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Summary of the epigraphic examinations performed on stone-carved inscriptions made in the Medieval Transdanubia



Abstract

The Romanesque inscriptions (with Antiqua letters then more and more Uncials) have appeared at about 1000 A.D. in Hungary. This style has lasted until the middle of the 13th century. The early Gothic style (with the domination of Uncials) appears just after the mid-point of the 12th century and also lasts until the middle of the 13th century. Gothic maiuscula characters were first found in Transdanubia on stones carved in the first half of the 14th century, but the oldest such inscription found could be dated 1289 in Hungary. The end of its use dated about 1400. The first relic proving the apparition of the new style of Gothic minuscule in Hungary is a tombstone fragment found in Buda, traced back to 1366. The period of the carved Gothic minuscule writing ended at the middle of the 15th century, although some late provincial versions made in 1524 or later.

The first known stone-carved inscription done in humanistic capitals dates from 1467. The different versions of this type are also observed and persist until 1539-40 or longer, i.e. to the historical end-mark of the area.

Key words

Medieval Hungarian history or archaeology, medieval epigraphy

The first stone-carved inscriptions made in Transdanubia during the Middle Ages were done – as overall in Hungary – in the period after 1000 A.D., foundation year of the Hungarian Kingdom, the first known written records being created in the period of the Romanesque architecture. The Zalavár-stones,¹ which could be traced back as being carved in the 11th century, show the classical forms of the Romanesque characters, except for “C”, “G” and “N”, and the inward inclination of the legs of “M”. Only the letter “C” was carved in an angular shape.

¹ T. BOGYAY, “Szt. István korabeli oltártöredékek Zalavárról a Vas vármegyei múzeumban,” *Dunántúli Szemle* VIII (1941), 88-93 (Hereafter BOGYAY 1941); G. ENTZ, “Un chantier du XI^e siècle à Zalavár. (XI. századi kőfaragóműhely Zalaváron),” *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux Arts* 24 (1964), 17-46, 109-124 (Hereafter ENTZ 1964); *Árpád-kori kőfaragványok. Katalógus*, eds: M. TÓTH and E. MAROSI (Székesfehérvár: 1978), 69, 72-73 (Hereafter *ÁK-Kat*); I. VALTER, *Romanische Sakralbauten Westpannoniens* (Eisenstadt: 1985), 17; S. TÓTH, “A keszthelyi Balatoni Múzeum középkori kőtára,” in *Zalai Múzeum* 2. (Zalaegerszeg: 1990), 149, 150, 164, 165. (Hereafter TÓTH 1990)

The European fashion of the time,² to use tied letters (ligatures), enclaves and to cross the legs of the vicinal letters is not characteristic.

The tombstone fragment found in Veszprém,³ put to the turn of the 11/12th centuries, shows just antiqua characters, like the fragment of a bishop's chair armrest found in Esztergom,⁴ traced back to about 1200, and the fragment of an altar wing found in Nagylózs,⁵ believed to be created in the first decades of the 13th century.

Given that some uncial characters also appear in the inscriptions originating from the Romanesque age,⁶ our next group consists of the inscriptions, where along with the unequivocal domination of the antiqua, only a few uncial letters can be found. Such are the stone fragment of Zalaapáti,⁷ traced back to the 11th century, containing a single uncial "V", the "Jakob-stone" and related fragments found in Pécs,⁸ dated back to the 12th century, showing uncial "H" and "M" letters, and the altar donation plate of King Imre, to the Zirc Abbacy,⁹ carved at the turn of the 12/13th centuries, showing a single uncial "P". The group closes with the "Gaudeat-stone" found in Buda, usually dated back to the second half of the 13th

² R. M. KLOOS, *Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt: 1980), 124. (Hereafter KLOOS 1980)

³ I. ÁDÁM, *A veszprémi székesegyház I.* (Veszprém: 1912), 125-126, 129 (Hereafter ÁDÁM 1912); S. TÓTH, "Veszprémi középkori sírkőtöredékek," *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 2 (1964), 181 (Hereafter TÓTH 1964); *Lapidarium Hungaricum (Magyarország építészeti töredékeinek gyűjteménye) 1.*, ed. M. HORLER (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal 1988), 415-416.

⁴ H. HORVÁTH, *Középkori budai fejek* (Budapest: 1941), 79; E. MAROSI, "Einige stilistische Probleme der Inkustationen von Gran," *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* XVII (1971), 192-198; *ÁK-Kat.* 196-197; I. HORVÁTH – M. H. KELEMEN – I. TORMA, *Komárom megye régészeti topográfiája 1. Esztergom és a dorogi járás* (Budapest: 1979), 104 (Hereafter HORVÁTH – KELEMEN – TORMA 1979); E. MAROSI, *Die Anfänge der Gotik in Ungarn. (Esztergom in der Kunst des 12-13. Jahrhunderts)*, (Budapest: 1984), 36. (Hereafter MAROSI 1984a)

⁵ I. FELD, "A nagylózsai temetőkápolna és építéstörténete," *Soproni Szemle* (1981:4), 305.

⁶ KLOOS 1980, 124.

⁷ ENTZ 1964, 115; TÓTH 1990, 149, 163.

⁸ A. IPOLYI, *A középkori szobrászat emlékei Magyarországon. Kisebb munkái* (Budapest: 1873) (Hereafter IPOLYI 1873); I. HENSZLMANN, *Magyarország ókeresztény, román és átmeneti stílus emlékeinek rövid ismertetése* (Budapest: 1876), 68; P. GERECZE, "A pécsi székesegyház régiségei," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* XV (1895), 134, 345-348, 356-357, 361; O. SZÓNYI, *A pécsi püspöki múzeum kőtára* (Pécs: 1906), 3, 211-212, 216-217, 221 (Hereafter SZÓNYI 1906); T. GEREVICH, *Magyarország románkori emlékei (Magyarország művészeti emlékei I.)* (Budapest: 1938), 169 (Hereafter GEREVICH 1938); E. VERNEI-KRONBERGER, *Magyar középkori síremlékek* (Budapest: 1939), 111 (Hereafter VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939); *Magyar művelődéstörténet*, ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat 1939) II. 492; D. DERCSÉNYI, *A pécsi kőtár* (A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Füzetek 1 (1962)), 16; D. DERCSÉNYI, *Románkori építészet Magyarországon* (Budapest: 1974), 190 (Hereafter DERCSÉNYI 1974); *ÁK-Kat.* 1978, 143-144, 156; MAROSI 1984a, 67; *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, eds. Á. MIKÓ – I. TAKÁCS (Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria 1994), 145-147.

⁹ F. RÓMER, *A Bakony. Természetrajzi és régészeti vázlat* (Győr: 1860), 151 (Hereafter: RÓMER 1860); K. HORVÁTH, *Zirc története* (Veszprém: 1930), 6; I. GENTHON, *Magyarország művészeti emlékei I. Dunántúl* (Budapest: 1959), 441 (Hereafter GENTHON 1959); M. DAX – I. ÉRI – S. MITHAY – S. PALÁGYI – I. TORMA, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája 4. A pápai és a zirci járás* (Budapest: 1972), 266-267 (Hereafter DAX – ÉRI – MITHAY – PALÁGYI – TORMA 1972); MAROSI 1984a, 123.

century, i.e. the times after the Tartar invasion.¹⁰ In this text, just the letters “E” and “V” were carved in uncial shape.

Contemporary to the above stone relics, the items of the group characterised as early Gothic were created, where the uncial shapes are more frequent.

Let us mention the border stone of Vörs,¹¹ traced back to the period 1165-1172, i.e. the time of King István III., and the decorative and solemn inscriptions carved onto the Porta Speciosa in Esztergom,¹² carved during the last years of reign of King Béla III., i.e. about 1190. Rather similar to the Porta Speciosa inscriptions – with respect to decorativeness and tractation of the characters – are the inscriptions on the tombstone of the canon Vilmos of Esztergom¹³ and the tomb cover stone of Apollinaris in Székesfehérvár,¹⁴ both dated to the beginning of the 13th century, even if massive increase of the proportion of uncial characters is not seen.

The knight tombstone fragment found in Pilisszentkereszt,¹⁵ and traced back to about 1230, also contains the uncial versions of several letters, sometimes together with their antiqua pair (“T”, “U”), sometimes without such pairs (“E”, “H”).

