

FASHIONABLE COURTS – COURTLY FASHIONS.

Representation in the Architecture of Late Medieval Hungarian Castle Courtyards

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The social position and rank of medieval people depended in part on the impact their appearance, behavior and material surroundings had on their contemporaries and the impression they could project about their wealth or power. The construction of new residences and opulent palaces or the large-scale remodeling of earlier ones was an act that was able to strengthen or increase prestige and influence, or simply just maintain these.¹ For the most part it was in the 1980s that a change took place in the history of the research on medieval Hungarian castles, during which the identification of the military and defensive role often became secondary (or ranked even lower), while in parallel the examination of their alternative, non-military significance came to the forefront. One of these newly recognized roles was representation, the display of the power, wealth or dignity of the owner.²

A characteristic, well-known group of fortifications appeared in Hungarian castle architecture in the second half of the 14th century, in which the architectural traits – in particular the symmetrical organization of the ground plan – show stricter internal coherence. The earliest examples of this group of structures in Hungary come from royal construction projects, but numerous aristocratic residences or secondary residences also followed these characteristic forms of royal court architecture. Amongst the royal buildings in question, the construction projects of Louis the Great of Hungary (1342-1382) in Diósgyőr, Víglaš, Zvolen and Visegrád as well as the buildings from this time of the royal palace in Buda and the Gesztes Castle, and also Sigismund of Luxembourg's (1387-1437) castles in Tata and Bratislava can be mentioned (Figs. 1-2). The aristocratic buildings include – without attempting to be exhaustive – the Ónod castle of the Cudars, the castles of the Kanizsais in Eisenstadt and Nagykanizsa, Filippo Scolari's Ozora Castle and the con-

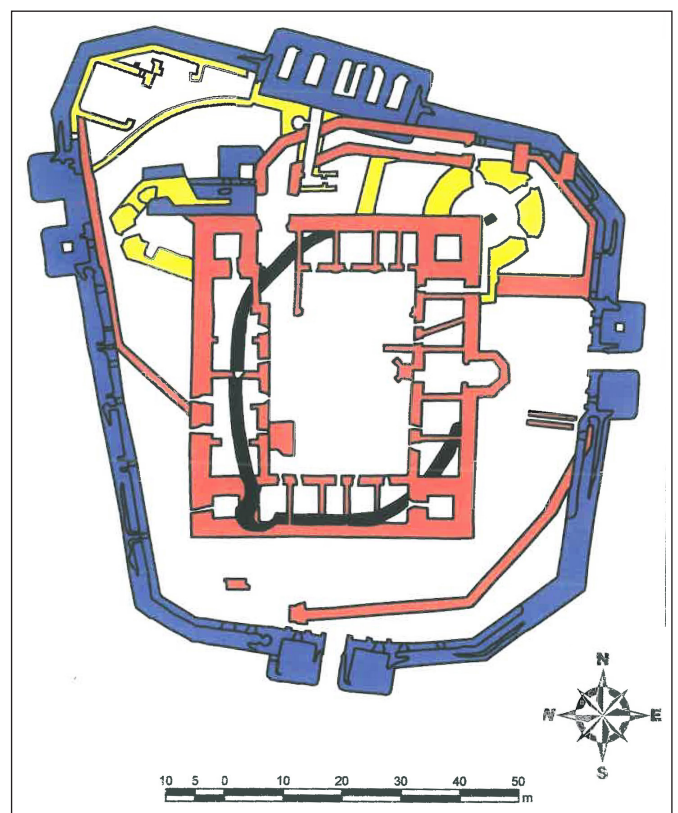


Fig. 1. The plan of the castle of Diósgyőr. The period of Louis the Great is marked by red.

(Feld István: Die regelmäßigen „Burgschlösser“ des Königreiches Ungarn im Spätmittelalter. In: Die Burg im 15. Jahrhundert, hrsg. Zeune, Joachim [Braubach: Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung, 2011], 139.)

¹ Blockmans, Wim: The Feeling of Being Oneself. In: *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Blockmans, Wim – Janse, Antheum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 1-2, 12-13; Johnson, Matthew: *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002), 12-13.

² For a survey of Hungarian research history, see: Feld, István: Középkori váraink kutatásáról (On the Research into Our Medieval Castles). *Műemlékvédelem (Historic Preservation)* 35 (1991), 197-219. The change in approach was similar in international research as well, but occurred a bit earlier internationally. A good examination and summary of British research is provided for example by: Johnson, Matthew: *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002); Virágos, Gábor: *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites: Hungarian Noble Residences and their Social Context in the Thirteenth through to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 89-92; Liddiard, Robert: *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066-1500* (Bollington: Windgather Press, 2005).

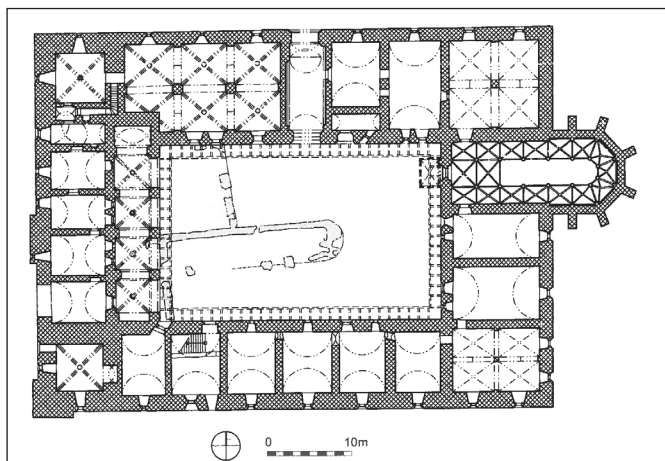


Fig. 2. The plan of the castle of Zólyom (The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád, ed. Buzás Gergely – Laszlovszky József [Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013], 74.)

