

# Falke-skupina kamenjače iz Dvora knezova iločkih u Iloku

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# FALKE-SKUPINA KAMENJAČE IZ DVORA KNEZOVA ILOČKIH U ILOKU

## FALKE-GROUP STONEWARE FROM THE PALACE OF THE DUKES OF ILOK IN ILOK

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*U članku se predstavlja nalaz visoke cilindrične čaše iz Iloka (Újlak) koji pripada Falke-skupini kamenjače, proizvedenoj u 15. stoljeću na krajnjem istoku Saske, na području povijesnih Lužica. Čaša iz Iloka predstavlja europski najjužniji nalaz Falke-skupine kamenjače. Nakon pregleda dosadašnjih spoznaja o Falke-skupini kamenjače, o njevoj dataciji i podrijetlu radionice, iločki nalaz uspoređuje se s ostalim europskim nalazima. Čaša je, svakako, bila inventarom viteške dvorane vojvode Lovre Iločkoga, a vjerojatno je pripadala još njegovu ocu Nikoli, graditelju palače Iločkih (Újlaki) u Iloku. Postavlja se pitanje jesu li ovaj luksuzni nalaz stolne keramike vojvode Iločki naslijedili još od svojih predaka.*

**Ključne riječi:**  
*Falke-skupina kamenjače, 15. stoljeće, Dvor knezova Iločkih, Ilok*

*The article presents the find of a tall cylindrical beaker from Ilok (Újlak) belonging to the Falke group of stoneware, produced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the far east of Saxony, in the area of historical Lusatia. It represents the southernmost known example of Falke-group stoneware in Europe. After a review of previous knowledge of Falke-group stoneware, its dating and the origin of the workshop, the Ilok find is compared with other European finds. The beaker was certainly in the inventory of the knight's hall of Duke Lawrence of Ilok, and it had probably already belonged to his father, Nicholas of Ilok, the builder of the Újlaki palace in Ilok. The question arises as to whether the Dukes of Ilok inherited this luxurious specimen of table stoneware from their ancestors.*

**Key words:**  
*Falke-group stoneware, 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Palace of the Dukes of Ilok, Ilok*

### Uvod

U arheološkim istraživanjima područja palače iločkih vojvoda Nikole i Lovre u Iloku pronađeni su ulomci visoke cilindrične čaše, tzv. Falke-skupine kamenjače, koja predstavlja europski najjužniji poznati nalaz ove skupocjene robe proizvedene u 15. stoljeću na istočnosaskom području povijesnih Lužica.<sup>1</sup> Nalazi su pronađeni u sloju bogatome kasnosrednjovjekovnim nalazima, tik zapadno uz sjeverno krilo palače, podignute na sjeverozapadnome uglu, nad Dunavom uzdignutoga platoa, na kojemu se razvio srednjovjekovni *Újlak* (sl. 1).

### Introduction

During the archaeological excavations of the area of the palace of the Ilok dukes, Nicholas and Lawrence, in Ilok, fragments of a tall cylindrical beaker from the so-called Falke group of stoneware was found.<sup>1</sup> It represents the southernmost known find of this precious commodity in Europe, produced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the eastern Saxon area of historical Lusatia. The finds were discovered in a layer full of late-medieval finds, by the west side of the north wing of the palace, erected on the northwest corner of a raised plateau above the Danube, where medieval *Újlak* was founded (Fig. 1).

<sup>1</sup> Ovaj je rad sufinancirala Hrvatska zaklada za znanost projektom *Razvoj i naslijeđe viteških redova u Hrvatskoj (milOrd)* (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).

<sup>1</sup> This paper has been supported in part by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project *Development and Heritage of the Military Orders in Croatia (milOrd)* (HRZZ, IP-2019-04-5513).



**SLIKA 1.** Položaj Iloka (Újlak) na krajnjem istoku Hrvatske (Ramspott 2017, obradila T. Tkalčec).

**FIGURE 1.** The location of Ilok (Újlak) in the far east of Croatia (Ramspott 2017, edited by T. Tkalčec).

Kvadratna dvokatna palača s prizemnim i podrumskim prostorijama, podignuta sredinom ili početkom druge polovine 15. stoljeća, po principima tadašnje dvorske arhitekture središta europskih moći,<sup>2</sup> očuvana je do danas u svome južnome dijelu unutar barokiziranoga, prema Dunavu otvorenoga objekta U-tlocrta vojvoda Odescalchi.<sup>3</sup> U istraživanjima, koja je Institut za arheologiju pod vodstvom akademika Željka Tomičića provodio između 2001. i 2008. godine<sup>4</sup>, osim arhitektonskih ostataka palače iločkih vojvoda, pronađeni su i ostali brojni pokretni i nepokretni nalazi koji svjedoče o dugotrajnom naseljavanju i korištenju ove pozicije od prapovijesti do novoga vijeka.

Iz povijesnih podataka poznato je da je Ilok (Újlak) početkom 14. stoljeća posjedovao velikaš Ugrin, sin Pouša (lat. *Pows*) od roda Csák, a iz njegova se životopisa može zaključiti da je bio i prvi

A square two-storey palace with ground-floor and basement rooms, built during the middle or beginning of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, according to the principles of the court architecture of those times acknowledged in the European centres of power,<sup>2</sup> has been preserved to this day in its southern part within the baroque, U-shaped building of Duke Odescalchi, open towards the Danube.<sup>3</sup> In the course of the research conducted by the Institute of Archaeology under the leadership of academician Željko Tomičić between 2001 and 2008,<sup>4</sup> 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 position from prehistory to the new century were observed.

2 Horvat 2002, 207; 2009, 43–47, sl. 23–26; Tomičić 2003, 143–147; 2004, 146; 2011a, 12–13; Virágos 2006; Nagy 2017; 2019.

3 Palača je mogla dijelom nastradati tijekom osvajanja (i pljačke) Iloka 1494. godine od strane vojske kralja Vladislava Jagelovića; inventar je, svakako, nastradao i nakon 1526. godine, kada građani Iloka grad predaju Sulejmanu, međutim, tada nije došlo do većih razaranja (Laszowski 1902, 63). Organizirano razaranja i razgrađivanje ostataka arhitekture njezina sjevernog dijela do jednake razine, dokazano i tragovima eksplozija kao i nalazima odbačenih pijuka, a potkrijepljeno i pisanim podacima te ilustrativnim povijesnim prikazima Iloka, dogodilo se tek potkraj 17. stoljeća, odnosno vjerojatno 1688. godine, kada je grad Ilok oslobođen od Osmanlija (Tomičić 2004, 145, 148, 151–153, sl. 1, 8–11).

4 Tomičić 2003, 133–141; 2011b; Tomičić et al. 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; Nagy 2018.

2 Horvat 2002, 207; 2009, 43–47, Figs 23–26; Tomičić 2003, 143–147; 2004, 146; 2011a, 12–13; Virágos 2006; Nagy 2017; 2019.

3 The palace may have been partially destroyed by the army of King Vladislav Jagelović during the conquest (and plunder) of Ilok in 1494; the inventory certainly perished after 1526, as well, when the citizens of Ilok handed over the city to Suleiman. However, no major destruction occurred at that time (Laszowski 1902, 63). Organized destruction and dismantling of architectural remains of its northern part to the same level, proven by traces of explosions and the findings of discarded pickaxes, and supported by written data and illustrative historical depictions of Ilok, occurred only in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, probably in 1688, when the town of Ilok was liberated from the Ottomans (Tomičić 2004, 145, 148, 151–153, Figs. 1, 8–11).

4 Tomičić 2003, 133–141; 2011b; Tomičić et al. 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; Nagy 2018.

graditelj utvrde u Iloku.<sup>5</sup> S druge strane, neki istraživači navode da je prvi srednjovjekovni burg u Iloku podignut možda u 14. ili početkom 15. stoljeća, i to na sjeveroistočnom dijelu iločkoga uzdignutoga platoa nad Dunavom, oko pozicije franjevačkog samostana.<sup>6</sup> Ilok se prvi put izriječno spominje u posjedu Ugrinova sina Nikole 1317. godine.<sup>7</sup> Nakon izumiranja prvih Iločkih, iločke grane roda Csák, njezin glavni posjed – grad Ilok 1364. godine kralj daje palatinu Nikoli Kontu iz posve drugog roda,<sup>8</sup> čiji potomci, ujedno i mačvanski banovi, također stječu pridjev „Iločki“ (Újlaki).<sup>9</sup> Iz ove druge loze Iločkih potječe i vojvoda Nikola Iločki (1410. – 1477.), hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinski i mačvanski ban te vojvoda Transilvanije i titularni kralj Bosne od 1471. do svoje smrti 1477. godine, te njegov sin Lovro (1459. – 1524.) za kojih je Ilok doživio procvat kao jedno od važnih političkih, kulturnih i gospodarskih središta Ugarsko–Hrvatske Kraljevine.

Falke-skupina kamenjače predstavlja posebno bogato ukrašenu stolnu keramiku, čiji su nalazi danas poznati diljem Srednje Europe, dok u Hrvatskoj, barem u objavljenoj literaturi, dosad nije bilo takvih primjeraka importirane luksuzne keramike.

Posude izrađene od kamenjače ističu se svojim povoljnim svojstvima, kao što su tvrdoća i čvrstoća na lom i mala sposobnost upijanja vode (manja od 2%), ali i zahtjevnim postupkom izrade.<sup>10</sup> Temperature pečenja kamenjače su između 1200 i 1400°C, a glineni materijal bogat kaolinom (koji je dobio naziv po poznatom ležištu *Kao Ling* u Kini) preduvjet je za postupak sinteriranja.<sup>11</sup> Proizvodnja je kamenjače poznata u Kini već od sredine 2. tisućljeća pr. Kr.<sup>12</sup> U Europi proizvodnja potpuno sinterirane kamenjače počinje u Njemačkoj u Porajnju oko 1300. godine, prvenstveno u radionici u Siegburgu, a kasnije i na širem području. Najvažnija

It is known from historical data that, at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Ilok (Újlak) was owned by the nobleman Ugrin, son of Pouš (lat. *Pows*) of the Csák clan, and from his biography it can be concluded that he was the first builder of the fortress in Ilok.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, some researchers state that the first medieval castle in Ilok may have been built in the 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century on the northeast part of the Ilok plateau above the Danube, somewhere in the vicinity of the position of the Franciscan monastery.<sup>6</sup> Ilok is explicitly mentioned for the first time as part of the estate of Ugrin's son Nicholas in 1317.<sup>7</sup> After the extinction of the first Ilok line, the Ilok branch of the Csák clan, its main estate, the town of Ilok was given by the king, in 1364, to the palatine Nicholas Kont, from a completely different family,<sup>8</sup> whose descendants, also the *bans* of Mačva, acquired the adjective 'Újlaki' as well.<sup>9</sup> Duke Nicholas of Ilok (1410–1477) was Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian and Mačva ban, duke of Transylvania and titular king of Bosnia from 1471 until his death in 1477. He and his son Lawrence (1459–1524), during whose time Ilok flourished as one of the important political, cultural and economic centres of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, also descended from this second Ilok line.

Falke-group stoneware is a particularly richly decorated tableware found throughout Central Europe, while in Croatia, at least in the published literature, there have been no such examples of imported luxury pottery so far.

Vessels made of stoneware have especially favourable properties, such as hardness and fracture toughness and low water-absorption capacity (less than 2%), as well as a demanding manufacturing process.<sup>10</sup> Stoneware firing temperatures range be-

5 Andrić 2001, 116.

6 Horvat 2002, 195.

7 Andrić 2001, 110, 116.

8 Nikola Kont bio je sin Lovre Tóta, porijeklom vjerojatno iz Dubičke županije, a koji je za kralja Karla I. Roberta postao kaštelanom kraljevskog burga u Šintavi (Nitranska županija), stekao je Zrin u Zagrebačkoj županiji, koji je kasnije zamijenio za Orahovicu u Križevačkoj županiji, postavši time osnivačem loze Orahovičkih (Andrić 2001, 125–126).

