

# Death and Bernard of Clairvaux in Selmečbánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia) at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century\*

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“as one dead in the bottom of a tomb”<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** *The standing grave statue of Provost Georg Schönberg in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia), inscribed with the year 1470 and depicting the prelate as a living person, bears the influence of Nikolaus Gerhaerts von Leyden. One of the two stone tablets belonging to it with inscriptions from around 1486, the year of the death of the provost, describes the corpse of the deceased, feeden by worms in the tomb.*

*The memento mori representations of the corpse or skeleton eaten by worms are not unusual in the funeral art of late medieval Europe, but there is almost no precedent of it on the territory of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The only such monument is the part of a special “collection” of late medieval tombslabs placed secondarily in the outer wall of the medieval Castle-church (the former parish church) of Selmečbánya. Besides the tombstones of Georgius Cerndel (Görig Körndel, d. 1479), cameralist of Selmec, Johannes Hohel (d. 1480), a burgher of the town, and Gregory (d. 1516), possibly parson of the settlement, there is a wilfully damaged slab of reddish volcanic stone, depicting a skeleton-like figure with worms and frogs, holding a scythe. It is the personification of the Death, without any reference to a concrete person. In the museum collection of the former church there is a corner-fragment of a tombslab, carved of similar stone with similar framing, the German inscription of which – VOR GEORGY IST GESTOR[BEN] (“died before the day of Saint George”) – is formed of similar humanistic letters, as the inscription of the slab depicting the personification of the Death. The two pieces might belong together – at least on the level of the client. The personification of the Death belonged perhaps to a more complex work of a danse macabre – up to now without any parallel in the mural painting or in the sculptural arts of medieval Hungary.*

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\* Selmečbánya, Banská Štiavnica, Schemnitz, present-day Slovakia. The Hungarian version of the article: “Mint egy halott a krypta mélyiről” – A halál és Clairvaux-i Bernát Selmečbányán a 16. század elején,” *Ars Hungarica* 42 (2016): 353–68.

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<sup>1</sup> William Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act 5 Scene 3, ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (The Oxford Shakespeare. The Complete Works), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 356.

The inscription of the stone slab with the Death refers to the mortality, too: *FORMA FAVOR POPVLI FERVOR IVVENILIS OPESQ(UE) DIRIPVERE TIBI NOSCERE QVID SIT HOMO*. A close version of this text can be read in the *Avicenna-incunabulum* of John Filipec (Pruisz), bishop of Várad (Nagyvárad, Oradea, now Romania) in Hungary and Olmütz in Moravia (d. 1509), now in the *Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden*. A hand-written verse in Latin on the back-cover of the book is signed by the bishop of Moravian origin, with a short comment in Czech language. The first two lines of the verse: “*Forma, fa... populi, feruor iuuenilis, opesq(ue) / Surripuere tibi, noscere quid sit homo.*” These verses (and two more lines of the Filipec-text) can be traced back to the “*Meditationes*” linked in late medieval times with the name of Bernard of Clairvaux, but written in the thirteenth century by an unknown author.

**Keywords:** tomb monument of Provost Georg Schönberg, *memento mori*, Banská Štiavnica/Selmecbánya, personification of the Death, John Filipec (Pruisz) bishop of Várad and Olmütz, *Meditationes* of pseudo Bernard of Clairvaux.

Two stone tablets carved in red marble in the St Martin provostry church of Pozsony (Bratislava) remind of the death of Provost Georg Schönberg in 1486. One bears a traditional epitaph written in Gothic minuscule (fig. 1), which only contains, in addition to the date of the Provost’s death, his titles related to the town, as the first provost of the collegiate chapter entitled to wear the insignia of a high priest, and the vice-chancellor of the university of Pozsony: *a(nno) d(omini) mccccxxxvi in d(ie) s(ancti) Hyeronimi ob(iit) r(everendus) in xto [=Christo] p(ater) georg(ius) de schonberg prim(us) poson(iensium) eccl(esi)arum inf(ulatus) praep(ositus) et universitatis istropolit(ane) uic(e) cancell(ariu)s*. The other inscription (fig. 2) also lists the date of the provost’s death with a more complete enumeration of his titles and a long epitaph. This piece of writing, among others, tells about the once famous provost respected by princes who is now lying in the tomb to be eaten by worms: *Ecce ego fueram praesul clarissimus olim, Et magni condam quem coluere duces, Squalidus hic laceror nunc vermium esca sepulchro*.<sup>2</sup> The tomb sculpture that

<sup>2</sup> József Könyöki, *A pozsonyi székesegyházban létező síroknak és sírköveknek jegyzéke* (1878, manuscript: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága Irattára, Műemléki Gyűjtemények, Budapest; henceforth: MOB Iratok), 78/1879. [text edition: Jolán Váliné Pogány, ed., *Az örökség hagyományozása. Könyöki József műemlékfelmérései 1869–1890* (Budapest: Országos Műemlékvédelmi Hivatal, 2000), 204, art. xxi. and xxii.]; Carolus Rimely, *Capitulum insignis ecclesiae collegiatae Posoniensis* (Posonii: typis Caroli Angermayer, 1880), 181–2; Jenő Ábel, *Egyetemeink a középkorban* (Budapest: a M. Tud. Akadémia könyvkiadóhivatala, 1881), 35, 68. (note 36.).

belonged to the red marble tablets, but was made sixteen years before the death of the commissioner – dated to 1470 – betrays the influence of Nikolaus Gerhaerts von Leyden<sup>3</sup> (fig. 3). It is unique in Hungary, and in the absence of European parallels, it is indeed special in typology as well. The statue and the two tablets were originally located in the St Joseph chapel, a room south of the present-day sacristy, below the western tower of the church, from where it was repeatedly moved within the building during the nineteenth century. Their original composition is unknown. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the smaller piece, most probably created soon after the provost's death, was incorporated into a simple sandstone tablet, divided only by a concavity delimiting the inscription mirror, possibly already at the end of the fifteenth century, but more probably during the relocations of the nineteenth century. The letter type of the longer piece has a strong fraktur character, and seems to come from the sixteenth century rather than from the same age as the smaller one.

Regardless of the early history and composition of the tomb monument, the provost depicted in full canonicals and insignia standing confidently in the niche supposedly already displays a certain amount of recognizable facial features – and it could not be any further from the imagery of the later epitaph.

However, the often almost scientifically accurate representation of a worm-eaten corpse or skeleton was not the least a rarity in late medieval European funeral art. The process started with the shock caused by the great mid-fourteenth century plague epidemics, which confronted the society with a new dimension of mass death, and the images of corpses that were often left long unburied. One of the signs of the general changes apparent in funeral art was that, besides or instead of representing the deceased as a living (*au vif*) or sleeping being, it also depicted the

<sup>3</sup> Imre Henszlmann, *Magyarország csúcs-íves stílus műemlékei*, II. Győr, Sopron, Pozsony, Sz.-György, Bazin, Modor és Nagy-Szombat (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1880), 130, 143, 156–7; Abb. 145; László Éber, “Schomberg György síremléke,” *Magyarország Műemlékei* III. (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1913), 105–16; Abb. 99–100; Emil Vernei-Kronberger, *Magyar középkori síremlékek* (A Budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem Művészettörténeti és Keresztényrégészeti Intézetének Dolgozatai, 60.), (Budapest: author's edition, 1939), 9, 38–39, 50; Taf. 19; *Matthias Corvinus und die Renaissance in Ungarn 1458–1541* (Ausstellungskatalog, Schallaburg 1982, Wien: Amt der Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, 1982), Kat. 271. (Pál Lövei – Richard Perger) 325–327; Pál Lövei – Livia Varga, “Síremlékek,” in *Magyarországi művészet 1300–1470 körül*, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), I. 700–1; II. Abb. 708–9; Kaliopi Chamonikolasová, “Recepcia diela Nicolausa Gerhaerta van Leyden na Slovensku v poslednej tretine 15. storočia,” in *Gotika*, ed. Dušan Buran (Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia), (Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria v Bratislave, 2003), 374, 378; Abb. 322; Viera Luxová: “Memento mori: formy náhrobnej skulptúry,” in Buran, *Gotika*, 333, 667. (Kat. 2.2.9.); Abb. 283; Miriam Hlavačková, “Prepošt bratislavskej kapituly Juraj zo Schönbergu a Dóm sv. Martina,” in *Galéria 2004–2005. Ročenka Slovenskej národnej galérie v Bratislave* (Bratislava: SNG, 2006), 227–34; Miriam Hlavačková, *Juraj zo Schönbergu. Bratislavský prepošt v službách cisára a kráľa* (Bratislava: VEDA, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2015).

