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**Tkalčec, Tatjana; Procházka, Milan**

*Source / Izvornik:* **Archaeologia historica, 2022, 47, 289 - 307**

**Journal article, Published version**

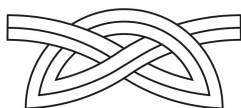
**Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

<https://doi.org/10.5817/AH2022-1-13>

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:291:185861>

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*Archaeologia historica*. 2022, vol. 47, iss. 1, pp. 289-307

ISSN 0231-5823 (print); ISSN 2336-4386 (online)

Stable URL (DOI): <https://doi.org/10.5817/AH2022-1-13>

Stable URL (handle): <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/digilib.76649>

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## LOŠTICE GOBLETS AND THEIR IMITATIONS IN MEDIEVAL SLAVONIA

TATJANA TKALČEC – MILAN PROCHÁZKA

**Abstract:** *The Loštice goblets, goods primarily intended for a circle of high feudal lords originating from North Moravian workshops at the end of the Late Middle Ages, were used in the castles all over Central Europe. Their distribution in the area of medieval Slavonia has not been considered so far in specialist literature. However, archaeological excavations (and one historical record) confirm their presence at six Slavonian castles and one rural settlement. The local and foreign imitations of Loštice goblets have also been found on several Slavonian sites. These new data open up possibilities of further reflections on late medieval trade and fashion practised by the Central European medieval elites.*

**Key words:** *Loštice goblet – castle – high status symbol – medieval Slavonia – Late Middle Ages.*

### **Loštické poháry a jejich napodobeniny ve středověké Slavonii**

**Abstrakt:** *Loštické poháry – zboží, které bylo určeno primárně okruhu vysokých feudálů – pocházející ze severomoravských dílen na konci pozdního středověku si našly oblibu na hradech po celé střední Evropě. Jejich rozšíření v oblasti středověké Slavonie nebylo dosud v odborné literatuře zmiňováno. Archeologické výzkumy (v jednom případě historická zmínka) však potvrzují jejich přítomnost na šesti slavonských hradech a jednom vesnickém sídlišti. Na několika slavonských lokalitách byly nalezeny také lokální i zahraniční napodobeniny loštických pohárů. Tyto nové informace otevírají možnosti dalších hypotéz o pozdně středověkém obchodu a módě středoevropské středověké elity.*

**Klíčová slova:** *loštický pohár – hrad – vysoký sociální status – středověká Slavonie – pozdní středověk.*

### **Introduction – theoretical background**

Loštice goblets represent a group of pottery products with a specific texture and structure that were produced in the area of the town of Loštice from the end of the 14th or the very beginning of the 15th century and ceased to be manufactured before the mid-16th century. With its shape, specific raw material and fabrication technology that resulted in the characteristic blister-marked appearance of their surface covered with small bumps, craters and nodules and with its dark-brown, sometimes even violet-brown surface glossy colour, this drinking ware represents easily identifiable goods of North Moravian workshops. With their composition, extraordinary hardness, impermeability of the shards, production technology and high firing temperature, Loštice goblets approach the characteristics of stoneware, e.g. semi-stoneware (Drobná 1957, 103; Nekuda–Reichertová 1968, 150; Měchurová–Zalabák–Čejka 1992, 211; Gregerová et al. 2011, 46; Šťastný–Dudek–Goš 2018, 90).

After its discovery by the builder K. Hladíš in 1874 (Hladíš 1885), Loštice ceramics and especially the characteristic Loštice goblets captured the attention of experts, initially art historians and soon also archaeologists who described the history of their discovery and research in various articles and with the publications of new finds contributed to the knowledge of their distribution (e.g. Walcher von Molthein 1910, 75–85; Holl 1955, 159–161; 1990, 227–235; Drobná 1957; Lang 1957; 1961; Nekuda–Reichertová 1968, 150–155; Měřinský 1969; 1977; Goš–Novák 1976; Goš 1983; 2007; Bláha–Frolík–Sigl 2003, 525–537; Štefanovičová 2004; Mackiewicz 2012, 145–146; Hlubek 2015; Měchurová 2015). Besides kitchenware and tableware Loštice workshops also produced stove-tiles (Hlubek 2020).

A special contribution of archaeology is the detailed chronologically referenced typology of the Loštice pottery products. Based on the elaboration of Z. Drobná (1957, 99–101), Z. Měřinský established the typology of the Loštice goblets, with two basic types – type IA and IB goblets without handles – and IIA and IIB with small handles, which is common to these days (Měřinský 1969, 96, Tab. II). The beginning of production of type IA – slender, ovoid to barrel-shaped

goblets sometimes decorated with horizontal grooves, with straight cuff-shaped rim – is dated to the turn of the 14th and the 15th centuries, and type IB – slender goblets with S-shaped curved lower part of the body sometimes decorated with horizontal grooves and with two grooves on the lower part of the straight cuff-shaped rim – is dated to the 2nd half of the 15th century, the second third of the 15th century being the time of the transition from type IA to type IB (Měřínský 1969, 90–92). The type IIA goblets have a shape similar to type IB, its S-shaped profile in the lower part of the body being even more expressive, the rim (and neck) is elongated and cylindrical, decorated with two grooves or unarticulated while the shoulder is decorated most often with 3 to 6 handles. Their production began in the 2nd third of the 15th century. Type IIB is characterized by its conically tapering, straight rim, decorated with horizontal grooves and with eight to seventeen small handles below the neck. As for the shape of the goblet, the body narrows to the bottom and widens again at the base, and the decoration by stabbing, rouletting or painting can also be present. They were produced from the 3rd third of the 15th till the 1st third of the 16th century (Měřínský 1969, 91–92). Typology by Z. Měřínský is valid to the present, though supplemented by V. Goš who conducted field research in Loštice and summarized all the knowledge about Loštice ceramics in his publication where he also added type III for slender, barrel-shaped goblets with a straight rim and a wide-open full foot (Goš 2007, 67–68, Fig. 31). Recent interdisciplinary analyses confirmed the production of Loštice pottery from local clay sources in the vicinity of Loštice and discovered that the number and appearance of the blister depends on the content, size and chemical composition of the almandine garnet in the clay raw material (Gregerová–Hložek 2008; Gregerová et al. 2011, 45–46; Šťastný–Dudek–Goš 2018). In order to achieve the specific discoloration of the surface, an engobe with iron-containing minerals and flux was applied to dry goblet replicas before the actual firing at 1200 to 1250 °C (Gregerová et al. 2011, 46).