9 Andrić 2001, 132–140.

10 Kamenjaču (njem. *Steinzeug*, engl. *stoneware*, franc. *grés*) valja razlikovati od poroznije kamenine, koja je žućkasto-bijela u presjeku i premazana bijelom glazurom (njem. *Steingut*, engl. *creamware*, tal. *terraglia*, slo. *beloprstena keramika*), a koja se u Europi ne javlja prije 18. stoljeća. Prema Tehničkoj enciklopediji, kamenina pripada skupini porozne keramike, a kamenština ili kamenjača u neporozne proizvode, čija se kvaliteta razlikuje po sastavu i omjeru primjesa te temperaturama pečenja (cf. Bujak 1980, osobito str. 68 i 72). U poljskoj i češkoj literaturi za Falke-skupinu stolne keramike koristi se izraz „kamenina“ (*kamionka*, *kamenina*), međutim, nije poznato postoji li u tim jezicima drugačiji izraz za kameninu karakterističnu za kasni novi vijek (u Hrvatskoj su poznati proizvodi tvornica kamenine u Krapini, Zagrebu i Rijeci u 19. stoljeću). Ovom prigodom zahvaljujem kolegicama dr. sc. Tatjani Bradari, Helgi Zglav-Martinac i prof. dr. sc. Katarini Predovnik te dr. sc. Marini Bagarić na konzultacijama oko terminoloških opredjeljenja Falke-skupine kamenjače, kao i na brojnim drugim informacijama. Također, željela bih kolegici Katarini Predovnik i kolegi Milanu Procházka zahvaliti na pomoći oko nabave literature koja mi u Hrvatskoj nije bila dostupna.

11 Schifer 2003, 2.

12 Vrlo rano, između 1000. i 1200. godine nove ere u Kini je razvijen i vodonepropustan porculan, koji je u Europi bio posebno cijenjen kao vrlo popularan uvozni proizvod, a njegova proizvodnja u Europi, za razliku od kamenjače, započinje tek u 18. stoljeću.

5 Andrić 2001, 116.

6 Horvat 2002, 195.

7 Andrić 2001, 110, 116.

8 Nicholas Kont was the son of Lawrence Tót, probably from the Dubica County, who became the castellan of the royal burg in Šintava (Nitra County) for King Charles I Robert, acquired Zrin in the Zagreb County, which he later replaced with Orahovica in the Križevci County, thus becoming the founder of the Orahović family (Andrić 2001, 125–126).

9 Andrić 2001, 132–140.

10 Stoneware (German: *Steinzeug*, French: *grés*, Croatian: *kamenjača*) should be distinguished from the more porous creamware, which is yellowish-white in cross section and coated with a white glaze (German: *Steingut*, Italian: *terraglia*, Slovenian: *beloprstena keramika*, Croatian: *kamenjača*), and which did not appear in Europe before the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to the Technical Encyclopaedia, creamware belongs to the group of porous ceramics, and stoneware to non-porous products, whose quality differs in composition and ratio of impurities and firing temperatures (cf. Bujak 1980, especially pages 68 and 72). In Polish and Czech literature, the term “stoneware/kamenina” (*kamionka*, *kamenina*) is used for Falke-group tableware, but I am not aware whether there is a different term used in these languages for creamware characteristic of the late modern age. (In Croatia, products of creamware factories in Krapina, Zagreb and Rijeka with these characteristics were famous in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.) I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleagues Dr Tatjana Bradari, Helga Zglav-Martinac, Prof. Katarina Predovnik, and Dr Marina Bagarić for consultations on the terminological determinations of Falke-group stoneware, as well as for other copious information. I would also like to thank my colleagues Katarina Predovnik and Milan Procházka for their help in purchasing literature that was not available to me in Croatia.

središta proizvodnje su, dakle, Porajnje i, za rani novi vijek, Westerwald. Osim važnih proizvodnih mjesta kao što je Siegburg, poznati su radionički centri u Coppengraveu, Bengerodeu, Waldenburgu, Duingenu na jugu Donje Saske i u Dreihausenu na sjeveru Hessena.<sup>13</sup>

Proizvodi od kamenjače bili su u velikoj potražnji, ali skupocjeni, te su ih si mogli priuštiti samo pripadnici višega društvenog sloja. Njima namijenjeni, često su bogato ukrašavani te su predstavnicima i nositelji onodobnih općih, ali i specifičnih umjetničkih izričaja pojedinih radionica. U tom smislu i Falke-skupina kamenjače nosi osobitosti specifične radionice, odnosno majstora, ali i općih modnih i stilskih trendova vremena u kojem je nastala.

## Povijest istraživanja i rasprostranjenost Falke-skupine kamenjače

Stolnu keramiku Falke-skupine, namijenjenu ispijanju, posluživanju i točenju pića, karakterizira žigosani ukras specifičnih motiva šahovnice, izvedenih kombinacijom otisaka naizmjeničnih udubljenih kvadratića s ispučenih četiri točke te punih kvadratića, ponekad u kombinacijama s motivima cik-cak linija ispunjenih žigosanim trokutićima te ponekad, ukrašene apliciranjem osebujnih modeliranih reljefa prikaza ljudskih lica – najčešće muškarca s brkovima i bradom, rjeđe ženskog lica. Žigosanje je u pravilu izvedeno pojedinačnim instrumentima, a s iznimkom je korišten kotačić.<sup>14</sup> Boja fine i kvalitetno pečene kamenjače kreće se od srednje do tamnosive, a premazana je tamnosmeđom glazurom bogatom željezom. Posude Falke-skupine kamenjače često oblikom i bojom imitiraju onodobno metalno posuđe.<sup>15</sup> Karakteristični su oblici visoka cilindrična čaša, kruškoliki pehar, trbušasti vrč i vrećasta posuda – tzv. *Krause* (sl. 2).<sup>16</sup> Poneki izvorni primjerci pehara naknadno (čak i po dva stoljeća nakon proizvodnje) nadopunjeni su srebrnom oplatom rubova, koja ponekad nosi i ugravirani natpis, te ukrašenim poklopcima<sup>17</sup> ili su pak dodatno obojeni rjeđe bijelom bojom, a češće pozlatom.<sup>18</sup>

tween 1200 and 1400 °C, and clay material rich in kaolin (named after the well-known *Kao Ling* deposit in China) is a prerequisite for the sintering process.<sup>11</sup> The production of stoneware has been known in China since the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC.<sup>12</sup> In Europe, the production of fully sintered stoneware began in Germany in the Rhineland around 1300, primarily in a workshop in Siegburg, and later in the wider area. The most important centres of production are therefore the Rhineland and, for the early modern age, Westerwald. In addition to important production sites such as Siegburg, workshop centres are known in Coppengrave, Bengerode, Waldenburg, Duingen in southern Lower Saxony, and in Dreihausen in northern Hessen.<sup>13</sup>

Stoneware products were in great demand, but expensive, and they could only be afforded by members of the upper class. Intended for them, they are often richly decorated and are representatives and bearers of not just the general artistic expression of those times, but also that of individual workshops. In this sense, Falke-group stoneware bears the peculiarities of a specific workshop, i.e. master, but also the general fashion and style trends of the time in which it was created.

## Research history and distribution of Falke-group stoneware

Falke-group tableware, intended for drinking, serving and pouring drinks, is characterized by a stamped decoration of specific chessboard motifs, made by a combination of prints of alternating recessed squares, with four convex dots, and full squares, sometimes in combinations with zigzag lines, sometimes filled with stamped triangles, occasionally decorated with the application of distinctively modelled reliefs depicting human faces: most often a man with a moustache and a beard, less often a woman's face. Stamping was usually performed with individual instruments, with the exception of the use of a wheel.<sup>14</sup>

The colour of the fine, well-baked stoneware ranges from medium to dark grey, and is coated with a dark brown glaze rich in iron. Falke-group stoneware vessels often mimic the shape and colour of metal vessels of that time.<sup>15</sup> The characteristic shapes are a tall cylindrical beaker, a pear-shaped beaker, a belly-pitcher and a bag-shaped vessel: the so-called *Krause* (Fig. 2).<sup>16</sup> Some original specimens of goblets were later (even two centuries after production) supplemented with silver edging, which sometimes

13 Schifer 2003, 1–2.

14 Rode 2000, 50, Abb. 12.

15 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 110. Glazura na kamenjači predstavlja više modni dodatak, a ne potrebu da se spriječi vodopropusnost materijala.

16 Horschik 1971, 13–29; Drnovský 2017, 420, Obr. 2; Sedláčková 2018, 229, P5.

17 Primjerice, kruškoliki pehar, tzv. „Dauner Willkommen“, koji se čuva u muzeju u Kasselu, na oplati oko ruba posude nosi natpis s godinom 1570., a na poklopcu je dodano da je pehar obnovljen 1652. godine (Falke 1907, 299, 300, 302; Horschik 1971, 19, Abb. 6).

18 Horschik 1971, 14.

11 Schifer 2003, 2.

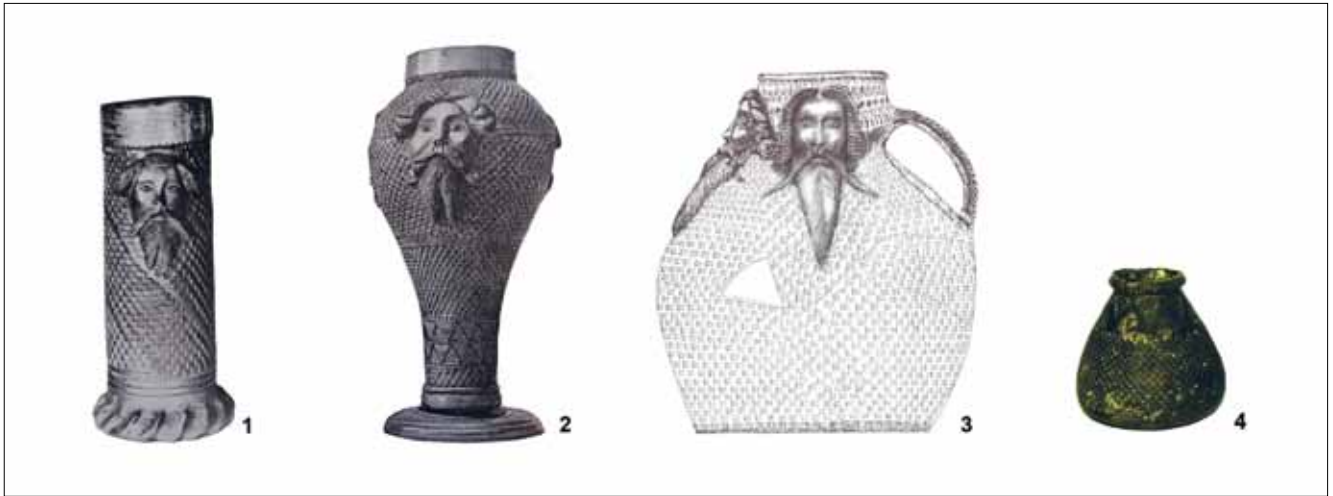
12 Very early, between 1000 and 1200 AD, waterproof porcelain, which was especially valued in Europe as a very popular imported product, was developed in China, and its production in Europe, unlike that of the stoneware, began only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

13 Schifer 2003, 1–2.

14 Rode 2000, 50, Abb. 12.

15 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 110. The glaze on the stoneware represents primarily a fashionable accessory, rather than the need for a watertight material.

