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ANA-MARIA GRUIA

Editor: Irina Vainovski-Mihai

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New Europe College
Str. Plantelor 21
023971 Bucharest
Romania
www.nec.ro; e-mail: nec@nec.ro

Tel. (+4) 021.307.99.10, Fax (+4) 021.327.07.74



ANA-MARIA GRUIA

Born in 1981, in Cluj-Napoca

Ph.D. candidate, Central European University, Budapest,
Department of Medieval Studies (due 2008)

Dissertation: *Religious Motifs and Their Transmission on Stove Tiles in the
Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*

Research at the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen
Neuzeit, Krems/Donau, Austria

Papers presented at conferences in Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Italy, and the
United Kingdom

Member of archaeological excavation teams in Romania, Austria and Italy

President and co-founder of the Socio Cultural Association apARTE,
Cluj-Napoca

Member and co-founder of the Romanian Group for an Alternative History,
Bucharest (www.patzinakia.ro)

Artist, exhibitions and art camps in Romania, Hungary, Slovenia

MAGIC IN THE HOUSE: FUNCTIONS OF IMAGES ON MEDIEVAL STOVE TILES FROM TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA AND WALACHIA

The idea for this project was inspired by two different observations. First, during my work on stove tiles,¹ I always had the impression that something remained unsaid, that the usual archaeological or art historical approaches did not address the issue of the significance of the motifs used to decorate these items. How were the images on stove tiles perceived by the people who produced them and by those who bought and used them? What stories did those images tell to their medieval beholders? Moreover, how can we explain the strange representations, the hybrids and monsters, the exotic animals, the sexual and scatological scenes, the masks, etc.? Then, in a private conversation with someone building a stove for her new house, I was told that, besides a continuous frieze depicting interlacing snakes, the owner also wanted to include in a more hidden part (towards the chimney flue) a tile decorated with a grotesque mask. This one tile was meant to offer protection and ensure optimum functioning of the stove.

My assumption is that “marginal” images on stove tiles, or at least some of them, as well as the religious subjects, (also) had protective functions. They might have been perceived through the paradigms of popular religion (labeled as superstition by the Church and shared by both elite and lower social groups) and household magic as one of a number of efficient ways of protecting the home and the people residing within it.

From a methodological point of view, I have collected some of the most “extravagant” examples of stove tile imagery. The present selection of examples, the most striking and easier to link to the common tradition of magic, is a methodological shortcut in the sense that larger samples might refine the interpretation and lead to the inclusion of other images under

the general label of folk apotropaions. One might take into consideration the possible apotropaic function of religious images on stove tiles, but in the absence of any strong data to support such *use*, it seems safer to start with the easier to grasp. Although “easier” does not mean “easy”, since several precautions must be taken in such an enterprise. First, the absence of written sources precisely on the beliefs and uses associated with stove tiles in the Late Middle Ages in Central and Eastern Europe. Then, the fact that most of the indirect data comes from analogies either distant in time (Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages or early modern times) or in space (Western Europe or the Byzantine Empire). Other supporting evidence comes from learned magic, which may nevertheless have shared with or lent certain symbols to the common tradition of magic. But studies on the universal character of the belief in apotropaic powers² and the slow change of popular culture might, at least tentatively, justify the present attempt to articulate a theory so far not discussed in scholarly literature.

A brief terminological discussion is needed on the definition of the key concepts –those of popular culture, popular religion, and, especially, folk magic. Such terms have long been debated in academia, and my general impression is that they are best suited to negative definitions, encompassing as they do everything that is *not* official culture, official religion or learned magic.

Aron Gurevich³ speaks of *medieval popular culture* as a world perception that emerges from the complex and contradictory interaction between the reservoir of traditional folklore and Christianity. Although he deals with an earlier period, namely that of the sixth to thirteenth centuries, one can take into consideration his observations on the term *popular Christianity*, or parish Christianity, which is related to magic, not so much of the pagan variety, but that typical for any agrarian society. Another related term is that of *popular magic*, which essentially differs from the former in that magic “naturalizes” man, embedding him in the cosmos, while religion “humanizes” the world. The two notions overlap in practice, however, since many Christian rituals can be interpreted as being of a magical nature, while magic includes reference to and belief in the saints and religious objects, which it uses as “shortcuts to God’s favors”.⁴ Popular magic, labeled by the official church as superstition, i.e. false belief, is defined by Scribner⁵ as a form of cultural practice concerned with mastering the exigencies of material and daily life, crossing social boundaries but being based on popular, traditional and oral knowledge.

The most thorough discussion of the different meanings and uses of the word “magic” itself, as well as how to approach its multiple layers, is to be found in Richard Kieckhefer’s seminal writings.⁶ Instead of the distinction between “popular” and “elite”, he introduces the more nuanced and fluid distinction between the “common tradition” and various specialized traditions. The *common tradition of magic* is, in his definition, “not universal, not uniform, but sufficiently diffused that it cannot be assigned to any specific subgroup and expressive more of solidarity than of either hegemony or dissent”.⁷ He gives the use of image magic as an example of such widely shared beliefs and practices. Transferred to the specific topic of stove tile imagery, the common tradition, shared by various social groups (as indicated by the various social contexts of the finds), might have included the belief in apotropaic images meant to protect the stove, the house and its inhabitants.

A last word of introduction refers to the basic unit used in my analysis. Since exact information on the number of tiles and tile fragments discovered together is usually lacking from archaeological publications and reports, the unit employed here is defined as being “one or more stove tiles bearing the same representation and coming from the same archaeological context”. Where more data is available, this will be mentioned in the text.

Apotropaic principles

The protection offered by images works in several ways. The process implies something (or someone) who needs protection, a harm-causing agent, and an image mediating or ensuring the protection. In need of protection were the inhabitants of the interior space in which the stove was located. The evil agent was Satan or the demons, and they could harm people in ways related or unrelated to the stove. Here one needs to heed the importance and powerful symbolism of the hearth and the fire, in parallel with its potentially destructive power. Harm could be caused to the inhabitants by malfunctions of the stove, which might suffocate them with its smoke or set the entire house on fire.

There is some (mostly ethnographic) literature that discusses the symbolic charge of certain places and boundaries of interior spaces, such as the threshold, the door, the window, and “God’s corner” – a place

containing a crucifix and devotional pictures or icons. The liminal and ambiguous characteristics of these spaces often call for protective rituals. As an essential element in the geography of the house, with its vital role but also its potential dangers, could the stove have been perceived as an item that needed “insurance” against harm?

In order to answer these questions, I suggest a threefold approach. Iconographic comparisons with depictions in other artistic milieus (on other functional/domestic objects of material culture but also on badges, jewels, charms and amulets, bells, etc.) might indicate which images or visual elements were or still are thought to have protective powers. Contextual data on daily life, popular religious beliefs and domestic magic will help clarify the ways in which this protection functioned and the reasons it was required. And the comparison of motifs from different geographical and religious contexts could indicate cultural and religious differences or similarities in image reception and use.

Because it is difficult to argue that a given image had one and only one function, I will not ignore other possible functions. I will refer to several aspects, sometimes mentioned by the existing stove tile literature: the embedded decorative function of these items, the capacity of these images to provide symbolic information about the identity, status or loyalties of the owner, the role of domestic images in visual literacy, as visual aids and means of edification, and, last but not least, the indications that religious images on stove tiles provide of the existence of different cults or devotions in given geographic areas.⁸ However, the cases analyzed here generally evade these interpretations, and it is for this reason that I suggest they make the apotropaic function more visible than other tile images might have had in the eyes of their medieval beholders.