The Romanesque inscriptions have appeared at about 1000 A.D. in Hungary, as well as in other parts of Europe. However, - as the above mentioned stone-carved inscriptions indicate – this style has lasted in Hungary until the middle of the 13th century, i.e. some hundred years longer than in Europe.¹⁶ The early Gothic style appears just after the mid-point of the 12th century, more exactly in 1165 – again at

¹⁰ *Magyar Művelődéstudomány* I. Ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 199, 624; L. GEREVICH, “Budapest művészete a későbbi középkorban a mohácsi vészig,” in *Budapest története* t. II. (Budapest: 1975), 240.

¹¹ Hpl. (=J. HAMPEL), “Két Árpád-kori feliratos emlék,” *Archaeológiai Értesítő* X (1890), 127-132, 127-130; BOGYAY 1941, 88-93; GENTHON 1959, 367; TÓTH 1990, 151, 166.

¹² GEREVICH 1938, 1180; GENTHON 1959, 91; J. H. KOLBA, “Románkori feliratos sírkölap,” *Folia Archaeologica* XIV (1962), 114 (Hereafter H. KOLBA 1962); DERCSÉNYI 1974, 13, 193; E. MAROSI, “Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa ikonográfiájához,” in *Esztergomi tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* ed. Gy. Székely (Budapest: 1984), 346-351 (Hereafter MAROSI 1984b); MAROSI 1984a, 32, 36, 166-167, 169; E. MAROSI, “Esztergomi stílusrétegek 1200 körül,” in *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, eds. Á. MIKÓ – I. TAKÁCS (Budapest: 1994), 154-158; *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, eds. Á. MIKÓ – I. TAKÁCS (Budapest: 1994), 159-165.

¹³ J. N. MÁTHES, *Veteris arvis Strigoniensis monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio* (Strigoni: 1827), 60-61 (Hereafter MÁTHES 1827); IPOLYI 1873, 185-186; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 13; GENTHON 1959, 91; H. KOLBA 1962, 114, 118; HORVÁTH-KELEMEN-TORMA 1979, 106; MAROSI 1984a, 36; P. LÓVEI – L. VARGA, “Síremlékek,” in *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül I-II.* ed. E. MAROSI (Budapest: 1987), 340 (Hereafter LÓVEI – VARGA 1987); I. TAKÁCS, “Esztergomi síremléktöredékek a 13. századból,” *Ars Hungarica* XVI (1988:2), 122-123, 130-131. (Hereafter TAKÁCS 1988)

¹⁴ H. KOLBA 1962, 111-123; P. LÓVEI, “The sepulchral monument of Saint Margaret of the Árpád dynasty,” *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* XXVI (1980), 213 (Hereafter LÓVEI 1980); MAROSI 1984a, 223; TAKÁCS 1988, 127-128.

¹⁵ L. GEREVICH, *A pilisi ciszterci apátság* (Szentendre: 1984), 15; TAKÁCS 1988, 125; *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, eds. Á. MIKÓ – I. TAKÁCS (Budapest: 1994), 256-257.

¹⁶ KLOOS 1980, 124-125.

the same time as throughout in Europe – but lasts until the middle of the 13th century, i.e. some 50 years longer than in the regions westward from Hungary.¹⁷

Gothic maiuscula characters were first found in Transdanubia on stones carved in the first half of the 14th century. The only relic to be precisely dated is the tombstone¹⁸ of Miklós, son of viceroy (governor of Croatia) Miklós, carved in Segesd in 1346. Elsewhere in Hungary, this style appeared much earlier, e.g. on a tombstone fragment¹⁹ found in Buda, traced back to 1289.

The Gothic maiuscula style becomes rather widespread from the middle of the 14th century on. One typical example is the tombstone plate in Visegrad,²⁰ bearing the year 1360, where a provincial version of this letter style appears. The same provincial version of the Gothic maiuscula letters was found on a tombstone in Taliándörög²¹ also traced back to the period around 1360. To this period can be traced back a tombstone fragment found in Nagymaros,²² too.

The Siegfried-tombstone in Pannonhalma²³ is however unbroken and richly decorated, besides its origin is undoubtedly and precisely identifiable, as the year 1365 stands figured on it. Years are also carved on the tombstone of Gutatöttös²⁴ (1370) and the Pál-tombstone of Bába²⁵ (1377).

¹⁷ KLOOS 1980, 125, 131.

¹⁸ P. ENGEL – P. LÓVEI – L. VARGA, “Gótikus sírkövek Máriavölgyről és Segesdről,” *Művészettörténelmi Értesítő* 30 (1981), 142-144; P. ENGEL – P. LÓVEI – L. VARGA, “Zsigmond kori bárói sírköveinkről,” *Ars Hungarica* XI (1983), 21; P. ENGEL – P. LÓVEI – L. VARGA, “Grabplatten von ungarischen Magnaten aus dem Zeitalter der Anjou-Könige und Sigismund von Luxemburg,” *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* XXX (1984), 43-44; P. LÓVEI, “Hindu-arab számjegyek a 14. századi Magyarországon,” *Matematikai Lapok* 33 (1986), 25-26; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 334-335; *Lapidarium Hungaricum. Magyarország építészeti töredékeinek gyűjteménye. I. Általános helyzetkép* Ed. M. HORLER (Budapest: 1988), 159. (Hereafter LAHU)

¹⁹ K. H. GYÜRKY, “Feliratos sírkő 1289-es évszámmal a budai domonkos kolostorból,” *Budapest Régiségei* XXVI (1984), 247-252; LÓVEI-VARGA 1987, 334, 339.

²⁰ LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 335.

²¹ K. ÉRY – A. KRALOVÁNSZKY, “Taliándörög, Szt. András-templom,” *Régészeti Füzetek* 29 (1976), 88; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 334-335, 463.

²² I. GENTHON, *Magyarország műemlékei* (Budapest: 1951), 347. (Hereafter GENTHON 1951); *Magyarország Műemléki Topográfiaja V.* (Budapest: 1958), 562-563; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 461.

²³ IPOLYI 1873, 187; B. CZOBOR, *Egyházi emlékeink a XIV. századból. Magyarország történelmi emlékei az 1896-os ezredévi kiállításon I.* (Budapest: 1896), 169 (Hereafter CZOBOR 1896); P. GERECZE, “Szobrászati emlékek Magyarországon,” in *Magyarország az ezredik évben V.* ed. S. Matlekovits (Budapest: 1898), 71 (Hereafter GERECZE 1898); K. DIVALD, *Magyarország művészeti emlékei* (Budapest: 1927), 108 (Hereafter DIVALD 1927); *Magyar Művelődéstörténet II* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), I. 1939, 359; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 23; D. DERCSÉNYI, *Nagy Lajos kora* (Budapest: [1941]), 108 (Hereafter DERCSÉNYI 1941); L. VARGA, “Szobrászat,” in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus* eds. E. MAROSI – M. TÓTH – L. VARGA (Budapest: 1982), 267 (Hereafter VARGA 1982); LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 335, 463, 466; E. MAROSI, (ed.) *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül I-II.* (Budapest: 1987), 137. (Hereafter MAROSI 1987)

²⁴ É. KOZÁK, “A gutatöttösi rk. templom feltárása,” *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 103 (1976), 103-104; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 337-338.

²⁵ L. HÓKE, “Bába, Czikádor, Földvár, Madocsa, Szekszárd monasteriológiájához,” *Magyar Sion* (1869), 346; P. SÖRÖS, *Az elenyészett bencés apátságok* (=L. ERDÉLYI – P. SÖRÖS (eds.), *A pannonhalmi Szt.*

This letter type was used on the cover plate of a sarcophagus²⁶ presumed to have housed the corpse of King Lajos I., (the Great), probably carved in the period 1370-1380. The tombstone of Zacharias of Como,²⁷ found in Buda, carved in maiuscula letters in relief, was probably made even later, around 1400.

The Gothic maiuscula style period started²⁸ in Europe at about 1230, whereas in Hungary the oldest such inscription found could be dated 1289. Some delay in adoption of this style vs. Europe is thus probable, whereas the end of its use is roughly simultaneous.²⁹

The first relic proving the apparition of the new style of Gothic minuscula style in Hungary is a tombstone fragment found in Buda,³⁰ traced back – with some uncertainty – to 1366.