16 Horschik 1971, 13–29; Drnovský 2017, 420, Fig. 2; Sedláčková 2018, 229, P5.



**SLIKA 2.** Karakteristični oblici Falke-skupine kamenjače: 1. visoka cilindrična čaša (Limburg, cf. Horschik 1971, 13, Abb. 1), 2. kruškoliki pehar (nepoznato nalazište, zbirka Alberta Figdora, Povijesni muzej Frankfurt na Majni, cf. Horschik 1971, 21, Abb. 7), 3. trbušasti vrč (Wrocław, cf. Stephan 2004, 321, Ryc. 38b), 4. vrećasta posuda – tzv. Krause (Leipzig-Nikolaistraße, cf. Rode 2000, 45, Abb. 5).

**FIGURE 2.** Characteristic forms of Falke-group stoneware: 1. Tall cylindrical beaker (Limburg, cf. Horschik 1971, 13, Abb. 1); 2. Pear-shaped beaker (unknown site, Albert Figdor collection, Frankfurt am Main Historical Museum, cf. Horschik 1971, 21, Abb. 7); 3. Belly-pitcher (Wrocław, cf. Stephan 2004, 321, Ryc. 38b); 4. Bag-shaped vessel – Krause (Leipzig-Nikolaistraße, cf. Rode 2000, 45, Abb. 5).

Do 2002. godine bilo je poznato oko 150 nalaza,<sup>19</sup> a tijekom vremena pronađeni su i objavljeni novi. Razvidno je da su ti proizvodi bili omiljeni u krugovima plemstva i visokog svećenstva diljem Europe, a rasprostiru se od istoka Engleske do istoka Baltika, od Norveške do Dunava. Koncentracija je nalaza uočljiva na područjima sjeverne i sjeverozapadne Češke, u istočnoj Njemačkoj i zapadnoj Poljskoj (Tiringija, Saska i Donja Šleska). Nalazi iz nordijskih regija (Norveška, Švedska, Danska), Islanda, Britanskih otoka, Estonije i Austrije predstavljaju pojedinačne nalaze koji su vjerojatno odraz trgovačkih i kulturno-povijesnih kontakata toga doba, što se može odnositi i na mađarske nalaze,<sup>20</sup> a svakako i na iločki nalaz.

Prvi je stručnoj javnosti ovu skupinu bogato ukrašene kamenjače predstavio njemački povjesničar umjetnosti Otto von Falke, prema kojemu je ta skupina luksuzne stolne keramike dobila i ime (prvobitno se nazivala Dreihausen kamenjačom, a kasnije je općeprihvaćen naziv Falke-skupina, dok se u pojedinim radovima koristi i naziv „lužička kamenjača“). Predstavio je pet primjeka koji su bili pohranjeni u privatnim muzejima i zbirkama do 20. stoljeća, datirao ih na osnovi stilskih značajki u početak 15. stoljeća te na osnovi sličnosti smeđo-crveno-ljubičaste zemljane glazure na dreihausenskim proizvodima predložio mjesto proizvodnje u Dreihausenu pokraj Marburga u Hessenu, u središnjoj Njemačkoj.<sup>21</sup> Iako su kasnija istraživanja donijela nove spoznaje

bears an engraved inscription, and decorated lids,<sup>17</sup> or they were additionally painted, less often with white and more often with gilding.<sup>18</sup>

By 2002 about 150 finds were known,<sup>19</sup> and over time new ones were found and published. It is evident that these products were popular in aristocratic and high-clergy circles throughout Europe, and that their finds extended from the east of England to the east of the Baltic, from Norway to the Danube. The concentration of finds is noticeable in the areas of northern and northwestern Bohemia, in eastern Germany and western Poland (Thuringia, Saxony and Lower Silesia). Finds from the Nordic regions (Norway, Sweden, Denmark), Iceland, the British Isles, Estonia and Austria represent individual finds that are probably a reflection of trade and cultural-historical contacts of the time, which may also apply to Hungarian finds,<sup>20</sup> and certainly to the Ilok find.

This group of richly decorated stoneware was first introduced to the professional public by the German art historian Otto von Falke, after whom this group of luxury table ceramics got its name. (Originally called Dreihausen stoneware, the name 'Falke group' was later generally accepted, while in some works the name 'Lusatian stoneware' is used.) He presented five specimens stored in private museums and collections until the 20<sup>th</sup>

19 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 120.

20 Stephan 2004, 314–317, ryc. 35.

21 Falke 1907.

17 For example, the pear-shaped goblet, the so-called 'Dauner Willkomen' kept in the Kassel Museum, bears an inscription with the year 1570 on the edging of the vessel, while on the lid it is stated that the goblet was restored in 1652 (Falke 1907, 299, 300, 302; Horschik 1971, 19, Abb. 6).

18 Horschik 1971, 14.

19 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 120.

20 Stephan 2004, 314–317, ryc. 35.

o porijeklu ove keramike, Falkov rad i dalje predstavlja polazišnu literaturu. Analiza Josefa Horschika rezultirala je zaključkom da te posude ne mogu biti porijeklom iz radionica središnje Njemačke, odnosno nisu ih izrađivali lončari ni u okrugu Dreihausen niti u obližnjem Marburgu, kao niti na sasko-tirinskom području,<sup>22</sup> stoga je on prvi predložio promjenu naziva iz „Dreihausen kamenjače“, kako ju je nazvao O. von Falke, u „Falke-skupinu kamenjače“, prihvaćajući Falkeovu dataciju u početak 15. stoljeća. Već sredinom prošlog stoljeća Falke-skupina kamenjače dolazi u fokus istraživanja i arheologa, prvenstveno Imre Holla koji je predstavio iznimno dobro očuvane primjerke iz Kraljevske palače u Budimu<sup>23</sup> te je istraživanja proširio i na druge nalaze u Podunavlju.<sup>24</sup> Josef Bláha također je isključio podrijetlo radionice u hesenskome Dreihausenu i predlaže podrijetlo proizvodnje robe između rijeke Odre i Sale.<sup>25</sup> S vremenom je i sve veći broj novo-otkrivenih arheoloških nalaza upotpunjavao kartu distribucije Falke-skupine.<sup>26</sup> To je omogućilo nastavak diskusije o podrijetlu radionice, pomičući predložena mjesta proizvodnje istočnije od prvobitno predložene centralne Njemačke, i to na područje Gornjih Lužica, odnosno u Budišin (Bauzen) u njemačkoj Saskoj<sup>27</sup> ili pak južnije na području grada Zittaua, na samoj granici Njemačke, Poljske i Češke.<sup>28</sup> Čitavu je diskusiju detaljno sintetizirao Hans Georg Stephan.<sup>29</sup> Falkeova teza o radionici u Dreihausenu u potpunosti je odbačena i istraživači se slažu oko ubikacije na istočnije područje. Kako je Saska i s obzirom na distribuciju nalaza predstavljala najveći potencijal za područje na kojem se proizvodila ova keramika, poduzete su i interdisciplinarnе analize aktivirane neutronima više uzoraka keramike Falke-skupine s različitih lokaliteta i usporedba s uzorcima stolne keramike sa šireg područja Saske. Analize su rezultirale spoznajom da je Falke-skupina kamenjače proizvod jedne radionice, a najviše sličnosti ima s kamenjačom iz radionice u Zittaua, što bi potvrđivalo proizvodnju u gradu Zittau ili njegovoj okolini.<sup>30</sup>

Počeci proizvodnje Falke-skupine se u literaturi s početka 20. stoljeća na osnovi prvih poznatih nalaza iz muzejskih i privatnih zbirki te njihovih stilskih karakteristika predlažu u početak 15. stoljeća, kao što je rečeno,<sup>31</sup> iako ima i ranijih datacija već od

century, dated them according to stylistic features to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, and suggested a production site in Dreihausen near Marburg in Hessen, in central Germany, based on the similarity of the brown-red-purple earthen glaze on the Dreihausen products.<sup>22</sup> Although later research has brought new insights into the origins of this pottery, Falke's work still represents the starting point. Josef Horschik's analysis resulted in the conclusion that these vessels could not have originated from the workshops of central Germany, i.e. they were not made by potters in the district of Dreihausen, or in nearby Marburg, or in the Saxon-Thuringian area.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, he was the first to propose a change of name from 'Dreihausen stoneware', as O. von Falke had called it, to 'Falke-group stoneware', accepting Falke's dating to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As early as the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Falke-group stoneware came into the focus of research of archaeologists, primarily Imre Holl, who presented extremely well-preserved specimens from the Royal Palace in Buda,<sup>23</sup> and extended his research to other findings from the Danube region.<sup>24</sup> Josef Bláha also ruled out the origin of the workshop in Dreihausen, Hessen, and suggested that the goods had been produced between the Odra and Sala rivers.<sup>25</sup> Over time, an increasing number of newly-discovered archaeological finds completed the distribution map of the Falke group.<sup>26</sup>

This made possible the continuation of the discussion on the origin of the workshop, moving the proposed production sites farther east from the originally-proposed central Germany, to the Upper Lusatia area, to Bautzen in German Saxony<sup>27</sup> or further south to the area of the town of Zittau, on the very border of Germany, Poland and the Czech Republic.<sup>28</sup> The whole discussion was synthesized in detail by Hans Georg Stephan.<sup>29</sup> Falke's thesis about the workshop in Dreihausen was completely rejected, and the researchers agreed about the location in the eastern area. As Saxony represented the greatest potential for the area where these ceramics were produced, interdisciplinary neutron-activation analyses of samples of several Falke-group ceramics from different sites and comparison with tableware samples from the wider Saxony area were undertaken. The analyses resulted in

22 Horschik 1971, 29–31.

23 Holl 1955, 210–216, 191–192, 17.–22. kép.

24 Holl 1990, 210–216; Holl 2006, 258–260.

25 Bláha 1998, 151.

26 Cf. Durdík, Frolík 1982, 372, Obr. 7: 4–5; Siklósi 1983; Břicháček 1997; Pela 1997, 119, Fig. 1; Bláha 1999; Rode 2000, 52, Abb. 16; Stephan 2004, 317, Ryc. 35; Dąbal 2009; Lissek et al. 2009, 104–105; Kowalczyk 2011, 249, 251, Taf. 2; Mackiewicz 2012, 137–139, Ryc. 3; Heber 2014, 123, 124, Abb. 73, 74, Taf. 119: 1; Goš, Rychlý 2016; Drnovský 2017, 421, Obr. 4; Wojciechowska 2017; Sedláčková 2018, 230, P6; Kowalczyk 2019, 168, 172–173, Abb. 1.; Szajt 2019. Valja napomenuti da je prvi poljske nalaze Falke-skupine objedinio i predstavio struci T. Nawrołski (Późnośredniowieczne dzbany kamionkowe z terenu Polski z wyobrażeniami twarzy, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 4, 1987, 673–683), no ta mi studija nije bila dostupna. Rasprostranjenost poljskih nalaza, međutim, donose i karte rasprostranjenosti Falke-skupine u kasnije objavljenoj literaturi.

27 Rode 2000, 41–43.

28 Stephan, Gaimster 2002.

29 Stephan 2004.

30 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 124, 154, 155, Abb. 50–51; Schwedt et al. 2003.

31 Falke 1907.

21 Falke 1907.

22 Horschik 1971, 29–31.

23 Holl 1955, 210–216, 191–192, 17.–22. kép.

24 Holl 1990, 210–216; Holl 2006, 258–260.

25 Bláha 1998, 151.

26 Cf. Durdík, Frolík 1982, 372, Obr. 7: 4–5; Siklósi 1983; Břicháček 1997; Pela 1997, 119, Fig. 1; Bláha 1999; Rode 2000, 52, Abb. 16; Stephan 2004, 317, Ryc. 35; Dąbal 2009; Lissek et al. 2009, 104–105; Kowalczyk 2011, 249, 251, Taf. 2; Mackiewicz 2012, 137–139, Ryc. 3; Heber 2014, 123, 124, Abb. 73, 74, Taf. 119: 1; Goš, Rychlý 2016; Drnovský 2017, 421, Obr. 4; Wojciechowska 2017; Sedláčková 2018, 230, P6; Kowalczyk 2019, 168, 172–173, Abb. 1.; Szajt 2019. It should be noted that the first Polish findings of the Falke group were combined and presented to the academic community by T. Nawrołski (Późnośredniowieczne dzbany kamionkowe z terenu Polski z wyobrażeniami twarzy, *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 4, 1987, 673–683), but this study was not available. The distribution of Polish finds, however, is also provided by maps of the distribution of the Falke group in the later published literature.

