

Late medieval clay figurines – toys, devotional items or decoration? A few remarks on the relationship between function and iconography

Ewelina J. Kowalczyk^a

Late medieval clay figurines can be divided into two iconographic groups: religious motifs that are usually interpreted as devotional items and profane motifs believed to have been used as toys or decoration. Nevertheless, this approach needs to be revised in view of the distinction between iconography and function that should be made according to many researchers, who see the owner of an object as the one who decided about usage in specific situations. The paper discusses the different functions that different types of figurines could have served. It also reflects on the connections between iconography and the role assigned to a figurine by the user, as well as on discrepancies in that matter. The border between *sacrum* and *profanum* was rather fluid in the Middle Ages and religious figurines could have been used in not religion-related situations and profane ones in religious activities.

KEY-WORDS: clay figurines, iconography, function, late medieval, toys

Late medieval mass-produced clay figurines are characteristic of the area of the German-speaking lands as well as the Netherlands, but a huge number of these were also discovered during archaeological excavations in other regions that were under strong influence of the culture of those lands, such as Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (Borkowski 2004: 209). Most of the artifacts date back to the 15th and the early 16th century.

The Rhenish-Dutch borderland is considered to be the birthplace of the production of these so-called pipe-clay figurines, or *Pfeifentonfiguren* in German (Neu-Kock 1993: 28–29; Borkowski 1998a: 52, 2004: 207). They were pressed in two-piece moulds, which indicates that it was a serial production (for the technology, see also, e.g., Neu-Kock 1988, 1993; Richter, Standke 1991: 43; Borkowski 1998, 2004; Hermann 2004; Kowalczyk 2012, 2013a; Kowalczyk and Siemianowska 2014). They were so popular at

^a Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław, 48 Szewska St., 50–139 Wrocław, Poland; kowalczyk.ewe@gmail.com

that time that they were sometimes exported far beyond the borders of the Holy Roman Empire. Finds of such figurines, proved to be of Dutch or Rhenish origin, were reported even in England (Ward-Perkins 1967: 293), Finland and Iceland (Mehler 2009: 99, 103). There are numerous figurines in museum collections in those countries, e.g. in the Museum of London or Turku Castle (Finland). They are mostly unpublished, but may be seen on permanent or temporary exhibitions.

The existence of specialised craftsmen responsible for the production of such items was confirmed by both literary and archaeological sources. In Dutch and Rhenish documents, dated to the 15th and 16th century they are referred to as *Bilderbäcker*, *Bildermacher*, *Bilddrucker*, *hillegenbakker* or *Beelddrucker*. Their workshops were supposedly located in Cologne, Utrecht, Kampen, Liège, Worms and a few other cities of present-day Germany (e.g., Leeuwenberg 1965: 151–166; Neu-Kock 1988: 6, 1993: 4, 12–13; Borkowski 1998a: 51, 2004: 207). These locations still need confirmation for the most part. The most important archaeological find is a pit filled with hundreds of fragments of broken clay figurines, discovered adjacent to relics of a furnace in Cologne, in the area of Breslauer Platz. The figurines are claimed to be the production waste from a *Bilderbäcker's* workshop (Neu-Kock 1988, 1993).

The local production of ceramic statuettes was also confirmed recently in Silesia. Even though this production was rather peripheral and not fully specialised as in Rhineland and the Low Countries, it contributes importantly to research on clay figurines, Silesia being the easternmost region where local workshops were identified in the archaeological record (Borkowski 2004; Kowalczyk 2012, 2013a: 78–83). There is no historical record, however, to support the archaeological finds (Borkowski 1998: 51). The workshops were located probably in Wrocław, Dzierżoniów and Głogów (Kowalczyk 2012: 26–101, 2013a: 78–83, 90) and ongoing and future archaeological excavations in Silesian towns may surely bring new discoveries.

The variety of iconographic motifs represented by the figurines is considerable. They can be divided into two basic categories: religious and profane (or secular). Traditionally, the religious figurines are interpreted as devotional objects and the profane ones as toys or decoration (see, e.g., Borkowski 1998a, 1998b; Neu-Kock 1988, 1993; Hoffmann 1996), but this somewhat simplified approach requires revision. Researchers increasingly point to the need of making a distinction between an object's religious or profane iconography and its religious or profane function. It is emphasized that the one making a decision about how an item was to be used in a given situation was the owner (e.g., Hoffmann 1996: 136; Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 15; Hermann 2004: 38; Měchurová 2009: 181–182). This approach sounds obvious, but even so it is mature and insightful. Religious figurines may well have been used accidentally as toys while profane statuettes could have played a part in religious scenes.