fate of the dead corpse (*en transi*).<sup>4</sup> Larger tombs often contained beside or below the living image of the deceased the representation of the decomposing corpse as well. A typical example of this new “trend” is the monumental mural tomb slab of Franz I von La Sarraz (d. 1363), buried in the church of La Sarraz in Switzerland, with the statue of a corpse completely covered in snakes, worms and frogs.<sup>5</sup> The tomb sculpture of a physician, Guillaume de Harcigny (d. 1393) in the chapel of the Templers in Laon represents the mummified body, with the skin dried onto the bones.<sup>6</sup> Priest and physician Guillaume Lefranchois’s tomb slab in Arras, carved in black stone of Tournai, from 1466, displays a further stage of decay.<sup>7</sup> Nicolaus Roeder’s (d. 1510) traditional tomb stone in Strassburg only represents the mummified body.<sup>8</sup> Examples exist from Italy and England as well. The miniatures of a moralising codex from England, copied around 1435–1440, depicts a king and a queen clothed in ermine robes, lying on the top of sarcophagi with coats of arms on the sides, their half-skeleton bodies exposed under the shrouds in the tomb below, eaten by worms and insects.<sup>9</sup> The double representation of the deceased on a single monument as both a living being and a skeleton has also made its way into the iconography of tomb slabs and epitaph tablets. Pierre Dupont was the abbot of the Saint Martin Premonstratensian provostry of Laon between 1447 and 1461; on his epitaph carved in Tournai around 1447, the kneeling figure of the priest is dedicated to the Madonna, while lying naked and wearing a mitre and a crosier on the lower part of the stone, he is eaten by worms.<sup>10</sup>

Under the influence of Saint Augustine’s ideas on burials, exposed in his treatise *De Civitate Dei*, the reform movements within the church condemned from time to time the luxurious tombs, also as a source of a moralising representation of the dead.<sup>11</sup> This idea has later turned completely into its opposite in late medieval and early modern funeral art, when on the most monumental representations of *memento mori*, for instance the Renaissance-style, chapel-sized monument of the French king and queen Louis XII (d. 1515) and Anne of Bretagne (d. 1514) in Saint-Denis, the couple was depicted on the upper level in their full royal pomp,

<sup>4</sup> “Bild des Leichnams,” in Kurt Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa* (Berlin–New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1976), 252–62.

<sup>5</sup> Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*, 255; Abb. 378–9.

<sup>6</sup> Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*, 255; Abb. 380.

<sup>7</sup> Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*, 255, 260; Abb. 381.

<sup>8</sup> Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*, Abb. 386.

<sup>9</sup> The British Library, Add. MS 37049: Jan Chlíbec, “Figural Sepulchral Sculpture of the Jagiellonian Period,” in Jan Chlíbec – Jiří Roháček, *Figure & Lettering. Sepulchral Sculpture of the Jagiellonian Period in Bohemia* (Epigraphica & Sepulcralia – monographica, 3.), (Praha: Artefactum, 2014), 20; figs. 2–3.

<sup>10</sup> Michael Grandmontagne, “Niclaus Gerhaert und die burgundischen Niederlande. Überlegungen zu seiner künstlerischen Herkunft,” in *Niclaus Gerhaert. Der Bildhauer des späten Mittelalters*, Ausstellungskatalog, hg. von Stefan Roller (Frankfurt am Main: Liebighaus, 2011), 68; Abb. 47.

<sup>11</sup> Chlíbec, “Figural Sepulchral Sculpture,” 9.

while a level below as life-sized, naked corpses. Nevertheless, these figures are not horrendous, although the representation of the internal organs removed for the sake of embalming and the wound on their abdomens cut open is still very naturalistic.<sup>12</sup> The tomb in Brou of Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, daughter of Maximilian I, made of marble and alabaster after 1526, has her represented alive on the top of the table-like construction covered by a canopy, and below it, she appears dead.<sup>13</sup> A later, artistically outstanding work is Valentine Balbiani's (d. 1572) tomb in Paris, created before 1583 by Germain Pilon, displaying on the top the lying, reading figure of the lady in the company of her dog, and on the side the naturalistic bas-relief of the naked dead body (in the Birague chapel of the Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers in Paris; Paris, Louvre).<sup>14</sup>

The *memento mori* representations of Western European (French, Dutch) royal tombs are unknown on the royal or imperial tombs of Central Europe (Cracow, Vienna). However, the idea is present on the tomb of Emperor Frederick III (d. 1493) in Vienna, where death and decay is represented on the base of the sarcophagus by beast which stand for evil, and skulls, snakes, and frogs (fig. 4). Above them, bas-reliefs hinting to the ecclesiastical institutions founded by the ruler (and prayer communities in memory of the deceased) symbolise the victory over death.<sup>15</sup>

The representation of the decaying body, the skeleton on burgher and clerical tomb slabs and epitaphs is also prevalent on German, Austrian, and Czech territories. The tomb of Johannes Permetter, professor of theology (d. 1505) in Ingolstadt (Frauenkirche) exhibits the figure of the professor teaching his students under the eyes of a Madonna appearing above the clouds; but on the lower image level, there is a skeleton eaten by worms.<sup>16</sup> The tomb tablet of the patrician family of the Tuchers in the Sebalduskirche of Nuremberg, made in 1507, contains the painted image of a decaying body partly clad in a shroud. A similar tablet on one of the pillars of the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg (fig. 5) represents the kneeling figure of the deceased with two archangels of the Last Judgment, with the dead body eaten by worms visible in the open tomb, and a poem on mortality between the two images.<sup>17</sup> On the red marble tomb slab of provost Johann Neunhauser (d. 1516) in the Frauenkirche in Munich (fig. 6) below the inscription lies the skeleton in a

<sup>12</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture. Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1992), 79; figs. 342, 344–5.

<sup>13</sup> Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture*, 78–9; figs. 324, 348–9.

<sup>14</sup> Michael Levey, *High Renaissance* (Style and Civilization), (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), 129, 296; figs. 60a–b.

<sup>15</sup> Marlene Zykán, *Der Stephansdom* (Wiener Geschichtsbücher, 26/27.), (Wien–Hamburg: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1981), 123–4.

<sup>16</sup> Chlábec, "Figural Sepulchral Sculpture," 22; fig. 4.

<sup>17</sup> Gerhard Weilandt, *Die Sebalduskirche in Nürnberg. Bild und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Gotik und Renaissance* (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007), 246; Abb. 202.

coffin, with hands crossed on his groin, referring also to the burial type, and snakes, frogs and scorpions emerging from it. Below, there is a coat of arms and a mitre, and a ribbon between these with the explanation: *meminisse velis o homo ex turpi hac effigie me(i) et tui* (“think, o man, seeing this image, to the body of me and you”).<sup>18</sup>

As opposed to the smaller-sized representations discussed above, in the Sankt Zeno provostry church of Bad Reichenhall, the red marble monumental tomb of provost Wolfgang Lueger (d. 1526) displays a life-sized skeleton in a shroud, resting its head on a pillow – with a frog in its abdominal cavity.<sup>19</sup> (figs. 7–8) Johannes de Lobcowitz, Lord of Hassenstein (Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic, d. 1517), had his tomb crafted in 1516 by Ulrich Creutz, in the Czech town of Kadaň. On the top of the sarcophagus decorated on the sides with coats of arms lies the decaying body of the deceased, with the skin dried on the bones, and a snake curling around his neck, under his skull.<sup>20</sup> Further examples are the red marble tomb of Hans Baumgartner (d. 1493) in the parish church from Kufstein in Tirol<sup>21</sup> (fig. 9.), and an early sixteenth-century tomb in Radkersburg, Styria, near the western border of Hungary, representing a skeleton.<sup>22</sup>