27 Rode 2000, 41–43.

28 Stephan, Gaimster 2002.

29 Stephan 2004.

14. stoljeća (W. Molthein) ili pak vrlo kasnih oko 1430. godine (K. Strauss),<sup>32</sup> međutim, spoznaje potkrijepljene prvim nalazima iz arheološkog konteksta iz kraljevske palače u Budi u potpunosti su otklonile kasnije datacije i priklonile se dataciji proizvodnje Falke-skupine u početak 15. stoljeća.<sup>33</sup> Većina autora koji su se kasnije bavili stilskim značajkama Falke-skupine ili njihovim arheološkim kontekstom prihvatila je dataciju početka proizvodnje u početak 15. stoljeća<sup>34</sup>, pri čemu je Imre Holl u svom prvom radu o nalazima iz Bude, a i u kasnijim radovima o ostalim nalazima s područja Mađarske i šire, detaljno iznio argumente koji ističu vrijeme produkcije za vrijeme kralja Žigmunda s vremenom uporabe od po nekoliko desetljeća do vladavine Matije Korvina, odnosno zamiranjem krajem 15. stoljeća.<sup>35</sup> Ta je cijenjena kamenjača, vrhunske kvalitete i visokoga umjetničkog izričaja, mogla dospjeti i u kontekste početka 16. stoljeća kao odbačen predmet nakon dugotrajnije uporabe.<sup>36</sup> Holl, nadalje, drži da je majstor kamenjače Falke-skupine preuzeo neke oblike posuda ili iz keramičke produkcije (pehari na visokim nogama poznati u Češkoj) ili iz metalnih posuda (npr. pokal iz Kopenhagena i kaležasti pehar iz Bude), koje su već bile u uporabi i modi krajem 14. i početkom 15. stoljeća, kao i načine ukrašavanja (žigosani su motivi poznati na drezdanskim kvalitetno pečenim cilindričnim peharima/čašama krajem 14. i poč. 15. stoljeća) te je oblikovao svoj specifičan umjetnički stil i kvalitetu izrade. Njegovi su proizvodi bili namijenjeni isključivo visokom društvenom sloju (kralj, visoka aristokracija, vitezovi ivanovci, visokopozicionirani pripadnici klera), a ne serijskoj produkciji. Majstor je, prema Hollu, djelovao početkom 15. stoljeća, a rijetkost tih nalaza ukazuje da s njegovom smrću nestaje i njihova proizvodnja, odnosno da radionica nije imala nasljednika.<sup>37</sup> Međutim, s porastom novih nalaza očito je da su manje ukrašene posude Falke-skupine, poput tzv. Krausea i cilindričnih čaša bez plastičnih reljefnih ukrasnih dodataka (ljudskih maski), bile financijski ostvarive čak i za bogatije građane, a ne može se u potpunosti isključiti niti njihova sporadična pojava u ruralnom okruženju.<sup>38</sup> Ipak, dominantno su nalazi Falke-skupine zastupljeni u različitim urbanim kontekstima i reziden-

the realization that Falke-group stoneware is the product of one workshop, and has the most similarities with stoneware from the workshop in Zittau, which would confirm production in the town of Zittau or in its surroundings.<sup>30</sup>

The beginnings of the production of the Falke group, suggested in the literature from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the first known finds from museums and private collections and on their stylistic characteristics, date to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as said,<sup>31</sup> although there are earlier dates of as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century (W. Molthein) and a very late date around 1430 (K. Strauss).<sup>32</sup> However, the observations supported by the first findings from the archaeological context from the royal palace in Buda completely dismissed later dates and favoured the dating of the production of the Falke group to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup> Most authors who later dealt with the stylistic features of the Falke group, or its archaeological context, accepted the dating of the beginning of its production to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>, where Imre Holl, in his first work on the Buda finds, and in later works on other finds from Hungary and beyond, detailed arguments highlighting the time of production during the reign of King Sigismund, with a time of use through several decades until the reign of Matthias Corvinus, that is, until its extinction at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>35</sup> This valuable stoneware, of superior quality and high artistic expression, could also have got to the context of the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century as a discarded object after prolonged use.<sup>36</sup> In addition, Holl regards the Falke-group stoneware craftsman to have shaped his specific artistic style and quality of workmanship by adopting some vessel forms either from ceramic production (beakers on a high foot known in the Czech Republic) or from metal vessels (e.g. the Copenhagen beaker and the chalice goblet from Buda) which were already in use and fashionable at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup>, as well as modes of decorating. (Stamped motifs are known on Dresden quality-baked cylindrical beakers/goblets at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup>.) His prod-

32 Holl 1955, 154.

33 Holl 1955, 191.

34 Siklósi 1983; Rode 2000; Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 113–114, 157 – potonji otvaraju mogućnost produkcije od 1400. do 1450. na osnovi arheoloških depozita. Siklosi je u istraživanjima samostana ivanovca u Sziget, podgrađu Stolnog Biograda (Székesfehérvár), iskopao jedinstven primjerak pehara Falke-skupine sa završetkom (dnom) u obliku ljudskog stopala, i to u kontekstu početka 15. do sredine 15. stoljeća (Siklósi 1983, 166). Jedini analogan nalaz potječe iz Erfurta (Horschik 1971, 25, Abb. 10). Natpis na srebrnom okovu ruba cilindrične čaše iz Limburga, dodan čaši krajem 16. ili početkom 17. stoljeća, a koji spominje da je posuda izrađena 1413. godine „na otoku Malti iz zemlje svetoga Paula“ (Falke 1907, 298–299, 301; Horschik 1971, 13, Abb. 1), motivirao je neke istraživače na promišljanja o vezama s viteškim redovima, s obzirom na to da su ivanovci imali svoje sjedište i na Malti (Siklósi 1983, 165). Međutim, takve teze nikada nisu zaživjele te je ovaj natpis iz 16. stoljeća protumačen kasnijem romantičarskom pozivljanju Malte s mjestom proizvodnje posude, kada je već zaboravljeno točno podrijetlo same radionice (Holl 1990, 215, bilj. 19).

35 Holl 1955, 157; 1990, 210–216.

36 Holl 1955, 192; Sédlačková 2018, 221–222.

37 Holl 1990, 216. Holl isprva (1955; 1990) pripisuje nalaze Dreihausen radionici, prihvaćajući Falkeov prijedlog, no u kasnijim radovima prihvaća nova saznanja o podrijetlu radionice, zadržavajući naziv „Dreihausen-Falke skupina“ pri opisanju nalaza te skupine kamenine (2006).

38 Stephan 2004, 298–299, 327; Sédlačková 2018, 222.

30 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 124, 154, 155, Abb. 50–51; Schwedt et al. 2003.

31 Falke 1907.

32 Holl 1955, 154.

33 Holl 1955, 191.

34 Siklósi 1983; Rode 2000; Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 113–114, 157; the last of these recognized the possibility of production from 1400 to 1450 on the basis of archaeological deposits. During the excavations of the Knights Hospitaler monastery in Sziget, a suburb of Székesfehérvár, in the context of the early to mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, Siklosi excavated a unique specimen of a Falke-group vessel with an end (base) shaped like a human foot (Siklósi 1983, 166). The only analogous find comes from Erfurt (Horschik 1971, 25, Abb. 10). An inscription on a silver fitting on the rim of a cylindrical beaker from Limburg, added to it in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century or the early 17<sup>th</sup>, mentions that the vessel was made in 1413 “on the island of Malta from the land of St. Paul” (Falke 1907, 298–299, 301; Horschik 1971, 13, Abb. 1). This has motivated some researchers to think about connections with the knightly orders, since the Knights Hospitaler also had their headquarters in Malta (Siklósi 1983, 165). However, such theses never came to life, and this inscription from the 16<sup>th</sup> century was interpreted as a later romantic connection of Malta with the place where the vessel was manufactured, when the exact origin of the workshop itself was already forgotten (Holl 1990, 215, n. 19).

35 Holl 1955, 157; 1990, 210–216.

36 Holl 1955, 192; Sédlačková 2018, 221–222.



cijalnim lokalitetima visokoga statusa poput kraljevskih palača (Budimpešta), plemićkim burgovima, samostanima i kućama bogatih trgovaca u gradovima.<sup>39</sup>

Prema danas aktualnim konceptima intenzivna proizvodnja ove keramike povijesne lužičke provenijencije odvijala se u 15. stoljeću u radionici u Zittau (istočna Saska) ili njegovoj neposrednoj blizini,<sup>40</sup> a posude slabije kvalitete mogle su se proizvoditi u Brandenburg i Donjoj Šleskoj.<sup>41</sup> Ova luksuzna roba svakako je utjecala i na druge, lokalne radionice i lončare koje su je svojim proizvodima nastojali imitirati.<sup>42</sup> Pretpostavljeno područje proizvodnje Falke-skupine bilo je u 15. stoljeću dio Zemalja Češke Krune. Na području današnje Češke poznato je deset lokaliteta s nalazima Falke-skupine te je pomalo i začuđujuće što ondje nije prisutna i veća koncentracija tih nalaza.<sup>43</sup> Usprkos širokoj geografskoj rasprostranjenosti, nalazi Falke-skupine kamenjače uglavnom su zastupljeni malim brojem primjeraka ili pojedinačnim nalazima.<sup>44</sup> Čini se da je do danas najveća koncentracija nalaza Falke-skupine koja potječe s jednog mjesta zabilježena u Budi. Tu je pronađeno više ulomaka koji čine minimalno 12 pojedinačnih posuda različitih oblika, od čega čak 6 do 7 cilindričnih čaša (od kojih su dvije, visine 18 i 22,4 cm,<sup>45</sup> rekonstruirane).<sup>46</sup>

Našem području fizički su najbliži nalazi iz Mađarske – u Podunavlju: u Budimu, Pilisu, Stolnom Biogradu, Táciu, Solymáru, Višegradu, a u Potisju Diosgyöru, Muhi i Monostorsápu<sup>47</sup> iločki bi nalaz predstavljao za sada najjužniji poznati primjerak Falke-skupine kamenjače.

ucts were intended exclusively for the high social class (the king, aristocracy, Knights Hospitaller, high-ranking members of the clergy), and not for serial production. According to Holl, the master worked at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the rarity of these finds indicates that, with his death, their production also disappeared – that is, the workshop had no successor.<sup>37</sup> However, with the rise of new finds, it is obvious that the vessels of the Falke group, such as the so-called Krause and cylindrical beakers without plastic embossed decorative additions (human masks) were financially feasible even for wealthier citizens, and their sporadic appearance in a rural environment also cannot be completely ruled out.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the findings of the Falke group are predominantly represented in various urban contexts and high-status residential sites such as royal palaces (Budapest), aristocratic burgs, monasteries, and the houses of wealthy merchants in the cities.<sup>39</sup>

According to current concepts, intensive production of this type of pottery of historical Lusatian provenance took place in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in a workshop in Zittau (eastern Saxony) or its immediate vicinity,<sup>40</sup> while the vessels of lower quality could have been produced in Brandenburg and Lower Silesia.<sup>41</sup> These luxury goods certainly influenced other, local workshops and potters who tried to imitate them with their products.<sup>42</sup> The presumed production area of the Falke group during the 15<sup>th</sup> century was part of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. In the area of today's Czech Republic, ten sites with findings of the Falke group are known, and it is somewhat surprising that there is no higher concentration of these findings in this region.<sup>43</sup> Despite the wide geographical distribution, finds of Falke-group stoneware are represented mostly by a small number of specimens or individual finds.<sup>44</sup> To date, the highest concentration of Falke-group finds originating from one site appears to have been recorded in Buda. Numerous fragments found there form a minimum of 12 individual vessels of various shapes, of which as many as 6 to 7 cylindrical beakers (two of which, 18 and 22.4 cm high,<sup>45</sup> have been reconstructed).<sup>46</sup>

Finds nearest to us come from Hungary – more precisely, from the Danube region: Buda, Pilis, Szekesfehervár, Tác, Solymár and Višegrad, and from Potisje: Diosgyör, Muhi and Monostorsáp,<sup>47</sup> while the Ilok find at this time represents the southernmost known specimen of Falke-group stoneware.