So what are the basic principles of apotropaic magic? First of all, it is based on the belief in the omnipresence of demons, malefic spirits, the evil eye or witchcraft, all of which threatens the wellbeing of people. In the case of domestic magic, the inhabitants mainly seek to protect the liminal spaces, openings such as the threshold, the window, the door, or the chimney flue. In discussing the symbolic charge of certain places and the boundaries of interior spaces, such as the threshold, the door, the window, and “God’s corner”, the place containing the crucifix and devotional pictures, Robert Scribner⁹ makes reference to their liminal and ambiguous characteristics, which call for protective rituals. However, he does not mention these rituals in relation to images, which is possibly due

to his specific interest in the period of the Reformation, which, despite retaining some protective rituals, marked a shift of power away from sacred images and towards sacred words and inscriptions.¹⁰ Several medieval church benedictions related to houses and to new foundations have been preserved.¹¹ Other rituals for the protection of the house in general are attested in the pre-modern period in Europe.¹² A series of magic rituals are associated with another “sensitive” place of the semantically charged interior space, the hearth or the stove. In early modern Russia, as a measure against witchcraft, certain herbs were burnt in the stove or spells were cast over the chimney and hearth by spreading ash from other seven stoves.¹³ In eastern England, the hearth is one of the places traditionally protected by charms.¹⁴ On several western European sites, ritual deposits have been discovered around fireplaces and chimneys consisting of old shoes, small dried animals and different household implements invested with apotropaic powers.¹⁵ Also, in traditional Romanian popular culture (albeit such practices and beliefs are attested much later, in the modern period), the hearth and the chimney are considered some of the key places requiring protective rituals, and fire, ash and coal are the basic elements of traditional domestic magic.¹⁶ Another clue to understanding the traditional need to protect the fire place is found in the use of hearth icons in the Orthodox milieu.

We can presume that the tile stove also qualified as one of the areas of interior space needing protection due to the dangers it represents. Stoves were dangerous objects that could set the entire house on fire (especially in the case of medieval buildings made of wood) or could suffocate the inhabitants of a house with smoke. Any malfunctioning of the stove had, therefore, to be prevented by all means, and the apotropaic solution fitted in well with the medieval mentality.

Essential to the protective function is the act of seeing, the gaze that activates image’s power. The representations on tiles were meant to be seen either by the inhabitants of the house or the demons. According to the general beliefs of popular religion, religious images sometimes work simply by being looked at. The classic example of this is that of St. Christopher, who protects the viewer from sudden death during that day.¹⁷ Another theory holds that some images are meant to protect by distracting the demons, confusing them, fooling or frightening them. In her analysis of marginal images with a presumed apotropaic function, Ruth Mellinkoff mentions various means of activating this protective effect. The author suggests that

these images were not intended to be seen by people but by demons, who were presumably repelled by seeing images of themselves, distracted by ambiguous, strange or curious representations, or scared away by religious, violent, ugly, sexual or scatological depictions.¹⁸ At the sight of a cross, for example, the demons would know that the object, person or space marked by it was under divine protection and would flee in terror. Another principle mentioned by Mellinkoff is the accumulation of symbols from different systems of belief meant to afford more efficient protection. This certainly fits to the case of stove tiles, where saints and crosses are featured alongside geometric magic symbols, monsters and hybrids, masks and amuletic hands, all on the same tile or tiles that once formed part of the same stove.

Although Henry Maguire¹⁹ analyses the use of images in the context of household magic in a different context, that of early Byzantium, we can nonetheless try to appropriate some of his conclusions. According to his study, the main characteristic of the images used for apotropaic purposes is their obscurity and their repetition. Drawing a parallel with stove tiles, it is easy to observe that these characteristics have been preserved: in the great majority of cases of reconstructed stoves one decorative motif is repeated several times over the same stove, and through repeated copying (and maybe also lack of talent) the precision of the details gradually diminishes such that some motifs are eventually devoid of all their recognizable elements.²⁰

The tiles

The images found on stove tiles selected in support of my hypothesis are very varied. Some are graphic symbols, such as pentagrams, knots and interlaces, while some pertain to the wider category of monsters, such as the two-tailed siren. Others combine image and text, like the orant angel with prayer, or religious and “magical” devices, such as St. George with stars or demons, or crosses with masks and hands. Some of these were very popular decorative motifs for stove tiles in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g. the two-tailed siren being extremely “fashionable”); others were very rare or are even unique (e.g. the orant angel). I will begin with the latter, referring in each case to analogies from other arts and discussing the arguments for and against an apotropaic interpretation of their use on stove tiles.

The pentagram

The pentagram, or *pentalpha* (the ancient Greeks called it the “five times A”, a five-pointed star drawn continuously in one movement of the hand and resembling an interlace or knot), appears on two Transylvanian tiles from the castle of Lăzarea,²¹ a casual find in Sebeș,²² and a single tile from the princely court in Bacău, Moldavia²³ (Figs. 3, 2, 1). They have analogies on tiles from Ormož (Slovenia),²⁴ Klaštorsko (Slovakia)²⁵, and Willisau Hasenburg (Switzerland)²⁶ (Figs. 4, 5, 6). The earliest seems to be the Swiss tile, which dates to the end of the fourteenth century. Most date from the second half of the fifteenth century, while the latest are the Transylvanian tiles, dating from the sixteenth century. We should note from the outset that pentagrams are a rare occurrence in stove tile iconography, with all in all just six appearances. Nevertheless, there is a long tradition of this motif in learned magic, and it was also passed down to the common tradition. Could this be the context in which the pentagrams were used on stove tiles?

The pentagram appeared in ancient Greek and Hellenistic times and had an apotropaic function in the Kabbalistic tradition. It was used by Byzantine armies as a sign of salvation on their flags.²⁷ In lay iconography it could also be a symbol of medicine (identified as *hygiēna*), but this does not exclude a magic function, that of conferring the doctor’s pill with power over death, as appears on late Antique doctor stamps.²⁸ But the main source of its main magic power derives from its being the device of the legendary Solomon seal, engraved on the signet ring King Solomon received from God in order that he might seal and thereby control the power of demons. It was one of the most powerful amuletic signs in the Late Antique and Byzantine lexicon of magic, being employed in the decoration of rings, armbands,²⁹ pendants and generally all types of amulets.³⁰ During the Middle Ages, the pentagram was used more frequently in learned magic, in the composition of magic circles inscribed with the names of the conjured spirits depicted in necromancers’ books or on seals for planets and days of the week.³¹ It also figures in ritual diagrams for protection.³² Other fifteenth-century examples of pentagrams come from pentacles (amulets used in magical evocations on which the symbols of the invoked spirit or energy are drawn) depicted in other magic manuscripts, such as the treatise known as *The Magic Treatise of Solomon*.³³ Still, there are also some examples of pentagrams used in more popular contexts. For example, there is a sixteenth-century amuletic ring decorated with

a serpent biting its tail (the *ouroboros*), and a pentagram decorated with the letters spelling SALUS.³⁴ Other fifteenth-century finger rings display the pentagram as a protective device.³⁵

As a symbol of Christ's Five Wounds, this appears rather late, in the interpretation of Cornelius a Lapide (1567-1637),³⁶ and it was always a lesser Christian symbol.