In medieval Hungary there is one single example known as yet of the representation of a decaying corpse and skeleton on a stone-carved slab: it is a most enigmatic piece of a funeral complex (fig. 10) in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia). It is a part of a special “collection” of late medieval tomb slabs placed secondarily in the outer wall of the medieval fortified church (the former parish church) of Selmecbánya: the tombs of Georgius Cerndel (Görig Körndel), cameralist of Selmec (d. 1479),<sup>23</sup> Johannes Hohel, a

<sup>18</sup> Volker Liedke, *Die Haldner und das Kaisergrabmal in der Frauenkirche zu München* (Ars Bavarica, 2.), (München: Kunstbuchverlag Maria Weber, 1974), 124–5, 180. (Nr. 75.); Abb. 78; Peter Bernhard Steiner, “Grabmäler in Münchner Kirchen,” in *Die letzte Reise. Sterben, Tod und Trauersitten in Oberbayern*, Ausstellungskatalog, hg. von Sigrid Metken (München: Hugendubel, 1984), 274, with images.

<sup>19</sup> Walter Brugger, *Bad Reichenhall, St. Zeno* (Schnell, Kunstführer Nr. 157), (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2008<sup>3</sup>), 36, 38 (image on page 21.)

<sup>20</sup> ChlÍbec–Roháček, *Figure & Lettering*, 186–97. (Nr. 13); figs. 47, 49.

<sup>21</sup> Reinhardt Hootz, Hrsg., *Kunstdenkmäler in Österreich – Bildhandbuch. Salzburg, Tirol, Vorarlberg* (München–Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1975<sup>2</sup>), 359; Abb. 117.

<sup>22</sup> Bauch, *Mittelalterliche Grabbild*, Abb. 387.

<sup>23</sup> Matthias Bel, *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica... IV.* (Viennae Austriae: impensis Pauli Straubii, 1742), 623, kép a 624. oldalon; János Kachelmann, *A bányaavárosok története, különösen a’ Hussiták és Reformatio idejéből / Geschichte der ungrischen Bergstädte und ihrer Umgebung*, III. *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hussiten und der Reformation* (Selmecen: Nyomtatta Mihalik István / Schemnitz: Druck von Stephan Mihalik, 1867), 169; Kálmán Lux, “A selmecbányai óvár,” *Magyarország Műemlékei IV.* (Budapest: Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1915), 9; Vernei-Kronberger, *Magyar középkori síremlékek*, 42; Taf. 24.a; Váliné Pogány, *Az örökség hagyományozása*, 279–80. (Nr. 157); Pál Lövei – Boglárka Weisz, “A gazdaság- és pénzügyigazgatás szereplőinek szórványos síremlékei a középkori Magyarországon,” in *Pénz*,

burgher of Selmezbánya (d. 1480),<sup>24</sup> and Gregory, possibly parson of the town (d. 1516)<sup>25</sup> (figs. 11–14.) In addition to the tomb stones inscribed with Gothic minuscules, there is a tablet carved in reddish vulcanic stone, with inscriptions in early Humanist capital letters (figs. 15–16), and partly assymetric, curved notches on the upper corners. The surface of the bas-relief figure that fills the tablet was later pared, but the leg and right foot still intact suggest a skeleton-like figure with a scythe as a personification of Death, with snakes and worms emerging from its limbs, and (perhaps) frogs near its legs.<sup>26</sup> It bears no reference to any concrete person, and it can hardly be taken as a complex, monumental tomb; at best, it should be regarded as some sort of a special *memento mori* tablet placed on a wall surface. The tomb slab of the carving's commissioner was also placed in the fortified church: there is a tomb fragment exhibited in the lapidary (fig. 17) which has the same kind of letter type, frame and material than the *memento mori*. Its inscription, rare in Hungary even at the end of the Middle Ages because of its German language (as Latin inscriptions were prevalent on tomb monuments), only betrays that the person buried there died sometime before the feast of Saint George: *VOR GEORGY IST GESTOR[BEN]*. I could not interpret the rest of the fragment of the inner field of the tablet, except for what is perhaps a hatchet.

During the late Middle Ages, there were often monumental *memento mori* representations (“Dance of Death”) painted or hung on tablets on the walls or arcades surrounding the cemeteries. The iconographic preliminaries can be traced back to the end of the fourteenth century (Normandy, Caudebec-en-Cruix, 1393).<sup>27</sup> The earliest *memento mori* from the Cimetière de Saints Innocents, painted in Paris in 1424–1425, a pattern for later representations, was destroyed already in the early modern period, but the images were preserved and widely circulated thereafter in

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posztó, piac. Gazdaságtörténeti tanulmányok a magyar középkorról, ed. Boglárka Weisz (Magyar Történelmi Emlékek, Értekezések), (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2016), 247–50.

<sup>24</sup> Kachelmann, *A bányavárosok története*, 169; Lux, “A selmezbányai óvár,” 9; Vernei-Kronberger, *Magyar középkori síremlékek*, 42; Váliné Pogány, *Az örökség hagyományozása*, 279–80. (Nr. 157)

<sup>25</sup> Bel, *Notitia Hungariae*, 624; Kachelmann, *A bányavárosok története*, 169; Jakab Rupp, *Magyarország helyrajzi története fő tekintettel az egyházi intézetekre...* 1. (Pest: [Eggenberger F. Akad. Könyvárusnál](#), 1870), 184; Ludovicus Némethy, *Series parochiarum et parochorum archidieocesis Strigoniensis* (Strigonii: Typus Gustavi Buzárovits, 1894), 931; Ede Richter, ed., *Selmezbélabánya szab. kir. bányaváros muzeumának katalógusa* (Selmezbánya: Joerges, 1900), 7; Lux, “A selmezbányai óvár,” 9.

<sup>26</sup> The drawing of József Könyöki (Műemléki Gyűjtemények, Budapest, Planarchiv, Inv. Nr. K 3973/a; MOB Iratok 1889/15, cf. Váliné Pogány, *Az örökség hagyományozása*, 279. [Nr. 157. 3.]). The figure was already interpreted as death by Kachelmann, *A bányavárosok története*, 169: “Sensenmann.”

<sup>27</sup> Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1925), 361; Isabelle Le Masne De Chermont, “La memento mori du cimetière des Innocents”, in Dr. Michel de Fleury – Guy-Michel Leproux, *Les Saints-Innocents* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, [1990]), 86, 104. (note 2.).

the basic features of the woodcut series of Guyot Marchant, printed in 1485.<sup>28</sup> Two *memento mori* representations were painted in Basel around 1440: one could be seen on the wall of the cemetery of the Dominican friary of Grossbasel until 1805; the other, in the cemetery of the Klingelthal monastery of Kleinbasel, was destroyed in 1860. Another such image was found in London, in the cloister surrounding the cemetery of the old Saint Paul's Cathedral, painted on tablets around 1430–1440, and destroyed in 1549. A wall painting in Bruges is only known from a mention in 1449. Another *memento mori* created in 1453 existed in Besançon but, similarly to many other French examples, it has not been preserved. Some of this work was connected to the greatest artists, such as the mural of the Marienkirche in Lübeck painted by Bernt Notke in 1463, the one in Bern, destroyed in 1660, painted by Nikolaus Manuel Deutsch between 1516 and 1520, and the series painted in 1626 in the covered Kapellbrücke of Luzern, which goes back to Holbein's woodcuts.<sup>29</sup> The *memento mori* mural of the abbey church of La Chaise-Dieu in France, painted around 1460–1470, is still preserved.<sup>30</sup> The one painted as a 22.6 m long strip at the end of the fifteenth century after the plague epidemics of 1484 on the northern wall of the hall of the Marienkirche of Berlin is still in place today.<sup>31</sup> However, the examples closest to Hungary are found in villages, not in towns. Next to the parish church of the Carinthian village of Metnitz, on the outer façade of the octagonal

<sup>28</sup> Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 363–8; Figs. 200–204, 210; István Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, II. *A haláltáncok előtti halál-didaktika* (Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historiae, V.), (Budapest: Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1944), Taf. XXII–XXIII; Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Totentanz," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 4. Hg. von Engelbert Kirschbaum, hg. von (Rom–Freiburg–Basel–Wien: Herder, 1972), 345; Abb. 1; Johan Huizinga, *A középkor alkonya. Az élet, a gondolkodás és a művészet formái Franciaországban és Németalföldön a XIV. és XV. században* ([Budapest:] Magyar Helikon, 1976 [original Dutch edition: 1919], 111, 113; Amy Appleford, "The Dance of Death in London: John Carpenter, John Lydgate, and the *Dauunce of Poulys*," *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (2008): 287.