39 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 157.

40 Stephan 2004, 298, 309.

41 Stephan 2004, 302.

42 Pela 1997; Doležel 1998, 56–60, Obr. 9–11.

43 Sédlačková 2018, 218, 230, P6.

44 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 158.

45 Cf. Holl 1990, 211, Abb. 1.

46 Valja ovdje napomenuti da se u kasnijim istraživanjima navodi nalaz ulomka kamenine Falke-skupine u arheološkom kontekstu datiranom već od druge polovine 14. stoljeća na osnovi ostalih keramičkih nalaza i novca, ali bez jasnije iznesenih pojedinosti (Ansorge 2002, 252, 255 Abb. II, c).

47 Holl 2006, 278, 15. kép.

37 Holl 1990, 216. Holl initially (1955; 1990) attributes the findings to the Dreihausen workshop, accepting Falke's proposal, but in later works he accepts new knowledge about the origin of the workshop, retaining the name "Dreihausen-Falke group" when describing findings of this group of stoneware (2006).

38 Stephan 2004, 298–299, 327; Sedláčková 2018, 222.

39 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 157.

40 Stephan 2004, 298, 309.

41 Stephan 2004, 302.

42 Pela 1997; Doležel 1998, 56–60, Obr. 9–11.

43 Sedláčková 2018, 218, 230, P6.

44 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 158.

45 Cf. Holl 1990, 211, Abb. 1.

46 Holl 1990, 210. It should be noted here that later research mentions the finding of a fragment of Falke-group stoneware in an archaeological context dated back to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of other ceramic finds and coins, but without clearer details (Ansorge 2002, 252, 255 Abb. II, c).

## Kontekst i opis nalaza cilindrične čaše Falke-skupine kamenjače iz Iloka te usporedba s ostalim europskim nalazima

Visoki cilindrični pehari/čaše (njem. *Stangenbecher*) uglavnom su najbrojniji nalazi Falke-skupine, čineći oko 40% svih poznatih oblika, visine im se kreću između 15 i 28 cm.<sup>48</sup> Odlikuje ih izvučena stopa ukrašena valovitim utiskivanjem, iznad koje se nalazi zona s motivom zavojnice, izvedena rebrenjem i žlijebljenjem, zatim tijelo ukrašeno motivom šahovnice žigosanjem naizmjeničnih punih te utisnutih kvadratića unutar kojih su pravilno raspoređena četiri ispupčena kružića, dok rub posuda završava jednostavno i zaobljeno, tek s blagim kaležasto izvučenim nagibom. Velik broj cilindričnih pehara Falke-skupine ispod ruba posude nosi antropomorfnu masku, koja najčešće prikazuje lice muškarca s brkovima i bradom, a ponekad i lice žene ili djevojke. Visina im varira od izrazito visokih, poput primjerka iz Leipziga (27,4 cm) zapremine od 1,3 l, do niskih poput primjerka iz Berlina (oko 14 cm) koji je mogao zaprimiti nešto više od 0,2 l tekućine.<sup>49</sup>

U istraživanjima Iloka 2006. godine pronađeno je ukupno 6 ulomaka ruba, tijela i dna posude koja pripadaju tipu visoke cilindrične čaše Falke-skupine kamenjače. Nalazi su pronađeni izvan gabarita palače u sloju smeđe zemlje s primjesama sitnih komadića žbuke SJ 494, u kvadrantu I 1, u sloju SJ 494. Sloj SJ 494 rasprostirao se na većoj površini izvan zida palače, zapadno uz njezino sjeverno krilo. U istraživanjima nisu zabilježene točne pozicije pronalaska svakog ulomka, već samo to da su nalazi pronađeni u kvadrantu I 1 u sloju SJ 494. Kako je istraživana površina podijeljena na kvadrante veličine 5 x 5 metara, a SJ 494 rasprostirao se unutar tog kvadranta na manjoj površini od 6 m<sup>2</sup>, jasno je da su ulomci čaše Falke-skupine bili deponirani tik zapadno uz temelje zida palače. Blizina ove površine s pozicijom viteške dvorane, koja se nalazila na prvome katu sjevernoga krila palače, ukazivala bi na mogući izvorni kontekst odbačenih nalaza Falke-skupine pronađenih u sloju 494, u kojem je pronađeno i mnoštvo drugih ulomaka stolne keramike i pećnjaka, okovi korica knjiga i drugih nalaza koji sugeriraju izvornu uporabu u kontekstu prostorija u kojima su boravili pripadnici društvene elite (sl. 3).

Isprva su pronađena četiri ulomka, od kojih su dva ulomka spojena (ljudska maska s ulomkom tijela posude), a sljedeći dan u istome kvadrantu i sloju pronađena su još dva ulomka (sl. 4).<sup>50</sup> Iločki su ulomci izrađeni iz fine kamenjače, sivo-smeđe boje. Vanjska površina prevučena je tamnosmeđom glazurom, blago crvenkastog do ljubičastog tona. Spomenuta dva naknadno pronađena ulomka također su smeđe glazirana, no više sivkasto tonirana. S unutrašnje je strane glazura zahvatila rubni dio posude, a ostatak unutrašnjosti posude je, čini se, bio presvučen tankim slojem žitke gline od koje je sama posuda bila izrađena, poprimajući na-

## Context and description of the find of the cylindrical beaker of Falke-group stoneware from Ilok, and comparison with other European finds

Tall cylindrical beakers (German: *Stangenbecher*), their heights ranging between 15 and 28 cm, are generally the most numerous finds of the Falke group, making up about 40% of all known shapes.<sup>48</sup> They are characterized by a drawn foot decorated with wavy embossing, above which there is a zone with a coil motif made by ribs and grooves, a body decorated with a chessboard motif made by stamping alternating full squares and embossed ones within which four convex circles are regularly arranged, while the rim of the vessel is derived simply with a slight chalice-like tilt. A large number of cylindrical beakers of the Falke group wear an anthropomorphic mask below the rim of the vessel, which most often depicts the face of a man with a moustache and beard, and sometimes the face of a woman or a girl. Their height varies from extremely tall ones, like the specimen from Leipzig (27.4 cm) with a volume of 1.3 l, to short ones, like a specimen from Berlin (about 14 cm) with a volume of approximately 0.2 l.<sup>49</sup>

During the 2006 excavations of Ilok, a total of 6 fragments of rims, bodies and bases of vessels belonging to the type of tall cylindrical beakers of Falke-group stoneware were found. The findings were discovered in quadrant I 1 within layer SJ 494. Layer SJ 494 spread over a sizeable area outside the palace, west along its north wing. In the excavations the exact positions of each fragment have not been recorded; only context data of the finds in layer SJ 494 in quadrant I 1 has been recorded. Since the investigated area was divided into quadrants measuring 5 x 5 metres, and SJ 494 spread within that quadrant over a smaller area of 6 m<sup>2</sup>, it is clear that the fragments of the Falke-group beaker were deposited just west of the palace walls. The proximity of this area to the position of 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 of the Falke-group stoneware found in layer SJ 494, in which many other fragments of tableware, stove tiles, book covers and other finds have also been found, suggesting their original use in the spatial context of the rooms in which members of the social elite resided (Fig. 3).

Initially four fragments were found, of which two fragments were pieced together (human mask with part of the body of the vessel), and the next day two more fragments were yielded from the same quadrant and layer (Fig. 4).<sup>50</sup> The fragments from Ilok are made of fine, grey-brown stoneware. The outer surface is coated with a dark brown glaze, slightly reddish to purple in tone. The two fragments subsequently found are also brown-glazed, but more greyish. On the inside, the glaze covered the

48 Stephan 2004, 318–319, Šenkeříková 2015, 14–15.

49 Rode 2000, 29, 45, Abb. 4.

50 Ulomci tijela s ljudskom maskom i dno pronađeni 21. 6. 2006. godine izdvojeni su pod terenskom oznakom posebnog nalaza PN 1100, a dva ulomka pronađena 22.06. 2006. godine izdvojena su naknadno iz vrećice s ostalim keramičkim nalazima N 3936.

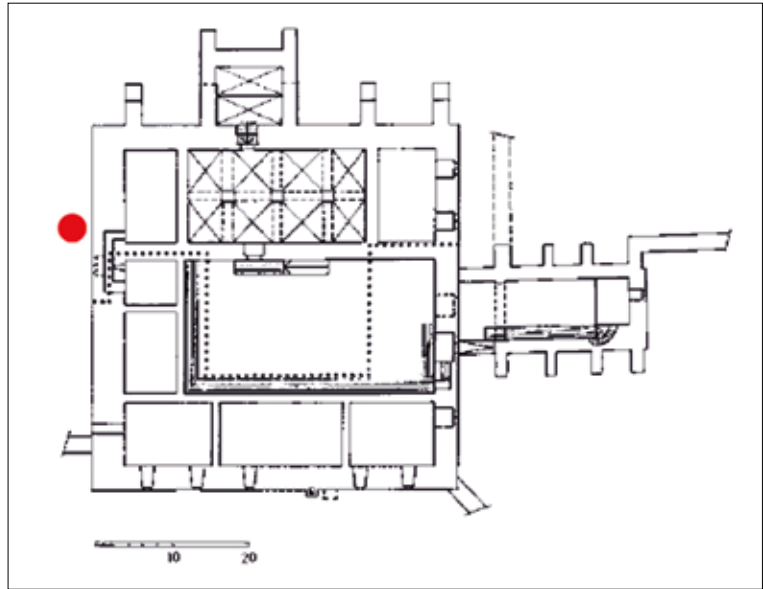
47 Holl 2006, 278, 15. kép.

48 Stephan 2004, 318–319, Šenkeříková 2015, 14–15.

49 Rode 2000, 29, 45, Abb. 4.

50 Fragments of a vessel body with a human mask and a base of a vessel found on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2006 were singled out under the field designation of special find PN 1100, while two fragments found on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 2006 were subsequently separated from the bag containing other ceramic finds, N 3936.