The pentagrams on tiles appear in highly varied range of compositions and are consequently rather difficult to interpret. On the tile from Bacău (Fig. 1), the pentagram and another star-like pattern flank one of the five rosettes. On the borders there are six small crosses. The combination of crosses, solar rosettes, the pentagram and the geometrical pattern might indicate an apotropaic function created by the juxtaposition of religious and non-religious symbols. The tile from Sebeș (Fig. 2) is preserved in fragments, the still existing part showing a pentagram with lines on each end of the points inscribed besides other elements in a medallion. Interestingly, on this tile the pentagram is not molded but incised, thus making it not a part of the pattern, but a later intervention, possibly limited to this one tile only. The tile from Lăzarea (Fig. 3), reconstructed as it is, displays the pentagram in front of a rider. On the left hand side there is also a stylized standing character. A border ending in an architectonic M-shape surrounds the composition. On the upper corners there are two arrows pointing upwards and another letter M. In the foreground we can read (in the mirror) a name: IANOS FEON, presumably that of the potter. It could be that in this case the pentagram is a craftsman's sign, like that some stonemasons used in Pilis, in Hungary.³⁷ But on stove tiles, the craftsmen usually write their names or their initials on the surface of the objects they produce, without any supplementary signs of identification, which were probably not needed. At Ormož (Fig. 4), one, larger pentagram stands at the feet of a dragon with knotted tail, and another, smaller one is found in the diagonally opposite corner. The dragon is usually an incarnation of the devil (like that slain by St. George), so the fact that it is framed by two symbols reputed to have the power to control demons (something Solomon reportedly did using his signet ring inscribed with the pentagram) could indicate symbolic control over evil. The tile from Kľaštorskó (Fig. 5) is also easy to interpret in terms of magic, and is more related to learned magic, since documents point to the interest in alchemy of one of the abbots of this Carthusian monastery. Other tiles found at the site, which have unfortunately not yet been catalogued, include besides

religious representations, several interesting lay images, such as a wild man fighting a crab or even (presumably) an alchemist working on his instruments with his muse/assistant/angel in the background.³⁸ Alchemical representations on stove tiles are also known from the German areas.³⁹ The tiles, dating from the sixteenth century, were discovered in an alchemical laboratory at the castle in Oberstockstall (Austria). They are highly symbolic, depicting an open door with different symbols decorating the portal, and a fragment with a male head flanked by a humanized sun and the moon. Iconographically, these belong to the Renaissance style, but they show that alchemical imagery was applied also to the medium of stove tiles.

On the tile from Klaštorsko the pentagram stands besides other symbols that can be interpreted as magical (a three-lobed interlace, and a four-lobed interlace inscribed in a circle, sometimes called the Knot of Solomon⁴⁰). All these non-religious symbols, placed under a Gothic arch with architectural tracery, are surmounted by a large cross. It is interesting to note that through its superposed position, the cross dominates the other signs. Bearing in mind that these tiles were used in the compositions of stoves in the *cellas* of a Carthusian monastery, it seems only natural that the cross should dominate all other representations.

The tile from Willisau Hasenburg (Fig. 6) depicts the pentagram with dots on its five points and placed above a couple holding a chapelet. The crowned woman is standing beside a flower and the man is holding a sword. Besides these gender attributes, there is also a lap dog that appears to be jumping under the chapelet, between them, and perhaps indicating the image's erotic connotations. The pentagram in this case could be interpreted in the context of erotic magic, or the protection of the married couple.

Another aspect to be considered is the social context of discovery and use of the tiles. They originate from a range of contexts, from higher social contexts (a princely court, e.g. Bacău; a castle, Lăzarea) and, most interestingly, a monastery (Klaštorsko) to lower contexts, such as a dwelling (Ormož). It appears that these pentagrams cannot be linked to any particular context of use and should therefore be analyzed within the framework of the common tradition of imagery, culture and magic.

The orant figure

A tile fragment from Transylvania, dating to the 15th-16th century, features a character with both arms raised and standing beside a large cross with floral elements. This item most probably originates from the fortification of Mălăiești (Hunedoara County, Fig. 7).⁴¹ It has been interpreted as depicting the saints Constantine and Helen, but the absence of any saintly elements, the very schematic nature of the depictions (which make the human appear to have feelers on his head), and the flowers shooting from the cross, argue against such an interpretation. It could instead simply be a generic gesture of prayer, of invoking protection, related to the image of the *lignum vitae*, the blooming cross of crucifixion.

The gesture of two raised arms was almost universally associated with divine power and protection, from ancient Egypt, the Minoan civilization to ancient Greece. It was then adopted by Christian iconography, in which figures viewed frontally and arms raised to the height of the shoulders were called orants (*orans*). They became personifications of piety and pious supplication. For the early Christians, the appeal of this gesture perhaps depended on its analogy to the figure of the crucified Christ.⁴² During the rest of the Middle Ages, the most popular orant, especially in the Byzantine world and that influenced by it, such as Italy, was the Virgin, who was depicted with arms raised (an iconographical type called *Deomene*).⁴³

Another tile we might bring into discussion depicts an orant angel surrounded by an inscription (written in the mirror) that reads: AVE GRATIA PLENA D(OMINI) (Fig. 8). Eight fragments, green glazed, from at least six different individual stove tiles and decorated with the same motif, were found at Pomáz, the noble residence of the Cyko family. The original location of the stove and the other representations on it are unknown, since the tiles stem from a secondary location, that of a refuse pit. But it is certain that they date from the end of the fourteenth century, and different molds were probably used since the images vary slightly from fragment to fragment.⁴⁴

Unlike the stove tiles depicting the Annunciation,⁴⁵ the tile from Pomáz is unique in terms of its inscription and the orant position of the angel. Also, no pair tile representing the Virgin receiving the news was discovered on the site. This indicates that the image might have been used in order to protect and repel evil, by invoking the Virgin. Prayers written down and used to this end are frequent on medieval amulets.⁴⁶

The Ave Maria, a standard medieval prayer, has been long assigned with apotropaic associations. The Golden Legend recorded (and made popular) a series of tales of protection and curing afforded through recitations of the Marian salutation.⁴⁷ A fourteenth-century amulet ring from England bears the inscription AVE MARIA GRATIA PLE beside the frequently used magic word AGLA (Holy).⁴⁸ Other finger rings, bearing a variant of the salutation, also contain quatrefoils, lion mouths, and monster heads.⁴⁹ The angelic salutation is to be found on five medieval purse mounts, sometimes accompanied by inscriptions meant to bring prosperity and money to the owner.⁵⁰ It also features on medieval bells, frequently used to repel storms and the evil spirits of the air. This is the case, for example, for a series of bells produced by a certain Tilman from Hachenburg during the fifteenth century.⁵¹ Numerous cases of the amuletic use of prayers, texts from the lives of the saints or the holy book, written down on strips of parchment or paper, the so-called phylacteries, indicate that there was indeed widespread belief in the protective power of religious texts.⁵²

Open hand, masks, birds, and crosses

To the best of my knowledge, there are only two tiles decorated with this motif: one is in Budapest, in the Museum of Applied Arts⁵³, the other in Bucharest,⁵⁴ in the Museum of the Romanian Peasant (Figs. 9-10). These have not been mentioned in previous scholarly work. Affronted birds flank a central column with a capital featuring the depiction of an open hand. Beside the column, two human masks support geometrical arches, perhaps suggesting their functioning as vault stones. On the upper side of the tile, on top of each arch there are three crosses with dots beside their stems, two of them with vegetal elements.