<sup>29</sup> Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 362, 369–71; István Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, III. *A mai haláltánc* (Bibliotheca Humanitatis Historiae, VII.), (Budapest: Magyar Történeti Múzeum, 1941), Taf. VII–VIII (Luzern); Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, II, Taf. XXI (Bern), Taf. XXIV (Groß-Basel), Taf. XXVII (Lübeck); Rosenfeld, "Totentanz," 345–347. 3. kép; Kurt Liebmann, "Geleitwort," in *Hans Holbein der Jüngere, Bilder des Todes* (Insel-Bücherei Nr. 221), (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1977<sup>10</sup>), 52–3; on the London Dance of Death: Appleford, "The Dance of Death," 285–314; Holbein fametszetei: *A haláltáncok története*, III, Taf. I–II; *Hans Holbein 1977*; Hélène et Bertrand Utzinger, *Itinéraires des Danses macabres* (Chartres: Éditions J. M. Garnier, 1996); André Corvisier, *Les Danses macabres* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998); new monography on the "dense" relics of the "alemann" territories from Alsace to Tirol: Hans Georg Wehrens, *Der Totentanz im alemannischen Sprachraum – „Muos ich doch dran – und weis nit wan"* (Regensburg, Schnell & Steiner, 2012).

<sup>30</sup> Mâle, *L'art religieux*, 371–95; Figs. 205–9; Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, II, Taf. XXI; Rosenfeld, "Totentanz," 344–5.

<sup>31</sup> Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, II, Taf. XXI; Heinrich L. Nickel, *Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in der DDR*, in Zusammenarbeit mit Gerd Baier – Gerhard Femmel – Karl-Max Kober (Leipzig: VEB E. A. Seemann Buch- und Kunstverlag, 1979), 93–6, 239; Abb. 58.



ossuary (*Karner*) on the territory of the former cemetery, there is a *memento mori* painted around 1500, detached in 1970, and replaced by a copy in 1990. (fig. 18).<sup>32</sup> Several *memento mori* murals can be found on and around the peninsula of Istria (Beram, Croatia; Škrilje, Slovenia), the most representative one was painted by Johannes de Kastua (Kastav) in 1490 in the Holy Trinity Church of Hrastovje (Slovenia) in Istria. (fig. 19).<sup>33</sup>

We have no evidence of medieval painted *memento mori* representations in the Carpathian basin,<sup>34</sup> all instances come from later periods. The Greek Catholic wooden church of Mérgeska (Mérgesvágása, Nová Polianka, Slovakia), destroyed in 1961, had an eighteenth-century *memento mori*-scene painted on the side, displaying two aristocrats and a skeleton between them.<sup>35</sup> The pillars of the crypt of the church of the Augustinians in Léka (Lockenhaus, Austria), the burial place of the Nádasdy family and now a parish church and pilgrimage site, was covered around 1771 with the paintings of skeletons wearing various kinds of clothes and vestments. (figs. 20–21).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Friedrich Lippmann, “Der Todtentanz von Metnitz,” *Mitteilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* N. F. I (1875): 56–8; Theodor Frimmel, “Beiträge zu einer Ikonographie des Todes” V, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* N. F. XI (1885): lxxvii, with coloured plate; *Mittelalterliche Wandmalerei in Österreich. Originale, Kopien, Dokumentation*, Ausstellungskatalog (Wien: Österreichische Galerie, 1970), 72–5, 129; Abb. 34–6, 78–9; Reiner Sörries, *Die Karner in Kärnten* (Kasseler Studien zur Sepulkralkultur, Bd. 8.), (Kassel: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, 1996), 91–5, 124; Abb. 35, 89, 95–7; Reiner Sörries, “‘Kirchhof’ oder Coemeterium? Anmerkungen zum mittelalterlichen Friedhof, zu den Sonderfriedhöfen und zur Auslagerung vor die Stadt,” in Norbert Fischer – Markwart Herzog, Hrsg., *Nekropolis: Der Friedhof als Ort der Toten und der Lebenden* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), Abb. 6; Thea und Helga Staunig, *Die Pfarrkirche St. Leonhard mit Karner und Totentanzmuseum... Metnitz...* (PEDA-Kunstführer Nr. 605/2006), (Passau: Kunstverlag PEDÄ, 2006<sup>2</sup>), 18–20; The original paintings were detached from the wall, and are exhibited in the nearby Totentanzmuseum. Copies and reconstructions were painted in their place on the façade.

<sup>33</sup> Mojca Jenko, “Johannes von Kastav,” in Janez Höfler, Schriftleitung, *Gotik in Slowenien*, Ausstellungskatalog (Ljubljana: Narodna galerija, 1995), 289–91, Kat. 169.

<sup>34</sup> A comprehensive survey, presenting the *memento mori* literature of early modern Hungary: Ildikó Horányi – Szabolcs Oláh, “Haláltánc,” in Péter Köszeghy, ed., *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005), III. 484–7.

<sup>35</sup> Kozáky, *A haláltáncok története*, II, XXI; Taf. XXVII, Abb. 5; Bernadett Puskás, *A görög katolikus egyház művészete a történelmi Magyarországon. Hagyomány és megújulás* (Budapest: Szent Atanáz Görög Katolikus Hittudományi Főiskola–Magyar Képek, 2008), 160.

<sup>36</sup> Adelheid Schmeller-Kitt, *Burgenland* (Die Kunstdenkmäler Österreichs – Dehio-Handbuch), (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co, 1976<sup>1</sup> [1980<sup>2</sup>]), 173; *Die Kunstdenkmäler des politischen Bezirkes Oberpullendorf*. Bearbeitet von Judith Schöbel unter Mitarbeit von Ulrike Steiner mit Beiträgen von Petra Schrock. (Österreichische Kunsttopographie, LVI.), (Horn: Verlag Beger, 2005), 345; Abb. 12; murals painted around 1740–5 with *memento mori* representations in the crypt of the Benedictine Abbey of Altenburg in Lower Austria: Andreas Gamerith, “Krypta – Einer außergewöhnliche Abtsgruft,” in Albert Groß – Werner Telesko, hg. von, *Benediktinerstift Altenburg. Mittelalterlichen Kloster und barocker Kosmos* (Wien: Brandstätter, 2008), 123–7; On

The tablet in Selmecbánya reminds both in images and inscription of mortality: *FORMA FAVOR POPVLI FERVOR IVVENILIS OPESQ(UE) DIRIPVERE TIBI NOSCERE QUID SIT HOMO* („the desirable figure of man, the passion and force of youth disappears in you: be wary of what man is”).

The same text can be found in a volume formerly owned by John Filipec (Pruisz), bishop of Várad (Nagyvárad, Oradea, now Romania) in Hungary and Olmütz in Moravia (d. 1509), containing the incunabulum of two medical works of Avicenna. It is now housed by the Sächsische Landesbibliothek in Dresden. A handwritten note on the back cover of the book may come from the Moravian-origin bishop himself, as suggested by his name and a Czech note at the end. The text confronts the idea of death with the attraction of the world, and offers a naturalistic description, in line with the genre of *memento mori*, of the decay of a worm-eaten body and the stink of decomposition, the turn from human to non-human, expressing also the expectation of the last judgment.<sup>37</sup>

*Forma, fa... populi, feruor iuuenilis, opesq(ue)*  
*Surripuere tibi, noscere quid sit homo.*  
*Post hominem vermis, post verme(m) feter et horror,*  
*Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo.*  
*Dum hec fili legeris, meme(n)to te cito morituru(m). Recole eciam*  
*districti iudicis sententiam: A qua nemini licen(tia) appellandi concedit(ur)*  
*pondera seuissi(m)orum hostiu(m) funesta accusato(ru)m: Insup(er)*  
*et(er)naru(m) penaru(m) acerbitatem.*  
*I(ohannes) e(piscopus) waradiens(is)*  
*A to gest prawa prawda.*

The first two lines of the note are identical with the text inscribed in Selmecbánya, the only difference is the word *surripuere* instead of *diripuere* – the original version is preserved in Filipec’s text.