**SLIKA 3.** Dvor knezova Iločkih u Iloku s naznačenim položajem nalaza cilindrične čaše Falke-skupine kamenjače, zapadno od sjevernog krila (tlocrt 1. kata s dvobrodnom viteškom dvoranom u sjevernom krilu, cf. Horvat 2009, 46, sl. 23C).  
**FIGURE 3.** The palace of the Dukes of Ilok, in Ilok, with the indicated position of the fragments of the cylindrical beaker of Falke-group stoneware west of the north wing (1<sup>st</sup> floor plan with a two-aisled knight's hall in the north wing, cf. Horvat 2009, 46, sl. 23C).



kon pečenja za nijansu svjetliji, žućkastiji ton nego što je to boja presjeka stijenke. Na unutrašnjoj strani vidljive su tanke linije od brze rotacije lončarskog kola, a mjestimično se, na površinama oko aplicirane ljudske maske, zamjećuju okomita zaglađivanja stijenke posude. Maska je rukom plastično reljefno modelirana, s unutrašnje strane grublje izvedena, a s vanjske strane fino doradena s naknadnom izvedbom stiliziranih detalja brkova i brade urezivanjem linija preciznim tankim štapičastim predmetom (sl. 5). Očne su jabučice izvedene također (možda finim cjevastim) štapičastim predmetom, tako da su zjenice udubljene, a bjeloočnica tanko prstenasto ispupčena u očnim dupljama. Nazire se linija kapaka, izvedena na način kao što je to učinjeno i na ostalim nalazima ljudskih maski Falke-skupine.<sup>51</sup>

Iako postoje neke razlike u smeđim tonovima ulomaka, može se pretpostaviti da svi ulomci pripadaju istoj posudi. Na osnovi te pretpostavke načinjen je pokušaj rekonstrukcije posude u crtežu (sl. 6). Promjer otvora posude iznosi 6 cm, promjer tijela pri njenome dnu, na najužem dijelu posude, iznosi 4,4 cm, a nešto više – u razini ispod brade muškarca – 5,4 cm. Promjer dna, odnosno stope dna, iznosi 7 cm. Debljina stijenke tijela je 4 mm, pri dnu 5 mm, a debljina stijenke ruba je 3 mm. Visina posude nije nam poznata. Mogla je iznositi oko 14,5 cm, kako je to predloženo u crtežu, ili više, ovisno o visini donjeg dijela posude ukrašene vodoravnim žljebovima i rebrima, na što ćemo se posebno osvrnuti u daljnjem tekstu. Sama stopa dna posude izvučena je i ukrašena širokim utiskivanjem prstiju, imitirajući motiv kakav je bio uobičajen na dnima onodobnih metalnih vrčeva.<sup>52</sup> Iznad nje slijedi zona ukra-

edge of the pot, and the rest of the inside of the pot seemed to be coated with a thin layer of liquid clay from which the pot itself was made, taking on after the baking a lighter, yellow tone than the wall cross-section. On the inside, thin lines can be seen from the rapid rotation of the potter's wheel, and in some places, on the surfaces around the applied human mask, vertical smoothing of the vessel wall can be noticed. The mask is plastically embossed by hand, coarsely executed on the inside, and finely finished on the outside with the subsequent execution of stylized details of the moustache and the beard by carving of the lines with a precise thin rod-shaped object (Fig. 5). The eyeballs are also made with a rod-shaped object (perhaps a fine tube), in such a way that the pupils are concave and the sclera is lightly annularly convex in the eye sockets. The line of the eyelids can be seen, performed in the same way as on other findings of human masks of the Falke group.<sup>51</sup>

Although there are some differences in the brown tones of the fragments, it is to be assumed that all the fragments belong to the same vessel. On the basis of this assumption, an attempt was made to reconstruct the vessel in the drawing (Fig. 6). The diameter of the opening of the vessel is 6 cm, the diameter of the body close to its base, at the narrowest part of the vessel, is 4.4 cm, and slightly more at a level below the man's chin: 5.4 cm. The diameter of the base, i.e. the foot of the base, is 7 cm. Wall thickness is 4 mm in the body, 5 mm at the base, and 3 mm at the rim. The height of the vessel is not known to us. It could have been around 14.5 cm, as is suggested in the drawing, or

51 Vidi usporedbe prikaza ljudskih maski u Šenkeříková 2015, 67, Obr. 28.

52 Takva je „valovita“ stopa dna omiljena na vrčevima siegburške radionice iz 14. stoljeća, a i druge njemačke radionice 15. stoljeća, pa i u ranom novom vijeku često na sličan način ukrašavaju istaknute stope vrčeva. Ta se moda proširila i na široko europsko područje, i to ne samo na kamenini već i na običnoj lončarskoj stolnoj keramici. Valja napomenuti da je valovito dno omiljeno i na staklenom stolnom posudu, primjerice kod čaša tipa Nuppenbecher i Krautstrunk.

51 See comparisons of human masks in Šenkeříková 2015, 67, Fig. 28.



SLIKA 4. Ulomci visoke cilindrične čaše Falke-skupine kamenjače iz Iloka (snimila T. Tkalčec).

FIGURE 4. Fragments of the tall cylindrical beaker of Falke-group stoneware from Ilok (photo by T. Tkalčec).



SLIKA 5. Detalj maske bradatog muškarca na čaši iz Iloka (snimila T. Tkalčec).

FIGURE 5. Detail of the mask of a bearded man on the beaker from Ilok (photo by T. Tkalčec).

šena motivom zavojnice, odnosno vodoravnim prstenastim žljebovima i rebrima. Očuvano je 5 rebara, te ovisno o tome koliko ih je zaista bilo, ovisit će i stvarna visina same posude. Na poznatim, bolje očuvanim primjercima cilindričnih pehara broj tih rebara se razlikuje pa tako kod pehara bez plastičnih antropomorfnih aplikacija (ljudske maske) iz Bude, visokog 18 cm, iznosi 12 – 13 rebara, a kod drugoga rekonstruiranog pehara, također bez ljudske maske, visine 22,4 cm, 8 rebara.<sup>53</sup> Mali cilindrični pehar iz ulice svetog Mikołaja u Wrocławu, također bez plastične aplikacije, visine je 15 cm te ima 6 rebara zavojnice, koliko se može prepoznati na objavljenim slikama.<sup>54</sup> Cilindrični pehar s muškom maskom iz Uhelne ulice u Olomoucu, visine 18,5 cm, ima 8 rebara,<sup>55</sup> a onaj sa ženskom maskom iz Mahlerove ulice u Olomoucu, visine 17,9 cm, ima 13 rebara.<sup>56</sup> Cilindrični pehar s muškom ma-

even more, depending on the height of the lower part of the vessel, decorated with horizontal grooves and ribs, to which we will specially refer hereinafter. The foot of the base of the vessel itself was pulled out and decorated with a wide imprint of the fingers, imitating the motif that was common on the bases of metal jugs at the time.<sup>52</sup> Above it there is a zone decorated with a coil motif, i.e. horizontal annular grooves and ribs. Five ribs have been preserved, and the actual height of the vessel itself depends on how many there really were. On the known, better-preserved examples of cylindrical beakers, the number of these ribs differs. Accordingly, on the 18-cm-high beaker without plastic anthropomorphic applications (human mask) from Buda, there are 12–13 ribs, while on another reconstructed beaker, 22.4 cm high, also without a human mask, there are 8 ribs.<sup>53</sup> A small

53 Holl 1990, 211, Abb. 1. U objavljenoj su literaturi fotografski prikazi ponekad nedovoljno razlučivi pa je teško izbrojiti točan broj rebara, no vidljivo je da ova zona posude može biti različitih visina u odnosu na samu visinu posude.

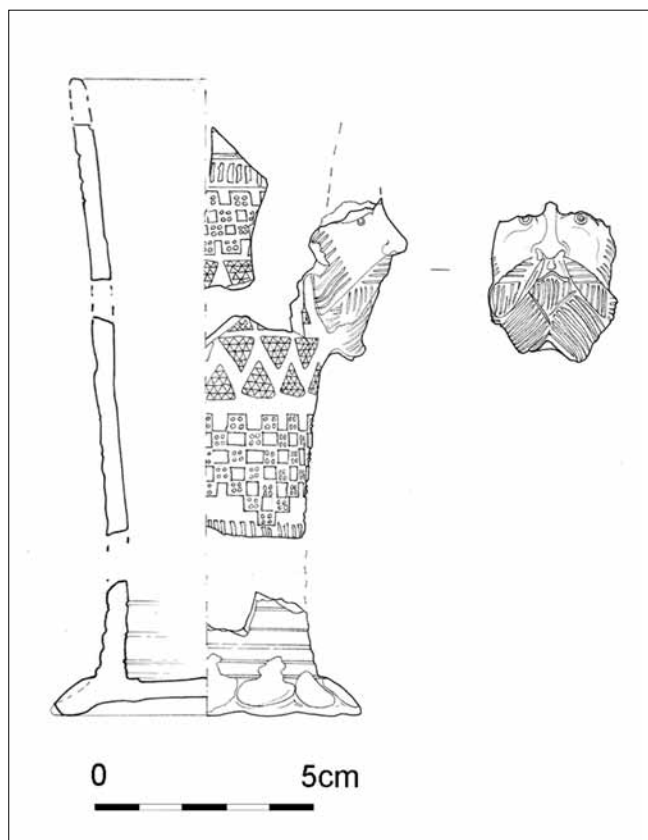
54 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 143, Abb. 36; Stephan 2004, 319, Ryc. 37a.

55 Bláha 1998, 148, Obr. 9; Bláha 1999, 590, kat. br. 524; Šenkeříková 2015, 63, Obr. 22.

56 Bláha 1999, 590, kat. br. 525; Šenkeříková 2015, 71, Obr. 33.

52 Such a 'corrugated' base foot is a favourite on jugs of the Siegburg workshop from the 14<sup>th</sup> century and other German workshops of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as well as in the early modern age, when prominent jug feet were decorated in a similar way. This fashion spread to a wide European area, not only on stoneware but also on ordinary tableware. It should be noted that the corrugated base is also popular on glass tableware, for example on glasses such as Nuppenbecher and Krautstrunk.

53 Holl 1990, 211, Abb. 1. Photographic representations in the published literature are sometimes insufficiently distinguishable, so it is difficult to count the exact number of ribs, but it is evident that this zone of the vessel can be of different heights in relation to the height of the vessel itself.



SLIKA 6. Visoka cilindrična čaša iz Iloka, rekonstrukcija u crtežu (izradila S. Čule).  
FIGURE 6. Tall cylindrical beaker from Ilok, reconstruction in drawing (made by S. Čule).

skom iz Limburga visine je 22 cm, a ima samo 3 rebara,<sup>57</sup> dok cilindrični pehar s muškom maskom iz Leipziga, visine 27,4, ima oko 11 rebara.<sup>58</sup> Primjerak cilindričnog pehara s maskom muškarca iz Göttingena ima 10 rebara u donjoj zoni,<sup>59</sup> dok cilindrični pehar s muškom maskom iz Drezdena, izrađen iz protokamenjače ima 4 – 5 rebara,<sup>60</sup> a sa ženskom maskom 12 „rebara“, odnosno punih linija razdijeljenih ovoga puta urezivanjem, a ne žlijebljenjem.<sup>61</sup> Visina ove zone iznosi 1/3 visine čitave posude kod budimskog manjega pehara bez antropomorfne aplikacije, nešto manje od 1/3 kod malog wrocławskoga pehara, također bez aplikacije, i olomouckog pehara sa ženskom maskom te nešto više od 1/3 kod olomouckog pehara s muškom maskom. Odnos visine ove zone i visine posude kod budimskoga većeg pehara te pehara iz Leipziga (oba bez antropomorfne aplikacije) je čak gotovo 1 : 4,

cylindrical beaker from St. Nicholas Street in Wrocław, also without a plastic application, is 15 cm high and has 6 coil ribs, as can be recognized in the published pictures.<sup>54</sup> The cylindrical beaker with a male mask from Uhelna Street in Olomouc is 18.5 cm high and has 8 ribs,<sup>55</sup> while the one with a female mask from Mahler Street in Olomouc is 17.9 cm high and has 13 ribs.<sup>56</sup> The cylindrical beaker with a male mask from Limburg is 22 cm high and has only 3 ribs,<sup>57</sup> while the cylindrical beaker with a male mask from Leipzig is 27.4 high and has around 11 ribs.<sup>58</sup> The example with a male mask from Göttingen has 10 ribs in its lower zone,<sup>59</sup> while a cylindrical beaker with a male mask from Dresden, made of proto-stoneware, has 4 to 5 ribs,<sup>60</sup> and one with a female mask 12 ‘ribs’, i.e. full lines separated, in this case, by incision and not by fluting.<sup>61</sup> On the small beaker without anthropomorphic application from Buda, the height of this zone amounts to 1/3 of the height of the entire vessel, slightly less than 1/3 of the small Wrocław beaker, which also lacks the application, and of the Olomouc beaker with a female mask, and slightly more than 1/3 of the Olomouc beaker with a male mask. The ratio of the height of this zone to the height of the vessel on the bigger Buda beaker and on the Leipzig beaker (both without the anthropomorphic application) is almost 1:4, while the Limburg beaker with a male mask has the lowest height of the lower zone decorated with horizontal ribs and fluting (about 1:6).