Next comes the double tomb memorial Salamoni Bereck from Győr,³¹ on which the year 1364 is figured, although it was probably carved only in 1367.

Benedek-rend története XII/B.) (Budapest: 1912), 122; VERNEI - KRONBERGER 1939, 64; M. KÓNYI – J. HOLUB – J. CSALOG – D. DERCSÉNYI, “A bátai apátság temploma,” *Tolna megye múltjából 5. füzet* (Pécs: 1940), 60; GENTHON 1951, 425; GENTHON 1959, 34; Z. VÁRADY, “A bátai sírkő és epigráfiai összefüggései,” *Béri Balogh Ádám Múzeum Évkönyve* XII Ed. F. VADAS (Szekszárd: 1984), 105-121; LŐVEI - VARGA 1987, 335, 462; LAHU 1988, 375.

²⁶ IPOLYI 1873, 189; A. MAROSI, “Székesfehérvár művészeti emlékei,” in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet VI.* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1930), 409, 418; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet II* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 159; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 21-22; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 110-111; D. DERCSÉNYI, “A székesfehérvári bazilika kőfaragványai,” in *Emlékkönyv Gerevich Tibor születésének 60. évfordulójára* (Budapest: 1942), 38-39 (Hereafter DERCSÉNYI 1942); D. DERCSÉNYI, *A székesfehérvári bazilika* (Budapest: 1943), 56, 98-100, 124 (Hereafter DERCSÉNYI 1943); GENTHON 1959, 352; S. TÓTH, “Veszprémi középkori sírkőtöredékek,” *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 2 (1964), 168; P. LŐVEI, “A székesfehérvári Anjou-sírkápolna művészettörténeti helye,” in *Művészet I. Lajos király korában 1342-1382. Katalógus* eds. E. MAROSI – M. TÓTH – L. VARGA (Budapest: 1982), 200-201 (Hereafter LŐVEI 1982); VARGA 1982, 268; A. KRALOVÁNSZKY, “A székesfehérvári Anjou-sírkápolna,” in *Művészet I. Lajos Korában 1342-1382* ed. E. MAROSI – M. TÓTH – L. VARGA (Budapest: 1982), 165; E. SZAKÁL, “A székesfehérvári Anjou-síremlékek és I. Lajos király sírkápolnájá,” in *Művészet I. Lajos Korában 1342-1382* ed. E. MAROSI – M. TÓTH – L. VARGA (Budapest: 1982), 195; ENGEL – LŐVEI - VARGA 1983, 29-32; LŐVEI - VARGA 1987, 464, 466; É. KOVÁCS, “Tárgykultúra és kisművészetek a 14-15. századi Magyarországon,” in *Magyarországi Művészet 1300-1470 körül* ed. E. MAROSI (Budapest: 1987), 217; *Pannonia Regia. Művészet a Dunántúlon 1000-1541*, eds. Á. MIKÓ – I. TAKÁCS (Budapest: 1994), 274-275.

²⁷ J. SZENDREI, “A budavári Domokos-templom kiásatása,” *Archaeológiai Értesítő* XXII (1902), 399 (Hereafter SZENDREI 1902); GY. FORSTER, “A budavári Halászbástya és a domokos-szerzetesek templomának romjai,” in *Magyarország M emlékei I.* ed. Gy. FORSTER (Budapest: 1905), 154, 162 (Hereafter FORSTER 1905); H. HORVÁTH, “A székesfővárosi múzeum középkori lapidariuma a Halászbástyán,” *Magyar Művelődéstörténet VIII.* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1932), , 116 (Hereafter HORVÁTH 1932b); H. HORVÁTH, *A Fővárosi Múzeum keöemléktárának leíró leírója* (Budapest: 1932), 16 (Hereafter HORVÁTH 1932c); H. HORVÁTH, *Buda a középkorban* (Budapest: 1932), 28 (Hereafter HORVÁTH 1932d); VERNEI - KRONBERGER 1939, 29; D. RADOCSAY, “Les principaux monuments funéraires médiévaux conservé á Budapest,” in *Mélanges offerts á Szabolcs de Vajay* (Braga: 1971), 477. (Hereafter RADOCSAY 1971)

²⁸ KLOOS 1980, 131.

²⁹ KLOOS 1980, 132-133.

³⁰ RADOCSAY 1971, 470.

Precise dating is however possible for the tombstone of the king's painter János,³² (1370) and the tombstone of Ónodi Cudar László in Pannonhalma³³ (1372).

This latter one is important, due to the fact, that the tombstone of his predecessor, the abbot Siegfried, head of the same Abbacy, also precisely known as being carved in 1365, was still carved in Gothic maiuscula style.

This is a proof for the hypothesis that the Gothic minuscule style has become fashionable in Hungary in the period 1365-1370, as shown by relics in Transdanubia and in Buda.

The identification of the reasons for this sudden change needs some more research.

In the following decade a larger number of inscription-bearing stones mark the widespread use of this letter type, such as a stone fragment in Buda (1372),³⁴ a tombstone fragment in Székesfehérvár (1373),³⁵ as well as the tombstones of Pauher Henrik (1373),³⁶ Tamás, son of Miklós (1375),³⁷ Bernard (or Bene) of Florence (1376),³⁸ as well as the tombstone of an unknown defunct in Buda (1380)³⁹ and of Nádasi János in Szentgotthárd⁴⁰ (1380). From this time on, the

³¹ RÓMER 1860, 631; IPOLYI 1873, 186-187; CZOBOR 1896, 169; E, VARJU, "A győri székesegyház középkori sírkövei," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* XVII (1897), 338-339 (Hereafter VARJU 1897); VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 22; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 463, 592.

³² HORVÁTH 1932d, 87; HORVÁTH 1932c, 15; VERNEI-KRONBERG 1939, 18; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 53, 106; H, HORVÁTH, "Budai művészsírkövek a 14. században in *Árpád-házi Szent Margit síremléke és egyéb tanulmányok* (Budapest: 1944), 15-115; RADOCSAY 1971, 470-471.

³³ IPOLYI 1873, 187; CZOBOR 1896, 169-170; GERECZE 1898, 71; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 108-109; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 23; I, TAKÁCS, "Czudar László síremléke a pannonhalmi bazilikában," *Művészet* XXII:6 (1981), 44-45; VARGA 1982, 271; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 464-466.

³⁴ RADOCSAY 1971, 471.

³⁵ A. MAROSI, "Adatok Székesfehérvár köemlékeihez," *Székesfehérvári Szemle* II (1932), 49; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 64; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 107; DERCSÉNYI 1942, 37; DERCSÉNYI 1943, 97; TÓTH 1964, 169; LÓVEI 1980, 123; LÓVEI 1982, 183, 189; VARGA 1982, 267; ENGEL - LÓVEI - VARGA 1984, 39; P. ENGEL - P. LÓVEI - L. VARGA, "Főnemesi sírkövek a Zsigmond kori Magyarországon," in *Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról* ed. E. FÜGEDI (Budapest: 1986), 211 (Hereafter ENGEL - LÓVEI - VARGA 1986); LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 461; LAHU 1988, 230-231.

³⁶ FORSTER 1905, 152; HORVÁTH 1932b, 113-114; HORVÁTH 1932c, 14; H. HORVÁTH, *Budai kőfaragók és kőfaragó-jelek*. (Budapest: 1935), 36; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 20; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 107; RADOCSAY 1971, 471.

³⁷ SZENDREI 1902, 399; FORSTER 1905, 152; HORVÁTH 1932d, 11; HORVÁTH 1932b, 99, 113; HORVÁTH 1932c, 14; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 20; DERCSÉNYI 1942, 37; RADOCSAY 1971, 471.

³⁸ SZENDREI 1902, 399; FORSTER 1905, 152; HORVÁTH 1932d, 10; HORVÁTH 1932b, 98, 113; HORVÁTH 1932c, 13-14; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 19-20; DERCSÉNYI 1941, 106; D, RADOCSAY, "Dalles funéraires armariées à Buda et à Cassovie du moyen-âge," *Archivum Heraldicum* 1966, 51; RADOCSAY 1971, 472; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 834.

³⁹ K. H. GYÜRKY, "Das mittelalterliche Dominikanerkloster in Buda," *Fontes Archaeologici Hungariae* (Budapest: 1981), 137.