Different depictions could have been used in different ways (see also: Kowalczyk 2012: 88–98, 2013a: 78, 2013b: 18–19; Kowalczyk and Siemianowska 2014: 86–87),

in some cases proved by archaeological and historical sources or works of art, in others, purely hypothetical. The relation between their iconography and function should be considered on the grounds of a few examples, keeping in mind that new data may be forthcoming from the extensive archaeological investigations being conducted in many European cities.

Sacred motifs are much more differentiated as a group compared to the profane ones. Their function appears to have varied depending on the iconography, but it is assumed that they were mostly used for religious purposes, generally as devotional figures used in private worship (Richter and Standke 1991: 42; Neu-Kock 1993: 25; Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 16; Borkowski 2004: 212). This assumption derives from the close relation to iconographic motifs, especially devotional ones, that had become widespread in Gothic art of the late medieval period (see Marcinkowski 1994). Such themes as the Saints, Nativity Cycle, Passion, various renderings of the Virgin Mary and Child, and many others were introduced or became very popular as a result of the huge changes in religiosity that started in the 13th century (Eörsi 1984: 8–17; Huizinga 1987: 147–192; Swanson 2000; Szulc 2007; Bylina 2009). A new, individual model of devotion was established (Eörsi 1984: 13, 16–17; Huizinga 1987: 147–148; Borkowski 1998a: 53, 1998b: 14–16; Szulc 2007) and specific cults, like the Veneration of Saints, the Virgin Mary, Nativity and Passion developed (Huizinga 1987: 149, 159–171; Swanson 2000: 35–36; Richter and Standtke 1991: 42; Szulc 2007: 173–227; Bylina 2009: 74–90). Devotion concentrated on the human aspects of Christ and his earthly life (Borkowski 1998b: 14–15; Szulc 2007; Bylina 2009: 68). The activity of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Bernard of Clairvaux (Kłoczowski 1974; Chéllini 1996: 289–297; Szulc 2007: 171; Bylina 2009: 75), as well as the development of the *devotio moderna* movement in the Netherlands and Rhineland in the 14th century (Huizinga 1987: 156, 172, 185–186, 189, 192, 216, 248; Chéllini 1996: 391–395; Bielak 2002: 39–73; Bylina 2009: 68–69), were probably responsible for these processes. Local examples of unusual piety, like St. Hedwig in Silesia, were also significant in spreading the new trends. Moreover, St. Hedwig was supposed to have been buried with her beloved figurine of the Virgin Mary and Child, and it is thus that she is sometimes depicted in art (Dola 1995; Borkowski 1998a: 54). All these transformations are clearly visible in the world of medieval iconography as well.

Saints as well as the Virgin Mary and Christ were considered mediators between God and his followers, who fulfilled God's plans on Earth (Huizinga 1987: 161; Borkowski 1998a: 52, 2004: 212–213). And depictions were symbolic representations of their presence providing everyday contact with the sacred (Borkowski 2004: 212–213; Kapustka 2008: 14; Bylina 2009: 119). People in the Middle Ages tended to focus on images and gestures, which played an important role in communication, because they were usually illiterate. That is why the trend to depict ideas was so strong at that time (Huizinga 1987: 147). However, they seem to have distinguished intuitively between

cult miraculous paintings and devotional images which were based on the holy intervention of the depicted characters (Kapustka 2008: 10, 23, 50).

Saints were beseeched for assistance in difficult situations (Bylina 2009: 80) even in the 19th century (Stomma 2000: 140). Their depictions could have been stored in the household, for example, in the so-called *God's corners* (Neu-Kock 1993: 24; Borkowski 2004: 212), but they could also have been used as a kind of charm kept in the pocket, to ward off evil, dangers and woes. People would choose a saint appropriate to their problem (Borkowski 1998a: 53). It is logical that these sacred yet human characters were closer and more understandable to the faithful than the powerful and impersonal God, yet there is a pagan note in this attitude, underlining this Christian tradition (Borkowski 1998a: 53–54, 1998b: 19). In the Late Middle Ages, the specific central European cult of The Fourteen Holy Helpers was very popular (Neu-Kock 1993: 15–16; Wachowski 2013: 128–129). K. Wachowski points out that the popularity of some saints from this group, such as St. Catherine, St. Barbara or St. Margaret, could have been connected with the outbreak of the Black Death pandemic in Europe in 1348–1349 (Wachowski 2013: 128–129).