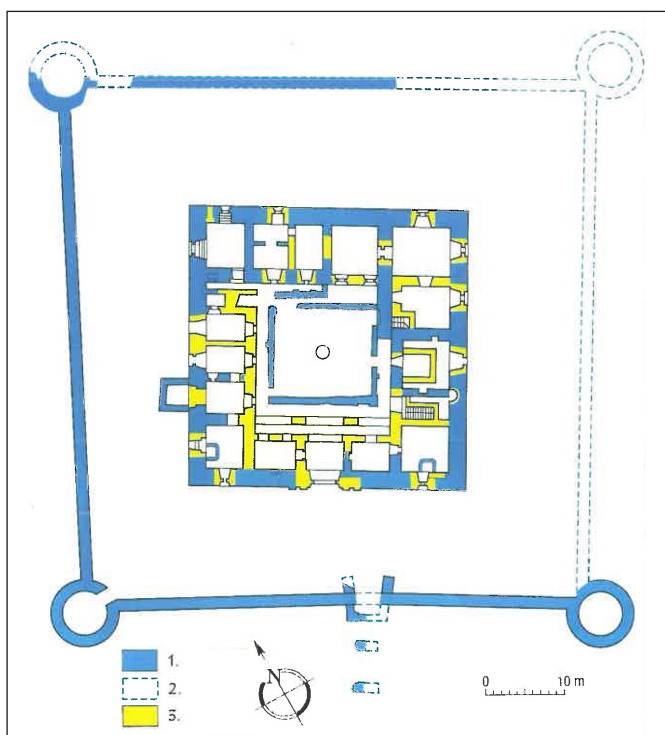


Fig. 3. The plan of the castle of Ozora. Medieval parts are marked by blue.

(Feld István: Die regelmäßigen „Burgschlösser“ des Königreiches Ungarn im Spätmittelalter. In: Die Burg im 15. Jahrhundert, hrsg. Zeune, Joachim [Braubach: Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung, 2011], 142.)

struction projects of Miklós Újlaki in Várpalota and Ilok (Figs. 3-4).³

A general architectural characteristic and important criterion of this group was an enclosed internal courtyard bounded by palace wings and castle walls. This was in a certain sense the site for first impressions, since it was here in general that the interior of the castle as well as the arrangement of the palace wings, the grand hall with its often more ornate façade and the chapel first came into view for visitors. It was from here that one could make their first observations about the inner living space of the castle; what was the style and size of the household that surrounded and served the lord of the castle. In addition to this, the courtyard was also a special intermediate area, in a sort of “both inside and outside” role. It was “outside”, since all of the castle residents or those that served them, independent of social rank, passed through it (so we cannot talk of a space reserved for the closest surroundings of the

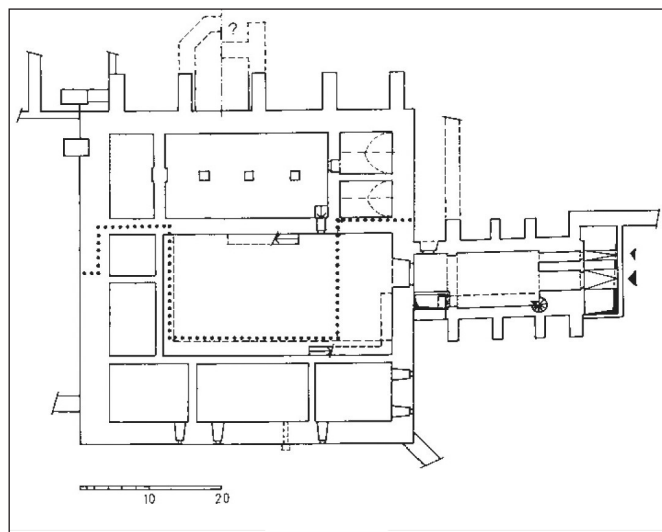


Fig. 4. The reconstruction plan of the ground floor of the castle of Újlak.

(Horvat, Zorislav: Stambeni prostori u burgovima 13.-15. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Residential Spaces in Continental Croatian Castles in 13th-15th Century. Prostor 17 [2009], 44.)