The sixteenth-century tile in Budapest seems to have served as a model for the one in Bucharest (discovered somewhere in Transylvania), the decoration of which is shallower in relief, with fewer details, and unglazed. It also features an added border of dots, something typical of copies, which were enlarged by this means so as to retain the same dimensions as the original (given that the clay shrinks by around 10% during drying and firing). Even if the Transylvanian tile is of a later date, I find it hard to believe the difference is one of two centuries. Its uncertain dating should be changed, from the eighteenth to the sixteenth century.

In support of an apotropaic function of this kind of image, we might look to the use of open hands as amulets in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the presumed apotropaic function of masks, and the combination of these symbols with crosses. The alchemical drawing of a hand showing the planetary forces became known as the Hand of Fortune or the Hand of St. John and was worn to encourage a happy fate and good opportunities in life. In Christian culture, the hand is also associated with blessing, and the power conferred on it by this gesture leads to the numerous hand relics and hand-shaped reliquaries.⁵⁵ Different gestures of the hand have been used (and some still are) as amulets: the fist with the forefinger and small fingers sticking out, like horns, the thumb between the forefinger and index finger (*mano fica*), etc. The open hand is also a popular apotropaion in Islam, where it is known as the Hand of Fatma, as well as Judaism, where it is related to the magic number five⁵⁶ (*Hkamsa*, “five” in Arabic).⁵⁷ On Jewish amulets the open hand is sometimes associated with pentagrams and hexagrams.⁵⁸ In fifteenth-century Christian popular imagery, the open hand was presented as *speculum humanae salvationis*, as a memory aid and advertisement for confession, the extended fingers symbolizing divine law, consciousness examination, repentance, confession, and penitence, respectively. The image was frequently reproduced in German prints in the fifteenth century and was taken up again during the counter-reformation as an instrument of catechism, as well as in pilgrimage.⁵⁹ In another German print from the same century, a hand chart depicting Christ and Mary on the thumb and the apostles on the finger joints was intended as mnemonic device for the recitation of the twelve articles of the Credo.⁶⁰

Masks have been also labeled apotropaic.⁶¹ A sixteenth-century Italian amuletic ring, for example, was decorated with a mask and a magic inscription.⁶²

It could be then that this rare image on tiles, combining several elements conducive to apotropaic interpretation, and surmounted by crosses, was used for the purposes of protection. The existence of two directly related tiles suggests that the motif was popular enough for at least two series to have been created in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary.

St. George with flying demon

The image of St. George slaying the dragon is one of the most popular representations on stove tiles, including those found in Transylvania,

Moldavia and Walachia, where there were sixty-three such tiles (counting all the fragments found, the motif is present on at least 174 individual tiles).⁶³ It was of course a very popular image in all artistic genres in the Late Middle Ages, but some less usual elements figure on tiles: sometimes birds (on six tiles), other times stars (six tiles), or a rosette (on four tiles) find their way into the scenes depicted on the tiles from the aforementioned provinces.⁶⁴ The presence of stars makes us think of the model for this type of holy rider, the popular Byzantine apotropaic saint Sissinios. Given that there are no stars in the iconography of St. George on Transylvanian tiles (those most influenced by western iconography), or that of Moldavia (which borrowed from Transylvania and Poland), might lead us to believe that popular art in Walachia had retained elements and functions from older Byzantine images. But we in fact find stars on western tiles, beside Saint George and also other, unholy riders.

However, the tile discussed here, found in the orthodox monastery of Cătina (Walachia, Fig. 11),⁶⁵ is the most comparable to the anonymous holy rider or St. Sissinios thanks to a very strange detail, a witch/demon-like creature flying on a stick in the upper right corner of the image. It is flying towards a mounted St. George, who with a spear is slaying the dragon lying under the feet of his horse. Elements of dress, arms and horse tack are also visible. The tack is composed of a saddle with both pommel and cantle, which is fixed to the horse's body by a decorated girth, and then the stirrups, reins, and a breast collar. The saint is wearing a schematic helmet with visor type *bourguignotte*, spurs, he has no armor but instead a coat of buttons, he has no sword but a saber fixed to his belt, and he is holding a lance. The depiction of the saber provides some relevant clues, for it was a type of weapon (a curved sword) scarcely known in the medieval West. It was more of an oriental weapon, re-introduced to South-Eastern Europe during the fifteenth century through the battles with the Turks.⁶⁶ This also indicates that the tile did not adhere to western patterns, but was instead created locally, in a schematic, popular fashion, opening the way for speculation as to the post-Byzantine iconography it reflects. So the depiction of an oriental weapon and the presence of the demon could indicate the existence of an apotropaic function for this tile. Not only is St. George fighting evil as incarnated by the dragon, he is also fighting demons like his antecessor Sissinios. And he is perceived as doing so in an Orthodox monastic context, testifying to the visual representation of the belief in the saints' power to ward off demons.

Riders

In the Transylvanian village of Mihăileni, a village deserted in the seventeenth century, a stove tile decorated with a rider surrounded by various different geometric symbols was discovered (Fig. 12).⁶⁷ The rider himself appears as if pierced by a lance with a pennon, or perhaps the untalented craftsman was trying to suggest the rider was in fact holding the lance. In the background, behind the rider, we see a six-pointed and a seven-pointed star, a cross or an x, a sun disk or a wheel with several rays or spikes, and a “grill” pattern. In front of the horse there is also a “sand glass” pattern. Some of these geometric signs (the “grill” and the “sand clock”) can be found in a fifteenth-century necromancer’s manual as parts of seals for the days of the week.⁶⁸

Another rider, with a star and intersected circles, is to be found on a tile from the house/workshop of a Moldavian goldsmith from Târgu Trotuș (Fig. 13).⁶⁹ The six-pointed star is placed above the horse’s head, while the circles lay at its feet. We are left wondering whether the stars associated with the mounted warrior were adopted from similar representations of St. George, or whether, on the contrary, these popular additions had influenced religious iconography.

Two-tailed siren

Unlike the previous cases, the image of the two-tailed siren was very common on stove tiles in the late Middle Ages (Figs. 14-17). A number of 77 tiles have been discovered featuring this motif (including the identical tiles found at the same site, the number reaches 100) in the German areas, Bohemia, Hungary, and Moldavia.⁷⁰ We should note, however, that this image is yet to be discovered on tiles originating from Walachia, which again indicates that the Central European influence was weaker there. But in the other areas the siren was popular enough to be copied and re-copied, and although directly related tiles are to be found only within this same medieval province, they sometimes traveled significant distances of up to 300 km.

Figures 14 to 17 show just a few of the examples from Moldavia and Hungary. They were discovered in several archaeological contexts, such as on the stoves in the princely court of Suceava,⁷¹ in a potter’s workshop in Feldioara⁷² (where twelve such tiles were found, clearly indicating

their local production), in a suburb of Buda, at Budafelrhéviz,⁷³ and in two locations in Banská Bystrica (Slovakia),⁷⁴ one of the most important centers of tile production in Medieval Hungary. Here the siren featured on stoves with similar iconography once used to heat the interiors of the urban house of the mayor who ordered them and the town hall. The siren stood alongside religious images (St. George, St. Ladislav, St. Ecaterine, the Agnus Dei), animals (lions), geometric motifs, lay fables (the wolf preaching to the geese), and a mysterious and unique sexual scene.⁷⁵