Loštice goblets represent popular items that the medieval social elite wanted to have. They were often used for drinking beverages in royal and noble houses across Central Europe, mostly at castles, but also at church estates, houses of richer citizens in towns and in the rural milieu in manor houses and households of the small feudal nobility (Holl 1990, 234). Densely distributed as expected in the Czech lands, they are spread to Slovakia, than to the north to Polish Silesia, to the south in Hungary, to the southeast in Serbian Vojvodina and the Danube basin all the way to Belgrade (Nadj 1961, 108, sl. 6; Nekuda–Reichertová 1968, 152, Fig. 48; Holl 1990, 265, Karte 2; Bikić 1994, 95, sl. 37; Vályi 1995, 266, 278, 1. kép: 1, 3; Bláha–Frolík–Sigl 2003, 526–527, Figs. 1–2; Goš 2007, 83–86; Mackiewicz 2012, 145; Szajt 2021, 55–56). Individual finds in the Upper Tisza region, Romania and the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine have shifted the boundaries of the spread of the Moravian pottery significantly towards the east as well (about 160 km from the home area; Prohnenko–Mojzsesz–Zsilenko 2013, 210–211, 235, 10. kép, II tábla: 1, 2). In the west, they have been observed in the Austrian Danube region, and individual finds extend as far as Germany (Cech 1987, 189–190, 258, Taf. 54/B21; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1982, 122, 124–125, Kat. Nr. 198, 199; Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 1995, 284, Taf. 26; Huber 2001, 263, Abb. 3; Mader–Zanesco–Hauser 2006, 27; Goš 2007, 86; Scharrer-Liška 2008, 293, Taf. 98, Kat. Nr. 665; Winkelbauer 2013, 356, Abb. 390; Kat. Nr. 1906; Měchurová–Doleželová–Seitlová 2016, 30, Fig. 9:a). That the western countries also knew the fashion of the Loštice goblets is evidenced by their iconography from the 2nd half of the 15th century in a painting of an altar in Bruges by the Dutch painter Petrus Christus (Walcher von Moltheim 1910, 77, Abb. 5.) and from the beginning of the 16th century – a depiction of a Loštice goblet, the bottom of which was provided with a narrow, pewter or silver base ring, in the triptych “The Garden of Earthly Delights” by the Dutch painter Hieronymus Bosch (Holl 1990, 237, Abb. 29) and a depiction of a specimen on the wing of an altar in Regensburg by the German painter Albrecht Altdorfer (Michna 1976) for which is supposed to be an imitation from a local German workshop (Holl 1990, 242–243). The evaluation of the Loštice goblets is shown by the fact that several specimens were adorned with goldsmith sockets by the later owners, even in the later 16th century (Walcher von Moltheim 1910, 78, Abb. 6.; Holl 1955, 162, 30. kép., 1990, 236–237, Abb. 27–28). One socket inscription says: “Ist

*der Wein gut so schmeckt er myr dester pas*” (Walcher von Moltheim 1910a, 404, 406, Abb. 75; Holl 1955, 159; 1990, 235).

The distribution of Loštice goblets in the area of medieval Slavonia has not been considered so far in specialist literature. The only known data on their presence on this area was from the inventory description of the Velika castle near Požega where two of them were listed in 1491 (Holl 1955, 161, 193).

## Historical background

From the 13th century till the end of the Late Middle Ages in the western part of the area of northern Croatia a kind of a separate institutional organization called *regnum Sclavoniae* or “The Kingdom of Slavonia” was formed. It had a certain degree of independence in within the Kingdom of Hungary. Eastern part of northern Croatia – the present-day Slavonia, was also under the Kingdom of Hungary. The name Slavonia moved to that area only during the modern age, e. g. 16th and 17th centuries, and remained there (Andrić 2001, 60–61). All this area between the Drava and Sava rivers was part of the so-called “lands of the numerous nobility” where the nobility occupied a higher percentage of the entire population than in the Christian West, that is, it makes from 1.5 to 10 % of the share of the nobility in the total population (Karbić 1998, 73; Miljan 2014, 104). The nobility therefore had one of the most important roles in the social and political life of medieval Slavonia. Numerous castles, motes and other forms of noble seats and residences confirm the existence of a high number of the nobility in high and late medieval Slavonia, ie the entire area of today’s northern Croatia from the end of the 12th, and especially from the 13th to the beginning of the 16th century. This is associated with the affirmation of the feudal social order and certain aspects of the colonization processes that affected Eastern Central and Southern Europe later (and in a different way) than Western Europe. Along with the domestic and Hungarian nobility in Slavonia the foreign nobility is present that the Hungarian kings invited to their realm in large numbers and provided them with numerous privileges, especially after periods of conflict, e.g. Mongol invasion in 1242 (Berend 2001). From the second half of the 15th century during the reign of king Matthias Corvinus, Hungary and Croatia (Slavonia) became Christendom’s first line of defence against the east. Soon the chivalrous society lost its meaning and numerous castles and small noble seats ceased to exist or took over the role of defensive points against Ottoman incursions within the newly formed special military administration: the Croatian Military Frontier and the Slavonian Military Frontier (Holjevac–Moačanin 2007).

## Distribution of Loštice goblets in medieval Slavonia

For a long time, only the historical data of two Loštice goblets in the inventory of the Velika castle, north of Požega, was known and they were long considered the most southerly emergence of Loštice goblets (Holl 1955, 161, 193) and the only known specimens from Croatia. However, archaeological excavations at three Slavonian castles – Ilok, Ružica and Vrbovec, two small castles – mote Gudovac-Gradina and the hillfort Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1 and one village – Josipovac-Selište have yielded several original Loštice goblets. Fragments of their imitations or tableware made under the influence of Loštice goblets have also been found at several sites: castles Vrbovec and Garić, a mote near Kaniška Iva, the hillfort Gojlo-Turčak and also at the Josipovac-Selište village (Fig. 1).

## *Palace of the dukes Nicholas and Lawrence of Ilok / Újlak*

A square two-stored palace of the dukes Nicholas and Lawrence with a ground-floor and basement rooms was built during the middle or the beginning of the second half of the 15th century and has been preserved to this day in its southern part within the baroque, U-shaped building