One aspect of the relation between the figurines and so-called fine art should be emphasized, namely, the connection with late medieval altarpieces. Having a set of figurines, including the Virgin Mary and Child, the Virgin Saints, male Saints and other motifs which were very popular among clay statuettes, gave the opportunity to reconstruct a typical Gothic altarpiece in the house, such as the type dedicated to the Four Virgin Saints, both in terms of iconography and ideological program (See also: Kowalczyk 2013b: 29–30). The liturgy became more accessible to ordinary people in the Late Middle Ages (Kłoczowski 1974: 168, 172; Borkowski 1999a: 53), so they could see all the beautiful works of art inside the churches. They might have desired to transfer these images to their homes, as they were deeply settled in their imagination (Gabriel and Kracíková 2010: 2, 31). Some of the figurines, like the Virgin Saints, have flat backsides, just like the regular altarpiece sculptures very often. It might indicate that the figurines were intended to be set against a wall. Another interpretation has the figurines being put in the places endangered by epidemics, hence their flatness (Wachowski 2013: 129), but this has not been proven. This issue is closely interknit with devotional function, but it definitely merits noting as a separate research problem. Scholars generally agree that such home altars constructed with the use of clay figurines could have been popular in the Middle Ages (Richter and Standke 1991: 42; Neu-Kock 1993: 24; Borkowski 1998a: 52, 2004: 212; Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 15; Hermann 2004: 38).

The other important situation, in which people could have made use of clay figurines, were re-enactments and reconstructions of biblical, apocryphal and hagiographic scenes and cycles. This might have its roots in medieval art as well as in liturgical dramas and mystery or miracle plays that were very popular in the Middle Ages.

The plays took place in churches and the favoured themes were the Nativity cycles, the Passion cycles and the miraculous interventions of the Saints. Clay figurines enabled people to organise such ritual and non-ritual re-enactments at home, as the archaeological finds consist of the images of various Saints, the Virgin Mary and different depictions of Christ, both as a child and an adult in Passion-related iconographic themes, such as Crucifixion, *Ecce Homo* and *Vir Dolorum*.

Some of the motifs at least could have also been connected with pilgrimages, which were common in the Late Middle Ages. Many pilgrimage centres developed throughout Europe at the time. Each of them had its own characteristic tin alloy badges and other souvenirs that were sold to the pilgrims and regarded as a proof of a completed pilgrimage. The badges usually depicted patrons of the centres and therefore we have Virgin Mary and Child from Aachen, the Magi from Cologne or to mention a local Silesian example, St. Hedwig from Trzebnica (Wachowski 1998, 2005, 2011: 133–134). Some researchers claim that clay figurines could have also served as pilgrimage souvenirs (e.g., Neu-Kock 1993: 30; Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 16; Borkowski 1998a: 52, 2004: 212). A clay depiction of the Virgin Mary and Child was discovered in archaeological excavation at the famous Marian sanctuary of Einsiedeln in Switzerland. It is a 17th-century, baroque-style statuette, the dating and identification confirmed by an inscription on the figurine containing the words ‘MARIA ENSIDLENSIS’ and the date (Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 108, Fig. 27). The said Silesian place of pilgrimage in Trzebnica could have also offered clay depictions along with the tin alloy badges (Wachowski 1998: 72–73). A find of a clay image of St. Hedwig was discovered among almost two hundred fragments of broken figurines in a wood-lined pit during the excavation of Dominikański Square in Wrocław (Borkowski 2004). More importantly, figurines, like badges, were believed to gain special powers by contact with the actual relics of saints (Murray Jones 2007: 93).

Figurines could have served votive functions sporadically as well (Richter and Standke 1991: 42; Borkowski 1998a: 54). As recorded in the *Gesta principum Polonorum*, a chronicle ascribed to Gallus Anonymus, the Polish king Władysław I Herman was supposed to have sent a small golden figurine depicting a child to St. Gilles in France in order to ask the saint for help. St. Gilles was believed to have the power to heal infertility (Witkowska 1978: 98–99; Borkowski 1998a: 54). Poorer people might have used cheaper clay statuettes for such purposes. And these votive practices could have taken place at pilgrimage places as well.