⁴⁰ M. ZLINSZKYNÉ STERNEGG, "Gótikus és reneszánsz címeres-kövek a szentgotthárdi plébániatemplomban," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* XV (1966), 261-262 (Hereafter ZLINSZKYNÉ 1966); M. ZLINSZKYNÉ STERNEGG, "A szentgotthárdi ciszterci apátság története és művészeti emlékei (1183-1878) in *Szentgotthárd helytörténeti, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok* (Szombathely: 1981), 370

Gothic minuscule style enjoys wide popularity, although only a limited number of relics could be exactly dated. The foundation stone of the Corpus Christi Chapel in Esztergom⁴¹ was carved in 1384, Kraft Berchtold's tombstone in Buda⁴² in 1392 and palatine Lackfi István's tombstone in Keszthely⁴³ in 1397.

The popularity of the Gothic minuscule style lasted throughout the 15th century, too.

Around the turn of the 14/15 centuries were carved the tombstones of Benedek's son in Buda,⁴⁴ of Tomaji Pál⁴⁵ in Lesencetomaj and of the canon György⁴⁶ in Pécs. The year 1414 is marked on the tombstone of Frenizlin⁴⁷ in Buda. The tombstone of Alsáni Bálint⁴⁸ in Pécs carries the year 1408, the one of vaivode (governor of Transylvania) Marcali Miklós⁴⁹ in Székesfehérvár the year of 1414.

(Hereafter ZLINSZKYNÉ 1981); VARGA 1982, 267; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 461; MAROSI 1987, 147; LAHU 1988, 391-392.

⁴¹ MÁTHES 1827, 82; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN - TORMA 1979, 105; L. ZOLNAY, *A középkori Esztergom* (Budapest: 1983), 102.

⁴² HORVÁTH 1932d, 88; H. HORVÁTH, "A középkori Pest-Budának helyszínen maradt emlékei" *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* VIII. ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1932), 360, 376 (Hereafter HORVÁTH 1932a); HORVÁTH 1932c, 14; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 28; RADOCSAY 1971, 472.

⁴³ P. GERECE, "A MOB rajztárának jegyzéke," in *Magyarország Műemlékei* I. ed. Gy. FORSTER (Budapest: 1905), 429; R. BÉKEFI, *A Balaton környékének egyházai és várai a középkorban* (Budapest: 1907), 233 (Hereafter BÉKEFI 1907); B. DORNYAY – J. VIGYÁZÓ, *Balaton és környéke részletes utikalauza*. (Budapest: 1934), 240-241 (Hereafter DORNYAY – VIGYÁZÓ 1934); VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 21; GENTHON 1959, 158; T. KOPPÁNY – P. PÉCZELI – K. SÁGI, *Keszthely*. (Budapest: 1962), 29; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 217-218; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 587.

⁴⁴ SZENDREI 1902, 400; FORSTER 1905, 154, 166; HORVÁTH 1932d, 26; HORVÁTH 1932c, 15; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 29; RADOCSAY 1971, 477.

⁴⁵ DORNYAY-VIGYÁZÓ 1934, 231; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 29; A. RADNÓTI – L. GERŐ, *A Balaton régészeti és történelmi emlékei* (Budapest: 1952), 128-129; GENTHON 1959, 185; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1983, 24; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 588.

⁴⁶ IPOLYI 1873, 186.; SZÓNYI 1906, 238-241; O. SZÓNYI, "A pécsi dómmúzeum," in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* VI. ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1929), 508-536 (Hereafter SZÓNYI 1929); VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 25; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 592.

⁴⁷ HORVÁTH 1932d, 88, 104; HORVÁTH 1932a, 360, 376-377; HORVÁTH 1932c, 15; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 28-29; RADOCSAY 1971, 477-488.

⁴⁸ GERECE 1898, 49, 71; A. ÁLDÁSY, *Alsáni Bálint bíbornok* (Magyar történelmi életrajzok, Budapest: 1903), 134; SZÓNYI 1906, 241-244; SZÓNYI 1929, 532-536; HORVÁTH 1932d, 27; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* II ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 540; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 25-26; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 591; MAROSI 1987, 137; *Művészet Zsigmond király korában (1387-1437) I-II. Katalógus* eds. L. BEKE – E. MAROSI – T. WEHLI (Budapest: 1987), 302. (Hereafter ZSK-kat. 1987)

⁴⁹ P. GERECE, "A műemlékek helyrajzi jegyzéke és irodalma," in *Magyarország műemlékei* II. ed. Gy. FORSTER (Budapest: 1906), 307; HORVÁTH 1932b, 115; MAROSI 1932, 49; H. HORVÁTH, "Zsigmond király és kora," in *Székesfehérvár Történelmi Monográfiái* VIII-IX (1937), 155; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 30; DERCSÉNYI 1942, 39-40; DERCSÉNYI 1943, 58, 102, 122; GENTHON 1959, 352; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1983, 29-30; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1984, 47; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 219-220; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 587.

The inscriptions attesting the construction of the Csesznek castle were made⁵⁰ in 1424. Tombstone fragments of Hédervári Katalin in Buda and Visegrád bear the year mark⁵¹ 1426, that of Szerdahelyi Péter in Pécsvárad,⁵² 1428. More recent is the tombstone of bishop Henrik of Pécs⁵³ from the year 1445. There are no relics, which could be precisely traced back to the following decades. The next known inscription is carved on the tombstone fragment of an unknown defunct in Buda,⁵⁴ bearing the year-mark 1491, however in Arabic figures. This group closes with two Transdanubian relics: the window frame stone from the Simontornya castle⁵⁵ (1508) and the tomb cover plate of canon Zathai János in Somogyvár⁵⁶ (1524), showing a provincial version of the letter type.

The relief version of the Gothic minuscule appears some time in the first period of the 15th century.

The tombstone of the royal treasurer Kanizsai Miklós in Zalaszentgrót⁵⁷ dates from 1404 or the immediately subsequent years, the memorial of vaivode Stiborici I. Stibor in Székesfehérvár⁵⁸ bears a fragmentary date of 1414. Miklós, bishop of Cereta died⁵⁹ in Győr, in 1428; at about the same year are dated the tombstone

⁵⁰ B. DORNAY, *Bakony* (Budapest: 1927), 229; GENTHON 1959, 281; M. HÉJJ, "Gótikus faragványok a cseszneki várból," *Folia Archaeologica* XI (1959), 135-139, table XV, 1-3; MAROSI 1987, 127, Figure 975.; LAHU 1988, 154-155.

⁵¹ GERECE 1906, 642; GENTHON 1951, 268; S. DERCSÉNYI – M. HÉJJ, *Magyarország műemlékei topográfiaja V. Vas megye műemlékei I-II.* (Budapest: 1958), 450; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1983, 40-41; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1984, 55-56; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1986, 226; LÓVEI-VARGA 1987, 461, 588; LAHU 1988, 159.

⁵² ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1983, 22, 24; LÓVEI – VARGA 1987, 335.

⁵³ IPOLYI 1873, 192; SZÓNYI 1906, 244-246; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 26-28; LÓVEI – VARGA 1987, 592; LAHU 1988, 172-173; ZSK-kat. 1987, 302.

⁵⁴ HORVÁTH 1932c, 30; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 42; RADOCSAY 1971, 483.

⁵⁵ GENTHON 1959, 292; M. HORLER, "Módszertani adalékok a magyar későközépkori építészet kutatásában," *Építés-Építészettudomány* XI (1979), 43; M. HORLER – M. TABAJDI, *A simontornyai vár* (Szekszárd: 1987), 12, 18, 26; LAHU 1988, 372-373.

⁵⁶ P. GERECE, "A somogyvári Szent Egyed monostor-templom maradványai," *Archaeológiai Közlemények* XX (1897), 148; DORNAY - VIGYÁZÓ 1934, 62; G. ENTZ – L. GERŐ, *A Balaton-környék műemlékei* (Budapest: 1958), 167; GENTHON 1959, 149; J. BALOGH, "Kora-renaissance és késő renaissance," in *A magyarországi művészet története* eds. D. DERCSÉNYI – A. ZÁDOR (Budapest: 1973), 209, 335. (Hereafter BALOGH 1973)

⁵⁷ F. RÖMER, *Kanizsi Pál sírköve* (Győri történelmi és régészeti füzetek 2.) (Győr: 1863), 41; GERECE 1906, 1040; DORNAY-VIGYÁZÓ 1934, 364; GENTHON 1959, 437; J. NÉMETH, *Zala megye műemlékei* (Zalaegerszeg: 1977), 101; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1983, 28; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1984, 46-47; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1986, 218-219; LÓVEI – VARGA 1987, 587; L. VÁNDOR, *Nagykanizsa története a bonfoglalástól 1690-ig* (Nagykanizsa: [1988]), 47.