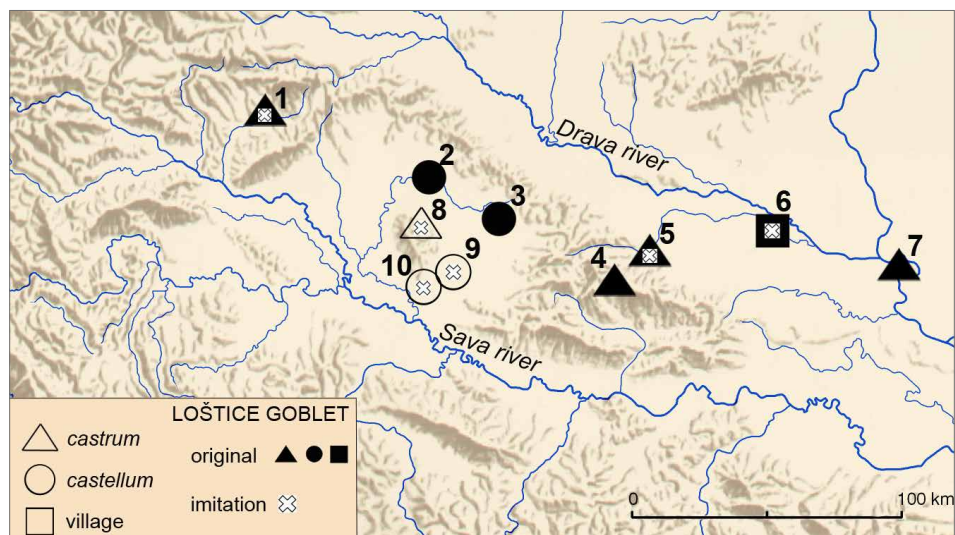


Fig. 1. Distribution of Loštice goblets and their imitations in medieval Slavonia. 1 – Vrbovec Castle; 2 – Gudovac-Gradina; 3 – Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1; 4 – Velika Castle; 5 – Ružica Castle; 6 – Josipovac-Selište; 7 – Ilok Castle; 8 – Garić Castle; 9 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 10 – Gojlo-Turčak. Made by T. Tkalčec.

Obr. 1. Rozšíření loštických pohárů a napodobenin ve středověké Slavonii. 1 – hrad Vrbovec; 2 – Gudovac-Gradina; 3 – Grubišno Polje – les Obrovi 1; 4 – hrad Velika; 5 – hrad Ružica; 6 – Josipovac-Selište; 7 – hrad Ilok; 8 – hrad Garić; 9 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 10 – Gojlo-Turčak. Vytvořila T. Tkalčec.

of Dukes Odescalchi, opened towards the Danube (Horvat 2002, 207; 2009, 43–47, sl. 23–26; Tomičić 2003, 143–147; 2004, 146; 2011, 12–13). The architecture of the palace followed the principles of the then court architecture of the political and noble centres of European power and the inventory of the palace shows a high share of high-status finds as well. Archaeological excavations were conducted by the Institute of Archaeology between 2001 and 2008 and in addition to the architectural remains of the palace of the Ilok dukes, other numerous movable and immovable finds that testify to the long-term settlement and use of this site from prehistory to the modern age have been unearthed (Tomičić 2003, 133–141; 2011a; Tomičić et al. 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; Nagy 2018).

During the archaeological excavations a total of 22 fragments of Loštice goblets were found. Most finds were discovered by the west side of the palace in layer SJ 494 which abounded in late medieval finds such as tableware, stove-tiles, book covers etc. (Tomičić 2004; 2011; Tkalčec 2021) and only one fragment was found in the palace courtyard in layer 706. Some Loštice finds discovered west of the palace were even physically joined although they were concentrated in two positions 28 meters apart. The proximity of these finds positions to the Knight's Hall on the first floor of the north wing of the palace would indicate the possible original context of the discarded finds, suggesting their original use in the space context of the rooms in which members of the social elite resided.

All Ilok fragments of goblets are of grey cross-section, and based on the colours of the external and internal surfaces, a minimum number of vessels could be established. There are fragments at least of four original Loštice goblets. The first group of finds (eight shards joined to three larger fragments) belong to an upper part of a goblet with brown external and grey internal wall surface. The wall thickness is 4 mm and the opening width is 6.8 cm (Figs. 2:1; 3:1). The second group consists of four shards joined to three fragments which have purple-brown both surfaces (Fig. 2:2). The third group of eight shards joined to seven fragments of brown both external and internal wall surfaces belong to a goblet which base diameter is 6 cm (Fig. 2:3). Separately found fragment in the palace courtyard might belong to that goblet, although its surfaces are covered with coarse

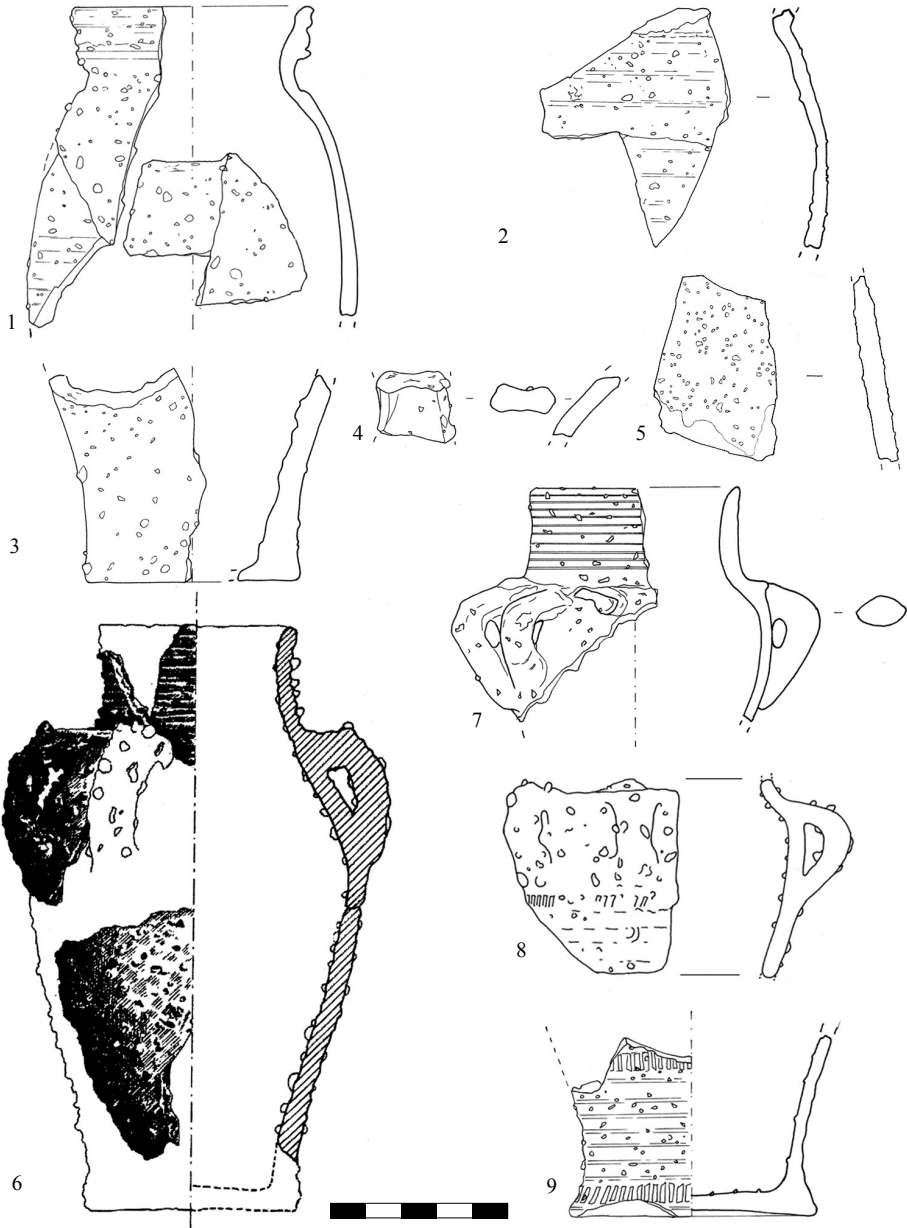


Fig. 2. Loštické goblets. 1–5 – Hlok Castle; 6 – Josipovac-Selište; 7–9 – Vrbovec Castle. Drawing 1–7, 9 – S. Čule; 8 – S. Žnidarec (after Tkalčec 2010, 171, T. 13: cat. no. 272); 9 – Archaeological workshop of the Department of Archaeology in Bizovac (after Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: cat. no. 797).