I think that, in the case of the siren, it is not only its popularity that makes it a convincing example of an apotropaic image on stove tiles, as shown by the widely held preference for it; there were also other factors. First, a detailed analysis of its iconographical attributes and the symbolism attached to the siren confer on it a series of meanings that fit very well with the patterns of protective images. It is possibly a representation of the Devil, it is ambiguous (sometimes male, sometimes female), and it has strong sexual attributes (the naked breasts, the fish, the exhibitionist position of the tails) and violent attributes (the body being devoured by the two tails that transform into independent fish). It is also depicted as a powerful monster (with attributes such as the crown) and is closely associated with water (fish tails, fish or next to crabs). It is very probable that an aquatic monster, really believed to exist in medieval popular culture, was used to provide protection from the dangers represented by a fire-related object such as the stove. The countering of an element by using its opposite is another common feature of popular magic mentality. Another argument in favor of this interpretation is, besides the attributes of power and richness, the magic powers attributed to the siren herself. The siren charms with her song or the beauty of her body. Moreover, her image was used as apotropaic throughout the Middle Ages and until the modern age, on amulets and talismans,⁷⁶ pendants and jewelry,⁷⁷ lay badges⁷⁸ or house signs.⁷⁹ In Moldavia, the iconography of these tiles was copied onto decorative exterior ceramic disks, including the two-tailed siren, and probably retained the protective function.⁸⁰

The manticore

The manticore is yet another hybrid monster from the bestiaries. It was described and depicted as a monster with a human face, the body of a red lion, the tail of a scorpion, and three rows of teeth that fed on

human flesh.⁸¹ But nowhere, except on tiles (and on the Moldavian decorative ceramic discs made from the same molds), is it represented with a crown and such oversized sexual attributes. Also unique to the two tiles from Suceava (Fig. 18)⁸² is the sign featured in their upper left corners: a battle-axe combined with a crescent moon. A possible analogy is found in Walachia, in the town of Târgoviște (Fig. 19).⁸³ Here, while the monster has no crown, and the symbol and the vegetal elements are also missing, it retains the sexual attributes, which, strangely enough, resemble a cross.

Hybrids were considered apotropaic due to their belonging to more species. They are powerful and fearful monsters, whose image could ward off evil spirits.⁸⁴ We might also list here other monsters found on tiles, such as dragons and griffins (in rather large numbers), and we also find vipers, human-eating griffins, and several others. But any detailed analysis of these would lengthen the present study excessively.

Tiles as sources for medieval popular culture

The images used to decorate medieval stove tiles share most of the iconography of other material objects classified as “minor” or “marginal”. The same mixture of religious and the lay, of saints and monsters, of holy stories and satirical narrations, is found on the stove tiles and late medieval manuscript marginalia,⁸⁵ medieval house signs,⁸⁶ badges,⁸⁷ roof decorations,⁸⁸ misericords,⁸⁹ sweet-bread and ceramic molds,⁹⁰ decorative ceramic disks,⁹¹ etc. This broad category of objects also shares with stove tiles its ambiguity and mixed functions, the apotropaic function being just one among many others. Produced outside the reach of clerical control, these objects spread to the most diverse social contexts, proving that the “popular culture” and iconography permeated not only the lower social strata, but also the elite and the clerical space.⁹² As for closer analogies in the present-day Romanian space, another medium should be analyzed: that of bronze cast bells and baptismal fonts.⁹³

One relevant analogy can be drawn with the images and the inscriptions found on fourteen to sixteenth-century bells from Transylvania. Some of the texts on these medieval objects demonstrate their assumed power to protect against evil tempests (*auras nocivas* – Bazna), hailstorms, raging storms, thunderstorms (*grandinis turma, turbines conflictur, fulminis*

ictus –Feldioara), tempests of the air and demons (*tempestates aeris demonumque* – Bod). Other magical inscriptions include the names of the four evangelists, the Magi, the letters of the alphabet,⁹⁴ and the name of God (*Tetragramaton*). The images on these items consist of both religious imagery and depictions of hybrids and monsters, sometimes used side by side on the same bell. These images come from different metal objects, mostly pilgrim and lay badges used during the molding process and therefore preserved in this form. These are rare instances of late medieval badges from Eastern Europe. We should not forget the presumed apotropaic function of the badges themselves as a category of objects, some with inscriptions that read “Good luck to he who wears me”, some folded and thrown into rivers and wells as votive offerings.⁹⁵ Of course, a careful approach is needed in each case when differentiating between this and various other possible functions, such as those of representation, indicators of status and wealth, religiosity, etc.

In any case, the apotropaic function of the representations on Transylvanian bells is clear from the accompanying inscriptions. The bell from Feldioara (Fig. 20), fashioned in a workshop in Sighișoara during the fifteenth century, reads: *Hac Cristi tuba pellatur grandinis turma, turbinis conflictus stringatur fulminis ictus*⁹⁶ (“May the hailstorm be hit by this bell of God, fighting the raging storm, uniting with the powerful stroke of thunder”). The images accompanying this text show three times Samson killing the lion, twice a dragon, and twice a lion. We should note the close parallels of these images with stove tiles created in the same period and in the same region. On other bells, “magic” inscriptions are accompanied by religious images and crosses, and “magic” images are mixed with the religious. For example, one very old apotropaic symbol, the *Hystera*,⁹⁷ a Medusa-like head surrounded by serpents that depict the womb wandering like an animal through the female body and causing illness, is found on four bells, from Corvinești, Cireșoia, Fântânița and Hetiur, all of which were cast in Bistrița by a craftsman named George. The *Hystera* is placed besides images of St. George (maybe chosen by the craftsman because it was his personal patron saint) and some crosses.⁹⁸ These bells, dating from the 1530-1540s, clearly indicate the ease with which religious and “magic” images were employed in the decoration of objects used for both purposes. This brings us back to the frail distinction between religion and magic, superstition and popular religion, which is perfectly applicable to 15th-16th century Transylvania.

Conclusions

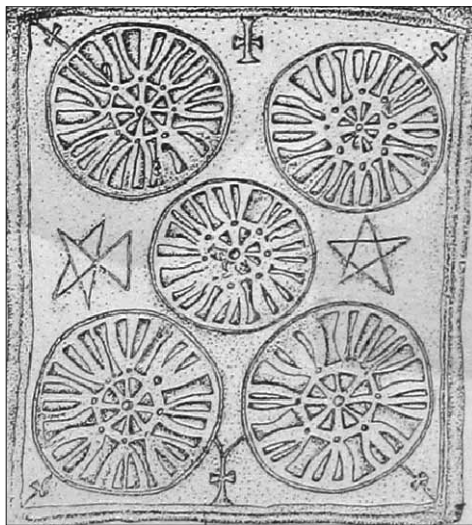
The images presented above are conspicuous for their peculiarity in comparison with the well-studied religious or elite art. Some have proven to have analogies on objects with an apotropaic function. They also seem to fit in the specific mechanisms of popular magic by combining religious and lay symbols, by using a cryptic array of signs and symbols, by counteracting fire-related dangers with monsters from the underwater realm. As for the association of symbols, we find crosses beside pentagrams (Fig. 1, 5), open hands and masks (Fig. 9, 10), and stars on the crowns of the siren (Fig. 15). Other combinations involve different geometric symbols – crosses, solar disks, pentagrams and interlaces (Fig. 1), pentagrams and arrows (Fig. 3), pentagrams, Solomon's knot, and three-lobed interlaces (Fig. 5), stars, solar circles/wheels, "grill" patterns and "sand glass" patterns (Fig. 12). Some elements, like crowns and stars, appear in different compositions, such as the *libespaar* with pentagram (Fig. 6), the rider (fig. 12), the siren (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17). The image of hybrid monsters with crowns could be an apotropaic sign in general, the royal attribute lending power and an extraordinary nature to the fabulous beasts of the medieval bestiaries. Not only are religious symbols adopted in the iconography of individual tiles, but we also find, in the composition of the few reconstructed stoves, tiles with various images alongside each other. In the monumental stove from the princely house in Suceava,⁹⁹ the siren and the mantichore are found alongside depictions of exotic animals and accompanied by Cyrillic inscriptions, as well as alongside saints like the extremely popular St. George. In Banská Bystrica, several stoves from the town hall and the house of the mayor were composed using the same series of tiles, decorated with religious, lay and geometric images. Another characteristic of the images presented here is their sexual nature, visible in the exhibitionist position of the siren's tails and its association with fish, and the large sexual organs of the mantichore.