⁵⁸ DERCSÉNYI 1942, 40; DERCSÉNYI 1943, 59-59, 102-103; VERNEI-KORNBERGER 1939, 32-33; L. GEREVICH, "Budapest művészete az Árpád-korban," in *Budapest története I.* (Budapest: 1973), 281; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1983, 31; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1984, 47-48; ENGEL – LÓVEI – VARGA 1986, 220-221.

⁵⁹ VARJU 1897, 339-441; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 27; LÓVEI – VARGA 1987, 463, 696.

fragment of the royal doorkeeper Kanizsai István, found in Csorna⁶⁰ and the tombstone of Szécsi Miklós in Szentgotthárd.⁶¹ The baptising well of Ásványráró⁶² is dated 1430, the so-called Châtillon shield-bearing fragment in Buda,⁶³ 1433. The tombstone fragments of count Frangepán János⁶⁴ found in Buda and Sárospatak originate from 1436. Dobói Miklós, abbot in Pannonhalma, died 1438-1439, his tombstone must have been made in those years.⁶⁵ The tombstone of Garai Ilona, wife of Szécsi Miklós attest⁶⁶ a death year of 1441. Here comes an interruption of several decades, as the next relics to be traced back exactly are the tombstone of Dobringer Miklós⁶⁷ in Buda (1462) and the tombstone of Dénes,⁶⁸ archbishop in Esztergom, son of the above mentioned Szécsi-couple, dated 1465.

The tombstone of Gergellaki Bertalan⁶⁹ bears the date 1469. On the side plate of the memorial of Vitéz János, archbishop of Esztergom,⁷⁰ the year of death

⁶⁰ E. TOMPOS, "Sopron címeres műemlékei," *Arrubona* 18 (1976), 148; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1983, 28-29; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1984, 47; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 219; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 588.

⁶¹ ZLINSZKYNÉ 1966, 259-260; ZLINSZKYNÉ 1981, 370-373, 376; I. VALTER, "Szentgotthárd története a mohácsi vészig," in *Szentgotthárd helytörténeti, művelődéstörténeti, helyismereti tanulmányok* (Szombathely: 1981), 68 (Hereafter Valter 1981); ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1984, 58; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 230; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 588; LAHU 1988, 391-392.

⁶² *Magyarország Városai és Vármegyéi* 14. eds. J. SZIKLAY – S. BOROVSKY (Budapest: 1908), 5-21, 19-20 (Hereafter MVV); GENTHON 1959, 17.

⁶³ SZENDREI 1902, 400; FORSTER 1905, 120, 154; HORVÁTH 1932b, 114, 122; HORVÁTH 1932c, 15; HORVÁTH 1937, 156; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 30, 32, 39; RADOCSAY 1971, 478; V. GERVERS - MOLNÁR, "Sárospataki síremlékek," *Művészettörténeti Füzetek* 14 (1983), 116. (Hereafter GERVERS – MOLNÁR 1983)

⁶⁴ VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 43; M. CSÁNKY, "Közlemények a Nemzeti Múzeumból," *Szépművészet* II (1941), 37; RADOCSAY 1971, 480; GERVERS-MOLNÁR 1983, 21; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 217-218.

⁶⁵ P.SÖRÖS – T. REZNER: *A pannonhalmi főapátság története* III. (Budapest: 1905), 47-48.

⁶⁶ I. VALTER, "Előzetes beszámoló a szentgotthárdi ciszterci monostor ásatásáról," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 102 (1975), 91; VALTER 1981, 68; ZLINSZKYNÉ 1981, 373, 376; ENGEL – LÓVEI - VARGA 1983, 44-45; ENGEL - LÓVEI - VARGA 1984, 58; ENGEL - LÓVEI - VARGA 1986, 230-231; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 588, 695; LAHU 1988, 392.

⁶⁷ VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 64; RADOCSAY 1971, 480.

⁶⁸ MÁTHES 1827, 101-102; IPOLYI 1873, 185, 191, 194; GERECZE 1898, 71; DIVALD 1927, 106, 109; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* II ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 403, 655; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 37; HORVÁTH 1941, 8; GENTHON 1959, 91; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN - TORMA 1979, 106; Á. MIKÓ, "Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről," *Ars Hungarica* XIV (1986) 102; (Hereafter MIKÓ 1986) LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 699; MAROSI 1987, 138.

⁶⁹ H. HORVÁTH, "Il Rinascimento in Ungheria," *Annuario* III (1939), 100; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 37-38; H. HORVÁTH, "König Mathias und die Kunst," *Ungarische Jahrbücher* XX (1940), 211; HORVÁTH 1941, 29; RADOCSAY 1971, 480-481.

⁷⁰ MÁTHES 1827, 101-102; IPOLYI 1873, 194; GERECZE 1898, 71; MVV 1901, 479; MVV 1908, 320; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* II ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 465; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 37; J. BALOGH, *Az esztergomi Bakócz-kápolna*. (Budapest: 1955), 17 (Hereafter BALOGH 1955); HORVÁTH – KELEMEN - TORMA 1979, 106; *Mathias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458-1541. Schallaburg. Ausstellungskatalog*. (Wien: 1982), 139-140. (Hereafter Kat.Schall. 1982)

(1472) is marked in Arabic figures. The tombstone of an unidentified defunct⁷¹ in Pula bears the year 1474. In this decade were carved the tombstones of Bodó Miklós in Székesfehérvár⁷² and of Nádasi Darabos György in Szentgotthárd,⁷³ died after 1467.

Another tombstone fragment of an unknown defunct in Buda⁷⁴ was dated to the 1480s. The tombstone of provost Szántói Ambrus in Esztergom⁷⁵ is marked 1483 in Arabic figures. On the tombstone fragment of an unknown master builder in Buda, the date 1488 in Arabic figures can be read.⁷⁶

The tombstone of master Márton and his wife in Tata was carved in an unusual provincial version of the style, with a date of 1492 in Arabic figures.⁷⁷ A tombstone fragment in Veszprém, attributed to Vitéz János junior,⁷⁸ bears a date of 1499, which cannot be confirmed by its character shapes.

Some German tongue inscriptions found along the western border of Hungary show character shapes of the Gothic minuscule, or Fraktur. Traceable examples of Hungarian relics showing inscriptions in this style are the keystone of the St. Michael church in Sopron⁷⁹ (1482), the tombstone on Nathaniel Kramberger⁸⁰ (1510) and the Jurisich-tombstone⁸¹ in Kőszeg (1538).

The Gothic minuscule, letter-type was developed in Europe from the earlier Carolingian minuscule, first appearing on tombstones from the early 14th century,⁸² such as the one of archbishop Simon de Bucy in Paris (1304) or archbishop Peter von Aspelt in Mainz (1320). At the beginning of its widespread use, upper-case

⁷¹ I. ÉRI – M. KELEMEN – P. NÉMETH – I. TORMA, *Veszprém megye régészeti topográfiája 2. Veszprémi járás* (Budapest: 1969), 182 (Hereafter ÉRI – KELEMEN – NÉMETH – TORMA 1969).

⁷² TÓTH 1964, 174-176; LÓVEI - ENGEL 1983, 1-8; LÓVEI - VARGA 1987, 699; MAROSI 1987, 138, 676.

⁷³ IPOLY 1873, 194; GERECEZE 1906, 1040; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 70; GENTHON 1959, 347; ZLINSZKYNÉ 1966, 262; VALTER 1981, 69; ZLINSZKYNÉ 1981, 376; LAHU 1988, 391-392.

⁷⁴ TÓTH 1964, 180; RADOCSAY 1971, 481.

⁷⁵ MÁTHES 1827, 21-22; VARJU 1897, 342; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 42; GENTHON 1959, 91-92; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN - TORMA 1979, 93.