Obr. 2. Loštické poháry. 1–5 – hrad Hlok; 6 – Josipovac-Selište; 7–9 – hrad Vrbovec. Kresba 1–7, 9 – S. Čule; 8 – S. Žnidarec (podle Tkalčec 2010, 171, T. 13: kat. č. 272); 9 – Archeologický workshop Katedry archeologie v Bizovcu (podle Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: kat. č. 797).

grains of sand rather than blisters and bubbles (Fig. 2:5). To the forth goblet belongs a fragment of a small handle with a brown external and grey internal wall (Fig. 2:4). Out of the minimum number of four goblets, based on the shape of their bodies, their rims and upper parts with no handles, we can state that at least two goblets belong to type I (possibly IB) according to Měřinský's typology (Fig. 2:1, 2). The fragment of the handle also indicates the existence of a type II goblet (Fig. 2:4), while for other fragments we cannot specify which type of goblets they belonged to.

### ***Ružica Castle near Orahovica***

Ružica Castle was built at the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century and it was at the peak of its power in the time of king Matthias Corvinus when it was in the possession of the dukes Nicholas and Lawrence of Újlaki (Radić–Bojčić 2004, 5, 14). Two examples of Loštice goblets with small handles from the Ružica castle have been published in the museum exhibition catalogue, which presents the results of archaeological conservation works conducted in the period from 1966 till recent days, but we do not have more details on the archaeological context of the finds. Their external wall is darker reddish-brown, and the internal wall is slightly lighter reddish-brown. The authors assume that the goblets originally had eight handles and date them to the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century which corresponds to the time when the Ružica castle was in the possession of duke Lawrence of Újlaki (Radić–Bojčić 2004, 197, cat. nos 387 and 388). The goblets can be determined as type IIA after Měřinský (1969; Fig. 3:6, 7).

### ***Velika Castle near Požega***

According to its architectural features, the castle Velika was founded in the 13th century (Horvat–Mirnik 1977, 130–132; Miletić 2012, 293–295), which is also confirmed by the new finding of a document from 1250 (Andrić 2009, 73–74). After the descendant of the founder of the castle – Beke from the beginning of the 14th century, the nobles of Velika are called *Bekefy de Welyke* even in the 15th century. Sometimes in the period between the beginning of 1537 and the spring of 1539 Velika was conquered by the Ottomans (Andrić 2009, 86). Archaeological excavations at the site have not been conducted yet. The presence of two Loštice goblets (*Peccaria morway*) at the Velika castle is known only from historical data in 1491 where the inventory of the castle is listed (Holl 1955, 161, 193).

### ***Vrbovec Castle in Klenovec Humski near Hum on the Sutla river***

Vrbovec Castle was a county seat in the 13th century, the centre of an archdeaconry till modern times, a royal castle, noble's residence, dated from the late 12th/13th till 16th century, in possession of Güssings, Cillis, John Vitovec and sons, John Corvinus and the Kotvić family (Karbić 2010).

Systematic archaeological excavations accompanied by architecture conservation were conducted from 2001 till 2019 by the Institute of Archaeology. The entire layout of the castle core was unearthened. The castle consisted of a two meters wide perimeter wall, a palace in the north wing with ancillary structures at ground level, a southern keep, a courtyard with a cistern and probably subsidiary timber structures in the southeastern and eastern part of the courtyard (Tkalčec 2010, 54, Fig. 43; 2015, 64, Fig. 1; 2019 with a list of other publications). Most tableware items of local production, as well as imports of majolica and stoneware (Tkalčec 2020, 244, 246, Fig. 2; 2021a), within which three finds of Loštice goblets as well as a shard of Loštice goblet imitation have been found, originate from the best preserved archaeological contexts dated to the late 15th / beginning of the 16th century.

Three fragments of three individual Loštice goblets were found in layers of the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century out of the castle core, in the immediate vicinity of the



perimeter wall. The fragment of the upper part of Loštice goblet with 6 cm diameter in opening is brownish both external and internal surfaces with dark grey cross-section and most probably was decorated with eight or maximum nine small handles out of which three are preserved. At the joint of the handles towards the neck there is a decoration of a dense oval impressing in a row (Figs. 2:7; 3:4). The shape of the mouth, the handles and additional incised decoration correspond to type IIA according to Měřínský (1969). It was found out of the castle core along the southern part of the courtyard and the keep. The fragment of a body with rouletting decoration beneath preserved two small handles found west to the northern palace (already published in Tkalčec 2010, 139, 171: cat. no. 272), belonging also to type II after Měřínský (1969), has purple-brown internal and external walls and dark grey cross section (Figs. 2:8; 3:2). Similar fragment of a base of a Loštice goblet is found some eight meters to the south, also outside the castle walls, along the southern part of the courtyard and the castle cistern. According to its similar colour, and roller-stamped decorations of two ribbons (Figs. 2:9; 3:3) there is a possibility that both latter mentioned fragments are part of a single goblet, however due to the fact that the wall of the first one is a little thicker than the latter, most probably they belong to two individual goblets.

