility that the statue may be related to him, although this can only be accepted if further sources support it. About Mathias as a courtly knight, see *Vetera monumenta*, 706 and Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 468.

<sup>53</sup> *Vetera monumenta*, 727; Koller, *Historia*, 28; Pór, *Neszmélyi*, 479.

<sup>54</sup> The currently known data about the life of William Bergzabern-Koppenbach was gathered and interpreted the most recently by István Petrovics. For the resources and the further literature, see István Petrovics, "A középkori pécsi egyetem és alapítója" [The Medieval University of Pécs and its Founder], *Aetas* (2005): 31-35.

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all the other fragments were found cannot be explained.<sup>55</sup> The fact that William was buried in the chapel suggests that he was closely connected to the building.<sup>56</sup>

The intense connections of the two bishops, as probable commissioners of the Gilded Chapel, with the royal court support the idea that the decoration of the chapel at Pécs was made directly for a courtly commission. The stylistic orientation and the origin of the workshop support this interpretation. In this sense, the fragments of the Gilded Chapel of Our Lady can be considered as reflections of the almost completely devastated sculptural art of the Anjou court by hinting at what artistic traditions it preferred and selected, what norms it established from them, and how it then created trends that could be adapted and disseminated throughout the country.

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<sup>55</sup> The carving was found at a location east of the chapel. Because this place was interpreted as the site of a building of the medieval university of Pécs by the archaeologists, the carving was long held to be the coat of arms of the university. See Sándor, “Mária-kápolna kőfaragványai,” 1999, 90; Mária G. Sándor, “A pécsi középkori egyetem címerköve” [The Carving Depicting the Coat of Arms of the Medieval University of Pécs] in *PR*, Cat. No. IV-39, 271-272. Imre Takács has suggested convincingly that the carving depicts not the coat of arms of the university but of its founder, Bishop William, see Imre Takács, “Blason de Guillaume Bergzabern, évêque de Pécs,” in *L’Europe des Anjou: Aventure des princes angevins du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2001), 333.

<sup>56</sup> For the fact that William was also laid to rest in the chapel see note 12.