⁷⁶ HORVÁTH 1932d, 24; HORVÁTH 1932b, 112; HORVÁTH 1932c, 12; HORVÁTH 1935, 20, 42-43; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 42; RADOCSAY 1971, 482.

⁷⁷ E. RÉVHELYI, *A tatái piarista rendház és múzeuma* (Budapest: 1938), 24; GENTHON 1959, 386; TÓTH 1964, 169; LAHU 1988, 301.

⁷⁸ ÁDÁM 1912, 120-121; S. TÓTH, "A veszprémi székesegyház középkori kőfaragványai," *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 1 (1963), 141; TÓTH 1964, 177-178, 183; ÉRI – KELEMEN – NÉMETH - TORMA 1969, 231; I. ÉRI *Veszprém* (Budapest: 1972), 15; P. NAGYBÁKAY, "Beriszló Péter veszprémi püspök címeres kőve," *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei* 13 (1978), 128 (Hereafter NAGYBÁKAY 1978); T. KOPPÁNY, "A Közép-Dunántúl reneszánsz építészeté," *Ars Hungarica* XII (1984), 191. (Hereafter Koppány 1984)

⁷⁹ I. HENSZLMANN, *Magyarország címeres stílű műemlékei* (Budapest: 1880), 41; HORVÁTH 1935, 59, 75; MAROSI 1987, 171.

⁸⁰ E. CSATKAI, *Sopron és környéke műemlékei* (Budapest: 1956), 419; GENTHON 1959, 320; TOMPOS 1976, 147-148.

⁸¹ L. BARCZA, "A kőszegi Szent Jakab templom," *Vasi Szemle* III (1936), 374-381; GENTHON 1959, 171.

⁸² KLOOS 1980, 136.

letters were still used, but these gradually disappeared until the middle of the 15th century. Mostly Gothic maiuscula were used as capital letters. Later, in the 16th century, the upper-case characters of the Fraktur type were in use.⁸³

There is some similarity in Hungary to the European trend; upper-case characters are rarely used in Gothic minuscule stone-carved inscriptions. On one of the earliest relics, the Salamoni Bereck tombstone, Gothic maiuscula were used as the capital letters “A” and “J”.⁸⁴ In a somewhat unusual way, the “Z” character of the name on the Frenizlin-tombstone (Buda, 1404) is a maiuscula.⁸⁵ Next in time, Gothic maiuscula were found in the Csesznek building inscription for capital “A” and “S” (1424) “N”, “G”, “H” and “P” uncials were used as initials on the front stone of the castle’s entrance gate.⁸⁶ Capital “A” characters were found on the tombstone of Szerdahelyi Péter (1428), Henrik bishop of Pécs (1445) and Zathai János (1524); this latter one also shows capital “H”, “J” and “N” letters.⁸⁷

Among the relief-type inscriptions, Gothic maiuscula type capitals were used for “J” and “R” on the tombstone⁸⁸ of Vitéz János (1472), for “H” and “J” on the tombstone⁸⁹ of the Szécsi couple, for “A” and “C” on tombstone⁹⁰ of Frangepán János, all of them decorative version of the Gothic maiuscula. Capital “A” and “D” were carved onto the tombstone of Dobringer Miklós (Buda, 1462), the latter being a version of the antiqua type.⁹¹

The first letter of the console inscription in Siklós⁹² is also a maiuscula type “A”. Only the starting “S” is maiuscula type on the tombstone of Gergellaki Bertalan, on the Buda fragment from 1480 and on the tombstone of Szántói Ambrus⁹³ (1483). This latter relic also shows a “Z” maiuscula, as the first character of the name. Capital “C”, “H”, “T”, “M”, “N”, “R” and “V” were used on the tombstone of master Márton (1492) roughly the ones from the maiuscula alphabetic set.⁹⁴ Upper case Fraktur “A”, “F”, “G”, “P” and “V” characters were used on the tombstone of Nathaniel Kramberger⁹⁵ (1510). The Jurisich-tombstone (1538) shows⁹⁶ upper case Fraktur characters for the letters “A”, “C”, “E”, “F”, “G”, “H”, “P”, “L”, “O”, “R” and “V”. The widespread use of the

⁸³ KLOOS 1980, 137.

⁸⁴ See note n. 31.

⁸⁵ See note n.47.

⁸⁶ See note n. 50.

⁸⁷ See note n. 52, 53, 56.

⁸⁸ See note n. 70.

⁸⁹ See note n. 61, 66.

⁹⁰ See note n. 64.

⁹¹ See note n. 67.

⁹² E. SZAKÁL, “Gótikus erkély a siklósi várban,” *Műemlékvédelem* X (1966), 84-86; MAROSI 1987, 674; LAHU 1988, 176.

⁹³ See note n. 69, 74, 75.

⁹⁴ See note n. 77.

⁹⁵ See note n. 80.

⁹⁶ See note n. 81.

Fraktur type is related to the extension of literacy, and apparition of the cursive letters shapes.

The Fraktur type letters were developed starting from the Gothic minuscula, via the bastarda type, and first appeared at the beginning of the 16th century.⁹⁷ Around the middle of the 16th century, in the German-speaking regions, e.g. the Munich area, Fraktur type letters have become of general use instead of Gothic minuscula, whereas in other areas Renaissance writing is adopted.⁹⁸ As seen above, the relics of Fraktur writing are of roughly the same age in western Hungary, as the German-speaking areas.

The period of the carved Gothic minuscula writing ended at the middle of the 15th century, although some late versions were found especially in provincial areas, made in 1524 or later.

The turn of the 14/15th centuries sees the apparition of the relief-type Gothic minuscula writing, rather fashionable in Hungary in the period between 1400 and 1440. After a pause of several decades, this writing appears again and is found from 1460 until the end of the reign of King Matthias (1490).

The German-tongue inscriptions also appear from 1460 on, in the western regions of Hungary, first as Gothic minuscula, from 1510 on as Fraktur type. The Fraktur type letters however did not become of widespread use in Hungary, instead the humanistic (classic) capitals started to be used from the times of King Matthias, and rapidly became popular.

This timely evolution is completely according to European history; e.g. the period of the Gothic minuscula is dated 1394 and until 1520 or so in the neighbouring Lower Austrian region, too.⁹⁹

The first known apparition of the humanistic capitals can be exactly dated, as the year 1467 is figured on the half-pillar head of Vetési Albert.¹⁰⁰

Further early inscriptions using this letter type, where date years could be found, are the stone carving with Aragonese-shield¹⁰¹ from Esztergom (1482), and the carving with Báthory-shield¹⁰² from Nógrád (1483) beside the relics bearing

⁹⁷ KLOOS 1980, 139, 141, 142; H. H. HORNING, *Die Inschriften Nieder-österreichs* (Die Deutschen Inschriften Bd. 10., Wiener Reihe 3. Bd.) (Stuttgart: 1966), 157-158. (Hereafter HORNING 1966)

⁹⁸ R. M. KLOOS, *Die Inschriften der Stadt und des Landkreises München*. (Die Deutschen Inschriften Band 5, Münchener Reihe Bd. 1.) 1958. 101, 126-127; KLOOS 1980, 143;

⁹⁹ H. H. HORNING, 1966. 231, 158-159.

¹⁰⁰ GERECSÉ 1906, 1017-1018; BÉKEFI 1907, 50-52; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet II* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 567; J. GUTHEIL, "Mátyás korának veszprémi emlékei," *Dunántúli Szemle VII* (1940), 124, 127 (Hereafter GUTHEIL 1940a); J. GUTHEIL, *Publicationes Veszpremienses 4.* (Veszprém: 1940), 11 (Hereafter GUTHEIL 1940b); GENTHON 1959, 419; TÓTH 1963, 140; Kat.Schall. 1982, 561; MK-kat. 1983, 71; KOPPÁNY 1984, 184-186; MAROSI 1987, 127, 137, 676.

¹⁰¹ MÁTHES 1827, 65; J. BALOGH, *A magyarországi művészet története I. Korai renaissance* (Budapest: 1961), 286 (Hereafter BALOGH 1961); Kat.Schall. 1982, 617; Á. MIKÓ, "Ippolito d'Este esztergomi érsek udvara és a reneszánsz kőfaragás Magyarországon," *Ars Hungarica XV* (1988:2), 133.