It is quite improbable that Filipec’s book and the tomb slab from Selmecbánya had any direct connection to each other. The verses can be traced back to a popular text called *Meditationes*, attributed in the late Middle Ages to Bernard of Clairvaux, but written by an anonymous author probably in the thirteenth century. It contains first a verse of four lines, then a little further two other lines; lines 3 and 4 are identical with the inscription at Selmecbánya (except for the

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baroque dances of death, see Thomas Schiretz, “Der Totentanz – von der Bildidee zur szenischen Darstellung,” in *Triumph des Todes?* Ausstellungskatalog (Eisenstadt: Museum Österreichischer Kultur, 1992), 1–14.

<sup>37</sup> Csaba Csapodi, “Filipec (Pruisz) János nagyváradí és olmützi püspök könyvei,” *Magyar Könyvszemle* 83 (1967): 248–9.

different verb), and the same two together with two more lines are also identical with the first four lines of Filipec's note:<sup>38</sup>

*Sic indutus et ornatus progressus es ad nos:  
Nec memor es quam sit vilis origo tui.  
Forma, favor populi, fervor iuvenilis, opesque  
Subripuere tibi noscere quid sit homo.*

[...]

*Post hominem vermis, post vermem fetor et horror.  
Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo.*

The text became even more popular – at least in the British Isles – as it was included into the work *Stimulus conscientiae* ("The Pricke of Conscience"),<sup>39</sup> written in the second half of the thirteenth century, which circulated in several manuscript versions and was also preserved in an English translation. This used to be attributed to the former Oxford student Richard Rolle de Hampole (around 1300 – 1349), later leading a hermit's life, but more recently believed to be written by an anonymous author (possibly Jacob of Milan, Franciscan friar).<sup>40</sup> Two lines of the original verse – lines 3 and 4 of Filipec's note – also appeared in a late medieval epitaph copied in London, in the eighteenth century. It was placed above the tomb of Willielm Worsley, doctor of law, dean of Saint Paul's Cathedral in London (d. 1488), on a bronze tablet fixed on a pillar next to it, in a poem on vanity:<sup>41</sup>

*Unde superbis homo cuius conceptio culpa,  
Nasci pena, labor vita, necesse mori.*

<sup>38</sup> Bernardus Claraevallensis Abbas, "Meditationes Piissimae De Cognitione Humanae Conditionis," in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, CLXXXIV. Acc. Jacques-Paul Migne (Patrologiae Latinae), (Paris: Migne, 1859), Sp. 490.

<sup>39</sup> Edwin Burton: "Richard Rolle de Hampole," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912) – <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13119a.htm>, accessed: 2013. december 25.; *The Book of Margery Kempe* ed. by Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University for TEAMS, 1996) – <http://college.holycross.edu/projects/kempe/text/main3.htm>, accessed: 25 December 2013.

<sup>40</sup> The equivalent of the Selmečbánya inscription with the *surripere* version, in Latin and in an English translation from Northumbria: "The pricke of conscience (stimulus conscientiae): a Northumbrian poem / by Richard Rolle de Hampole," ed. by Richard Morris, in *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* – <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/me/bau1376.0001.001?node=BAU1376.0001.001:3&view=text&seq=51&size=100>, accessed: 25 December 2013.

<sup>41</sup> John Weever, *Antient funeral monuments, of Great-Britain, Ireland, and the Islands* (London: W. Tooke, 1767), 158–9.

*Vana salus hominum, vanus labor, omnia vana,  
 Inter vana nichil vanius est homine.  
 Post hominem vermis, post vermem fetor & horror,  
 Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo.  
 Mors venit absque mora, nescis cum venerit hora;  
 Esto paratus ei cum venerit hora diei.*

The long afterlife of the text, extending well into the modern age, is signalled also on a tomb stone from Ireland from the end of the seventeenth century, erected by Donaldus MacDonagh and his wife, Maria O'Connor, for themselves and their descendants, in the cemetery of Kilfernora in 1685. The inscription on the tomb contains lines 3–6 of “Saint Bernard’s” poem, or the first four lines of Filipec’s note:

*Momento Mori.  
 Formo favor populi fervor juvenilis oспesque  
 Subripuere tibi noscere quid sit homo  
 Post hominem vermes post vermem foetor et horror,  
 Sic in non hominem vertitur omnis homo  
 Sic transit gloria mundi.  
 Quisquis eris qui transieris sto perlege, plora.  
 Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es; pro me, precor, ora.*<sup>42</sup>

Another example of this type of meditation on death (“*sum quod eris, fueramque quod es*”), actually a commonplace in the Middle Ages, are the epitaphs prevalent around 1200 in Hungarian inscriptions from Zalaapáti, Nagyteremia, Esztergom and Székesfehérvár.<sup>43</sup> The idea also appears in parson Gergely’s abovementioned tomb in Selmezbánya. The original composition of the tomb is enigmatic, it contains three tablets carved in white limestone, with no representation on them. It contains an inscription (fig. 13), which quotes the Genesis first (32,29), then some of the reformulated and edited fragments of Seneca’s epistles 1 (“*Quem mihi dabis [...] qui intelligat se quotidie mori? In hoc enim fallimur, quod mortem prospicimus [...]*”) and 70:<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> The version published contains some misread letters: *Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead, Ireland, Journals 1888–1916* (Kilfenora Parish, 1892), Vol. II (1) – <http://www.clarelibrary.ie/eolas/coclare/genealogy/memorials/kilfenora.htm>, accessed: 25 December 2013.

<sup>43</sup> A summary in Pál Lövei, „*Posuit hoc monumentum pro aeterna memoria*”. *Bevezető fejezetek a középkori Magyarország síremlékeinek katalógusához* (Budapest, 2009), 58–60. – [http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/1/Lovei\\_Pal1.pdf](http://real-d.mtak.hu/381/1/Lovei_Pal1.pdf), accessed: 18 January 2017.

<sup>44</sup> *Bibliotheca classica latina sive collectio auctorum classicorum latinorum. Omnia opera quae vulgo exstant sub nomine L. A. Senecae philosophica declamatoria et tragica. L. Annaei Senecae, pars*

*MONICIO divina: Utinam saperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent.*

*HOMO: in hoc omnes fallimur quotidie enim morimur et mortem non prospicimus.*

*CONSILIUM: Tanquam migraturus habita. Cura non quamdiu vivas sed ut bene; satis et quod ire cogaris.*

*SEPULTI: Sum quod eris PRO me precor ora. 1516*

*Mortem quam querulo p(re)dixit pastor ovili*

*Effigiatam tibi monumentum Salutis opus*

*Reliquit Gregorius S q(ui)*

*1516*

Another tomb stone extant in the lapidary of the fortified church of Selmečbánya<sup>45</sup> is only one or two decades older than the bas-relief with the representation of Death. It bears a date of death referring to the 1490s, a priestly figure wearing a biretta, a crowned Mary bas-relief in one of the spandrels, and a well-known hymn of Mary in the inscription, written in minuscules (fig. 22):

*O florens rosa*

*mater Domini speciosa*

*O virgo mitis*

*o ffloecvndissima vitis*

*clarior aurora*

*pro nobis iugiter ora.*

The possible prefiguration of the death representation in Selmečbánya has not been found yet. It is probably worth looking for it on multiplied graphic sheets. We have hardly any clues to support the precise dating of the carving and the tomb stone fragment connected to it. Since it is pared, there is no use talking about stylistic elements. The letter type, the early Humanist capital, not uniform in itself and different from the classical Renaissance antiqua appeared in Hungary during the reign of Matthias Corvinus, and lived on in parallel with the capital in certain places even as late as the early sixteenth century.<sup>46</sup> Actually, the only element that

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*tertia sive opera tragica...* novisque commentariis illustravit J. Pierrot. Volumen primum (Parisiis: Colligebat Nicolaus Eligius Lemaire, 1829), 106; *Kleines lateinisches Conversationslexicon, ein lexicographisches Handbuch der ueblichen lateinischen Sprichwoerter, Sentenzen, Gnomon und Redensarten...* von Ferdinand Philippi. Zweite Lieferung N bis Z (Dresden: bei Paul Gottlob Hilscher, 1825), 211.