Special attention must be paid to depictions of the Christ Child. One of the most typical motifs is the Nativity scene, or rather Jesus lying in a crib, which may have been part of a larger realisation. The Child is usually depicted with the cross-nimbus over the head and an apple in his hand. The apple should be interpreted as a symbol of the upcoming Passion, as well as a representation of royal power. Jesus is sometimes paired in the crib with John the Baptist, who holds a chalice in his hand. The custom

of setting such a crib, especially at Christmas time, originated in medieval convents where nuns gathered around the crib, prayed and sung religious hymns (Richter and Standke 1991: 42; Neu-Kock 1993: 26; Hoffmann 1996: 148; Měchurová 2010: 101–102). This custom may have also been cultivated by ordinary people in their houses and clay figurines would have been a useful, easily accessible and probably affordable accessory (Gabriel and Kracíková 2010: 229–230).

The other motif connected with the Child Jesus is the so-called New Year's Jesus. The image of the Child holding a goldfinch, cross or other symbols of the Passion was popular in late medieval graphic art (Heitz 1900; Neu-Kock 1993: 24). The figure was usually accompanied by banderols with New Year's wishes, to which the name of the motif refers. It is assumed that such clay statuettes might have been gifts, given for the New Year or on other occasions (Neu-Kock 1993: 24; Grönke and Weinlich 1998: 15; Borkowski 2004: 212).

Apart from all the described religious functions, religious figurines could have been used in everyday, not directly religion-related situations. The biblical re-enactments and reconstructions might have played an entertaining role for both children and adults (Gabriel and Kracíková 2010: 231). The distinction between a ritual and a play was not quite evident as most scholars would agree (Hoffmann 1996: 136; Hermann 2004: 38; Měchurová 2009: 181–182, 2010: 99; Gabriel and Kracíková 2010: 231). Rituals as well as other religious activities had generally a great deal in common with plays, transferring the participants temporarily into a different reality (Huizinga 2007: 37). People were familiar with biblical, apocryphal and hagiographic stories, so they could have reached for them while playing and having fun. The educational character of such plays should also be stressed. Sacred figures, such as the Virgin Mary, Christ and Saints, were regarded as good examples of morality for children to follow. Giovanni Dominici in a document from the year 1405 suggests that parents should keep holy images at home and use them as role models for their offspring of how to be good Christians (Hoffmann 1996: 136–137; Borkowski 1998: 29; Měchurová 2010: 99). This aspect definitely balances on the border between the religious and the profane.

It may seem slightly trivial that such religious statuettes served also as decoration in the household, place on shelves or on a mantelpiece. This apparently secondary function is definitely worth noting. As clay figurine production has been proved to be mass and serial, the figurines were not likely to be kept as a sign of high social status. They were not included in testaments or other documents (Borkowski 1998a: 51), which indicates that they did not have any special value. However, they differ among themselves in quality and some of them could have been valued higher than others and therefore more exclusive. Unfortunately, it cannot be said whether the statuettes were somehow fashionable. Some of the finds come from medieval castles, which might suggest that they were rather not considered as something disregarded or despised at that time.

The second iconographic group is made up of profane motifs. These are also fairly diversified and could have been used in countless ways. The decorative function appears as the most obvious one and might have been fulfilled by all the depictions from this range (Neu-Kock 1993: 23–25). As said earlier, they were often interpreted as children's toys. Each figurine could have been useful in many different plays and there are various detailed studies on this issue (e.g., Borkowski 1995; Hoffmann 1996; Měchurová 1994, 2009, 2010). Female depictions might have been considered as dolls, just like images of babies in cradles (e.g., Hoffmann 1996: 148), at least the ones that cannot be interpreted as depictions of the Child Jesus due to lack of characteristic attributes. Adults may have used the figurines for entertaining purposes as well.