¹⁰² *Magyarország Művészeti Topográfiája III* 1954, 308; J. BALOGH, *A művészet Mátyás király udvarában I-II.* (Budapest: 1966), I. 299, II. 230 (Hereafter 1966); R. F. TÓTH, *Renaissancebaukunst in Ungarn* (Budapest: 1981), 217 (Hereafter F. TÓTH 1981); LAHU 1988, 310.

only building dates. Art history considerations correlate many other stone carving relics to the period 1480-1500.

Precise dating was possible for the fragments of a humanistic tombstone in Buda¹⁰³ (1494) and of the tombstone of an unknown lady of honour in Esztergom¹⁰⁴ (1495).

Further dated relics are the Monelli-tombstone¹⁰⁵ (1496), the tombstone of Gosztonyi András in Esztergom¹⁰⁶, the tombstone of Vémeri Zsigmond¹⁰⁷ (1500). The foundation stone of the Bakócz-chapel in Esztergom is marked¹⁰⁸ 1506; the fries inscription¹⁰⁹ of the same chapel, as well as the memorial of Garázda Péter¹¹⁰ were possibly carved in 1507. The tabernacle of the town of Pest,¹¹¹ in the parish church, also dates from 1507. The year 1508 is figured on the tombstone of the master tailor Albert.¹¹²

Later relics with inscriptions in this type of writing are the tombstone of Egervári Bereck¹¹³ in Egervár, Beéri István and Egervári Veronika in

¹⁰³ HORVÁTH 1932c, 29; RADOCSAY 1971, 483.

¹⁰⁴ HORVÁTH – KELEMEN – TORMA 1979, 149; Kat.Schall. 1982, 678-679; *Mátyás király és a magyarországi reneszánsz 1458-1541*. (Magyar Nemzeti Galéria kiállítása 1983. febr. 24-jún. 26) ed. Gy. TÖRÖK (Budapest: 1983), 78; Á. MIKÓ, “Két világ határán (Janus Pannonius, Garázda Péter és Megyericsi János síremléke),” *Ars Hungarica* XI (1983), 50 (Hereafter Mikó 1983); J. BALOGH, *Kolozsvári kőfaragó műhelyek. XVI. század* (Budapest: 1985), 15; MIKÓ 1986, 99; LAHU 1988, 121.

¹⁰⁵ J. SZENDREI, “Monelli Bernát síremléke 1496-ból,” *Tudul* 61 (1927), 73-76; H. HORVÁTH, *Budapest művészeti emlékei*, (Budapest: 1938), 26, 75; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 44; L. GEREVICH, “Gótikus házak Budán,” Budapest Régiségei XV (1950), 206-208; L. GEREVICH, “Johannes Fiorentinus und die panonische Renaissance,” *Acta Historiae Artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* VI (1959) 328; BALOGH 1966, I. 298; RADOCSAY 1971, 483; Kat.Schall. 1982, 679-680; MK-kat. 1983, 78.

¹⁰⁶ MÁTHES 1827, 22; VERRNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 42; HORVÁTH 1938, 39, 101; BALOGH 1955, 36, 40; GEREVICH 1959, 313; GENTHON 1959, 92; K. H. GYÜRKY, “Die St. Georg-Kapelle in der Burg von Veszprém,” *Acta Archaeologica* 15 (1963), 384; BALOGH 1966, 132, 299; J. BALOGH, “Későrenaissance kőfaragványok I.,” *Ars Hungarica* 2 (1974), 42; J. BALOGH, *Die Anfänge der Renaissance in Ungarn, Matthias Corvinus und die Kunst*. Graz, 1975, 192; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN – TORMA 1979, 93; MIKÓ 1986, 99.

¹⁰⁷ A. KUBINYI – J. ALTMANN, “Nepoznati zagrebački biskup: Sigismund Vémeri (1500),” *Posebni otkazi bogoslavnska smotra, Zagreb XLV* (1975), 127-138; NAGYBÁKAY 1978, 125-126; MIKÓ 1983, 51.

¹⁰⁸ MÁTHES 1827, 95; BALOGH 1955, 71; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN – TORMA 1979, 105; Kat.Schall. 1982, 669-670; MK-kat. 1983, 77.

¹⁰⁹ BALOGH 1955, 65; GENTHON 1959, 91; F. TÓTH 1981, 218-219.

¹¹⁰ VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 41; BALOGH 1955, 36, 40; GEREVICH 1959, 313, 328; BALOGH 1966, 299; BALOGH 1974, 42; BALOGH 1975, 192; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN – TORMA 1979, 93, 97; Kat.Schall. 1982, 614; MIKÓ 1983, 49; MIKÓ 1986, 99-100.

¹¹¹ HORVÁTH 1932c, 34; F. TÓTH 1981, 219; Kat.Schall. 1982, 606; MK-kat. 1983, 73.

¹¹² I. HORVÁTH, “IV. Béla király sírja nyomában,” *Dunakanyar tájékoztató* 1980:1. 88-89; Kat.Schall. 1982, 681; MK-kat. 1983, 78.

¹¹³ MVV 1898, 31-32; L. ÉBER, *Egervári Bereczke síremléke*. Archaeológiai Értesítő XXXV (1915), 290-291; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet* II. Ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (BUDAPEST: 1939), 413; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 51; GENTHON 1959, 77; Kat.Schall. 1982, 691-692; MK-kat. 1983, 79; MIKÓ 1986, 100.

Zalaszentgrót¹¹⁴ (both dated 1515), the Szentléleki-tombstone in Csatka¹¹⁵ (1516). The year 1519 is figured on the tabernacle of Pomáz,¹¹⁶ 1521 on the foundation body of the ornamental well in Városlőd,¹¹⁷ 1526 in a doorframe frontal stone from Devecser.¹¹⁸ Art historical considerations place creation of the doorframe arch with the Bakics-shield in Márévár¹¹⁹ to 1527-1533. The year 1540 can be read on a well brim in Pécs,¹²⁰ and the captains from Visegrád, imprisoned in the “truncated tower” of Buda castle, made their wall carving¹²¹ in 1541.

After 1500, increased use was made of ligatures and enclaves. A first example thereof is the tombstone of Perneszi Pál's wife in Porva.¹²² Further such relics are the tombstone of viceroy Myslenovith in Nagyvázsöny¹²³ (1512), of the Semjénbrothers in Nagykapornak¹²⁴ (about 1520), and the inscription on the Perényibastion in the Siklós castle, where the year 1540 is figured.¹²⁵

Provincial versions of the humanistic capitals have appeared as early as the beginning of the 16th century. The gate-shield inscription of the church in Decs shows¹²⁶ the year 1515.

Along with other regions, in Hungary too, an early version of the humanistic capitals was found, which can also be considered as being an alternative version.

¹¹⁴ RÓMER 1863, 40; GERECE 1906, 1040; GENTHON 1951, 520; GENTHON 1959, 437; Kat.Schall. 1982, 99.

¹¹⁵ DORNYAY 1927, 85-86; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 44; J. BALOGH, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, (Kolozsvár: 1943), 212; GENTHON 1959, 56; GEREVICH 1959, 312-313; Kat.Schall. 1982, 686-687; MK-kat. 1983, 78; KOPPÁNY 1984, 198.

¹¹⁶ GENTHON 1959, 272; Kat.Schall. 1982, 655; MK-kat. 1983, 68; BALOGH 1985, 45, 175, 361.

¹¹⁷ ÉRI – KELEMEN - TROMA 1969, 207; KOPPÁNY 1984, 190, 201; LAHU 1988, 412.

¹¹⁸ KOPPÁNY 1984, 207-208.

¹¹⁹ M. G. SÁNDOR, “A baranyai művészet a reneszánsz stílusáramlatában,” *A Janus Pannonius Múzeum Évkönyve* 25 (1981), 118-125 (Hereafter G. SÁNDOR 1981); Kat.Schall. 1982, 571-572; MK-kat. 1983, 72; M. G. SÁNDOR, *Reneszánsz Baranyában* (Budapest: 1984), 37-38, 76, 148-149. (Hereafter G. SÁNDOR 1984)

¹²⁰ SZÓNYI 1906, 247.