Another argument in favor of a popular culture that mixes and combines official religion, elite culture and its own fabulous creations, permeating all strata of society, is the presence of apotropaic tiles in a religious context. This is the case of the magic symbols surmounted by the cross and Gothic tracery from the Carthusian monastery of Kľaštorskó, as well as St. George with the flying demon from the Orthodox monastery in Cătina. Or, the other way around, the orant angel with an invocation to the Virgin used in

decorating the stoves in a noble residence alongside images of monsters such as the viper.¹⁰⁰

This argumentation should be taken into consideration as a tentative approach, or, as many a more modest description would have it, a “contribution”. Further research on Central European popular magic is certainly needed, not only on the level of iconography, but that of the textual sources, in order to make available more detailed data for comparison. Further studies should also contribute to a more nuanced picture of the shift in the common tradition (of culture in general and magic in particular) marked by the Reformation.¹⁰¹ The evidence from stove tiles points to a change in iconography by the end of the sixteenth century, when the typically medieval representations (especially the apotropaic ones analyzed here) cease to hold favor, being replaced by vegetal and geometric patterns, in particular the so-called “wall-paper type”, which continues from one tile to another.

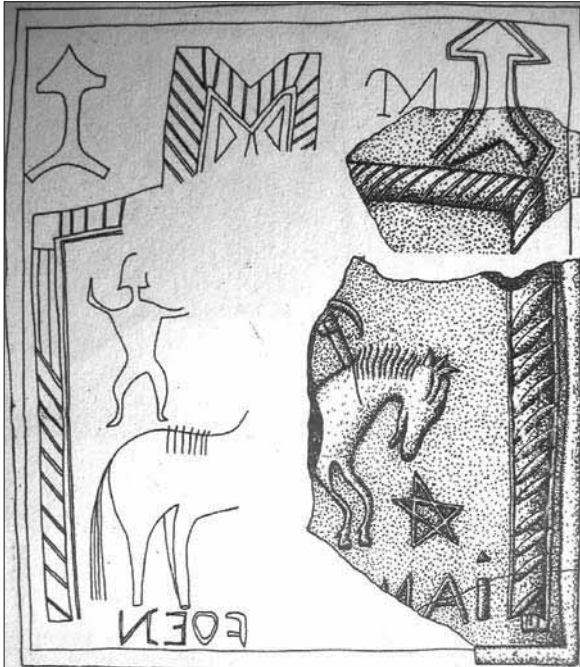
I also believe that further research needs to clarify and refine the assertions expressed here only tentatively. It is nevertheless clear that stove tiles constitute a rich source material for the study of popular culture, popular religion and folk magic.



1. Bacău, Moldavia (Romania, Bacău County)
princely court
second half of the XVth century



2. Sebeș, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary (Romania, Alba County)
casual find
XVth-XVIth century



3. Lăzarea, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary
(Romania, Harghita County)

castle
XVIth century
unglazed



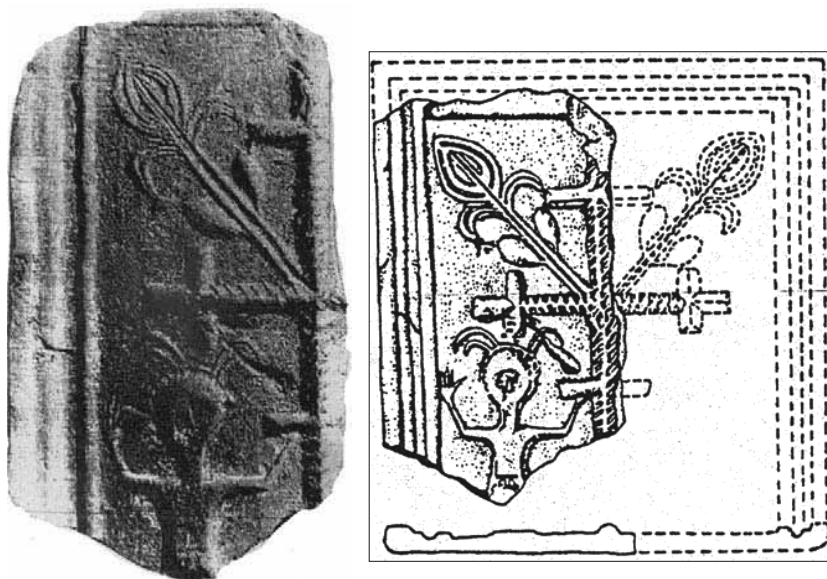
4. Ormož, Styria, Holy German Empire (Slovenia, Ptuj County)
urban house
second half of the XVth century
unglazed



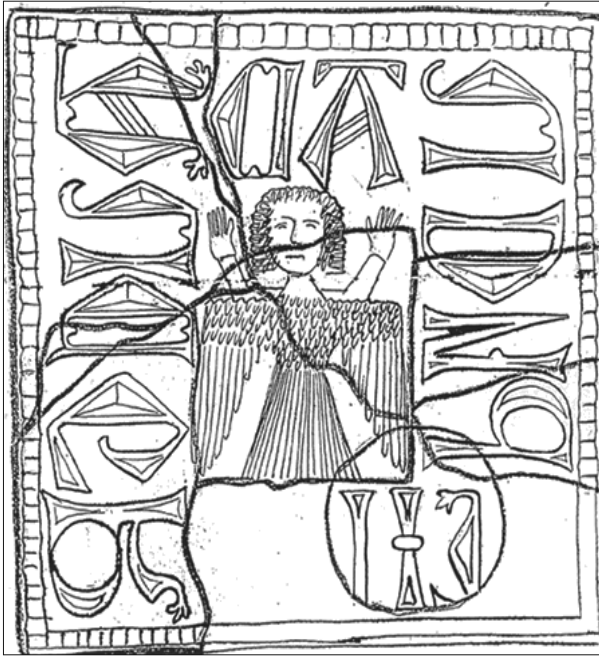
5. Klaštorsko, Northern Hungary, Kingdom of Hungary (Slovakia)
Carthusian monastery
after 1487, site destroyed in 1543
green glazed



6. Willisau Hasenburg, Holy German Empire
(Switzerland, Kanton Lucern)
middle or second half of the XIVth century
crown tile, dark green glazed



7. Mălăiești, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary
(Romania, Hunedoara County)
XVth-XVIth century
unglazed



8. Pomáz, Central Hungary, Kingdom of Hungary (Hungary)
noble residence
end of the XIVth century
green glazed



9. Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary (Romania)
XVIIIth century ?
unglazed



10. Kingdom of Hungary
XVIth century
green glazed



11. Cătina, Walachia (Romania, Buzău County)
Orthodox monastery
XVIth century



12. Mihăileni, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary
(Romania, Harghita County)
XVIth-XVIIth century
unglazed