One of the entertaining roles of clay statuettes should be discussed in more detail as it reflects the cultural background of late medieval Europe. This is the re-enactment of tournaments and other scenes from courtly life, including courtly love (Neu-Kock 1988: 26, 1993: 23; Borkowski 1995: 102, 104; Hoffmann 1996: 136). Today, we would call it a kind of a puppet show. Depictions of knights, horsemen, horses and ladies were useful in the matter. Some of them, those with holes, could have been put on a stick in order to make them easier to operate. Types of such figurines have even been distinguished, namely *Lanzenpferdchen* with a hole in the front and *Aufsteckpferdchen* with a hole in the bottom (Borkowski 1995: 103; Hoffmann 1996: 151; Měchurová 2010: 102). This assumption is supported by the fact that the depicted dresses are often related to medieval courtly fashion as well as by miniatures in medieval codices (Borkowski 1995: 104; Měchurová 2009: 182). In fact, tournaments were very popular in the Late Middle Ages and even ordinary townsmen participated as spectators in this form of mass entertainment (Borkowski 1995: 104; Piwowarczyk 2000). Courtly life had a huge influence on people's imagination. Moreover, it created a typical situation in which the poorer looked up to those of higher social status and patterned their life on theirs, even if only for fun (Hoffmann 1996: 136). Other scenes that may have been reenacted were taken from the townsmen's everyday life, from hunting, popular legends and fairytales (Hoffmann 1996: 136; Měchurová 2010: 99). It may be assumed that images of knights, ladies, peasants, craftsmen, animals and centaurs among many others were used in such scenes. A huge number of figurines depicting everyday activities was discovered, for example, in Augsburg (Hermann 2004: 138–139).

There are figurines that obviously served symbolic functions, such as depictions of couples holding a chalice or wreath, as well as men with rings in their hands (Neu-Kock 1988: 32, 1993: 18–19, 56–57). These figurines referred directly to love and wedding symbolism, which is a separate issue (Wachowski 2011: 129–130, 2013: 11–83). Interestingly, a wedding-related figurine found in Cologne has a satirical, or rather moralising character at the same time. The couple is dressed in late medieval costume and holds a wreath but from the back, the lady is seen reaching for the man's pouch.

This might be interpreted as a warning not to trust all women, as they can be interested only in a man's wealth (Neu-Kock 1993: 18–19, 56–57).

There are many other satirical depictions among the clay figurines, especially those from the Rhineland. There are examples of monkeys playing musical instruments and jesters in their characteristic costumes, supposedly connected with the theme of the Garden of Love (Neu-Kock 1993: 19–20, 64). This would refer to courtly life as well. One of the most interesting humorous motifs is the so-called *Goldscheisser*, known from finds from Germany, Bohemia and Silesia, and generally dated to the 16th or early 17th century (Pazda 2002; Sedláčková 2003). It depicts a man with lowered pants, sitting on a pot or simply defecating. It surprisingly resembles the figure of a *Caganer* which is typical of Catalonia and neighbouring areas since at least the 18th century. It is still used in Nativity scenes there. These few topics are related to the idea of the carnivalesque and the reversed world, which was popular in late medieval and early renaissance literature.

Among the profane motifs there are also images that can be referred to as pornographic, as they depict naked couples in explicit poses (Neu-Kock 1988: 27, 1993: 19, 58). However, a simply erotic meaning may not be that obvious once insight is gained into the matter. There is a large number of obscene tin alloy badges known from Europe (see www.medievalbadges.org) and they were sold in pilgrimage places alongside the pilgrim badges. Their obscene character, seen with our modern sensibilities, could have involved magical connotations connected with fertility. There are some records suggesting that badges were believed to help with impotence and infertility (Murray Jones 2000). This might have been the case with the figurines as well. Christian and pagan beliefs and rites were mixed together for a very long time after the conversion to Christianity and in some ways they still are (Borkowski 1998a: 54).

Profane figurines could have also fulfilled strictly religious functions. They could have built the background for biblical and hagiographic scenes and re-enactments (Hoffmann 1966: 136–137), e.g., in the Nativity or the Passion. Similar solution are to be noted in medieval paintings and other works of art. People in contemporary dresses filled the composition when needed.

The wealth of representations among the late medieval clay figurines is fairly rich and provides numerous interpretations. The possibilities discussed in the paper are not the only valid ones and only some of them are confirmed by archaeological or historical sources. Moreover, both religious and profane functions can sometimes be assigned to a single motif, depending on the situation. As said above, it was the owner who decided on a specific use.