³ Hungarian art historical and archaeological research has been partial to studying this building type, primarily from the aspect of its origins. With no attempt to be exhaustive, see: Balogh, Jolán: Az Anjou-kor kérdéseiről (On the Questions of the Anjou Period). *Művészettörténeti Értesítő (Art Historical Bulletin)* 30/2 (1981), 144-148; Holl, Imre: Négyszaroktoronyos szabályos várak a középkorban (Symmetrical Castles with Four Corner Towers in the Middle Ages). *Archaeologiai Értesítő (Archaeological Bulletin)* 111 (1984), 194-217; Buzás, Gergely: Szabályos alaprajzú paloták mint az uralkodói hatalom jelképei a XIV-XV. században (Palaces with Symmetrical Ground Plans as Symbols of Royal Power in the 14th-15th Centuries). *A Hadtörténeti Múzeum Értesítője (Bulletin of the Museum of Military History)* 4 (2001), 53-57; Feld, István: Uralkodói és főúri reprezentációs épületek az Anjou- és Zsigmond-kori Magyarországról Ami egy kiállítási katalógusból kimaradt (Royal and Aristocratic Representational Buildings in Anjou Period and Sigismund Era Hungary. What Was Left Out of an Exhibition Catalogue). *Castrum* 3 (2006), 27-46.

lord), while at the same time it was “inside”, since it was just for the narrow circle of people that received admittance to the castle.

Despite the fact that the significance of the representation of power is no longer questioned today in the architecture of castles and residences, a common, unified position on the use of the concept has not yet been developed in the professional literature. In our essay we outline two interpretations, and alongside these we present a few examples of the types of roles the closed internal courtyards may have played in the representation of 14th-15th century Hungarian castles with symmetrical ground plans. Naturally, these two interpretations often cannot be separated from one another, and on the other hand they do not come close to covering every possible classification for representation.⁴

PRACTICALITY VS. REPRESENTATION

Representation is often presented in opposition to practicality and functionality; architectural characteristics that do not seem to have a practical purpose are in many cases chalked up to the representation of power. Most often the contrast between the military and representational roles is formulated in connection with the systems of external walls and other defensive structures of dubious effectiveness. However, the issue of a representational role may also arise in the case of minor architectural details as well, in relation to their actual use and practical purpose.⁵

The 15th century extension of the Várpalota Castle located in the southeastern foothills of the Bakony Mountains is a clear example of this phenomenon. As regards the ground plan of the building, the size of the castle courtyard is conspicuous, significantly surpassing not only the symmetrical central courtyards of similarly arranged contemporary aristocratic residences (e.g. Ozora and Nagykanizsa) but even those of numerous royal castles (e.g. Diósgyőr, Zvolen and Tata) (Fig. 5). Even more telling than its sheer dimensions is the scale of the courtyard when compared to the symmetrical mass of the castle. Amongst the castles under discussion (in the case of the few buildings where this is safely known) it seems typical that



Fig. 5. A draft reconstruction plan of the medieval architectural history of the castle of Várpalota. The Miklós Újlaki period from the middle of the 15th century is marked by red. (Drawing made by the author)

⁴ In addition to the two interpretations detailed here, we can also consider architectural representation as the shaping of one's built environment in a manner worthy of one's given social rank, or for example a means and manifestation of social rivalry.

⁵ For example, see: Feld, István: A 15. századi castrum mint kutatási probléma (The 15th Century Castrum as a Research Problem). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages)*, ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 18-20; Johnson, Matthew: *Behind the Castle Gate: From Medieval to Renaissance* (London: Routledge, 2002), 1-18.



Fig. 6. Detail of a fresco from the early court house of Várpalota (Photo by the author)

they take up about one quarter of the area, but certainly no more than one third of it.⁶ In contrast to this, at Várpalota the scale of the courtyard is decidedly greater than one third the size of the central building.⁷

This characteristic, it seems, can be explained not due to some practical use of the large courtyard, but due to the representational pretensions of Miklós Újlaki. Újlaki did not start the construction project with an unoccupied space, but instead expanded and remodeled the building complex of the ornate manor house

⁶ For example, in the cases of Diósgyőr, Zvolen, the northeastern palace block of the Visegrád royal palace, Tata, Ozora, Nagykanizsa and Ilok. Furthermore, similar ratios are probable at the majority of residences where the ground plan is less securely known, such as the examples of Víglaš or Ónod.

⁷ It is not entirely clear in the 15th century history of the castle if the southern palace wing was built at the same time as the castle construction project in the middle of the century or whether it was only completed in a later period. (See: Gergelyffy, András: Palota és Castrum Palota (Palace and Castrum Palace). *Magyar Műemlékvédelem (Hungarian Historic Preservation) 1967-68 5* (1970), 133; Gergelyffy, András: A várpalotai vár építési korszakai III (Construction Periods of the Várpalota Castle III). *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 13 (Reports from the Veszprém County Museums 13)* (1978), 106; Várnai, Dezső: Várpalota várának építési korszakai (Construction Periods of the Várpalota Castle). *Magyar Műemlékvédelem (Hungarian Historic Preservation) 1967-68 5* (1970), 149-150; László, Csaba: Újabb kutatások a várpalotai várban (The Latest Research on the Várpalota Castle). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages)*, ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 184; László, Csaba: A várpalotai 14. századi palota (The 14th Century Palace in Várpalota). In: „Gondolják, látják az várnak nagy voltát...”: *Tanulmányok a 80 éves Nováki Gyula tiszteletére (“Think about and See the Great Presence of the Castle...”: Essays in Honor of Gyula Nováki on His 80th Birthday)*, eds. Kovács, Gyöngyi – Miklós, Zsuzsa (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület – Históriaantik Könyvesház, 2006), 168.) Counting the presence of the palace wing the courtyard takes up about two fifths of the castle area (the ratio of the courtyard is naturally even greater without the palace wing). A similar ratio is only shown in the Bratislava castle of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387-1437) amongst the known examples, and this was intended to be a genuine royal residence, so the size of the courtyard was quite justified due to the requirements for governmental functions and imperial display. See: Papp, Szilárd: Zsigmond új rezidenciája Pozsonyban (Sigismund’s New Residence in Bratislava). In: *Sigismundus rex et imperator. Művészet és kultúra Luxemburgi Zsigmond korában 1387–1437 (Sigismundus Rex et Imperator: Art and Culture in the Time of Sigismund of Luxembourg, 1387-1437)*. *Kiállítási katalógus (Exhibit Catalogue)*, ed. Kovács, Gyöngyi (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 2006), 239–245.