13. Târgu Trotuș, Moldavia (Romania, Bacău County)
goldshimth workshop and house
XVIth century



14. Suceava, Moldavia (Romania, Suceava County)
princely fortification
XVth century



15. Feldioara, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary
(Romania, Braşov County)
pottery workshop, fragments from twelve tiles
beginning of the XVIth century



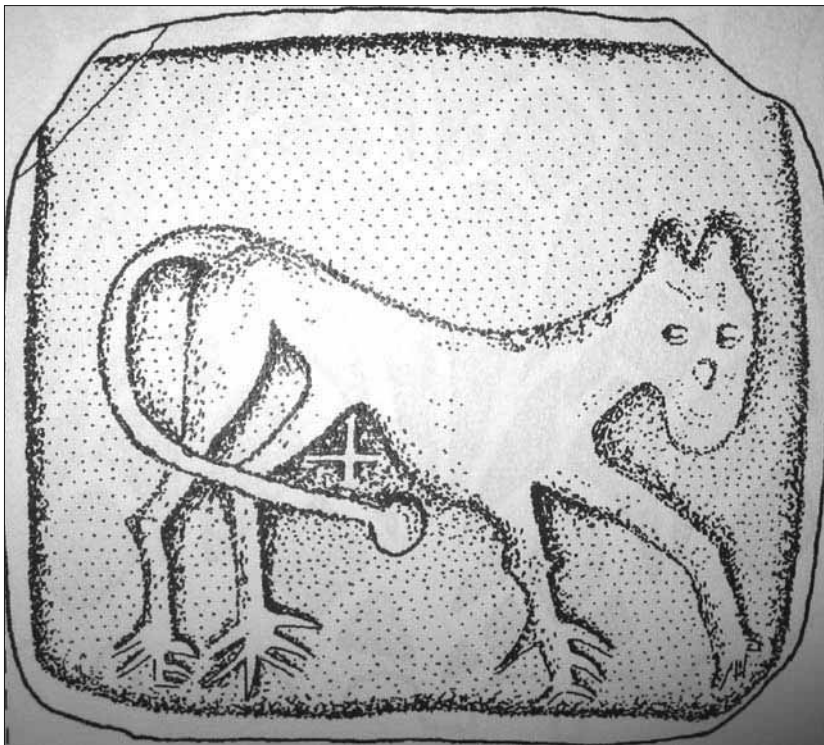
16. Budafelhéviz, suburb of Buda, Kingdom of Hungary (Hungary)
end of the XIVth century



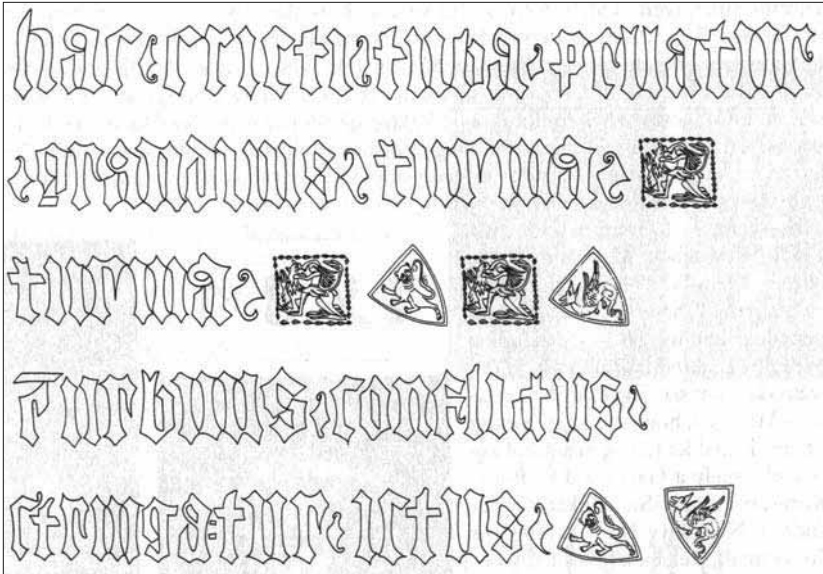
17. Banská Bystrica, Northern Hungary, Kingdom of Hungary (Slovakia)
urban house and city hall
1450-1454
green glazed



18. Suceava, Moldavia (Romania, Suceava County)
princely house and town house
fragments from at least 16 tiles, all green glazed
XVth century



19. Târgoviște, Walachia (Romania, Dâmbovița County)
casual find
second half of the XIVth century



20. Feldioara, Transylvania, Kingdom of Hungary
(Romania, Braşov County)

Fifteen-century bell produced by the workshop in
Sighişoara, decorated with dragons, lions, and Samson
fighting the lion, and bearing the inscription:

“Hac Cristi tuba pellatur grandinis turma, turbinis
conflictus stringatur fulminis ictus”.

NOTES

- * I would like to express my gratitude to the New Europe College for the GE-NEC fellowship that enabled me to conduct research at the Warburg Institute. I would also like to thank Mr. Charles Burnett and Mrs. Sophie Page for their useful comments and suggestions during this research.
- ¹ During my MA thesis, *The Holy Heat. Knightly Saints on Transylvanian and Moldavian Stove Tiles*, Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University, Budapest, 2004, and in my ongoing PhD research focusing on tiles with religious representations from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, as doctoral candidate within the same department.
- ² Suttlerin, 1989.
- ³ Gurevich, 1992, xv.
- ⁴ Gurevich, 1992, 80, 95-96.
- ⁵ Scribner, 2001.
- ⁶ Kieckhefer, 1989; Kieckhefer, 1994.
- ⁷ Kieckhefer, 1994, 22.
- ⁸ Gruia, 2005.
- ⁹ Scribner, 2001, "Symbolizing Boundaries: Defining Social Space in the Daily Life of Early Modern Germany": 302-322.
- ¹⁰ Scribner, 2001, "Magic and the Reformed Protestant Popular Culture in Germany": 321-345.
- ¹¹ Franz, 1909, vol. I, 604-610.
- ¹² Wilson, 2000.
- ¹³ Ryan, 1999, 43.
- ¹⁴ Merriefied, 1987, 167.
- ¹⁵ Merriefied, 1987, 128.
- ¹⁶ Eseev, 1998, s.v. "cărbune" (coal), "cenușă" (ash), "foc" (fire), "horn"(chimney), "vatră"(hearth).
- ¹⁷ Rigaux, 1987; Rigaux, 1996.
- ¹⁸ Mellinkoff, 2004, 45-51.
- ¹⁹ Maguire, 1996, "The Saints and Household Magic": 118-132.
- ²⁰ The same features can also have more "pragmatic" causes, such as the availability of series of the same motif rather than different motifs, or the fading of details on purely technological grounds (e.g. the wearing out of the mold, too much glaze used to fill the relief, etc).
- ²¹ Kémenes, 2005, 149, plate 38.1.
- ²² Marcu-Istrate, 2004, 266, 471, fig. B5.
- ²³ Artimon, 1987, 11, fig. 12.4.
- ²⁴ Analogies mentioned at Planina pri Sevnici and Slovenske Konice: Tomanič-Jeremov, 1997, 119, fig. 4.80, 122, 132.
- ²⁵ Unpublished, info Michal Slivka and Martin Homza.