<sup>45</sup> Bel, *Notitia Hungariae*, 623; Kachelmann, *A bányavárosok története*, 169.

<sup>46</sup> Pál Lövei, "Sírkövek, sírkőtöredékek," in *Váradí kötöredékek* ed. Terézia Kerny (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1989), 171.

can be assessed is the structure of the frame, with the intersection of frame lines meeting at the corner of the stone slabs and decorations in the squares formed this way. The earlier inscriptions in Gothic minuscules embossed against a recessed background have different kinds of corners, like for example on the two earlier, walled-in tomb slabs in Selmechánya (figs. 11–12). However, a similar solution is found in the case of a group of tombs of the Jagiellonian age, dated to the 1490s–1500s, connected probably to the Esztergom entourage of Queen Beatrix. In the case of these, the frames do not contain inscriptions but Renaissance ornamentations, with square-shaped fields in the corners (figs. 23–24).<sup>47</sup> There are also examples of similar tombs where the square corners of the frames were not applied. The most recently re-discovered member of this group is a fragment from Buda representing an angel,<sup>48</sup> which has been known to be walled in some time ago in the Vár district of Buda, at Casino (now Móra Ferenc) Street No. 2. Nobody remembered anything about it until it turned up behind the creeper in the courtyard wall of the old town hall of Buda, later the Historical Museum of Budapest, on Szentháromság Square, in 2014.<sup>49</sup> Another fragment, from the tomb of Bishop Lukács Szegedi in Zagreb, contains a piece of the signiture of its creator, Iohannes Fiorentinus. The artefacts of this workshop are not uniform in quality, but are all very decorative. Their later influence is proved by the tomb slab in Ipolyság of Ferenc Fegyverneki, provost of Ság, visitor of the order (d. 1535).<sup>50</sup> All the tombs of the group were made of red marble from Gerecse mountains (not surprising in this age for an Esztergom workshop in the vicinity), and contain representations of figures and coats of arms. The angel from Buda is a rare example, similarly to the image of Death in Selmechánya, since on account of its size it does not seem to be a secondary figure holding a coat of arms, which was a popular figure in representations of the deceased already in the age of Sigismund. Due to the lack of an inscription, it may be considered an individual figure standing above the inscribed tablet, which exists in all of the instances in the group.

<sup>47</sup> Jolán Balogh, „Későrenaissance kőfaragó műhelyek” I, *Ars Hungarica* 2 (1974): 42; Árpád Mikó, „Jagello-kori reneszánsz sírköveinkről,” *Ars Hungarica* 14 (1986), 97–113.

<sup>48</sup> László Gerevich, „Gótikus házak Budán”, *Budapest Régiségei* 15 (1950), 206, 208.

<sup>49</sup> Edit Szentesi was kind enough to call my attention to this fragment, found during the documentation and research of the building before its restoration by Hild–Ybl Foundation.

<sup>50</sup> István Rakovszky, “A sághi prépostság emlékezete,” *Magyar Sion* 1 (1863): 833; Arisztid Oszvald, “Fegyverneky Ferenc, sági prépost, rendi visitor. 1506–1535”, in *Emlékkönyv Szent Norbert halálának nyolczszázadik jubileumára* (Gödöllő: Jászó-premontrei Kanonokrend, 1934), 51–108; Balogh, “Későrenaissance kőfaragó műhelyek,” 42; Árpád Mikó, “Két világ határán (Janus Pannonius, Garázda Péter és Megyericsei János síremléke),” *Ars Hungarica* 11 (1983), 51, 67. (17. jegyzet); Árpád Mikó, “Kettős olvasatú síremlékek a kora újkori Magyarországon,” in *Színlelés és rejtőzködés. A kora újkori magyar politika szerepjátékai*, eds. Nóra G. Etényi – Ildikó Horn ([Budapest:] L’Harmattan – Transylvania Emlékeiért Tudományos Egyesület, 2010), 319–20; Gábor Rokolya, ed., *Okleveles históriák. Válogatás a magyar közhitelesség irataiból 1441–1848* (Budapest: Magyar Országos Közjegyzői Kamara, 2010), 57, 58–9, 60, 61.

It must be emphasized that the relation between the two carvings from Selmečbánya and the Esztergom workshop only extends as far as the structure of the frame, that is, it is quite incidental. The luxurious material of the red marble is missing (however, not from the town itself, as proved by the tomb slab of Georgius Cerndel), and the early Humanist letter type has nothing to do with any Renaissance element. The wider architectural framework of the town is also Gothic: the Saint Catherine parish church was built at the end of the fifteenth century, and the fortified church was also renovated in a Gothic style in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century. The former main altar of St Catherine's Church in Selmečbánya, the work of Master MS (1506) was also Gothic. The image of death represented in Selmečbánya came from Bernard of Clairvaux, and the rich literary "erudition" found in no other Hungarian settlement of the age – even Seneca's texts were strongly reformulated – was still medieval to the core in the time of the Jagiellonian dynasty.

Translated from the Hungarian by Emese Czintos

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12. Tomb slab of Johannes Hohel, a burgher of Selmecebánya (d. 1480) in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia); photo: Pál Lövei, 2007

13. Funeral inscriptions of Gregory, possibly parson of Selmec (d. 1516) in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia); photo: Pál Lövei, 2007

14. Survey drawing of three pieces of the collection of late medieval tomb slabs in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), József Könyöki, 1888; Plan Archives of the Hungarian Monument Protection, Budapest, inv. nr. K 3973

15. Tablet with a skeleton-like figure of the Death in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), first quarter of the sixteenth century; photo: Pál Lövei, 2007

16. Survey drawing of the tablet with the figure of the Death in the wall of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), József Könyöki, 1888; Plan Archives of the Hungarian Monument Protection, Budapest, inv. nr. K 3973/a

17. Tomb fragment in the lapidary of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), first quarter of the sixteenth century; photo: Pál Lövei, 2007

18. Detail of the *memento mori* ("Dance of Death") on the outer façade of the ossuary (*Karner*) in Metnitz, c. 1500 (copy); photo: Pál Lövei, 2009

19. Detail of the *memento mori* ("Dance of Death") from 1490, Holy Trinity Church, Hrastovje; photo: Károly Magyar

20. Detail of the *memento mori*, c. 1770, Nádasdy-crypt of the church of the Augustinian hermits (today parish church), Léka (Lockenhaus, Austria); photo: Pál Lövei, 2008

21. Detail of the *memento mori*, c. 1770, Nádasdy-crypt of the church of the Augustinian hermits (today parish church), Léka (Lockenhaus, Austria); photo: Pál Lövei, 2008

22. Tomb stone of a priest in the lapidary of the Castle-church of Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica, Slovakia), 1490s, photo: Pál Lövei, 2007

23. Tomb slab of provost Andrew Gosztonyi (d. 1499) in the crypt of the Cathedral of Esztergom; engraving in Joannes Nep. Máthes, *Veteris arcis Strigoniensis, monumentorum ibidem erutorum, aliarumque antiquitatum lithographicis tabulis ornata descriptio* (Strigonii: J. Beimel, 1827), Tab. VI. lit. B.