Fig. 7. The reconstructed castle of Várpalota from the South
(Photo by the author)



Fig. 8. The reconstructed castle of Várpalota from the South-West
(Photo by the author)

erected by his ancestors (Fig. 6).⁸ Knowing the ambitions for power at that time of the baron⁹ it is not surprising that the goal may have been the creation of a residence reminiscent of buildings typical of the royal court. The characteristics of this building type (which in this period only appeared within the circles of the monarch and the most prominent members of the aristocracy) were its square ground plan, a symmetrical castle courtyard surrounded by palace wings and corner towers (Figs. 7-8). Since to the best of our knowledge they did not tear down the previous buildings, it was necessary to adapt to the existing conditions when constructing the castle. Although from the standpoint of the organization of the manor house buildings, a long, rectangular ground plan for the castle probably would have been less problematic, it seems that Újlaki absolutely insisted on the square form, even at the cost of the southern end of the previous building complex lying outside the castle wall,¹⁰ and the central courtyard and the square mass of the castle itself were disproportionately large compared to the total area of the palace wings.

REPRESENTATION AS A MESSAGE

It seems obvious that the architectural manifestation of power, rank, etc. could operate primarily as a type of visual, symbolic manner of communication.¹¹ Unfortunately, in terms of the individual factors of communication, in most cases we are only able to clearly designate the person sending the message, while we

⁸ See: László, Csaba: Újabb kutatások a várpalotai várban (The Latest Research on the Várpalota Castle). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages)*, ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 183-187.

⁹ According to the prevailing opinion of historians, at this time Újlaki was striving to develop a kind of dominion in western Hungary. Amongst others, see: Kubinyi, András: A kaposújvári uradalom és a Somogy megyei familiárisok szerepe Újlaki Miklós birtokpolitikájában. (Adatok a XV. századi feudális nagybirtok hatalmi politikájához.) (The Kaposújvár Domains and the Role of Familiars from Somogy County in the Territorial Politics of Miklós Újlaki. [Data for 15th Century Feudal Large Estate Power Politics]). In: *Somogy megye múltjából. Levéltári évkönyv 4/4 (From the Past of Somogy County. Archive Yearbook 4/4)*, ed. Kanyar, József (Kaposvár 1973), 8-9; Horváth, Richárd: *Várak és politika a középkori Veszprém megyében (Castles and Politics in Medieval Veszprém County)*. Ph.D. dissertation. Manuscript. (Debrecen 2002), 29-30.

¹⁰ They did not even demolish the section of the building extending beyond the castle walls, see: László, Csaba: A várpalotai 14. századi palota (The 14th Century Palace in Várpalota). In: „Gondolják, látják az várnak nagy voltát...”: *Tanulmányok a 80 éves Nováki Gyula tiszteletére (“Think about and See the Great Presence of the Castle...”: Essays in Honor of Gyula Nováki on His 80th Birthday)*, eds. Kovács, Gyöngyi – Miklós, Zsuzsa (Budapest: Castrum Bene Egyesület – Históriaantik Könyvesház, 2006), 165.

¹¹ For example, see the studies from the volume of essays: *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, eds. Blockmans, Wim – Janse, Antheum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). On a metaphorical level Ernő Marosi talks about “an architectural chronological glossary” or vocabulary in connection with the means of expressing representation. Marosi, Ernő: A 15. századi vár mint művészettörténeti probléma (The 15th century Castle as a Problem in Art History). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages)*, ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 42.

can only rarely determine with proper confidence the actual intended recipient and the precise content of the message. The sender in general was obviously the person who ordered the construction, the recipients may have been those standing above and below him in rank, and the message may have been the desire for power, the legitimacy or the significant wealth of the owner¹², or even their noble lineage, power,¹³ cultivation or belonging in a certain place.¹⁴

Considering narrower topics, the rebuilt aristocratic residences that imitated the characteristic buildings of Louis the Great of Hungary and Sigismund of Luxembourg, in all likelihood carried the message of some connection or relationship with the royal court. A more precise determination is a rather muddled area of research. The building form could either express conformity to courtly cultivation and lifestyle and inclusion in the most exclusive circles in the kingdom, or wealth and standing in competition with royal power.

The aforementioned “both inside and outside” situation of the castle courtyards raises a further question in terms of the nature of the representational message. It seems reasonable that if the symbolic communication of the castles actually functioned, then the builders may have possibly wanted to relay a different message through the exterior appearance of the fortifications that were visible to everyone than that of the interior spaces and the architectural forms of the castle courtyard. Simplifying the issue, it would be conceivable for example that outwardly it would express strength and a warning, while inside luxury and good taste would be displayed.