### ***Small castle (mote) Gudovac-Gradina near Bjelovar***

As far as smaller landlords are considered, the find from the Gudovac mote is very interesting. It is associated with master Peter (*magister Petar de Gudoweh*) who was the owner of the mote in the second half of the 15th century. Originating from the lower strata, from the rank of the conditional nobility, due to his wise ambitions and talent master Peter succeeded to rise up to the rank of a prominent member of the middle nobility (Pálosfalvi 2014, 132–140, 318). This ambitious noble, *vice protonotarius* of the Kingdom of Slavonia (to Ulrich Cilli), had also close ties with the Zagreb bishop Oswald Thuz and with the courts of Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II of Hungary (Tkalčec 2005, 51). In 1478 he became deputy-prothonotary of Slavonia and from that time on until his death in the mid 1490s he issued great numbers of documents in his seat in Gudovac, making Gudovac the third administrative capital of Slavonia besides Zagreb and Križevci (*Cris*; Pálosfalvi 2014, 136). The importance of Gudovac is also recognized in fact that this wood and timber fortification with the function of a fortified manor, regularly mentioned in historical sources as *castellum*, begins to be addressed as *castrum* which in fact reflects the importance of its owner and his status in medieval society. At his stronghold in Gudovac master Petar also organised a workshop for the production of stove-tiles, modelled on the so-called “The Knight-stove from Buda” (Jakovljević–Tkalčec 2004; Jakovljević 2006), and apparently he distributed stove-tiles to the owners of the surrounding forts, e.g. to Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1 which is also our next example of sites with original Loštice goblets (Tkalčec 2016, 107, Fig. 12). Probe archaeological excavations conducted by the Institute of Archaeology and the City Museum Bjelovar in 2003 till 2005 resulted in excellent knowledge about the infrastructure of the mote, defence elements and numerous small finds (Tkalčec–Jakovljević 2003; 2005; Tkalčec 2005; Jakovljević 2006). The fragment of a Loštice goblet, of brownish external and internal wall surfaces and a light grey cross section, has been found in layers of the moat just north-east of the central elevation of the mote. According to its shape and traces of small handles it can be determined as type IIA after Měřínský’s typology (Fig. 3:8).

### ***Small castle (hillfort) Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1***

The small castle, e.g. wooden-earthen fortification (combined with some brick masonry) named Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1, was, according to numerous small finds from the archaeological excavations conducted by the Institute of archaeology in 2015, dated to the end of the 15th and very beginning of the 16th century. In its vicinity a church with a cemetery and traces of a village have also been researched (Tkalčec 2016; Tkalčec–Krznar 2017). No historical data can be

associated with this castle yet. The hillfort consists of three parts defended by walls and ditches and surrounding natural slopes and gorges. A nobleman's quarter was organised at the central elevation where a fragment of an original Loštice goblet has been also found (Fig. 3:5). The small fragment of the body, which has a dark-brown external surface, slightly lighter brown internal surface and grey cross-section, does not allow the determination of the goblet type, but it has a clear archaeological context of the end of the 15th and very beginning of the 16th century.

### ***Josipovac-Selište – rural settlement***

The only example of a Loštice goblet in the context of a rural Slavonian settlement originates from the rescue archaeological excavations of a motorway at the Josipovac-Selište site conducted by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zagreb in 2008. Besides older horizons of settlement, rich late medieval and post-mediaeval horizons have been also discovered (Filipec et al. 2009, 63). The settlement is dated from the 14th till the end of the 17th century and can be associated with the village of Ilijaševci (*Illiaschewo*, *Illisfalva*) mentioned in historical sources from the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century (Filipec–Karneluti 2009, 30; Filipec et al. 2009, 71).

Fragments of a Loštice goblet, obviously made at the end of the 15th century (type IIA after Měřinský) has been found in the context dated to the 2nd half of the 16th and the 17th century (Fig. 2:6). The external and internal surfaces of the goblet are dark reddish-brown and the inner section is brown, while the opening is 5.5 cm wide in diameter (Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: cat. no. 797).

Loštice goblets have been found also in medieval villages on other Czech and Hungarian, sites whereby the latter are associated with the seats of small nobles in the rural milieu during the reign of Matthias Corvinus and Vladislaus II of Hungary (Holl 1990, 234; Hlubek 2015, 134). The find from Josipovac indicates their use even in a somewhat later time, it obviously represented a valuable item for which we do not know how the owner originally acquired it.

### **Imitations of Loštice goblets in medieval Slavonia**

On several Slavonian sites beakers and goblets representing either a direct imitation of Loštice goblets or objects clearly created under their influence have been found (Fig. 1). The unglazed imitations are represented by a random find from the Gojlo-Turčak hillfort and from the Garić castle, preliminarily published by the Museum Moslavina Kutina archaeologist Ana Bobovec (2000, 24, Fig; 2013, 53, Fig.). The Gojlo goblet is made of ochre-light gray ceramics of medium texture. The entire external surface is covered with messy impressing-incision decoration, only above and under the two preserved small handles it evens out in more regular rows of left-sloping notches (Figs. 4:4; 5:4). The fragment from the Garić castle, made of reddish ceramics of medium to fine texture, has four small handles preserved. The entire external surface is covered with dense combed decoration which is organized in fishbone motifs on the neck, and in relatively regular dense rows on the handles and lower body (Figs. 4:5; 5:5). A random surface find of an olive-ochre glazed goblet with eleven small handles at the mote Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade represents an imitation of Loštice goblet type IIB (Figs. 4:6; 5:6). The texture of the goblet is fine and the colour of ceramics is light grey in both surfaces and the inner wall. The goblet is 11.5 cm tall, mouth diameter is 4.4 cm, and base diameter is 7.6 cm. The concave neck decorated with a thread of fine grooves and ribs tapers conically towards the mouth. A bundle of shallow incised horizontal lines can be seen at the lower body, at the base. Direct imitating of Loštice goblets is recognizable also in the ochre glazed item from the Vrbovec castle (Figs 4:2; 5:2). It was found south of the keep in the context of the beginning of the 16th century. The goblet is made of fine clay, fired to a light orange colour. The glazed slip covers the entire external surface and upper zone of the internal surface of the rim. The body and three preserved handles are densely covered with deep combed decoration. An example of an imitation of Loštice goblets can be also recognized in a small fragment of a beaker shoulder decorated with “blind” handles, e.g. semi-circular extruded



Fig. 3. Loštice goblets. 1 – Ilok Castle; 2–4 – Vrbovec Castle; 5 – Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi 1; 6–7 – Ružica Castle; 8 – Gudovac-Gradina. Photos 1–5, 8 – T. Tkalčec; 6–7 – after Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, cat. no. 387–388.

Obr. 3. Loštické poháry. 1 – hrad Ilok; 2–4 – hrad Vrbovec; 5 – Grubišno Polje – les Obrovi 1; 6–7 – hrad Ružica; 8 – Gudovac-Gradina. Foto 1–5, 8 – T. Tkalčec; 6–7 – podle Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, kat. č. 387–388.

grips (Fig. 4:7). The item originates from the second settlement horizon of the rural settlement Josipovac-Selište dated to the 16th and 17th century. The fine brownish-ochre unglazed ceramic fragment is also decorated with a grooved wavy line above the “blind” handles (Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: cat. no. 798).