Nevertheless, as the presented review demonstrates, in most cases the iconography could have determined the intended function, or at least the spectrum of possible functions. The connections between iconography and function are more obvious than the discrepancies. The owners made use of the religious figurines in many

religion-related activities and the profane motifs were more likely to be used as toys or decoration. And they were probably designed and produced having these purposes in mind. However, we need to remember that in the Middle Ages, the border between the *sacrum* and *profanum* was rather fluid (Huizinga 1987: 147). Sometimes it is even hard to categorize the function.

Studies on the function of different groups of archaeological sources give countless possibilities of interpretations. Additionally, these are everyday items that show us a kind of life in past époques that was not recorded in other types of sources, including documents.

Studies of the iconography of archaeological artifacts is not a popular research subject, as it requires a combination of methodological approaches from two disciplines, archaeology and art history. It is important, however, to conduct such interdisciplinary studies in view of the broader context that they afford and the deeper insight into a matter that they allow. This is especially vital in medieval studies and archaeology of historical periods.

REFERENCES

- Bielak, W. 2002. *Devotio moderna w polskich traktatach duszpasterskich powstałych do połowy XV wieku*. Lublin.
- Borkowski, T. 1995. Gry i zabawy w średniowiecznym mieście na Śląsku. Ślady materialne. In K. Wachowski (ed.), *Kultura średniowiecznego Śląska i Czech 1*, 99–105. Wrocław.
- Borkowski, T. 1998a. Materialne przykłady codziennej religijności w średniowiecznych miastach śląskich. Drobną glinianą plastiką dewocyjną. *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 7: 47–69.
- Borkowski, T. 1998b. Późnośredniowieczna drobna glinianą plastiką figuralną ze Śląska na tle Europy Środkowej [Doctoral Thesis stored in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław].
- Borkowski, T. 2004. Produkcja figurek ceramicznych w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu. In J. Piekalski and K. Wachowski (eds), *Wrocław na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych. Materialne przejawy życia codziennego*, Wratislavia Antiqua 6, 207–244. Wrocław.
- Bylina, S. 2009. *Religijność późnego średniowiecza. Chrześcijaństwo a kultura tradycyjna w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XIV–XV w.* Warszawa.
- Chélini, J. 1996. *Dzieje religijności w Europie Zachodniej w średniowieczu*. Warszawa.
- Dola, K. 1995. Postawa religijna świętej Jadwigi. Próba charakterystyki. In K. Bobowski et al. (eds), *Księga Jadwiżañska. Międzynarodowe Sympozjum Naukowe ‘Święta Jadwiga w dziejach i kulturze Śląska’ Wrocław – Trzebnica 21–23 września 1993 roku*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis 1720, 109–115. Wrocław.
- Eörsi, A. 1984. *International Gothic Style in Painting*. Budapest.
- Gabriel F. and L. Kracíková 2010. K funkcji drobné karamické plastiky. *Archaeologia Historica* 35: 225–232.
- Grönke, E. and Weinlich, E. 1998. *Mode aus Modeln. Kruseler- und andere Tonfiguren des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum und anderen Sammlungen*, Wissenschaftliche Beibände zum Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 14. Nürnberg.
- Heitz, P. 1900. *Neujahrswünsche des XV. Jahrhunderts*. Strassburg.