To this point we do not know of a clear example in the studied remains that has been analyzed in depth about this divergence in the content of representational meaning, in part perhaps due to the meager proportion of appropriate artistic details that have survived. Of course, some kind of tendency can be sketched out, to the extent that certain elements of the outward castle-like appearance show up in essentially every case, while the castle courtyards are dressed up more like palace courtyards with their more symmetrical arrangement and more ornate and articulated façades. However, this dual nature was in part necessary, since where else would the symbolic expressions of strength and impregnability (the battlemented castle walls, high towers, drawbridges and portcullises) have appeared than on the external façades of the castles. On the other hand, the difference between the exterior and interior appearance in general was not particularly sharp, as can be seen in many contemporary examples.

Although a deep and wide ditch surrounded the Oroza Castle, and a castle wall with corner towers was erected around the central building, the oriels and paned windows on the exterior façade of the building, as well as the lack of swallow-tail battlements or a moat and drawbridge in front of the entrance gate did not particularly reinforce the castle-like effect.¹⁵ A relatively castle-like exterior appearance can also be observed in many other residences. In the case of Várpalota for example, the four corner towers, the

¹² In connection with the construction projects of Matthias Hunyadi (1458-1490) for example, see: Papp, Szilárd: *A királyi udvar építkezései Magyarországon 1480-1515 (Construction Projects of the Royal Court in Hungary 1480-1515)* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005), 149; Lupescu, Radu: The Castle as Symbol of Social Status. A Hungarian Case Study: Johannes Corvinus. In: *Castrum Bene 8: Burg und Funktion, Castle and Function*, eds. Martin Krenn – Alexandra Krenn-Leeb (Wien: Verlag Österreichische Gesellschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, 2006), 97-103.

¹³ For example, see: Virágos, Gábor: *The Social Archaeology of Residential Sites: Hungarian Noble Residences and their Social Context in the Thirteenth through to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 89-91.

¹⁴ In connection with 17th century aristocratic courtly representation for example, see: R. Várkonyi, Ágnes: Tradíció és innováció a kora-újkor Közép-Európa udvari kultúrájában (Tradition and Innovation in the Courtly Culture of Central Europe in the Early Modern Period. In: *Idővel paloták... Magyar udvari kultúra a 16-17. században (Palaces in time... Hungarian Courtly Culture in the 16th-17th Centuries)*, eds. G. Etényi, Nóra – Horn, Ildikó (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005), 66, 74, 97-98.

¹⁵ The height to which the exterior castle wall, which was taken down to a great extent later, once blocked out the façades of the central building is uncertain of course, and in accordance with this it is not known the extent to which the less castle-like characteristics were visible from the exterior. Feld, István – Koppány, Tibor: Az ozorai vár (The Ozora Castle). In: *Művészet Zsigmond király udvarában 1387-1437. Katalógus (Art in the Royal Court of King Sigismund 1387-1437. Catalogue)*, eds. Beke, László – Marosi, Ernő – Wehli, Tünde (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987), 332-346; Feld, István: Uralkodói és főúri reprezentációs épületek az Anjou- és Zsigmond-kori Magyarországról Ami egy kiállítási katalógusból kimaradt (Royal and Aristocratic Representational Buildings in Anjou Period and Sigismund Era Hungary. What Was Left Out of an Exhibition Catalogue). *Castrum* 3 (2006), 40-43.



Fig. 9. Large medieval windows on the second floor of the castle of Újlak, from the South East (Photo by the author)

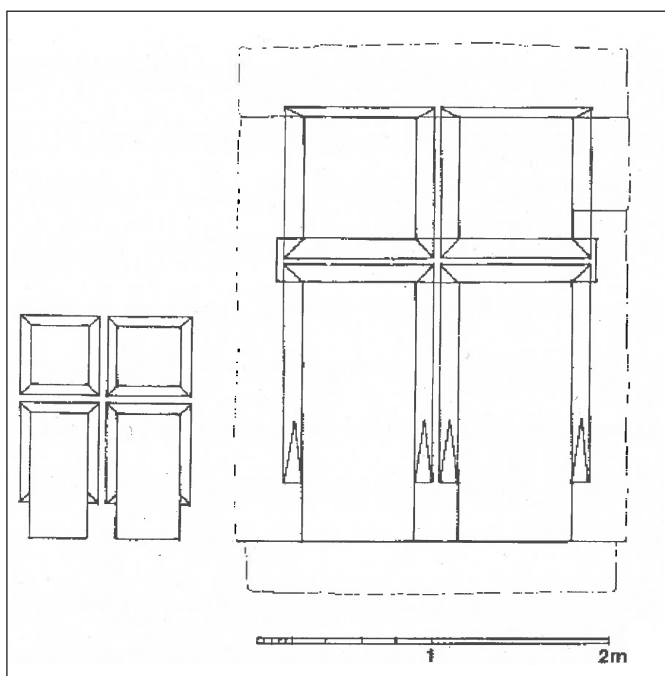


Fig. 10. Measurement plan of medieval window frames from the Southern rectangular tower at the town wall of Újlak and the second floor of the castle