On the Dresden beakers made in the style of proto-stoneware, this zone takes almost half, or visibly less than two thirds, of the height of the cylindrical beaker with a female mask, and on the one with a male mask only slightly less than a fifth of its height. It is noticeable from the preserved specimens that there are no rules regarding the height of the zone described and the height of the vessel itself, with or without anthropomorphic (male or female) applications, which makes it impossible to assume the original height of the Ilok beaker. The Ilok beaker, given the diameters of the base, body and rim, can certainly be characterized as a smaller vessel, and certainly as one with a smaller diameter, thus joining the Wrocław finds. Other specimens generally have a base diameter of about 8 cm and a rim diameter of 7 cm, and their heights are usually between 18 and 22 cm, although, as has been said, there are also shorter ones (15 cm, like the Wrocław specimen, or around 14 cm, as in the specimen from Berlin) as well as extremely elongated and tall specimens (27.4 cm, Leipzig). As with all fragments of cylindrical beakers belonging to the Falke group that are known from the literature, the Ilok specimen is characterized by the separation of the lower zone, with the spiral coil, from the central decorative zone with a thin strip decorated with a row of stamped vertical, slightly left-slanting

57 Falke 1907, 301; Holl 1955, 151, 11. kép; Šenkeříková 2015, 60, Obr. 16.

58 Stephan 2004, 301, Ryc. 13; Šenkeříková 2015, 57, Obr. 10.

59 Rode 2000, 44, Abb. 1; Šenkeříková 2015, 65, Obr. 24.

60 Rode 2000, 45, Abb. 3; Šenkeříková 2015, 65, Obr. 25.

54 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 143, Abb. 36; Stephan 2004, 319, Ryc. 37a.

55 Bláha 1998, 148, Obr. 9; Bláha 1999, 590, cat. no. 524; Šenkeříková 2015, 63, Obr. 22.

56 Bláha 1999, 590, cat. no. 525; Šenkeříková 2015, 71, Obr. 33.

57 Falke 1907, 301; Holl 1955, 151, 11. kép; Šenkeříková 2015, 60, Obr. 16.

58 Stephan 2004, 301, Ryc. 13; Šenkeříková 2015, 57, Obr. 10.

59 Rode 2000, 44, Abb. 1; Šenkeříková 2015, 65, Obr. 24.

60 Rode 2000, 45, Abb. 3; Šenkeříková 2015, 65, Obr. 25.

61 Šenkeříková 2015, 73, Obr. 37.

dok limburški pehar s muškom maskom ima najmanju visinu donje zone ukrašene vodoravnim rebrenjem i žlijebljenjem (oko 1 : 6). Kod drezdenskih pehara iz protokamenjače ta zona zaprima gotovo polovinu, odnosno vidno manje od dvije trećine visine cilindričnog pehara sa ženskom maskom, a kod onoga s muškom maskom tek nešto manje od petine visine. Iz očuvanih je primjeraka uočljivo da nema pravila u odnosu visine opisivane zone i visine same posude, sa ili bez antropomorfnih (muških ili ženskih) aplikacija, što nam onemogućuje pretpostaviti izvornu visinu iločkoga pehara. Iločki pehar, s obzirom na dimenzije promjera dna, tijela i ruba, zasigurno spada u manje posude, pridružujući se time wrocławskim nalazima, a svakako u one manjeg promjera. Ostali primjerci uglavnom imaju promjer dna oko 8 cm, a ruba 7 cm te su im visine najčešće između 18 i 22 cm, iako, kao što je rečeno, ima i nižih (15 cm, poput primjerka iz Wrocława ili oko 14 cm – primjerak iz Berlina), kao i iznimno izduženih i visokih primjeraka (27,4 cm, Leipzig).

Kao i kod svih iz literature poznatih ulomaka cilindričnih pehara Falke-skupine, i iločki primjerak karakterizira odvajanje donje zone sa spiralnom zavojnicom od središnje ukrasne zone tankom trakom ukrašenom redom žigosanih okomitih, blago ulijevo ukošenih zarez. Isti granični motiv s gornje strane odvaja neukrašeni jednostavni rub posude od središnje dekorativne zone. Kod većine cilindričnih pehara s ostalih lokaliteta središnja zona nosi motiv šahovnice s naizmjenično raspoređenim punim i udubljenim kvadratićima, pri čemu udubljeni sadrže po četiri ispupčena kružića. Ponekad se dupliciranjem punih kvadratića u određenim pravilnim pozicijama postiže dojam podjela središnje zone na šira polja, bilo u vidu ukošenih polja (Limburg, Göttingen, veći pehar iz Bude) ili rombova (Leipzig, Drezden, pehar sa ženskom maskom iz Olomouca, Berlin, Wrocław). Iločki nalaz, međutim, odlikuje podjela na tri vodoravna polja središnje zone, od čega gornje i donje polje nosi opisani motiv šahovnice, a središnje je polje ukrašeno motivima trokuta. Trokuti su pravilno raspoređeni unutar punih cik-cak linija postavljenih u dva reda, čineći tako 4 reda trokuta od kojih su oni u središnjem dijelu širim stranicama položeni jedan ispod drugoga i odijeljeni manjom tanjom linijom te na neki način, uokvireni punim cik-cak linijama, također tvore motiv romba. Trokuti su udubljeni i ispunjeni gustim, malim ispupčenim trokutićima (po deset njih u svakome trokutu). Manji trokutići unutar trokuta uvijek su šiljkom okrenuti suprotno od šiljka trokuta u kojem se nalaze. Pojava cik-cak linija s trokutima poznata je na slabije očuvanom primjerku cilindričnog pehara iz Bolesławieca u Poljskoj.<sup>62</sup> Poljski primjerak ima identičnu podjelu središnje zone na tri polja pri čemu je središnje polje sadrži isto kao i iločki primjerak dva reda punih cik-cak linija ispunjenih trokutima, međutim brada muškarca na poljskom primjerku drugačije je izvedena od iločkog primjerka. Uz to, na peharu iz Bolesławieca nalaze se motivi udubljenih kvadratića i rombića i u zoni ruba posude, kao i tri pojedinačna između dva šiljka brade u zoni s motivom trokuta. Na ostalim primjercima cilindričnih

notches. On the upper side, the same border motif separates the undecorated simple rim of the vessel from the central decorative zone. On most cylindrical beakers from other sites, the central zone bears a chessboard motif with alternately arranged full and concave squares, with the concave ones containing four convex circles each. Sometimes the duplicating of full squares in certain regular positions gives the impression of dividing the central zone into wider fields, either in the form of sloping fields (Limburg, Göttingen, larger Buda beaker) or rhombuses (Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Wrocław, beaker with a female mask from Olomouc). However, the Ilok find is characterized by a division of the central zone into three horizontal fields, of which the upper and lower fields bear the described chessboard motif, and the central field is decorated with triangular motifs. The triangles are neatly arranged within full zigzag lines arranged in two rows, thus forming four rows of triangles. Triangles in the central part are laid one below the other with their longer sides, separated only by a thinner line and, in a way, framed by full zigzag lines, forming a rhombus motif. The triangles are concave and filled with dense small convex triangles (ten of them in each triangle). The top of the smaller triangles within a triangle always points in the direction opposite the direction of the top of the triangle in which they are placed. The appearance of zigzag lines in combination with triangles is noted on a less well-preserved specimen of a cylindrical beaker from Bolesławiec in Poland.<sup>62</sup> The Polish specimen has an identical division of the central zone into three fields, the central field containing two rows of full zigzag lines filled with triangles, the same as the Ilok specimen. However, the male beard on the Polish specimen is different from the one on the Ilok specimen. In addition, the beaker from Bolesławiec features motifs of concave squares and rhombuses in the area of the rim of the vessel, as well as three individual ones between the two spikes of the beard in the area with the triangle motif. On other examples of cylindrical beakers, the triangle motif is not usual. Nonetheless, this motif was not absent on other forms of Falke-group vessels, mainly those carrying an anthropomorphic mask: for example, on elongated, belly-shaped beakers from the Figdor collection of Dreihausen,<sup>63</sup> as well as on vessels with a human-foot-shaped base from Székesfehérvár<sup>64</sup> and Erfurt.<sup>65</sup>

Cylindrical beakers and other forms of vessels of the Falke group often have a human mask applied below the rim, i.e. the face of a man with a beard and moustache or, sometimes, the face of a woman. The hair of those human figures is arranged in a way that is characteristic of the late Gothic period, which can be seen in the surviving illustrative depictions of the time. The upper part of the Ilok specimen with the hair is not preserved, but the characteristic beard is made in two spikes, as on all other known specimens. The moustache and the beard are further accentuated by incised lines. The fashion of decorating a man's face with a beard in two spikes has been known since the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and was followed, for example, by King Sigismund him-

61 Šenkeříková 2015, 73, Obr. 37.

62 Břicháček 1997, 90, Obr. 2: 2.

62 Břicháček 1997, 90, Obr. 2: 2.

63 Falke 1907, 303; Holl 1955, 152, 14. kép.

64 Siklósi 1983, 163, Abb. 5.

65 Stephan 2004, 298, Ryc. 10.

pehara motiv trokuta nije uobičajen. Međutim, taj motiv nije izostao na drugim oblicima posuda Falke-skupine, uglavnom onima koji nose i antropomorfnu masku, pa tako na izduženim, trbušastim peharima iz zbirke Figdor iz Dreihausena<sup>63</sup>, kao i na posudama sa završetkom u obliku ljudskog stopala iz Stolnog Biograda (Székesfehérvár)<sup>64</sup> i Erfurta.<sup>65</sup>

Cilindrični pehari i drugi oblici posuda Falke-skupine učestalo ispod ruba imaju apliciranu ljudsku masku, odnosno lice muškarca s bradom i brkovima ili ponekad lice žene. Ljudski likovi nose kosu uređenu na način koji je karakterističan za vrijeme kasne gotike, kako se to moglo usporediti iz onodobnih očuvanih ilustrativnih prikaza. Iločkom primjerku nije očuvan gornji dio s kosom, ali karakteristična je brada izvedena u dva šiljka, kao i na svim ostalim poznatim primjercima. Brkovi i brada dodatno su naglašavani urezanim linijama. Moda uređivanja muškog lica bradom u dva šiljka poznata je od kraja 14. stoljeća nadalje, a pratio ju je, primjerice, i sam kralj Žigmund, na što upućuju njegovi portreti i dio prikaza na žigovima te prikaz na kaljevoj peći iz Bude.<sup>66</sup>

Većina muških lica s Falke-skupine kamenjače ima bradu jednostavno podijeljenu na dva šiljka, stiliziranu s nasuprotno ukošenim urezanim linijama,<sup>67</sup> dok iločki primjerak ima dodatno trokutasto polje ispod donje usnice muškarca, ukrašeno urezanim okomitim linijama. Takvu bradu primjećujemo samo na jednom od tri ljudska lica s vrča iz Wroclava.<sup>68</sup>

Antropomorfni prikazi lica na posudama poznati su od prapovijesti i antike, a prikazi lica muškarca s bradom javljaju se u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku već od 13. stoljeća<sup>69</sup> i dalje,<sup>70</sup> a učestali su na kamenjači 15. stoljeća iz saskog Waldenburga<sup>71</sup> i na drugim kasnijim primjercima vrčeva s bradatim muškarcem, tzv. Bartsmankrug, iz 16. i 17. stoljeća iz raznih njemačkih radionica.<sup>72</sup>

self, as indicated by his portraits and some of the seals and the tile stove from Buda.<sup>66</sup>

Most male faces from the Falke stoneware group have a beard simply divided into two spikes, stylized with oppositely oblique incised lines,<sup>67</sup> while the Ilok specimen has an additional triangular field below the lower lip of the male, decorated with incised vertical lines. We notice such a beard on only one of the three human faces on a jug from Wroclaw.<sup>68</sup>

Anthropomorphic depictions of faces on vessels have been known since prehistory and antiquity, and depictions of the faces of men with beards appear in the developed and late Middle Ages, as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>69</sup> and beyond,<sup>70</sup> and they were frequent on 15<sup>th</sup>-century stoneware from Waldenburg, Saxony,<sup>71</sup> and on other later specimens of jugs with bearded men, the so-called 'Bartsmankrug', from various German workshops in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>72</sup>

63 Falke 1907, 303; Holl 1955, 152, 14. kép.

64 Siklósi 1983, 163, Abb. 5.

65 Stephan 2004, 298, Ryc. 10.

66 Holl 1990, 211.

67 Cf. Šenkeříková 2015, 67, Obr. 28.

68 Stephan 2004, 320–321, Ryc. 38 a, b.

69 Cf. Stephan 2004, 293, Ryc. 1.

70 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 108–114, Abb. 1–7.