The very shape of the Loštice goblets, even without small handles, has also influenced shaping ceramic goblets and beakers on different Slavonian sites. For example, at Gudovac-Gradina several beakers on an unaccentuated foot with a rather elongated body in the shape of Loštice goblets, often decorated with a coil in the zone of the neck and rim just like the Loštice goblets,

and sometimes additionally decorated in a specific manner with papulous applications, have also been found (Tkalčec 2001, 222–223, Figs. 11–13; 2020, 246, Fig. 4). We can assume that they were produced in the very location of the Gudovac fort, as well as the stove-tiles. This elongated form of ceramic goblets was also popular in other castles, for example in the Moslavina Region at

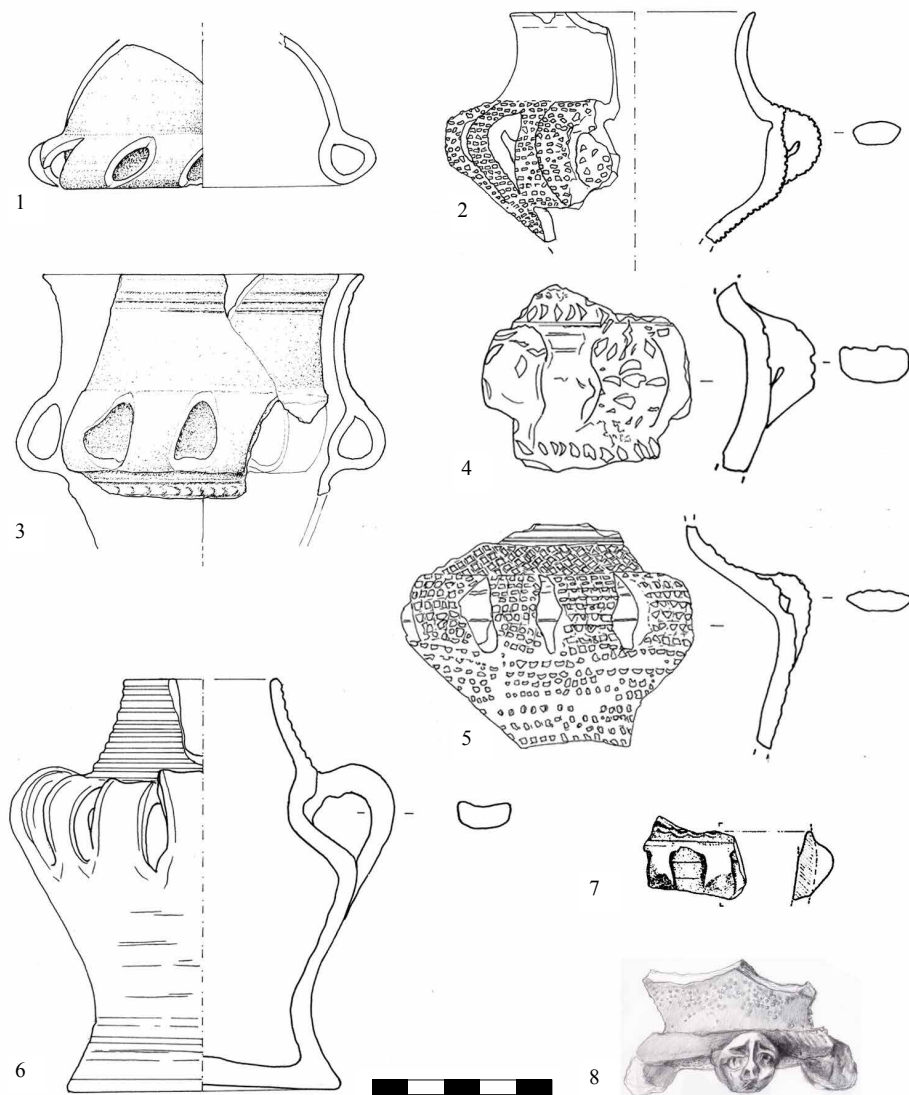


Fig. 4. Loštice goblets imitations. 1–3 – Vrbovec Castle; 4 – Gojlo-Turčak; 5 – Garić Castle; 6 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 7 – Josipovac-Selište; 8 – Ružica Castle. Drawings 1, 3 – M. Galić; 2, 4–5 – S. Čule; 7 – Archaeological workshop of the Department of Archaeology in Bizovac (after Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: cat. no. 798); 8 – after Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, cat. no. 386.

Obr. 4. Napodobeniny loštických pohárů. 1–3 – hrad Vrbovec; 4 – Gojlo-Turčak; 5 – hrad Garić; 6 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 7 – Josipovac-Selište; 8 – hrad Ružica. Kresba 1, 3 – M. Galić; 2, 4–5 – S. Čule; 7 – Archeologický workshop Katedry archeologie v Bizovcu (podle Šiša-Vivek 2012, 328, T. 103: kat. č. 798); 8 – podle Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, kat. č. 386.

Sokolovac and Turski stol in Kutina and at the Garić castle as well (Sekelj Ivančan–Tkalčec 2002, 190, T. 5:1, 2; Tkalčec 2020, 247, Fig. 6:1).

The characteristic Loštice upper body decoration with small handles influenced greatly the shaping of the goblets produced in the 16th century. At the Vrbovec castle the upper part of a lustrous dark-brown glazed goblet with a series of fine slanted banded loops on the shoulder, found in the castle cistern backfill, originates from the very end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century (Figs. 4:3; 5:3). It can be associated with the Kotvić family who took possession of the castle in 1497. They built a wooden tower on the ruins of the eastern perimeter wall of the core of the medieval castle which could have had a defensive purpose, but it certainly also served as a residence for the noble family (Tkalčec 2021b, 131). The fine texture of a goblet, dark-brown



Fig. 5. Loštice goblets imitations. 1–3 – Vrbovec Castle; 4 – Gojlo-Turčak; 5 – Garić Castle; 6 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 7 – Ružica Castle. Photos 1–6 – T. Tkalčec; 7 – after Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, cat. no. 386.

Obr. 5. Napodobeniny loštických pohárů. 1–3 – hrad Vrbovec; 4 – Gojlo-Turčak; 5 – hrad Garić; 6 – Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade; 7 – hrad Ružica. Foto 1–6 – T. Tkalčec; 7 – podle Radić-Bojčić 2004, 197, kat. č. 386.

glaze, form and shape has direct analogies in the III. type of the so called Ljubljana-group of goblets and beakers, found on several sites in the wider area around Ljubljana in Slovenia (Guštin 1999, 155–156, 180, 192, 193, Figs. 9:4–6; 21:30; 22:5). They date from the very end of the 15th, and mostly from the 16th century. They belong to the spectrum of Central European ceramic production, and in some cases they are especially related to the German lands (Guštin 2001, 158). Another example of a matt brown glazed item from the Vrbovec castle (Figs. 4:1; 5:1), looking as a small lid decorated with the fine slanted banded loops on the rim, most probably represents a goblet of the same type III of the Ljubljana-group of goblets, having direct analogy in a goblet from the Ljubljanica river (Guštin 2001, 155, Fig. 2:6). Both latter examples from the Vrbovec castle are made of fine yellow-orange clay with glazed slip only on the external surface and were found in the backfill of the castle cistern. It is to be assumed that these imitations were procured from foreign workshops, perhaps from the area of Ljubljana, because they represent rare finds in Croatia.