- Hermann, M. 2004. Neues von den Augsburgsger Bilderbäckern. *Knasterkopf* 17: 27–40.
- Hoffmann, V. 1996. Allerley kurtzweil – Mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Spielzeugfunde aus Sachsen. *Arbeits- und Forschungsberichte zur Sächsischen Bodendenkmalpflege* 38: 127–200.
- Huizinga, J. 1987. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. London.
- Huizinga, J. 2007. *Homo ludens. Zabawa jako źródło kultury*. Warszawa.
- Kłoczowski, J. 1974. Franciszkanie a sztuka europejska XIII wieku. In P. Skubiszewski (ed.), *Sztuka i ideologia XIII wieku. Materiały Sympozjum Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa 5 i 6 IV 1971*, 165–178. Wrocław.
- Kapustka, M. 2008. *Figura i hostia. O obrazowym przywoływaniu obecności w późnym średniowieczu*. Wrocław.
- Kowalczyk, E.J. 2012. *Bilderbäckerzy a wytwórcy późnośredniowiecznych figurek ceramicznych ze Śląska* [Master's Thesis stored in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Wrocław].
- Kowalczyk, E.J. 2013a. Znaczenie archeologii w badaniach pogranicza kulturowego i politycznego na przykładzie późnośredniowiecznego Śląska. In M. Jędrzejek (ed.), *Problem pogranicza w średniowieczu*, 73–95. Kraków.
- Kowalczyk, E.J. 2013b. *Późnośredniowieczna drobna plastyka gliniana ze Śląska wobec sztuki sakralnej XIV–pocz. XVI wieku* [Bachelor's Thesis stored in the Institute of Art History, University of Wrocław].
- Kowalczyk, E.J. and Siemianowska S. 2014. Późnośredniowieczne figurki ceramiczne z 'Dworu na Wodzie' w Będkovicach, pow. wrocławski. *Silesia Antiqua* 49: 77–98.
- Leeuwenberg, J. 1965. Die Ausstrahlung Utrechter Tonplastik. In M. Kurt, H. Soehner, E. Steingraber, H. R. Weihrauch (eds), *Studien zur Geschichte der europäischen Plastik. Festschrift Theodor Müller zum 19. April 1965*, 151–166. München.
- Marcinkowski, W. 1994. *Przedstawienia dewocyjne jako kategoria sztuki gotyckiej*. Kraków.
- Mehler, N. 2009. The Perception and Interpretation of Hanseatic Material Culture in the North Atlantic: Problems and Suggestions. *Journal of the North Atlantic 1 (Archaeologies of the Early Modern North Atlantic)*: 89–108.
- Měchurová, Z. 1994. Funde der kleinen mittelalterlichen Plastik auf dem Gebiet Tschechischen Schlesiens. *Archeologické Rozhledy* 46: 618–626.
- Měchurová, Z. 2009. Drobna středověká plastika konička na Moravě. *Archaeologia Historica* 34: 173–187.
- Měchurová, Z. 2010. Středověký svět děti a her v archeologických pramenech. *Archaeologia Historica* 35: 95–107.
- Murray Jones, P. 2007. Amulets: prescriptions and surviving objects from late medieval England. In S. Blick (ed.), *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Essays in honour of Brian Spencer*, 92–107. Oxford.
- Neu-Kock, R. 1988. Heilige & Gaukler. Kölner Statuetten aus Pfeifenton. *Kölner Museums – Bulletin. Berichte und Forschungen aus den Museen der Stadt Köln Sonderheft 1*. Köln.
- Neu-Kock, R. 1993. Ein Bilderbäcker-Werkstatt des Spätmittelalters an der Goldgasse in Köln. *Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters* 21: 3–70.
- Pazda, S. 2002. Zagadkowa figurka (szachowa?) z Radłowic, pow. Oława. Śląskie *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 44: 525–528.
- Piwowarczyk, D. 2000. *Obyczaj rycerski w Polsce późnośredniowiecznej (XIV–XV wiek)*. Warszawa.
- Richter, U. and Standke, B. 1991. Mittelalterliche Kleinplastiken aus Freiberg (Sa.). *Ausgrabungen und Funde*, 36 (1): 38–43.
- Sedláčková, H. 2003. 'Goldscheisser' z Nymburka. *Archaeologia Historica* 28: 547–552.
- Stomma, L. 2000. *Antropologia kultury wsi polskiej XIX wieku*. Gdańsk.

- Swanson, R. N. 2000. *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515*. Cambridge.
- Szulc, A. 2007. *'Homo religiosus' późnego średniowiecza. Bernardyński model dewocji masowej*. Poznań.
- Witkowska, A. 1978. Funkcje praktyk wotywnych w religijności ludowej późnego średniowiecza. In P. Skubiszewski (ed.), *Sztuka i ideologia XV wieku*, 97–109. Warszawa.
- Wachowski, K. 1998. Kult św. Jadwigi trzebnickiej w średniowieczu w świetle nowszych źródeł. *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 7: 71–77.
- Wachowski, K. 2005. Średniowieczne pielgrzymki mieszkańców Śląska. *Archeologia Polski* 50: 103–128.
- Wachowski, K. 2011. Blisko i daleko od morza. Kultura materialna miast hanzeatyckich. In M. Adamczewski (ed.), *Polska i Europa w średniowieczu. Przemiany strukturalne, 125–159*. Warszawa.
- Wachowski, K. 2013. *Emblemata mediaevalia profana. Przykład Polski*. Wrocław.
- Ward-Perkins, J. 1967. *Medieval Catalogue*. London.