24. Tomb fragment of an unknown woman (d. 1495) from the household of Queen Beatrice d'Aragone, Balassi Bálint Museum, Esztergom; photo: bequest of the Dénes Radocsay







Fig. 3



Fig. 4





Fig. 5



Fig. 6





Fig 7





Fig.8



Fig. 9



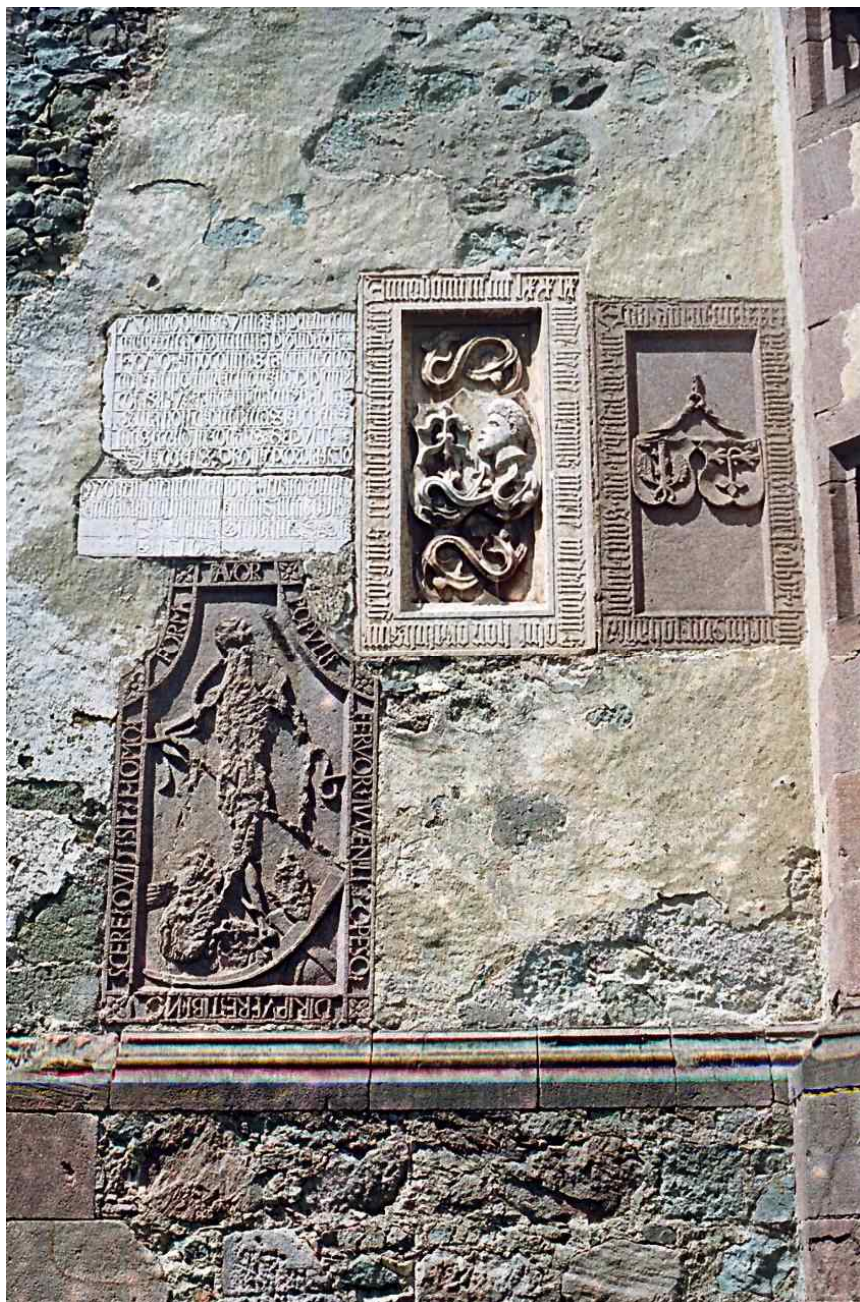


Fig. 10





Fig. 11



Fig. 12