(Horvat, Zorislav: *Analiza srednjovjekovne faze gradnje dvorca Odescalchi, nekadašnjeg palasa Nikole Iločkog, kralja Bosne. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 19* [2002], 208.)

defensive gallery running all along the top of the castle walls and the gate with a portcullis seemingly would have radiated the structure's military might, but at the same time the large windows placed at the tops of the towers and the window openings on the ground level of the southern gate structure point in a contrasting direction.¹⁶ At Ilok, the exceptional size of the window frames preserved on the third-story façade are particularly conspicuous, and they were mentioned amongst the characteristics of the building in Early Modern period descriptions (Figs. 9-10).¹⁷

A kind of contrast can be found after all at Ozora, although not so much in its castle-like presence as in the area of symmetry. The fenestration that divides up the exterior façade of the residence and the protruding oriels are placed rather haphazardly, and their distribution was clearly determined by the needs of the individual rooms and not some kind of intent for orderliness or symmetry (Fig. 11). At the same time, the square castle courtyard with its pillared corridor running around the four sides and with a well situated at its geometrical center could have provided a sufficiently regular appearance, even if the distribution of the fenestration facing the courtyard conformed to the interior spaces here as well (Fig. 12).¹⁸ Although the central location of the well is an exception in the group of buildings under study, a more regular organization of central courtyards is considered a more general phenomenon.

As the example from Ozora also showed, the corridors on the upper levels running in front of the palace wings could often play a large role in the unified appearance of the courtyards (Fig. 13). In a few cases it seems that one of the main reasons for building these structures supported by either corbels or pillars may even have been to provide a more unified appearance to the closed interior courtyard

¹⁶ For the fenestration, see: Gergelyffy, András: A várpalotai vár építési korszakai III (Construction Periods of the Várpalota Castle III). *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 13* (Reports from the Veszprém County Museums 13) (1978), 108-110.

¹⁷ See: Horvat, Zorislav: *Analiza srednjovjekovne faze gradnje dvorca Odescalchi, nekadašnjeg palasa Nikole Iločkog, kralja Bosne. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 19* (2002), 198, 201, 205-206 (figs. 15-16).

¹⁸ Feld, István – Koppány, Tibor: Az ozorai vár (The Ozora Castle). In: *Művészet Zsigmond király udvarában 1387-1437. Katalógus* (Art in the Royal Court of King Sigismund 1387-1437. Catalogue), eds. Beke, László – Marosi, Ernő – Wehli, Tünde (Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987), 335-345; Feld, István: Uralkodói és főúri reprezentációs épületek az Anjou- és Zsigmond-kori Magyarországról Ami egy kiállítási katalógusból kimaradt (Royal and Aristocratic Representational Buildings in Anjou Period and Sigismund Era Hungary. What Was Left Out of an Exhibition Catalogue). *Castrum 3* (2006), 42; Feld, István: A 15. századi castrum mint kutatási probléma (The 15th Century Castrum as a Research Problem). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban* (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages), ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 19.

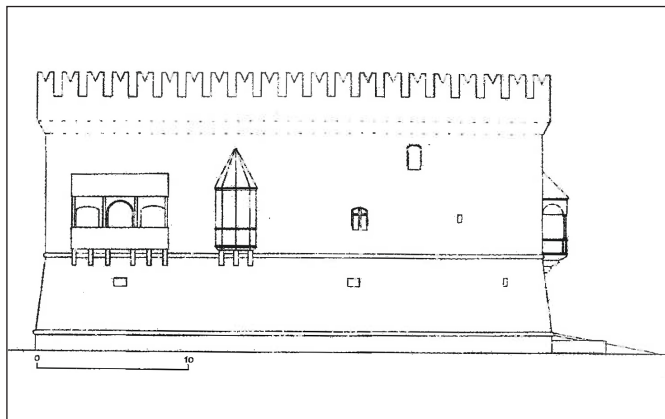


Fig. 11. The theoretical reconstruction of the North Eastern outer façade of the central building of the castle of Ozora (Feld István: *Die regelmäßigen „Burgschlösser“ des Königreiches Ungarn im Spätmittelalter*. In: *Die Burg im 15. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. Zeune, Joachim [Braubach: *Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Burgenvereinigung*, 2011], 143.)

(Figs. 14-15).¹⁹ Naturally, one should never belittle the significance of their practical role, but their general prevalence suggests an architectural fashion that goes beyond their original purpose.²⁰ Thus, as is generally typical of incidents of fashion, the courtyard corridors connecting the palace wings of the castle may have expressed the owner's belonging to a certain community, in this case the social elite. It is not by accident that while their practical role could have been fulfilled by quite simple wooden structures, a more ornate, loggia-like architectural fashioning supported by arcades and with vaulting and decorated pillars became typical.