The fragment of a lower body goblet on widened attached feet from the Ružica castle (Figs. 4:8; 5:7) has direct analogies in examples of Loštice imitations produced in a foreign workshop. Products of that workshop are characterized by a sand plastered surface covered with glaze, and their characteristic shapes of low cups with a wreath of small handles in the manner of Loštice goblets, with three widened feet attached at the base, with relief decoration in the shape of animal (lion?) heads. They are represented sporadically in Austria and frequently in Hungary, and were produced in an unknown workshop in the Danube region in the time before or around 1500 (Holl 1990, 239–242). A fragment from the Ružica castle is made of reddish ceramics with ochre-olive glaze which covers both external and internal sand-plastered surfaces (Radić–Bojčić 2004, 197, cat. no. 386) and is very similar to examples from Buda (Holl 1990, 239, 241, Abb. 32; 33:1). From the Belgrade fortress comes a similar example with seven small handles, coarsely sand-plastered and green-brown glazed, for which is suggested that it originates from an unknown large Hungarian workshop (Bikić 1994, 88, 90, sl. 34:2). Although Austria has also been propounded as a possible country of origin for the workshop (Holl 1990, 240), we are more inclined to the latter suggestion that the workshop's origin is to be sought in Hungary.

## Discussion

We can summarise that the minimum of 14 original Loštice goblets have been found on seven sites in medieval Slavonia, including two examples known from historical records, and there surely were many more of them which have not been found in the archaeological excavations (Tab. 1). The goblets have been mainly found at castles and noble strongholds, e.g. small castles, while one specimen originates from a rural settlement but from a younger context.

All original Loštice goblets in medieval Slavonia were manufactured in the 2nd half of the 15th century and all (with the exception of Josipovac) have been found in the archaeological context dated to the 2nd half of the 15th and the very beginning of the 16th century, which is the period of the dukes of Ilok, the period of King Matthias Corvinus, especially after 1469 when he made himself the ruler of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, with the title (borne simultaneously by George of Podebrady) of King of Bohemia, the time of the Bohemian nobleman John Vitovec who was also a Slavonian ban, the time of John Vitovec's sons and the time of King Matthias son John Corvinus.

The largest number of goblets, four specimens, was found at the Ilok castle which corresponds both to the importance and prosperity of the site itself in the Middle Ages. Apart from the number of original items, Ilok also stands out with the presence of both type I (probably IB, dated to the 2nd half of the 15th century) and type II of Loštice goblets after Měřínský's typology (1969). They were used by the dukes Nicholas of Ilok 1410–1477 and his son, the duke Lawrence of Ilok (1459–1524) in the knightly hall of their lavish palace.

Due to their fragmentation, some finds are not possible to determine more precisely, but in general the predominance of type IIA goblets with small handles is noticeable in the Slavonian

**Tab. 1. Summarized data on the finds of Loštice goblets in medieval Slavonia.****Tab. 1. Sumarizovaná data nálezů loštických pohárů ve středověké Slavonii.**

Site	Goblet (number)	Fragment (number)	Archaeological context – date	Type (Měřinský 1969)	Illustration
Ilok castle	1	8	SJ 494 – end 15th/16th c.	I (possibly IB)	Figs. 2:1; 3:1
	1	4	SJ 494 – end 15th/16th c.	I (possibly IB)	Fig. 2:2
	1	8	SJ 494 – end 15th/16th c.	indeterminable	Fig. 2:3
	1	1	SJ 494 – end 15th/16th c.	II	Fig. 2:4
		1	SJ 706 – end 15th/16th c.	indeterminable	Fig. 2:5
Ružica castle	1	1	15th–16th c.	IIA	Fig. 3:6
	1	1	15th–16th c.	IIA	Fig. 3:7
Velika castle	2		historical record in 1491	unknown	
Vrbovec castle	1	1	SJ 1 – end 15th/16th c.	IIA	Figs. 2:7; 3:4
	1	1	SJ 89 – end 15th/16th c.	II	Figs. 2:8; 3:2
	1	2	SJ 1/185 – end 15th/16th c.	indeterminable	Figs. 2:9; 3:3
Gudovac-Gradina – small castle	1	1	SJ 30 – end of 15th c.	IIA	Fig. 3:8
Grubišno Polje-šuma Obrovi 1 – small castle	1	1	SJ 43 – end 15th/16th c.	indeterminable	Fig. 3:5
Josipovac-Selište – village	1	2	SJ 2448 – 2/2 of 16th and 17th c.	IIA	Fig. 2:6

region (Ružica, Vrbovec, Gudovac, Josipovac). The period of the beginnings of its production, e.g. 2nd third of the 15th century, corresponds to the archaeological context of the finds, with the exception of Josipovac-Selište. This would mean that the goblets for Ružica, Vrbovec and Gudovac were procured during the same phase of life at the castles, while the specimen from the village of Josipovac was a precious item preserved for generations which in an unknown way came into the context of a rural settlement in the early modern age.

In the wider Slavonian environment type IIA is also favoured. Two specimens of Loštice goblets were found in the area of the Belgrade Fortress from archaeological contexts dating to the middle and second half of the 15th century – the first with eleven handles (Birtašević 1970, 27, cat. no. 210; Bajalvić-Hadžić-Pešić 1981, 129, 136, T. L: 4; Bikić 1994, 95, sl. 37:1) and the other with an unspecified number of handles (Bikić 1994, 95, sl. 37:2), both belonging to type IIA. Two Loštice goblets are also preserved in the Provincial Museum of Celje in Slovenia, but they come from a private collection, so it is not clear where and when they were found (verbal information from Prof. PhD Katarina Predovnik).

The case of the Loštice find from Gudovac is especially interesting. Here we can recognize the person who used the goblet – master Petar. His connection with the royal court in Buda, known both from written documents (e.g. he attended the wedding ceremony of King Matthias Corvinus and Beatrice of Aragon) and from the fact that in his stronghold in Gudovac he produced tile-stoves modelled on a Buda tiled stove with a knight figure, may suggest that he got acquainted with Loštice goblets in Buda as well. Whether he then ordered a copy from Moravia or received his copy as a gift in Buda, we do not know. Some finds of majolica pottery from Gudovac, as well as from other Slavonian sites, raise the question of whether they were available for purchase at fairs in large centres with which the Slavonian nobility was in direct contact (e.g. Buda) or whether they represented items ordered or purchased at the places of their production (in the case of majolica from Italy).

Slavonian imitations of Loštice goblets also confirm the position of the original Loštice goblets on the Central European market as an inspiration for potters to design similar vessels.