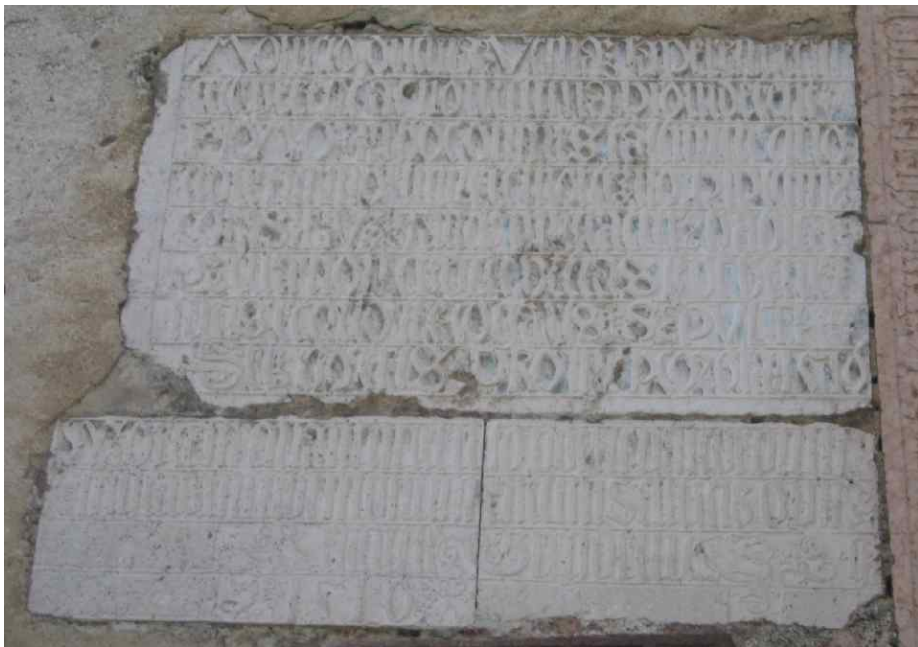


Fig. 13

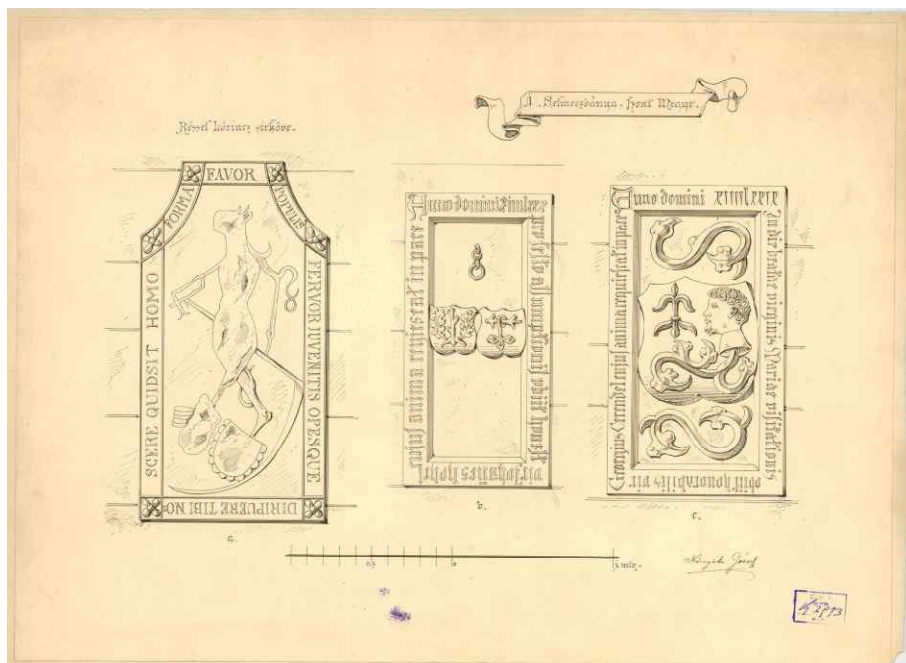


Fig. 14



Fig. 15

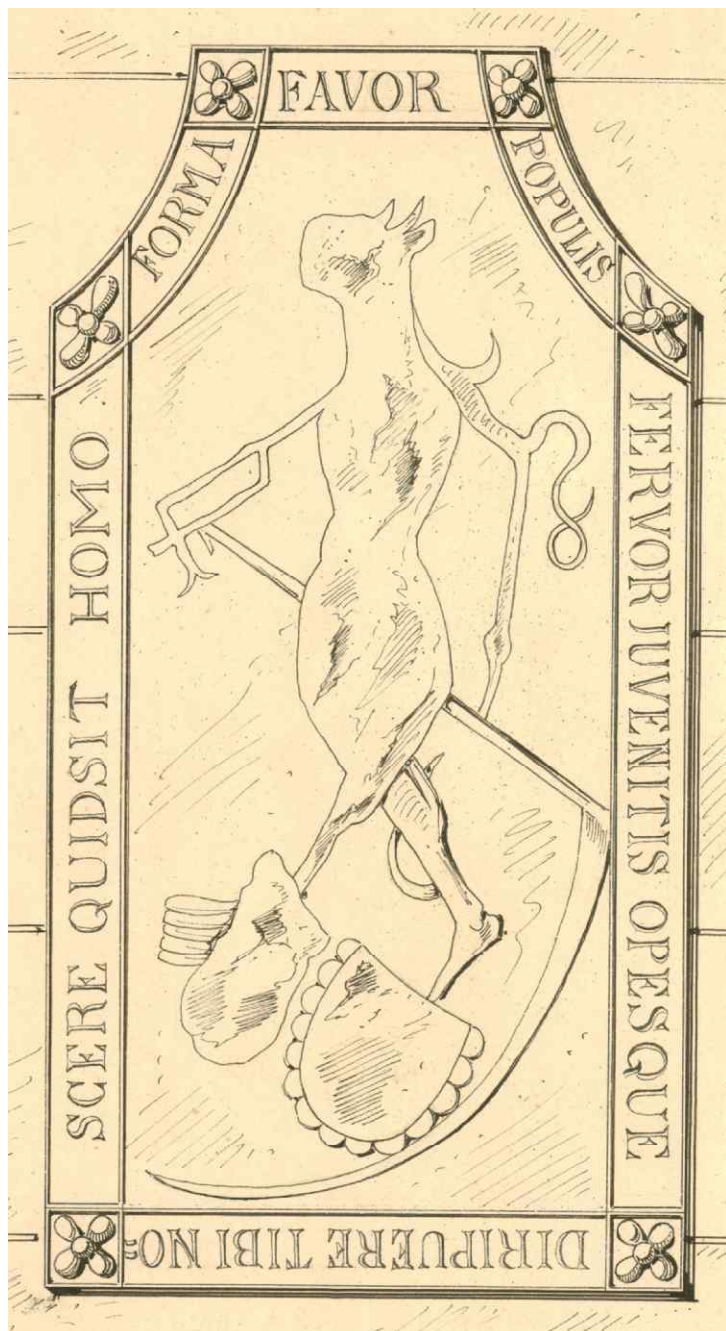


Fig. 16





Fig.17



Fig. 18

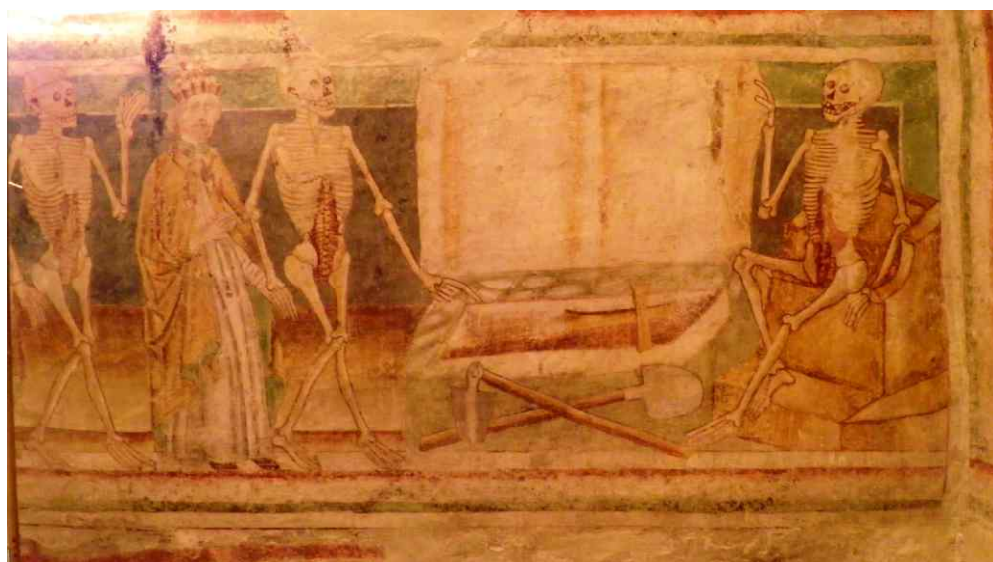


Fig 19





Fig 20



Fig 21





Fig. 22

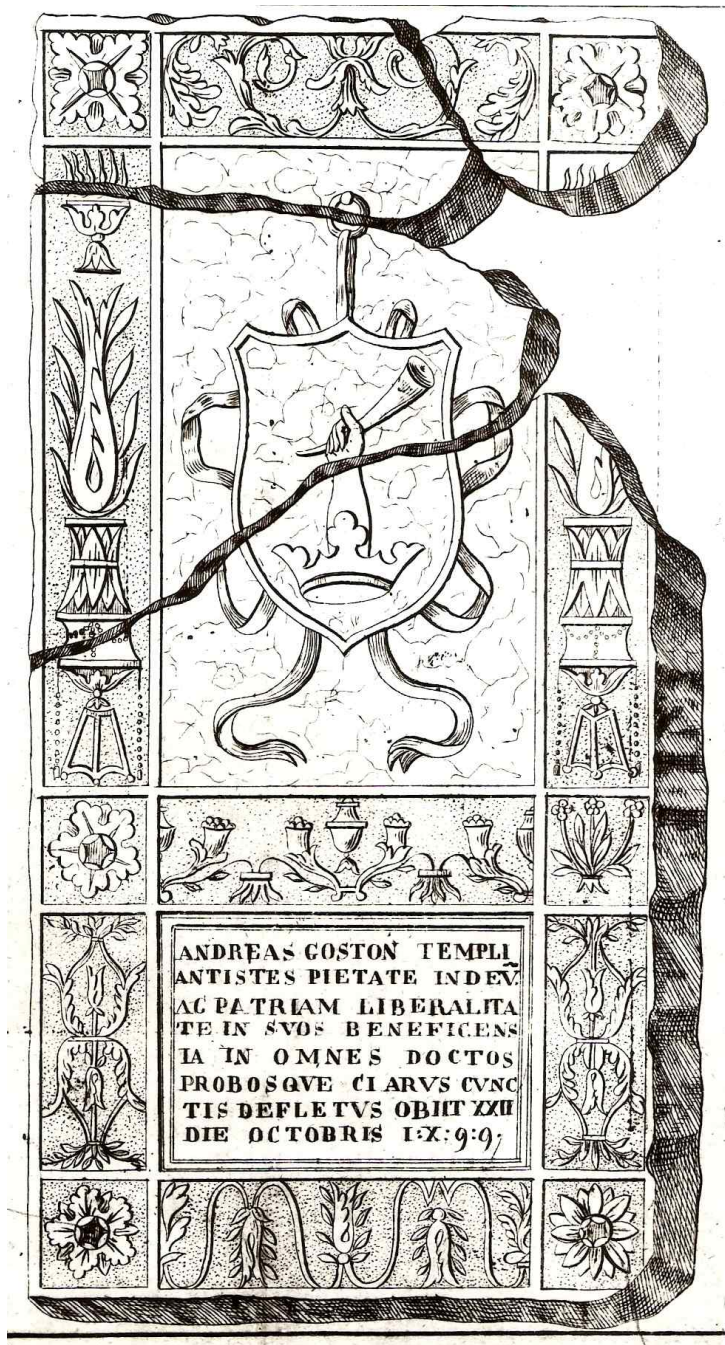


Fig. 23





Fig. 24