The unified appearance of the closed interior courtyards designed in this manner may have become important in the cases where this symmetry did not present itself as well in the exterior appearance of the residence. So, for example, at the north-eastern palace of the royal palace in Visegrád, which was surrounded by buildings and walls, or at Ilok, which was encircled by the town walls and other

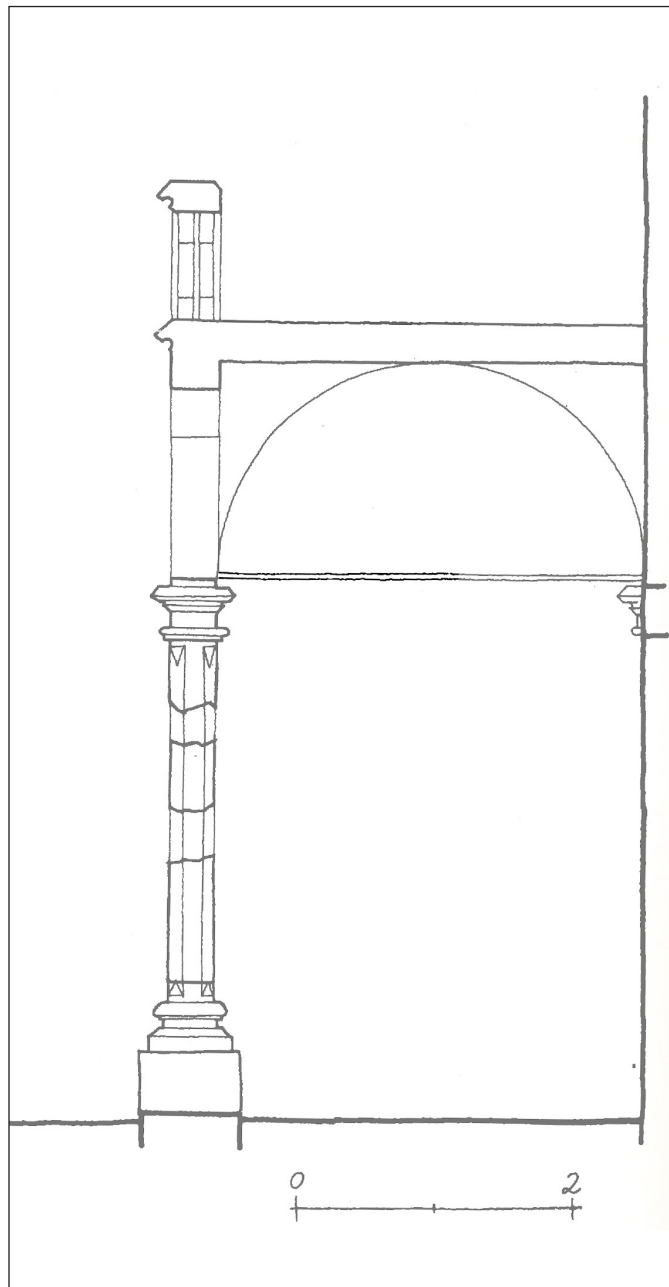


Fig. 12. The theoretical reconstruction of the pillared corridor of the castle of Ozora (Feld István – Koppány Tibor: *Az ozorai vár*. In: *Művészet Zsigmond király udvarában 1387-1437. Katalógus*, szerk. Beke László – Marosi Ernő – Wehli Tünde [Budapest: MTA Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoport, 1987], 344.)

¹⁹ See the expansion of the Gyula Castle from around 1500: Feld, István: *A gyulai vár a középkorban* (The Gyula Castle in the Middle Ages). In: *A középkori Dél-Alföld és Szer (The Medieval Southern Plains and Syrmia)*, ed. Kollár, Tibor (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 276. In the case of Várpalota the pillared, vaulted courtyard corridor also appears in this interpretation context, see: Gergelyffy, András: *A várpalotai vár építési korszakai III* (Construction Periods of the Várpalota Castle III). *Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 13* (Reports from the Veszprém County Museums 13) (1978), 108-109.

²⁰ See the issue raised in: Feld István: *A 15. századi castrum mint kutatási probléma* (The 15th Century Castrum as a Research Problem). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban* (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages), ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 19..



Fig. 13. The closed inner courtyard of the castle of Zólyom (The Medieval Royal Palace at Visegrád, ed. Buzás Gergely – Laszlovszky József [Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2013], 75.)

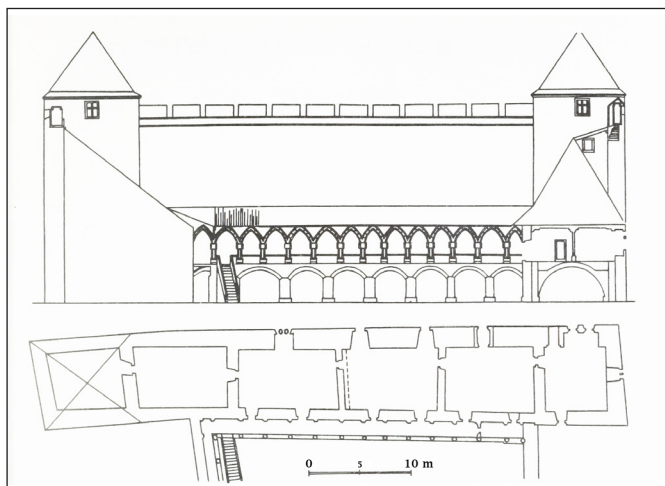


Fig. 14. Draft reconstruction of the pillared courtyard corridor of the castle of Várpalota (Gergelyffy András: A várpalotai vár építési korszakai III. Veszprém Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 13 [1978], 111.)