The goblets from Gojlo, Garić castle and Josipovac are made most likely by local potters (Figs. 4:4, 5, 7; 5:4, 5), while for the examples from the Vrbovec castle and Kaniška Iva the question of production in local Slavonian workshops is open (Figs. 4:2, 6; 5:2, 6). The Kaniška Iva goblet apparently imitates the shape of type IIB of original Loštice goblets. The other imitations of Loštice goblets from the Vrbovec castle and the Ružica castle clearly represent the products of foreign workshops (Figs. 4:1, 3, 8; 5:1, 3, 7). Their presence at Slavonian castles indicates again the trade and general Central European fashion trends that the medieval Slavonian elite followed and practised. The latter imitations from the Vrbovec castle can be associated with the Kotvić family who took possession of the castle in 1497, while for the other imitations we can only assume that they were used by castellans and castle owners in the late 15th and the beginning of the 16th century.

## Conclusion

We can conclude that the prevalence of Loštice goblets in the castles of medieval Slavonia corroborates their value as a trading commodity and as luxury items that were exclusively intended for the privileged classes of society. One single specimen of an original Loštice goblet found in a modern age horizon of a rural settlement (Josipovac) indicates the preciousness and preservation of that object up to 100 years after its production.

Findings of Loštice goblets indicate that Slavonian lords followed the general Central European fashion in serving drinks. Examples of imitations of Loštice goblets also indicate the desirability of these goods and attempts to replicate Loštice goblets with a much simplified technology in local workshops. Some examples of Loštice imitations which are products of foreign workshops indicate again the trade and fashion trends that the medieval Slavonian elite followed and practised.

## Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Prof. Dr. Sc. Krešimir Filipec and Dr. Sc. Marija Šiša-Vivek for the permission to publish the finds from the Josipovac-Selište site, as well as Antonio Džaja and the Museum of Moslavina in Kutina for the permission to publish the finds from the Garić castle (inv. no. 234Asv), Gojlo-Turčak (inv. no. 6444Asv) and the Kaniška Iva – Kaniške livade (inv. no. 8199Asv) sites.

This paper has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project “Development and Heritage of the Military Orders in Croatia” (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513) and in part by the project “Spatial relations and typology of Kordun castles in the context of Central European castellology” (SGS-2020-037).

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## Shrnutí

### Loštické poháry a jejich napodobeniny ve středověké Slavonii

Loštické poháry, zboží určené především okruhu vysokých feudálů, jsou výrobky severomoravských dílen, které se na konci pozdního středověku používaly na hradech po celé střední Evropě. Jejich rozšíření v oblasti středověké Slavonie nebylo dosud v odborné literatuře zmiňováno. Dlouhou dobu byly známy pouze historické údaje o dvou loštických pohárech v inventáři hradu Velika severně od Požegy. Archeologické výzkumy na třech slavonských hradech – Ilok, Ružica a Vrbovec, dvou hrádcích – motte Gudovac-Gradina a tvrziště Grubišno Polje – Šuma Obrovi I a jedné vesnici – Josipovac-Selište však poskytly několik originálních loštických pohárů. Fragmenty jejich napodobenin nebo nádoby vyrobené pod vlivem loštických pohárů byly nalezeny také na několika lokalitách: hrady Vrbovec a Garić, motte u Kaniška Iva, tvrziště Gojlo-Turčak a také ve vsi Josipovac-Selište (obr. 1).

Na sedmi nalezištích středověké Slavonie bylo nalezeno minimálně čtrnáct původních loštických pohárů, včetně dvou exemplářů známých z historických záznamů (obr. 2; 3; tab. 1). Poháry byly nalezeny především na hradech a šlechtických sídlech, například hrádcích, přičemž jeden exemplář pochází z venkovského sídla. Všechny původní loštické poháry ve středověké Slavonii byly vyrobeny ve druhé polovině 15. století a všechny (s výjimkou nálezu z lokality Josipovac) byly nalezeny v archeologickém kontextu datovaném do druhé poloviny 15. a samého počátku 16. století, což je doba vévodů z Iloku, doba krále Matyáše Korvína, zejména po jeho korunovaci na moravského krále v roce 1469, a do konce 15. století, doby českého šlechtice Jana Vítovce, který byl zároveň slavonským bánem, doba synů Jana Vítovce a doba krále Matyáše i jeho syna Jana Korvína.

Největší počet pohárů, čtyři exempláře, byl nalezen na hradě Ilok, což odpovídá významu i rozkvětu samotného místa ve středověku. Kromě množství původních předmětů vyniká Ilok také přítomností jak I. typu (pravděpodobně IB, datovaný do druhé poloviny 15. století), tak II. typu loštických pohárů podle Měřínského typologie (1969). Některé nálezy nelze kvůli fragmentaci přesněji určit, ale obecně je ve Slavonii (Ružica, Vrbovec, Gudovac, Josipovac) patrná převaha pohárů typu IIA s malými uchy. Období počátků jeho výroby, druhá třetina 15. století, odpovídá archeologickému kontextu nálezů, s výjimkou nálezu z lokality Josipovac-Selište. V této době jsou také historicky potvrzeny úzké vazby mezi majiteli některých slavonských hradů s Budínem (např. pro lokalitu Gudovac), což je jasně patrné i v archeologickém materiálu, jak v importovaném zboží, tak v místní produkci. Můžeme také předpokládat, že objednávání loštických pohárů pro některé slavonské hrady a jejich pány šlo nepřímo přes Budín, který sloužil jako jakýsi zprostředkovatel obchodu. Nálezy loštických pohárů naznačují, že slavonští páni se ve zvycích podávání nápojů řídili obecnou středoevropskou módou. Jediný exemplář původního loštického poháru nalezený v novověkém horizontu venkovského sídla (Josipovac) svědčí o vzácnosti a zachovalosti tohoto předmětu až 100 let po jeho výrobě.

Příklady napodobenin loštických pohárů také naznačují žádanost tohoto zboží a pokusy loštické poháry – ve značně zjednodušené technologii – v místních dílnách napodobit (obr. 4:4, 5, 7;

obr. 5:4, 5). Zatímco u některých příkladů zůstává otázka výroby v místních slavonských dílnách (obr. 4:2, 6; 5:2, 6) otevřená, u ostatních napodobenin loštických pohárů je zřejmé, že jde o výrobky zahraničních dílen (obr. 4:1, 3, 8; 5:1, 3, 7). Jejich přítomnost na slavonských hradech opět ukazuje na obchodní a obecné středoevropské módní trendy, které středověká slavonská elita sledovala a přijala.

Tento článek byl částečně podpořen z Croatian Science Foundation v rámci projektu „Development and Heritage of the Military Orders in Croatia“ (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513) a zároveň v rámci projektu „Spatial relations and typology of Kordun castles in the context of Central European castellology“ (ZCU, SGS-2020-037).

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