¹²¹ A. KUBINYI, “Rabok feliratai a budai Csonkatoronyban,” Budapest Régiségei XVIII (1958), 519-520, 523; D. DERCSÉNYI – M. HÉJJ – GY. RÓZSA, *Visegrád*, (Budapest: 1958), 459; BALOGH 1966. I, 54; A. KUBINYI, *Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig)* (Budapest története II. eds. L. GEREVICH – D. KOSÁRY) (Budapest: 1975), 228; A. Kubinyi, “Epigráfia,” in *A történelem segédtudományai* ed. I. KÁLLAY (Budapest: 1986), 46 (Hereafter KUBINYI 1986).

¹²² BÉKEFI 1907, 236-237; DORNYAY 1927, 219-220; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 41-42, 44; BALOGH 1955, 36; GENTHON 1959, 273; DAX – ÉRI – MITHAY – PALÁGYI - TORMA 1972, 218; NAGYBÁKAY 1978, 124-125; MIKÓ 1983, 51; KOPPÁNY 1984, 192; MIKÓ 1986, 99.

¹²³ VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 46; ÉRI – KELEMEN – NÉMETH - TORMA 1969, 137.

¹²⁴ T. BOGYAY, “A kapornaki egykori bencés apátság XII. századi bazilikája,” *Történelmi II* (1938), 153-161; L. NAGYFALUSI, *A kapornaki apátság története I-II* (Kalocsa: 1941-1942), 103, 118-119; GENTHON 1959, 216; NAGYBÁKAY 1978, 125; Kat.Schall. 1982, 686; MK-kat. 1983, 78; MIKÓ 1983, 51; KOPPÁNY 1984, 216 (date after 1541); MIKÓ 1986, 101. (date between 1526 and 1530)

¹²⁵ G. SÁNDOR 1984, 62.

¹²⁶ SZÓNYI 1906, 247-249; J. BALOGH, “A késő-gótikus és a renaissance-kor művészete,” in *Magyar Művelődéstörténet II* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 564-566; DERCSÉNYI 1962, 18-19; G. SÁNDOR 1981, 112; Kat.Schall. 1982, 569; MK-kat. 1983, 71; G. SÁNDOR 1984, 17, 71.

The epitaph of Vitéz János (1472) is written¹²⁷ in these characters in a relief form¹²⁸, whereas – as mentioned above – the lateral plate of the tomb bears relief inscriptions made in Gothic minuscula.

This series of relics continues with the ornamental well in Visegrád, decorated with the coat-of-arms of the Hunyadi family, traced down by the art historians¹²⁹ to 1483.

The inscriptions found on the doorframe fragment and frontal window beam¹³⁰ of the Simontornya castle are related to the constructions work done here in 1508-1509. The window inscription was done in Gothic minuscula, whereas the text on a nearby plate is written in humanistic capitals. This remarkable example of joint use of several letter types is considered as proof of the European culture of the owner, his sensibility to fashion trends.

To this group of inscription is related the text on the Madonna of Báthori András,¹³¹ dated 1526, where also the characters of the early humanistic capital alphabet were used.

The creation of the humanistic (or Renaissance) capitals was performed in Italy, both in its early version as in the classical version inspired by the ancient Roman characters.¹³² In the German-speaking areas the humanistic capital characters appeared only toward the end of the 15th century, and had only limited use. Along with the early version of the humanistic capitals, the Gothic minuscula and its successive versions continued to be in use.

The first known inscriptions in humanistic capitals are in Mainz, Munich and Heidelberg, traced back to the period 1484-1508.¹³³ In Hungary, however, the Italian version of the humanistic capitals was used already in 1467, on the half-pillar head of Vetési Albert.¹³⁴

Within the humanistic capitals style, the inscriptions showing excessive use of ligatures and enclaves, along with provincial tractation are separate sub-groups.

¹²⁷ É. KOVÁTS, "A gutatöttösi rk. Templom feltárása," *Archaeológiai Értesítő* 103 (1976) 77, 99, 256, 416; GENTHON 1959, 66; A. CSERNA – J. KACZIÁN, *Egyed Antal ösztérása és korrajz Tolna vármegyéről* (Szekszárd: 1986), 67, 69.

¹²⁸ MÁTHES 1827, 101, 102; IPOLYI 1873, 194; GERECEZE 1898, 71; MVV 1901, 479; MVV 1908, 320; *Magyar Művelődéstörténet II* ed. S. DOMANOVSKY (Budapest: 1939), 465; VERNEI-KRONBERGER 1939, 37; BALOGH 1955, 17; HORVÁTH – KELEMEN - TORMA 1979, 106; Kat.Schall. 1982, 139-140.

¹²⁹ DERCSÉNYI – HÉJJ - RÓZSA 1958, 578; DERCSÉNYI - HÉJJ 1958, 440-445; GENTHON 1959, 427; E. Szakál, "Mátyás király oroszlános díszkútjának rekonstrukciója," *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 8 (1959) 232-250; BALOGH 1966. I, 245-247, II, 312-319; BALOGH 1975, 112; Kat. Schall. 1982, 383; MK-kat. 1983, 67; BALOGH 1985, 217-218; MAROSI 1987, 676; LAHU 1988, 332; G. BUZÁS, "The Royal Palace at Visegrád," *The Hungarian Quarterly* 35 (1994:Summer), 108.

¹³⁰ HORLER 1979, 43; LAHU 1988, 372-373.

¹³¹ J. BALOGH, "La madone d'André Báthory," *Bulletin du Musée des Beaux Arts* 1947, 8-14; Kat.Schall. 1982, 584-586; MK-kat. 1983, 72, 125.

¹³² KLOOS 1980, 153, 158.

¹³³ KLOOS 1980, 159.

¹³⁴ See note n. 100.

These inscriptions were in widespread use in Transdanubia at the beginning of the 16th century.

The group termed as early humanistic capitals deserves special attention. These early shapes, showing Gothic reminiscences were used as a transitory writing until the middle of the 15th century. Majuscules were shaped according to models used in the 12-13th centuries.¹³⁵ After the year 1419, this type also shows some Byzantine influence, above all in the German-speaking areas. It was also in use in the Transalpine areas, mostly as a transition form between the Gothic maiuscula and the classical humanistic capitals. The early humanistic capitals have also become popular in the Netherlands, by their use in the paintings of the van Eyck brothers.¹³⁶ Early humanistic capitals were used in Italy on tomb memorials of popes and other prominent clergymen, starting from 1427 in Siena, Florence and Rome. Starting from 1430, this writing was used in mural pictures and also in carved inscriptions in Basel and Ulm.

In Germany, especially in the Swabian and Bavarian painting, the popularity of the early humanistic capitals is possibly due to the alphabet published by Sigmund Gotzkircher in 1435-1436. This type was in use until the years of the decade starting with 1520.¹³⁷ In Hungary, they were widely used in the early years of the 16th century, and – while the pure classical version of the humanistic capitals stood under the direct influence of the Italian writing – the early version was most probably transmitted from the German-speaking areas. The characters found on some Hungarian memorials of clergymen are very similar to those carved on tombstone of clergymen in Basel and Ulm.¹³⁸

Summarizing the data gathered on humanistic capitals, it can be stated that their apparition in Hungary can be traced back to the time when King Matthias was crowned (1464). The first known stone-carved inscription done in humanistic capitals dates from 1467. The so-called early version of the humanistic capitals has also become fairly widespread; its first known example dates from 1472. In the years of the turn between the 15th to 16th century the inscriptions showing excessive use of ligatures and enclaves and the provincial, rustic version of the humanistic capitals are also observed. This latter type seemingly disappears after 1520, the other forms of humanistic capitals, however, persist until 1539-1540, i.e. almost to the historical end-mark of the era (1541 – the Turkish occupation of Buda, the Hungarian capital).

From this time, along with the advance of the Renaissance style in the northern and western parts of Hungary as well as in Transylvania, the humanistic capital writing becomes the generally used standard in Hungary, still characteristic of our culture today.

¹³⁵ KLOOS 1980, 153; KUBINYI 1986, 55;

¹³⁶ KLOOS 1980, 154; P. LÓVEI, “Sírkövek, sírkőtöredékek,” in *Váradi töredékek* ed. T. KERNY (Budapest: 1989), 171. (Hereafter LÓVEI 1989)

¹³⁷ KLOOS 1980, 154-156, 171.

¹³⁸ KLOOS 1980, 154-155; LÓVEI 1989, 174.