- 26 Tauber, 1980, 209, fig. 37, abb. 152. No analogies, kept in the Schweizerischen Landesmuseum, Zürich.
- 27 LCI, vol. 3, 1994, s.v "Pentagramm".
- 28 Vikan, 2003, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium": 65-86, 69, 70, fig. 4, fig. 9.
- 29 Vikan, 2003, "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to which They Belong", fig. 9, fig. 10a, 10d, 10h.
- 30 Spier, 1993, cat. 33, 34, 49; Russell, 1995.
- 31 Kieckhefer, 1997: circles: 353, fol. 15v, no. 6, 357, fol. 26r, no. 10, 364, fol. 42r, no. 22, 365, fol. 42v, no. 23; seals: 370, fol. 73v, no. 37c, 371, fol. 74r, no. 37c, 372, fol. 74v, no. 37c.
- 32 Page, 2004, fig. 34.
- 33 British Library, Harleian MS. 5596, fifteenth century. At: <http://www.esotericarchives.com/esoteric.htm>.
- 34 Bequest, 1912, cat. 891.
- 35 Gouilhous, 1937, cat. 632, 636, 637.
- 36 LCI, vol. 3, 1994, s.v "Pentagramm".
- 37 Holl, 2000. Some studies have suggested these marks could be simply job-specific, meant only to ease the process of assembly and do not carry any further information. But in the case of stove tiles, it seems more probable that even if such signs existed, they were placed on the reverse of the tiles. For other pentagrams as signs in the Middle Ages, see: Alexander, 2004.
- 38 Unpublished, info. Michal Slivka.
- 39 von Osten, 1998, 61-62, 66, fig. 38, table 42, fig. N1, fig. 12.
- 40 Maguire, 1998, "Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles", 265-268. The medieval name of the pattern was also the Emblem of the Divine Inscrutability, presumably all the wisdom of Solomon being hidden in this knot. Due to the design, it is associated with the passage from One to Two. In the same time it unites the knot, the cross, and the swastika. It appears on several media, on mosaics, church tympanums, reliquaries, jewels, etc. See: Sansoni, 1998; Mellinkoff, 2004, 85, 161-163.
- 41 It appears twice in the publications, in one case as if it were discovered in Mălăiești and the other as probably coming from Sălașul de Sus, but it is obviously the same fragment: Marcu-Istrate, 2004, 242, 529, fig. 9 and 236, 428, fig. C1; Rusu, 1996, 134, 135, 153 fig. 18.
- 42 Hazzikostas, 1998.
- 43 *Deomene*, 2001.
- 44 Virágos, 1997, 38, fig. 118.
- 45 Mold kept in Prievidza (Slovakia), tile created with that mold in Bohemia, in the castle on the Vsetinský Peak; one tile in Bistrița (Transylvania), the scene on two tiles in Buda palace, others in Ružica castle (Croatia), and in Nova Ves (Croatia). Prievidza: Egyház-Jurovská, 1993, cat. 121 , fig. 21;

- Bistrița: Marcu Istrate, 2004, 180, 347; Buda: Tamási, 1995, 135, fig. 94, 104; Ružica: Radić, Bojčić, 2004, 300, cat. 626; Nova Ves: Mašić, 2002, cat. 12, 38, 39.
- 46 Skemer, 2006.
- 47 Skemer, 2006, 275, footnote 83.
- 48 Bequest, 1912, cat. 869. For a good article on the relationship between devotion and text amulets, see Bozóky, 1994.
- 49 Gouilhou, 1937, cat. 640-643.
- 50 Evans, 1922, 129-130.
- 51 Köster, 1957, 124, 134, 143, 144, 151, 158, 167.
- 52 Poulin, 1979.
- 53 Taken from the online database of the Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Krems (<http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline>), no. 013720.
- 54 Roșu, Blăjanu, 2001, 60, C1843.
- 55 Hahn, 1997.
- 56 Hausman, Kriss-Rettenbeck, 1966, 192-207; Seligmann, 2001, 153-155.
- 57 *Sacred*, 2007.
- 58 Schrire, 1966.
- 59 Brückner, 1969, 19, fig. 25.
- 60 Schuster, Carpenter, 1996, fig. 424.
- 61 Mellinkoff, 2004, 103-109; Hausman, Kriss-Rettenbeck, 1966: 184-191.
- 62 Bequest, 1912, cat. 892.
- 63 Gruia, 2006.
- 64 Gruia, 2006.
- 65 Golescu, 1945, 201-202, fig. 6; Rădulescu, 2002, 145, cat. 229, fig. 104.
- 66 Țiplic, 2001, chapter IV.
- 67 Kémenes, 2005, 118, cat. 27, plate 40, fig. 3.
- 68 Kieckhefer, 1997, fol. 72v, nos. 37b-37c, 368, fol. 73r, no. 37c, 369.
- 69 Andronic, 2003, 350, fig. 52.1.
- 70 See the detailed analysis of the motif in Gruia, 2007a.
- 71 Batariuc, 1999, 107; Batariuc, 2000-2001, 42, fig. 2.6; Batariuc, 2003, 151, fig. 3.1, 153.
- 72 Marcu, 1992, 29, 31, fig. 8; Marcu Istrate, 2004, 420.
- 73 Kocsis, 1999, 356, fig. 4.1.
- 74 Mácelová, 1999, 417, fig. 8.8, 420; *Banská Bystrica*, 2006, 15; Mácelová, 2005, 216, fig. 4.3.
- 75 On the latter see: Gruia, 2007b.
- 76 Hausman, Kriss-Rettenbeck, 1966, 214-217.
- 77 Loewenthal, 1978; *Medieval Folklore*, 2000, s.v. „Amulet and Talisman”, 12.
- 78 Koldewey, 1999; Spencer, 1998; Piron, 2002; Vlímský, 1998.

- ⁷⁹ Nejedlý, 2002, 473, 477, fig. 26.
⁸⁰ Guia, 2007a.
⁸¹ Rowland, 1973, 125; Druce, 1920, 47, fig. 1; Rebold Benton, 1994, 25.
⁸² Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, Popa, 1979, 49, fig. 27, 50, fig. 29; Batariuc, 1999, 234, fig. 37.5.
⁸³ Rădulescu, 2002, fig. 68.
⁸⁴ Mellinkoff, 2004, 59-69.
⁸⁵ Randall, 1957; Randall, 1966; Camille, 1992; Freeman Sandler, 1997; Wirth, 2003.
⁸⁶ Camille, 2000.
⁸⁷ *Heilig en Profaan*, 1993; *Heilig en Profaan*, 1995; Spencer, 1998; Vlímský, 1998; Koldewey, 1999; *Heilig en Profaan*, 2001; Piron, 2002.
⁸⁸ Dunning, 1968; Rusu, 2005, 162-3.
⁸⁹ Sachs, 1964; Gómez, 1979; Block, 1996; Grösinger, 1997.
⁹⁰ Arens, 1971.
⁹¹ Batariuc, 1995.
⁹² Gaignebet, Lajoux, 1985.
⁹³ Benkö, 2002.
⁹⁴ Dornsteiff, 1925.
⁹⁵ See footnote 87.
⁹⁶ Benkö, 2002, 263.
⁹⁷ Vikan, 2003, IX "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium": 65-86, 77, fig. 18; Spier, 2006. Hystera amulets spread to Russia in the eleventh century and spell are to be found also in books written in Polish, Bosnian, German, Italian, and Hebrew.
⁹⁸ Benkö, 2002, 270, 278-279, 296, 310, 478-479.
⁹⁹ Mărgineanu-Cârstoiu, Popa, 1979.
¹⁰⁰ Virágos, 1997.
¹⁰¹ Zika, 2003, esp. chapter XIV "Writing the visual into History: Changing Cultural Perceptions of Late Medieval and Reformation Germany"; Scribner, 1987.

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