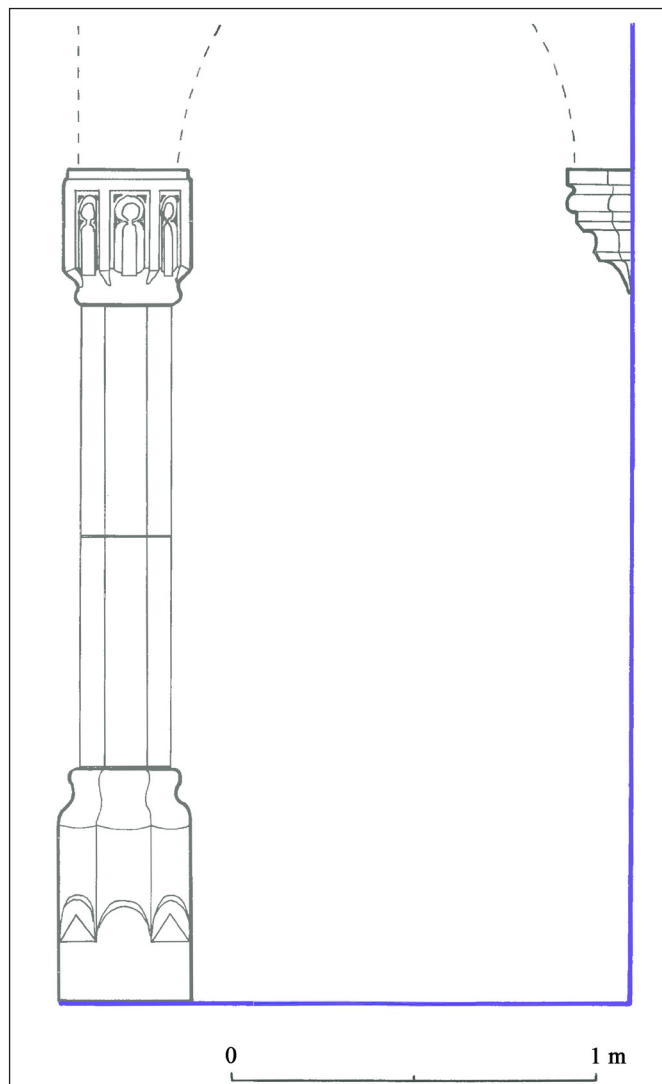


Fig. 15. Theoretical reconstruction of the upper floor section of the pillared courtyard corridor of the castle of Várpalota (Drawing made by the author)

structures, it was in the central courtyard where the unified architectural conception showing symmetry became the most perceptible.²¹

CONCLUSION

Although the group of symmetrically organized castles from the Late Middle Ages in the Kingdom of Hungary that have been studied make up just one characteristic trend in the design of castles in the period, and they are nowhere close to the only type found, the phenomenon formulated in connection with the castle

²¹ For Visegrád, see: Buzás, Gergely: A visegrádi királyi palota története (History of the Visegrád Royal Palace). In: A visegrádi királyi palota (The Visegrád Royal Palace), eds. Buzás, Gergely – Orosz, Krisztina (Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2010), 11-105; the section on the upper story courtyard corridor from the time of Louis the Great is on pages 32-34 of the book. For Ilok, see: Horvat, Zorislav: Analiza srednjovjekovne faze gradnje dvorca Odescalchi, nekadašnjeg palasa Nikole Iločkog, kralja Bosne. Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 19 (2002), 195-212; Horvat, Zorislav: Stambeni prostori u burgovima 13.-15. stoljeća u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Residential Spaces in Continental Croatian Castles in 13th-15th Century. Prostor 17 (2009), 32-51; Tomičić, Željko: Neue Erkenntnisse über die mittelalterliche Schicht der Stadt Ilok (Újlak). Beitrag zu den Verbindungen zwischen Ungarn und Europa in der Renaissance. In: Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis VI., eds. Font, Márta – Kiss, Gergely – Fedeles, Tamás (Pécs, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 2011), 187-208.

courtyards is true in many ways in a much wider range. The castle courtyard surrounded by palace wings – emerging primarily in the wake of the construction projects of the royal court – became an architectural motif and characteristic element of the overall appearance of residences, which raised them up from the aspects of both their representation of power and their ability to make an impression.²² Although in general our knowledge of the former uses and practical roles of the courtyards, as well as their appearance and furnishings, is quite limited,²³ it is without question that in the 14th-15th centuries they had far more significance than just as a space that lacked construction upon it or as some kind of intermediate area.

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²² See: Marosi, Ernő: A 15. századi vár mint művészettörténeti probléma (The 15th century Castle as a Problem in Art History). In: *Castrum Bene 2/1990: Várak a késő középkorban (Castrum Bene 2/1990: Castles in the Late Middle Ages)*, ed. Cabello, Juan (Budapest 1992), 42-43.

²³ For a brief summary of the most basic possible roles of the courtyards and their connection with symmetrical castle ground plans see: Buzás Gergely: A visegrádi királyi palota funkcionális rekonstrukciója (The Functional Reconstruction of the Visegrád Royal Palace). In: *A visegrádi királyi palota (The Visegrád Royal Palace)*, eds. Buzás, Gergely – Orosz, Krisztina (Visegrád: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Mátyás Király Múzeuma, 2010), 125-126.