71 Schwarzberg 2012, 133, Abb. 5.

72 Reineking von Bock 1966; Schwarzberg 2012, 134–137, Abb. 6–7.

66 Holl 1990, 211.

67 Cf. Šenkeříková 2015, 67, Obr. 28.

68 Stephan 2004, 320–321, Ryc. 38 a, b.

69 Cf. Stephan 2004, 293, Ryc. 1.

70 Stephan, Gaimster 2002, 108–114, Abb. 1–7.

71 Schwarzberg 2012, 133, Abb. 5.

72 Reineking von Bock 1966; Schwarzberg 2012, 134–137, Abb. 6–7.

## Zaključna razmatranja

Ulomci cilindrične čaše s ljudskom maskom bradatog muškarca Falke-skupine kamenjače pronađeni u Iloku, u sloju bogatom kasnosrednjovjekovnim nalazima tik zapadno od sjevernog krila palače vojvoda Nikole i Lovre Iločkih, vjerojatno su prvobitno pripadali repertoaru viteške dvorane koja se nalazila na prvome katu sjevernoga krila, kako je to pokazala arhitektonska analiza.<sup>73</sup> Na istome području i u istome sloju SJ 494 pronađeni su i drugi nalazi koji svjedoče o vezama iločkih knezova s onodobnim srednjoeuropskim centrima moći te crkvenim i svjetovnim moćnicima poput kasnogotičkih pećnjaka i ukrasnih okova korica za knjige.<sup>74</sup> Ukrašeni brončani ugaoni okovi od dviju inkunabula, vjerojatno liturgijskih knjiga, pokazuju odlike dvorske umjetnosti Matije Korvina, a vjerojatno su korištene u dvorskoj kapeli Nikole Iločkoga te njegova sina Lovre Iločkoga tijekom posljednje četvrti 15. stoljeća.<sup>75</sup> Ulomci polikromnih i zeleno glaziranih pećnjaka s prikazima grba grada Regensburga i drugim motivima pripadaju peći koja je tijekom posljednje četvrtine 15. stoljeća vjerojatno grijala vitešku dvoranu.<sup>76</sup> Peć/pećnjake proizvela je umjetničko-obrtna lončarska radionica u Regensburgu te je dopremljena u Ilok kao rezultat političkih odnosa i veza, ali i kao pokazatelj praćenja onodobne mode, kulturnih i umjetničkih dostignuća, moguće kao dar regensburškog biskupa Ruperta II. Falačkog uz posredovanje kralja Matije Korvina, ili pak kao direktna narudžba kneza Lovre Iločkoga.<sup>77</sup>

Iločka visoka cilindrična čaša Falke-skupine kamenjače uklapa se u opću sliku uporabe od strane osoba iz najvišeg društvenog sloja toga doba. Je li taj skupocjeni primjerak dospio na dvor vojvoda Iločkih sredinom i u drugoj polovini 15. stoljeća kao nasljedstvo, s obzirom na to da se pretpostavlja proizvodnja te robe u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća, ili ipak kao dar ili narudžba za vrijeme Nikolina boravka u Iloku, nije moguće znati. Iako većina autora stavlja težište proizvodnje Falke-skupine u početak 15. stoljeća, a I. Holl iznosi i tezu o jednome majstoru koji je djelovao za vrijeme kralja Sigismunda i koji nije imao svog nasljednika, ipak pojedini autori otvaraju mogućnost i dugotrajnijeg funkcioniranja radi-

## Conclusion

Fragments of a cylindrical beaker with a human mask of a bearded man of the Falke stoneware group, found in Ilok in a layer rich in late-medieval finds just west of the north wing of the palace of Dukes Nicholas and Lawrence of Ilok, probably originally belonged to the inventory of the knight's hall, located on the first floor of the north wing, as shown by the architectural analysis.<sup>73</sup> In the same area, and in the same layer, SJ 494, other finds such as late Gothic stove tiles and decorative fittings of book covers were found, which testify to the connections of the Ilok dukes with the then Central European centres of power, and powerful ecclesiastical and secular people.<sup>74</sup>

Decorated bronze corner fittings of two incunabula, probably liturgical books, show features of the court art of Matthias Corvinus, and were probably used in the court chapel of Nicholas of Ilok and his son Lawrence of Ilok during the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>75</sup> Fragments of polychrome and green-glazed stove tiles with depictions of the coat of arms of the city of Regensburg and other motifs belong to the stove that probably heated the knight's hall during the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>76</sup> The stove / stove tiles were produced by an artistic pottery workshop in Regensburg and brought to Ilok as a result of political relations and connections, and as an indicator of following the achievements in fashion, culture and art of that time, possibly as a gift from Regensburg Bishop Rupert of the Palatinate with the mediation of King Matthias Corvinus, or as a direct order by Prince Lawrence of Ilok.<sup>77</sup>

The tall cylindrical beaker of Falke-group stoneware from Ilok fits into the general picture of use by persons from the highest social class of that time. Given that the production of these goods is dated to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it is not possible to determine whether this precious specimen reached the court of the Dukes of Ilok in the middle and the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a legacy, or as a gift or order during Nicholas's stay in Ilok. Although most authors believe that the production of Falke-

73 Horvat 2002, 203, sl. 11; 2009, 45, Fig. 23C.

74 U sloju SJ 494 pronađeno je i osam kovanica od kojih su autorici u vrijeme pisanja rada samo dvije bile dostupne na uvid. Riječ je o kovanici koja ukazuje na dugo vrijeme uporabe PN 1661, najvjerojatnije srebrnom denaru Sigismunda, kovanom između 1427. i 1437. godine (Unger 1974, 450; CNH II, 124A), no zbog istrošenosti ne možemo isključiti niti mogućnost da je to srebrni denar Ladislava V. Posmrtnog (Unger 1974, 523; CNH II, 182), kovan 1455. godine ili čak srebrni denar Matije Korvina, kovan između 1458. i 1460. godine (Unger 1974, 553; CNH II, 217). Drugi je primjerak brončana rimska kovanica PN 1882, što ne začuđuje na ovome višeslojnome nalazištu.

Ovom bih prigodom istaknula da sam tijekom dugogodišnje i uvijek plodonsne i poučne suradnje s laureatom dr. sc. Željkom Demom imala prilike naučiti i osnove numizmatike. Godine 2016., prigodom analize kovanica iz istraživanja nalazišta Crkvari-crkva svetog Lovre, dr. sc. Demo je posvetio velik dio svog vremena kako bi mi prenio dio svog znanja, na čemu sam mu iznimno zahvalna.

75 Tomičić 2011a, 23–24.

76 Tomičić 2004, 156.

77 Tomičić 2004, 168–169.

73 Horvat 2002, 203, Fig. 11; 2009, 45, Fig. 23C.

74 Eight coins were also found in layer 494, only two of which were available for inspection by the author at the time of writing. One is a worn coin SF 1661, most probably a silver denarius of Sigismund, minted between 1427 and 1437 (Unger 1974, 450; CNH II, 124A), but due to wear we cannot rule out the possibility that it is a silver denarius of Ladislaus the Posthumous (Unger 1974, 523; CNH II, 182), minted in 1455, or even a silver denarius of Matthias Corvinus, minted between 1458 and 1460 (Unger 1974, 553; CNH II, 217). The other one is a bronze Roman coin SF 1882, which is not surprising at this multi-layered site.

On this occasion, I would like to point out that, during the long and always fruitful and instructive cooperation with laureate Dr Željko Demo, I had the opportunity to learn the basics of numismatics. In 2016, during the analysis of coins from the research of the Crkvari-Church of St. Lawrence site, Dr Demo dedicated much of his time to passing on some of his knowledge to me, for which I am extremely grateful.

75 Tomičić 2011a, 23–24.

76 Tomičić 2004, 156.

77 Tomičić 2004, 168–169.



onice i proizvodnju kamenjače tipa Falke-skupine, što bi moglo značiti da je čaša naručena za samoga Nikolu Iločkoga (bilo kao dar ili kao njegova vlastita narudžba). S druge strane, valja također napomenuti da su tijekom arheoloških istraživanja palače Nikole Iločkog u Iloku pronađeni i tragovi starije arhitekture (temelji zida zapadno uz palaču, ali stratigrafski ispod sloja SJ 494) koji bi mogli ukazivati na postojanje utvrde na ovome mjestu već za vrijeme Nikolina pradjeda Nikole Konta, ako ne još i ranije za prvih Iločkih od roda Csák. Kako je taj nalaz još neobjavljen, kao i popratni pokretni nalazi iz konteksta zapune ukopa navedenog temelja, pitanje funkcije, tlocrta i pripadnosti toga starijeg objekta ostaje otvorenim do buduće detaljne obrade.<sup>78</sup> Time ne možemo odgovoriti niti na pitanje je li se cilindrična čaša u viteškoj dvorani vojvoda Nikole i Lovre Iločkih zadržala kao nasljedstvo od predaka koji su ranije u samome Iloku imali svoju rezidenciju ili ju je Nikola Iločki kao nasljedstvo dopremio u Ilok iz svojih drugih rezidencija u Ugarskoj. Možemo jedino biti sigurni da je čašu koristio vojvoda Lovro Iločki u viteškoj dvorani prvoga kata sjevernoga krila iločke palače, a najvjerojatnije prije njega i otac mu, vojvoda Nikola Iločki, koji je palaču dao izgraditi.

group stoneware dates to the very beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and I. Holl even presents the thesis of a master who worked during the reign of King Sigismund and who had no successor, some authors allow the possibility of a longer functioning of the workshop and production of stoneware of Falke-group type, which could mean that the beaker was ordered for Nicholas of Ilok himself (either as a gift or at his own order). On the other hand, it should also be noted that, during the archaeological excavations of the palace of Nicholas of Ilok, in Ilok, traces of older architecture (foundations of the wall west of the palace, but stratigraphically below the SJ 494 layer) were found, which could indicate the existence of a fortress already during the reign of Nicholas's great grandfather, Nicholas Kont, if not even earlier: during the times of the first Ilok line of the Csák clan. As this finding, as well as the accompanying movable findings from the context of the filling of the said foundation, has not yet been published, the question of the function, floor plan and affiliation of this older building remains unanswered until further detailed interpretation.<sup>78</sup> Thus, we cannot answer the question whether the cylindrical beaker in the knight's hall of Dukes Nicholas and Lawrence of Ilok was inherited from ancestors who previously had their residence in Ilok itself, or Nicholas of Ilok brought it to Ilok as inheritance from one of his residences in Hungary. We can only be sure that the beaker was used by Duke Lawrence of Ilok in the knight's hall on the first floor of the north wing of the Ilok Palace, as most probably before him by his father, Duke Nicholas of Ilok, who had the palace built.

Translated by Suzana Čule

78 Na uvidu u dokumentaciju te na pojašnjenjima o navedenom nalazu zahvaljujem dr. sc. Marku Dizdaru.

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